





FROM THE  
PERSONAL LIBRARY OF  
JAMES BUELL MUNN

1890 - 1967

151

BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY













Digitized by the Internet Archive  
in 2011 with funding from  
Boston Public Library









# ACTS AND MONUMENTS

Of matters most speciall and memorable,  
happening in the Church, with an uni-  
versall HISTORIE of the same.

Wherein is set forth at large, the whole  
Race and Course of the CHURCH, from the  
Primitive age to these later times of ours, with  
the bloody times, horrible troubles, and  
great Persecutions against the true

## MARTYRS

Of Christ, fought and wrought as well by heathen  
Emperors, as now lately practised by Romish Prelates,  
especially in this Realme of England and Scotland.

Now againe, as it was recognised, perused, and re-  
commended to the studious Reader, by the Author,  
Mr. Iohn Fox, the eight time newly Imprinted.

Whereunto are annexed certaine Additions of like Persecu-  
tions, which have happened in these latter times.

Apoc. vii. *Salus sedenti super Thronum & Agro.*

London, Printed for the Company of Stationers, 1641.



R-B BR1607. F5

1641

vol 1 of 3

# AND

## MONUMENTS

OF THE  
UNITED STATES  
OF AMERICA

AND  
THE  
NATIONAL  
ANTHROPOLOGICAL  
ARCHAEOLOGICAL  
AND  
HISTORICAL  
SOCIETY

## MARTIN

OF THE  
UNITED STATES  
OF AMERICA  
AND  
THE  
NATIONAL  
ANTHROPOLOGICAL  
ARCHAEOLOGICAL  
AND  
HISTORICAL  
SOCIETY



# The Kalendar.

January hath 31. dayes.

*The Moone XXX.*

Date of  
their death.

Yeare of  
our Lord.



February hath 28. dayes.

*The Moone XXIX.*

Date of  
their death.

Yeare of  
our Lord.

3	A	1	Circumcision.	
	b	2	John Wickliffe, Preacher, Martyr.	1387
11	c	3	John Aston, confessor.	1382
	d	4	Will. Sawtry, Priest, Martyr.	1400
19	e	5	Swinderby a priest, martyr.	
8	f	6	Epiphany.	
	g	7	Sir Roger Aston, Knight, Martyr.	1401
16	A	8	John Brovone, Gentleman, martyr.	1413
5	b	9	John Beberly, Preacher, martyr.	1413
	c	10	Rich. Silbeck, martyr.	1413
13	d	11	John Castellane, Doctor, martyr.	1521
2	e	12		
	f	13	Thomas Whittle, Minister, martyr.	1525
10	g	14	Bartlet Green, Gentleman, martyr.	1556
	A	15	John Tudor, martyr.	1556
18	b	16	Tho. Went, martyr.	1556
7	c	17	Tho. Brovone, martyr.	1556
	d	18	Isabel Foster, martyr.	1556
15	e	19		
4	f	20	Joane Warne, alias Lathford, martyr.	1556
	g	21	John Lomas, martyr.	1556
12	A	22	Anne Albright, alias Champnes, martyr.	1556
1	b	23	Joan Catmer, martyr.	1556
			Agnes Snoth, martyr.	1556
			Joane Sole, martyr.	1556
	c	24	Will. Waterer, martyr.	
9	d	25	Conversion of Paul.	
	e	26	Stephen Kemp, martyr.	1556
			William Hay, martyr.	1557
17	f	27	Thomas Hudson, martyr.	1557
			William Lowicke, martyr.	1557
6	g	28	Will. Prototing, martyr.	1557
			Nicolas Jfinal, martyr.	1557
	A	29	Matthew Wadbydige, martyr.	1557
14	b	30	John Philpot, Martyr.	1557
3	c	31	Thom. Stevens, martyr.	1557

	d	1	William Thorpe, priest, Confessor.	1407
11	e	2	Purification of our Lady.	
19	f	3	John Wharton, martyr.	1413
8	g	4	Rich. Turmine, martyr.	1413
			Zisca, a Confessor.	1416
	A	5	Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham, Martyr.	1418
16	b	6	Rich. Hobeden, martyr.	1430
5	c	7	Thomas Bagley, priest, martyr.	1431
	d	8	Paul Craves, martyr.	1431
13	e	9	Thomas Rhedon, mart.	1436
2	f	10	Rainold Pecocke, Bish. confessor.	1437
	g	11	Sir Roger Oneley, Priest, Martyr.	1441
10	A	12	Glenn Cobham, gentlewoman confessor.	
	b	13	Mother of the lady Pong martyr.	1490
18	c	14	Thom Porice, martyr.	1507
7	d	15	Tho. Eckles, martyr.	1510
	e	16	Tho. Lungay, martyr.	1511
15	f	17	D. Martin Luther, Confessor.	1546
4	g	18		
	A	19	Pope of Say, martyr.	1512
12	b	20	Peake, martyr.	1512
1	c	21	George Carpenter, martyr.	1527
	d	22	John Rogers, Preacher, Martyr.	1555
9	e	23	Laurence Sanders, Preacher, Martyr.	1555
	f	24	John Hooper, Bishop, Martyr.	1555
17	g	25	Matthias Apostle.	
6	A	26	Rowland Taylor, Doctor, Martyr.	1555
	b	27	Robert Farrar, Bishop, Martyr.	1555
			Agnes Potten, martyr.	1556
14	c	28	Trunchfields wife, martyr.	1557



# The Kalender.

March hath 31. dayes.

*The Moone XXX.*

3	D	I	William Tailor, marty.	2
			John Wesleyanus, a do-	
			ctor, marty.	
	e	2	Doctor Wesleyus, alias	
			Basilus confessor.	
11	f	3	Henry Dutton, marty.	
	g	4	John Douglas, marty.	
19	A	5	Petrus Fleschedius, mar-	
			ty.	
8	b	6	Adolphus Clabachius,	
			marty.	
	c	7	Patrike Hamelton, mar-	
			ty.	
16	d	8	Thomas Hitton, marty.	
5	e	9	Thomas Bilney, Martyr.	
	f	10	Daby Foster, marty.	
13	g	11	Edward Fræse, Confes-	
			so.	
2	A	12	Valentine Fræse, and	
			his wife, marty.	
	b	13	Father Bate, confessor.	
			Rabulung White, mar-	
			ty.	
10	c	14	Thomas Tomkins,	
			marty.	
18	d	15	Thomas Higbed, gentle	
			man, marty.	
	e	16	Thomas Catwston, gen-	
			tleman, marty.	
7	f	17	William Hunter, mar-	
			ty.	
	g	18	William Pegot, marty.	
15	A	19	Stephen Knight, marty.	
4	b	20	John Laurence minister,	
			marty.	
	c	21	Thomas Cranmer, Archbi-	
			shop of Canterbury, Mar-	
12	d	22	tyr.	
1	e	23	Robert Spicer, marty.	
	f	24		
9	g	25	Annunciation of our Lady.	
	A	26	William Coderley, mar-	
			ty.	
17	b	27	Haundzell, marty.	
6	c	28	Richard Crashfield, mar-	
			ty.	
	d	29	Cuthbert Simpson, mar-	
			ty.	
14	e	30	Hugh For, marty.	
3	f	31	John Debonish, mar-	
			ty.	

Year of our Lord.



Aprill hath 30. dayes.

*The Moone XXX.*

g	1	Robert Hatches, marty.	4	1519
		Archer, marty.		
11	A	2	Howkins, marty.	
		Thomas Bound, marty.	4	1519
	b	3	Wrightam, marty.	
19	c	4	Landale, marty.	
8	d	5	Hilfris Smith, widow,	
			marty.	
16	e	6	James Bainham, gen-	
			tleman, marty.	
5	f	7	Jo. Abcocke, confessor.	
	g	8	George Barth, preacher,	
			marty.	
13	A	9	William Flotter, Mini-	
			ster, marty.	
2	b	10	Robert Drakes, Mini-	
			ster, marty.	
	c	11	Thomas Lym, mart.	
			Richard Spurge, mart.	
10	d	12	Thomas Spurge, mar-	
			ty.	
			John Cabill, marty.	
	e	13	George Ambrose, marty.	
			John Warpole, marty.	
18	f	14	Joan Beech, marty.	
7	g	15	John Bullier Minister,	
			marty.	
	A	16	Christopher Lister, Mi-	
			nister, marty.	
15	b	17	John Pace, marty.	
			John Spencer, marty.	
4	c	18	Simon Joone, marty.	
	d	19	Richard Nichol, marty.	
12	e	20	John Hammond, marty.	
1	f	21	S. George, martyr.	
	g	22	Thomas Loseby, mar-	
			ty.	
9	A	23	Marke Evangelist.	
	b	24	Henry Kainley, mar-	
			ty.	
17	c	25	Thomas Thyeple, mar-	
			ty.	
6	d	26	Margaret Wyde, mar-	
			ty.	
	e	27	Agnes Stanley, mar-	
			ty.	
	f	28		
		29	William Nicholl, mar-	
			ty.	
	g	30		

Year of our Lord.



*The Moone XXX.*

*The Moonc XXIX.*

[illegible]

# The Kalender.

July hath 31. dayes.				August hath 31. dayes.			
The Moone XXX.				The Moone XXX.			
		Dayes of the month	Year of our Lord.			Dayes of the month	Year of our Lord.
19	G	1	Henry Cloz, marty? John Cich, marty?	8	C	1	Leonard Keyfar, mar- ty?
8	A	2	John Friib, Martyr.	16	D	2	James Abbes, marty?
	b	3	Andrew Hewet, marty? Anthony Derfon, marty?	5	e	3	John Denley, gentleman, marty?
		18	Robert Testwood, mart. Ben. Filmore, marty?		f	4	John Newmar, marty?
16	C	4		13	G	5	Patricke Patingham, marty?
5	D	5	John Bradford, Preacher, I Martyr.	2	A	6	Will. Coker, marty?
	e	6	John Leafe, marty?		b	7	Will. Popper, marty?
13	f	7	John Pelley, marty?	10	C	8	Henry Laurence, mart.
			William Ping, Pini, 2 ster, marty?		D	9	Rich. Collier, marty?
2	G	8	Richard Woke, marty?	18	e	10	Will. Store, marty?
	A	9	John Bland, Preacher, 12 marty?		f	11	Richard Wright, mart.
10	b	10		7			Eliz. Warne, marty?
	C	11	John Franke, marty?		G	12	George Tankerfield, marty?
18	D	12	Dumfrey Middleton, 12 marty?	15	A	13	Richard Smith, marty?
7	e	13	Rich. Sheterden, mar- ty?	4	b	14	Step. Harwood, marty?
	f	14	William Digbel, mar- ty?		C	15	Thomas Fulke, marty?
15	G	15	Drike Carber, marty? 12 John Lauder, marty?	2	D	16	Will. Haile, marty?
	A	16	Thom. Ivelon, marty? 13 Nicholas Hall, marty?	1	e	17	Robert Samuel, Prea- cher, marty?
4			Joh. Aleworth, confessor. Joh. Carelette, confessor.		f	18	Joane Wasse, marty?
	b	17	John Guin, marty?	9	G	19	Will. Bonger, marty?
12	C	18	Julius Palmer, a school- master, and Askine, marty?		A	20	Robert Purcas, marty?
	D	19	Katharine Cauches, and Perotine Dally, with 17 her childe not one hour old, and Guillemine	17	b	21	Tho. Wennald, marty?
9	e	20	Gilbert, Martyr	6	C	22	Agnes Silberside, alias Smith, marty?
	f	21			D	23	
	G	22	Thomas Dungeate, mar- ty?	14	e	24	Bartholmew, Apostle.
17	A	23	John Foreman, marty? 18		f	25	Ellen Cuying, marty?
			Simon Miller, marty?	3	G	26	Elizabeth folkes, Paide, marty?
6	b	24	Elizabeth Caper, mar- ty?		A	27	Will. Hunt, marty?
	C	25		11	b	28	Alice Hunt, marty?
14	D	26	Mary Magdalene.	19	C	29	Rose Allin, Paide, mart.
			Richard Peoman, Pini- ster, Martyr.		D	30	John Johnson, marty?
3	e	27	William Pikes, marty? 14	8	e	31	George Eagles, marty?
							One Frier, and the said George Eagles sister, marty?
			James, Apostle.				
	f	28	Steph. Colton, marty? 14 John Blade, marty? 14				
1	G	29	Stephen Wright, marty? 14 Robert Wiles, marty? 14 Robert Dines, marty? 14				
	A	30	Thomas Wenbrich, gen- tlemen, marty?				
19	b	31					



# The Kalender.

September hath 30. dayes.				October hath 31. dayes. -			
The Moore XXIX.				The Moore XXX.			
		Dayes of the month	Year of our Lord			Dayes of the month	Year of our Lord
16	f	1	1428	6	A	1	1534
			1428		b	2	1534
5	g	2	1428				
				3	c	3	1534
			1552				
	A	3	1552	2	d	4	1534
13	b	4	1556				
			1555		e	5	1534
			1555				
2	c	5		10	f	6	1534
10	d	6			g	7	1536
			1555				
18	e	7	1555	8	A	8	1537
	f	8	1555	7	b	9	1537
7	g	9	1555				
					c	10	1538
	A	10	1555				1538
	b	11		15	d	11	1539
15	c	12	1555	4	e	12	1539
			1555				
			1555		f	13	1539
4	d	13	1556	12	g	14	1539
			1556				1539
	e	14	1556				
					A	15	1541
12	f	15	1556				
			1556		b	16	1555
1	g	16	1556	9	c	17	1555
	A	17	1557		d	18	
	b	18	1557	17	e	19	1555
			1557				
9	c	19	1557	6	f	20	1555
17	d	20			g	21	1555
6	e	21		14	A	22	1551
			1557				
			1557		b	23	1556
14	g	23		11	d	25	
3	A	24	1557				
	b	25		19	e	26	
11	c	26			f	27	
19	d	27	1557	8	g	28	
			1557				
	e	28			A	29	1556
8	f	29		16	b	30	1556
	g	30	1557	5	c	31	1556

## The Kalender.

November hath 30. dayes.			December hath 31. dayes.		
The Moore XXIX.			The Moore XXX.		
Dayes of their death.	Year of our Lord.		Dayes of their death.	Year of our Lord.	
D I		The feast of all Saints.	f I		William Tracy, esquier, confessor.
13 e 2	1541	Richard Belkings, martyr.	13 g 2		Peter Sapience, martyr.
2 f 3	1541	Richard Spenser, martyr.	2 A 3		George Bucker, alias A. van Damlip, martyr.
g 4	1541	Andewel Dewet martyr.	b 4		An old man of Buckinghamshire, martyr.
10 A 5	1542	John Potter confessor.	c 5		Two gray friars martyrs.
b 6	1542	Thomas Bernard, martyr.	10 d 6		John Hilton confessor.
18 c 7	1542	James Doxton, martyr.	e 7		John Coignes, confessor.
7 d 8	1546	George Wilschart, gentleman, martyr.	18 f 8		Robert Ward, confessor.
c 9	1546	John Berby martyr.	7 g 9		A scholler of Abbeville martyr.
15 f 10	1546	Roger Clarke martyr.	A 10		A Jew martyr.
4 g 11	1531	Richard Wayfield, alias Somerham, martyr.	b 11	4	Richard Hunne martyr.
A 12	1556	John Clarke confessor.	15 c 12	20	John Tewkesbury, martyr.
12 b 13	1556	Dunstane Chittenden, confessor.	4 d 13	7	James Coxe confessor.
1 c 14	1556	Will. Fosse, martyr.	e 14	13	William Wiseman confessor.
d 15	1556	Alice Watkins, confessor.	12 f 15	18	John Philpot preacher, martyr.
9 e 16	1556	John Archer, confessor.	g 16	22	John Hough, preacher, martyr.
f 17	1557	Jo. Wallingdale, martyr.	1 A 17		Margaret Perring, martyr.
17 g 18	1557	Will. Sparrow, martyr.	b 18		Thomas Tyler, confessor.
6 A 19	1557	Richard Gibson, Gentleman, martyr.	9 c 19		Matthew Withers, confessor.
b 20	1558	Sander Couch, martyr.	17 d 20		Dale confessor.
14 c 21	1558	Cliz. Dyber, martyr.	6 e 21		Thomas Apostle.
3 d 22	1558	Phil. Dumfrey, martyr.	f 22		William Blaine.
e 23	1558	John Daby, martyr.	23 g 23		Elizabeth Lawson, confessor.
11 f 24	5	Henry Daby, martyr.	A 24	22	John Glover confessor.
19 g 25	5	John Cornforth, martyr.	14		Nicholas Burton, martyr.
A 26	10	Christopher Browne, martyr.	3 b 25		Nativity of our Lord.
8 b 27	10	John Herst, martyr.	II		Stephen, Martyr.
c 28	10	Alice Snoth, martyr.			John Evangelist.
10 d 29	10	Katherine Knight, martyr.			Childermasse.
5 e 30		Andrew Apostle.	19 c 26		Thomas Akebonensis, an Carle, martyr.
			d 27		Wicus Pirandula, confessor.
			e 28		Erasmus Roterdamus confessor.
			f 29		Martin Bucer, confessor.
			16		Paul. Whagius, confessor.
			g 30		Philip Melancthon, confessor.
			5		Peter martyr, confessor.
					King Edward the sixth. Confessor.
			5 A 31		





A D

D O M I N V M

Jesum-Christum

S E R V A T O R E M

C L E M E N T I S S I M V M,

E V C H A R I S T I C O N

J O A N N I S F O X I.



Onfecto nunc opere, quod tuis primum auspicijs ac voluntate aggressus (summe & adorande Jesu, idemque Servator clementissime) inchoavi, quodque tuo demum beneficio ac favore exegi atque absolvi, præter omnem certam opinionem & vires meas: superest itaque pro officio meo, ut animula hæc, ceu pro votiva tabula, gratias, si non quantas debeat (utinam enim id possit) at quantas queat maximè, munificentissimæ tuæ persolvat majestati; quæ tam miserum homuncionem, vel syphar potius hominis, in laboribus tot tantisque istis, qui vel asellum quemvis *αχτορρον* possent conficere, tumultuantem, benigno successu ac solatio tam clementer suffulserit. Quanquam autem de operis difficultate nihil hic causari attinet, quæ vix æstimari à multis poterit; tua tamen non ignorat omnipotens Majestas, hujus, qualecunque sit, negotij confectio quibus quamque non ferendis curis, vigilijs, molestiis conficit; quibus nullo modo pares futuri essemus, nisi faventis gratiæ tuæ numen affulset, ac sese quodammodo admisuisset operi. Quid ni enim fatear ac tester ingenuè, quod re ipsa experti sumus? Persensimus enim, peneque oculis ipsis conspeximus, singularem excelsæ dextræ tuæ *ἐνεργεία* non modò in successu negotij provehendo, sed in vita etiam spiritûque inter labores conservando. Tui igitur muneris est (clementissime Jesu) quòd opus tuis susceptum auspicijs huc usque provecum sit. Nos vicissim, quod nostri sit officij, gratias clementiæ tuæ, cum nostro privatim, tum publico quodammodo Ecclesiæ tuæ nomine, agimus. Vel hinc enim cernimus quanti causam Martyrum tuorum æstimes, quando eorum illustrando nomini tantâ faveas propensione. Quanquam verò si nulla hic extaret eorum recordatio, non possent non omnibus modis esse illustrissimi, quorum sint nomina vitæ tuæ libro inscripta. Et tamen voluit hoc modo tua declarare Majestas, nobisque innotescere hominibus, quàm honorificum sit pro tui nominis gloria fortiter dimicantes occumbere, quorum tu vitam a cinere ac rogo sic vindicas, sic causam tueris, sic dignitatem illustras, ut eandem multo cum gloriæ foenore abs te recipiant clariorem, quàm si ipsi nunquam alioqui perdidissent. Habet siquidem peculiare hoc sibi militiæ tuæ ratio, longè à mundo hoc diversum, quod in castris tuis militantes sive vivant, sive moriantur, multò clarescant à funere foelicius, quàm si vixissent maximè.

*Auxilium  
Christi in cor-  
tinando hoc  
opere.*

Sic Cranmerum videmus, Ridleum, Latimerum, Johannem Hooperum, Bradfordum, ceterosque ejusdem decuriæ pugiles, quanto majore occubuisse cum gloria in acie tua depugnantes, quàm si, relicta statione in qua erant collocati, salutem ipsi suæ causam tuam postposuissent. Quæ enim gens, quæ lingua, quæ natio, quæ tempo-

*Felix ac gloria  
sum pro Christo  
mortem oppetere.*

rum vetustas, quæ hominum posteritas eorum non cantabit laudes, non virtutem agnoscet, non magnitudinem admirabitur? Quis Wiclevum unquam, aut Cobhamum natum fuisse existimasset, nisi tua in causa tam egissent strenuè? Quanto honori illud Hussio Bohemenfi, nostroque Tindallo fuit, quod vitam in Evangelii tui causa perditam, magis abs te recipere, quàm ipsi retinere maluerint? Spectemus è diversa parte adversarios tuos, quorum tam multas esse constat cædes, injurias, crudelitates adversus tuos, multaq; item occultè & scelestè ab iisdem perpetrata, quæ nunquam sperabant fore palam: & tamen quid unquam in angulis & tenebris ab illis est designatum tam occultè adversus Ecclesiam, quod non in apicum produxit tua producetque providentia? Atq; ita produxit, ut unde ipsi laudis sibi conceperunt animo opinionem, inde summum sibiipsis dedecus pepererint & contumeliam, quam nec vita effugere, nec morte unquam finire poterint. Quis Guisos, Boneros, Storios, Gardineros, tanquam execranda hominum nomina nunc non novit? non exhorret? quis eorum facinora obliterabit dies, aut sepeliet memoria? Et quid hos in tanta multitudinæ hostium tuorum recenseo? Cui unquam prosperè cessit tuo rebellare aumini, aut hostem se Ecclesiæ tuæ profiteri? Papæ nomen quàm erat aliquando in his terris celebre & gloriosum? Nunc quid putidius, quid probrosius? Cardinalitium fastigium cœperunt primò admirari homines, multaq; prosequi reverentia: Sic Monachorum & Nonnarum collegia suum quondam habebant plausum apud plebem simplicem & credulam. At postquam sprete veritate tua cœperunt grassari contra te, tuorumque homicidæ fieri, eò tandem sunt prolapsi (exceptis paucis quos tua exemit gratia) ut reliqua fex nihil aliud jam esse præter vocabula quædam ad ignominia relicta videatur.

*Papæ nomen  
nunc probrosum.  
Cardinalitium Mo-  
nachorum, Non-  
narum nomina  
ad ignominiam  
nunc relicta.*

Hæc nimirum (sanctissime domine ac Deus noster) justissimi judicii tui sunt præludia, ex quo haud difficile æstimare sit, quidnam in altero illo expectaturi sint, quos in hoc ipso seculo, hoc est, in suo ipsorum regno, tanta accumules infamia & dedecore. Sed omiſſis his, ad sanctos tuos redeamus Martyres, quorum nomine meritò à nobis perenne velut sacrificium laudis & gratiarum tuæ debetur, simul & habetur, bonitati. Primùm, quòd in Ecclesiæ tuæ causa dimicantibus tam fortem & alacrem spiritum omnibûsque tormentis majorem adversus parricidas Papistas subministrasti. Deinde quòd & nobis in illorum desudantibus historia propitius adeò clementiæ tuæ favor affuerit. Debetur & hoc privatim meo quoque nomine singulari tuæ pietati, quòd vitam toties alioqui nutantem, in hac tanta, quantum tu solus novisti, laboris immensitate conservatam tuo volueris beneficio. Verum illud inprimis omnes debemus pariter effusissimo tuo in nos amoris, quòd beatorum Martyrum tuorum, quos mundi hujus ad flammam & cineres adegerit perversitas, causam & innocentiam, velut è cinere recollectam, in lucem deavò notitiàmque ecclesiæ tuæ revocare ac patefacere dignatus sis. Etsi enim dubium non est, quin in supremo illo judicio tuo, quum virtutes cœlorum movebuntur, omnis eorum ad amissum excutietur causa ante tribunal tuum, est tamen aliquid hîc quoque in Ecclesia tua, causam ipsorum, facta, vitæque virtutes cæteras non ignorari. Tunc autem ad illos uberior gloria, ad nos interea major redundabit fructus, quando ex ipsorum rectè factis, integritate, innocentia, fide ac patientia constare poterit, non quid ipsi solum fecerint, sed quid & nobis eorum sit exemplo faciendum.

*De oratione  
sacrorum morum  
& totius opum.*

Sed hîc rursus (dulcissime Jesu) opus est benigno favoris tui præsidio. Nos enim qui filii Martyrum tuorum sumus, quosque maximè majores nostros imitari conve- niebat, nunc nihil ferè parentum tenemus, præter vitæ solam hanc, quam suo partam sanguine relinquerunt, libertatem: Quæ etiam ipsa nimium abutimur intemperantè, ut jam periculum sit, ne non filii modò martyrum, sed ne fratres quidem ipsorum haberi mereamur. Quantum enim inter sit discriminis, quamque prorsus disconvenit ordine toto nostra Consuetudo ab illorum vestigiis & Disciplina, pudet profectò referre. Sed quid ego tibi referam, cujus nihil non perspicit majestas ac intuetur? Quanto illis studio ac curæ fuit amore tui cætera quæque, adeoque seipſos ad vitæ etiam contemptum abdicare, mundum cum omnibus desideriis flocci facere, voluptates tanquam nugas spernere? Nec sinebant pericula undique imminetia opibus congerendis, multoque minus honoribus cumulandis vacare. Contrà verò, nostra nunc vita, studium, omnisque adeo contentio, quid nisi mundum spirat, quid aliud quàm perpetuum quoddam fluxarum rerum, opum, ac honorum aucupium videtur & ambitus? At illi quam præclarè secum actum putassent, si vel vivere modò licuisset. Ideoque multi fuere eorum, qui Mariæ Reginæ fa- cultates

*Quanta degeneratio  
nostrorum  
nunc hominum  
ab exemplis sup-  
riorum Marty-  
rum.*



## *Ad Christum Eucharisticum.*

cultates & possessiones omnes adulesque extremum assem obtulerunt, dummodo solum ipsis remitteret conscientiam. Et quæ nos tanta hæc habendi intemperies exagitat, quibus nec unus nec mediocris victus possit esse satis? Sine modo, sine fine, opibus, Sacerdotiis, censuique dilatando inhiamus. Quanto ambitu amicos fatigamus & inimicos, non ut vivamus solum, verum ut suplices vivamus & honorati? De fide, de mansuetudine eorum, tolerantia, simplicitate, ac patientia incredibili, quid dici satis potest? Quanta constantia, qua animi alacritate perpassi sunt quicquid infligebatur, vindictam, omnem deo remittentes, cui & causam commendabant? Nulla vis eos adversariorum deicere, nec minæ frangere, non ludibria movere, non pericula, non tormenta ulla confternere, nec delinire blanditia potuerant.

Componamus nunc nostram cum his molliem. Sed pudor prohibet. Nam quæ tam levis nos tentationis aura afflare possit, quæ non illico præcipitantes ac transversos rapiat in avaritiam, in fastum, voluptates, turpitudinem, vindictam, & in quid non malorum? Quæ tam levis obijci poterit injuriola, pro qua non cælum terræ miscemus, mariæque turbamus ab imo? ex quo in promptu est colligere, quantum ab eo absumus, ut mortem simus unquam tua causa subituri, si quando res Martyrum flagitet, quum nec affectus quidem istos tuo amputare jussu velimus. Quapropter ut Martyrum quidem illorum causa gratias agimus nomini tuo sancto; ita nostra vicissim causa deprecamur, ut qui largitus sis ipsis vincendi facultatem, nobis itidem pia eorundem exempla imitandi felicitatem aspires; sicque Ecclesiæ tuæ affulgeat tua gratia, necubi seducti hujus mundi illecebris, socordiores ipsi in retinenda Evangelii tui victoria, quam illi in comparanda strenui, videamur. Postremo, quoniam historiam hanc tuo nutu ac voluntate aggressi, in ea re operam studiumque posuimus, quo facta gesta que sanctorum tuorum (sanctissime Jesu) ad nominis tui gloriam, & in commodum Ecclesiæ publicum emergerent, adde nunc labori fructum, simulque historiæ tutelam in te recipias magnopere petimus; cui & opus ipsum totumque me ipsum, quem tot modis tuæ misericordiæ debeo, toto corpore & anima, totisq; viribus commendo, dedico, consecroq; cui omne cadat genu, omnisque vox & lingua confessionis gloriam per omnes Ecclesias tribuat personetque. Amen.

Necessa-  
Pecudio.





T O

# THE RIGHT VERTUOUS.

Most Excellent and Noble Princeſſe, QUEEN

# ELIZABETH,

Our dread Lady, By the grace of God, Queen of *England* *France*, and *Ireland*, Defender of *Chriſts* Faith and Goſpel, and principall Governor both of the Realm, and alſo over the ſaid Church of *England* and *Ireland*, under *Chriſt* the Supreme head of the ſame, &c. **JOHN FOX**, Her humble Subject wiſheth daily increaſe of **G O D S** holy Spirit and Grace, with long Reign, perfect Health, and joyfull peace to govern His Flocke committed to Her Charge; to the example of all good Princes, the Comfort of his Church, and glory of his bleſſed Name.



**HRIST** the Prince of all Princes, who hath placed you in your throne of Maſteſtie, under Him to governe the Church and Realme of *England*, give your Royall Highneſſe long to ſit, and many yeeres to Reigne over us, in all flouriſhing felicity, to his gracious pleaſure, and long laſting joy of all your Subjects: Amen.

When I firſt preſented theſe Acts and Monuments unto your Maſteſty (moſt deare Sovereign, Queen **ELIZABETH** our peaceable **Salome**) which your Maſteſties rare clemencie received in ſuch gentle part; I well hoped that theſe my travells in this kinde of writing had been well at an end, whereby I might have returned my ſtudies againe to other purpoſes after mine own deſire, more fit then to write Hy-

ſtories, eſpecially in the *Engliſh* Tongue. But certaine evill diſpoſed perſons, of intemperate tongues, adverſaries to good proceedings, would not ſuffer me ſo to reſt, fuming and fretting, and raiſing up ſuch miſerable exclamations at the firſt appearing of the Booke, as was wonderfull to heare. A man would have thought *Chriſt* to have been new borne againe, and that *Herod*, with all the City of *Ieruſalem* had been in an uprore. Such bluſtring and ſtriving was then againſt that poore Book thorow all quarters of *England*, even to the gates of *Lovaine*; ſo that no *Engliſh* Papiſt almoſt in all the Realme thought himſelfe a perfect Catholike, unleſſe he had caſt out ſome word or other to give that booke a blow.

Whereupon, conſidering with my ſelf what ſhould move them thes to rage, firſt I began with more circumspect diligence to overlooke againe that I had done. In ſearching whereof I found the fault, both what it was, and where it lay; which was indeed not ſo much in the book it ſelfe (to ſay the truth) as in another certain privy myſtery and working of ſome; of whom **Joan. Avent.** ſhall tell us in his own words, and ſhew us who they be, Quibus (inquit) audiendi quæ fecerint



# The Epistle Dedicatory to the Queens Majesty.

*fecerint pudor est; nullus faciendi, quæ audire erubescunt.* Illic, ubi opus, nihil verentur; hic, ubi nihil opus est, ibi verentur, &c. Who, being ashamed belike to have their worthy stratagems like to come to light, sought by what means they might the stopping of the same. And because they could not work it *per brachium seculare*, by publique authority (the Lord of Heaven long preserve your Noble Majesty) they renewed again an old wonted practise of theirs; doing in like sort herein, as they did sometimes with the holy Bible in the daies of your renowned Father of famous memory, King Henry the eighth; who when they neither by manifest reason could gainst and the matter contained in the Book, nor yet abide the coming out thereof, then sought they by a subtill devised way to deprave the translation, notes, and prologues thereof, bearing the King in hand, and all the people, that there were in it a thousand lyes, and I cannot tell how many more. Not that there were in it such lyes in very deed; but that the coming of that Book should not bewray their lying falshood, therefore they thought best to begin first to make exceptions themselves against it; playing in their stage like *ts Phormio* did in the old Comedie, who, being in all the fault himself, began first to quarrell with *Demipho*, when *Demipho* rather had goodright to lay *Phormio* by the heels.

With like facing brags these Catholike *Phormiones* think now to dash out all good Books, and amongst others also these Monuments of Martyrs. Which godly Martyrs as they could not abide being alive, so neither can they now suffer their memories to live after their death, lest the acts of them being known might bring perhaps their wicked acts and cruell murders to detestation; and therefore spurn they so vehemently against this Book of Histories, with all kinds of contumelies and uprores, railing and wondering upon it; much like as I have heard of a company of thieves, who in robbing a certain true man by the highwayes side, when they had found a piece of gold or two about him more then he would be known of, they cryed out of the falshood of the world, marvelling and complaining what little truth was to be found in men.

Even so these men deal also with me; for when they themselves altogether delight in untruths, and have replenished the whole Church of Christ with feigned fables, lying miracles, false visions, and miserable errors contained in their Missals, Portuses, Breviars, and Summaries, and almost no true tale in all their Saints lives and Festivals, as now also no great truths in our *Lovanian Books*, &c. Yet notwithstanding, as though they were a people of much truth, and that the world did not perceive them, they pretend a face and zeal of great verity; and as though there were no histories else in all the world corrupted, but onely this history of Acts and Monuments, with Tragickall voices they exclaim and wonder upon it, sparing no cost of hyperbolicall phrases to make it appear as full of lyes as lines, &c. Much after the like sort of impudency as Sophisters use sometimes in their Sophismes to do (and sometimes is used also in Rhetorick) that when an argument cometh against them which they cannot well resolve indeed, they have a rule to shift off the matter with stout words and tragicall admiration, whereby to dash the Opponent out of countenance, bearing the bearers in hand the same to be the weakest and slenderest argument that ever was heard, not worthy to be answered, but utterly to be hissed out of the Schooles.

With like sophistification these also fare with me, who when they neither can abide to hear their own doings declared, nor yet deny the same, which they hear, to be true, for three or foure escapes in the Book committed (and yet some of them in the Book amended) they neither reading the whole, nor rightly understanding that they read, enveigh and maligne so perversly the setting out thereof, as though neither any word in all that story were true, nor any other story false in all the world besides. And yet in accusing these my Accusers I do not so excuse my self, nor defend my Book, as though nothing in it were to be sponged or amended. Therefore I have taken these pains, and reiterated my labours in travelling out this story again: doing herein as *Penelope* did with her web, untwisting that she had done before: Or as Builders do sometimes, which build and take down again, either to transpose the fashion, or to make the foundation larger. So in recognising this History I have employed a little more labour, partly to enlarge the Argument which I took in hand, partly also to assay, whether by any pains taking I might pacifie the stomackes, or to satisfie the judgements of these importune quarrellers: which neverthelesse I fear I shall not do, when I have done all I can. For well I know, that all the heads of this hissing Hydra will never be cut off, though I were as strong as *Hercules*. And if *Apelles* the skilfull Painter, when he had bestowed all his cunning upon a piece of work, which no good Artificer would or could greatly reprove, yet was not without some controlling Sutor, which took upon him *ultra crepidam*, much more may I look for the like in these controlling dayes.

*Nec futor ultra crepidam.*

Neverthelesse committing the successe thereof unto the Lord, I have adventured again upon this story of the Church, and have spent not onely my pains, but also almost my health therein, to bring it to this. Which now being finished, like as before I did, so again I exhibit and



# The Epistle Dedicatory to the Queens Majesty.

present the same unto your Princely Majesty, blessing my Lord my God with all my heart: first for this liberty of peace and time which through your peaceable government he hath lent unto us for the gathering both of this and other like Books, Tractations and Monuments requisite to the behoof of his Church, which hitherto by iniquity of time could not be contrived in any Kings reign since the Conquest, before these Alcyon dayes of yours.

Secondly, as we are all bound with publike voices to magnifie our God for this happy preservation of your royall estate; so privately for mine own part, I also acknowledge my self bound to my God and to my Saviour, who so graciously in such weak health hath let me time, both to finish this Work, and also to offer the second dedication thereof to your Majesty; desiring the same to accept in good worth the donation thereof, if not for the worthinesse of the thing given, yet as a testification of the bounden service and good will of one, which by this he here presenteth, declareth what he would, if he had better to give.

And though the story being written in the popular tongue serveth not so greatly for your own peculiar reading, nor for such as be learned; yet I shall desire both you and them to consider in it the necessity of the ignorant Flock of Christ committed to your government in this Realm of England. Who as they have been long led in ignorance, and wrapt in blindness for lack especially of Gods Word, and partly also for wanting the light of history, I thought pittie but that such should be helped, their ignorance relieved, and simplicitie instructed. I considered they were the flock of Christ, and your Subjects, belonging to your account and charge, bought with the same price, and having as dear soules to the Lord as other. And though they be but simple and unlearned, yet not unapt to be taught if they were applied. Furthermore, what inconvenience groweth of ignorance where knowledge lacketh, both I considered and experience daily teacheth.

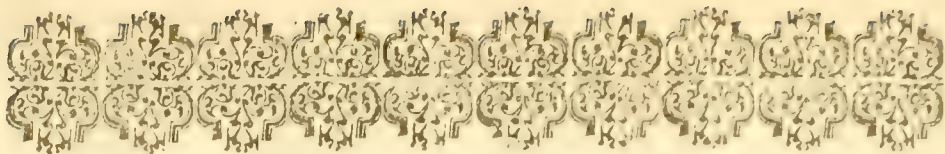
And therefore hearing of the vertuous inclination of your Majesty, what a provident care and zeal full of solicitude you have, minding (speedily I trust) to furnish all quarters and countries of this your Realm with the voice of Christs Gospel, and faithfull preaching of his Word, I thought it also not unprofitable to adjoyn unto this your godly proceedings, and to the office of the Ministry, the knowledge also of Ecclesiasticall History, which in my minde ought not to be separate from the same; that like as by the one the people may learn the rules and precepts of doctrine, so by the other they may have Examples of Gods mighty working in his Church, to the confirmation of their Faith, and the edification of Christian life. For as we see what light and profit cometh to the Church by Histories in old times set forth of the Iudges, Kings, Macchabees, and the Acts of the Apostles after Christs time; so likewise may it redound to no small use in the Church, to know the Acts of Christs Martyrs now since the time of the Apostles.

Besides other manifold examples and experiments of Gods great mercies and judgements in preserving his Church, in overthrowing Tyrants, in confounding pride, in altering States and Kingdomes, in conserving Religion against errors and dissensions, in relieving the Godly, in brideling the wicked, loosing and tying up again of Satan the disturber of Common-weales, in punishing transgressions as well against the first Table as the second; wherein is to be seen idolatry punished, blasphemy plagued, contempt of Gods holy Name and religion revenged, Murder with murder rewarded, Adulterers and wedlock-breakers destroyed, perjuries, extortions, covetous oppression, and fraudulent counsels come to nought, with other excellent works of the Lord: the observing and noting whereof in histories minister to the Readers thereof wholesome admonitions of life, with experience and wisdom both to know God in his works, and to work the thing that is godly; especially to seek unto the Sonne of God for their salvation, and in his Faith onely to finde that they seek for, and in no other

means. The continuance and constancy of which Faith the Lord of his grace and goodnesse grant to your noble Majesty, and to his whole beloved Church, and all the members of the same to everlasting life. Amen.

Profit to be taken by examples of Christian martyrs. Gods works to be observed in histories. What use cometh by reading of Histories.





## AD DOCTUM LECTOREM

*Joannes Foxus.*



Ogitanti mihi, versantique mecum in animo, quàm periculosa res alex sit, emittere nunc aliquid in publicum, quod in manus oculosque multorum subeat, his praesertim tam exulceratis moribus temporibusque, ubi tot hominum dissidiis, tot studiis partium, tot morosis capitibus, tam rigidis censuris, & Criticorum sannis fervent fere omnia, ut difficillimum sit quicquam tam circumspèctè scribere, quod non in aliquam calumniandi materiam rapiatur; perbeati profectò foelicisque videntur ii, quibus cum vitae cursum tenere liceat, ut in otio viventes cum dignitate, sic alienis frui queant laboribus, velut in Theatro otiosi sedentes spectatores, ut nullam interim ipsis vel ex actione tedium, vel ex labore periculum metuendum sit. Me verò nescio quo pacto, longè diversa quidem hactenus exercuit vitae ratio; quippe cui nec fortunæ illam foelicitatem, in cujus complexibus tam multos suaviter foveri video, nec otii amoenitatem experiri, vix etiam per omnem vitam degustare in continuo laborum ac negotiorum fervore ac contentione contigerit. Quanquam de fortuna parum queror quam semper contempsi, quin neque de laboribus multum dicturus, si modò labores ii tantum vel prodesse vel placere cæteris possent hominibus, quantum me privatim arterunt incommodantque. Nunc ad meæ infœlicitatis cumulum accedit insuper, quòd in eo argumenti genere laborandum fuit, quod præter lugubrem rerum ipsarum materiam, præter linguæ inamœnitatem, præter tractandi difficultatem, quæ vix nitorem recipiat orationis, eò porro Autorem ipsum redigit angustia, ut neque falsa narrare sine injuria Historiæ, nec verum dicere sine magna sua invidia odioque multorum liceat. Nam cum in eo Historiæ argumento mihi versandum fuit, quod non ad s. periorum modò temporum res gestas alteque repetitas pertineat, sed hanc ipsam ætatem nostram, nostræque gentis nunc homines etiamnum præsentis, vivosque sic attingat, sic perfricat, sic designet, quemadmodum in hoc materiæ genere necessariò faciendum fuit: quæso, quid hîc mihi aliud expectandum sit, nisi postquam frustra me defatigando valetudinem attriverim, oculos perdiderim, senium acciverim, corpus exhauserim demum ut post hæc omnia multorum me hominum odiis, sibilis, invidiæ ac calumniæ exponam? In tot istis asperitatibus cum nihil me tutum præstare poterit, non Cæsar, non Monarchæ, non Rex, non Regina, non ulla h. jus mundi præsidia, præter solam Divini numinis potentem dextram; principio igitur, atque ante omnia huc ceu ad tutissimum asylum me recepti, huic me librûmque commendavi & commendo. Tum verò insuper in eodem domino tuum illum candorem (docte pièque Lector) eamque tuam humanitatem appellare volui, qua ex humanioribus literis studiisque te scio præditum, quo nostris his sudoribus tuæ approbationis accedit calculus; aut si approbationem non mereamur, saltem ne favoris desit benignitas: cui si approbatum iri hanc Historiæ nostræ farraginem senserimus, cæterorum judicia obrectatorum, levius feremus.

Nam alioquî non defutu os sat scio qui variis modis nobis facessent molestiam. Habebit hîc Momus suos morsus, Sycophanta suos sibilos, nec deerit Calumniatori sua lingua & aculeus, quem infigat. Hic fidem detrahet Historiæ; ille artificium in tractando, alter diligentiam, vel in excutiendis rebus judicium desiderabit. Illi forsân operis displicebit moles, vel minus disposita servatâque temporum ratio. Et si nihil horum fuerit, attamen in tanta Religionis pugna, in tanta judiciorum, capitum, sensuum varietate, ubi suæ quisque favet ac blanditur factioni, quid tam affabrè, aut circumspèctè enarrari potest, quod placeat universis? Quin & jam nunc mussitari etiam audio a nonnullis qui longa sese teneri dicant expectatione, quoad hæc tandem *Legenda nostra*, ut appellant, *Aurea* evulganda sit: qui si nostram primùm in eo tarditatem reprehensam velint, nã ego suaves istos homines vicissim rogatos velim,



lim, ut ipsi prius in edendis suis se præbeant expeditiores, quam alienam incessant lentitudinem.

Deinde, si tardius exeat ipforum opinione volumen, meminerint, proverbiali præcepto, lentam esse festinationem oportere; & bos dicitur lassus fortius pedem figere. Egimus in hac quidem re pro virili nostra; Egimus spero & pro officio, si non satis pro temporis modo expeditè, at egimus certè pro valetudine; addam porro, egimus supra valetudinem. Quin & illud ipforum venia adjicere liceat, e-  
gisse nos maturius quàm ipsis forsan expediet qui in hunc nugantur modum: certè maturatius egimus quam tanti momenti & magnitudinis negotio conveniebat, quod accuratiorem in digerendis rebus moram curamque postulabat, cùm a nobis vix integros datos esse menses octodecim præparandæ materiæ, comportandis componendisque rebus, conferendis exemplaribus, lectitandis codicibus, rescribendis his quæ scripto mandata erant, castigandis formulis, concinnandæ historiæ, & in ordinem redigendæ, &c. noverint si qui testes adfuerint, & temporis conficii, & laboris focii. Quod si autem *Aurea* sive *Aurea* titulum huc eò accommodant, quod illius exemplo hanc similiter fabulosam putent historiam, hincque odioso vocabulo ejus præjudicent veritati, quid his respondeam aliud quam quòd ingenuè suam ipsi prodant calumniam, quam ne editione quidem libri differre queant, prius de rebus dijudicantes quam noverint. Atque interim quidem illud bene habet, quod ipsos tandem aliquando *Legenda* sive *legenda* pudeat tam fabulosæ. Et tamen fabulis illis non pudit mundum tam diu ludificare, periculum etiam intentantes his, si qui *Legenda* ille, hoc est, mendacissimis illorum nugis auderent detrahere. Quare nihil magis esse possit impium, quàm sacrosanctam Ecclesiæ fidem fabulamentis hujusmodi confictisque præter omnem veri fidem deliriis commaculare; tamen ineptissimi isti nugatores, ex suo ingenio cæteros quosque scriptores mentientes, nec ipsi verum adferre satagunt, nec afferentibus alijs fidem habendam putant, cuncta videlicet suis aureis somnijs similia existimantes? Quin apage cum *Aurea* tua *Legenda*, nugator impudens; quem ego librum, cum omnes cum scimus, nec ipse ignoras prodigiosis mendaciorum portentis & vanissimis undique commentis scatere, ne cum Homeri quidem fabulis conferre velim; tantum abest ut cum verè serijs gravibusque Ecclesiæ historijs quicquam commune habeat. Quid? An quia Papistis illis tuis & impuris monachis sic libuit in ridiculis miraculorum suorum portentis ineptire, tu protinus nullam gravem historiæ autoritatem putas in ecclesia admittendam? Quin eadem lege & de Eusebij ecclesiastica, & repartita Sozomeni & Socratis cæterorumque Historijs judicemus. Sunt præter hæc & alia quædam de sanctis & Divis conscripta miracula, quæ propius ad *Legendam* hanc accedunt, & tamen nequaquaquam eo loco apud nos habentur, ut *Legenda* ille papistica annumerentur, etiam quæ suspectissimæ sunt fidei. Quamquam de scriptoribus cæteris mea nihil interest censuram ferre. Quod ad hanc verò nostram *Legenda* attinet, testatum id velim universis, datam esse à nobis operam seu dulo ne quid usquam inesset operi fabulosum, aut ejusmodi quod vel a nobis fictum, vel quod *Legenda* ille *Aurea* (magis dicam plumbeæ) non undique foret dissimillimum. Id quod res ipsa & nativa historiæ facies testari poterit, cujus tota textura ex ipsis Episcoporum Archivis atque Registris, partimque ex propriis Martyrum ipforum literis hausta ac conflata videri poterit. In qua historia etsi neq. id exigam ut singula hîc pro oraculis habeantur; at dedimus tamen pro virili operam, ut si non plenè assequeremur, accederemur tamen quàm proximè ad veterem illam historiæ legem, ut duas res, præcipuas historiæ pestes, vitaremur, timorem videlicet & assentationem; quarum altera sæpe minus dieit, altera semper plus addit, quàm par est, narrationi. Sed hujus rei fidem ex ipso magis opere, quam ex mea commendatione astrui honestius est. Habet enim veritas ipsa simplicem suam & nativam faciem, quam non erit difficile non mucosis naribus lectori, ex ipso vel orationis habitu, aut rerum aspectu, sive aliis circumstantiarum notis deprehendere. Sed vereor ne hîc quoque, quemadmodum cæteris in rebus, locum habeat veteris proverbij experientia; faciunt quippe mendaces ut ne veri etiam dicenti fides habeatur. Cum hætenus in Martyrologicis sanctorum legendis virisque describendis mendacia, ac nugacissimæ somniorum fictiones pro veris legantur narrationibus, fit ut & cæteræ ejusdem argumenti materiæ eandem pariter suspicionem subeant, ut vix jam quicquam legi dicive in ecclesia cum fide queat. Verùm huic malo cùm mederi nequeamus, satis erit, quod nostrarum erat virium id nos pæstitisse. Quod superest, Divinæ curandum providentiæ relinquamus. Atque de certitudine ve-



veritatēque historiæ hæc hætenus : quæ utinam ne tam vera quidem certaque esset, quam isti videri volunt, at falsa potius, consimilisque huic, quam dicunt, *Auræ ipsorum Legende*, aut Vitis patrum, aut Festivals, aut Dormi-securæ, cæterisque Papisticis istis τῶν τῶν ἀρετῶν ἀρετῶν foret. Nunc verò Martyrum horum non a nobis ficta, sed inscripta à vobis supplicia, atroxque cædes veriore hanc comprobant historiā, plurēque suæ veritatis testes habent quam vellemus ipsi qui historiā scripsimus. Venio jam ad alteram criminationis partem, quæ de Calendario fortassis objicitur. Audio enim & hîc mihi obstrepere non tacitas modò sententias, sed apertas papistarum quorundam voces, quibus iniquè à me factum videbitur, quòd antiquatis atque ex Calendario explosis veteris Ecclesiæ Divis, Martyribus, Confessoribus, Virginibusque, novos eorum loco Martyres ac Confessores infulciam. Primum, nulli ego veterum Divorum hoc factò præjudicatum velim. Neque verò ideo inter Divos à me referuntur isti, quòd inferuntur in Calendarium. Hanc ego apotheosin mihi nunquam sumpsi, quam sibi tam confidenter sumpsit Gregorius nonus. Porro, neque eò spectat hoc Calendarium, ut novam aliquam festorum dierum legem præscribam Ecclesiæ ; tum multò minus cultum sancti alicujus instituo. Festorum dierum jam plus satis erat in mundo. Utinam dominicum solum Sabbatum dignè, atque ut par est, transigeremus. Habeant per me suum papistæ Calendarium. Habeat & Ecclesia suos sanctos, tum recentes tum veteranos, modò probatos, modò interim iidem ne colantur, modò quàm sint vetusti tam verè etiam sancti sint.

Verum enimvero cum non dubitavit sua etiam ætate Hieronymus multos existimare eorum gehennæ ignibus cruciari, quos multi passim pro sanctis habent in Ecclesia ; quid hîc tum diceret Hieronymus, si modo superstes papisticam hanc sanctorum colluviem & Calendaria, tot Papis, tot Episcopis, & Abbatibus oblita cerneret ?

Quamquam à me quidem non Calendarium hoc institutum est, nisi ut *pro indice* duntaxat, suum cujusque Martyris mensem & annum designante, ad privatum Lectoris ferviret usum. Et tamen si in Templis etiam fas sit singulorum Mensium dies propriis sanctorum nomenclaturis consignare; quî minus liceat id mihi in veris istis facere Martyribus, quòd ipsi in suis pseudomartyribus, tanta sibi licentia, ne dicam impudentia, permiserunt ? Si non pœna, sed causa Martyrem faciat, cur non unum *Cranmerum* sexcentis Becketis Cantuariensibus non conferam, sed prætulerim ? Quid in Nicolao Ridleo videtur cum quovis divo Nicolao non conferendum ? Quæ in re Latimerus, Hoperus, Martheus, Simpsonus, ceterique Christiani Martyrii Candidati, inferiores summis maximisque illis papistici Calendarii Divis, imò multis etiam nominibus non præponendi videantur ? Interim nullius ego boni sanctique viri (modò qui verè sanctus sit) causam lædo, nec memoriam extinguo, nec gloriam minuo. Et si cui hoc displiceat Calendarium, meminerit, non in templis collocari, sed domesticæ tantum lectioni præparari.

Sed missis hisce adversariorum calumniis, ad te, docte candidēque Lector (quoniam hæc ad te instituta est Epistola) tempus est ut recurrat oratio, cujus in his rebus judicium ut pluris æstimo, ita ego magis hîc quoque patrocinio. Scio enim, in vasta hac congerie reperies nonnulla ad quæ meritò corruges frontem. Neque vero fieri facile potuit, præsertim in tanta operis præcipatione, ut cuncta ad amussim atque ad unguem perfectè adeo elimarentur, quin alicubi vel ex lassitudine dormitaret scriptor, vel per incuriam excideret auctori aliquid, vel ex festinatione eveniret, quòd cani solet in proverbiiis nimium præ studio properanti, cæcos nimirum producenti catulos. In quibus quidem excutiendis rebus magis nobis venia tua quam censura imploranda est. Quamobrem paucis hæc apud te, docte simul & humanissime Lector, ante operis ingressum libuit *προειπεῖν* ut si quid inter evolendum occurrerit, non omnibus perfectum numeris, non ad Cleantis lucernam elucubratum, non ad exquisitum Theologorum acumen expressum, aut minus aliqui acutissimis tuis dignum naribus, cogites hæc non tuis auribus data esse, sed meis; hoc est, crassioris turbæ hominibus, a quibus facilius leguntur libri quam judicantur. Aut si ne id quidem gravissimæ tuæ sententiæ fecerit satis, liceat illa mihi uti lege, qua semper permissum est, opere in magno, scriptori obrepere somnum. Quod si verò tuam hac in re facilitatem impetravero, minus laborabo quid cæteri obstrepant, Græci memor Proverbii, cujus & ipsos commemorasse velim,

μυμήνευται τὸ πρῶτον ἢ μὴ μὴ





TO  
THE TRUE AND FAITHFULL  
Congregation of *Christs* Univerfall Church, with  
all and singular the Members thereof, wheresoever congregated  
or dispersed thorow the Realm of *England*, a Protestation or  
Petition of the *Author*, wishing to the same abundance of all Peace  
and Tranquillity, with the speedy coming of *CHRIST* the  
Spouse, to make an end of all mortall misery.

**S**OLOMON the peaceable Prince of *Israel*, as we reade in the third of Kings, after he had finished the building of the Lords Temple (which he had seven yeers in hand) made his petition to the Lord for all that should pray in the said Temple, or turn their face toward it; and his request was granted, the Lord answering him, as we reade in the said Book, Chap. 6. I have heard (saith he) thy prayer, and have sanctified this place, &c. Albeit the infinite Majesty of God is not to be compassed in any materiall walls, yet it so pleased his goodnesse to respect this prayer of the King, that not onely he promised to hear them which there prayed, but also replenished the same with his own glory. For so we reade again in the Book aforesaid, Et non poterant ministrare propter nebulam, quia replevit gloria domini domum Domini. 3 Reg. 7.

Upon the like trust in Gods gracious goodnesse if I sinfull wretch, not comparing with the building of that Temple, but following the zeal of the Builder, might either be so bold to ask, or so happy to speed, after my seven yeers travell about this Ecclesiasticall History, I would most humbly crave of Almighty God to bestow his blessing upon the same; that as the prayers of them which prayed in the outward Temple were heard, so all true disposed mindes which shall resort to the reading of this present history, containing the Acts of Gods holy Martyrs, and Monuments of his Church, may by example of their life, faith, and doctrine, receive some such spirituall fruit to their soules, through the operation of his grace, that it may be to the advancement of his glory, and profit of his Church, through Christ Iesus our Lord. Amen.

But as it hapned in that Temple of Solomon, that all which came thither came not to pray, but many to prate, some to gaze and see newes, other to talk and walk, some to buy and sell, some to carp and finde fault, and finally some also at the last to destroy and pull down, as they did indeed; (For what is in this world so strong, but it will be impugned? what so perfect, but it will be abused? so true, that will not be contraried? or so circumspectly done, wherein wrangling Theon will not set in his tooth?) Even so neither do I look for any other in this present history, but that amongst many well disposed Readers, some Wasps nest or other will be stirred up to buz about mine ears. So dangerous a thing it is now adayes to write or do any good, but either by flattering a man must offend the godly, or by true speaking procure hatred of the Wicked. Of such stinging Wasps and buzzing Drones I had sufficient triall in my former Edition before; who if they had found in my Book any just cause to carpe, or upon any true zeal of truth had proceeded against the untruths of my story, and had brought just proofes for the same, I could right well have abide it. For God forbid but that faults, wheresoever they be, should be detected and accused. And therefore accusers in a Commonwealth, after my minde, do serve to no small stead.

But then such accusers must beware they play not the dog, of whom Cicero in his Oration speaketh, which being sent in Capitolio to fray away theeves by night, left the theeves, and fell to bark at true men walking in the day. Where true faults be, there to bay and bark is not a misse. But to carp where no cause is; to spye in other straws, and leap over their own blocks, to swallow Camels, and to straine Gnats; to oppresse truth with lies, and to set up lies for truth; to blaspheme the dear Martyrs of Christ, and to Canonize for Saints, whom Scripture would scarce allow for good subjects; that is intolerable. Such barking cures, if they were well served,



# A Protestation to the whole Church of England.

ved, would be made a while to stoop. But with these brawling spirits I intend not at this time much to wrastle.

Wherefore to leave them a while, till further leisure serve me to attend upon them, thus much I thought in the mean season, by way of protestation or petition, to write unto you, both in generall and particular, the true members and faithfull congregation of Christs Church, wheresoever either congregated together, or dispersed through the whole Realm of England, that forsomuch as all the seeking of these adversaries is to do what they can, by discrediting of this History with slanders and sinister surmises, to withdraw the Readers from it: this therefore shall be in few words to premonish and desire of all and singular of you (all well minded lovers and partakers of Christs Gospel) not to suffer your selves to be deceived in the big brags, and Hyperbolicall speeches of those slandering tongues, whatsoever they have or shall hereafter exclaime against the same; but indifferently staying your judgement till truth be tried, you will first peruse, and then refuse; measuring the untruths of this History, not by the scoring up of their hundreds and thousands of lies which they give out, but wisely weighing the purpose of their doings according as you finde, and so to judge of the matter.

To reade my Books I allure neither one nor other. Every man as he seeth cause, so let him like as he listeth. If any shall think his labour too much in reading this Story, his choyce is free either to reade this, or any other which he more mindeth. But if the fruit thereof shall recompence the Readers travell, then would I wish no man so light cased, to be carried away for any sinister clamor of adversaries, who many times deprave good doings, not for the faults they finde, but therefore finde faults because they would deprave. As for me and my History, as my will was to profit all and displease none; so if skill in any part wanted to will, yet hath my purpose been simple, and certes the cause no lesse urgent also, which moved me to take this enterprise in hand.

For first to see the simple flock of Christ, especially the unlearned sort, so miserably abused, and all for ignorance of history, not knowing the course of times, and true descent of the Church, it pittied me that part of diligence so long to have been unsupplied in this my Countrey Church of England. Again, considering the multitude of Chronicles and Story-writers, both in England, and out of England, of whom the most part have been either Monks or Clients to the See of Rome, it grieved me to behold how partially they handled their stories. Whose painfull travell albeit I cannot but commend, in committing divers things to writing, not unfruitfull to be known, nor unpleasant to be read; yet it lamented me to see in their Monumentts the principall points, which chiefly concerned the state of Christs Church, and were most necessary of all Christian people to be known, either altogether pretermitted, or if any mention thereof were inserted, yet were all things drawn to the honor specially of the Church of Rome, or else to the favour of their own sect of Religion. Whereby the vulgar sort, hearing and reading in their writings no other Church mentioned or magnified, but onely that Church which here flourished in this World in riches and jollity, were drawn also to the same perjasion, to think no other Church to have stood in all the earth but onely the Church of Rome.

The partial dealing of Story-writers.

In the number of this sort of Writers, besides our Monks of England (for ever Monastery almost had his Chronicler) I might also recite both Italian and other Countrey Authors, as Platina, Sabellicus, Nauclerus, Martinus, Antonius, Vincentius, Onuphrius, Laziardus, Georgius Lilius, Polyd. Virgilius, with many moe, who taking upon them to entermeddle with matters of the Church, although in part they expresse some truth in matters concerning the Bishops and See of Rome; yet in suppressing another part they play with us, as Ananias and Saphyra did with their money, or as Apelles did in Pliny, who, painting the one half of Venus coming out of the Sea, left the other half unperfect. So these Writers, while they shew us one half of the Bishop of Rome, the other half of him they leave unperfect, and utterly untold. For as they paint him out on the one part glistering in wealth and glory, in shewing what succession the Popes had from the Chair of Saint Peter, when they first began, and how long they sate, what Churches, and what famous buildings they erected, how far their possessions reached, what lawes they made, what Councils they called, what honour they received of Kings and Emperors, what Princes and Countreies they brought under their authority, with other like stratagems of great pompe and royalty; so on the other side, what vices these Popes brought with them to their seat, what abominations they practised, what superstition they maintained, what idolatry they procured, what wicked doctrine they defended contrary to the expresse Word of God, to what heresies they fell, into what division of sects they cut the unity of Christian Religion, how some practised by Simony, some by Necromancy and sorcery, some by poysoning, some indenting with the Devil to come by their Papacy, what hypocrisie was in their lives, what corruption in their doctrine, what warres they raised, what bloodshed they caused,



# A Protestation to the whole Church of England.

caused, what treachery they traversed against their Lords and Emperors, imprisoning some, betraying some to the Templaries and Saracens, in bringing other under their feet, also in beheading some, as they did with Fredericus and Conradinus, the heires and off-spring of the house of Fredericus Barbarossa, in the year 1269. Furthermore, how mightily Almighty God hath stood against them, how their warres never prospered against the Turk, how the judgements of the godly learned from time to time have ever repnied against their errors, &c. Of these and a thousand other more not one word hath been touched, but all kept as under Benedicite, in auricular Confession.

Primum quod  
que verissimum  
est. Tertul.

This partiall dealing and corrupt handling of Histories when I considered, I thought with my self nothing more lacking in the Church then a full and a compleat story, which, being faithfully collected out of all our Monasticall Writers, and written Monuments, should contain neither every vain written fable, for that would be too much, nor yet leave out any thing necessary, for that would be too little; but with amoderate discretion taking the best of every one should both ease the labour of the Reader from turning over such a number of writers, and also should open the plain truth of times lying long hid in obscure darknesse of antiquity. Whereby all studious Readers, beholding as in a glasse the state, course, and alteration of Religion, decay of doctrine, and the controversies of the Church, might discern the better between Antiquity and novelty. For if the things which be first (after the rule of Tertullian) are to be preferred before those that be later, then is the reading of Histories much necessary in the Church, to know what went before, and what followed after; and therefore not without cause Historia, in old Authors, is called the Witnesse of Times, the Light of Verity, the Life of Memory, Teacher of Life, and Shower of Antiquity, &c. Without the knowledge whereof mans life is blinde, and soon may fall into any kinde of error, as by manifest experience we have to see in these desolate later times of the Church, when as the Bishops of Rome under colour of antiquity have turned Truth into Heresie, and brought such new found devices of strange doctrine and religion, as in the former age of the Church were never heard of before, and all thorow ignorance of times, and for lack of true history.

Image of both  
Churches,

For to say the truth, if times had been well searched, or if they which wrote Histories had without partiality gone upright between God and Baal, halting on neither side, it might well have been found, the most part of all this Catholique corruption intruded into the Church by the Bishops of Rome, as Transubstantiation, Elevation and adoration of the Sacrament, Auricular Confession, forced vowes of Priests not to marry, veneration of Images, private and satisfactory Masses, the Order of Gregories Masse now used, the usurped authority and Summa potestas of the See of Rome, with all the rout of their Ceremonies and weeds of superstition overgrowing now the Church; all these (I say) to be New-nothings lately coyned in the mint of Rome, without any stampe of antiquity, as by reading of this present history shall sufficiently (I trust) appear. Which history therefore I have here taken in hand, that as other story-Writers heretofore have employed their travell to magnifie the Church of Rome, so in this History might appear to all Christian Readers the Image of both Churches, as well of the one as of the other; especially of the poore oppressed and persecuted Church of Christ. Which persecuted Church though it hath been of long season troden under foot by Enemies, neglected in the world, not regarded in histories, and almost scarce visible or known to worldly eyes, yet hath it been the true Church onely of God, wherein he hath mightily wrought hitherto, in preserving the same in all extreme distresses, continually stirring up from time to time faithfull Ministers, by whom alwayes have been kept some sparkes of his true Doctrine and Religion.

The descent of  
Christs Church  
from the Apo-  
stles time  
described.

How the true  
Church of  
Christ is visible  
and not vnbile.

Now forasmuch as the true Church of God goeth not lightly alone, but is accompanied with some other Church or Chappell of the Divell to deface and maligne the same, necessary it is therefore the difference between them to be seen, and the descent of the right Church to be described from the Apostles time. Which hitherto in most part of Histories hath been lacking, partly for fear, that men durst not, partly for ignorance, that men could not discern rightly between the one and the other. Who beholding the Church of Rome to be so visible and glorious in the eyes of all the world, so shining in outward beauty, to bear such a port, to carry such a train and multitude, and to stand in such high authority, supposed the same to be the onely right Catholique Mother. The other, because it was not so visibly known in the World, they thought therefore it could not be the true Church of Christ. Wherein they were farre deceived: for although the right Church of God be not so invisible in the world that none can see it, yet neither is it so visible again that every worldly eye may perceive it. For like as is the



## A Protestation to the whole Church of England.

the nature of Truth; so is the proper condition of the true Church, that commonly none seeth it, but such onely as be the members and partakers thereof. And therefore they, which require that Gods holy Church should be evident and visible to the whole World, seem to define the great Synagogue of the World, rather then the true spirituall Church of God.

In Christs time who would have thought but the congregations and Councils of the Pharisees had been the right Church? and yet had Christ another Church in earth besides that; which albeit it was not so manifest in the sight of the world, yet was it the onely true Church in the sight of God. Of this Church meant Christ, speaking of the Temple which he would raise again the third day. And yet after that the Lord was risen, he shewed not himself to the World, but onely to his Elect, which were but few. The same Church after that encreased and multiplied mightily among the Iews, yet had not the Iews eyes to see Gods Church, but did persecute it, till at length all their whole Nation was destroyed.

After the Iews then came the heathen Emperors of Rome, who, having the whole power of the world in their hands, did what the world could do, to extinguish the name and Church of Christ. Whose violence continued the space of three hundred yeers. All which while the true Church of Christ was not greatly in sight of the world, but rather was abhorred every where, and yet notwithstanding the same small silly Flock so despised in the world the Lord highly regarded and mightily pre'erved. For although many then of the Christians did suffer death, yet was their death neither lesse to them, nor detriment to the Church; but the more they suffered, the more of their blood increased.

In the time of these Emperors God raised up then in this Realm of Britaine divers worthy Preachers and Witneses, as Elnanus, Meduinus, Meltivianus, Amphibolus, Albanus, Aaron, Julius, and other more. In whose time the doctrine of Faith without mens traditions was sincerely preached. After their death and Martyrdom it pleased the Lord to provide a generall quietnesse to his Church, whereby the number of his Flock began more to encrease.

The antiquity of the Church here in England, with the descent of the same.

In this age then followed here in the said Land of Britain, Fastidius, Nivianus, Patricius, Bacchiarius, Dubricius, Congellus, Kentigernus, Helmotus, David, Daniel, Sampson, Elnodugus, Afaphus, Gildas, Henlanus, Elbodus, Dinothus, Samuel, Nivius, and a great sort more, which governed the Church of Britain by Christian doctrine a long season; albeit the Civil Governors for the time were then dissolute and carelesse, as Gildas very sharply doth lay to their charge, and so at length were subdued by the Saxons.

All this while about the space of four hundred yeers Religion remained in Britain uncorrupt, and the Word of Christ truly preached, till about the comming of Augustine and of his companions from Rome, many of the said Britain Preachers were slain by the Saxons. After that began Christian faith to enter and spring among the Saxons, after a certain Romish sort, yet notwithstanding somewhat more tolerable then were the times which after followed, through the diligent industry of some godly Teachers which then lived amongst them, as Aidanus, Finianus, Coleman Archbishop of York, Beda, John of Beverly, Alcuinus, Noetus, Hucharius, Serlo, Achardus, Ealtesus, Alexander, Necklaam, Negellus, Fenallus, Alfricus, Sygeferthus, and such other; who though they erred in some few things, yet neither so grossely, nor so greatly to be complained of in respect of the abuses that followed. For as yet all this while the error of Transubstantiation and Elevation, with Auricular Confession, was not crept in for a publike doctrine in Christs Church, as by their own Saxon Sermon made by Aelfricus, and set out in the second volume of this present history may appear. During the which mean time, although the Bishops of Rome were had here in some reverence with the Clergy, yet had they nothing as yet to do in making lawes touching matters of the Church of England; but that onely appertained to the Kings and Governors of the Land, as is in this story to be seen.

Transubstantiation not yet received for a publike doctrine.

The Church when it began to fall from God.

Aeneas Sylvius saith, That Mathilda made the Pope heir of those lands which are called the Patrimony of Saint Peter.

Ex Aven. lib. 6. Montery when it began to reign in England.

And thus the Church of Rome, albeit it began then to decline apace from God, yet during all this while it remained hitherto in some reasonable order, till at length, after that, the said Bishops began to shoot up in the world through the liberality of good Princes, and especially of Mathilda a noble Dutchesse of Italy; who at her death made the Pope heir of all her Lands, and endued his See with great revenues. Then riches begat ambition; ambition destroyed religion, so that all came to ruine. Out of this corruption sprang forth here in England (as did in other places more) another Romish kinde of Montery, worse then the other before, being much more drowned in superstition and ceremonies, which was about the yeer of our Lord 980. Of this swarm was Egbertus, Aigelbert, Egwine, Boniface, Wilfrede, Agathon, James, Romaine,



# A Protestation to the whole Church of England.

Romain, Cedda, Dunstane, Oswold, Athelwold, Athelwine Duke of Eastangles, Lanfranc, Anselme, and such other.

And yet in this time also, through Gods providence, the Church lacked not some of better knowledge and judgement, to weigh with the darknesse of those dayes. For although King Edgar with Edward his base sonne, being seduced by Dunstane, Oswold and other Monkish Clerks, was then a great Author and Fautor of much Superstition, erecting as many Monasteries as were Sundayes in the yeer; yet notwithstanding, this continued not long. For eftsóones after the death of Edgar came King Ethelrede and Queen Elfhred his Mother, with Alferus Duke of Merceland, and other Peers and Nobles of the Realm, who displaced the Monks again, and restored the married Priests to their old Possessions and Livings. Moreover, after that followed also the Dánes, which overthrew these Monkish Foundations as fast as King Edgar had set them up before.

The true Church when it began first to decay.

And thus hitherto stood the condition of the true Church of Christ, albeit not without some repugnance and difficulty, yet in some mean state of the truth and verity, till the time of Pope Hildebrand called Gregory the seventh, which was neer about the yeer one thousand and eighty, and of Pope Innocentius the third, in the yeer one thousand two hundred and fifteen. By whom all together was turned up side down, all order broken, Discipline dissolved, true Doctrine defaced, Christian Faith extinguished. In stead whereof was set up preaching of mens Decrees, Dreams and idle Traditions. And whereas before Truth was free to be disputed amongst learned men, now liberty was turned into law, argument into authority. Whatsoever the Bishop of Rome denounced, that stood for an Oracle of all men to be received without opposition or contradiction; whatsoever was contrary ipso facto it was Heresie, to be punished with Faggot and flaming fire. Then began the sincere Faith of this English Church, which held out so long, to quail. Then was the cleer Sunshine of Gods Word overshadowed with mists and darknesse, appearing like Sackcloth to the people, which neither could understand what they read, nor yet were permitted to read what they could understand. In these miserable dayes, as the true visible Church began now to shrink and keep in for fear: So up start a new sort of Players, to furnish the stage, as School-doctors, Canonists, and foure Orders of Friars. Besides other Monasticall sects and fraternities of infinite variety. Which ever since have kept such a stirre in the Church, that none for them almost durst rout, neither Caesar, King, nor Subject. What they defined, stood; what they approved, was Catholike; what they condemned was Heresie; whomsoever they accused, none almost could save. And thus have these hitherto continued or raigned rather in the Church, the space now of 400. yeers and odde. During which space the true Church of Christ, although it durst not openly appear in the face of the world, oppressed by tyranny; yet neither was it so invisible or unknown, but by the providence of the Lord some remnant alwayes remained from time to time, which not onely shewed secret good affection to sincere Doctrine, but also stood in open defence of truth against the disordered Church of Rome.

The true Church continueth in the midst of their enemies.

\* Extravagants. ca. Non sine multa. Ex Nicol. Emmerico, lib. Inquisitionum.

In which Catalogue, first, to pretermitt Bertramus and Berengarius, which were before Pope Innocent the third, a learned multitude of sufficient witnesses here might be produced, whose names neither are obscure nor Doctrine unknown; as Joachim Abbat of Calabria, Almericus a learned Bishop, who was judged an heretike for holding against Images in the time of the said Innocentius. Besides the Martyrs of Alsatia, of whom we read an hundred to be burned by the said Innocentius in one day, as writeth Hermanus Mucius. Adde likewise to these the Waldenses or Albingenses, which to a great number segregated themselves from the Church of Rome. To this number also belonged Reymundus Earl of Tholose, Marfilius Patavius, \* Gulielmus de S. Amore, Simon Tornacensis, Arnoldus de nova Villa, Joannes Semeca, besides divers other Preachers in Sueruia standing against the Pope, one thousand foure hundred and forty. Ex Cranz. Laurentius Anglicus a Master of Paris, Anno one thousand two hundred and sixty. Petrus Joannes a Minorite, who was burned after his death, Anno, one thousand two hundred and ninety. Robertus Gallus a Dominick Frier, Anno, one thousand two hundred ninety one. Robert Grosthead Bishop of Lincoln, which was called Malleus Romanorum, Anno, one thousand two hundred and fifty. Lord Peter de Cugneriis, Anno, one thousand three hundred twenty nine. To these we may adde moreover, Gulielmus Ockam, Bongratius Bergomensis, Luitpoldus, Andreas Laudensis, Vlricus Hangenor Treasurer to the Emperor, Joannes de Ganduno, Anno, one thousand three hundred and thirty mentioned in the extravagants, Andreas de Castro, Buri-dianus, Euda, Duke of Burgundy, who counsalled the French King not to receive the new found constitutions,



# A Protestation to the whole Church of England.

constitutions and extravagants of the Pope into his Realm, Dantes Alligerius an Italian, who wrote against the Pope, Monks, and Friers, and against the donation of Constantine, Anno thirteen hundred and thirtie, Taulerus a German preacher, \* Conradus Hager, imprisoned for preaching against the Masse, Anno thirteen hundred thirtynine, The Author of the Book called Pœnitentiarius Alini, compiled about the year thirteen hundred forty three, Michael Celenas, a gray Friar, Petrus de Corbaria, with Johannes de Poliacio, mentioned in the Extravagants, and condemned by the Pope, Joannes de Castilione, with Franciscus de Arcatara, who were burned about the year of our Lord, 1322. \* Joannes Rochtaylada, other wife called Haybalus, with another Friar martyred about the year 1346. Franciscus Petriarcha, who called Rome the Whore of Babylon, &c. Anno one thousand three hundred and fifty, \* Georgius Ariminensis, Anno one thousand three hundred and fifty, Joannes de Ripe Scissa, imprisoned for certain Prophecies against the Pope, Anno one thousand three hundred and forty, Gethardus Ricker, who also wrote against Monks and Friers a Book called Lacryma Ecclesiæ, Anno one thousand three hundred and fifty, Godfridus de Fontanis, Gulielmus de Landuno Joannes Monachus Cardini, Armachanus, Nicolaus Orem, Preacher, Anno one thousand three hundred sixty four, Militzius a Bohemian, who then preached that Antichrist was come, and was excommunicate for the same, Anno one thousand three hundred sixty six, Jacobus Misnenfis, \* Matthias Parisiensis a Bohemian born, and a writer against the Pope, Anno one thousand three hundred and seventy, Joannes Montziger, Rector of the University of Vlm, Anno 1384. Nilus Archbishop of Thessalonica, Henricus de Jota, Henricus de Hassia, &c.

I do but recite the principall Writers and Preachers in those dayes. How many thousands there were which never bowed their knees to Baal, that is known to God alone. Of whom we finde in the writings of one \* Bruchsius, that six and thirty Citizens of Maguntia were burned, Anno one thousand three hundred and ninty. Who, following the Doctrine of the Waldenses, affirmed the Pope to be the great Antichrist. Also Massæus recordeth of one hundred and forty, which in the Province of Narbon were put to the fire, for not receiving the Decretals of Rome, besides them that suffered at Paris to the number of four and twenty at one time, Anno 1210. and the next year after were four hundred burnt under the name of Hereticks; Besides also a certain good Hermit, an English man, of whom mention is made in John Bacon Dist. 2. Quæst. 1. who was committed for disputing in Pauls Church against certain Sacraments of the Church of Rome, Anno 1306.

Ex Bruchio,  
Ex Christi.no  
Massæo.

Ex Tchn. Ba-  
con Dist. 2.  
Quæst. 1.

To descend now somewhat lower in drawing out the Descent of the Church. What a multitude here cometh of faithfull witnesses in the time of John Wickliffe, as Ocliffe, Wickliffe, An. 1379. Wil. Thorp, White, Purvey, Fatshal, Pain, Gower, Chaucer, Galscoyn, Wil. Swinderby, Walter Brute, Roger Dexter, William Sautry, about the year 1400. John Badby, Anno 1410. Nicholas Tailer, Richard Wagstaffe, Michael Scrivener, William Smith, John Henry, William Parchmenar, Roger Goldsmith, with an Anchresse called Mathilde in the Citie of Leicester, Lord Cobham, Sir Roger Acton Knight, John Beverley Preacher, John Hufse, Jerome of Prague, a Schoolmaster, with a number of faithfull Bohemians, and Thaborites not to be told; with whom I might also adjoyn Laurentius Valla, and Joannes Picus, the learned Earl of Mirandula. But what do I stand upon recitall of names, which almost are infinit?

Wherefore, if any be so far beguiled in his opinion to think the Doctrine of the Church of Rome (as it now standeth) to be of such antiquity, and that the same was never impugned before the time of Luther and Zuinglius now of late, let them read these Histories: or if he think the said History not to be of sufficient credit to alter his persuasion, let him peruse the Acts and Statutes of Parliaments, passed in this Realm of ancient time, and therein consider and confer the course of times; where he may finde and read, Anno 5. regis Richardi 2. in the year of our Lord, 1380. of a great number (which there be called evill persons) going about from Town to Town in Freez Gowns, preaching unto the people, &c. Which Preachers although the words of the Statute do term there to be dissembling persons; preaching divers Sermons containing heresies and notorious errors, to the emblemment of Christian Faith, and of holy Church, &c. as the words do there pretend; yet notwithstanding every true Christian Reader may conceive of those Preachers to teach no other Doctrine, then now they hear their own Preachers in Pulpits preach against the Bishop of Rome, and the corrupt Heresies of his Church.

Statut. in An.  
5. Rich. 2. An.  
Dom. 1380.

Furthermore, he shall finde likewise in Statut. An. 2. Hen. 4. Cap. 15. in the year of our Lord,



# A Protestation to the whole Church of England.

**Lord 1402.** another like company of good Preachers and faithfull defenders of true doctrine against blinde heresie and error. Whom albeit the words of the Statute there, through corruption of that time, do falsely terme to be false and perverse Preachers, under dissembled holinesse teaching in those dayes openly and privily new doctrines and hereticall opinions, contrary to the faith and determination of holy Church, &c. yet notwithstanding whosoever readeth Histories, and conferreth the order and descent of times, shall understand these to be no false Teachers, but faithfull witnesses of the Truth, not teaching any new Doctrines contrary to the determination of holy Church; but rather shall finde that Church to be unholy which they preached against, teaching rather it self hereticall opinions, contrary both to antiquity, and verity of Christs true Catholike Church.

Ex lriteris Archiepisc. Cant. ad Martin. 5. an. dom. 1422.

Of the like number also, or greater, of like faithfull favours and followers of Gods holy Word, we finde in the year 1422. specified in a letter sent from Henry Chicheſly Archbishop of Canterbury, to Pope Martin the fifth, in the fifth yeer of his Popedom, where mention is made of so many here in England infected (as he said) with the heresies of Wickliff and Husse, that without force of an army they could not be suppressed, &c. Whereupon the Pope sent two Cardinals to the Archbishop, to cause a tenth to be gathered of all spirituall and religious men, and the money to be laid in the Chamber Apostolike; and if that were not sufficient, the residue to be made up of Chalice, Candlesticks, and other implements of the Church, &c.

What shall need then any more witnesse to prove this matter, when you see so many yeers ago whole armies and multitudes thus standing against the Pope? who though they be termed here for heretickes and schismaticques, yet in that which they call heresie served they the living Lord within the Arke of his true spirituall and visible Church.

And where is then the frivolous brag of the Papists, which make so much of their painted sheath, and would needs bear us down, that this government of the Church of Rome, which now is, hath been of such an old standing, time out of minde, even from the primitive antiquity, and that never was any other Church demonstrable here in earth for men to follow, besides the said only Catholike mother Church of Rome? when as we have sufficiently proved before, by the continuall descent of the Church till this present time, that the said Church, after the doctrine which is now reformed, is no new begun matter, but even the old continued Church, by the providence and promise of Christ still standing, which albeit it hath been of late yeers repressed by the tyranny of Roman Bishops more then before, yet notwithstanding it was never so oppressed, but God hath ever maintained in it the truth of his Gospel, against heresies and errors of the Church of Rome, as in this history more at full is to be seen.

Bloudy marks of Christs passion seen on mens garments in Germany, An. 1501.

Let us now proceed further as we began, deducing this descent of the Church unto the 1501 yeer. In which yeer the Lord began to shew in the parts of Germany wonderfull tokens, and bloudy marks of his Passion, as the bloudy Crosse, his nailes, spear, and Crown of thornes, which fell from Heaven upon the Garments and Caps of men, and rocks of women, as you may further reade in this Book. By the which tokens Almighty God, no doubt, presignified, what grievous afflictions and bloudy persecutions should then begin to ensue upon his Church for his Gospels sake, according as in this history is described; wherein is to be seen what Christian blood hath been spilt, what persecutions raised, what tyranny exercised, what torments devised, what treachery used against the poor Flock and Church of Christ; in such sort as since Christs time greater hath not been seen.

Seventy yeers of captivity well neere expired.

And now by revolution of yeers we are come from that time of 1501. to the yeer now present 1570. In which the full seventy yeers of the Babylonish captivity draweth now well to an end, if we count from the first appearing of these bloudy marks above mentioned. Or if we reckon from the beginning of Luther and his persecution, then lacketh yet sixteen yeers. Now what the Lord will do with this wicked world, or what rest he will give to his Church after these long sorrowes, he is our Father in Heaven, his Will be done in Earth as seemeth best to his divine Majesty.

In the mean time let us for our parts with all patient obedience wait upon his graces leisure, and glorifie his holy name, and edifie one another with all humility. And if there cannot be an end of our disputing and contending one against another, yet let there be a moderation in our affections. And forasmuch as it is the good Will of our God, that Satan thus should be let loose amongst us for a short time; yet let us strive in the mean while what we can to amend the malice of the time with mutuall humanity. They that be in error let them not disdain to learn. They which have greater talents of knowledge committed, instruct in simplicity them  
that



# A Protestation to the whole Church of England.

Exhortation  
to the Church  
of England.

that be simple. No man liveth in that Common-wealth where nothing is amisse ; but yet because God hath so placed us Englishmen here in one Common-wealth, also in one Church, as in one Ship together ; let us not mangle or divide the Ship, which being divided perisheth ; but every man serve with diligence and discretion in his order, wherein he is called. They that sit at the Helm keep well the point of the Needle, to know how the Ship goeth, and whither it should. Whatsoever weather betideth, the Needle well touched with the Stone of Gods Word, will never fail. Such as labour at the Oars start for no tempest, but do what they can to keep from the Rocks. Likewise they which be in inferiour rooms take heed they move no sedition nor disturbance against the Rowers and Mariners. No storm so dangerous to a Ship on the Sea, as is discord and disorder in a Weal publique. What Countries and Nations, what Kingdoms and Empires, what Cities, Towns and Houses discord hath dissolved, in Stories is manifest ; I need not spend time in rehearsing examples. The God of peace, who hath power both of Land and Sea, reach forth his mercifull hand to help them up that sink, to keep up them that stand, to still these windes and surging Seas of discord and contention among us ; that we professing one Christ, may in one unity of doctrine gather our selves into one Ark of the true Church together, where we continuing stedfast in faith, may at the last luckily be conducted to the joyfull Port of our desired landing place, by his heavenly grace. To whom both in heaven and earth, be all power and glory, with his Father and the holy Spirit for ever. Amen.







## The Utility of this STORIE.

Multitude of  
Books lament-  
ed.



He world being replenished with such an infinite multitude of Books of all kinde of matters, I may seem, perhaps, to take a matter in hand superfluous and needlesse, at this present to set out such Volumes, especially of Histories, considering now adayes the world is so greatly pestered, not only with superfluous plenty thereof, but of all other Treatises, so that Books now seem rather to lack Readers, than Readers to lack Books. In the which multitude of Books, I doubt not but many do both perceive, and inwardly bewail this insatiable boldnesse of many now adayes both in writing and printing; which, to say the truth, for my part I do as much lament as any man else beside; and would therefore no man should think that unadvisedly or with rashnesse I have attempted this enterprise, as one being not only doubtfull, but also both bashfull and fearfull within my self for setting the same abroad. And why? First I perceived how learned this age of ours is in reading of Books, neither could I tell what the secret judgements of Readers would conceive, to see so weak a thing to set upon such a weighty enterprise, not sufficiently furnished with such ornaments able to satisfie the perfection of so great a story, or sufficient to serve the utility of the studious, and the delight of the learned. Which ability the more I perceived to be wanting in me, the lesse I durst be bold to become a Writer.

But again on the other side, when I weighed with my self what memorable acts and famous doings this later age of the Church hath ministred to us by the patient sufferings of the worthy Martyrs, I thought it not to be neglected, that so precious Monuments of so many matters, meet to be recorded and registred in Books, should be buried by my default, under darknesse of oblivion. Me thought somewhat was to be said of them for their well deserving, and something again of our parts for benefit by them received. But above all other things, nothing did so much stir me forward hereunto, as the diligent consideration and speciall regard of the common utility which every man plentifully may receive by the reading of those Monuments or Martyrologic; which History as I have taken in hand chiefly for the use of the English Church, so have I framed it in that tongue which the simple people could best understand.

Now if men commonly delight so much in other Chronicles which entreat only upon matters of policy, and rejoyce to behold therein the variable events of worldly affairs, the Stratagems of valiant Captains, the terror of foughten fields, the sacking of Cities, the hurly-burlies of Realms and people; And if men think it such a gay thing in a Commonwealth to commit to History such old Antiquities of things prophane, and bestow all their ornaments of wit and eloquence in garnishing the same, how much more then is it meet for Christians to conserve in remembrance the lives, acts, and doings, not of bloody warriors, but of milde and constant Martyrs of Christ, which serve not so much to delight the ear, as to garnish the life, to frame it with examples of great profit, and to encourage men to all kinde of Christian godlinesse? As first, by reading thereof we may learn a lively testimony of Gods mighty working in the life of man, contrary to the opinion of *Atheists*, and all the whole nest of *Epicures*. For like as one said of *Harpalus* in times past, that his doings gave a lively testimony against God, because he being so wicked a man, escaped so long unpunished; so contrariwise in these men



men we have a much more assured and plain witnesse of God, both in whose lives and deaths appeared such manifest declarations of Gods divine working, whiles in such sharpnesse of torments we behold in them strength so constant above mans reach, such readinesse to answer, such patience in imprisonment, such godlinesse in forgiving cheerfulnessse, so couragious in suffering, besides the manifold sense and feeling of the Holy-Ghost, which they in their lives so plentifully tasted in their afflictions, as in reading of their Letters evidently we may understand. Over and besides this, the milde deaths of the Saints do not a little avail to the stablishing of a good conscience, to learn the contempt of the world, and to come to the fear of God. Moreover, they confirme Faith, encrease godlinesse, abate pride in prosperity, and in adversity do open an hope of Heavenly comfort. For what man reading the misery of these godly persons may not therein, as in a glasse, behold his own case, whether he be godly or godlesse? For if God give adversitie unto good men, what may either the better sort promise themselves, or the evill not fear? And as by reading of prophane stories we are made perhaps more skilfull in warlike affairs, so by reading this we are made better in our livings, and besides are better prepared unto the like conflicts, (if by Gods permission they shall happen hereafter) more wise by their doctrine, and more steadfast by their example.

Compassion  
betweene all  
by soldiers and  
the soldiers of  
Christ.

To be short, they declare to the world what true Christian fortitude is, and what is the right way to conquer, which standeth not in the power of man, but in hope of the resurrection to come, and is now, I trust, at hand. In consideration whereof, me thinks I have good cause to wish, that like as other subjects, even so also Kings and Princes, which commonly delight in heroicall stories, would diligently peruse such Monuments of Martyrs, and lay them always in sight, not alonely to read, but to follow, and would paint them upon their Walls, Cups, Rings, and Gates. For doubtlesse such as these are more worthy of honour then an hundred *Alexanders, Hectors, Scipio's*, and warlike *Jules*. And though the world judgeth preposterously of things, yet with God, the true Judge, certes such are to be reputed in deed, not that kill one another with a weapon, but they which being rather killed in Gods cause do retain an invincible constancy against the threats of tyrants, and violence of Tormentors. Such as these are indeed the true Conquerors of the World, by whom we learn true manhood, so many as fight under Christ, and not under the World. With this valiantnesse did that most milde Lamb, and invincible Lion of the Tribe of *Juda* first of all go before us. Of whose unspeakable fortitude we hear this propheticall admiration; *Who is this* Isai. 63. *(saith he) which walketh so in the multitude of his strength;* Forsooth the high Son of the high God, once conquered of the World; and yet conquering the World after the same manner he was conquered.

The like dance did all his other Martyrs follow, to whom the ancient antiquity of the Church did attribute so much honour, as never King or Emperour could purchase in this world with all their Images, pillars, high spires, triumphs, Temples, and all their solemn feasts. In probation whereof we see with what admiration, and almost superstition, not only the memory, but also the reliques of those good Martyrs were received and kept amongst the ancient Christians. We have also for witnesse the learned hymnes and songs of *Prudentius* and *Nazianzen*, wherewith *Pindarus* did never so much set out his triumphs of *Olympia* and *Nemca*. I need not here rehearse the learned Orations of eloquent *Cyprian*, *Chrysostome*, *Ambrose*, and *Jerome*, who never shewed their eloquence more, then when they fell into the commendations of the godly Martyrs.

Whereby it is manifest, what estimation in times past was attributed to martyrs; with what gratulation, rejoyce, mirth and common joy the afflictions of those godly, dying in Christs quarrell were sometime received & solemnized; and that not without good reasonable cause. For the Church did well consider how much she was beholding to their benefits, by whose death she understood her treasures to increase. Now then if Martyrs are to be compared with Martyrs, I see no cause why the Martyrs of our time deserve any lesse commendation, then the other in the Primitive Church; which assuredly are inferiour unto them in no point of praise; whether we view the number of them that suffered, or greatnesse of their torments, or their constancy in dying, or also consider the fruit that they brought to the amendment of posterity, and increase of the Gospel. They did water with their blood the truth that was newly springing up; so these by their deaths restored it again, being fore decayed and falne down. They standing in the foreward of the battell did receive the first incounter and violence of their

Compassion  
betweene the  
Martyrs of the  
Primitive  
Church, and  
of the latter  
Church.



enemies, and taught us by that means to overcome such tyrannie; these with like courage again, like old beaten souldiers, did win the field in the reward of the battell. They like famous husbandmen of the world did sow the fields of the Church, that first lay unmanured and waste; these with farnesse of their blood did cause it to batten and fructifie. Would to God the fruit might be speedily gathered into the barn, which only remaineth behinde to come.

Now, if we ascribe such reputation to godly Preachers (and worthily) which diligently preach the Gospel of Christ, when they live notwithstanding, by the benefit of time, without all fear of persecution; how much more reasonable cause have we to praise and extoll such men as stoutly spend their lives for the defence of the same? All these premisses duly of our parts considered and marked, seeing we have found so famous Martyrs in this our Age, let us not fail then in publishing and setting forth their doings, lest in that point we seem more unkinde to them, then the Writers of the Primitive Church were unto theirs. And though we repute not their ashes, chains, and swords in the stead of reliques; yet let us yeild thus much unto their commemoration, to glorifie the Lord in his Saints, and imitate their death (as much as we may) with like constancy, or their lives at the least with like innocency. They offered their bodies willingly to the rough handling of the tormentors; and is it so great a matter then for our part to mortifie our flesh, with all the members thereof? They neglected not only the riches and glory of the world for the love of Christ, but also their lives; and shall we then keep so great a strife one against another for the transitory trifles of this world? They continued in patient suffering, when they had most wrong done to them, and when their very hearts blood gushed out of their bodies; and yet will not we forgive our poor brother, be the injury never so small, but are ready for every trifling offence to seek his destruction, and cut his throat. They wishing well to all men, did of their own accord forgive their persecutors; and therefore ought we, which are now the posterity and children of Martyrs, not to degenerate from their former steps, but being admonished by their examples, if we cannot expresse their charitie toward all men, yet at least to imitate the same to our power and strength. Let us give no cause of offence to any. And if any be given to us, let us overcome it with patience, forgiving and not revenging the same. And let us not only keep our hands from shedding of blood, but our tongues also from hurting the fame of others. Besides, let us not shrink, if case so require, by Martyrdome, or losse of life, according to their example, to yeild up the same in the defence of the Lords flock. Which thing if men would do, much lesse contention and businesse would be in the world then now is. And thus much touching the Utilitie and fruit to be taken of this Historie.

# TO ALL THE PROFESSED FRIENDS

And  
Followers of the P<sup>O</sup>PEs proceedings,

Four  
Questions propounded.



O you all and singular which professe the doctrine and religion of the Pope your holy Father, and of your Mother Church of Rome, pretending the name of Catholiques, commonly termed Papists, where-soever abiding in the Realm of England, these four Questions or Problems hereunder following I would move, desiring you all either to muse upon them, or to answer them at your leisure.

Four demands  
or questions  
put forth to the  
Papists.

## The first Question.

First, sozomuch as Mount Sion (which God calleth by the Prophet Isaiah the hill of his holinesse) beareth in the Scripture an undoubted type of the spirituall Church of Christ; and sozomuch as the said Isaiah, Chapter eleventh, and sixtie fifth, prophesying of the said Mount Syon, saith in these words, Non nocent, neque affligent in omni monte sancto meo, dicit Dominus, &c. That is, They shall not kill nor hurt in all my holy Hill, saith the Lord, &c. And again in the same Chapters thus we read, Habitabit Lupus cum Agno, & Pardus cum Hædo accubabit; Vitulus & Leo & Ovis una conmorabuntur, & puellus parvulus ducet eos, &c. That is, The Wolf shall dwell with the Lamb, and the Leopard with the Kid; the Calf, the Lyon, and the Sheep shall feed together, and a young childe shall rule them. The Cow also and the Bear shall abide together with their young ones, and the Lyon shall eat chaff and fodder like the Doe, &c.

The first ques-  
tion.  
Isai. 11. 65.

Upon these premisses now followeth my question; How the Church of Rome can be answerable to this Hill of Sion; seeing in the same Church of Rome is and hath been now so many yeers such killing and slaying, such crueltie and tyranny shewed, such burning and spilling of Christian blood, such malice and mischief wrought, as in reading these histories may to all the world appear?

Objection.

To this if they answer, and expound these words of the Prophet, as pertaining to the Church triumphant; thereunto I reply again, that by the words in the same place and in the same sentence expressed, that sense cannot stand, sozomuch as the Prophet in the very same place, where he prophesieth of this peaceable dwelling in Gods holy Mountain without hurting or killing, meaneth plainly of the earth, and sheweth also the cause of that goodly peace. Because (saith he) the earth is replenished with knowledge and science of the Lord, &c. Ibid. And furthermore the Prophet, speaking of the same day when this shall be, addeth saying, In that day the root of Jesse shall stand for a signe to the people, for the Gentiles to be converted, and to seek unto him, &c. Which day in no wise can be applied to the Church in Heaben triumphant, but only here militant in earth.

Refutation.

Touching which place of Isaiah further here is to be noted by the way, that by this peaceable Mount Sion (which comprehendeth both the States, as well Ecclesiasticall as Temporall) is not restrained the publique penaltie of good laws needfull to be executed upon publique malefactors, but here is restrained the fiercenesse, revenge, crueltie, and violence of mens affections. To which affections men being commonly subject by nature, through grace and working of the Gospel they are altered, reformed, and changed to another disposition, from stoutnesse to softnesse, from violence to sufferance, from fiercenesse to forbearing, from pride to humilitie, from crueltie to compassion, from wylinesse to simplicitie, from solemn singularity to humanitie and meeknesse. Which vertues, if they had been in the Church of Rome (according to the rule of Saint Paul, which willet men that be stronger to bear with the infirmities of the weaker, and that in the Spirit of meeknesse, &c. Rom. 15. Galath. 6.) I should not have needed now at this time to write such a long Historie as this, of the suffering of so many Martyrs.

Publike execu-  
tion of Laws  
not forbidden  
in Scripture.  
The conditions  
and properties  
of the true  
Church of  
Christ.  
Rom. 15.  
Gal. 6.

## The second Question.

Second Question is this; To demand of you Catholique professors of the Popes sect, which so deadly malign and persecute the Protestants professing the Gospel of Christ; What just or reasonable cause have you to alledge for this your extreme hatred ye bear unto them, that neither you nor yourselves can abide to live with them, nor yet will suffer them to live amongst you? If they were Jews, Turks, or Infidels, or in their doctrine were any idolatrous impietie, or detestable iniquitie in their lives; if they went about any deadly destruction, or privy conspiracies to oppress your lives, or by fraudulent dealing to circumvent you; then had you some cause to complain, and also to revenge. Now seeing in their doctrine ye have neither blasphemie, idolatry, superstition, nor misbelief to object unto them; seeing they are baptized in the same Belief, and believe the same Articles of the Creed as ye do; having the same God, the same Christ and Saviour, the same Baptisme, and are ready to confesse with you in all kinde of Christian doctrine, neither do refuse to be tried by any place of the Scripture; how then riseth this mortall malice of you against them? If you think them to be heretickes, then bring forth, if ye can,

The second  
question.  
The deadly ha-  
tred of the Pa-  
pists against  
the Protestants  
grounded upon  
no just cause or  
deserving.



## Four Questions propounded to the Papists.

any one sentence which they arrogantly hold, contrary to the minde of holy Scripture, expounded by the censure of most ancient Doctors. What is there in all the Scripture to be required, but they acknowledge and confesse the same? See and try the order of their lives and doings; what great fault finde you? They serve God, they walk under his law, they obey his law, as men may do; and though they be transgressors toward him, as other men are, yet toward you what have they done, what have they committed or deserved, why you should be so bitter against them?

Malice and cruelty of Papists against the Countrey of Perindol and Cabriers.

What offended the poor inhabitants of Perindol and Cabriers, when the Bishop of Air, the Cardinall of Taron, and other Bishops of France, wexing from Francis the French King a Commission, sent Minervius with his Captain John de Gay, to destroy their Countrey, Anno 1530. who draving the poor people there into a Barn full of Straw, let the Barn on fire, and burned up men, women, and children? And likewise in a Church exercised the like cruelty upon them, where were murdered the same time to the number of a thousand young and old, women, children and young infants, besides seven whole Towns, with the most part of the dwellers therein, being murdered and burnt in the said Countrey of Provence.

Malice of Papists against the Citizens of Tholouse in France.

Also before that, what offended the Citizens of Tholouse and Avinion, when Pope Gregory the ninth set Lewis the French King to warre against them, and against Raymundus their Earl, without cause; where also the said King died at the siege.

Malice and cruelty of Papists against the Protestants of the Town of Mally.

As to speak of latter years, what hurt or harm did the poor Protestants in the Town of Mally, who being peaceably at a Sermon, were miserably slain and cut, men, women, and children, by the Duke of Onyle and his armed souldiers? Besides other infinite examples almost not to be numbrd of like cruelty, in Calabria, Apulia, Bohemia, Germany, France, and now of late in Flanders, and in other Countries moze.

Clemency and mercy shewed to Papists in the reign of Elizabeth.

But to let other Countries passe, let us turn now to the peaceable government in this Realm of England, under this our so milde and gracious Queen now presently reigning. Under whom you see how gently you are suffered, what mercy is shewed unto you, how quietly ye live. What lack you that you would have, having almost the best Rooms and Offices in all the Realm, not only without any losse of life, but also without any fear of death. And though a few of your Arch-clerks be in custody, yet in that custody so shyldowly are they hurt, that many a good Protestant in the Realm would be glad with all their hearts to change Rooms and Diet with them, if they might. And albeit some other for their pleasure have slipt over the Seas; if their courage to see Countries abroad did so allure them, who could let them? Yet this is certain, no dead there was of death that drave them. For what Papist have you seen in all this Land to lose either life or limb for Papistry, during all these twelve years hitherto since this Queens reign? And yet all this notwithstanding, having no cause to complain, so many causes to give God thanks, ye are not yet content, ye fret and fume, ye grudge and mutter, and are not pleased with peace, nor satisfied with safety, but hope for a day, and faine would have a change. And to prevent your desired day, ye have conspired, and risen up in open rebellion against your Prince, whom the Lord hath set up to be your Governour.

The traiterous murdering of the L. James regent of Scotland, Mary.

And as you have since that now of late disturbed the quiet and peaceable State of Scotland, in murdering most traiterously the gentle and goodly Regent of Scotland (who in sparing the Queens life there, when he had her in his hands, hath now therefore lost his own;) so with like fury, as by your rebellion appeareth, would you disturb the golden quiet and tranquillitie of this Realm of England, if ye might have your wils. Which the mercifull grace of the Almighty, for Christ his Sons sake our Lord, forefend and utterly disappoint. Amen.

The chief cause of all these latter persecutions in the Church is only the private quarrell of the B. of Rome.

Wherefore these premises considered, my question is to aske of you and know, what just or reasonable cause ye have of these your unreasonable doings, of this your so mortall and deadly hatred, fury and malice you bear against these your eben-Christened, of these your tumults, conspirations, gaping and hoping, rebellions, mutterings, and murders wherewith you trouble and disquiet the whole world? Of all which mischiefs if the true cause were well known, the truth would be found doubtlesse to be none other but only the private cause of the Bishop of Rome, that he is not received, and the dignity of his Church exalted.

The plantation of the Popes supremacy proved not to be of God.

Tonching which cause how unreasonable and unjust it is, moze shall be said (the Lord willing) in reply, according as I shall see their answer, if it shall so please them, or any of them to answer this question. In the mean time, this for a brief note shall suffice; that it standeth not with Scripture, but contrary to Scripture, that the Bishop of Rome should to revenge his own private cause. If this title and plantation be good and of God, why doth he not referre it unto God? And no doubt, but if it be so, God will maintain it though the whole world said no. If it be otherwise, it will fall and be rooted out, though all the world said yea. Psea the greatest argument to prove this plantation of the Popes supremacy not to be of God, is, that the Pope, fighting in his own private cause, by outward and worldly force seeketh his own glory. Christ our Saviour, being here refused himself, yet neither revenged his own cause, nor sought his own glory, but only the glory and will of his Father, thus speaking of himself, Si ego glorifico meipsum, gloria mea nihil est, pater meus est qui glorificat me, &c. John 8. That is, If I glorifie myself, my glory is nothing; my Father is he that glorifieth me, &c. Even so I say with Scripture, that if the Popes proceedings were planted of God, he would not so wastle for his glory, as he doth; But forasmuch as he seeketh by such cruelty and bloudshed to exalt himself, we may well argue his proceedings not to be of God, and that he should be brought low, &c. Luke 18.

John 8.

Luke 18.

### The third Question.

The third question. Apoc. 12. The two beasts in the Book of Revelation described. The second beast with the horns like a Lamb.

**M**y third question I take of the thirteenth Chapter of the Book of Revelation. Which Book as it containeth a Propheeticall History of the Church, so likewise it requireth by Histories to be opened. In this History mention is made, first of a certain beast coming out of the Sea, having seven heads and ten Hornes, with ten Diadems of blasphemie: Unto the which beast the Dragon the Devil gave his strength, and great power to fight against his Saints, and to overcome them, and to make forty two moneths; of the which Beast one of his heads was wounded at length to death, &c.

After this, immediately in the same Chapter, mention followeth of another beast rising out of the Land, having two Horns like a Lamb, and spake like a Dragon, and did all the power of the former beast be-

foze



## Four Questions propounded to the Papists.

fore his face, and caused all dwellers of the earth to worship the Beast, whose head was wounded and li-  
ven. Who also had power to give spirit and life to the said former Beast, to make the Image of the  
Beast to speak, and to cause all men, from the highest to the lowest, to take the mark of the Beast  
in their hands and foreheads; and whosoever worshipped not the Image of the Beast, should be  
killed, &c.

Upon this description of these two Beasts riseth my question; wherein I desire all Papists, from the  
highest to the lowest, either to answer, or to confesse with themselves, what the spirit of the prophetic  
meaneth by the said two beasts. Neither is the mystery of this prophetic so obscure, but being Historically  
by Histories it may be explained and easily expounded. Writing therefore to the Papists, as men expert in  
Histories, my question is this; That seeing the prophetic of these two beasts must needs prefigure some  
people or dominion in the world, of some high estate and power; they will now declare unto us, what peo-  
ple or dominion this should be. Which if they will do plainly and truly, according to the marks and  
properties of the said two beasts here set forth, they must needs be driven of force inevitable to grant and  
confesse, the same to agree onely to the City and Empire of Rome, and to no other; which by these reasons  
following of necessity must needs be concluded.

First, the Beast which came out of the sea, having the strength, the seat, and power of the great Dia-  
gon (the Devill, called the Prince of this world) committed to him, who also had power given over all  
tribes, nations, languages, people and countries in the earth, must needs be an Empire or Monarchy of  
great force, passing all other Monarchies in the world besides: and this must needs argue the Empire of  
Rome and none other.

The mystery of  
the first beast  
rising out of the  
sea, applied.

Secondly, in that the Beast had seven heads, and ten horns, with ten Diadems full of blasphemy upon  
them; those seven heads being expounded in the same book, chap. 17. for seven hills, notoriously importeth  
the City of Rome, wherein were seven hills contained. The like also may be thought of the ten horns, be-  
ing there expounded for ten Kings (signifying belike the ten Provinces and Kingdoms of the world, sub-  
dued to the Roman Empire) with ten crowns of blasphemy upon their heads; all which conveniently agree  
to the City of Rome.

The image of  
the beast re-  
sembled to the  
Monarchy of  
Rome, Apoc. 23.

Thirdly, where the said Beast had power to make forty two months, and to fight against the Saints,  
and to overcome them, &c. Thereby most manifestly is declared the Empire of Rome, with the heathen  
persecuting Emperors, which had power given the space of so many months (that is, from Niberius to  
Licinius, 294. years) to persecute Christs Church, as in the Table of the Primitive Church hereafter fol-  
lowing is discoursed more at large.

Of these forty  
two months,  
and the expul-  
sion thereof,  
read at. cr.

Fourthly, where the Prophet speaketh of one of the heads of the Beast to be wounded to death, and the  
wound afterward to be cured again; by that ye have to understand the decay and subversion of the City  
of Rome, and of Italy, which, being one of the heads of the Roman Monarchy, was subdued by the  
Goths, Vandals, and Lombards, and the City of Rome thrice sackt and taken, between the reign of  
Honorius Emperor of Rome, and the time of Justinian Emperor of Constantinople; and so remained  
this head of Rome wounded a long time under the dominion of the Lombards, till at length this wound  
was cured again, as the sequell of this Prophecie declareth. For so it followeth in the aforesaid Cha-  
pter of the Revelation; And after this I saw (saith he) another beast rising out of the Land, having two  
horns like the Lamb, and spake like the Dragon. Who practised all the power of the first beast before his  
face, and caused all the inhabitants of the earth to worship the first beast, whose head was wounded and  
cured again, &c. And to him it was given to give life to the Image of the beast, and to make it speak: and  
also to make all them that will not worship the Image of the beast to be slain, and caused all from the  
most to the least, both rich and poor, free men and bondmen, to take the mark of the beast in their right  
hand and in their foreheads, so that none should buy or sell, unlesse he had the beasts mark about  
him, &c.

The wounded  
head of the  
beast in the Re-  
velation, what  
it meaneth.  
The second  
beast rising out  
of the land, pre-  
serving the  
horns of a  
Lamb, what it  
meaneth.

The description of this second Beast being well viewed, it cannot be avoided, but needs must be apply-  
ed to the Bishop of Rome, and to none other; as by History, and order of times is evident to be proved.  
For who else representeth the horns of the Lamb of God which taketh away the sins of the world, but only  
he? Who speaketh with the voice of the Dragon so proudly as he? The voice of the Dragon spake once to  
Christ, That all the glory of the world was his, to give to whom he would, and that he would give it, &c. And  
doth not this false horned Lamb, speaking in the same voice of the Dragon, say by the mouth of B. Greg. 7.  
That all the kingdoms of the earth were his; and that he had power in earth to loose, and take away Em-  
pires, Kingdoms, Dukedoms, and what else soever mortall men may have, and to give them where he  
would, &c. Ex Plat. in Vit. Gregor. 7.

Apoc. 13.  
The mystery of  
the 13. chapter  
of the Revela-  
tion, expound-  
ed.

Furthermore, at what time the declining State of Rome began to decay, and Italy was brought un-  
der subjection of the Lombards, then the Pope stirred up Pipinus and Carolus Magnus, to take his part  
against the Lombards, and to restore again the old glory of that Monarchy to his former State. And there-  
fore who cured the wounded head of this beast again, but onely he? Who gave life and speech to the Image  
of the beast, but he? who, after that by the help of the French Kings he had subdued those Lombards with  
other Aliens, and had gotten the possession of Rome into his own hands, he so repaired and advanced the  
same and name of Rome, that since that time all persons from the highest to the lowest, both rich and poor,  
have been glad to send and seek to Rome, yea Kings, Emperors, Queens and Dukes have been glad to kisse  
that Bishops feet, and to lead his horse by the bridle. So that the Majesty of Rome in the old heathen Em-  
perors dayes was never more terrible nor glorious, nor ever had more power to persecute and overcome  
Gods Saints, then these Lamb-like Bishops of Rome have had, and have exercised these 500 years in Chri-  
stendom. And therefore who else in all the world hath so much power to do the Works of the first beast be-  
fore his face, as he? or who but he alone? which forceth both high and low, rich and poor, free and bond, to  
receibe the Seal and to become loyal to the City and See of Rome; so that whosoever haty not the mark  
whereby to be known to hold of the Church of Rome, shall have no place to buy and sell, nor to occupy in  
all Christendom.

Ex Platina in  
vita Greg. 7.  
The Image of  
the old Monar-  
chy revived by  
the Bishop of  
Rome.

Power to do  
the works of  
the first beast  
before his  
face.

Now if any Papist whatsoever, in answering to this my question, can apply this propheticall mystery of  
these two beasts otherwise than thus, I would heartily desire him to take so much pains to satisfie this doubt  
at his good pleasure and leisure. In the mean season, let this stand for a Corollarium, that the Bishop of Rome  
by this description must be that second beast propheticd to come in the later time of the Church under a  
false pretended Lamb, to restore again the old persecutions of Rome, and to disturb the whole Church of  
Christ, as this day too truly it is come to passe.

The



The fourth Question.

As touching my fourth question, although I could urge you with another like prophetical place of Scripture, no lesse evident against the Bishop of Rome, taken out of the second Epistle of Saint Paul to the Thessalonians, where mention is made of the Son of Perdition, sitting in the Temple of God, as God, and advancing himself above all that is called God, &c. Which place ye can by no reasonable evasion avoid; yet notwithstanding to let this passe, I turn my question to ask this of you; Whether the Religion of Christ be meer spirituall, or else corporall: If ye affirm it to be corporall, as was the old Religion of the Jewes, consisting in outward Rites, Sacrifices, and Ceremonies of the Law; then shew if ye can, what any one outward action or obseruation is required in Christian Religion by the Scripture, as necessary in a Christian man for remission of sins and salvation, save onely the two Sacramentall Ceremonies of outward Baptisme, and of the Lords Supper: Howbeit, neither these also as they are corporall, that is to say, neither the outward action of the one, nor of the other, conferreth remission of sins, nor salvation, but onely are visible shewes of invisible and spirituall benefitts. And furthermore, if our God whom we serve be spirituall: how can his Religion and service be corporall, as we are taught by the mouth of our Saviour, saying, God is a Spirit, and therefore they that worship him must worship in spirit and verity, &c. Iohn 4.

Religion of Christ spirituall, and not corporall.

The Pope turneth the spirituall religion of Christ to a corporall religion. The whole summe of the Popes Catholike religion set forth in parts.

Now if you grant (as ye must needs) this our Christian religion to be spirituall, and not a corporall religion, then shew, if ye can, any one point of all these things, which ye ascribe for so much with us, to be spirituall, but altogether corporall, and extern matters and Ceremoniall obseruations, nothing conducting to any spirituall purpose, as your outward succession of Bishops, garments, vestures, colours, choice of meats, difference of dayes, times and places, hearing, seeing, saying, touching, tasting, numbring of Beads, gibbing and worshipping of Images, building of Monasteries, rising at midnight, silence in cloysters, abstaining from flesh and white meat, fasting in Lent, keeping Ember dayes, hearing Masse and Divine Service, seeing and adorning the body in fozn of bread, receiuing holy water and holy bread, creeping to the crosse, carrying Palmes, taking ashes, bearing candles, pilgrimage going, censuring, kneeling, knocking, altars, superaltars, candlesticks, pardons: In orders, crossing, anointing, shaving, sweat, marriage: In Baptisme, crossing, fasting, speling, exorcising, washing of hands; at Easter, ear-confeccion, penance-doing, satisfaction: And in receiuing, with beards new shaven, to imagine a body where they see no body: and though he were there present to be seen, yet the outward seeing and touching of him, of it self, without faith conducteth no more, than it did to the Jewes. At Rogation dayes to carry Banners, to follow the Crosse, to walk about the fields. After Pentecost, to go about with Corpus Christi play. At hallowmas to watch in the Church, to say a Dirge, and Commemorations, and to ring for Allsoules, to pay tithes truly, to give to the high Altar. And if a man will be a Priest, to say Masse and Patens, to serve the Saint of that day, and to lift well over his head, &c. In sicknesse to be annealed, to take his Rites, after his death to have funerals, and obites said for him, and to be rung for at his funerall, month minde, and year minde, &c. Adde mozeouer to these the outward Sacrifice of the Masse, with opus operatum sine bono motu utentis, &c.

A man may be a Catholike by the Popes religion, without any working of the holy Ghost. The nature of true Christian religion described.

All which things above recited, as they contain the whole summary and effect of all the Popes Catholike Religion; so are they all corporall exercises, consisting in the extern operation of man. Which if they can make a perfect right Catholike Christian, then it may be said, that men may be made perfect Christians by flesh and blood, without any inward working of faith, or of the holy Ghost. For what is in all these, but that which flesh and blood of his strength is able to accomplish, though no inward strength or motion of the holy Ghost did work.

Salvation of man standeth onely in faith of Christ. Faith in Christ no light matter to flesh and blood.

But now the order of our religion, and way of salvation, consisteth not in such corporall or outward things as these, but in other more high and more spirituall gifts, which do far exceed the capacity of flesh and blood; of the which gifts, the chiefest and onely main cause that labeth man, and remiteth sins, is his faith in Christ. Which faith I thus define; for a man to beleve by the bloodshedding of Iesus the Son of God, his sins to be forgiven, Gods wrath to be pacified, and himself to be justified perfectly from all accusations that can be laid unto him, &c. And though the Papists make a light matter of this, to beleve in Christ; and when they hear us say, What faith onely justifieth, they object to us again, and make it a small matter to be fabled, if faith onely justifieth us; yet notwithstanding this faith, if it be well examined, is such a thing that flesh and blood is not able to attain thereto, unlesse Gods holy spirit from above do draw him.

Many things incident to salvation belides faith; but not as causes thereof. Works of sanctification, how they come and follow faith. Esay 58. Matth. 25.

Moreover, besides this faith, many other things are incident also to the doctrine of our salvation. Albeit as no causes thereof, but either as Sacraments and seals of faith, or as declarations thereof, or else as fruits and effects following the same. So Baptisme, and the Supper of the Lord be as testimonies and proofs, that by our faith onely in Christ we are justified, that as our bodies are washed by water, and our life nourished by bread and wine, so by the blood of Christ our sins be purged, and the hunger of our souls relieved by the death of his body.

Upon the same faith resteth also outward profession by mouth, as a declaration thereof. Other things also as fruits and effects do follow after faith, as peace of conscience, joy in the holy Ghost, invocation, patience, charitie, mercy, judgement, and sanctification. For God for our Faith in Christ his Son therefore giveth into our hearts his holy Spirit of comfort, of peace and sanctification, whereby mans heart is moved to a godly disposition to fear God, to seek him, to call upon him, to trust unto him, to stick to him in all adversities and persecutions, to love him, and for his sake also to love our brethren, to have mercy and compassion upon them, to visit them if they be in prison, to break bread to them if they be hungry, and if they be burdened to ease them, to cloath them if they be naked, and to harbour them if they be houselesse, Matthew the five and twentieth, with such other spirituall exercises of pietie and sanctification as these. Which therefore I call spirituall, because they proceed of the holy Spirit and Law of God, which is spirituall.

And thus have ye a Catholike Christian defined, first after the rules of Rome, and also after the rule of the Gospel. Now conferre these Antitheses together, and see whither of these is the true Christian, the ceremoniall man after the Church of Rome, or the spirituall man with his faith and other spirituall fruits of pietie following after the same. And if ye say that ye mixe them both together, spirituall things with your corporall ceremonies; to that I answer again, that as touching the end of remission of sinnes, and salvation,



*Four Questions propounded to the Papists.*

salvation, they ought in no case to ioyne together, because the main causes of all our salvation and remission is onely spirituall, and consisteth in faith and in no other.

And therefore upon the same cause I come to my question again, as I began, to ask whether the Religion of Christ be a meer spirituall Religion; and whether in the Religion of Rome, as it is now, is any thing but onely meer corporall things required, to make a Catholike man. And thus I leave you unto your answer.

**I**n turning over the first leaf of this book, thou shalt finde, Gentle Reader, the Arguments of Pighius and Hostius, wherein thus they argue; That sozomuch as Christ must needs have a Catholike Church ever continuing here in earth, which all men may see, and whereunto all men ought to resort, and seeing no other Church hath indured continually from the Apostles, visible here in earth, but onely the Church of Rome; they conclude therefore, the Church of Rome onely to be the right Catholike Church of Christ, &c.

In answering whereunto, this is to be said; that sozomuch as the medius terminus of this Argument, both in the Major and Minor consisteth onely in the word (visible and unknown;) if they mean by this word (visible) in the Major, that Christs Church must be seen here to all the world, that all men may resort to it, it is false. Likewise, if they mean by the same word (visible) in the Minor, that no other Church hath been seen and known to any, but onely the Church of Rome, they are likewise deceived. For

the true Church of Christ neither is so visible, that all the world can see it, but onely they

which have spirituall eyes, and be members thereof; nor yet so invisible again,

but such as hee Gods elect, and members thereof, do see it, and have

seen it, though the worldly eyes of the most multitude

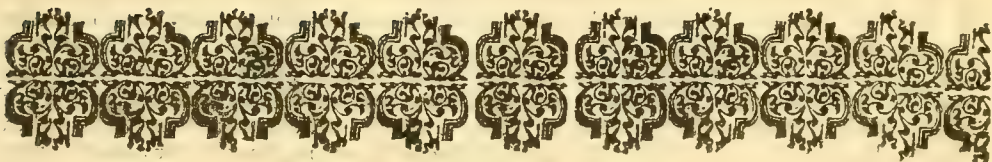
cannot do so, &c. Whereof reade more in the

Profession above prefixed to the

Church of England.



Four







# FOUR CONSIDERATIONS

Given out

To Christian Protestants, Professors of the Gospel,

With

A BRIEF EXHORTATION  
inducing to reformation of life.

*The first Consideration.*



AS in the Page before foure Questions were moved to the Catholike Papists, to answer them at their leisure; so have I here to the Christian Gospellers foure considerations for them to muse upon with speed convenient,

The first consideration is this; That every good man well weigh with himself the long tranquillity, the great plenty, the peaceable liberty, which the Lord of his mercy hath bestowed upon this Land during all the reign hitherto of this our Sovereign and most happy Queen ELIZABETH, in such sort as the like example of Gods abundant mercies is not to be seen in any Nation about us; so as we may well sing with the Psalm in the Church, *Non fecit taliter omni nationi, & opes glorie sue non manifestavit eis*; First in having the true Light of Gods Gospel so shining among us, so publicly received, so freely preached, with such liberty of conscience without danger professed; having withall a Prince so vertuous, a Queen so gracious given unto us, of our own native Countrey, bred and born amongst us, so quietly governing us, so long lent unto us, in such peace defending us against such as would else devoure us; briefly, what could we have more at Gods hand, if we would wish? Or what else could we wish in this world that we have not, if this one thing lacked not, grace to use that well which we have?

*The second Consideration.*

AS these things first are to be considered concerning our selves, so secondly let us consider likewise the state and times of other our countrymen and blessed Martyrs aforepast; what storms of persecutions they sustained, what little rest they had, with what enemies they were matched, with what crosses pressed, under what Princes, under what Prelates they lived, or rather dyed, in the dayes of K. Hen. 4. King Henry 5. King Henry 7. King Henry the eighth, Queen Mary, &c. under Boner Bishop of London, Gardiner Bishop of Winchester, Cholmley, Story, Bishop Arundel, Stokesley, Courtney, Warham. At what time children were caused to set fire to their fathers; the father adjured to accuse the son, the wife to accuse the husband, the husband the wife, brother the sister, sister the brother, examples whereof are plenty in this book to be seen.

*The third Consideration.*

THirdly let us call to minde, considering thus with our selves, These good men and worthy Martyrs in those dangerous dayes tasting as they did the heavy hand of Gods sharp correction, beginning commonly with his own house first; if they were alive now in these Alcyon daies, under the protection of such a peaceable Prince, O what thanks would they give to God! How happy would they count themselves having but half of that we have, with freedom only of conscience and safety of life? Or if in case we our selves had been in those times of theirs, so troubled and distressed as they were, spoiled of goods, hated of the world, cited in Consistories, pinched in prisons, sequestred from house, wife, and children, looking for nothing but death; what would we say? what would we think? what would we do? Much otherwise doubtlesse then we do now; God grant we may do better, for worse I think we cannot if we would. John Wickliff, W. Swin Derby, Thorpe, Sawtrie, with a number of godly men more, being then glad in friegownes, going bare foot, to preach where they could; if they were now alive, how glad would they be of these dayes, what pains would they take, yea, what paines would they not take in preaching the Gospel, not for lucre, nor for money, nor passing for promotions or dignities of the Church? Sir John Oldcastle Lord Cobham, Sir Roger Aston, with divers worshipfull Gentlemen a great number, if they being in our state might enjoy with us their houses and lands, with the good favour of their Prince (as then they could not) how gladly would they have contented themselves, though they never raised their rents and fines to the undoing of their poor tenants? Likewise in the time of John Hus and Jerome of Prague, the Nobilitie and Gentlemen of Bohemia, if they might have had half this tranquillitie which we have, to enjoy the liberty of Gods Word and true use of the Sacraments without molestation of Romish Prelates, what would they have cared how simply they walked in their attyre, without any such monstrous pompe in pranking up themselves, as we Englishmen in these reformed dayes walk now, more like players on a stage, then Gods children in his Church?

*The*



## Four Considerations propounded to the Protestants.

### The fourth Consideration.

Wherefore, welbeloved, these things being so, let us call our selves to minde, considering the times that have been, the times that be, and the times that may come, how we stand, and by whom we stand. If it be the favour of God only that doth support us in the midst of so many enemies, let us beware that in no wise we provoke his indignation. If it be his Truth and Gospel that we profess, let us walk in the light of his Truth, and keep our selves within the compass of his Gospel. What the Gospel requireth, and what it abhorreth, who knoweth not? and yet who followeth that he knoweth? If Saint *Paul* willet every one to depart from iniquity, which nameth the Lord Jesus? and if the Lord Jesus himself testifieth plainly his Kingdom not to be of this world, how will then the nature of that Kingdom so Spirituall, and our conditions so worldly, match well together? to rip up all our deformities in particular I minde not here, neither need I, the same being so evident to all mens eyes, that who cannot see our excessive outrage in pompous apparell, our carnall desires and unchaste demeanors without fear of God, our carelesse security without conscience, as though there were no judgement to come, our studies so upon this world, as though there were no other heaven? what pride and idlenesse of life, double dissembling in word and deed without simplicity, avarice unsatiable, little regard to hear Gods Word, lesse to read it, least of all to follow it, every man aspiring to worldly wealth and promotion, little or no mercy to the poor, racking of rents and fines, bribing and taking unmeasurable? What should I speak of the contentions and unbrotherly divisions amongst us, most lamentable to see, but more lamentable, if all were seen which may or is like to follow upon the same. Such were the times once of the Church before the horrible persecution of *Dioclesium*; for so we read, such hatred and disdain through much peace and prosperity of the Church to creep in amongst the Church-men.

Wherefore let us be exhorted, dearly beloved, to reclaim our selves while time doth serve. If we finde the Lord so gracious in sparing us as he doth, let not that make us worse but better. It is a lewd childe that will not learn without beating. A well minding man will be good, not forced by coaction, but of voluntary office induced. As adversity if it come, ought not to dismay us; so prosperity now present ought not to puffe us up in security, considering what commonly is wont to follow, as *Plato* well writeth, *Summa atque effrenata libertatis servitutem plerumq; affecit esse*. Of immoderate liberty and too much security, followeth most commonly extreme servitude. And as *Hippocrates* saith, Dispositions of bodies when they are come to the highest perfection of health, then are they most subject to danger of sickness, &c. Let us therefore, having light given us, walk like the children of light. Otherwise, if we walk like children of disobedience, God hath his rods to scourge us; if we will needs be rebels, he hath his *Pharaohs* and *Nabuchodonosors* to plague us. Or if we will be so inordinate, and (with reverence be it spoken, without offence to God or man) so doggish and currish one to another, the Lord lacketh not his dog-strickers to whip us. And would God our lives were such, that the destruction and ruine here of late seen among us may portend nothing against us, as

I trust there is no cause for us to fear, but rather to fear the  
Lord, and walk in his obedience, and amend  
that which is amisse amongst  
us. *Amen*,

The grace of our Lord Jesus blesse thee gentle Reader, that long thou maist read,  
and much thou maist profit. *Amen*.

*Pax Predicantibus, Gratia Audientibus, Gloria  
Jesu Christo. Amen.*





## In Martyrologium Joan. Foxi, Laurentius Humfredus.

**T**ristes Iliadas docti miramur Homeri,  
Quas scitè studuit texere *πυρρος αργος*.  
Deflentur tragico multorum fata cothurno,  
Hæc madidis spectant mœsta theatra genis.  
Multa dolenda quidem, sed Vatum somnia multa  
Fictis intexunt vera, probata nothis.  
Sunt quos delectant vanæ commenta Legendæ,  
Quam stabulum Augææ rite vocare queas.  
Dum vitam & mortem sanctorum narrat, ut errat?  
Vt pingit, fingit Plumbeus ille liber?  
Aurea nunc tandem prodit, nova, vera Legendæ;  
Egregium Chronicon, lugubris historia.  
Authorem commendat opus, sic rursus adornat  
Author opus; simul hæc utraque felle carent.  
Authorem spectat; pius est, & tersus, & amplus,  
Iudicio clarus, dexteritate, fide,  
Si rem consideras, casus, cædesque bonorum  
Tractat, & immeritè stigmata sæva crucis.  
Illudant alij, carpant, at Zoilus olim  
Dum perijt, quid sit rodere, jam docuit.  
Hic discas Lector, quam sit furiosa Tyrannis  
Romanæ caulæ cornigerique gregis;  
Vt Lupus innocuos semper grassetur in Agnos;  
Vt fremat, atque avidis faucibus ossa voret.  
Nonne satis fuerat Christi pia membra cremare?  
Et vivos flammis perdere, nonne satis?  
Nonne satis damnassee senes, puerosque, virosque,  
Famellas, omni ex ordine, nonne satis?  
Cur juvat, heu, Manes scriptis lacerare jacentes,  
Et Divos Foxi dicere stercoreos?  
Ah miser, ah Christi teneros compungis ocellos.  
Pupillam tangis, quiquis es ergo, sape.  
Hæc est progenies cuius stola, lota cruore  
Agni, per Christum candida tota nitet.  
Illa sub altari querulatur, Christe, quousque?  
Christe veni properè, Christe quousque feres?  
Extia tela tua est, & prædicat illa Tonantem;  
Mors pretiosa fuit, vita perennis erit.  
Quid furis ô rabiose Satan? quid spicula torques?  
Quid reges acuis? quid laniâque rios?  
Frustra carnifices, carcer, tormenta, faciesque;  
In coelo regnant membra caputque simul.  
Corpora sanctorum mundus consumpsit, in altum  
Migrarunt animæ, nomina Foxus habet.  
Nomina Foxus habet totum celebranda per orbem,  
Nomina jam nullo contumelanda die.  
Nam cum Martyribus Foxus, cum numine vivent  
Nomina, cumque suo stirps generosa Deo.  
Monstra, Christe, tuis portum, compescito fluctus,  
Iactatæ navi sit sua, Christe, quies.  
Sanguine fraterno posthæc ne terra madescat;  
Ne pergat Foxus scribere Martyria,  
Perdita decurtes sceleratæ tempora vitæ,  
Tandem mortiferus transeat iste calix.  
Sit finis, veniatque tuum, pater optime, regnum;  
Sit tibi, sit Christo, Spirituique decus.

### In Sancti Martyrum historiam, Abrah. Hartnælus.

**E**loquio, venerande, tuo non *Μαζο* recipi  
Sed nos, non cœlum, Foxe, sed orbis eget,  
Illorum crevisse malis læthoque putatum est  
Quos nunc ipse vides degenerare greges.  
Illorum, crede, historia velut ignibus ante  
Calset quod nunc friget Evangelium.  
Certabit ætas veniens millefima, quorum  
Fortia facta leger, fortia facta sequi.  
Et calamo servata tuo tot flagra, tot ignes,

Funera tot, lachrymas, damna, pericla, neces,  
Nulla dies tollit, non qui malus intulit hostis;  
Non quamvis omni cum Phlegetonte velit.  
Non renuente Deo, quondam, qui sævit hostis,  
Non, renuente Deo, bis violentus erit.  
Bis fremat; innocuo rapietur cum grege pastor,  
Grex cadet & pastor, spesque futura gregis.  
Nullus restabit laceris in ovilibus agnus,  
Nulla, Deus, resta simplicitate pecus.  
Omnia victa malis bona cedent omnibus; alma  
Simplicitas fūco, perfidique fides:  
Injusto, falso, scelerato, sanguineoque,  
Virtutum facer Evangelidumque chorus.  
Quid facient disce ex factis; ventura probantur  
præteritis;  
Ni tua de cœlo veniat Clementia, cuius  
Tolluntur digito parva, superba cadunt.  
Et venias æterne, potens, invictæ, triumphans;  
Sic, ut in Aegypto vel Babylone, veni.  
Non tanti Babylone Draco Belusque fuere,  
Cultusque insani, & fœda superstitio.  
Et licet Aegypti crudelia facta legentur,  
Aegyptus non tam sæva minaxque fuit.  
Vtraque, nec satis est, monstrum concrevit in unum,  
Et si qua ambabus tetrior hydra fuit.  
Quid contra fidus præco, stylive magister?  
Doctæ quid poterunt veriparæque scholæ?  
Quid misis toto laniatus corpore Martyr?  
Martyre quid plenus sanguisuique liber?  
Qui truculenta liber, qui vivos undique testes,  
Factores vivos, & modò gesta canit?  
Scilicet ut monstret sanctorum Ecclesia qualis,  
Collecti quales ex Acheronte lupi.  
Vt doceat, firmet, soletur corda piorum;  
Dedoceat, vincat, excrucietvè malos.  
Vt tibi parat, Deus, iter semper gloria, nati  
Vt possit tecum gloria stare tui;  
Sanguinis ut sacri non occultanda trophæa,  
Vtraque posteritas, sancta, maligna, sciat.  
Hæc, venerande, tibi tanto quæsita labore,  
Tot votis optata, & tot vigilata modis,  
Nostibus exantlata tot, & sudata diebus,  
Tot placitura bonis, obruitura malos.  
Christi, non hominum, laudes sparsura per orbem  
Factaque (credo) atas qualia rara feret:  
Hæc, oro, tibi Summi potens nobisque secundet,  
Numinis in laudem perpetuumque decus.  
Invideat Satan, & Zoilus ilia rumpat,  
Obtrectet mendax cum grege Roma suo.

### In idem Argumentum, Rob. R.

**E**N iterum in magnos nova commentaria vates;  
Auctius & plus est, quàm fuit antè, decus.  
Sanctorum historias, & nostri perfida seclis  
Tempora lector habes, terrificumque scelus.  
Dignum certè opus est, quamvis sit grande volumen,  
Quod pia turba legat, posteritasque probet.  
Surgit opus (fateor) majus; numerosa sopherum est  
Littera, sed similis pondere & arte stylus.  
Crede mihi historiam hanc quondam lectura vetustas  
Suspiciet genium (Foxe diserte) tuum.  
Non tamen insani finit hæc dementia vulgi,  
Hei mihi nec doctos fert patiturve viros.  
Histrio, scurra, dicax, parasitus, hypocrita, mimus.  
Vappa mage arident, leno, papista placent.  
Nescis adulari, nec verum (Foxe) silere;  
Scriptaque mirari non placuisse tua?

### Ejusdem.

**Q**uivque bonus te (Foxe) colit, tua scripta celebrat,  
Dant decus hoc studij tot Monumenta tui.  
Te pia vita ornat, doctorum concio laudat,  
Vnde ergo in libros invidia ista tuos?  
Vnde Papizantis subita hæc conversio seclæ;

Nunc

Apo. 6.

Ad Christum  
precatio.



Nunc audire pulet, quod facere haud puduit.  
Vnde tot Harpia, nempe Hardyngique, Copique ?  
Vnde hæc Lovanii garrula turba scholæ ?  
Causa patet ; furiz multas, nec sacra Papismus,  
Nec Christe athletas rafa iarina probat.  
Nec te adeo oderunt pato, sed verumque fidemque,  
Heu bene nulla potest lingua maligna loqui.

### In acta Martyrum, Carmen Thom. Drant.

**E**Rgone sic Papa potuit vox improba iussu  
Tam diu mandare nefas ? tot corpora tantis  
Contumeliasse rogis, cineres sine honore seculchri ?  
Quod genus hoc hominum ? Quæve hunc tam barba-

ra morem.  
Permittit gens ulla, pios sine lege necari,  
Totque simul mactare viros meretricis ob iram ?  
Papa refer, quæ te rapuit rabiesque furorque,  
Corpora tam diris sanctorum addicere flammis,  
Funera tot miscere hominum, tot plectere cives,  
Vastare & toto divisos orbe Britannos ?  
Dic quid nostrates in te committere tantum ?  
Illi quid potuere, quibus tot maxima passis  
Vix pars ulla manet terræ qua panditur orbis ?  
An tua quod nobis taxata est f. ausque dolusque,  
Et *παραπομπή* & amor sceleratus habet di ?  
An tua quod nobis vox non hominem sonat ; ergo  
Rite putabamus Papam cacodemone natum ?  
An quod cum Christo nos conspirare dolebas ?  
Quod te cum Christo non conspirare videmus ?  
Quod te Romanam crebris cum cornibus hydram  
Prodimus, ut sceleris magni vitijque ministrum ?  
Hinc illud quod se versat dirisque, minisque,  
Hinc illud quod & hos facibus fumantibus urit.  
Sis miser & nulli cuiquam miserabilis. Hujus  
Tu cladis tantæ pars magna Bonere fuisti :  
Mactator pecudum Christi, dispersor ovilis,  
Triste malum stabulis, & nil nisi pessima clades.  
Vos quoque, vos omnes Ihovæ tetigisse prophetas,  
Et calcasse pios, numen sprevisse benignum  
Quæis loculare fuit, crudeles ponite mentes.  
Iam satis est (proh) plus satis est, respicite seto,  
Sera nimis non ulla dies, nunc discite tandem,  
Discite vel tandem moniti non temnere Christum.  
Oscula libertis gnato, ne saviat ultor,  
Et male vos sparfos deturbat tramite vitæ,  
At vos qui læti quidvis superastis acerbum,  
Coelicolæ, quibus æternum licet esse beatis,  
Dulce deculque Dei, Christum qua morte decora  
Ornastis clari superi, coetusque triumphans,  
Non caro non mundus, non vos Turcæ, Papa, Dæmon,  
Non Phœbe pernox vexabit, solvè diurnus.  
Et vos ô cuncti, scanso qui culmine coeli,  
Vaditis ad patrem, terrena mole relicta ;  
Quid carcer, colaphi, compes, tormenta, cachinni,  
Vultus quid nocuere truces ? quid tela, quid ignes ?  
Scilicet ut fulvum spectatur in ignibus aurum ;  
Sic vos mactarunt spectata holocausta Christo,  
Interitas vester Domini pretiosus ocellis.  
Horum (Foxe) pijs dum tu sic nomina scriptis,  
Et mortem & mores longum diffundis in ævum,  
Omnia dum vera repetens ab origine pandis,  
Es bonus, & merito multum memorabilis ipso.  
Ergo tu doctis pergis pallefcere chartis,  
Nocturna versando manu, versando diurna,  
Athlas clarorum gnavis gnarusque laborum.  
Et studijs dum magna cohors sua commoda captans  
(Auspice non Christo) mundi venatur honores,  
Vel tu Romano, vel tu sermone Britanno  
Scribito præteriti vel produe temporis acta,  
Patre Deo monstrante viam, data fata secutus,  
Omne feres punctum si misces utile dulci.  
Magne Deus coelique fator, mundique monarcha,  
Quem nos terrarum tempestatunque potentem  
Credimus, & solum scimus venerabile numen,  
Aspicis insano vexari cuncta tumultu,

Et penitus mundum pacis de cardine volui ?  
Parce gregi parvo, pacem te poscimus omnes.  
Sis bonus (ô) Foelix que tuis, vel parcito Christo,  
Cujus membra nimis jam mundus lædit & odit,  
Per tibi dilectam sponsam promissaque pacta,  
Per passum Christum, per dulcia pignora passi,  
Per te, te petimus, dentes confringe malorum.

### Contra Papiſtas Incen- diarios.

**S**I fas cadendo cœlestia scandere cuique est,  
Papicolis cœli maxima porta patet.

J. F.

### In idem argumentum Ægidius Fletcher Cantabrigiensis.

**I**AM tua ter magnum spatij emensa laborem  
Aequora lustravit puppis, ter littora vidit,  
Foxe.  
Dumque fugas, ensesque canis, consumptaque flammis  
Corpora consumptum corpus tibi, pallida languent  
Membra, sed utilior nobis tibi noxia soli  
Indefessa manet virtus. Quin otia carpas  
Mollia, jam solare tuos (divine) labores.  
Non potes, & semper mentem tibi numinis ingens  
Ardor agit, reparatque novas in pectore vires.  
Ergo age, quandoquidem nobis memoranda piorum  
Facta canis sacro properans indulge labori.  
Iam veniet magni seivem dum colligit ævi  
Posteritas, quam longa tenet custodia famæ,  
Dumque tui monumenta legit (venerande) laboris,  
Magnanimosque duces, mediolque petita per ignes  
Sydera, te ventura simul mirabitur ætas,  
Et veterum sacras imitabitur æmula laudes.  
Scilicet æthereas urdentia pectora flammæ,  
Non ignes alii non ipsa potentia regum,  
Nec vis ulla domat ferri, non tela, nec enses.  
Qualis ubi Aurora veniens e montibus Ales  
Exequiale refert munus, cineresque ; paternos,  
Dumque rogum, flammæque parat sibi, major ab igne  
Egreditur, quæque illa novis volitaverit alis,  
Indigenæ volucres lato clamore sequuntur :  
Foelices animæ vobis super alta beatas  
Sydera calcantur, quicquid mortalia tangit  
Pectora, nec jam noster honor, nec præmia curæ ;  
Nec quid agut tantis virtutibus invida tellus,  
Ecce tamen, quales poterit, persolvat honores  
Posteritas, dum facta legens ingentia vires  
Miratur ; plausuque fidem super astra sequetur  
Victricem (hoc siquid debent mortalibus) ipsi  
Sanctorum cineres tibi se debere fatentur,  
Foxe.  
Tempus erit, cum tu post fata, pioque labores,  
Aucturus superos foelix super alta videbis  
Sydera jam quorum transcribis nomina famæ,  
Insignes heroas, & ipse videberis illis.  
Iamque patres superans mundo labente sequetur  
Progenies, cœlo seclerior exeret alto  
Religio, humani generis decus, optima custos  
Imperij, quam sancta fides comitatur euntem,  
Et circum lætis crescet pax aurea terris ;  
Tum quoque divini passim monumenta laboris,  
Et sacrum florebit opus, fructuque beabit  
Et populum, & populi per secula longa nepotes.

### In idem Argumentum Thom. Ridley Cantabrigiensis.

**C**ORpora quæ quondam iusto carvere sepulchro  
Ossaque per campos undique sparsa pia,  
Collegit magna cum sedulitate peritus  
Foxus, & in vnum conglomeravit opus, -

At cum gens mendax atque importuna, Papistæ,  
 Frustratam sanctum persequerentur opus :  
 Auxit, & ex uno idem bina volumina fecit,  
 Obstruxitque suis hostibus ora pius.  
 Nec sic contentus, rursus limavit, & auctum  
 Arctavit, populi commoditate sui ;  
 Nequaquam veritus stolidæ convitia linguæ,  
 Dum vestra ó sancti fortia facta sonet.  
 O vos foelices animæ, quæ sanguine vestro  
 Cœlestes nobis testificastis opes.  
 Et tu qui tali decorasti funere sanctas  
 Reliquias, peragens triste ministerium :  
 Sed tibi præclarum, nobis nec inutile, ut illis  
 Exemplis fortes possumus esse fide.

M. M. S.

**P**erlege, quæ fastis signata fidelibus acta  
 Pandimus Angligenum & fervida fata virum.  
 Admiranda tibi gemini spectacula coetus,  
 Pugnantisque suo dispare Marte greges.  
 Hinc quibus incumbens sævo ferus impete Satan  
 Tartareas præfert in sua regna faces.  
 Illinc rex superum, trans flammæ, transque cruentas  
 Mille nece, Christus sternit ad astra viam.  
 Illinc arma, preces, lachrymæ, jejunia templis,  
 Iussus honos summi iussuque sacra patris.  
 Concilium hoc Cyclopuum rabies, fera corda fatigant  
 Eumenides, tristi pectora lenta situ.  
 Missa volat flammis, & sanguinis ebria rivis  
 Ante gradum retrò Roma maligna premit.  
 Talia dum memorat Foxus certamina longi  
 Temporis, & libro tot monumenta legit ;  
 Interea veri vis stat fata tempore virgo  
 Ardua calcato jam Phlegetonte super,  
 Post alios foetus, alios post deinde labores,

Hæc extrema subit vindicis ira manus ;  
 Tertiaque ista patri suspendimus arma Quirino,  
 Parva prius, jam nunc qualia, quanta, vides.  
 Qualia fatalis jam tum miracula saxi  
 Prodidit Assyria regius exil humo.  
 Exiguus lapis hic, sed qui se attollere in auras  
 Iussus Atlantæos equiparare sinus.  
 Nunc quoque qui implevit sinuoso fragmine mundum  
 Aethereoque ingens occupat ire polo.  
 Hoc pater ipse tonans flagranti distulit axe  
 Imperia, & vertit regna superba sold.  
 Sæva Silex quid nam flammantibus incita fundis  
 Urbium & elatis perniciofa minis ?  
 Costilibus muris Romanæ Semiramis audax,  
 Prospice, jam Babylon jam ruit illa tua.  
 Saxeæ jam rupes quantas dabit acta ruinas ?  
 Quas strages miseris horrida Romulidis ?  
 Vltimus hic labor est montis rapientis ayari  
 Puppicolæque papas papicolæque popas.  
 At vos foelices animæ, quibus aurea cordi  
 Sæcla ; piæ puro funditis ore preces,  
 Aligeraque acies, cives stellantis Oly mpi,  
 Plaudite : Roma fuit Babel, papa fuit.

*In sanguisugas Papistas,  
 Phil. Stubbes.*

**Q**ui sacrum Christi satagit convellere verbum,  
 Vulsificum contra calcitrat hic stimulum.  
 Florida quæ nimio compressa est pondere palma,  
 Fortius exurgit viribus aucta suis.  
 Auricomani que crocus quo calcatur magis, exit  
 Hoc magis, excrescit, floret eoque magis.  
 Sic Ευαγγελιον quantumvis turba papalis  
 Conspuat, exurat, crescit ubique cæcæ.

## IN JO. FOXUM THEOLOGUM CELEBERRIMUM, cum Christo exultantem.

**I**n quiet peace thou sleepest now at rest,  
 O learned Fox, the Phoenix of our age ;  
 Most happy thou with crown of glory blest,  
 For ever freed from persecuting rage :  
 With comfort great thou gainedst the shore,  
 And stormy tempests now needst fear no more.

Thy life not stained with spot of foul defame,  
 Thy learning great, who dare the same deny ?  
 Thy worthy Works abroad do sound thy name,  
 And shall for ever to posterity.  
 So long as Learning, and the Learned live,  
 Thy Works to thee Immortal praise will give.

Thy famous Work of those that witnesse have  
 To Christ his Truth, and seal'd it with their blood,  
 That with Alcides labours may compare,  
 Shall witnesse still thy zeal for Churches good :  
 Shall witnesse still to ages yet to come,  
 Thy hatred just against that whore of Rome.

Thy hand was alwayes stretched out to give,  
 Thy eye from poor was never turn'd aside :  
 What one of thee might not have learn'd to live ?  
 Who in thy life so many wayes wast ride :  
 And yet the same didst alwayes still endure.  
 No change thy heart to change could once procure.

The afflicted soul by thee did comfort finde,  
 The conscience weak by thee did strengib attain ;  
 Thy Sermons sweet rais'd up the feeble minde,  
 And many a soul from bell to Christ did gain :  
 Such care thou badst Gods mercies still to preach,  
 Such grace thou badst the Truth of Christ to teach.

Thy tongue and pen the Truth did still defend,  
 Thou banishment for Christ didst gladly bide ;  
 In him thou liv'st, in him thou mad'st thy end,  
 Most happy thou that badst so good a Guide.  
 Most happy thou while life thou didst retain,  
 Most happy now, that dost with Christ remain.

Jo. Hopkins.



# A TABLE OF TABLES,

Shewing to a whole Alphabet of sundry sorts of Readers,  
to each kinde a particular Catalogue of Instances : giving him an ac-  
count wherein the reading of this great Booke of MARTYRS may  
abundantly give contentment to his veine of study, and  
recompense his paines.

*The references of which Table let the Reader thus understand,*

}	v. volume.	}	}	l. line.
	p. page.			ch. chapter.
	c. columnne.			ver. verse.

**U**nderstand, studious Reader (what is not considered by most) that this large Booke of MARTYRS, is not a Legend of Fables, nor a Chaos-rude-beape of wortblesse rubbish; but Bibliotheca literarum & literatorum, A Library of learning and learned mens Workes, making this Booke, for the prime and choice subject thereof, justly to bee esteemed (as the learned confesse) the next of all humane pennd Books to the sacred Bible; as may appears in regard either of the Forme or Matter thereof.

For Forme,  
it is

Methodicall; keeping time, as so great a vastnesse of story would permit, in the histories of many Kingdomes besides our owne.

Certain in the prooffe; from eye-witnesse intent upon the things in the doing; and ancient Records, legally drawne, safely preserved, and faithfully produced.

Well qualified for stile and expresseion; keeping in *medio dicendi genere*, a middle straine; yet varying the phrase of speech to the matter in hand. When this Booke speaks otherwise, it speaks the words of another man, either relating or acting the matter of that story. And then what is wanting in our best phrase, is recompensed there with certainty, patheticallnesse, and pleasure of hearing the Dialects of plain and ancient times and men.

Rich in varietie, ever and anon after a more serious narration fetching the Readers spirits fresh againe (like the witty Comedian) with a sudden winding in, not impertinently, of some cheerfull discourse.

For Matter, As a Library it abounds with Treatises, each page mostly being as a severall book; yea, one lease many times as a thesse of Authors, for most points and persons: We will give but a taste in some few particulars, in an Alphabetical order.

A.

A description of true antiquity out of Irenaus. v. 3. p. 42. c. 2. l. 58.

(a)

Antiquaries

# A Table of Tables.

Antiquaries  
may here  
reade

Ancient Re-  
cords of

Words,

Persons,

Things,

Proper names,

Common  
names,

Judicarie  
termes;  
As

Ecclesiasticall

Secular,

Writings,

Old Monuments of Abbeyes, Monasteries, and Nunneries. Vol.  
1. p. 171. c. 2. l. 45. &c.

Practises,

The divers writing of the names of the ancient  
Saxon Kings of England. Vol. 1. pag. 142,  
143.

The acceptions of ancient names of places, as  
Dorobernia and Canterburie are taken for  
one. Vol. 1. pag. 225. c. 1. l. 50. with many  
like.

The names of all that were at the conquest of  
England. Vol. 1. p. 236, 237.

The different names of reproach given to true  
Christians in divers Countries; as about  
Lyons they are called the *poore people of Ly-  
ons*; in the borders of Sarmatia, Livonia,  
and these Northerne parts they have beene  
called *Lollards*; in Flanders and Artois,  
*Turrelupins*; in Dolphin, *Chagnards*; but  
most commonly *Waldos*. Vol. 2. pag. 186.  
c. 1. l. 1.

Sermons in ancient old English words. Vol. 1. pag. 521. pag.  
713.

*Forbonizatum*. Vol. 2. p. 490. c. 1.

*Jus fisci*. Vol. 1. pag. 470. c. 1. l. 73. pag. 465.  
c. 2. l. 66.

*Clericus* is expounded how it is taken in law  
bookes. Vol. 1. p. 489. c. 1.

A note of all ancient religious  
orders Vol. 1. p. 337.

Catalogues of Popes. Vol. 1.

p. 567. and p. 588, 589. 206.

A note of the Archbishops of  
Cant. Vol. 1. p. 173. c. 2. pag.

220. 515. 863.

A table of Romane Kings of  
England. V. 1. p. 139.

Of Britaine Kings of England.  
Vol. 1. p. 146. c. 1.

Of Saxon Kings of England.  
Vol. 1. p. 142, 143, &c.

Of Danish invaders. Vol. 1. p.  
207, 208.

Of secular  
persons en-  
tring into  
religious Or-  
ders, as Kings  
Monks. V. 1.

p. 173. col. 1.  
lin. 55.

Queenes  
Nuns. V. 1.

p. 172. c. 2.

l. 63, &c.

The forme and copy of a popes bull. Vol. 2. p.  
632. c. 1.

18. Ancient Evidences affording many anti-  
quities. Vol. 1. p. 485. to 489.

Writs and Instruments. Vol. 1. p. 489.

The forme of right appealing. V. 1. p. 286. c. 2.

When a Law was made first against Priests  
marriage. Vol. 2. p. 479. c. 1.

When Reliques were brought into the  
Church. Vol. 3. p. 13. c. 1. l. 14.

Artists may here see di-  
vers of their  
arts well u-  
sed.

Logicke in syllogisticall disputations. Vol. 2. p. 757, 758, 759.

Naturall Philosophy in reasoning about Comets. Vol. 2. p. 654. c. 1.

Arithmetike in sacred computations upon *Daniel*, Vol. 1. p. 627. c. 1. *Revel*. V. 1. p. 652.  
p. 953. p. 130.

Besides Rhetorick and other Arts expressly used in this Booke.

B. Barons



B.

*Barons* may read in this Book much Historie concerning the degree of Nobilitie, Vol. 1. p. 140. c. 2. l. 50. pag. 438, 439.

*Bishops* to the number of thirty foure are here so renowned for those praises and patternes they have left to future ages, that this Booke seemes not altogether unworthy the consideration of that Function, herein to behold.

Humble *Gregory* the first, Bishop of Rome, opposing the Title and Arrogancie of Univerfall Bishop, Vol. 1. p. 16, and 17.  
 Liberrall *Aedanus* a Scottish Bishop, giving away his brave trapped horse to relieve the poore and needy, Vol. 1. pag. 158. c. 1. l. 77.  
 Learned *Archiebanus* Archbishop of Ireland, stoutly disputing before Pope *Innocent* the sixth and his Cardinals, against the Order of Begging Fryers, Vol. 1. p. 533.  
 Martyr *Evaristus*, Vol. 1. p. 59. c. 2. l. 71.  
 Martyr *Alexander*, Vol. 1. p. 50. c. 1. l. 44. And others more Bishops of Rome, to the number of 26. courageously loosing their Bloud for Christ and his Truth. V. 1. p. 732. c. 2. l. 38.  
 Martyr *Cranmer*, Archbishop, V. 3. p. 46, and 47. Vol. 3. p. 671.  
 Martyr *Ridley*, Bishop, Vol. 3. p. 61. c. 1. p. 90. Vol. 3. p. 431.  
 Martyr *Latimer*, Bishop, Vol. 3. p. 79. c. 2. p. 431. c. 2.  
 Martyr *Hooper*, Bishop, Vol. 3. pag. 118. 148. to 153.  
 Martyr *Farrar* Bishop of S. *David's* in Wales, Vol. 3. p. 201. to 216.

Disputing and dying in England for Christ.

C.

*Casuits* may here finde many cases discussed;  
 As,

How farre one is bound to accuse himselfe or another, Vol. 2. p. 420. c. 2. l. 1.  
 Vol. 1. p. 526. c. 1. l. 70.  
 Whether the Papiſts challenge in *Campion* his words, *Quo tempore, quibus modis, quotis vicibus*, the Church of Rome should revoulte, may not clearely be answered. See a learned Treatise for this, Vol. 1. p. 2. c. 1. l. 3. &c. to p. 38.  
 When and how oathes are lawfull, Vol. 2. p. 419. c. 2.  
 Whether swearing upon a Book be to sweare by a creature, Vol. 1. pag. 701. col. 2.  
 Whether Kings doe well to become Monkes, Vol. 1. p. 148. c. 2. l. 40.  
 Whether persecuted Martyrs may lawfully stand upon their owne defence, Vol. 2. p. 207. c. 1. p. 208. c. 1.

*Criticks* may finde here

Writers judiciously censured;  
 As

That the story of *Abdias* is to be suspected, Vol. 1. p. 46. c. 2. l. 7.  
 That P. *Anacletus* his third Epistle is supposed to be forged, Vol. 1. pag. 13. c. 1. l. 40.  
 That the Decretals and ordinances fathered upon the Bishops of Rome in the first 300. yeeres after Christ, under the ten persecutions, are for the most part fained. See every particular persecution. And looke their names in the Index at the end. How those things came to be fathered falsely upon them. See Vol. 1. p. 75. c. 2. l. 66.  
 That a place of *Fabian* is to be corrected, Vol. 1. p. 444. c. 1. l. 1.  
 The story of *Vincentius* suspected, Vol. 1. p. 59. c. 2. l. 5.  
 A place in *Epiphanius* found faulty, Vol. 1. p. 65. c. 1. l. 38.  
 What is to be thought of the Latine translation of *Eusebius*, Vol. 1. pag. 84. c. 2. l. 30.  
 That the more ancient writers are of more credit; the latter Writers under the thousand yeeres since Christ more to be suspected in some things, Vol. 1. p. 557. c. 2. l. 77. p. 558. c. 1. l. 1.  
 Of what esteeme *Rodolphus Agricola* is to be reputed, Vol. 1. p. 956. c. 1.  
 Criticisimes upon words, as *Pracurrere*, Vol. 1. pag. 17. c. 2. l. 60. *Solus*, Vol. 1. pag. 28. c. 1. lin. 30.

# A Table of Tables.

*Chronologers* may here observe (besides that the whole History is Chronologicall) many materiall cautions touching computations of yeeres, dashing the false, setting right the wrong, and discovering where varietie of authors varie. For example, this Book shewes

The variety of computations of Authors touching the time of *Pauls* and *Peters* suffering. Volum. 1. pag. 46. colum. 2. l. 14. &c.  
 The difference among Writers touching the suffering time of the Martyrs of the ten persecutions of the primitive Church. V. 1. p. 49. c. 2. l. 13, &c.  
 How the Churches condition is to be distinguished into and considered in five diversities of times, according to four Trecenturies and one 400 yeeres space. V. 1. p. 1. c. 1. c. 2.  
 A Chronologie of the years of the Saracens, Turks, Tartarians. V. 1. p. 1007.  
 Abundance of quotations of the iudgements and sentences of multitudes of Chronologers, Writers of Annals, &c. in most folio's of this Book.

## D.

Great reading of Ecclesiasticall histories,

*Eusebius* is very oft cited. See most pages of the ten persecutions.  
*Dorotheus. Synops. Joann. de Monte Regali. Hieron. his Catal. Script. Isidor.*  
 With infinite more in the ten persecutions, and thorowout the Booke.

Many praetises of Councils; As,

Against the Popes supremacy. V. 3. p. 549.  
 For Priests marriage. V. 2. p. 464. c. 2.  
 A catalogue of them gathered from time to time without the Pope. V. 1. p. 886. c. 2.  
 That at Brixia, his acts against *Hildebrand*. V. 1. p. 235.  
 That at Constance, his acts against the Bohemians. Volum. 1. p. 846.

The acts of the Councell of

Laterane. Volum. 1. pag. 330. c. 1. l. 50.  
 Rome, Vol. 1. pag. 245. c. 1. l. 20. p. 231. c. 2.  
 Wormes. Vol. 1. p. 231. c. 2.  
 Antioch. Vol. p. 28.  
 Trevas. V. 1. p. 254. c. 2.  
 Constantinople. V. 1. p. 168.

Divines may meet with here

Varietie of reading of very many of the Fathers:

Thirteen Fathers alleadged copiously against Transubstantiation. V. 2. p. 756, 757, 758.  
 Many Fathers alleadged for Priests marriage. Volume 2. pag. 464.  
 Twelve Fathers sundry times alleadged for their judgements on these words, *This is my Body*. Volume 2. pag. 784, 785, 786.

Observations and expositions

Of the Gloffe. Volume 1. pag. 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416.

Schoole Divinity,

Volume 1. pag. 32. col. 1. lin. 30. col. 2. l. 8. l. 20. l. 30. l. 55. pag. 34. c. 1. l. 30. l. 50.  
 Vol. 1. p. 36. c. 1. l. 30. l. 60.  
*Thomas Aquinas, Scotus, Caibarinus, &c. of Opus operatum.*  
 Vol. 1. p. 36. c. 2. l. 5.  
*Aquinas* his founding Purgatorie. Volume 1. pag. 37. c. 1. lin. 66.

Divines



# *A Table of Tables.*

Divines may here meet with

Polemicall  
Divinitie,

In choice Disputations,

In pithy discourses, stat-  
ting questions touching

Positive Orthodox Divi-  
nity, delivered in treati-  
ses and Theoremes; as  
touching

Textuarie Divinity, in  
cleare expositions of  
Scriptures, as we will  
instance in some more  
speciall in this Table,

In *Edw. 6.* } At Oxford, Vol. 2. p. 756. to 760.  
time, } At Cambridge, Vol. 2. p. 760. to 778.

In the first Convocation in *Queene Maries* time, Vol. 3. p.  
c. 2. l. 30.

The fixe Articles in *Hen. 8.* dayes, Vol. 2. p. 443. to 497.

Faith and Justification, Vol. 1. p. 31. c. 2. l. 73.

Workes and the Law, Vol. 1. p. 32. c. 2. l. 65.

Sinne, Vol. 1. p. 34. c. 1. l. 1.

Penance and repentance, Vol. 1. p. 34. c. 1. l. 37.

The difference betweene the Law and Gospell, Vol. 1. pag.  
34. c. 1. l. 72.

Free-will, Vol. 1. p. 35. c. 2. l. 74.

Invocation and adoration of Saints, Angels, &c. Vol. 1.  
p. 35. c. 1. l. 25.

The Sacraments, Vol. 1. pag. 36. c. 1. l. 66. With infinite  
more.

The Law, Vol. 2. p. 229.

The Gospell, Vol. 2. p. 230. and 231, to  
237.

Workes, A Tract. Vol. 1. p. 32. c. 2. l. 64.

The heads of Religion in twenty Principles, Vol. 1. p. 31. c. 2.

The summe of Pauls doctrine in nineteene positions, Vol. 1. p. 26.

Of divers other points in some  
Pages.

## GENESIS.

3. Chap. 15. ver. Vol. 1. pag. 31. col. 1. lin. 76.

4. Chap. 4. ver. V. 1. p. 476. c. 2. l. 33. l. 49.

8. Chap. 20. ver. V. 1. p. 468. c. 1. l. 5. p. 477. c. 1. l. 18.

12. Chap. 23. ver. V. 1. p. 31. c. 2. l. 1.

14. Chap. of *Melchisedeck*, V. 1. p. 477. c. 2. l. 7.

21. Chap. Notes of a Sermon touching the spirituall meaning of *Sarah*  
and *Hagar*, Vol. 2. p. 524. c. 1. l. 32.

## EXODUS.

20. Chap. Sundry propositions opening the 10 Command. V. 2. p. 220.

29. Chap. The meaning of *Aarons* linen breeches, V. 2. p. 476. c. 1.

## LEVITICUS.

4. Chap. 13, 14, 15, 16, &c. ver. V. 1. p. 537. c. 1. l. 16. 18. Chap. 7.

## NUMBERS.

18. Chap. 29. V. 1. p. 466. c. 1. l. 70. comp. p. 476. c. 2. l. 58.

DEUT. } 12. Chap. 5. ver. V. 1. p. 537. c. 1. l. 8.

23. Chap. 24. ver. V. 1. p. 411. c. 2. l. 54.

1 KINGS. 15. Chap. ver. V. 2. p. 351. c. 1. l. 29.

2 KINGS. 2. Chap. 12, 13. ver. V. 3. p. 24. c. 2. l. 20.

1 CHRON. } 29. Chap. Of offering the best things to the Lord, Vol. 1.  
p. 476. c. 2. l. 60.

2 CHRON. 30. Chap. 31. ver. compared with *Luke 1.*

ESTER 8. Vrged in the case of recalling decrees, V. 1. p. 492. c. 1. l. 23.

JOB. } 40. Chap. 6. ver. A Prosopopœa thence against bloody persecu-  
tors, V. 2. p. 539. c. 1. l. 42.

PSAL. } 19. 1, 2. ver. &c. v. 2. p. 410. c. 1. l. 18. 32.

121. 1. ver. v. 1. p. 406. c. 1. l. 60.

130. 3. ver. Urged against merit, v. 2. p. 526. c. 2. l. 54.

3. Chap. 5. ver. *Lean not to thine owne wisdom*, urged against

Traditions, v. 2. p. 491. c. 2. l. 64.

PROV. } 22. Chap. 28. ver. v. 1. p. 465. c. 2. l. 58.

24. Chap. 11. ver. v. 1. p. 416. c. 1. l. 45.

1. Chap. 21. ver. v. 1. p. 543. c. 2. l. 44. l. 54.

5. Chap. 23. ver. v. 1. p. 44. c. 1. l. 26.

ISAIAH. } 42. Chap. 4. ver. v. 1. p. 139. c. 1. l. 60.

53. Chap. 5. ver. v. 1. p. 32. c. 1. l. 14.

56. Chap. 1. ver. A Sermon upon it, v. 1. p. 542. c. 2. l. 63.

JER. 23. Chap. 28. ver. v. 2. p. 468. c. 1. l. 72.

LAM. 1. Chap. 6. ver. v. 2. p. 279. c. 2. l. 33.

EZEK. 3. Chap. 18. ver. v. 1. p. 416. c. 1. l. 58.

If the quotati-  
ons sometimes  
which are in  
the great Vo-  
lumes doe not  
answer to thes  
in this Table-  
let the Reader  
understand the  
cause to be,  
that this Table  
sets them right,  
when as in  
printing, by o-  
verfight they  
were put  
wrong.

# A Table of Tables.

Textuarie Divinitie,

## DANIEL.

9. Chap. 26. ver. v. 1. p. 627. c. 1. l. 3. l. 20.  
 11. Chap. ver. 37. Urged excellently against  
 popish seeming abstinence from women, V.  
 2. p. 596. c. 2. l. 28.  
 38. Ver. He shall honour the God of Forces,  
 and a God whom his father knew not, V. 2.  
 p. 449. c. 1. l. 37.

## HOSEA.

8. Chap. 4. ver. v. 1. p. 246. c. 2.  
 9. Chap. 1. ver. v. 1. p. 343. c. 2. l. 44. l. 54.  
 JOEL. 2. Cha. 3. ver. v. 2. p. 406. c. 2. l. 10.

## AMOS.

5. Chap. 24. ver. v. 1. p. 543. c. 1. l. 38.

## ZEPHANIAH.

1. Chap. 14. ver. v. 1. p. 543. c. 1. l. 76.

## HAGGAI.

2. Chap. 7. ver. v. 1. p. 543. c. 1. l. 66.

## ZECHARIAH.

5. 5. The parable of the Ephah and talent of  
 lead largely expounded, Vol. 1. p. 715. c. 1.  
 l. 72. c. 2. l. 7. p. 716. c. 1. l. 44.

## MALACHIE.

2. Cha. 2. ver. *I will curse your blessings*, applied  
 to persecutors, Vol. 2. p. 618. c. 1. l. 16.

## MATTHEW.

5. Chap. 6. ver. v. 2. p. 779. c. 2. l. 68.  
 6. Chap. 12. ver. v. 1. p. 35. c. 1. l. 50.  
 Ver. 22. v. 1. p. 806. c. 1. l. 42.  
 10. Chap. 9. ver. v. 1. p. 412. c. 2. l. 68.  
 Ver. 14. v. 1. p. 413. c. 1. l. 27.  
 Ver. 16. v. 1. p. 413. c. 2. l. 48.  
 11. Chap. 8. ver. v. 1. p. 412. c. 2. l. 30.  
 15. Cha. 17. That which goeth into the mouth  
 goeth downe into the belly, V. 2. p. 757. c. 1.  
 l. 21.  
 16. Chap. 16. ver. v. 1. p. 1. c. 1. l. 4.  
 17. Chap. 27. ver. v. 1. p. 465. c. 2. l. 45.  
 18. Chap. 17. ver. v. 1. p. 477. c. 2. l. 34.  
 Ver. 18. v. 1. p. 477. c. 2. l. 37. v. 1. p. 883. c. 1.  
 v. 2. p. 66. c. 2. l. 30. v. 1. p. 880. c. 1. l. 70.  
 Ver. 19. v. 1. p. 882. c. 1. l. 44.  
 19. Cha. 21. ver. v. 1. p. 410. c. 2. l. 30.  
 Ver. 11. v. 2. p. 399. c. 2. l. 77. v. 2. p. 408. c. 2.  
 l. 34.  
 20. Cha. 26. ver. v. 1. p. 21. c. 1. l. 6. The papists  
 change *non sic* into *quod sic*.  
 22. Cha. 21. ver. v. 1. p. 8. c. 2. l. 15. A large Dis-  
 course upon it, V. 1. p. 461. c. 1. l. 58, &c.  
 24. Cha. 15. ver. vol. 1. p. 727. c. 2. l. 5. This  
*Abomination of desolation* is v. 2. p. 449. c.  
 1. l. 33. expounded of the Masse.  
 26. Chap. 11. ver. v. 3. p. 21. c. 2. l. 52.  
 26. Ver. v. 3. p. 51. c. 2. l. 28. and p. 52. c. 1. l. 8.  
 a large exposition of divers Fathers, V. 2.  
 p. 432. c. 2. l. 40.  
 18. Ver. v. 1. p. 777. c. 2. l. 10. compare p. 468.  
 c. 2. l. 12.  
 28. Cha. 19. ver. v. 1. p. 29. c. 1. l. 63. p. 20. c. 1.  
 l. 68.

## MARKE.

The Gospell of *Marke* is an abridgement of  
*Matthee*, V. 2. p. 428. c. 2. l. 66.

7. Cha. 11. ver. v. 1. p. 477. c. 1. l. 38.

## LUKE.

7. Chap. 16. ver. v. 1. p. 395. c. 1. l. 50.

Textuarie Divinitie,

10. Chap. The parable of him falling among  
 theeves expounded, V. 2. p. 139. c. 1. lin. 5,  
 &c.

14. Cha. 26. ver. v. 1. p. 416. c. 1. l. 15.

15. Chap. 18. ver. v. 3. p. 35. c. 1. l. 42. v. 3. p. 35.  
 c. 1. l. 41. The three parables expounded,  
 v. 1. p. 28. c. 2. l. 5.

16. Chap. 2. ver. v. 1. p. 605. c. 1. l. 8. A Sermon  
 upon it, v. 1. p. 712. c. 2. l. 10.

17. Chap. 37. ver. v. 2. p. 419. c. 1. l. 70.

18. Chap. 22. ver. v. 1. p. 410. c. 2. l. 30.

22. Chap. 19. ver. 38. ver. v. 1. p. 465. c. 2. l. 40.  
 p. 469. c. 1. l. 10. compare p. 477. c. 2. l. 41.

## JOHN.

1. Chap. 12. ver. upon which is shewed in two  
 positions, how much a Christian is posses-  
 sed of in this life, 1. of heaven, glory, &c.  
 v. 2. p. 599. c. 1. l. 72. c. 2. l. 10.

28. 29. Ver. v. 3. p. 24. c. 1. l. 40. and l. 58.

6. Chap. 49. ver. v. 2. p. 140. c. 1. l. 6. l. 12, &c.

10. Chap. 1. ver. v. 2. p. 394. c. 2. l. 9.

16. Chap. 2. ver. when fulfilled, v. 1. p. 42. c. 1.  
 l. 17. 28. ver. v. 2. p. 418. c. 2. l. 20.

21. Chap. 15. ver. v. 2. p. 66. c. 2. l. 40.

## ACTS.

3. Chap. 6. ver. v. 1. p. 367. c. 2. l. 67.

5. Chap. 5. ver. v. 1. p. 477. c. 2. l. 22.

12. Chap. 2. ver. v. 1. p. 42. c. 1. l. 63.

16. Chap. 31. ver. v. 1. p. 32. c. 2. l. 40.

20. Chap. 33. ver. v. 1. p. 413. c. 2. l. 1. ver. 34.  
 v. 1. p. 413. c. 2. l. 7.

28. Chap. Of the time of Pauls coming to  
 Rome, v. 1. p. 45. c. 2. l. 40.

## ROMANS.

1. Chap. 16. ver. v. 1. p. 32. c. 2. l. 20.

4. Chap. That sentence, *Faith onely justifies*,  
 expounded, v. 2. p. 744. c. 1. l. 10.

11. Verse, *Circumcision a seale of*, &c.  
 averred to containe the termes of a generall  
 definition for all Sacraments, V. 2. p. 505.  
 c. 1. l. 6.

5. Chap. 12. ver. v. 2. p. 7. c. 1. l. 55.

6. Cha. v. 1. p. 34. c. 2. l. 66. ver. 14. v. 1. p. 34.  
 c. 2. l. 73. p. 35. c. 2. l. 17. ver. 23. v. 2. p. 7.  
 c. 1. l. 60.

7. Chap. v. 1. p. 34. c. 2. l. 66. ver. 24. v. 1. p. 140.  
 c. 1. l. 52.

9. Chap. 3. ver. v. 1. p. 28. c. 1. l. 30.

10. Chap. 4. ver. v. 1. p. 34. c. 2. l. 34. v. 2. p.  
 455. c. 1. l. 38.

12. Chap. 1. ver. v. 2. p. 412. c. 2. l. 68.

13. Chap. 1. ver. v. 1. p. 8. c. 2. l. 28, &c.

14. Chap. 23. ver. *Whatsoever is not of Faith is*  
*sinne*, v. 2. p. 643. c. 1. l. 75. Compare the  
 position grounded upon it, l. 48.

15. Chap. 18. ver. v. 1. p. 415. c. 2. l. 78.

1. COR. 1. Ch. 18. ver. v. 2. p. 406. c. 2. l. 78.

2. Chap. 13. ver. v. 1. p. 21. c. 1. l. 30.

3. Chap. 22. ver. v. 1. p. 598. c. 1. l. 40.

5. Chap. 4. ver. v. 1. p. 477. c. 2. l. 28.

6. Chap. 13. ver. v. 1. p. 477. c. 2. l. 50.

7. Chap. 5. ver. *wee are saved* expounded, v. 1. p.  
 482. c. 2. l. 25.

7. Chap. 9. ver. v. 1. p. 482. c. 1. l. 20.

9. Chap. 13. ver. v. 1. p. 416. c. 1. l. 77.

11. Cha. 20. ver. v. 1. p. 27. c. 1. l. 2.



# A Table of Tables.

Textuary Divinitie.

- 26.ver.v.3.p.22.c.1.10.  
 27.ver.v.3.p.53.  
 14.chap.30.ver.v.2.p.643.c.1.1.30.  
 15.chap.55. ver. *O death where is thy sting.*  
 Thence is argued how farre death is to be  
 feared and desired. v.2.p.606.c.1.1.18.  
 comp.l.19.  
 16.chap.22.ver.v.1.p.859.c.1.73.  
     2 COR.  
 3.chap. 1.& 2.ver.v.1.p.411.c.1.1.50. c.2.  
 l.10.  
 4.cha.5.ver.v.1.p.412.c.1.1.38.  
 6.cha.4.ver.v.1.p.412.c.2.1.24.  
 7.chap.2.ver.v.1.p.412.c.2.1.47.  
 10.chap.15.16.ver.v.1.p.413.c.2.1.76.  
 11.cha.3.ver.6.ver.v.1.p.412.c.2.1.18.  
 12.cha.12.ver.v.1.p.411.c.1.1.22.  
 13.cha.5.ver. *Prove your selves.* &c. Greeke  
 observations upon it. v. 3. p.82.c.1.1.14.  
 See in the margent,  
 14.ver.v.1.p.412.c.1.1.58.  
     GALAT.  
 1.cha.2.ver.v.1.p.20.c.1.1.46.  
     6,7.ver.v.1.p.32.c.1.1.50.v.2.p.421.  
     c.1.1.20.l.40  
 2.cha.6.ver.v.2.p.67.c.1.1.5.  
     9.ver.v.1.p.18.c.2.1.50.  
     11.ver.v.1.p.367.c.3.1.48.  
     14.ver.v.1.p.14.v.1.p.884.c.2.1.40.  
 3.cha.27.ver.v.3.p.35.c.1.  
     EPHES.  
 5.chap.31.ver.v.3.p.25.c.1.  
     PHIL.  
 1.chap.18.ver.v.1.p.412.c.1.1.44.  
 3.cha.2.ver.v.1.p.413.c.1.1.8.  
     COLOS.  
 1.chap.21,22.ver.v.3.p.67.c.1.1.70.  
 2.cha.21,22.ver.v.1.p.411.c.2.1.46.  
 3.cha.1.ver.v.1.p.140.c.2.1.10.  
     5 ver. *Mortifie your earthly members.* v.2.p.  
     600.c.2.1.24.  
     1. THES.  
 2.cha.7.ver.v.1.p.412.c.2.1.8.  
 5.cha.ver. v.2.p.392.c.1.1.68.  
     2. THES.  
 2.cha.3.ver.v.1.p.30.c.2.1.10. p.544.c.2.1.20.  
 The Man of sinne expounded. v.1.p.727.  
 c.2.1.5.  
 3.chap.8.ver.v.1.p.411.c.2.1.74.  
     1. TIM.  
 4.cha.3.ver.v.1.p.179.c.1.1.50.  
     2. TIM.  
 2.chap.6.ver.v.1.p.413.c.2.1.24.  
 4.cha. Of the time of Pauls sufferings, mentio-  
 ned in that chapter. v.1.p.45.c.2.1.56.

Textuare Divinitie.

- 3.ver.v.1.p.413.c.1.1.18.  
     TITUS.  
 3.chap. 5.v. 2. p.598.c.2.1.60. Compare  
 M. Tindals positions. l.40.  
     PHILEMON.  
 Of *Philemons* servant *Oncimus* his running  
 away. v.2.p.408.c.1.1.45.  
     EB.  
 Whether that Epistle be *S. Pauls*. v.1. p.46.  
 c.1.1.10.  
 5.chap.4.ver.v.1.p.412.c.1.1.76.  
 7.cha.26.ver.v.2.p.395.c.1.1.3.  
 9.cha.ver.v.3.p.67.c.1.  
 13.chap.16.ver.v.2.p.139.3.2.19.  
     JAMES.  
 1.cha.27.ver.v.1.p.408.c.2.1.8.  
 2.cha.19.ver. Upon which is shewed, in two  
 positions, how many things a man may be-  
 lieve, and yet have no true saving Faith.  
 v.2. pag. 599. c.1. 1.20. Compare l.4.  
 & l.8.  
 26. Whence is discussed what that Faith is  
 that hath no workes, and how farre a true  
 faith worketh. v.2. pag.600.c.1. 1.63.  
 l.54.  
     1 PETER.  
 2.cha.9.ver.v.1.p.469. c.2. 1.29. compare  
 pag.477.col.2. lin.70.& v.2.p.412.c.1.  
 l.10.  
 13.ver.v.1.p.8.c.2.1.65.  
 25.ver.v.1.p.20.c.1.1.19.  
     2 PETER.  
 3.cha.16.ver.v.1.p.411.c.1.1.58.  
     1.Ep. JOHN.  
 2.cha.1.ver.v.3.p.67.c.1.1.70. v.3.p.80.c.2.  
 l.24.  
 3.cha.3.ver. *He that hath this hope in him selfe*  
*purgeth him selfe as he is pure.* v.2. pag.600.  
 c.1.1.70. Compare the positions ground-  
 ed on the same. l.54.  
     REVEL.  
 3.chap.4.chap.6.ver.vol.1. pag. 413. col. 1.  
 l.67.  
 6.cha. The *Horses* and the *seales* are expoun-  
 ded largely. vol. 1. pag. 718. col.2. l.40.  
 p.719.c.1.  
 11.chap.12.chap. The mysticall numbers there  
 spoken of expounded. v.1.p.130.c.1. 1,  
 2,3,4,5,&c. verses v.1.p.627.c.2.1. 17  
 l.38.  
 13.187.ver. v.1.p.519.c.2.1.65.p.520.c.1.  
 l.30.  
 18.chap. Rome spiritually is Babylon. vol. 1.  
 p.651.c.1.1.50.  
 20.chap.1,2,3.ver.v.1.p.519.c.1.1.40.

**I**F thou canst not, Christian Reader, remember the quotations of Booke,  
 Chap. and Ver. of some places whose exposition thou wouldst finde,  
 but canst remember the words; then have recourse to the Index or Table at  
 the later end of the Booke, wherein the Alphabet of the more principall words  
 of sentences thou shalt finde divers places of more speciall controversie and  
 difficulty noted, where their expositions may be found in this Booke of  
 Martyrs.





# A Table of Tables.

Historians may in this book reade	Minor	Hi—	V.1.p.993.c.1.1.54.
	Major		V.1.p.993.c.1.1.62.
	Natolia		V.1.p.993.c.1.1.50.
	Norman		V.1.p.324.c.1.p.213.c.1.p.207.
	Orleance		V.2.p.648.c.1.
	Persian		V.1.p.994.c.2.1.70. V.1.p.126.c.2.
	Quinque	Ro—	V.1.p.995.c.2.1.43.
	Ecclesiæ		V.1.p.978.c.1.1.70.
	Roman		Of the Church, it's Bishops and their See, V.1.p.4. to p. 38.
	Saracen		Of the Commonwealth, the Empire and Emperors, Vol.1.p. 39.
	Spanish		to p. 336.
	Syrian		V.1.p.385.440.458.
	Scottish		V.2.p.167.&c.
	Turkish		V.1.p.997.c.1.1.30. v.1.p.994.c.1.1. 13.
	Tartarian		V.1.p.482. v.2.p.355. v.1.p.444.
	Venetian		V.1.p.997.c.2.1.30.p.996. v.1.p.465. to p.997.
	Wallachian		V.1.p.1007.
	Xanthus		V.1.p.480.c.2.
	York-Danish		V.1.p.995.c.2.1.58.
	Zacynthus		V.1.p.993.c.2.1.52. Compare 1.37.& 1.48.

## I.

Justices have here { A multitude of Legal presidents and proceedings set before their eyes to very good purpose, in the second and third volume.  
Excellent exhortations of *Edw.6.* to them to helpe in reformation of Religion, volum. 2, p.662.

## K.

Kings of divers ages and times do here foreshine with their Diadems of excellent government and Crownes of due praise, that they allure the eyes of successors in future ages to look hitherward to behold them: *Viz.* { Learned King *Alured, alias Alfred.* v.1.p. 182.c.2.  
Prudent King *Henry* the second, chosen Arbitr betweene kings, vol. 1. p.297.  
Warlike King *Henry* the fifth. v.1.p.726.c.1.1.40.  
Anti-Pope King *Henry* the eighth. v.2.p.6.&c.  
Christian King *Lucius.* v.1.p.223.  
Preaching King *Oswald.* v.1.p.157.c.2.1.18.  
Pious and devout King *Edward* the sixth, vol.1.p. 864.

## L.

Common Law, { A parallel between Jewes and other Kingdomes Judicall lawes. v.1. p.638. See the Margent.  
Summaries of severall Kings statute lawes, and notes of their Parliaments. *Hen.4.* v.1.p.724.c.2.1.40.  
*Rich.2.* v.1.p.667.  
When there was no law to burne men for opinions. v. p. 575.  
The rise of the statute *ex Officio.* v.1.p.682.  
The rise of the statute for burning for opinions examined. volume 1. p.576.c.1.  
Some cases disputed. See in the *Cusist.*  
Articles of *Magna Charta,* and touching *Charta Foresta.* volume 1. p.457.c.2.1.40.  
Civill Law. v.1.p.469.c.2.1.63.p.479.c.1.

Ecclesiasticall

## A Table of Tables.

Ecclesiasticall Lawes in sundry propositions, Vol. 1. p. 193.

Eight Kings Ecclesiasticall Lawes whereby the Church was governed before the Conquest.  
Vol. 1. p. 1016, 1017.

Canon Law, delivered in { The Apostles Canons, as they call them, Vol. 1. p. 14. c. 2. l. 60.  
p. 20. c. 1. l. 36.  
Popes Canons, a censure of them, Vol. 2. p. 416. c. 2.

French quotations, Vol. 2. p. 400. c. 2. l. 28. with others of like kinde.

Hebrew derivations { <sup>from</sup> Deut. 16. 10.  
and observations { <sup>from</sup> Levit. 6. 15.  
from { n. What it signifies, Vol. 1. p. 454.

Linguists shall meete with  
in this history, for their  
Studies,

Dutch Erymologies, Vol. 3. p. 1. c. 2. l. the last.

Greeke readings, Vol. 1. p. 22. *Διδ το βασιλευεν τλω πατρικευην.* Vol. 1. p. 14.  
*αεζτοι αεζτωριτες*; with abundant more in that Page, &c.

Writings { Saxon, Vol. 2. p. 448. 450.  
in { Persian tongue, Vol. 1. p. 1006. c. 2. l. 46.

## M.

*Merchants* may here finde a rare example of one that was a Martyr as well as a Merchant, merchandising as well for godlinesse as gaine, for goodnesse as well as goods, in that Mirrour of Piety and Patience, *William Gardiner*, suffering torment to death for Christ in Portugall. Vol. 2. pag. 744. col. 1. l. 50. 10 pag. 747.

## N.

*Nobilitie* in { Duke *Humfrey*, Vol. 1. p. 925, &c.  
Lord *Cromwel* Earle of *Essex*, Vol. 2. p. 498.  
Lord *Cobham*, Vol. 1. p. 845. c. 1. l. 57. and others { in this Historie shines to their future posteritie.

## O.

*Old age* may here with its dimme eyes see plaine patternes to leade him in the plaine way; and encourage him, seeing he is so nigh his end, rather to be dissolued (if he be called unto it) in flames of fire to be with Christ, then in this last period of his life to deny him, and by and by at his death be denyed Christ, Heaven, and any thing else but onely hell and damnation.

One lively example is, Vol. 3. pag. 46. col. 2. lin. 17. Compare p. 431. col. 2. p. 450. c. 1.  
Another, Vol. 1. p. 956. c. 2.  
More, Vol. 3. p. 700. c. 2.

*Photinus* a very old man suffers for Christ, Vol. 1. p. 61. c. 2. l. 5.

*Polycarpus*, who coming to the place of Martyrdome to dye for Christ, and being perswaded to turne, and he should be discharged; answered, *Eighty sixe yeeres have I bene Christs servant, and be never yet hurt me, how then may I now speake evill of him which hath thus preserved me?* Vol. 1. p. 55. c. 2. lin. 70.



# A Table of Tables.

## P.

*Politicians* may be hence furnished with many observations touching matters of state, and government of Commonwealths, not onely laid downe in the rule, but proved in the practise; For example,

Thirty two Emperors lives and deaths exemplifie the issue of too much severitie and crueltie in government. Vol. 1. p. 41. c. 1. l. 30. l. 54. Count the margent.

Decay of religion decayes a Common-wealth. Vol. 1. p. 133. c. 1. l. 31. Overthrowes the Governour, as may be seen in *Richard* the second, V. 1. p. 664. c. 2. l. 6. Compare p. 669. p. 671.

Greatnesse of a state without true empire of government is a weaknesse to the same, as is plaine in the Turkish dominions, by the story of them.

The mischiefes of severall factions in a state, exemplified in *Henry* the eight his government. Vol. 2. throughout. A particular instance, see Vol. 2. pag. 566. col. 2.

Dissension in a Kingdome opens the doore to forraigne invasion; see in the example of Christians thus letting in the Turke Vol. 1. p. 954. c. 1.

The Roman Empire, and } ruined by refusing Christ. Vol. 1. p. 40. c. 1. l. 1.  
The Jewish nation } pag. 42.

The many changes of state, and the causes of them may be seene in this story more then in most; as in the coming in of Saxons, Danes, Normanes, Scots, Picts; as also in *Richard* the second his raigne, *Henry* the sixth, &c.

## Q.

Queene *Katherine*, } Vol. 2. p. 581. c. 2. 584.  
Queene *Jane*, } Vol. 3. p. 14.  
Queene *Elizabeth*, } Vol. 3. p. 40. Vol. 3. p. 102. p. 943. } Make this story worthy to be  
} read of the royall eyes of that  
} Sex.

## R.

*Registers* of ancient Records may here meet with abundance of those throughout the Historie.

## S.

*Souldiers* may here behold the fights

Of the Turkes at Constantinople. Vol. 1. p. 966. col. 2. p. 97. p. 928.

Of the French against the Pope, Vol. 1. p. 957. c. 1.

Of the Germanes } *Zisca*, Vol. 1. p. 848. c. 1.  
} *Procopius*, Vol. 1. p. 850. c. 2.  
} *Capistranus*, Vol. 1. p. 944. c. 1.

Of the English throughout the history, with Saxons, Danes, Scots, Picts, Normans, &c.

Of the Grecian *Scanderbeius* against the Turke, Vol. 1. p. 968. c. 1. Vol. 1. p. 973. c. 1.

In all which } stratagems  
} see notable } valour.

## T.

*Tradesmen* of most sorts shall finde here rare patternes of pietie of life, and patience in suffering death for Christ in men of their owne calling, throughout the third volume.

## V.

*Virgins* may behold here for their instruction mirrors.

Of valour, in the Maid that defended *Lesbos* against the Turkes, when the men had even given over defending it, Vol. 1. p. 994. c. 2.

Of patience and meeknesse, in *Rose Allen* a Maid, quietly suffering her hand to be burned for Christ, Vol. 3. p. 831.

Of courageous dying for Christ, in the admirable example of *Blandina*, Vol. 1. pag. 62. c. 1. l. 30. p. 63. c. 1. l. 10.

# A Table of Tables.

## W.

Women have here rare ex-  
amples { Of Chastitie, in that Noble-mans wife of Rome, who would rather dye  
then be defiled with lustfull *Maxentius*. Volume 1. pag. 110. col. 2.  
lin. 18.  
Of Martyrdome, in *Symphorissa* and her seven children cruelly martyred for  
Christ, Vol. 1. p. 53. c. 2. p. 59. c. 2. Of *Sophia* and her three children mar-  
tyred, V. 1. p. 53. c. 2. l. 10.  
In many more women, sometimes mother and daughter embracing flames  
for Christ, in the third Volume,

## Y.

Young-men may here learne to know the God of their Fathers, to remember their Creator, yea Redeemer in  
the dayes of their youth, and in their youth to suffer for him that suffered for them in the flower  
of his age :

In the example  
of { That famous young man Martyr *Germanicus*, Vol. 1. pag. 57. c. 1. lin. 30.  
Of *Origen* a Youth, that vehemently desired Martyrdome, Vol. 1. p. 70.  
col. 2.  
Of *Ponticus*, of but fiftene yeeres old, admirably suffering for Christ,  
Vol. 1. p. 62. c. 1. l. 67.  
A childe Martyr. Vol. 1. p. 116. c. 2. l. 20.

¶ Thus of multitudes of instances we have given but a very few, wherein this Univerfitie of  
godly learning may profit any ingenious Reader ; no such can come amisse, but that he may  
goe away the better from this Book after his reading it, if himselfe be not in fault.

Here is in this Book { To settle the judgement in the truth, thousands that have subscribed to it in blood.  
To winne the affections, the most patheticall speeches of dying Saints.  
To encourage practise { Here are files and rankes of Christian souldiers to muster thee in  
Christs battell.  
Here is zeale burning till it be in flames of fire.  
Here is godlinesse, which when it is scoffed reviles not, when it  
is burned cryes not.  
Here is devotion praying sweetly, { In *Constantine* Emperour.  
Luther.  
La. *Jane*, and many others.



A  
CHRONOLOGIE  
OF  
Master Fox his Martyrologie.

*An Advertisement to the Reader.*



Hat here is presented unto him a compendious Chronologicall Table of the most remarkeable things contained in the whole Booke of Martyrs, (according as they are set downe after Master Fox his Method and Computation) digesting them into severall columnes; The  
First and smaller columnne making report of time.  
Foure next larger of persons.

Sixth and largeſt of matters, concifely anatomizing the whole body of the ſtory into the maſter veines, arteries and ſinewes.

Seventh, laſt and leaſt, pointing to the place in the large volumes, where the contents of all the other columnes are to be found, and filled up with fleſh, blood and ſpirits of larger diſcourſes.

To which we have added this briefe Chronologicall digeſt, that it may ſerve the ſtudioſ Reader, either as a perſpective, whereby to view what ground he is to travel, and where the ſeverall turnings are before he begins to read: or as a Register or Note-book, whereby to recollect his thoughts and obſervations after ſo long a travell in reading ſo voluminous a work: And at all times to be both as a Mappe of the limits, a Sceleton of the limbs, and Pourtraiture of the face of ſo rare a Story and a right Martyr; as alſo a Methodicall Index to finde and fetch in the maine bulke of any ſpeciall piece of the ſtory (out of the heape of prolix circumſtances, wherein it is covered) when it is to be remembred or peruſed. In all which thus projected, and with extraordinary paines and care effected, if any Reader from his knowledge of other hiſtories, conceive that many touches of additions or alterations of things, names, or times, would have done well; let him remember that Maſter Fox his booke of Martyrs was the copy ſet before the pen to write after, both for matter and method. As alſo that the ſcope of the Pen-man was, to make this modell a key to the ſame; ſo that if we had any wayes ſet this and the great volume at difference and odds, we had ſet the ſon againſt the father, many references of this to that would have miſreported things, and the whole project had beene ruined. This childe then, though a tender little weake one, comes abroad under the parents wing. And is modeſtly bold to ſpeake and goe on this way, becauſe in its words it doth (as wee ſpeake) ſay after the father; *Sequiturque patrem quamvis non paſſibus æquis*, and follows the fathers footſteps, though it cannot ſtride ſo wide. The hope is that that naile will not ſcore this paper with diſlike, whoſe finger never felt the paines of carrying the penne through ſo troubleſome a buſineſſe; and that the exerciſed hand in penning things of this nature will be mercifull in cenſuring this *Chronographizing* of Maſter Fox his Story; whoſe parts, though belonging to the ſame time, are oft ſo farre diſperſed, and the ſame things at ſundry times ſo frequently repeated, that it could not be but a great labour to gather them into times Method. *Farewell.*

Anno Christi	Emper. of Rome, G. Fr. Germ. & Rom.	Bishops and Popes of Rome.	Kings of England	Archbi- shops of Cantur- bury.
-----------------	---	-------------------------------------	---------------------	---

## 1. The Author premiseth

Vol. 1  
Page

**A** Preface declaring the difference of Rome from Rome; that Church being now revolted from what she was, in First, life and conversation, in

4

four evils,

1. Prophanenes: As simony, murders, poisonings of each other.
2. Omission of ministeriall duties, as of preaching, &c.
3. Schismes and factions, to the number of eightene since Pope Damascan.
4. Covetous injustice to get mony, by fifteen unlawfull practises, viz.
  1. Annats and vacancies of Archbishopricks, Bishopricks, Abbacies, and spirituall places.
  2. Retaining of other livings, besides that the incumbent now payes for.
  3. New Annats upon change of the incumbents.
  4. Preventions of Benefices before the fall.
  5. Resignations upon favour.
  6. Commendams.
  7. Compositions with them that are non-resident, attending at Court.
  8. Dispensations for any condition or sin.
  9. Exemptions and priviledges, and the continuations of them.
  10. Mandats to the O. dinaries.
  11. Penitentiaries and absolutions from the Pope.
  12. Pardons and indulgences.
  13. Making Notaries and Protonotaries, &c.
  14. Bulls and Commissions for new foundations.
  15. Giving the Pall to Archbishops newly elected.

Secondly, jurisdiction and power, in five,

1. Elections of Bishops and such offices. For whereas in the Apostles dayes, the Apostles with prayer and imposition of hands elected Bishops and Ministers: as *James* was made Bishop of Jerusalem by the Apostles, &c. as may be seene in the first page of this volume. After in the increase of the Church, the elections of Bishops and Ministers stood by the Clergie and the people, with the consent of the chiefe Magistrate of the place, and thus it continued till Constantine the fourth Emperour, and after: But when Alexander the second came, he was chosen without the Emperour; and after him Hildebrand and his followers ordered the matter, that first the Emperour, secondly, the lay people, lastly, the Clergie, for the most part were excluded.
2. Judiciary power. For whereas in the primitive times the Bishops debated all causes of faith only by Scriptures, and other questions of Ecclesiasticall discipline by the canons of ancient Councils: Now Scriptures and Councils are set aside, and all things are determined by the Popes new decretals, in his Canon law.
3. In Collation of all Ecclesiasticall promotions. For whereas anciently, according to sacred councils, the holy fathers, and the common Law, Bishops, Doctors, Patrons, &c. might bestow the benefices, &c. in their owne precinct, now the Romish Church inroacherth upon, and getteth all into her own hands and power.
4. Binding and loosing. In which what the Scripture gives generally to all the Church, Rome arrogates to her selfe, and shee on-ly will alone have the keyes. Whereas againe, the Scriptures give authority to no Church in some things, there Rome will enlarge her selfe, and fit the wards of her keyes, so as shee will unlooke and locke those things which never came into Gods minde to allow. As, to loose and discharge subjects from their oath of allegiance to their Prince; and any man from perjury for money; and to bind with excommunication persons for petty matters, as breaking parkes, nor ringing bells, &c.

5. Secular



# A Chronologie.

Anno Christi	Romane Emper.	Romane Kings of Bishops. England	Archbishops of Canturbury.		Vol 1 Page
				5. Secular power over Emperours, Kings, and civill Magistracie whatsoever, to excommunicate, depose, &c. and put in others; making a l subject to him. Whereas it was not so from the beginning, no not of later times; but <i>Gregorius Magnus</i> was subject to <i>Mauricius</i> , and to <i>Phocas</i> though a wicked Emperour.	8
				3. The titles and stile of the bishops of Rome. Anciently, the word pope was common to all bishops (as it is common in signification, coming of <i>pater</i> , that is, father.) Saint <i>Austin</i> being called pope of the counsell of Atricke; <i>Jerome</i> so called of <i>Boniface</i> , and <i>Cyprian</i> of others. And the highest bishops anciently were not called more then Patriarckes (as were foure so called) or archbishops and Metropolitans; but now the pope will have the name pope peculiar to himselfe; with addition of the high titles of Vicar Generall, Vicar of Christ, Universall Bishop, Head of the Universall Church, Prince of Priests, Bishop the world, A Neither-God-nor-man, but a thing betweene both: Against which arrogancie is,	11
				1. The ancient title of the bishop of Rome.	21
				2. The Act of the Nicence Council against carrying causes to Rome, and their five reasons.	13
				3. Act of the Synod of Milevitan, against appeales to Rome.	14
				4. The exposition of the name head-bishop.	
				5. How the name Univerfall bishop did rise and stand at Constantinople.	16
				6. The name Bishop of bishops forbidden by <i>Cyprian</i> .	
			shew'd	7. <i>Gregory</i> his refusal of the name Univerfall bishop.	17
				8. Objections for the name Univerfall bishop, answered.	
				9. Arguments proving the equalitie of the Apostles.	18
				10. Answer to arguments for <i>Peters</i> supremacy over the Apostles.	19
				11. Certaine demands, which answered, overthrow <i>Peters</i> supremacy.	22
				12. Thirteene causes of the Romane bishops coming to this height.	23
				4. Doctrine. For <i>Paul</i> the Apostle, and <i>Peters</i> successour flatly differ in nineteene summarie points, viz. touching Justification, Merit, Strength of nature, and mans will, distinguishing of Law and Gospell, distinguishing the righteousness of God and of us, Traditions, subtile speculations, mans being in the first and second <i>Adam</i> , imputation of the first and second <i>Adams</i> condition to man, the glory of a mans condition in Christ, difference of dayes, difference of meates, limitation of marriage, sacrifice for sinne, the holy Communion, the number of the Sacraments, what language to be used in the Church, obedience to kings, the armour of the Church. In all which, whosoever knowes Saint <i>Pauls</i> judgement, let him suppose the cleane contrary opinion, and that is the tenet of the Church of Rome; the severall differences may be couched into this one; <i>Paul</i> advanceth Christ, and casteth downe man; The Church of Rome casteth downe Christ, and advanceth man.	26
1	Augustus	Cunobelinus alias		Secondly, the author of this history comes to the body of the story, That Christ is rejected, and crucified by the Jewes, choosing <i>Cesar</i> for their King in the seventeenth yeere of that <i>Tiberius</i> .	39
27	Caesar.	Cimbelinus.		Gods judgement on the Jewes for it.	
33		Guidarius		<i>Tiberius Caesar</i> hearing of Christs miracles, resurrection and ascension, moves the Senate to receive and adore Christ as God.	
				The Senate of Rome refuseth to receive Christ for God, because contrary to the law of the Romanes (as they said) he was received for God, before the Romanes decreed the same. This <i>Tiberius</i> lived fixe yeeres after Christs Passion.	
				Gods judgement on the Citie of Rome for refusal of Christ, their Emperours turning extreame tyrants against them, almost to their utter subversion.	
				And for 300. yeeres after Christ, in which time were thirty two Emperours, was there scarce one Emperour but came to an ill end.	
				<i>Tiberius</i> and his tyranny described; by whom he was executed.	41
				Gods judgement on <i>Pilate</i> that condemned Christ; which <i>Pilate</i> was deposed from his place, banished, and at length he slew himself.	
34	Tiberius			The stoning of <i>Steven</i> the Proto-martyr, at which <i>Paul</i> was a persecuting agent.	
	Caesar.			This day (saith <i>Dorotheus</i> ) suffered also <i>Nicamor</i> one of the seven deacons, with 2000 Christians more.	42
	Caligula.			<i>Paul</i> is converted.	
39				<i>Tiberius Caesar</i> having reigned, 23. yeeres dyes, after whom succeedeth <i>C. Caesar Caligula</i> :	

# A Chronologie.

<i>Anno Christi</i>	Emper. of Rome.	Bishops of Rome.	Kings of England	Archbishops of Canturbury.	C.C. Caligula; commanding his image to be set up in the Temple of Hierusalem; which was the beginning of <i>The abomination of desolation to stand in the holy place.</i> He tooke the Romanes wives violently from them; and having deflowered three of his owne sisters banished them. By this <i>C. Caesar Caligula Herod</i> that mocked Christ, and murdered <i>John the Baptist</i> , was banished, and dyes miserably. <i>Caiaphas</i> also was deposed by the said <i>Caligula.</i> <i>Caligula</i> being slaine, leaves in his study two bills or notes of them whom hee did meane to persecute and kill, which notes he called the Sword and Dagger; which were used for cruelty by him that followed, viz. <i>Claudius Nero</i> , who raigned thirteene yeares a grievous tyrant. <i>James</i> the Apostle, the son of <i>Zebedee</i> , martyred. <i>Simon</i> and <i>Parnenas</i> two of the seven Deacons, martyred. <i>Thomas</i> the Apostle, preaching to the Medes, Persians and Parthians, Germanes, &c. was slaine with a Dart. <i>Simon Zelotes</i> preaching in <i>Africke</i> , and <i>Britanie</i> , was crucified. <i>Andrew</i> the Ap. preaching at <i>Patris</i> in <i>Achaia</i> , was by <i>Egeas</i> the governor crucified. <i>Matthew</i> the Apostle wrote his Gospell to the Jewes in the hebrew tongue. Hee is martyred with a Speare. <i>Matthias</i> the Apostle, preaching to the Jewes, was stoned. <i>Philip</i> the Apostle, having much laboured among the Barbarous nations in preaching, was crucified and stoned to death at <i>Hierapolis.</i> <i>James</i> the younger, the son of <i>Alpheus</i> , the Brother of the Lord, Bishop of <i>Hierusalem</i> , was throwne downe from the battlements of a Church, and afterward stoned, and so martyred to death. With <i>James</i> many more were stoned, as may be collected out of <i>Ioseph. l. 6. c. 20. &amp;c.</i> <i>Marke</i> the Evangelist martyred at <i>Alexandria</i> , as <i>Reusner</i> affirmeth. The description in generall of the ten persecutions in the Primitive Church, under the Romane Emperours: Wherein, first, the wonderfull many kindes of torments of the Christians are described by <i>Rabanus</i> : Secondly, the admirable patience of the tormented declared by <i>S. August.</i> Thirdly, the infinite number of those patient tormented ones, set forth by <i>S. Hierome</i> and <i>Heliodorus.</i> Under this Emperour was the first of the ten persecutions, by which (as <i>Euseb.</i> reports) whose cities were filled with the dead bodies of all ages, sexes, and sorts. This <i>Nero</i> was so wicked, that <i>S. Hierome</i> upon <i>Daniel</i> saith, he was thought to be Antichrist. For so prodigious a monster was he, more like a beast, or rather a devill than a man, that he caused his mother, his brother in law, his sister, his wife great with childe and his instructors, <i>Seneca</i> and <i>Lucan</i> , with divers more of his owne kinne to be put to death. He fired Rome in twelve places, and sung the while the verses of <i>Homer.</i> His end, after he had raigned fourteene yeeres, was by the Senate proclaimed an enemy to all mankind, condemning him to be drawne through the City, and to be whipped to death for feare whereof he fled and slew himselfe. Under him suffered <i>Peter &amp; Paul</i> for Christ, about the later end of his reign, p. 40. A question moved whether <i>S. Peter</i> were ever at Rome. Another question concerning <i>Paul</i> , whether he wrote the <i>Epistle to the Hebrewes</i> , and that to <i>Laodicea.</i> <i>Paul</i> declares the summe of that doctrine which he preached. <i>Vespasian</i> was the quiet Prince that put the distinction betweene the first and second persecution; in that he did not proclaime persecution against the Christians. Howbeit he with <i>Titus</i> destroyed the Jewes for their rebelling, killing many above 11000. selling into slavery 17000. and leading 2000. in triumph, to be torne with wild beasts, and cruelly to be slain, p. 40. c. 2. l. 70. & p. 41. c. 1. l. 1. &c. <i>Domitian</i> , brother of <i>Titus</i> , beginning his raigne mildly, turned a blasphemous idolater against God (commanding men to worship him) and a cruell tyrant against Christians; for by him was moved the second persecution. <i>Simon</i> , Bishop of <i>Hierusalem</i> was crucified. <i>John</i> the Evangelist is banished into <i>Patmos.</i> But after the death of <i>Domitian</i> , he was released under <i>Pertinax</i> the Emperour, living to the time of <i>Traianus</i> , governing the Churches of Asia, and penning his Gospell. He converted a thiefe: And flies out of a bath, because wicked <i>Cerintus</i> was there. <i>S. John</i> could not (as the papists say) be the Virgin <i>Maries</i> Confessor, seeing according to them, she was without sin. <i>Domitianus</i> fearing the coming of Christ, commanded all that could be found of the stocke of <i>David</i> in Jewry to be slaine. Another cause inciring persecution, was false accusation of the Christians. But however the inquisition was this, Swear the truth, whether thou art indeed a Christian; If they confessed they were; the law condemned them for that alone. This	Vol. I	Page
43	Claudius Nero.		Aviragus.				
62						43	
63			Claudius the Emperour sailes into Britaine, and subdued part of it to the Empire.			44	
67	Domitius Nero.						
69						45	
73			Marius.				
81		Anacletus				46	
91		alias					
96	Domitianus.	Cletus. Clemens.					



# A Chronologie.

Anno Christi	Romane Emper.	Romane Bishops.	Kings of England	Archbishops of Canterbury.	This B. of Rome was a Martyr, and flourished as <i>Rensuer</i> counts, <i>An. Chr. 102.</i> Vol. 1 This Bishop of Rome was also Martyr, see in the raigne of <i>Adrian</i> Emperour: traditions of holy water, &c. are falsly fathered on him, he flourished as <i>Rensuer</i> will, in the year 110. in the latter end of <i>Trajan's</i> raigne. 50 51
100	Nerva. Trajanus.	Evaristus Alexander.			<i>Sophira</i> and <i>Sabinus</i> , Martyrs. <i>Nerva</i> with his quietnesse, put a period of peace for one yeere betweene the second and third persecution. <i>Trajanus</i> caused the third persecution. <i>Pliny</i> writes to <i>Trajan</i> to stop the persecution. <i>Trajan</i> seekes out and puts to death the stocke of <i>David</i> . Certaine sectaries of the Jewish nation accuse <i>Simcon</i> sonne of <i>Mary Cleopha</i> , that he was of the line of <i>David</i> , and a Christian; whereupon he was crucified; but the accusers escaped not being condemned for being (as the Emperour supposed) of the stocke of <i>David</i> . <i>Procus</i> B. of Pontus, mart.   <i>Sulpitius</i> , <i>Servilius</i> , <i>Euphrasius</i> , <i>Theodora</i> , Martyrs. <i>Nereus</i> and <i>Achilleus</i> , Martyrs.   <i>Ignatius</i> Martyr, being devoured of wilde beasts. <i>Publius</i> , Bishop of Athens, Martyr. 53 Under him suffered <i>Alexander</i> Bishop of Rome, with his two Deacons. <i>Zenon</i> , a noble man of Rome, 10260 more flaine for Christ. <i>Abaucius</i> , <i>Heliades</i> , <i>Ticodorus</i> <i>Carcerius</i> , prime Martyrs. <i>Eustachius</i> , with his wife and children, Martyrs. <i>Calocerius</i> seeing the patience of <i>Faustinus</i> and <i>Jobita</i> suffering the cruell torments, cryed out with these words, <i>Verè magnus Deus Christianorum</i> , i. Great is the God of the Christians, whereupon he was presently apprehended, brought to the place of their execution, and was made partaker of their martyrdom. <i>Eleutherius</i> with his mother, <i>Anibia</i> Martyrs.   <i>Justus</i> and <i>Pastor</i> , brethren, martyrs <i>Symphorissa</i> with her 7 children, martyrs.   <i>Sophia</i> with her three children, Martyrs. Apologies made to the <i>Quadratus</i> Bishop of Athens. Emperour in behalfe <i>Aristides</i> a Philosopher. of the Christians by <i>Serenus Graninus</i> , a noble man. The successe was, that the Emperour writeth and slacketh the persecution, charging that none be persecuted barely for Christianity. Hereby then began to come in the respite of peace betweene the third and fourth persecution. Howbeit this <i>Adrian</i> understanding of the Jewes rebelling, sent <i>Julius Severus</i> against them, who overthrew 52 castles in Jewry, burnt and demolished 9080 villages, and slew 50000 of the Jewes. 54 After this, <i>Adrian</i> the Emperour repaired Hierusalem, calling it <i>Heliopolis</i> . <i>Adrian</i> dyes by bleeding at the nose, as he had shed Christians blood. This emperor <i>Antoninus</i> reigned 23 yeeres, continuing that peace with the Christians he found begun in <i>Adrian's</i> last dayes; for which he had the name of <i>Pius</i> . Yet by the peoples tumult without the emperors consent, some were martyred His saying was, he had rather save 1 citizen, than destroy 1000 of his adversaries. He writes in behalfe of the Christians, to the persecutors, notable arguments to stay persecution, as being conquered by the patience of the Christians. An edict of peace for the Christians is proclaimed at Ephesus. (death. This quiet emperor in life, of all other emperors of those times, died the most quiet This <i>Antoninus</i> was studious of Philosophy, but severe against the Christians, moving the fourth persecution. He moved much In France, see p. 59. persecution. In Asia, where <i>Polycarp</i> , Bishop of Smyrna was martyred. In this persecution, Christians were whipped untill their veines, arteries and bowels did appeare. 55 <i>Germanicus</i> , a famous Martyr for patience. <i>Quintus</i> a Phrygian, being rashly hardy, suffers for it. <i>Polycarp</i> at first by perswasion, did fly persecution, at last offered himself willingly to those that beset the house to seeke him, and was martyred. Twelve Martyrs at Smyrna.   Of <i>Polycarps</i> Epistle to the Philippians. <i>Irenæus</i> was conversant with <i>Polycarp</i> , and <i>Polycarp</i> with the Apostles. Difference of ceremonies brake not amity in the Primitive Church. <i>Socrates</i> deceived in his Tripartite story.   <i>Methodorus</i> Martyr. <i>Corpus</i> , <i>Papilus</i> , <i>Agathinica</i> , Martyrs. 57 <div style="display: flex; align-items: center;"> <div style="margin-right: 10px;"> <i>Felicinus</i> with her seven children, viz. </div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;"> <i>Famarius</i>  <i>Felix</i>  <i>Philippus</i>  <i>Silvanus</i>  <i>Alexander</i>  <i>Vitalis</i>  <i>Martialis</i> </div> <div style="margin-left: 10px;"> Martyrs at Rome. </div> </div>
124 140	Aurelius Antonius, Pius.		Coilus.		
161	M. Antonius Verus Who joynd with him in the government of the Empire. M. Aurelius Commodus.				

# A Chronologie.

Anno	Romane Emper.	Romane Bishops.	Kings of England.	Archbishops of Canturbury.	Justinus Martyr, learned in philosophy, and godly in practice. Crescent a philosopher, procurer of Justins death. Praxedis and Potentiana two godly Virgins, bury the bodies of the dead Martyrs, and spend their patrimonies to relieve the living. Ptolemus and Lucius, Martyrs at Alexandria in Egypt. A place in Gratianus suspected. Concordus, Martyr; spitteth in the face of the idoll. Vincentius his story suspected. In France were many Martyrs, at Lions, and Vienna, whose history is set forth under the hands of the brethren of France, in their letter to the brethren in Asia. Vetius Epagathus, a young man, is a couragious Martyr, unto wonderment. Ten Christians as weake as hee was strong, fainting, to the great sorrow of the stronger. The Christians are accused of keeping the Feast of Thyestes, and incest of Oedipus. Blandina, martyr, is so patient in suffering all manner of torments, that she wearies her tormentors. Sanctus, Martyr, was so able patiently to beare all manner of torments, that none could make him answer to many questions, put to him, but only this in Latine to each of them, <i>I am a Christian</i> . His first torments making him so swollen and scorched, that his members had lost their shape and use; the second contrary to his enemies intent restored his limbs in regard of both. Biblides, a woman Martyr, having denied Christ, returnes, and confesseth Christ in the midst of these torments which were inflicted to make her blaspheme Christ. Divers Martyrs strangled. Martyrs dye in prison. Photinus a Deacon, 80. yeers old, Martyr. A description of the comfort of confessing, and the discomfort of denying Christ. Maturus and Attalus Martyred in a red hot iron chayre, could not be made by setting them in it, to confesse any thing, but what they had willingly be- fore. Deniers of Christ returne and become confessors. Alexander a Phrygian, beckoning at the barre to the Christians to stand to the Confession of Christ, is questioned, confesseth Christ, and is martyred. Blandina, a woman, and Ponticus a youth of fiftene yeares old, martyrs, could not be forced to sweare, with all the witty cruelty of the tormentors. Justinus a deep Philosopher, a godly man, an Apologizer for the Christians, and a Martyr. Grounds of crediting the Prophets. The profit of reading them. Epiphanius found in a fault. Most Worthy Martyrs pronounce themselves unworthy of the name of Mar- tyrs. Alcibiades rebuked for over-strict fasting. Apollinaris and Melito exhibite Apologies to the Emperour in behalfe of the Christians. The bookes of the Old Testament anciently received for Authentike. Christian souldiers get rain by prayer in a time of their great want of water in the army: for which the Emperour favours them, writing letters in behalfe of all the Christians, to the asswaging of the persecution. This Commodus was (though incommodious to the Senators of Rome) commodi- ous to the Church; giving some peace universally throughout the same. Mean while the Gospell spreads, and many noble families in Rome adjoyne them- selves to the Christians. Notwithstanding there was some persecuted in his time, for although there was a Law made by the Emperour, that none should fallly accuse the Christians up- on paine of death, yet in case any Christian were once accused, the ancient Law was, that none that were arraigned for profession of Christ should be releafed without recantation of his opinion. Hereupon it followed, that	Vol. I Page
						58
						59
						60
						61
						62
						63
						64
						65
						66
175	Lucius Antoninus Commodus.					



# A Chronologie.

Anno Christi	Romane Emper.	Romane Bishops.	Kings of England	Archb- shops of Canter- bury.	<p><i>Apollonius</i> a noble Senator of Rome being accused of his servant, the servant by the Law against accusers, was executed, and had his legges broken; and <i>Apollonius</i> himselfe by the law of not disiniling, accented Christians without recantation, was beheaded; because in stead of making a recantation, hee made an Apologie of Christian beliete.</p> <p>This Emperour, <i>Antonius Commodus</i> was very skilfull in casting darts, and tooke great pride to be called <i>Hercules</i>, and to weare oft times a Lions skinne, in both intimating what a Protector hee was to the City, and chieftaine over the people; <i>Hercules</i> being a Giant, and a Lion the king of beatts.</p> <p>This Emperour on his birth-day, clothed in his Lions skinne, and sacrificing to <i>Hercules</i> and <i>Jupiter</i>, commanding also the people to do the like, <i>Vincentius Pergrinus</i>, <i>Eusebius</i>, <i>Potentiarius</i>, learned men, and instructors of the people, dissuaded them: for which cause, and for that they would not sacrifice to idols at the command of the Emperour, were with sundry devices tormented; and at last with the pressure of leaden weights, were martyred to death.</p> <p><i>Julius</i> with his family are baptized, and after martyred.</p> <p>This <i>Xistus</i> or <i>Sixtus</i> Bishop of Rome is counted the sixth Bishop after Peter. The Epistles, and in them the ordinances fathered upon him, very probably are falsly put upon him. He sate in his Sea about nine or ten yeeres.</p> <p>This <i>Telephorus</i> sate in the seat eleven yeeres, and died a Martyr. Many ordinances touching <i>Gloria in excelsis</i>, Lent-fast, not permitting of laymen to accuse the clergie, are falsly fathered upon him.</p> <p>This <i>Higinus</i> died a Martyr. The ordinances of Creame, of one godfather and godmother, of dedications of Churches, &amp;c. are falsly put upon him.</p> <p>The inflicting penance forty dayes upon the priest, for letting fall one crumme of the Lords supper: and if a drop did fall, that it should belicked up, or else the place washed or pared, &amp;c. all which, put on this Bishop <i>Pius</i> by <i>Plarinus</i>, found as unlikely as they are in themselves triviall. He made a decree of changing Easter-day from the wonted day, viz. the foureteene day of the moone in the first moneth, to the Sunday after.</p> <p>This <i>Anicetus</i> sate in the seat eleven yeeres, and died a Martyr. He determined the same about Easter day, as <i>Pius</i> his predecessor had.</p> <p>This <i>Soter</i> sate in the seat eight yeeres: He also concludes the same order touching Easter, as <i>Pius</i> and <i>Anicetus</i> had.</p> <p>He sate Bishop of Rome fiftene yeeres. His determination touching Easter is the same with his three predecessours. See more in page 37. in the History or Victor.</p> <p>Divers Writers report that this Bishop of Rome sent <i>Damianus</i> and <i>Fugatus</i> at the request of king <i>Lucius</i>, king of England, to him into England, by whom the said King should be converted and baptiz'd. But as they vary in time, some making this sending to be a yeere or two under 180. and others as much over: so is there a just difference betweene them, whether these were the first that transported the Christian Faith into England, some of them avouching the coming of <i>Simon Zelotes</i> into England, others the coming of <i>Ioseph of Arimathea</i> first founding Christian religion in this Isle. Whoever was first, <i>Petrus Chuniacensis</i>, <i>Origen</i> and <i>Tertullian</i> doe witnesse that Christianity was much more ancient than <i>Eleutherius</i>, yea and then the conversion of the said King <i>Lucius</i>.</p> <p>Besides those mentioned above, were these learned men, confounding the persecutors by writing, in the time of this present Emperour <i>Commodus</i>.</p> <p><i>Seraphion</i> Bishop of Antioch.</p> <p><i>Egesippus</i> a Writer of the Ecclesiasticall story from Christs passion to his owne time. None of his books remaine save onely five. <i>De Excidio Hierosol.</i> And those are not mentioned by <i>Hieron.</i></p> <p><i>Eusebius</i> or <i>Miltiades</i>, who notwithstanding make mention of the man himselfe.</p> <p><i>Miltiades</i> wrote an Apologie for the Christians.</p> <p><i>Heraclius</i> about this time began to write his Annotations and Enarrations upon the New Testament.</p> <p><i>Theophilus</i> an Ecclesiasticall writer, Bishop of Cesarea.</p> <p><i>Dionysius</i> Bishop of Corinth, famous for learning, writes divers Epistles to severall Churches. He writes to one <i>Penitus</i> a Bishop, <i>Ne grave servande castitatis onus, &amp;c.</i> i. that he layd no yoke of necessity of keeping Chastity upon his brethren.</p> <p>This <i>Dionysius</i> writes an Epistle of <i>Dionysius Arcopagita</i>, declaring (as it is storied in the Acts) his conversion by Paul, but speaks not a word of his book <i>De Hierarchia</i>; yet doth he speake more of him touching his being first Bishop</p>
		<i>Xistus I.</i> alias <i>Sixtus I.</i>			
129		<i>Telephorus.</i>			
140		<i>Higinus.</i>			
		<i>Pius.</i>			
159		<i>Anicetus</i>			
		<i>Soter.</i>			
178		<i>Eleutherius.</i>			
			<i>Lucius.</i>		

<i>Anno Christi</i>	Romane Emper.	Romane Bishops.	Kings of England	Archbishops of Canterbury.
---------------------	---------------	-----------------	------------------	----------------------------

195

Pertinax Severus	This same Severus extended his Empire over Britaine at this time.
------------------	---

of Athens. This *Dionysius* of Corinth doth shew us that it was the Custome in his time, that the Epistles that were sent unto Congregations by learned men, should bee read in the Churches in the audience of the Assemblies.

*Clement Alexandrinus* also wrote in the time of this Emperour *Commodus*, whose bookes some are yet extant, declaring the order and number of the bookes of the new Testament.

A man of these times too, was *Pantenus*, the first publike professor in schooles in Alexandria, occasioning by his example Christian Universities. This *Pantenus* for his great Learning, was sent for by *Demetrius*, Bishop of Alexandria, to preach to the Indians, where he finding Saint *Matthewes* Gospell in Hebrew, left there by Saint *Bartholomew*, brought it from thence to the Library of Alexandria.

Whiles the Christians had any respites of peace in this *Commodus* his time: they jangled about the celebration of Easter. Yet differing in this Ceremony, they brake not off Charity. The difference of their Easter dayes.

He raigned but a few moneths Emperour.

This *Severus* raised the fifth Persecution, of the eightene yeares of his raigne, the first tenne were favourable to the Christians, the other eight through false accusations of the malignant, by proclamation drew blood upon the Christians, see *Euseb. lib. 6.* about the yeere 205.

The accusers branded them with sedition, murder, &c. with worshipping of an Asse his head, because they beleaved the story of *Sampsons* slaughtering the Philistims with a Jaw bone: And with worshipping the Sun; because before Sun rising they met and sung Psalmes, praying to wards the East: But the true quarrell was their not worshipping the Romane idols.

The Captaines and Officers in this persecution, were *Hilerianus*, *Vigilius*, *Claudius*, *Hermimus*.

The places of this persecution were Africa, Alexandria, Cappadocia, and Carthage.

The persons persecuted and martyred were

*Leonides* father of *Origen* beheaded, with whom his sonne *Origen*, being then of seventene yeeres, would have suffered Martyrdome, but that his mother by force hindred him.

*Origen* encourageth his father to Martyrdome, saying, *Cave tibi ne quid propter nos, &c.* that is, *Take heed you turne not your purpose of martyrdome for our sakes.* His father being slaine; and his goods confiscate to the Emperour, he maintained himselfe, and mother, and her children, being in great poverty, by teaching schoole. He was very learned, conferring the Hebrew with the translation of the Septuagint; and finding out the common translations of *Aquila Symmachus* and *Theodoion*; adjoyning to them foure other translations. His bookes he penned, were by Saint *Hieromes* account, 7000 volumes, which hee sold for a litle above three pence a piece for his reliefe.

*Phetrach*, a Scholer of *Origenes*, martyr.

*Serenus* his brother, a hearer also of *Origen*, martyr, burned.

*Heracles*, another hearer of *Origen*, martyr, beheaded.

*Heron* *Origenes* scholar, martyred by beheading.

*Serenus* a fifth of *Origenes* scholars martyred by beheading.

*Rexis* and *Pontamiena* were tormented with pitch powred upon them, and so martyred.

*Marcella*, mother of *Pontamiena*, martyred with fire.

*Basilides*, an officer that saw execution done upon *Pontamiena*, afterwards denied to give an oath in a matter whereunto he was called, because he was to sweare by the idols, professing himselfe also to be turned Christian, by meanes of *Pontamiena*, who said as she went to martyrdome that she would pray that God would have mercy on him, after which hee had seene a Crowne put upon his head; whereupon he was martyred by beheading.

*Alexander* by his great strength of body and grace, surviving many great torments inflicted on him for religion, was by the repute thereof, adjoyined Bishop of Jerusalem to *Narcissus* the former Bishop of that seat being 163 yeeres old, and unweldy to governe alone.

Three malicious false witnesses accusing this *Narcissus*, confirmed it with imprecations of burning, deaths sicknesse, and losing both the eyes to themselves if their false accusations were not true: which being false, those severall imprecations were truly executed upon them by the Lord, to each his owne with.

Vol. 1  
Page

70

71



# A Chronologie.

Anno Christi	Romane Emper.	Romane Bishops.	Kings of England	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Vol. 1 Page
				<p><i>Andoclus</i> sent by <i>Polycarp</i> into <i>France</i> for his spreading the Gospell there, was beaten with itaves and bars, and beheaded, and so martyred.</p> <p><i>Asclepiades</i> a persecuted confessor, Bishop of Antioch.</p> <p><i>Irenaeus</i>, Bishop of Lions, Martyr; commended by <i>Tertullian</i> to bee the greatest searcher of all kind of learning.</p> <p>He as his name signifies, a man of peace, composing by his great learning many differences, and suppressing many errors wherewith the Church in his time did swarme.</p> <p>Not long after this <i>Irenaeus</i> flourished, <i>Tertullian</i> an Ecclesiasticall writer, commended by <i>Vincentius Lirinensis</i>, to be the Flower of all Latine Writers, and one that by his eloquence of stile compelled assent, having in it as many sentences as words, and as many victories as sentences. This <i>Tertullian</i> made a singular Apologie for the Christians, touching every particular false accusation, shewing the impossibility and improbability of any truth in them.</p>	72
	Victor.			<p>This <i>Victor</i> is reported (though <i>Platina</i> saith the contrary) by <i>Damasus</i>, and the followers of the common Chronicles, to die a Martyr. But hee moved some stirre about the time of Easter; which the Apostles had left as indifferent, who by reason of their inteventness on preaching, gave no heed to times and daies; nor did they binde the Church to any Ceremonies, saving of strangled things, and blood. Which of blood seemeth to be given to the Church to prevent the scandall the heathen Gentiles laid upon the Christians eating blood, and so to continue only whiles the persecutions of the heathen Gentiles continued. Also <i>Pius</i>, <i>Anicetus</i>, <i>Soter</i> and <i>Eleutherius</i> having changed Easter day from the fourteenth day of the moon in the first moneth, to the next Sunday after, and being opposed by <i>Melito</i> Bishop of Sardis, <i>Egesippus</i>, and <i>Polycarp</i>, sent by the brethren of Asia to Rome to <i>Anicetus</i>, to conferre with him about it, and not agreeing in opinion, the learned men of those times with those now named, keeping charity, left the time of Easter as <i>Adiaphora</i>, a thing indifferent, in the Church till the time of this <i>Victor</i>. Now this <i>Victor</i> was so violently set upon upholding the Romane determination of his former predecessors, as a necessary; that he would excommunicate all the Bishops and Churches of Asia as Heretickes, unlesse they would be of his opinion, had not <i>Irenaeus</i> restrained him. Yet was <i>Irenaeus</i>, also <i>Theophilus</i>, Bishop of Caesarea, <i>Narcissus</i>, Bishop of Hierusalem, <i>Palmus</i> of Pontus, <i>Banchilus</i> of Corinth, &amp;c. of the judgement of <i>Victor</i>, touching keeping Easter upon the Sunday after the fourteenth of the Moon in the first moneth, for these two reasons: First, because they would differ as much as might be from the Jewes; Secondly, because the resurrection of the Lord fell on the same day. On the contrary opinion were divers Bishops in Asia, chiefly <i>Polyrates</i>, Bishop of Ephesus, alleading Scripture, the example of some of the Apostles, and custome of other Fathers. But <i>Irenaeus</i> still tooke off the edge of sharpe contentions; and so the controversie remained free till the time of the Nicen Council. And other Doctors of Christian liberty were free till <i>Victors</i> time, about Ann. 200</p>	73
203		Zephyrus.		<p>The two Epistles in the first Tome of the Councils, fathered upon this <i>Zephyrus</i> Bishop, may justly be suspected to be fained. And that those and other ordinances spoken of before were invented by some to advance the papacy, and naming them with the names of those fathers. The same wee may thinke of the patins of glasse ascribed to the said <i>Zephyrus</i>. For that time of his sitting Bishop, some writers make it 8, some 16, some 17 yeeres. The most agree betweene 17 and 18.</p>	
	Bassianus.			<p>This Emperour <i>Severus</i> invades England, he casts up a ditch of 130 miles from sea to sea, beginning at Tine, and reaching to the Scottish sea.</p> <p>He removing thence to Yorke, was thereby the Northern men and Scots besieged and slaine.</p> <p><i>Severus</i> leaving behinde him two sonnes <i>Bissianus</i> and <i>Geta</i>, <i>Bissianus</i> slayes <i>Geta</i>, and governes the Empire alone about six yeares, and then was slaine of his next successors.</p> <p>These two <i>Mic.</i> and <i>Diad.</i> having raigned one yeere, were slaine of their owne people.</p>	74
214				<p>This <i>Helioabalus</i> affected pompe in his life exceedingly; burning balme for oyle in his Lamps, filling his fish-ponds with Rose-water, wearing apparell of gold, and most costly filkes, shoes set with precious stones, feeding himselfe with variety of dishes every second day, furnished with whatsoever was rarest and dearest;</p>	
219	Macrinus with his son Diadumenus. Varius Helioabalus.				

<i>Anno Christi</i>	Romane Emper.	Romane Bishops.	Kings of England.	Archbishops of Canturbury.		Vol. 1 Page
224	Aurel. Alex. Severus.				<p>dearest; Hee affected too a pompous death, providing (in case his wicked life should make his enemies besiege him) swords of gold, silken ropes, cups of Iacincts to hold poyson, pavements of precious stones, wherewith to stab, hang, poyson and braine himselfe. He affected lust as well as pride; having 600 chariots of bands and harlots to attend him in his progresse. He was slaine of his souldiers, being an enemy to all honesty, and an advancer onely of base ones.</p> <p>This <i>Severus</i> was adopted by <i>Heliogabalus</i> being without issue. Hee was learned; and in his actions constantly advised by his Senate; he so hated bribed Judges, that he would vomit when he saw them; and was ready with his two fingers to put out their eyes. He dismissed all idle and needlesse servants from his Court. He favoured the Christians, saying of a place where they did meet for good duties, which the Cookes and Tiplers would have taken from them, It was fitter for Gods service, than the use of Scullians, and so restored it to the Christians. Observe hence, that as yet there were no Christian Churches in Rome.</p> <p>He put to death <i>Turinus</i> with smoke, for taking money of people, to get for them the Emperors favour, which he, lying, boasted he had at command; The Cryer proclaiming at his execution,</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>Smoke be sold, and smoke be is punished with.</i></p> <p>His mother <i>Mammea</i> hearing of <i>Origen</i>s fame, sent for him from Alexandria, to heare him, who came to her and the Emperor her son.</p> <p>Though he favoured the Christians, yet some were martyred in his time, as Historians affirme, giving this reason; that by him no Proclamation was set forth for the safety of the Christians.</p> <p>The persons persecuted under him they reckon to be</p> <p><i>Calixtus</i> martyred. Many ordinances of the fast of Ember weeke, of not accusing Bishops, &amp;c. falsely put upon him;</p>	58
227		Calixtus.			<p><i>Urbanus</i> martyred. His Epistle decretall of Church goods, confirmations, &amp;c. may justly be thought to be fained.</p> <p><i>Tiburtius</i> and <i>Valerianus</i>, Converts of <i>Urbanus</i>, and noble men of Rome martyred.</p> <p><i>Cecilia</i>, wife of <i>Valerianus</i>, a great confirmer of him and his brother <i>Tiburtius</i>, and a meanes of the baptizing of 400 persons (as the story reports) martyred.</p>	75
236		Pontianus.			<p><i>Agapetus</i> of fiftene yeeres, who could neither be made to sacrifice to idols, nor be killed, with whips, hot water powred upon him, or wilde beasts, was by beheading martyred.</p> <p>The executioner of this <i>Agapetus</i>, named <i>Antiochus</i>, in the executing of this Martyr, fell down from his seat, crying, that his inward bowels burned within him, and so died.</p> <p>Many more (as authors affirme) as well of the Senate and chiefe of Rome, as others were martyred under this Emperour, and their heads were hanged over the city gates, to terrifie others from the profession of Christ.</p> <p>Albeit as touching the time of these fore-named Martyrs, I suppose they suffered rather under <i>Maximinus</i> or <i>Decius</i> than under <i>Alexander</i>.</p>	76
237	Maximinus.				<p>This emperor <i>Maximinus</i> was chosen emperour rather by the wilfulnesse of the souldiers, than the will of the Senate. He caused the sixth persecution especially against the teachers, hoping that when they were smitten, the sheep would soon be scattered. And therefore it is the more likely that <i>Urbanus</i> and the rest abovenamed in the former persecution suffered rather under this <i>Maximinus</i> than under that <i>Alexander</i>.</p> <p><i>Origen</i> under this emperour wrote his booke <i>De Martyrio</i>.</p> <p><i>Pontianus</i> the Bishop of Rome banished.</p>	
240	Gordianus.				<p>This <i>Gordianus</i> was a learned and quiet Prince, and governed with much peace.</p> <p><i>Pontianus</i> the Bishop of Rome dies. His Epistles decretall, touching the hyperbolicall dignifying of the clergie, probably are fained.</p> <p>At this time were raised in the Church other famous Fathers, as <i>Phileas</i> Bishop of Antioch. <i>Zeberinus</i> Bishop of Antioch.</p> <p><i>Ammonius</i> the Schoole-master of <i>Origen</i>, who wrote divers bookes in defence of Christian Religion: and continued himselfe in the Profession thereof.</p>	77



# A Chronologie.

Anno Christi	Romane Emper.	Romane Bishops.	Kings of England	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Julius Apricanus, who was (as Nicephorus writes) a Scholar of Origen, and a great writer of histories.	Vol 1. Page
					<i>Natalis</i> who had suffered, as a good Confessor, much persecution, but being hired with preferment of being a Bishop, and by money viz. 150 pieces of silver every moneth, he turned to be of the sect of <i>Theodorus</i> . But being much afflicted by the Lord, he repenting, returned to the Christian Congregation, and was received.	
		Anterius			<i>Eusebius</i> saith, that because this Bishop of Rome <i>Anterius</i> did cause the lives and deaths of Martyrs to be written, that he himselfe was martyred by <i>Maximinus</i> the Judge.	
					<i>Hippolytus</i> a Bishop, a great writer, <i>Eusebius</i> and <i>Hierome</i> mentioning his books, and a Martyr, by being drawne with wilde horses through the thickets.	
					<i>Gordianus</i> Emperour is slaine, <i>Philip</i> Emperour after him.	
246	Philippus the first Christian Emperour.				This <i>Philippus</i> emperour tooke to himselfe his son <i>Philip</i> assistant in governing. This <i>Philippus</i> with his son, and all his family, being converted by <i>Fabianus</i> and <i>Origen</i> , were baptized; And howsoever <i>Pomponius Letus</i> writes hee was a dissembling Prince, this is certaine, that for religions sake, he and his son were slaine by <i>Decius</i> one of his captaines.	
	Decius.					
250					This <i>Decius</i> emperour moves the seventh persecution, which was a most terrible one, because besides <i>Philippus</i> his Christianity, he had committed his treasure to <i>Fabian</i> the Bishop.	
		Fabianus.			This Bishop <i>Fabian</i> was a married man, and chosen Bishop, as <i>Eusebius</i> reports, by the lighting of a Dove upon his head, as he stood among the assembly, met to chuse a Bishop of Rome. He was martyred by <i>Decius</i> .	
					The Ordinances of burning the old oyle, and consecrating new once a yeere; of not marrying within the fifth degree, &c. may justly be suspected of faining.	
					To this <i>Fabian</i> wrote <i>Origen De Orthodoxia fidei sue</i> , that is, Of the righteousness of his faith.	
					<i>Origen</i> living to this <i>Decius</i> , suffered under him many bands, torments, rackings, &c. for religion. After all which, being brought by the Officers to the Altar, whereon lay an Ethiop, and commanded to sacrifice to the idoll, or else hee should have his body defiled by the Ethiop; he chose rather to sacrifice, for which he was excommunicated of the Church; and for his calling upon the Christians to carry those boughes which he had in his hand, in honour to Christ, which the heathen used to honour their gods withall, was by the Church of Alexandria removed from their communion, and so departed thence for shame to Jewry. Where being importuned by the Congregation to make some exhortation to the people, after long deniall, hee stood up and read the verse of the fifth Psalm, and so fate downe and wept. What became of him at last, is not knowne, but only that, as <i>Suidas</i> saith, hee died and was buried at Tyrus, and ended his life, as <i>Eusebius</i> saith, in great misery and poverty.	
					This <i>Origens</i> Usher in the Schoole at Alexandria was one <i>Heracles</i> ; who for his excellent parts was after master of that Schoole, and afterward Bishop of Alexandria, next after <i>Demetrius</i> .	
					After <i>Heracles</i> succeeded <i>Dionysius Alexandrinus</i> , Bishop of Alexandria, as he succeeded him before in the Schoole. This <i>Dionysius</i> writes of <i>Heracles</i> thus <i>Hunc ego</i> , &c. that is, This Canon I received from blessed <i>Heracles</i> our Pope. Yet observe that this <i>Heracles</i> was no Bishop of Rome.	
					<i>Nicephorus</i> saith of this persecution, that it was as easie to number the sands, as the Martyrs under this <i>Decius</i> . The more famous were these,	
					<i>Asclepiades</i> Bishop of Antioch, a persecuted Confessor under <i>Severus</i> , dyes a Martyr under <i>Decius</i> .	
					<i>Babylas</i> Bishop of Antioch, for not suffering the Emperour, having committed a murder, to enter into the Christians Temple, was martyred. Being buried in the temple of <i>Apollo</i> ; he causeth the oracle that was there to cease. Whereupon his body was taken up againe.	
					<i>Babylas</i> Bishop of Nicomedia Martyr.	
					Forty Virgins in the city of Antioch, Martyrs.	
					Martyrs in Phrygia.	

# A Chronologie.

Anno <i>Christi</i>	Romane Emper.	Romane Bishops.	Kings of England.	Archbi- shops of Cantur- bury.	Confessors at Babylon carried to Spaine to be Martyred. Divers martyred in Cappadocia. Divers martyred in Perlide. Many martyred at Alexandria. A Sooth-sayer was a great stirrer up of this persecution ( being a great friend to idolatry ) by whose meanes the multitude was so enraged against them that would not sacrifice to their idols, that they stone <i>Metra</i> a Christian priest, and dragged <i>Quinta</i> a godly woman through the streets and killed her. They went into Christians houses, and tooke away their goods of price, and burned the rest in the Market place. <i>Apollonia</i> a Martyr, had her teeth dasht out. And being threatned with a fire made before her to burne her, unlesse she would commit idolatry, she voluntarily leaped into the fire. Dissention among the persecutors, turned persecution for a time from the Christi- ans upon themselves. Revolters being perswaded to sacrifice to the idols come trembling, as if they themselves should be sacrificed. A souldier taking part with the Christians against them that rail at them, is mar- tyred for the same. <i>Ammonarion</i> was tormented for telling the Judge she would not yeeld to his wic- ked commands for any torments he would inflict. Which she accordingly per- formed; and the Judge was ashamed to be overcome of a woman.  Knights and warriors standing by the Tribunall, where the Martyrs were con- demned, made signes to the fearefull, imboldening them to confession and Martyrdome. They being espied, and about to be questioned, pressed in to the bench, professed Christ, and were martyred.  <i>Cberem</i> a married Bishop, fled with his wife in this persecution in the moun- taine of Arabia, and was never seene more. <i>Dionysius</i> charged by <i>Germanus</i> Bishop, for flying in persecution, cleareth himselfe, calling God to witnesse, that he regarded not his life, but the souldiers that kept him, leaving him through a feare, by the shreeking of some not farre off, he was left alone, and escaped. <i>Christophorus</i> of twelve cubits high, as writers report, was martyred in this per- secution, whether he be that <i>Christopher</i> of whom the speech goes, he carried Christ, &c. it is uncertaine. Abundance in this persecution, wandred in mountaines, and were starved, or de- voured of beasts. A souldier out-facing all threats to draw him to idolatry, is by the Pretor put into a soft bed in a pleasant garden of Lillies and Roses, and a beautifull harlot sent in to him with imbracements inciting him to adultery. But he bites off his tongue while she was kissing him, and spit it in her face, and rejected her wicked offers. <i>Theodora</i> Virgin, for refusing to sacrifice to idols, was adjudged to the stewes. A Christian souldier going thither, as if ( as the people hoped ) he would have beene one of them that would have abused her, changed his habit for hers, he sending her to escape, and staying there himselfe to die in her stead; who be- ing condemned, <i>Theodora</i> to release him, declares her selfe to be the right par- ty. The Pretor cutting off their hands, burnes both him and her.  <i>Nichomachus</i> in his torments renouncing his Christianity, and offering sacrifice to the idols, was when he was released, taken eftsloones with a wicked spirit; throwne on the ground, that he bit off his tongue, and so died. Many more ex- amples there were in this persecution, of Gods Judgements on revolters. Upon these revolters rose first the heresie of <i>Novatus</i> , viz. that revolters for feare of torments, might not be reconciled nor admitted to the Church, though they repented. This <i>Novatus</i> makes three Bishops drunke, that they might ordaine him Bishop of Rome against <i>Cornelius</i> the then lawfull Bishop of that Sea.  Upon these two Bishops of Rome set up together, doth <i>Cyprian</i> so much write of unity and one Bishop, and not otherwise is he to be understood as any way to speake for a Pope. A Synod is held at Rome against this upstart Bishop <i>Novatus</i> . This <i>Cornelius</i> is highly commended of <i>Cyprian</i> for his worthinesse, of <i>Hierome</i> for his eloquence, and of others for his martyrdom. Hence conceive all the tri- viall decretals to be fained.	Vol. I Page
						81
						82
						83
						84
255		Corneli- us.				This



# A Chronologie.

Anno Christi	Romane Emper.	Romane Bishops.	Kings of England	Archbishops of Canturbury.		Vol. I
	Gallus & Volusianus his son reign together.				This most tyrannicall <i>Decius</i> having raigned a very short time, viz. betweene two or three yeeres, was slaine of the Barbarians. After <i>Decius</i> his death God sent a pestilence on the Empire of ten yeeres continuance. In it the Christians visited each other, though infection did kill the visitors next in short space. But the Gentiles being cruelly uncharitable, neglected their brethren, being sicke, and cast out their dead bodies to the dogs. Upon this pestilence <i>Cyprian</i> wrote his booke <i>De Mortalitate</i> .	85
					<i>Gallus</i> and <i>Volusianus</i> succeed by treason next to <i>Decius</i> , and raigne but a short time for their persecuting. <i>Gallus</i> setting forth decrees for persecution, banishing many bishops and pastors from their flocks. Condemning others to the mettall-Mines.	86
					To this time I referre the banishment of <i>Cyprian</i> , he being then bishop of Carthage. Who in his absence from his flocke by this exilement, made supply by his many excellent letters, which are yet in a great part extant.	
256		Lucius.			This <i>Lucius</i> was also banished under these two Co-Emperours. This <i>Lucius</i> is said to ordaine, that two Priests with three Deacons should alwayes be with a bishop to witnesse his conversation; which order may be very good and usefull. But it seemes not to agree to <i>Lucius</i> his time, wherein there was not such greatnesse of bishops to retaine and maintaine such retinue; nor such freedome from persecution, as that they durst be seene openly abroad. Other ordinances put upon him are suspected of faining.	87
	Valerianus and his sonne Galienus.	Stephanus.			This Bishop is said by many Authors to dye a Martyr. Many decrees fathered upon him: but they are feined. These two Romane Emperours rainging covertly together, were very courteous to the Christians, by reason whereof, and the greatnesse of the pestilence in the Empire, persecution was extinguished for some two or three yeeres, insomuch that the Emperours Court was full of Christians. But after <i>Valerian</i> having an Egyptian, a chiefe ruler of the heathen Synagogue, and chief of the inchanters, being hindered by the Christians prayers from his feates and charmes, complaining and incensing thereupon the Emperour, the said <i>Valerian</i> was moved by him to move the eighth persecution.	
259					<i>Cyprian</i> addes in his fourth booke, and fourth Epistle, certaine causes on the Christians part of this persecution. viz. The sinnes and dissensions of the Christians. Finally, that wicked accusers caused this persecution, by accusing the Christians of being the causes of the evils of famine, pestilence, &c. on the Empire. Against all these <i>Cyprian</i> writes an eloquent Apology, intituled <i>Contra Demetrianum</i> , as <i>Tertullian</i> had done before <i>Contra Scapulam</i> .	89
					In the time of this persecution was <i>Cyprian</i> martyred; whose name was <i>alias Statius</i> ; whose country was Carthage in Africa. Who was made first a Priest, then the Bishop of Carthage. He was very carefull of the afflicted brethren, a great Reader of <i>Tertullian</i> , and a man that had many godly visions, as of future persecutions, &c. At last, refusing to offer to idols, this persecution tooke off his head, and crowned him with Martyrdome. For the excellent sentences penned by him, his Bookes tell the world of them sufficiently. He had his blemishes as other fathers were not free (though the Papists fault is to make too much of every thing.) <i>Origen</i> had something that the Church now holds not. <i>Polyearp</i> observed Easter after the Jewes custome. <i>Ignatius</i> makes fasting on the Sabbath as bad as killing Christ. <i>Irenaeus</i> held that man was not made perfect in the beginning, and seemes to defend free-will. <i>Tertullian</i> is noted for a <i>Chilias</i> t, and a <i>Montanian</i> . <i>Iustia</i> seemes to incline to <i>Chiliasme</i> , to the opinion of Angels falling by concupiscence of women, and to the doctrine of free-will. And this <i>Cyprian</i> held contrary to the Church, rebaptizing of Infants baptized by heretikes; whereupon fell great contention betweene him and <i>Stephanus</i> Bishop of Rome.	90 91 92
					Besides this <i>Cyprian</i> , there was a second, who of an idolater, and a practiser of Magick, was converted to a Christian, made a Priest and Bishop of Antioch, of which he was a native Citizen, and after was martyred under <i>Dioclesian</i> . Lastly, a third <i>Cyprian</i> long after both these there was in the time of the Emperour <i>Julius Apostata</i> .	

# A Chronologie.

Anno Christi	Emper. of Rome.	Romane Bishops.	Kings of England	Archbishops of Canturbury.	This Bishop of Rome is in this persecution martyred with six Christians, for being Christians.	Vol. 1 Page
		Xistus the second <i>alias</i> , Sixtus the second.			<p><i>Lawrence</i> in this persecution was martyred, betweene whom and <i>Xistus</i> the Bishop, was love and words, as betweene the dearest father and sonne, especially when he saw <i>Xistus</i> going to martyrdom. This <i>Lawrence</i> was a vertuous Levite, a Minister of the Sacraments, and a Distributer of the Churches riches. Whereupon the covetous Emperour demanding where he had bestowed the same, after three dayes respite gotten of the Emperour for answer, he brings the poore, saying, These are the precious treasury of the Church. The Emperour conceiving himselfe mocked in this answer, commands <i>Lawrence</i> to bee tormented to death, by pinching him with fiery tongues, girding him with burning plates, laying him on the iron grate or grid-iron red hot, roasting, broiling, tossing and turning him. In the suffering of all which, this is all that <i>Lawrence</i> said,</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>This side is now roasted enough, turne up, O Tyrant great. And see whether roasted or raw thou think'st the better meat.</i></p> <p>By this suffering of <i>Lawrence</i>, thus patiently suffering death in so great torments, a Romane souldier was converted, desiring to be baptized; thereupon hee was martyred.</p>	93
					<p><i>Dionysius</i> Bishop of Alexandria, with certain brethren, was banished in this persecution to Cephro, for not worshipping the heathen gods, and proving that there was one only true God whom they ought to worship.</p> <p>In this persecution were martyred, men, old and yong, women, wives, and maides, and yong simple innocents.</p> <p><i>Eusebius</i> the deacon, notwithstanding his many persecutions, lived, ministring to the living fettered Confessors, and burying the dead Martyrs, and after was made Bishop of Laodicea, and after died in peace, about the yeere 268.</p> <p>In Cefarea Palestine suffered Martyrdome, <i>Priscus</i>, <i>Malchus</i>, and <i>Alexander</i>, who became Martyrs by seeing the Christian courage of others Martyred.</p> <p>In the city of Carthage at this time were martyred 300.</p> <p>In Simela of Italy <i>Pontius</i> was martyred by being first hanged on the racke, then cast to the wilde beasts, then these not hurting him, was cast too into the fire, of which, as <i>Vincentius</i> saith, being not hurt, he was last of all beheaded and cast into the floud: His tormentors were so vexed after with spirits, that they bit off their tongues and died.</p> <p><i>Bergomensis</i> is here to be reproved, for writing in his eighth booke in the story of this Emperour <i>Valerianus</i>, that <i>Philippus</i> was Bishop of Alexandria, and beheaded under the same <i>Valerian</i>, which is cleane contrary to approved authors, and the course of time.</p> <p>At this time was one <i>Philippus</i> made president of Alexandria; who had a daughter named <i>Eugenia</i>, of rare beauty, who to avoid marriage with a Pagan and heathen persecutor, fled from her father, going in mans apparell, calling her selfe <i>Eugenius</i>, and for her parts was made head of a society of Christians, where a lustfull Marrone being inamoured with her beauty, supposing her to be a man, laboured to draw her to uncleannesse with her; but <i>Eugenia</i> not consenting; this Matrone accuseth <i>Eugenia</i> to have laboured to deflowre her; whereupon the matter was brought before <i>Philippus</i> the president, who according to allegations, being about to condemne her to death, <i>Eugenia</i>, seeing no other evidences would serve, discovered her selfe to <i>Philippus</i>, to be an innocent, a woman, and his daughter, and so was restored and received of <i>Philippus</i> as an innocent and a daughter, who not long after converted her father to Christianity, who after died also a Martyr, and after his death <i>Eugenia</i> returning to Rome was also martyred.</p>	94
						95



# A Chronologie.

Anno Christi	Romane Emper.	Romane Bishops.	Kings of England	Archbishops of Canturbury.	In the sixth yeere of <i>Valerianus</i> and <i>Galenus</i> were <i>Victor</i> and <i>Victorinus</i> , having beene imprisoned three yeeres, martyred.	Vol. 1 Page
262					<i>Fructuosus</i> bishop of <i>Tarracona</i> in Spaine, with his two deacons, <i>Argurinus</i> and <i>Eulogius</i> were martyred at this time in the fire, for calling idols dumbe gods of stockes, and professing his worship, and opinion of the true God. It is reported by some that a souldier saw the heavens opened over them as they were in the fire, receiving them, a souldier and the persecuting presidents daughter beholding the same. This Emperour <i>Valerian</i> having thus persecuted the Church, two of the seven yeeres that he had raigned, he was taken in warre by the king of Persia, and made his block to take horse to his dying day. <i>Claudius</i> his persecuting president was so vexed with the devill, that he bit off his tongue and died. <i>Galenus</i> the son of <i>Valerian</i> , for his part in persecuting had many earth-quakes; and 30. rebellions moved in his Empire. Whereupon he mitigated persecution, yet some were somewhat troubled. His father raigned seven yeeres together with him; and he raigned nine alone, somewhat more quietly. The ordinances put on that <i>Dionysius</i> are fained. Some say hee was bishop nine yeers, others, six yeeres and two moneths.	95
266		Dionysius			This <i>Claudius</i> was also a quiet Emperour. He raigned about two yeeres.	
272	Quintilianus, Aurelianus.				This Emperour was also quiet. He continued but seventeen dayes. This <i>Aurelianus</i> begins mildly, but anon after moves the ninth persecution. In his milde time there was a Councell of Christians at Antioch, he seeming not to be against it or them. In the beginning of his tyrannie, he makes his entrance into blood with the death of his sisters son. As he was about to seal an edict for persecution, he was so terrified with thunder and lightning, that it stopped his tyrannie. About the fifth or sixth yeere of his raigne he was slaine.	97
278	Pub. An. Tacitus, Florianus.				This Emperour <i>Tacitus</i> raigned but six moneths.	
280	Mar. Au. Probus.	Eelix, Eutichianus.			This <i>Florian</i> raigned but sixty dayes.	
281					In the first yeere of this <i>Probus</i> was <i>Felix</i> bishop, who dyed a Martyr.	
284					This Emperour <i>Probus</i> was a quiet Prince; and an enemy to idle souldiers; keeping his souldiers to diligent labour: whereupon his souldiers slew him, having raigned about six yeeres.	
	Carus with his two sons Carinus and Numerianus.				This <i>Carus</i> warring against the Persians was slain with lightning.	99
	Aper usurps the Empire.				<i>Numerianus</i> immoderately lamenting for his father, by much weeping made his eyes sore, whereby he being constrained to keepe within doores, was slaine of <i>Aper</i> his father in law, which <i>Aper</i> would answer, when any asked for <i>Numerianus</i> , that he kept private because of his sore eyes. Thus was he justly slaine by <i>Aper</i> ; who had slaine godly <i>Cyrillus</i> for refusing to admit him an idolater into the Christians temple.	
282		Caius, who was martyred in the tenth persecution.			These two <i>Car.</i> and <i>Num.</i> being slain in the East parts; <i>Carinus</i> the other sonne raigned alone in Italy, with much wickednesse. At last the Army set up <i>Dioclesian</i> to be Emperour, and the tribune slayes <i>Carinus</i> , whose wife <i>Carinus</i> had defiled. Thus these three <i>Car.</i> <i>Num.</i> and <i>Carin.</i> raigned not above three yeeres.	
289					Thus the Church had much peace all this while, till the nineteenth yeere of <i>Dioclesian</i> : For, The Church being in peace with the heathens dissents within her selfe, and lying still, gathers corruption: anon therefore to quiet and purge her in her selfe, Gods just wisdom sends them more persecution, the tenth time.	
290	Dioclesian he chooseth Maximianus fellow Emperour with him.		Carausius alias Cerausius.	Alextus.	This <i>Dioclesian</i> being nominated (as we said) to be Emperour, and being told by <i>Drusus</i> his concubine he must slay a Bore before he could be Emperour, he runs with his sword upon <i>Aper</i> , for that, as he said, he had unjustly slaine <i>Numerianus</i> , and so slayes him, and comes fully to the crowne. As <i>Dioclesian</i> for the troublousnesse of the empire had joyned to him <i>Maximian</i> ; so these two chose to them	

# A Chronologie.

Anno Christi	Emper. of Rome.	Romane Bishops	Kings of England	Archbishops of Canturbury.	Galerius and Constantius } Caesars under them.	Vol. 1 Page
296		Marcellinus who was cited up, made to appear and condemned by the councill of Sinuesse Martyr.				
304		Marcellus Martyr. Eusebius, Martyr. Miltiades Martyr.	Afclepiodatus. Coilus.		<p>About the nineteenth yeere of this <i>Dioclesian</i>, doth he beginne the tenth persecution, which lasted ten yeeres together, exceeding the rest in length and sharpenesse. His first act in this tragedy (after the abovesaid peaceable preface) was to pull downe the Christian Churches to the ground, to burne the Scriptures, and displace all Magistrates that would not abjure Christianity.</p> <p>The second act was to assay by all possible tormentes, to make Bishops and Elders to sacrifice to Idols.</p> <p>In the third act he comes to the common Christians; but first begins in his Camp, where many of his souldiers valiantly and voluntarily dyed to be souldiers of Christ, under the colours of Martyrdome. An infinite number of others were martyred. Nay, the very places and tormentes where and wherewith they were martyred, arise to a mighty multitude.</p> <p>At Nicomedia, a Christian, a noble-man borne, seeing the Edict of the Emperour set up for persecution, takes it downe, and teares it, the two Emperors being in the city, for which he was miserably tormented.</p> <p><i>Dioclesian</i> tyrannizeth in the East, and <i>Maximinus</i> in the West.</p> <p><i>Serena</i>, the wife of <i>Dioclesian</i> the Emperour, is martyred for Christianity. 20000 Martyrs burned together in one Church. Martyrs in Phrygia are burnt with the whole City.</p> <p>Divers in this persecution were martyred in France, in Spaine, Britanie, so that in these countries some rivers were coloured with the blood of Christians.</p> <p><i>Eusebius</i> an eye-witnesse of torment-Martyrdome executed on divers in Thebaid, and of tormentors wearied with exercising cruelty, on the invincible patience of Christians, singing Psalmes in torment to the last gaspe.</p> <p><i>Marcellinus</i> revolts, anon he repents, and dyes a Martyr. An hundred Martyrs slaine at once in one day, of men, women, and children. 17000 Martyrs in one moneth slaine. 300 martyred at one time in Alexandria.</p> <p><i>Mauritius</i> the Captaine, with 6666 of his souldiers martyred. <i>Victor</i>, with 360, martyred. Christians increase in persecution.</p>	100
305						101
309	Maximinus and Constantius.		This Constantius extends his Empire over England.		<p><i>Dioclesian</i> and <i>Maximinian</i>, tyred with persecuting; give up their Empire, and lead a private life, having reigned about one and twenty yeeres, or neere upon.</p> <p>These two, <i>Maximinus</i> and <i>Constantius</i> before Caesars, now become Emperours; <i>Maximinus</i> in the East, and <i>Constantius</i> in the West.</p> <p><i>Maximinus</i> chooseth his sons <i>Maximinus</i> and <i>Severus</i> Caesars under him. <i>Constantius</i> chooseth <i>Constantinus</i> his son Caesar under him.</p> <p>Against this <i>Maxentius</i> thus set up by the Souldiers, <i>Maximinus</i> sent his sonne <i>Severus</i>, which <i>Severus</i> being slaine; hee chose <i>Licinus</i> Caesar in his roome.</p> <p>These thus set up some to be Emperours, viz. <i>Maximinus</i>, <i>Constantius</i>, <i>Maxentius</i>, and the rest as Caesars, continued the decennall persecution after <i>Dioclesian</i> and his partner had given over. Saving that <i>Constantius</i>, and especially his son <i>Constantinus</i> were kinde to the Christians.</p> <p><i>Constantius</i> seeming to be willing to most advance those that at a certaine appointed solemnity, would most readily offer sacrifice, and thereby according to his desire, discovering who were heathenish idolaters, and who Christians, he commending the Christian refusers and deriders of that idolatry, chose them for his Court, banished the others from him, as unfit for his service, that were traitors to God.</p>	102
311	Maxentius set up by the souldiers.					103
		Silvester the first.				104
						105
						106



# A Chronologic.

Anno Christi	Emperours of Rome.	Bishops of Rome.	Kings of England	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Contrariwise, Maximinus was very wicked in idolatry and cruelty; where God stricke him with a swelling and fistula in the belly and secret parts; which putrifying, brake out with swarms of lice, with such a stincke, that his Physician could not endure the same; wherefore he was slaine of this Maximinus. But by anguish of his disease, he slackt persecution, as being conscious, and accordingly making confession that his persecuting had brought this upon him; and so acknowledging his offences to God.	Page
					The Infidels themselves extoll the only true God of the Christians.	107
					Anon, by the wicked device of Theotechnus an inchanter, bringing the Christians out of credit with the Emperour, and of Prætextus Castro-rum, who got certaine women to say in writing, that once they were Christians, and what lascivious acts they knew the Christians did upon the Sundayes; the Emperour was incensed to set up decrees of fresh persecution, in brasse, whereby many Bishops and others were martyred.	108
					Upon this followed great famine and pestilence on the heathen; to whom the Christians then shewed great reliefe, when the Heathens forsooke each other.	109
					By this some peace came againe to the Church; Maximinus revoking his brazen decrees, and punishing his enchanterers that incensed him against the Christians.	
					Maximianus pretending to aske ayde of Constantinus, to depose wicked Maxentius his sonne, set up by the souldiers to be Emperour (as we said) but intending indeed to slay Constantinus (for Maximianus would have faine resumed the Empire) was slaine by Constantines officers. Hanged as some say.	
					Maxentius this whiles goes on his wicked tyrannicall raigne, at Rome, murthering husbands to be naught with their wives: so that one gentlewoman, her husband being slaine, slew her selfe to avoid his ravishing of her.	110
					Constantinus, intreated of the Romanes, come against Maxentius for his wickednesse, warring upon him; and upon a bridge made of boats over Tibur (which Maxentius made to intrap and drowne Constantine) was Maxentius intrapped and drowned.	111
					Constantine sets forth decrees offavour to the Christians.	
					Licinius fainly joynes with Constantine in that act; for at the first there was great familiarity betweene them, Licinius marrying Constantines sister. But all Licinius his love was fained, who, as he was an enemy to learning, calling it poison; and an enemy to honesty, loving all base vices; so he was an enemy to Constantine secretly (plotting against his person) and to the Christians, because he said that they prayed for Constantine, and not for him. And so he banished some Christians from his Court, and as covertly as he could, for Constantine persecuted divers bishops and other Christians, very sorely, for about fixe yeeres.	113
					For these things, at last, Constantine and he joyne battell, and after many battels, wherein still Licinius was beaten, at last was slaine. An. 324.	
					Constantius the good Emperour, the father of Constantine dyed a natural death; and was buried at Yorke.	
					Dioclesian dyed (as some write) by his owne poyson. Others say with sorrow of Constantines prospering.	
					About the time of this persecution was St. Alban, who was the first that I finde that suffered martyrdom in this Kingdom.	114
					Romanus, a rare Martyr, suffered at this time, who said that so many wounds as he had, so many mouthes he had to praise God.	
					A very young childe is a Confessor of Christs God-head, and is martyred, the mother rejoycing in the same.	115
					Menas, a famous Martyr, in the midst of great torments, cryed out, that there was nothing to be compared to the Kingdome of heaven.	116
					Martyrs put in a cold pond all a winters night.	117
					A Schoolmaster martyred by his Schollars. The story is in verse.	118
					Eulalia, a singular Martyr, in the midst of her torment praifeth God.	120
					A place of Platina confused.	123
					Great persecution there was in Persia, where were slaine 16000. Mart.	127
					Constantinus writes to the King of Persia in behalfe of the Christians.	
					(C)	Alfo

This *Constantinus* is created Emperour also over Britain

*Constantine* the great, and *Licinius*, of Cæsars are made Emperours.

Marcus.

Julius.

# A Chronologie.

Anno Christi	Emperors of Greece, or Constantinople.	Bishops of Rome.	The Kings of ENGLAND.	Archbishops of Canturbury.	Also he sets forth Edicts in his own Kingdome, of all peace and liberty (the persecutors being now vanquished) and sets up Schooles, prescribes prayers, establisheth religion, &c. in his Empire; conferring many priviledges upon the Clergy.	Vol. Page
337			Octavius. Maximianus, Gratianus. Constantinus the second.		Thus the renne PERSECUTIONS (having lasted three hundred yeeres) end, and a generall PEACE begins in the Church, in the whole Romane Empire, in Constantines good government.	I 31
348		Liberius.	Saxon Kings begin to invade, and prepare for the setting up in England their Saxonish Heptarchie.	Kings of Britaine. Vortigernus, alias Vortigerus.	In the time of this Vortiger, the Picts and Scots so spoiled this land, that Vortiger was faine to crave ayde of the Saxons: which Saxons, at last growing strong, began to subdue the Land to themselves. Whereupon the Britaines complained to Vortigern against the repairing of so many Saxons. But hee nor hearkening to them, was after seven yeeres raigne deposed by them, and Vortimer his sonne is chosen King in his roome, as followeth in the Table.	I 34
447.				Vortimerus.	This Vortimer, in some good measure, suppresseth the Saxons. At length hee was poysoned of his stepmother, having raigned fixe yeeres.	I 42
454.				Vortigernus alias Vortigerus.	Then the said Vortigern, before deposed, having againe obtained this Kingdome, Hengistus enters it with abundance of Saxons. And when hee saw the Britaines too strong for him, hee concluded peace with them; and under that covert, workes treason, slaying the Barons at Salisbury plaine; and thereby tooke the King prisoner: And so in this Kingdome of England began the Kingdomes of the Saxons, untill they came to seven Kingdomes, all Saxonish. Yet so, as though the Britaines were thus deceived of their Land by the Saxons, the Britaines were not utterly driven out, but that a certaine Kingdome remained amongst them, in some part of the Land; Namely, about Cornwall, and the parts of Cambria; which is divided into two parts, viz. South-Wales, called <i>Demetia</i> ; and North-Wales, called <i>Venedotia</i> . Yea many time the Britaines did winne upon the Saxons, till the time of Carecius; at which time, the Britaines were utterly vanquished out of Britaine to Wales by Gormundus, whom they themselves sent for out of Ireland for their helpe,	
456.			Now the Heptarchie, or 7 Kingdomes of the Saxons, Viz. First, Kent, then South Sax. West Sax. Northumberland, Mercia, East Sax. East Angles, begin every	The Britain Kings are driven to corners; their Kingdome now extending commonly but to part of Cornwall & Cambria.		Of
462.			one in his order:	East Angles. East Sax. Mercia. Northumberland. West Sax. South Sax. Kent.		



*A Chronologie.*

[illegible]

Of the Kings of Kent, the first Vol. I.  
 Page: 1  
 Kingdome of the seven, that *Hæ-*  
*gista* was flaine. — *Egbert*, the  
 first Saxon that received the  
 faith, and subdued the other King-  
 all save Northumb. K. — *Egmont-*  
*bert* first commanded Lent to be  
 fasted in his Dominions. — *Eg-*  
*bert* killed his Uncles two sonnes.  
 — To *Eadrics* time all Cant.  
 Archbishops were *Italians*. — In  
 the raigne of this *Baldred*, his  
 Kingdome was translated to *Eg-*  
*bert* King of West-Saxons, who  
 subdued him, Anno. 832. and gave  
 the kingdome to his younger sonne  
*Ælfelstan*; who dying, it was given  
 to the elder sonne of *Egbert*, named  
*Ethelwulf*. This kingdome lasted  
 342 y. cres.

Of the Kings of *South-Saxons*; *Ci-*  
*sa* gave being and name to *Ci-*  
*cetter*, where hee reigned.—  
*Noncanicus* a Britaine, the chiefe  
Marshall of *K. Uter*, whom *Porth*  
the Saxon slew. —This *Porth*  
came in at the Haven called  
*Porth-mouth* from his name.  
—The little mention in authors  
of *Ethelwelfus*, makes me thinke  
him to bee that *Adelmold*, who  
is also called *Eibelmold*, which  
is afterwards named. —The lit-  
tle mention of authors of *Conde-*  
*bert* and *Eibehed*, makes mee  
thinke them to be those kings of  
*Kent*, *Ercombert* and *Egebert*  
reigning at the same time.—*Ad-*  
*elmold* was the first Chriсте-  
ned king of *Suffex*. This shor-  
test kingdome of the seven,  
passed into other kingdomes in  
the dayes of *Ive* king of *West-*  
*Saxons*. This kingdome indured a-  
bout 112 yeeres,

Of the kings of *West-Saxons* (their kingdome containing *Somersetshire*, *Burkehire*, *Dorsetshire*, *Devonshire*, and *Cornwall*) *Kinigiulfus* was the first Chriſtend king of this kingdome of *West-Sax*: He was after a Monke. — *Cedwalla* went to Rome, and there was Chriſtend and dyed. — *Iva* went to Rome, and was made Monke. — *Sigebert* flew a good Counſellour for giving him good advice. He was depofed of his people, and ſlaine of thar Counſellors Swine-herd. — *Egbert* fubdued the other kingdomes to him, began the Monarchy, and turned the name Britaine into Anglia. This longeſt continuing kingdome laſted till W. Conq. comming. This kingdome laſted 554 yeeres.

Anno Christi	Emp. of Rome	Roman Bishops	Kings of England.			Archbishops of Canturbury	Of the Kings of Northumberl.	Vol. 1 Page 143
*547.			<i>Kent.</i> <i>South-Sax.</i> <i>West-Sax.</i> Sexburga 1. Ercwinus 2. Centwinus 7. Cedwallus 3. Ive 35. Edclardus 14. Cunedus 16. Sigebert 1. Kinulfus 31. Brithricus 23. Egbertus.	<i>Northumb.</i> * Over Northumberland raigned Ida 12. yeeres. After Ida this Kingdome was divided into the two Provinces: Viz. Deira, where Bernicia, where raigned Alle. 30. Adda 7. Alricus 5. Ethelfridus. Edwinus Northumb. #7. Ofricus. Eauf- ridus. Oswald Northumb. Oswius Northumb. Oswinus and Oswius raigne together in Deira 7. Egfridus, North. 15. Alfridus, North. 20. Ofedus, North. 11. Kenredus, North. 2. Ofricus, North. 20. Celufus, North. 9. Egbertus, North. 21. Oulfus, North. 15. Mollo, Northumb. 11. Altredus, North. 10. Ethelbertus, North. 5. Alfwoldus, North. 11. Ethelbert, North. 16. After this King, this Kingdome ceased for 35. yeeres, till Egbert, King of the West-Saxons, subdued it, as he did other Saxons, to his dominions. After which Egbert, King of the West-Sax. sons succeeded in Northumb. over which raigne d these	<i>Mercia.</i> * Over Mercia raigne d Crida 35. Wibba 20. Ceorlus 10. Penda 30. Peda. Vlferus 39. Adelred 30. Kenred 5. Ceolced. Ethelbaldus, 41. Bernred 1.	<i>East-Sax.</i> <i>East Angles.</i> Kings of Brit.	Ida had fixe children by his wife, and fixe by his concubine. — After Adda some Chronicles put in Bernicia, King Glappa, Theowulfus, Fribulfus, Theodoricus. — Ethelfrid slew the Monkes off Bangor, being 2200. because they prayed for the good successe of the Britaines. — Edwin, the first Christened converted King of this kingdome. — Ofric and Eaufrid are not reckoned in the race of Kings, because they revolted from Christianity, and were slaine. — Oswald with a small number conquered Penda his great army through prayer. Hee sent for Aedanus into Scotland to preach, which as he did in Scottish, the King expounded into English. He gave much almes. — Oswius fighting against Penda, vowed to make his daughter a Nunne, giving with her twelve Lordships to build twelve Monasteries. — Oswius slayes his partner Oswinus, and chooseth another. — Egfred married Etheldrida, who after twelve yeeres could not be allured to lye with him, getting licence of him to bee made a Nun, and after an Abbess. Shee made but one meale a day, and never wore linen. — Alfrid (as Beda saith) was exactly seene in the Scriptures. — Ofied began his raigne at eight yeeres old. — Celuse, after he had raigne d eight yeeres, was made a Monke. To him Beda wrote his history. — Mollo was made away with by Alfredus his subtil traine: Which Alfredus also after tenne yeeres was expulsed of his owne people. — Ethelbert was also expulsed. — The two last Kings were slaine. This Kingdome lasted 409 yeeres.	Of the Kings of Mercia, Penda was a great conquerer of others, viz. of Edwine and Oswald Kings of Northumberl. Also of Sigebert, E-drike and Anna, Kings of Eastangles: and Kenwalkins K. of West-sax. — Under Penda Christ was receiv'd in this Kingdome. — Ulf-rus had 3 daughters holy Virgins. Adelred was made Monke, and had two sisters holy Virgins. — Under Ceolced was Cuthlake Hermit of Crowland, called St. Cuthlake. Under Ethelbald dyed Beda. Ethelbald gave that all Churches should bee free from exactions. — Bernred for his pride was deposd of his owne people.
*561.								144



*A Chronologic.*

Anno Christi	Romane Emperors of Greece.	Bishops.	The Kings of ENGLAND.	Archb. of Cant.	Vol. 1
* 561			<p><b>Kings of Brit.</b></p> <p><b>Northumb.</b> West Saxons: South Saxons: Kent</p> <p>Ethelwolfus, Ethelbertus, Ethelwaldus, Ethelredus,</p> <p>Vnder whom were put two un-der Kings; whom the Danes subdued and reigned themselves: Viz.</p> <p>Erberbertus, Richfr, Egebert, Gurthed, Guthrid.</p> <p>After these Danes, Northumb. came to the Westfaxons, in the time of Athel- stane, and his brother Ed- mund.</p> <p><b>Mercia.</b> Offa 39. Regfred 1. Kenulphus 16. or 20. Kenelm Geolvolfus 1. or 3. Bemulphus 3 Ludecanus 2. Wilafius 12. Heard his successors, Viz. Berthalfe 12 Buthredus 20 Celufius 1. Elfredus 1.</p> <p>were made Rulers of Northumbria- After Alfred this King- dome was translated to the West- fax. This King- dome of Mercia con- tained Hun- tangton, Hertford, Gloucester, Worcester, Warwick, Lichfield, Coventry, Chester, Derbishire, Staff. Shrewl- bury, Ox- ford, Buck. Dorc. Linc. Leicest.</p> <p><b>Eastfax.</b> * Over the Eastfaxons reigned Erchwinus 35 Sleda 17. Sebertus 14. Sexredus. Sigebertus 23 Sibertus Swithelinus 14 Sigherius Sebbi. Segchardus 8 Offa 5. Selredus 38 Swithredus who was abducted to Egbert K. of Westfax. The Metro- politane See of this Essex was London, where Ethel- bert King of Kent built Pauls others joy- ning.</p> <p><b>Eastangles.</b> * Over Eastangles reigned Viffa 30. Tigulfus 13. Kedwaldus 12 Erpwaldus 38 Sigebert 3. Egnicus 3. Anna 3. Adelhere 2. Adelwoldus 9 Adulphus 25 Elkwoldus 12 Beorna 26. Ethelredus 52 Ethelbritus 5. St. Edmund Martyr, 16.</p>	<p><b>Kings of Cant.</b></p> <p>plc. — Offa consenting to the death of Ethelbert, King of the Eastangles, for his repentance caused Peter-pence first to be given to Rome. — Kenelm began to reign at seven years old; and after fixe moneths was slain. — Ludecane was after two yeers reigning slain of Egbert King of Westfaxons, by whom the rest of the Saxons were subdued. This kingdome lasted 250. yeeres.</p> <p>Of the Kings of the kingdome of Eastfax. (which began An. 561. as did that of Mercia :) Sebertus was the first of them that was Christened in this kingdome. — Sexredus and his brother Semardus reigning together, expelled Melitus the B. because he would not administer the bread of the Sacrament to them unbaptized. — Sibert was baptized, and Ministers were sent into his countrey to preach, and to baptize. — Sebbi and Offa become Monkes. This kingdome lasted to Egbert K. of Westfax.</p> <p>Of the Kings of Eastangles (which kingdome began 561.) Uffa his name occasioned the people of Norfolk to be called <i>Dikins</i>. — Keldwaldus joyns Idolatry with Christianity, by the councill of his wicked wife. — Erpmaldus began and continued entire in the Christian Religion. — Sigebert became Monke. — Ethelred for his holiness was counted for a Saint. Hee coming to Offa, King of Mercia, to marry his daughter, was innocently slain of him. — After Ethelbrit this kingdome was under divers of the other kings, tyrannizing over it, till Saint Edmund. This kingdome continued 377. yeers.</p>	Page
* 561					145.
* 561					
578				Vortiperius. Malgo. Carceius.	
580	Pelagius 2.				149.
588	Gregorius Magnus,			Augustine.	
589					to

<i>Anno Christi</i>	Romane Bishops.	Kings of England	Archbishops of Cantur- bury.
		<div> <div>Kings of Britaine</div> <div> <div>East Angles.</div> <div>East Saxons.</div> <div>Mercia.</div> <div>Northumberland.</div> <div>West Saxons.</div> <div>South Saxons.</div> <div>Kent.</div> </div> </div>	
600			
604			2 Laurentius.
610	Sabinianus.		3. Mellitus.
	Bonifacius the third.		
	Boniface 5.		4 Iustus.
627			
634			5. Honorius.

to bee delivered, *de Dei ira*. Lastly, knowing their King to be called Alle, hee saith, that Alleluja ought there to be sung to the living God. But Pelagius would not permit this Gregory to effect these allusions: but after, being Bishop next to Pelagius, he sent over Austin, with other Preachers, about the number of forty. Austin sends to the said Gregory, to be resolved of divers doubts about the behaviour of Bishops, marriage of Priests, &c. which Gregory answers, granting wives to the Priests that could not containe.

Austin, of a Monke, by Gregory his Pall, made Archbishop of Canturbury: After he had baptized a great part of Kent, he made two Archbishops, by the command of the said Gregory; viz. the Archbishop of London, and the Archbishop of Yorke.

This Austin chargeth the said bishops to assist in preaching to the English men, and that reformation should be made in the Scottish and British Churches, in divers things; particularly, to change their time of Easter, to the custome of Rome: But the Scots and Brittaines utterly refused to change their custome.

Austin was so proud, that he would not bow to seven Bishops and one Archbishop, comming to a Councell at his command; whereupon the said Bishops and Archbishop was so perverse, that they denied to assist him to convert the Idolatrous Saxons. A great fault on both sides.

Austin baptized (as Authors say) 10000 in one day: viz. the feast of Christs Nativity. Observe, Fonts were not then in use; nor were there many trinkets used about baptisme, as now at Rome; else Austin could not have baptized so many in one day.

Austin saith some fiftene yeeres Archbishop. He ordained Laurence Archbishop.

See also page 173 of the great volume.

About this time departed Gregory Bishop of Rome, of whom it is said, he was the best of all his predecessors, and the best of all his successors.

About this time died David, Archbishop of Cairleon.

About this time was Joh. Patriarch of Alexandria: who of a hard sparing man became bountifull in hospitality to the poore. He would twice a weeke sit all the day at his doore, to take up matters, and make unity where was any variance. He lamented much one day because none came that day to him, as having done no good. But his Deacon perswaded him rather to joy, that he had brought the City into that good order, that there needed no reconciliation.

He was a malicious detractor of Gregory and his workes. He continued scarce two yeeres.

See page 173 of the great volume.

He did more hurt in his one yeere being bishop, than Gregory could doe good in many. He obtained of Phocas the wicked Emperour, that he and his successors in that See should have an universall headship over all the Churches in Christendome.

This Boniface the fifth sent letters and presents to K. Edwin of Northumberland, a Pagan, to win him to the faith.

Justus ordained Paulinus Archbishop of Yorke. Of him see also page 173 of the great volume.

K. Edwin being wounded by treason with a sword, was thereupon moved to cause that his daughter should bee baptized, and twelve more of his family, in token that he also would be christened, as he promised to Christ, if hee should give him victory in battell over the King of the West-Saxons. But when he had the victory, he neglected his promise, excusing himselfe, that hee might not cleere deny his old Law which his forefathers had kept so long, and suddenly be christened without authority and advice of his Councell. But by the preaching of Paulinus, the first Archbishop of Yorke, he left his Maometry. At last by Peculinus his earnest prayers to God, and pressing the K. with his promise, he received the faith, and was baptized, with many of his subjects with him. After this the said Paulinus baptized daily many multitudes. And great peace was throughout the Kingdome, so that a woman laden with gold might have gone quietly.

Of Honorius Archbishop, see page 173 of the great volume.



Anno Christi	Romane Emperors of Greece	Romane Bishops	Kings of England	Archbishops of Cantur- bury.
			<div> <div>Kings of Britaine</div> <div> <div>East Angles</div> <div>East Saxons</div> <div>Mercia</div> <div>Northumberland</div> <div>West Saxons</div> <div>South Saxons</div> <div>Kent</div> </div> </div>	
636		Honorius.		
643				
651				
664		Virellianus alias, Vitalianus.		Adeodatus alias, Deus deat.

Sixte yeeres after Edwins Baptisme ( who brought in the faith in the North parts ) was he slaine in battell by Cedwalla the British King and by wicked Penda King of the Mercians, in the field called Hatfield.

Edwin being dead, and Cedwalla with his Britaines and wicked Penda with his idolatrous Mercians, spoyling the Countrey, Paulinus, with the Queene Edalburge, was faine to flye by water into Kent; where Paulinus was Bishop of Rochester nineteene yeeres: No Bishop being in Northumberland for thirty yeeres after. But Paulinus had left James, a godly Deacon, who preached and baptized many, till peace and the former condition of that Countrey returned.

By meanes of Edwine, Erpwaldus K. of the East angles, was reduced to Christs faith.

After Edwine and his sonne, slaine both in battell, *Ofrius* and *Enfridus* raigned there, the one in Deira, the other in Bernicia. These two being first Christened in Scotland, after being Kings returned to their Idolatry, and so the yeere following were both slaine by Cedwalla and Penda.

After whom succeeded *Oswaldus*, ruling both provinces, Deira and Bernicia; whom when Cedwalla and Penda thought to slay also, he being smaller in number, cryed to God in prayer, to help him, for the salvation of his people, against those two enemies, and so in the field called *Denesbury*, he conquered Cedwalla and Penda.

This *Oswald* disdained not to expound and preach the Gospel to his people.

By this *Oswalds* meanes, *Kinigilfus*, K. of Westsaxons was converted, through the preaching of *Berinus*, who was sent by Pope Honorius into England to preach; which *Berinus* was made Bishop of *Dorchester*, by whom *Kinigilfus* was baptized.

*Kinigilfus* made the same day, the same *Oswaldus* to be both his God-father and his son in law.

*Oswald* having raigned nine yeeres is slaine by *Penda*.

*Penda* is slaine by *Ofwie* the brother of *Oswald*, King after him in the Kingdome of Northumberland. He married his daughter to *Weda*, son of *Penda*, and made him king of *Soub-Mercia*, upon condition he should become a Christian, which when *Penda* his father was dead, he performed.

*Wolferus* his brother succeeded, who was christened, and is counted the first christened K. of *Mercia*.

*Aidmus* a Scottish Bishop, having a stately and princely horse given him with Trappers, by K. *Ofwine* of *Deira*, to the end that he might not so much travell on foot: meeting a poore man asking almes of him as he rode, and having nothing else to give him, gave him his horse trapped as he was. The K. rebuked him for parting with that choyse horse, when other meaner might have served the beggar; the Bishop replied, Dost thou, O King, set more by an horse, the toale of an horse, than by the Sonne of Mary, yea, the Sonne of God? At which words the K. fell at his feet, promising never after to gaine say any charity he should shew.

*Tecredict* or *Benet*, surnamed B. ( who brought up Bede from seven yeeres old, all his life in learning ) a noble man, and in great favour with King *Ofwie*, left all honour and preferment to serve Christ; and furnished the Kingdome with good bookes fetched from Rome. He also brought in *Glazing* into England.

Cutbertus, Bishop, is said to live about this time, with divers other godly Bishops. But the said Cutbert is not by Writers said to be Archbishop of Canturbury, till after *An. 735*. See after that yeere.

A Synod about this time is held of divers Bishops, wherein many held against the Britaines and Scottish Bishops for the observing of Easter. For *Colman*, Archbishop of Yorke, and the Britaines, according to *Aidanus Finianus*, and the other Bishops their predecessors had held, and as the Scottish Bishops then did hold, did observe contra-

Anno Christi	Emperors of Greece.	Romane Bishops.	Kings of England	Archbishops of Cantur- bury.	ry to the use among the Romanes and Saxons, the time of Easter from the fourteenth day of the first moneth, till the eight and twentieth of the same moneth; whether it were Sabbath or no. The other side, as Wilfrid the Priest, who spake for the rest, as Agilbert, &c. held that according to the custome of Rome, Italy, France, Asia, Africke, Egypt, and Greece, Easter should not be kept on the fourteenth day, unlesse it were Sabbath; but to be resprited to the next Sabbath betweene the fourteenth and the one and twentieth day. The former side alleadged for their tenent, St. John the Evangelists example. This latter alleadged St. Peters. The King concludeth thus. For so much as St. Peter is the doore-keeper of heaven, I will not gaine say him, but obey his orders, lest when I come to the gates of heaven, he shut them against me. To this reason the multitude yeilded. But Colman in displeasure left the Realme, and went into Scotland.
666					<p>ry to the use among the Romanes and Saxons, the time of Easter from the fourteenth day of the first moneth, till the eight and twentieth of the same moneth; whether it were Sabbath or no. The other side, as Wilfrid the Priest, who spake for the rest, as Agilbert, &amp;c. held that according to the custome of Rome, Italy, France, Asia, Africke, Egypt, and Greece, Easter should not be kept on the fourteenth day, unlesse it were Sabbath; but to be resprited to the next Sabbath betweene the fourteenth and the one and twentieth day. The former side alleadged for their tenent, St. John the Evangelists example. This latter alleadged St. Peters. The King concludeth thus. For so much as St. Peter is the doore-keeper of heaven, I will not gaine say him, but obey his orders, lest when I come to the gates of heaven, he shut them against me. To this reason the multitude yeilded. But Colman in displeasure left the Realme, and went into Scotland.</p>
668				7 Theodorus.	<p>ry to the use among the Romanes and Saxons, the time of Easter from the fourteenth day of the first moneth, till the eight and twentieth of the same moneth; whether it were Sabbath or no. The other side, as Wilfrid the Priest, who spake for the rest, as Agilbert, &amp;c. held that according to the custome of Rome, Italy, France, Asia, Africke, Egypt, and Greece, Easter should not be kept on the fourteenth day, unlesse it were Sabbath; but to be resprited to the next Sabbath betweene the fourteenth and the one and twentieth day. The former side alleadged for their tenent, St. John the Evangelists example. This latter alleadged St. Peters. The King concludeth thus. For so much as St. Peter is the doore-keeper of heaven, I will not gaine say him, but obey his orders, lest when I come to the gates of heaven, he shut them against me. To this reason the multitude yeilded. But Colman in displeasure left the Realme, and went into Scotland.</p>
679 680	Agatho.				<p>ry to the use among the Romanes and Saxons, the time of Easter from the fourteenth day of the first moneth, till the eight and twentieth of the same moneth; whether it were Sabbath or no. The other side, as Wilfrid the Priest, who spake for the rest, as Agilbert, &amp;c. held that according to the custome of Rome, Italy, France, Asia, Africke, Egypt, and Greece, Easter should not be kept on the fourteenth day, unlesse it were Sabbath; but to be resprited to the next Sabbath betweene the fourteenth and the one and twentieth day. The former side alleadged for their tenent, St. John the Evangelists example. This latter alleadged St. Peters. The King concludeth thus. For so much as St. Peter is the doore-keeper of heaven, I will not gaine say him, but obey his orders, lest when I come to the gates of heaven, he shut them against me. To this reason the multitude yeilded. But Colman in displeasure left the Realme, and went into Scotland.</p>
681					<p>ry to the use among the Romanes and Saxons, the time of Easter from the fourteenth day of the first moneth, till the eight and twentieth of the same moneth; whether it were Sabbath or no. The other side, as Wilfrid the Priest, who spake for the rest, as Agilbert, &amp;c. held that according to the custome of Rome, Italy, France, Asia, Africke, Egypt, and Greece, Easter should not be kept on the fourteenth day, unlesse it were Sabbath; but to be resprited to the next Sabbath betweene the fourteenth and the one and twentieth day. The former side alleadged for their tenent, St. John the Evangelists example. This latter alleadged St. Peters. The King concludeth thus. For so much as St. Peter is the doore-keeper of heaven, I will not gaine say him, but obey his orders, lest when I come to the gates of heaven, he shut them against me. To this reason the multitude yeilded. But Colman in displeasure left the Realme, and went into Scotland.</p>
705	Seigius.				<p>ry to the use among the Romanes and Saxons, the time of Easter from the fourteenth day of the first moneth, till the eight and twentieth of the same moneth; whether it were Sabbath or no. The other side, as Wilfrid the Priest, who spake for the rest, as Agilbert, &amp;c. held that according to the custome of Rome, Italy, France, Asia, Africke, Egypt, and Greece, Easter should not be kept on the fourteenth day, unlesse it were Sabbath; but to be resprited to the next Sabbath betweene the fourteenth and the one and twentieth day. The former side alleadged for their tenent, St. John the Evangelists example. This latter alleadged St. Peters. The King concludeth thus. For so much as St. Peter is the doore-keeper of heaven, I will not gaine say him, but obey his orders, lest when I come to the gates of heaven, he shut them against me. To this reason the multitude yeilded. But Colman in displeasure left the Realme, and went into Scotland.</p>
707	Philipus.			8 Brithwald, or Berthwaldus.	<p>ry to the use among the Romanes and Saxons, the time of Easter from the fourteenth day of the first moneth, till the eight and twentieth of the same moneth; whether it were Sabbath or no. The other side, as Wilfrid the Priest, who spake for the rest, as Agilbert, &amp;c. held that according to the custome of Rome, Italy, France, Asia, Africke, Egypt, and Greece, Easter should not be kept on the fourteenth day, unlesse it were Sabbath; but to be resprited to the next Sabbath betweene the fourteenth and the one and twentieth day. The former side alleadged for their tenent, St. John the Evangelists example. This latter alleadged St. Peters. The King concludeth thus. For so much as St. Peter is the doore-keeper of heaven, I will not gaine say him, but obey his orders, lest when I come to the gates of heaven, he shut them against me. To this reason the multitude yeilded. But Colman in displeasure left the Realme, and went into Scotland.</p>
	Constantine				<p>ry to the use among the Romanes and Saxons, the time of Easter from the fourteenth day of the first moneth, till the eight and twentieth of the same moneth; whether it were Sabbath or no. The other side, as Wilfrid the Priest, who spake for the rest, as Agilbert, &amp;c. held that according to the custome of Rome, Italy, France, Asia, Africke, Egypt, and Greece, Easter should not be kept on the fourteenth day, unlesse it were Sabbath; but to be resprited to the next Sabbath betweene the fourteenth and the one and twentieth day. The former side alleadged for their tenent, St. John the Evangelists example. This latter alleadged St. Peters. The King concludeth thus. For so much as St. Peter is the doore-keeper of heaven, I will not gaine say him, but obey his orders, lest when I come to the gates of heaven, he shut them against me. To this reason the multitude yeilded. But Colman in displeasure left the Realme, and went into Scotland.</p>

*Wolferus* converting the *Southsaxons* that they had received baptisme, presently they had raine, which they had wanted three yeeres, causing a great famine, insomuch that the people would go forty together upon the rockes, and take hands, and throw themselves downe into the Sea.

Wilfrid taught the *Southsaxons* the art of fishing with nets.

About this time the detestable sect of *Mabumet* began to take strength and place. Of *Mabumet* came the Kingdome of *Agarens*, whom he after named *Saracens*; to whom he gave sundry lawes patched of many sects. He taught them to pray with their faces to the South. As we keepe Sunday, so they keepe Friday; which they call the day of Venus. He permitted them to have as many wives as they were able to maintaine; and to have as many concubines as they listed: to abstaine from wine, except on some solemne dayes of the yeere: to have and to worship one God Omnipotent; and to esteeme Moses and the Prophets great, but Christ as greater; as being borne of the Virgin Mary, by the power of God, without mans seed, and at last was taken up to heaven, but was not slaine, but another in his likenesse, for him; with many other wicked blasphemies in his law contained. At length this Kingdome of the *Saracens* began to be conquered of the Turke, and in proceesse of time wholly subdued unto him, as we shall declare in the yeeres following, in which those severall passages were done.

This Theodor was sent from Italy into England, by Vitellianus the Pope, to be Archbishop of Canturbury, and divers other Monkes of Italy to set up here in England, Latine Service, Masses, and such other Romish ware. This Theodor playes rex, displacing Cedda and Wilfrid, Archbishops of Yorke, pretending they were not lawfully consecrated; notwithstanding they were sufficiently authorized by their Kings, and were placed against their wills.

In the time this Theodor, a Synod was held at Thetford, ordaining that Easter should be kept throughout the Realme upon one certaine day, viz. prima 14. luna mensis primi. That no Bishop should meddle in anothers Diocesse. That Monasteries should bee free from Bishops jurisdiction. That Monkes should not stay from their owne Monastery to another: nor a Clergy man from his owne Bishop to anothers Diocesse. That Synods Provinciaall should be kept in the Realme at least once a yeere; with divers other ordinances of like nature.

In the next yeere after that Synod, was held the sixt generall Councell at Constance: At which was Theodor under Pope Agatho present, where it was permitted that Greeke Priests should have wives, and forbidden to the Latine.

In the sixt yeere of Iva, beginning to raigne about this time, most valiantly warring against the Kentish Saxons, was one *Cutblake* a Confessor, who first was a Monke, and after an *Anchorite*.

*Ofredus* succeeds his father Alfride in *Northumberland*. *Philippicus* is mentioned after page 167.



Anno Emp. of Roman  
Christi Greece, 'Bish.

Kings of England

Archb.  
of Cant.

In the sixteenth yeere of Ivc, Ethelred king of Mercia having reigned thir-

Vol 1.  
Page

717

Kings of Brittain:  
East Angles,  
East Saxons,  
Mercia,  
Northumberland,  
West Saxons,  
South Saxons,  
Kent.

P. Const. is mentioned page 167. & 8

This yeere being about the eighteenth of K. Ivc his reigne, dyed that learn-  
ed Bishop *Adelmus*, first Abbot of *Malmesbury*, after bishop of *Spur-*  
*borne*; which See was after united to Winton.

John of Beverly, bishop of Yorke, dieth.

In the time of *Ivc*, who reigned 37. yeeres, began first the right observation  
of Easter day by the Picts and Brittaines: in which observation three  
things are necessary:

1. The full Moone of the first moneth, (1) of March.
2. The Dominicall letter.

3. The Equinoctiall day, which was wont to be counted, in the East  
Church, and especially among the Ægyptians, to bee about the seven-  
teenth of March.

So that the full Moone, either on the Equinoctiall day, or after the Equi-  
noctiall day, being observed, the next Dominicall day following that  
full Moone, is to be taken for Easter day. But then two things must  
be noted,

1. That the fulnesse of the Moone must be perfectly full: So that it  
be the beginning of the third weeke of the Moon, which is the  
fourteenth or fiftenth day of the Moone.
2. That the said perfect fulnesse of the Moone, beginning the third  
weeke, must happen either in the very evening of the Equinocti-  
all day, or after the Equinoctiall day: For else, if it happen ei-  
ther on the Equinoctiall day before the evening, or before the  
Equinoctiall, it belongeth to the last moneth of the last yeere,  
and not to the first moneth of the first yeere, and so serveth not  
to be observed.

This rite in keeping Easter being received in the Latine Church, began  
now among the Picts and Brittaines, through the busie travell of *Theo-*  
*dorm Cuthlacus*, but namely of *Elbert* the holy Monke, as they terme  
him, and of *Colfrid*, Abbot of *Sirwin*.

This *Colfrid* wrote also to *Narcamus*, or *Naitonus* the king of the Picts, con-  
cerning the shaving of priests crownes, as necessary to the vow of a  
Monke, or degree of a Priest, for restraint. And thus began this ceremo-  
ny without any prooffe of Scripture.

Pope *Gregory* the second is mentioned pag. 167. & 1

Gregory 2.

King *Ivc* yet reigning, being the thirty seventh yeere of his reigne, is im-  
portunately perswaded by his Queene *Ethelburg* to turne Monke at  
Rome: to which, when he did not at first yeeld, the king departing to  
some other place, the Queene caused all the kings glorious palace to be  
smeared and filled with Hogs, and dung, and filth, and in their lodging  
chamber was put a Sow with young pigs. Then the Queene brings  
the king to that palace, saying, I pray you my lord, behold this house,  
where are now all the rich hangings, and clothes of gold, &c. that  
were left here the other day? be not all these gone? In like manner  
shall we vanish away, and our bodies, now delicately fed, shall turne  
to the filth of the earth; wherefore remember my words, and pur-  
chase that palace that is eternall. Thus she did win the king to goe to  
Rome in the habite of a poore man, and become a Monke; and thence  
her selfe became the Abbess of *Barking* Nunnery, seven miles from  
*London*.

This *Ivc* was the first I read of, of all the Saxon kings, the which did set  
forth any lawes to his people.

Next to *Osfrius* followed *Ceulfus*, who was a very learned man, and his  
time nourished many learned men; among whom was *Beda*, who dedi-  
cated his story, intituled, *Anglorum Historia*, not onely to bee ratified,  
but also to be amended, as some Writers affirme.

This *Beda* (because we have now mentioned him) was (as he witnes-  
seth in his History) a Priest of the Monastery of *Peter and Paul* at *Wire*,  
and borne in the territories of the same Monastery. He was from seven  
yeeres bread up by *Benet*, and became a Deacon at nineteene yeeres,  
and at thirty a Priest: From which time to the nine and fiftieth yeere,  
he interpreted the Workes of Ancient Fathers, and wrote Treati-  
ses to the number of 37. Volumes, which hee digested into 78.  
Bookes.

(D)

For

724

729

164

Anno Christi	Emp. of Rome Greece.	Bishops.	Kings of England	Archbishops of Canturbury.	For this Beda wrote P. Sergius the first, requiring Celfrid Abbot of Wire- Abbey, to send up the said Beda to Rome, for the fame of his learning : The Church of Rome (as appeares by that Sergius his letter ) making use of Beda for discussing of many controversies in learning ; all the La- tine Church giving him the mastery in judgement and knowledge of the Latine Fathers. In all his explanations. he, omitting curiosity of skill, mainly indeavoured to informe his Reader in the love of God and of his neighbour. Thus Beda continued to the age of 62 yeeres. He translated the Gospel of Saint John into English. He made a comforta- ble and godly end. Of Constantine the first. See the first great Volume, page 868. colume 1. lin. 60. Pope Zachary is mentioned following in this pag. at 160 See also page 137. of the great Volume, how hee forbad all funerall exe- quies, and lamentations to be made for him. Egbert King of Northumberland erected a noble Library in Yorke. This Cuthbert collected this yeere a great Synod of Bishops and Pre- lates, in the moneth of September, at Clonesho : there decreeing that Bishops should be more diligent in admonishing the people, live in peace, visit yeerely the parishes of their Diocesse : That Priests should not be ordained till their lives were examined ; being ordain- ed, should not meddle with secular affaires : with divers other or- dinances touching Monasteries, Baptisme, the holy Supper, pray- er, &c. Of Leo the fourth, Emperour of Greece, besides this page see p. 171. col. 1. lin. 16. A copy of these Ordinances Cuthbert sends to Boniface Bishop of Mentz, 166 an English man, which Boniface dyed a Martyr, as Popish stories terme him. This Boniface, Bishop of Mentz, writes to Eitelbald King of Mercia, in Latine. rebuking him, that whiles he contemned lawfull Matrimony, he did defile the sacred Nuns. This Boniface being admitted Archbishop of Magunce by Pope Gregory the second, brought divers countries of the Germanes under the Pope, and set up abundance of Popish Prelates and Ceremonies, as worship- ping of reliques, &c. In the time of this Archbishop, Pope Gregory the second, Pope Grego- ry the third, Pope Zachary, and before these, Constantine, the first, wrought great masteries against the Greeke Emperors, Philippicus, and Leo, and others ; for the maintaining of images to be set up in Churches : of whom Philippicus lost both his Empire and both eyes ; and Leo lost the Popes blessing, being excommunicated by Gregory the third. This Gregory the third was he that penned the foure bookes of Dialogues in Greece, falsely bearing the name of Gregory the first : Which bookes after, Zachary his successour translated into Latine. Of Leo the fourth, see in An. 775. Also by the authority of the said Archbish. Boniface, which he had received from Pope Zachary, Childericus king of France, was deposed from the right of his crowne, and Pipinus the betrayer of his Master, was confirmed. From this Boniface proceeded that detestable doctrine registred in the Popes decrees, Dist. 40. That though the Pope were so wicked in him- selfe, and towards others, that he led innumerable souls to hell, yet no man ought to rebuke him, having power to judge all men. Kenulphus succeeds flaine Sigebert, defending his Lordship strongly against his enemies, till he resorting to a Paramour he kept at Merton, was there beset and flaine. Offa King of Mercia winning victories of the Kentishmen, tooke such dis- pleasure against Canterbury, that he moved the Primacy, the Archbishops See, and lands of Lambritb (by the agreement of Pope Adrian) to Lichfield. Stephanus predecessour, viz. Pope Zachary, gave the Kingdome of France to Pipinus, deposing Childerike ; and now Pipin gratifies the 168 See of Rome, in giving this Stephanus his time, to that See, the Exarchat or principedome of Ravenna, the Kingdom of the Lombards, many other great possessions of Italy, with all the Cities thereto ad- joyning, unto the borders of Venice ; and this is the donation that commonly
733	Constant. 6.	Gregory 3. mentioned pag. 167.		9 Tatwryn. 10 Nothelmus.	
741		Zachary.		11 Cuthbert alias, Cudbriht.	
747					
748		Stephanus 2.			



# A Chronologic.

Anno Christi	Emp. of Greece.	Roman Bish.	Kings of England	Archb. of Cant.	Page
757		Paulus 1.	<div> <div> Kings of Britaine  East Angles.  East Saxons.  Mercia.  Northumberland.  West Saxons.  South Saxons.  Kent. </div> </div>	<div> <div> 12  Bregwyn or Breguinus. </div> </div>	<p>commonly, but falsely, goes under the name of <i>Constantines</i> donation. Vol. 1.</p> <p>To this <i>Pipinus</i> was sent into <i>France</i> the invention of Organs out of <i>Grecia</i>, by <i>Constantine</i>, Emperor of <i>Constantinople</i>.</p> <p>This Pope <i>Paul</i> thundred out excommunications against <i>Constantine</i>, Emperour of <i>Constantinople</i>, for pulling downe images in Churches: but the said Emperour slighting the Pope, held on in his practice, destroying idolatry to the end of his life.</p> <p>Of this Archbishop, see page 173. of the great Volume.</p> <p>This Pope <i>Constantine</i> was a Lay man: for the which he was shortly deposed, his eyes thrust out, and he thrust into a Monastery.</p> <p>This Pope made a decree that no Lay man should be Pope. Also hee condemned the seventh Councell of <i>Constantinople</i>, as hereticall, for condemning worshipping of Images.</p> <p>This Pope wrote a booke of the worshipping and utility of Images, calling them Lay mens <i>Kalenders</i>, holding a Synode against them that spake against them.</p>
764		Stephanus 3.		<div> <div> 13  Lambert, alias, Lambert, alias, Lambrightus </div> </div>	<p>Of <i>Lamb.</i> Archbishop, see p. 173. of the great Volume, how that Metropolitane See in his time was translated to <i>Lichfield</i>.</p> <p>Pope <i>Adrian</i> clothed the body of Saint <i>Peter</i> in silver, and covered the Altar of Saint <i>Paul</i> with a pall of gold.</p> <p><i>K. Celaphus</i> as his Father turned Monke, dies this yeere; wherein many cities, as <i>London</i>, <i>Wint.</i> <i>Yorke</i>, <i>Doncaster</i>, were burned with sudden fire, p. 170.</p> <p>Till this time the Liturgy of <i>S. Ambrose</i> was much used in the <i>Italian</i> Churches: But now this <i>Adrian</i> confirms the Masse of Saint <i>Gregory</i> above the Masse of <i>S. Ambrose</i>, by a pretended revelation and miracle, that when <i>Ambrose</i> his Masse booke, and <i>Gregories</i> Masse booke were put upon an altar in a Church, the doores sealed up, the morrow the leaves of <i>S. Gregories</i> booke was scattered abroad in the Church, and the other booke lay open upon the Altar: which <i>Adrian</i> expounded, that <i>Gregories</i> Masse should be dispersed thorow-out the Church, and not that of <i>S. Ambrose</i>.</p>
775 780		Adrian 1.			<p><i>Carolus</i> following his father <i>Pipins</i> devotion, did confirme his fathers donations to the See of Rome, adding also thereunto the City and dominion of <i>Venice</i>, <i>Histria</i>, &amp;c. The Pope to requite his kindnesse, makes him to be intituled, most Christian King. This <i>Charles</i> makes the Pope prince of <i>Italy</i> and <i>Rome</i>; and makes <i>Charles</i> Patricium Romanum, and moreover ordained him onely to be taken Emperour of <i>Rome</i>.</p>
	Leo the 4.				<p>In this yeer 780. it rained blood at <i>Yorke</i>; which is thought of some expositors, to betoken the coming of the <i>Danes</i> into the land, who entred about seven yeeres after, in the ninth yeere of <i>Brightricus K. of Westsaxons</i>.</p>
	Emp. of France.				<p><i>Edelburga</i> poisoneth <i>K. Brightricus</i> her husband, and after playing the harlot with a Monke, ended her life in great penury and misery.</p>
	Carolus Magnus.				<p><i>Irene</i> Empreffe of Greece, takes up at <i>Constantinople</i> the body of <i>Constantine</i> Emperour of <i>Constantinople</i>, her Husbands Father, and having burnt it, casteth the ashes into the sea, for that hee disannuled Images.</p>
784					<p><i>Egbert</i>, of the blood royall, is banished by <i>Brightricus</i> now raigning over the <i>Westsaxons</i> in England; because the said <i>Brightricus</i> feared <i>Egberts</i> coming to his crowne.</p>
793					<p>The Archbishop <i>Ethelard</i>, by h's epistles to Pope <i>Leo</i>, obtained the Metropolitane See againe to <i>Cantebury</i>, See page 173. of the great Volume.</p>
795		Leo the 3. See p. 177. the great Vol.		<div> <div> 14  Ethelardus, alias, Athelard, or Adelred. </div> </div>	<p><i>K. Osa</i> dies. After him succeeds <i>Egfrt</i>, then <i>Kenulphus</i>, after him his sonne, who in his tender age was wickedly murdered by his sister <i>Quinreda</i>.</p>
801		Carolus Magnus being before made Emp. of Rome, by the means of Adrian the P. and P. Leo the 3. next succeeding, the Empire is translated in this yeere 801. fully from Greece to France.			<p>Thus farre of the troublesome seven Kingdomes of the <i>Saxons</i>; of whom observe these generall observations.</p>
802					<p>1. That they brought in the first Crosse and Altar into this Kingdome. An. 635.</p> <p>2. They set up schooles at <i>Cambridge</i>. An. 630.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">(D 2)</p> <p>3. They</p>

Anno Christi	Emp. of France.	Roman Bishops.	Kings of England	Archbishops of Canturbury.		Vol. Page
			<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div> Kent West Saxons. Northumberland. Mercia. East Saxons. East Angles. </div> <div> Kings of Britaine. </div> </div>		<p>11. Monasteries, besides, foure built by K. Edgar.</p> <p>3. They set up about 4. Nunneries.</p> <p>13. More noted Abbeyes, besides many of lesse note.</p> <p>4. That Queens and Kings daughters, amongst them in all to the number at least of eightene, have turned Nuns.</p> <p>5. That at least nine of those Saxon Kings became Monkes.</p>	
807	Ludovicus Pius.	Stephanus the fourth pag. 177. of the great Volume.	The 7. Kingdoms of the Saxons are united into a Monarchie.	Vlfredus.	<p>In this time came in the <i>Danes</i> first into the North parts of <i>England</i>, and were driven out againe.</p> <p><i>Egbert</i>, of the blood Royall, being chased into <i>France</i> by <i>Brigbtricus</i>, as we said, for safety of his Crowne from so neare a blood; and <i>Brigbtricus</i> being now dead, he speeds from <i>France</i> into <i>Westfax</i>, obtaining by his wife behaviour the said Kingdome. <i>Bernulphus</i> K. of <i>Mercia</i>, and other Kings deriding him with scoffes and rimes, provokes him to bid <i>Bernulph</i> battell, wherein he conquered him, and possessed his Kingdome. Then made he warre upon the <i>Kentish Saxons</i>, and conquered them. He also subdued <i>Northumberland</i>. Thus he brought these three Kingdomes to be tributary to him, and joyned them to his Kingdome. Also this <i>Egbert</i> wan from the <i>Brittaines</i> the towne of <i>Chester</i>. Thus these victories being gotten, hee calls a Councell at <i>Winchester</i>, and is crowned King over this land, which before was called <i>Britaine</i>: but he sent out command and commissions, that from that day forward the <i>Saxons</i> should be called <i>Angles</i>, and the land <i>Anglia</i>.</p> <p>A generall Synode is held at <i>Aquisgran</i>, by the command of <i>Ludovicus</i> the Emperour. K. of <i>France</i>. There Pope <i>Gregory</i> the fourth decrees that Priests should have maintenance of lands belonging to their severall Churches, and not goe about begging. All glorious apparell, rings, &amp;c. forbidden Priests.</p> <p>About this yeere the heathenish people of the <i>Danes</i> (who a little before in <i>Northumberland</i> had murdered the Ministers, and ruined the Churches) come the second time with a great host into <i>England</i>. <i>Egbert</i> gave them battell, but had the worst.</p> <p>The <i>Danes</i> are encouraged by their succeffe against <i>Egbert</i> to enter again this yeere into <i>England</i>; and in long time and many yeeres after could not be utterly beaten out.</p> <p>1. By the <i>Romanes</i>. 2. By the <i>Scots</i>. 3. By the <i>Picts</i>. 4. By the <i>Saxons</i>. 5. By the <i>Danes</i>.</p> <p>Thus this Kingdome hath been hitherto plagued with five sundry Nations: Namely,</p> <p><i>Ethelwulfus</i> the sonne of <i>Egbert</i>, and in former time a Deacon, and after a Bishop of <i>Winchester</i> (as some will) is king after his father, by dispensation of the Pope, but still in minde devout to his Order, giving the tenth of his goods and lands in <i>Westfaxons</i> to the Clergy.</p> <p>He gave also Peter-pence to <i>Rome</i> (i) a peny of every fire house thorow his Kingdomes, with many more donations to <i>Rome</i>.</p> <p>He married <i>Judith</i> the daughter of <i>Carolus Calvus</i>, the <i>French</i> King: whom he restored to the title of <i>Queene</i>. For before it was a decree of the <i>Westfaxons</i>, for <i>Queene Ethelburga's</i> poisoning of her husband king <i>Brigbtricus</i>, that no kings wife should have the title of <i>Queene</i>.</p> <p>In the latter end of the reigne of this <i>Ethelwulfus</i> the <i>Danes</i> brake into <i>England</i>, doing great spoile on the land and lives, and blood of men.</p> <p>This Pope, whose name was <i>Os Porci</i>, for the shame thereof, was the first that brought in the altering of Popes names.</p> <p>This Pope <i>Leo</i> was Tutor or Guardian to <i>Alured</i>, committed to him by <i>Ethelwulf</i> the Father of <i>Alured</i>.</p> <p>This Pope ordained that no Bishop should be condemned under seventy two witnesses. An example was practised in condemnation of <i>Stephen Gardiner</i>.</p> <p>This Pope <i>Joan</i>s proper name was <i>Gilberta</i>. She was a Dutch woman of <i>Magunce</i>; who going out of the Abbey of <i>Fulda</i>, with an <i>Englisch</i> Monke in mans apparell to <i>Athens</i>, and becoming learned, by her wit came to sit Pope two yeeres and sixe monerhs. At last in an open</p>	175
810						
824		Paschal the first p. 177. of the great Volume.				
826		Eugenius the second, page 177. of the great Vol.				
		Valentine the first, pag. 177. of the great Vol.	EGBERT.			
832		Gregory the fourth in the same yeer, see pag 177. of the great Volume.				
833			FELEGELDUS, alias, Theolog. Id. In the same yeere, viz. 833. was. Celnochus.			
834						
837			ETHELWOLFVS.			
840	Lotharius.					
844						176
843		Sergius the second.				
846		Leo the fourth.				177
854		Joane, called Iohna the eight.				



# A Chronologic.

Anno Christi	Emperors of France.	Romane Bishops.	Kings of England.	Archbith. of Cant.			
856		Benedict 3.				open procession fell into travell with her childe, and so dyed. Ever since the Cardinals come not by that part of the streete where this shame was.	Page
857			Ethelbald.			This <i>Benedict</i> ordained Dirge for the dead.	
						<i>Ethelbald</i> the first sonne succeeds <i>Ethelwulfe</i> his Father in the Kingdome of <i>West Saxons</i> . He is infamous for lying with, and marrying of his step-mother.	181
			Ethelbriht, alias Ethelbertus.			<i>Ethelbriht</i> the second sonne succeeds his father <i>Ethelwulfe</i> in the Kingdome of <i>Kent</i> .	
858		Nicholas the 1. or Magnus				After these two, the third sonne of <i>Ethelwulfe</i> , viz. <i>Ethelred</i> , succeeded; who was mightily troubled with the <i>Danes</i> .	
867						This Pope <i>Nicholas</i> enlarged the Popes decrees, equalling them to the writings of the Apostles. He decreed that service should be in Latine: He began the forbidding Priests to marry: against which, <i>Haldericke</i> Bishop of <i>Ausbrough</i> wrote a learned Epistle to the said Pope, proving the lawfulness of Priests marriage.	
870		Adrian, alias Ethelred.				After <i>Ethelbald</i> and <i>Ethelbriht</i> succeeded <i>Ethelred</i> their brother, the third sonne of their father <i>Ethelwulfe</i> .	
871		Hadrian the second. See p. 180 of the great vol.				In the latter dayes of King <i>Ethelred</i> , the <i>Danes</i> invaded this land, spoiling and murthuring.	
872					Ethelredus, alias Athelredus.	This <i>Iohn</i> , succeeding next to <i>Hadrian</i> the second, and preceding next before <i>Marinus</i> or <i>Martinus</i> the second (as Master <i>Foxe</i> calls him) is counted by others, as <i>Reusner</i> , and others, <i>Iohn</i> the eighth. Of this Pope <i>Iohn</i> , see p. 180. of the great Volume.	182
	Carolus Calvus.		Iohn the 9. Alured, alias Alfred, brother to Ethelred.			<i>Alured</i> was eminent above his predecessors, for valour, vertue, and learning. He was the first <i>English</i> King. He was much vexed with the <i>Danes</i> , who did winne from him all the North part of <i>England</i> , from the River <i>Thames</i> . But after, they labouring to chase him out of the South part, he flying for the present, after a while beat them, and chased them from those parts, see p. 183. of the great Volume.	183
876						Others call him <i>Marinus</i> , without any first or second. See <i>Reusners</i> Chronol. and <i>Helvicus</i> . Of this Pope see pag. 180. of the great Volume.	
879						By this <i>Hadrian</i> the third (of whom see pag. 180.) it was decreed that no Emperour after that time, should have any thing to doe in the election of the Pope. Thus the Emperours began to decay, and the Popes to increase.	
882			Martin the 2.			Of this Pope <i>Stephen</i> , see p. 180. of the great Volume.	
884		Adrian, alias Hadrian 3.				<i>Ethelred</i> having thus overcome the <i>Danes</i> , and having made them to yeeld to the conditions that he propounded, one of which was, to baptize their Prince <i>Gutrim</i> , he naming him <i>Athelstan</i> : he permitted the said King <i>Athelstan</i> to hold all <i>East Angles</i> in fee from him. Which <i>Athelstan</i> , having reigned rather as a tyrant then an under King eleven yeeres, dyed this yeere. Not long after which, the <i>Danes</i> landed in this land, in foure places. But they were valiantly beaten backe.	184
885		Stephen 5.				King <i>Arnulphus</i> for rescuing of Pope <i>Formosus</i> from his captivity among the <i>Romans</i> , is crowned by the said Pope, Emperour.	
889					Pleimendus, alias Plegmund.	This <i>Boniface</i> was Pope but 25. dayes.	188
891						This yeere the <i>Danes</i> come againe into <i>England</i> , but some of them were slaine, some of them and thirty ships were taken, and others of them were hanged.	
892						This Pope <i>Shepber</i> , for hate of <i>Formosus</i> , dissolved his decrees, tooke up his body after it was buried, and cut two fingers off his right hand, and cast them into <i>Tiber</i> ; and buried the body againe in a private mans Sepulcher.	
896		Formosus.				Pope <i>Romanus</i> continued Pope but three moneths. <i>Theodor</i> the second was Pope but twenty dayes.	
897		Bonifacius 6.				<i>Alfred</i> having raigned twenty nine yeeres and sixe moneths, dyes. He is reputed for a man of a liberall heart and a godly life. He caused schooles of learning to be set up, especially in the West parts. For amongst the <i>Brittaines</i> , long before, in King <i>Arthurs</i> time, in the towne of <i>Chester</i> was taught Grammar, Philosophy, and other Arts and Sciences. After in <i>Egberts</i> time (as Writers affirme) Philosophy began to flourish.	
898							
899		Romanus, Theodorus 2.					

Anno Christi	Emper. of Fran.	Romane Bishops.	Kings of England.	Archbishops of Canturbury.		Vol. I. Page
898		John the 10 Benedict 4.			rish in England. About which time, as some thinke, <i>Granchester University</i> by <i>Cambridge</i> began to be founded by <i>Beda</i> . <i>Sigebert</i> also founded Schooles in <i>England</i> , as <i>Alcuinus</i> will. And yet before these, some thinke that <i>Greekelade</i> , a Greeke University, and <i>Latinlade</i> , a Latine University in this land, was founded. <i>Alfred</i> translated many good Bookes, and made one of his owne, in the common language of this land. That Pope <i>John</i> which next succeeded Pope <i>Theodor</i> , and preceded next before Pope <i>Benedict</i> the fourth, was Pope about this yeere; whom master <i>Foxe</i> termes <i>John</i> the tenth: but others, <i>John</i> the ninth.	
903	Emp. of Germ. About this time (saith M. Foxe) the Empire is translated from France to Germany among the Almaines, where it is to this day.		EDWARD the elder.		Of this translation of the Empire, see p. 169. of the first great Volume, col. 2. lin. 34. This King <i>Edward</i> was inferiour to his father <i>Alfred</i> in learning; but more eminent in military affaires: conquering this land to himselfe from petty Kings, and from invading <i>Danes</i> . <i>Ethelwoldus</i> King <i>Edward</i> his Uncles sonne rebels against King <i>Edward</i> , joyning with the <i>Danes</i> . But first he was made to flye into <i>France</i> ; after he returning with more forces of <i>Danes</i> , is slaine.	
904		Leo the 5.			This Pope <i>Sergius</i> beheaded Pope <i>Formosus</i> after his death; as Pope <i>Stephen</i> the sixt before had disfigured him after death. Of this <i>Conradus</i> , whom master <i>Foxe</i> calls <i>Conractus</i> , see p. 169. of the first great Volume.	
905		Christophe- rus the 1.			King <i>Edward</i> assaulted of the <i>Danes</i> , he slayes two Kings, two Earles, and many thousands of <i>Danes</i> .	189
906	This transla- tion hath some begin- ning in	Sergius 3.			Of others he is counted the tenth Pope <i>John</i> . This Pope was smothered with a pillow. This <i>Adelstan</i> was King <i>Edwards</i> sonne, by her of his three wives that was called <i>Egwin</i> . <i>Adelstan</i> was wise and valiant. Duke <i>Elfred</i> conspires to put out <i>Adelstans</i> eyes. He is sworne at <i>Rome</i> upon accusation of it. He forswearing that he intended it not when as he did, fell downe, and in three dayes dyed. <i>Ethelstan</i> , for peace sake with the <i>Danes</i> , he married to <i>Sithericus</i> their K. his sister. But <i>Sithericus</i> dying in a yeere, he seisseth that Province into his owne hands. <i>Constantine</i> , King of <i>Scots</i> , breakes covenant with <i>Ethelstan</i> , and thereupon beaten by <i>Ethelstan</i> in warre. Of others this Pope <i>John</i> is called the eleventh. This Pope <i>John</i> was the sonne of <i>Marozia</i> an harlot. He is deposed by the Clergy and people of <i>Rome</i> , not agreeing to his election, and <i>Leo</i> the sixth is put in his roome. <i>Bristanus</i> is Bishop of <i>Winchester</i> ; of whom its fained, that to him praying for departed soules, as he stood in <i>Winchester</i> Churchyard, many soules answered, Amen: which if it had beene so, how were those soules in purgatory? Of this <i>Otho</i> Emperor, see Vol. I. pag. 169. col. 2. and p. 192. col. 2. of the great Volume. Of others, as <i>Raufner</i> , &c. he is termed <i>Leo</i> the seventh. He is Pope seven moneths.	
912		Anastafius 3.				
913		Lando.				
915				Atiellmus.		
916		John 11.				
924			Adelstan, or Ethelstan.	Wifelmus.		
927	The translation of that Empire to Germ. is perfected in					
932		John 12.				
933						
935	Otho. M.	Leo 6.		Odo.		191
934		Stephen 7.			Touching this <i>Stephen</i> to be the seventh, see Vol. I. p. 189. col. 1. lin. 56. with p. 188. col. 2. lin. 29. in the margin. This <i>Stephen</i> having beene Pope two yeeres, according to Master <i>Foxe</i> , was poysoned. Pope <i>John</i> the twelfth (as Master <i>Foxe</i> reckons him) is restored to the Popedom againe.	
		John the 12 restored.				
940		Leo the 7.				
		Stephen 8.	EDMUND.		<i>Edmund</i> was brother to <i>Atiellstan</i> , succeeds in the crowne, <i>Atiellstan</i> dying without issue.	



# A Chronologic.

Anno Christi	Emperors of Greece.	Romane Bishops.	Kings of England.	Archbishops of Cant.	Monkes are put out of <i>Eusham</i> Monastery, and Canons put in their place. Vol. 1 Page
941					<i>Odo</i> Archbishop of <i>Canterbury</i> lived to this <i>Edmunds</i> time, and called a Synod to stirre up Ministers to preach.
942		Martin 3. alias Marinus 2. Agapetus 1.		Elfus.	<i>Dunstan</i> is now Abbot of <i>Glastenbury</i> , in this Kings time, before he was Archbishop of <i>Canterbury</i> .
946			EDWIN.		Of Pope <i>Martin</i> the third, and <i>Agapetus</i> the second, see the first great Vol. p. 189.
955					King <i>Edmund</i> is slaine by <i>Pulcher</i> Church. See the first great Vol. p. 196. col. 1. lin. 21.
					<i>Edwin</i> the eldest sonne of King <i>Edmund</i> , succeeds in the throne after King <i>Edmund</i> . 196
					This King <i>Edwin</i> kept a strange woman, the wife of a man whom he had slaine (as some say) to which woman he on the first day of his coronation, breaking from his Lords, and going into the chamber; <i>Dunstan</i> , Abbot of <i>Glastenbury</i> , follows him, brings him backe by the hand, accuses him to <i>Otho</i> Archbishop; <i>Otho</i> separates him from the woman, and suspends him out of the Church. For this, <i>Dunstan</i> is made flye over the sea, and the Monkes, as well in other Monasteries as <i>Dunstons</i> of <i>Glastenbury</i> , are thrust out, and secular Priests put in their roome.
		John 13.			This was Pope <i>John</i> the twelfth (as others reckon.) He was an adulterer, a whore-master, an incestuous person, an extortioner, a gamster. From his wicked merriment in these evils, came the Proverbe. As merry as Pope <i>John</i> . He cuts out the tongues, puts out the eyes, cuts off the noses and fingers of his Cardinals. He himselfe at last is deposed, but after restored. Of him see the first great Vol. p. 205.
959			EDGAR.		<i>Edwin</i> is hated for his misdemeanors of his Subjects, chiefly them of <i>Northumberland</i> and <i>Mercia</i> , by whom he is removed from his Kingly honour, and <i>Edgar</i> received in his stead. So that the River <i>Thames</i> divided both their Kingdomes. <i>Edwin</i> having raigned foure yeeres alone, dyes without heire, and so <i>Edgar</i> his brother succeeds.
				<i>Dunstan</i> .	He began his raigne this yeere, being fiftene yeeres old; but was not crowned till fourteene yeeres after. He cald home exiled <i>Dunstan</i> , makes him Bishop of <i>Worcester</i> , then of <i>London</i> .
					<i>Otho</i> or <i>Odo</i> Archbishop dying, King <i>Edgar</i> makes <i>Dunstan</i> Archbishop.
		Leo the 8.			This Pope <i>Leo</i> , (of whom see the first great volume, p. 205.) was substituted Pope in the roome of the former deposed Pope <i>John</i> . But the said <i>John</i> being restored, this <i>Leo</i> was deposed. Of this Pope <i>Leo</i> see page 205. of the first great Volume, col. 2. lin. 3. and lin. 38.
963					<i>Dunstan</i> gets the King to make <i>Oswaldus</i> , nephew of <i>Otho</i> (as it is said) Bishop of <i>Worcester</i> .
					Not long after, the said K. <i>Edgar</i> , at <i>Dunstons</i> intreaty, made <i>Ethelwoldus</i> , first Monke of <i>Glastenbury</i> , then Abbot of <i>Abendon</i> , to be Bishop of <i>Winchester</i> . Of him is related a vision, appearing to him, of a tree whose branches covered the foure quarters of the Kingdome, and were covered with Monkes Cowles, and with one master Cowle on the top, &c.
					Whether this dreame be fained or no, it was made good in effect; <i>Dunstan</i> , <i>Oswald</i> , and <i>Ethelwold</i> making Monkes to swarme in this <i>Edgars</i> time in England. 197
964		Benedict 5.			The Romanes setting up this <i>Benedict</i> after Pope <i>John</i> , and not setting in and restoring againe Pope <i>Leo</i> the eight, deposed contrary to the Emperor <i>Otho</i> his minde; the said Emperor besieged <i>Rome</i> , and puts in againe <i>Leo</i> the eight, who gratifies the Emperor, with giving to him and his successors in a Synod, the power of electing the Pope.
965					Alias <i>John</i> the thirteenth: of him see the first great Volume p. 205.
969		John 14.			<i>Oswald</i> (made Archbishop of <i>York</i> ) by policy makes many Priests turne Monkes, or to leave their place.
					Monkes anciently were but strict Lay-men; infomuch as they were forbidden to meddle with Ecclesiasticalls. 198
					<i>Basilus magnus</i> and <i>Nazianzenus</i> were Monkes.
					The ground of mens founding Monasteries of latter times, was, that Monkes might pray for them when they were dead; or else by way of satisfaction for some murder committed by the founders. 199
					King <i>Edgar</i> was a good Justiciary in execution of Lawes justly.

Anno Christi	Emper. of Germ.	Romane Bishops.	Kings of England.	Archbishops of Canturbury.	This King made this land one perfect Monarchy.	Vol. 1 Page
					This King having subdued men, drives out too the Wolves out of this land. He was exceeding watchfull and well provided for defence of the Seas. To prevent drunkenesse in his Subjects, he caused to be made cups with pinnes to be set in them; adding a law, that he that dranke at a draught beyond his marke, was to pay a penny: halfe to the accuser, the rest to the ruler of the towne. Eight Kings called <i>Subreguli</i> , did homage to this <i>Edgar</i> , whom in pompe he made to row him in a boate, himsele holding the helme. He was given to women, and a great Monke maker, and a deflowerer of a Nunne. For which <i>Dunstan</i> refused to take him by the hand, when the King offered it; and injoynes the King penance for seven yeeres, of wearing no crowne that time, of fasting twice in the weeke, of liberality to the poore, and building a Nunnery. Doting <i>Dunstan</i> was drowned in superstition, if not a Sorcerer too. He is said to catch the divell by the nose with a paire of tongs red hot. Pope <i>John</i> aforesaid, ordained the first christening of bells. Of Pope <i>Ben.</i> the sixt see the first great Vol. p. 206. where he is cast into prison, and slaine. Of Pope <i>Donus</i> , see the first great Vol. p. 206. Of Pope <i>Boniface</i> the seventh, see the first great Volume, page 206. col. 1. This <i>Boniface</i> fearing conspiracy, flies to <i>Constantinople</i> ; meane while Pope <i>John</i> the fifteenth, <i>alias</i> the fourteenth, is made Pope. Then <i>Boniface</i> returnes, and so are two Popes at the same time. See the said p. 206. Much stirre at this time about placing and displacing Monkes, caused stirre about the crowne, Monkes ayming at such a King as would be a Monke favourer: at last this <i>Edward</i> by <i>Dunstons</i> meanes was chosen. This <i>Edward</i> was not, in truth, a Martyr, as the common opinion goes; but was, truly, a bastard. Of this <i>John</i> the fifteenth, <i>alias</i> (as others will) <i>John</i> the fourteenth, and <i>Boniface</i> , and their ends, see the first great Volume pag. 206. col. 1. <i>John</i> having his eyes put out, and he himsele famished in prison, <i>Boniface</i> dyes, and after is dragged through the City, the people triumphing in it. An Image of the Crucifix of Rood, by <i>Dunstons</i> device, is made to answer to a Councell met and praying to this Image, such an answer as might carry the conclusion as <i>Dunstan</i> would; in these words, <i>Abstine ut fiat, &amp;c.</i> (i) Farre be that, far be that: you have well judged, you would not doe well to change. <i>Dunstan</i> was a great enemy to Priests wives. King <i>Edward</i> his stepmother offering him as he sate on horse backe a cup of beere, whiles he was drinkeing, caused her servant to stab him; whereupon he rides away towards his company, falls downe dead, and so was found; but not knowne who he was, nor how he dyed, his horse having dragged him through much dirt, his foote hanging in the stirrup, as he fell dead off his horse backe. Two Nunneries are founded upon his bloud, that that murthereffe Queene had shed. This <i>Benedict</i> (whom <i>Kenelm.</i> and <i>Helv.</i> put before the former Pope <i>John</i> , yea though he be taken for <i>John</i> the fourteenth) was made Pope by consent of <i>Otho</i> Emperour, the second of the name. In the time of this <i>Benedict</i> , <i>Gilbertus</i> a Necromancer is made Archbishop of <i>Rains</i> , by <i>Hugh Cappel</i> the French King. <i>Edward</i> being murdered, the crowne comes to this <i>Elred</i> his younger brother. This <i>Elred</i> reigned long, viz. thirty eight yeeres, but very unhappily. As he was christened, being a childe, by <i>Dunstan</i> , somewhat falling crosse, <i>Dunstan</i> sweares by the holy Virgin that this will be an untoward Prince. He is crowned this yeere, by <i>Dunstan</i> , who pronounced (as they say) at his coronation, that because he came to the crowne by the murder of his brother, the Kingdome should not be without bloudshed, till a people of a strange tongue did intrall them.	200
971 972						201
	Otho the 2.	Benedict. 6.  Donus the 2. Bonifac. 7.				202
974 975		This Bonifac. the 7. and this John the 15. are both Popes at once				203
976 Others count 8. yeeres more.			EDWARD the martyr.			
977		John the 15.				204
						205
						206
979		Benedict 7.				
981 984 985 988 989	Otho the 3.		EGELRED or ELRED.	Ethelgar.		



# A Chronologie.

Anno Christi	Emp. of Germ.	Popes of Rome.	Kings of England.	Archb. of Cant.	John the sixteenth, alias John the fifteenth. He reigned eight moneths.	Vol. Page
990 993		John 16.	Kings of Britaine in Wales.	Elfricus.	The <i>Danes</i> understanding of discord in this land, and the subjects to be disaffected towards their Prince, invade this Kingdome, doing great spoile. See the first great Vol. p. 207.	
		John 17.			Alias John the sixteenth.	
995				Siricius. Sanctus. Aluredus.	This yeere the Bishopricke of <i>Duresme</i> began, upon occasion of B. <i>Alldumus</i> his carrying S. <i>Cuthberts</i> body thither. See the first great Vol. p. 207.	
		Gregory 5. and John 18. both Popes together.			Against this <i>Gregory</i> , maliced because he was a <i>Germán</i> , was set up this <i>John</i> the eighteenth, alias <i>John</i> the seventeenth, by <i>Crescentius</i> Count of <i>Rome</i> . Whereupon <i>Otho</i> the third Emperor, to whom <i>Gregory</i> the fifth flies, comes with an army, apprehends <i>John</i> , puts out his eyes, and after puts him to death: and apprehends <i>Crescentius</i> , cuts off his nose and eares, and after so led through the City, having his members cut off, he hanged upon a gibbet.	
					<i>Gregory</i> is restored, raignes Pope foure yeeres.	
					This yeere <i>London</i> is besieged of the <i>Danes</i> .	
					The <i>Danes</i> spoyling the land, caused the <i>Englishe</i> levy of <i>Danegit</i> , amounting from 10000. per annum, to 40000. per annum, paid to the <i>Danes</i> to buy peace of them.	
					Now came in the <i>Lurdane</i> . i. the Lord Dane, who was Lord of the <i>Englishe</i> mans house, goods, and wife too.	
997	The Empire established in Germany by ordaining 7. Electors by the Pope.				Pope <i>Gregory</i> the fifth, being restored to the Popedom, calls a Councell at <i>Rome</i> , by the advice of <i>Otho</i> the third, Emperor; and there to confirm the Empire in <i>Germany</i> his owne countrey, decrees those seven should be Electors of the Emperor, which are to this day: viz.	
					<i>The Bishops of Mintz, Triers, Colen doe Elect the Emperour; are his Chancellors too. Bohemia's King elects, and beares his cup: And Saxons Duke elects; his sword holds up. Archbishop is Elector Palatine, And Marquesse Brandebourge his Chamberlaine.</i>	
					These verses in Latine, see the first great Vol. p. 206.	
1000		Silvester 2. made Pope by Magick.			The yeeres of Christ amounting to a thousand, religion began much more to decay then in former times: Pope <i>Silvester</i> the second being a Sorcerer, and a most haynous wicked instrument. See the first great Vol. p. 215.	
					This yeere the <i>Saxons</i> that had driven the <i>Britaines</i> from their land, make way by <i>Elreds</i> joyning in marriage with the <i>Normans</i> (taking to wife <i>Emma</i> the daughter of <i>Rich.</i> the first of that name, the third Duke of <i>Normandy</i> ) for a new plague to come upon themselves: For <i>Alred</i> in confidence of his affinity, gave secret and strict charge to all Townes in <i>England</i> , upon S. <i>Brice</i> his day, at a certaine houre, the <i>Danes</i> should be all slaine; which caused much trouble.	207
1003 1004		John 19.			Alias John the eighteenth. He brings in the feast of All-soules. See the first great Vol. p. 216.	
					For upon tydings of this at <i>Denmarke</i> , King <i>Swinus</i> of <i>Denmarke</i> comes into the land, beates downe <i>Exceter</i> , and so came on, spoyling the Countrey. At length they are beaten out by Duke <i>Ushatell</i> .	208
		John 20.			Herein Master <i>Fox</i> differs from others, who put no John betweene All-soules	

# A Chronologie.

Anno Christi	Emp. of Germ.	Romane Bishops.	Kings of England.	Archb. of Cant.	foyles John and Pope Sergius the fourth. The Danes land againe in this Kingdome, at <i>Saudrich</i> . The King at last was faine to pay them a tribute of 30000. pounds.	Vol. 1. Page
1004 1006			Kings of Britaine in Wales.	Elphegus, or Elphege.	Many times after in this Kings time did the <i>Danes</i> invade and spoile. They stone to death, at <i>Greenwich</i> , <i>Elphegus</i> , Archbishop of <i>Canterbury</i> , because he would not pay to them such taxes as they would impose.	
1012		Benedict 8.			The King is driven out of the land to <i>Normandy</i> by the tyranny of the <i>Danes</i> , they meane while, laying intolerable taxes on the people of this land: whereupon they fell to prayer, and to fasting; so that shortly <i>Swanus</i> the Prince of the <i>Danes</i> dyed suddenly, yelling and crying. In feare whereof, <i>Canutus</i> his sonne raigned here with shew of much favour to the people. Of <i>Living</i> . Archbishop, see the first great Vol. p.215.	
1013				Livingus, or Lifving.		
1016		Edmund Ironside a Saxon and Canutus a Dane, Kings together in England.			<i>Egelred</i> returnes, hearing of <i>Swanus</i> his death, and coming upon <i>Canutus</i> the sonne being unprovided, caused him to flye into <i>Denmarke</i> . But afterward <i>Canutus</i> came againe, and tooke <i>Westaxon</i> . After <i>Egelreds</i> death, much faction being moved whom to choose for King, <i>Londoners</i> being for <i>Edmund Ironside</i> , <i>Egelreds</i> eldest sonne: Others, and chiefly the Clergy, being for <i>Swanus</i> sonne, viz. <i>Canutus</i> ; having sworne to <i>Swanus</i> his father. <i>Edmund</i> , and <i>Canutus</i> fight many battels for the Kingdome; and at last a duell betweene themselves: Last of all they agreed to divide the land betweene them, and so lived in love till <i>Edmund</i> was stabbed in the fundament, by the traitorous sonne of Duke <i>Edricus</i> , as he was at the draught house. Then Duke <i>Edricus</i> himselfe, liking his sonnes fact, it shuld seeme; carried <i>Edmunds</i> two sonnes to <i>Canutus</i> , with these words, <i>Ave rex solus</i> , (i) God save thee King alone. <i>Canutus</i> sends them to his brother <i>Swanus</i> King of <i>Sweve-land</i> to be murdered: but he abhorring that bloudineffe, sent them to <i>Salomon</i> King of <i>Hungary</i> , where the one dyed a naturall death: The other, named <i>Edward</i> , was married to <i>Agatha</i> daughter of his brother <i>Henry</i> the fourth, Emperor.	209
1020 1023	Conradus 2.			Egenoldus, alias AEthelnoth: See p.215. of the first great vol.		
		John the 21.			Alias <i>John</i> the nineteenth, <i>Reusn. Helv.</i> Of him in master <i>Foxe</i> , See the first great Volume, p.216. He was made Pope by Magicke, as Master <i>Foxe</i> saith in the same page.	
1032		Benedict 9.  He is deposed.			<i>Canutus</i> this while, to make safe the <i>English</i> Crowne to himselfe, swears some, banisheth others, puts to death others; among which was Duke <i>Edricus</i> . For though <i>Canutus</i> loved his treason, yet did not dare trust the traitor that put to death <i>Edmund Ironside</i> his owne naturall Prince.	
1038				Eadfin, or Edfin.	This Archbishop <i>Eadfin</i> is not named by master <i>Foxe</i> , as we can finde; though he names him before and after him. See the first great Vol. pag. 215. col.2.	
1039	Henricus 3. called Nig-ger.				<i>Canutus</i> governed this land twenty yeeres, in all which time the <i>Danes</i> began by little and little to be Christian men.  <i>Canutus</i> dyes. <i>Harold Harefoot</i> (so called for his swiftnesse) his sonne, raignes in <i>England</i> in his stead.  This <i>Henry</i> the fourth, Emperor, was excommunicated by foure Popes. See the first great Vol. p.245. col.2.  <i>Hardeknoutus</i> his brother, King of <i>Denmarke</i> , was after him King of <i>Eng-land</i> .  Of <i>Henricus</i> the third, Emperor, see the first great Vol. p.216.  About this time, wicked Earle <i>Godwin</i> playd his feates.	210
					King	



# A Chronologie.

Anno Christi	Emp. of Germ.	Romane Bishops.	Kings of England.	Archb. of Cant.	King Hardeknoht, the last of the <i>Danish</i> Kings of <i>England</i> , having reigned here two yeeres, dyes without issue.	Vol. 1 Page 212
1043			Edward Confessor.	Kings of Britaine in Wales.	The <i>Danes</i> from their first landing (in <i>Brightricus</i> time) having vexed this Land 255. yeeres; and having reigned as kings 28. yeeres; now the last of them being dead without issue, the crowne comes to <i>Edward</i> , the younger sonne of <i>Egfred</i> , a meere <i>Englisbm an</i> ; returning from his banishment in <i>Normandy</i> , caused by the <i>Danish</i> Kings. He was sent for by the <i>Englisbm en</i> , and crowned this yeere. His disposition was much averse from warre.	
1045		Silvester 3. Benedict 9. restored. Gregory 6.			Pope <i>Benedict</i> the ninth, as we said, coming to be Pope by Magicke, and opposing <i>Henricus</i> the third, Emperor, and putting in his room <i>Petrus</i> King of <i>Hungary</i> . After fearing <i>Henry</i> the fourth prevailing against him, fold his seat to <i>Gregory</i> the sixth, for 1500. pounds. Of this <i>Gregory</i> see the first great Vol. p. 216. col. 2.	
1046					Contention, moved betweene this King <i>Edward</i> and Earle <i>Godwin</i> , hap- pened about this time; in which Earle <i>Godwin</i> and his five sonnes were outlawed. Of these three Popes, see the first great Vol. p. 216. col. 2. where <i>Henricus</i> <i>Niger</i> Emperor, displaceth these three, and puts in <i>Clement</i> the second; and thereupon inactting, That no Bishop of <i>Rome</i> should be choise without the consent of the Emperor. And the <i>Romans</i> sware their assent to this act. <i>William</i> Duke of <i>Normandy</i> comes to see the King, and is welcomed; he promising him (as some write) that if he dyed without issue, he the said <i>William</i> Duke of <i>Normandy</i> should have this Kingdome.	
1049			Clement 2.		The <i>Romans</i> forgetting their oath to the Emperor, in nine moneths payson this Pope. See the first great Vol. p. 216.	
1050			Damasus 2. Leo 9.		Earle <i>Godwin</i> , that had murdered the Kings brother <i>Alfred</i> , wishing in excuse to the King, that the bread he was eating might not be swallowed safely, if he were not guiltlesse of his death, was presently choked, and so dyed. Of <i>Damasus</i> and <i>Leo</i> , see the first great Vol. p. 216. col. 2.	
1052				Roberts. Stigandus.	Of him, see the first great Vol. pag. 215. col. 1. lin. 48. <i>Harold</i> (who after was King) was a meanes of his banishment, in the time of this King <i>Edward</i> . Of Archbishop <i>Robert</i> , see the first great Vol. p. 220. Of this Archbishop <i>Stigandus</i> , see the first great Vol. p. 215.	
1055 1056			Victor 2.		Of this Pope, see the first great Vol. p. 217. col. 1. lin. 20. King <i>Edward</i> sends to <i>Henry</i> the fourth Emperor, praying him to send to the King of <i>Hungary</i> , that his cousin <i>Edwards</i> sonne of <i>Edmund Ironside</i> , might come into <i>England</i> , for as much as he intended to make him King after him. This request was fulfilled, and he came into <i>England</i> , with his wife and children.	213
1057	Henricus 4.	Stephen 9.			This <i>Henry</i> Emperor, began his raigne being a childe. Of him see the first great Vol. p. 211. col. 1. and p. 217. col. 2. The yeere following his cousin <i>Edward</i> dyes.	
1058		Benedict 10. This Ben and Ni- cholas, both Popes, do raigne at once.			Of Pope <i>Benedict</i> the tenth, and <i>Nicholas</i> the second, see the first great Vol. p. 217. col. 1. lin. 60, &c. Then the King thought to make that <i>Edwards</i> sonne <i>Edgar Adeling</i> his heire; but fearing (by the pride of <i>Harold</i> the sonne of <i>Godwin</i> , and the mutability of <i>Englisbm</i> hearts) he should not effect it, sent Ambassadors to <i>William</i> Duke of <i>Normandy</i> his Kinsman, assigning him to be lawfull heire next to succeed him to the crowne.	

# A Chronologie.

Ann. Christi	Emp. of Germ.	Romane Bishops.	Kings of England.	Archb. of Cant.		Vol. 1. Page
		Nicholas 2.			Not long after ( <i>Godwin</i> being dead) his sonne <i>Harold</i> growes so wickedly proud, that he ruled all as King, by reason that the King somewhat favoured him. At length he sailing towards <i>Flanders</i> , and being driven by tempest into <i>Normandy</i> , there <i>William</i> Duke of <i>Normandy</i> makes him to sweare he would marry his daughter, and that after King <i>Edwards</i> death, he should keepe the land of <i>England</i> to his behoofe, according to the will and minde of King <i>Edward</i> , and so to live next to him in honour and dignity, in the Realme. At his returne to <i>England</i> he tels King <i>Edward</i> what he had sworne to Duke <i>William</i> of <i>Normandy</i> , with which the King was well pleased.	
1059					Pope <i>Nicholas</i> the second having called a Councell at <i>Sutrium</i> , and by the helpe of <i>Hildebrands</i> device having made <i>Benedict</i> the tenth to nnpope himselfe; now he calls a Councell at <i>Rome</i> , which is called <i>The Lateran Councell</i> ; in which he undermineth the Emperor of his jurisdiction, and conferreth the election of the Pope upon a few Cardinals.	
					In this Councell <i>Berengarius</i> is made to recant his tenet against reall presence; and transubstantiation is brought in.	
					King <i>Edward</i> dyes.	
1060					This yeere <i>Aldredus</i> Bishop of <i>Worcester</i> being to be made Archbishop of <i>Torke</i> , comes with Earle <i>Tostius</i> of <i>Northumberland</i> to Pope <i>Nicholas</i> to <i>Rome</i> for his Pall, in stead of which (for some pretence) was deprived of all his dignity; and as he was returning home, was spoiled of that he carried with him. At last <i>Tostius</i> with rough words to the Pope, makes the Pope give the Bishop his Pall, for all his losses.	
1062					<i>Nicholas</i> (as his name signifies) having by violence got into the Popedome, after three yeeres he is poysoned. See the first great Vol. p. 217.	
		Cadofus.			Of these two Popes <i>Cad.</i> and <i>Alex.</i> and their warring swords for <i>Peters</i> keyes, see the first great Vol. p. 218. col. 1.	
		Alexander 2.			Pope <i>Alexander</i> is knockt about the pate by <i>Hildebrand</i> , for seeking the favour of the Emperor, touching his being Pope. The first great Vol. p. 218. col. 2.	
					<i>Harold</i> , the second sonne of Earle <i>Godwin</i> , and last King of <i>Saxons</i> , (notwithstanding many Nobles went with <i>Edgar Adeling</i> , next heire after <i>Edmund Ironside</i> ) forgot also his promise to Duke <i>William</i> of <i>Normandy</i> , who contemning <i>Edgars</i> youth, takes upon him to be King.	214
1066			Harold.		<i>Harold Hiresager</i> , sonne of <i>Canutus</i> King of <i>Norway</i> and <i>Denmarke</i> , comes after <i>Edwards</i> death to claime the crowne, with an army. He beates <i>Harold</i> King of <i>England</i> in the first battell; English <i>Harold</i> beates him in the second; and Danish <i>Harold</i> is also slaine by the hand of Englands <i>Harold</i> . <i>Tostius</i> also the brother of <i>Harold</i> King of <i>England</i> joyning with the <i>Danes</i> in this battell against his brother, is slaine.	
					One thousand sixty sixe a wondrous yeere; To tell our fall, a Comet doth appeare.	
					Duke <i>William</i> of <i>Normandy</i> sends an Ambassage to King <i>Harold</i> , admonishing him of his covenant agreed betweene them. But because Duke <i>Williams</i> daughter was dead, King <i>Harold</i> thought himselfe disingaged from that agreement. He alledged also that those promises were compelled, and without consent of his Lords, whichought not to be.	
					Hereupon, and for two other reasons, namely, to be avenged for the bloud of his nephew <i>Alfred</i> , King <i>Edwards</i> brother, and of the <i>Normans</i> , of all whose deaths <i>Harold</i> was reputed the principal cause, and to revenge the exilement of <i>Robert</i> Archbishop of <i>Cant.</i> whereof <i>Harold</i> was cause, Duke <i>William</i> invades this Kingdome, and conquers <i>Harold</i> in battell, wherein	



# A Chronologie.

Anno Christi	Emp. of Germ.	Roman Bish.	Kings of England	Archbish. of Cant.		Vol 1. Page
1067			William the Conqueror.	Kings of Britaine in Wales.	<p>wherein <i>Harold</i> was slaine; and so Duke <i>William</i> (who was cousin German to K. <i>Edward</i> by the fathers side) gained the Kingdome and Crowne. In this Conquest, On <i>Williams</i> side were slaine 6013. On <i>Harolds</i> side 66654.</p> <p><i>William</i> the Conquerour is crowned K. of England by <i>Alredus</i> Archbishop of <i>Yorke</i>, <i>Stigandus</i> Archbishop of <i>Canterbury</i> being absent, either for feare or hate of <i>William</i>.</p> <p>Great taxes are laid by <i>William</i> upon the land, changing the laws of K. <i>Edward</i>, although at his coming he had sworne to keep them. (Of which see more p.214. of the first great Vol.)</p> <p>Great famine is in <i>Northumberland</i>.</p> <p>The <i>Scots</i> are subdued to <i>William</i> the Conquerour.</p> <p>This land hath beene conquered by <span style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> <i>Romanes</i> the first  <i>Scots</i> and <i>Picts</i> the second  <i>Saxons</i> the third  <i>Danes</i> the fourth  <i>William</i> and his <i>Normans</i> the fifth </div> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle; font-size: 2em;">}</div> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;">time.</div> </span> </p> <p>In this Conquest observe <span style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> Gods justices severity.  Lack of successions casualty.  Forraine marriages incommidity. </div> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle; font-size: 2em;">}</div> </span> </p>	221
1070				<i>Lanfrancus</i> .	<p>This yeere <i>William</i> the Conquerour calls a Councell. Two Cardinalls and he himsele are present; who, by pretences, depose many Bishops; (Among which was Archbishop <i>Stigandus</i>) to the intent to preferre <i>Normans</i> and aliens, as <i>Tho.</i> a <i>Norman</i> to be Archbishop of <i>Yorke</i>, and <i>Lanfrancus</i> a <i>Lombard</i> and <i>Italian</i> borne, to be Archbishop of <i>Cant.</i></p>	223
1074		<i>Hildebrand</i> , surnamed <i>Gregory</i> 7.			<p>This <i>Hildebrand</i> caused the Prelates and <i>Popes</i> stoutnesse against Emperours, long before he was <i>Pope</i>, and now he practise it much more, being <i>Pope</i>; casting off the Emperors from elections of <i>Popes</i> (as the tragicall history of all his evils may be seene in this page of the great Volume) inso much that Cardinall <i>Benno</i> writes against him of his wickednesse.</p>	225
1076					<p><i>Osmund</i>, the second Bishop of <i>Sarum</i> (<i>Hirmannus</i> a <i>Norman</i>, that began the new Church and Minster, being the first) now finishing the Minster, first began the Ordinary, which was called <i>Secundum usum Sarum</i>.</p> <p><i>Henry</i> the fourth, Emperour, attends upon this <i>Pope</i>, with his wife and children barefoot, at his palace gate, three dayes and three nights, before he could be admitted in; then too he is made to sweare unreasonable subjection to the <i>Pope</i> in all things: and when all is done, the <i>Pope</i> gives away his crowne to <i>Rodulph</i> Duke of <i>Svevia</i>, with these words,</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>The rocke to Peter gave the Diademe,  And Peter gives it unto Rodulphs Rea'me.</i></p>	
1083		<i>Clement</i> 3.			<p><i>Hildebrand</i> is accused of grievous crimes in a Councell called at <i>Brixia</i>, by <i>Henry</i> the fourth, Emperour, who had been so wronged by <i>Hildebrand</i>. In this Councell, called by <i>Henry</i>, <i>Hildebrand</i> is condemned to be deposed, and <i>Clement</i> the third is chosen <i>Pope</i> in his roome.</p>	
1088		<i>Victor</i> 3.			<p>About this time, or not much after <i>Hildebrand</i> the <i>Pope</i>, dyes King <i>William</i> the Conquerour.</p> <p>Of <i>Popes</i> see the first great Volume, page 239.</p> <p>Great pestilence is in England.</p> <p>Rats swim over to a Bishops tower; that was cruell in time offamine to the poore, and devoure him.</p>	236
		<i>Vrban</i> 2.				
		<i>soned</i> ) and <i>Vrban</i> 2. are both <i>Popes</i> .				

# A Chronologie.

Anno Christi	Emp. of Germ.	Roman Bishops.	Kings of England Cant.	Archbifh.	Vol. I
					Page
					238
					239
1091		at once, which contention lasted, as M. Fox computes, to the y. 1095. divers Kingdomes siding with each of them.			
1092					
1093					240
1095					
1096					
1098					240
1090					245
1099					246
1100					248

*William Rufus* is crowned by Archbishop *Lanfrancus*, his elder brother. Duke *Robert* in *Almaine* comes to fight for the crowne; whereupon *William Rufus* mildly quieted him, by taking the crowne from him at 3000. marks *per annum*, and agreeing that the longest liver of them two should take the Crowne.

The K. did not much favour the Popes, because as *Matthew Parisiensis* writes, they follow not the steps of Peter, but hunt for reward; and had not the power of him, whose bolinesse they did not imitate.

*Lanfrancus* Archbishop of Canterbury dyes (Polydor much commends him, I see not for what.) After whom the Archbishoprick is void foure yeeres,

Extreme tempests in England burne a Church, breake the head of a Crucifix, throw downe the Lady, at *Wincombe*, and blow downe fixe hundred houses, as also the rooffe of Bow Church at *London*.

Pope *Vrbani* calls a Councell at *Rome*; in it he excommunicates Lay persons, that conferred spirituall livings.

P. *Urban* calls a Councell at *Claremont*, where he by an Oration, moves 30000. to go to *Hierusalem*, to suppress the tyrannizing Heathens that were over the Christians.

This being about the sixt yeere of King *Rufus*, *Malcom* King of *Scots* invades England, and is slain (himselfe having been a great murdurer) with his son *Edward* and *Margaret* his wife.

This same yeere also, he, after he had kept *Canterbury* Archbishopricke foure yeeres, gave it to this *Anselme*, who for the kings kindnesse, much crossed him in many things for a long time, all Bishops holding with the king against *Anselme*. Many of those that went to *Hierusalem*, in the way, are by ambushment slain by the *Bulgars*, neere to the towne *Civitas*. Yet at last when all the armies met, they went on, won some townes, as *Antioch*, and slew many *Saracens*.

*Corbona*, master of the *Persians* chivalrie, is slaine by the Christians that went in the said voyage to *Hierusalem*; with whom were also slaine 100000. infidels. Shortly after the Christians take *Hierusalem*. *Robert* Duke of *Normandy* was chosen King thereof, but hee refused it, because he heard of the death of *William Rufus* in England; wherefore he never prospered after.

Earle *Ludovicus* rebels against *Henry* the fourth, Emperor; against whom and which, *Waltramus* Bishop of *Merburgh* writes an epistle, exhorting him to obedience.

The Earle writes an answer.

This yeere 1090. (as *Giburn* reports) a spring boyles out blood three weekes together. See the first great Volume, p. 256.

Of this Pope *Paschalis* see the first great Vol. p. 242. col. 2.

He sets up againe *Henry* the fourth Emperour, having excommunicated him, as did *Hildebrand*, his son *Henry*, making him Emperour, called *Henry* the fifth; as it followes in An. 1105. See page. 254, 255. of the first great Volume.

This King *Henry* the first was *William* the Conquerours third son, who now succeeds his brother *Rufus*. He had his name of *Beauclerke*, for his knowledge in the seven liberall Arts.

Duke *Robert* the eldest brother of King *Henry*, and first son of *William* the Conquerour, comes to challenge the crowne of this *Henry*, as he did of *William Rufus*. And this *Henry* promiseth him the three thousand markes *per annum*, as *Rufus* had before; and so Duke *Robert* returned to *Normandy* satisfied. After Duke *Robert* and King *Henry* fall



# A Chronologie.

<i>Anno bristi</i>	Emp. of Germ.	Bish. of Rome.	Kings of England	Archbish. of Cant.		Vol. r. Page
					fall out, and Duke <i>Robert</i> was taken in warre, a prisoner, brought to England, and kept in prison while he lived. And <i>Normandy</i> was subdued to king <i>Henry</i> the first.	
					This King invested Bishops without the Pope.	
1101					About this yeere 1101. the Bishop of <i>Fluence</i> began to preach of Antichrist to be there borne and manifested. Pope <i>Paschalis</i> hereupon calls a Councell, silenceth the Bishop, and condemnes his booke. See the first great Volume, p. 254. col. 2.	
1103					Great variance betweene <i>Anselme</i> and the King.	247
1105	Henry 5.				Of this <i>Henry</i> the first, Emperor, see before in Pope <i>Paschalis</i> the second, and his time and story; and in the next yeere here following.	
					<i>Henry</i> and <i>Christian</i> two famous Archbishops of <i>Mentz</i> , right vertuous men, were about this time cruelly and tyrannically handled by the Bishop of <i>Rome</i> .	254
					This same yeere, <i>Anselme</i> getting leave of the King to call a Councell, in it by his decrees cuts off the authority of any Lay persons to investing spirituall persons, the freedome of Bishops to beare office in secular mens busineses, and the power of Priests to marry. See the first Volume, p. 251.	
1106					The Emperor <i>Henry</i> the fourth being conquered in battell of his rebellious sonne <i>Henry</i> the fifth, set against him by Pope <i>Paschalis</i> the second, is so poore, that he intreated the Bishop of <i>Spire</i> (to whom he had bene kinde) to have a Prebend there; having some skill to serve in the Ladies Quire: but the Bishop swearing by the Lady a flat deniall; the Emperour forlorne of sonne, kingdom, Bishop, and all, goes to <i>Leodium</i> and there dies (having reigned fifty yeeres) whose body buried, <i>Paschalis</i> takes up againe, and causeth it to be kept unburied five yeeres.	255
1107					<i>Henry</i> the first coming to be crowned at <i>Rome</i> , could not obtaine it, till he ratified it, that no Emperour should have to doe in the election of the <i>Roman</i> Bishop. Afore he yeelded to it; and about other things, there was such opposition betweene this <i>Henry</i> the first and the Pope, that unlesse he had defended himselfe with his owne hands, hee had bene slaine.	
1109					<i>Anselme</i> Archbishop died, The See is void five yeeres. The Bishopricke of <i>Ely</i> first founded. <i>Henry</i> the Bishop.	256
1110						
1113						
1114					<i>Trent</i> river dried up about <i>Notingham</i> , from morning till three in the afternoone, that men might go over drie-shod. <i>Gibura</i> .	
1115					<i>Thames</i> this yeere, from the Tower to the Bridge, from midnight to next evening, scarce knee deepe: innumerable people and children wading over; the Tyde falling short of its custome, ten miles.	
1118					This yeere <i>Worcester</i> is burnt.	
					This Pope <i>Gelasius</i> was set up by the Cardinals, without the Emperor.	
					<i>Thurstinus</i> chosen Archbishop of <i>Torke</i> ; will not make his procession of obedience to the See of <i>Canterbury</i> , where he was consecrated, for which the king deprives him. Hence rose great adoe betweene the Archbishop <i>Thurstinus</i> and the King.	
					This Pope <i>Gregory</i> is set up by the Emperor.	
					Pope <i>Gelasius</i> is driven into <i>France</i> .	
					This Pope <i>Calix.</i> is set up by a few Cardinals. He first excommunicates the Emperor <i>Henry</i> the first, then drives P. <i>Gregory</i> out of <i>Rome</i> .	
					The Emperor is again forced to ratifie his consent, of passing away his right of choosing the B. of <i>Rome</i> ; and moreover to ratifie this Pope <i>Calix.</i> to be Pope, though the Emperor Pope <i>Gregory</i> was yet alive.	
1119						Pope

Rodolphus.

Gelasius 2.  
and  
Gregory 8.  
both Popes  
together.

Gregory 8.  
and  
Calixtus 2.  
(Gelasius  
being gone)  
are both  
Popes toge-  
ther.

# A Chronologie.

Anno Christi	Emp. of Germ.	Popes of Rome.	Kings of England	Archbish. Cant.		Vol. Page
1122					Pope <i>Calix.</i> in the businesse about <i>Thurst.</i> interdicts the Church of <i>Canterbury</i> and <i>York</i> ; and all the parishes within the same; unless <i>Thurst.</i> without exacting subjection to <i>Canterbury</i> be admitted to the See of <i>York</i> ; and that the King (saith the Pope in his Epistle to <i>England</i> ) should be excommunicated, except he consented to the same.	258
1125	Lotharine Saxo.	Honorius 2.			<i>Thurstin</i> is received to his See, and reconciled to the King.	
1128					The King calls a Councell at <i>London</i> , where he gets the Clergy to give him the punishment of married Priests; which granted, for money the King lets them have their wives.	
1130		Innocent 2. and Anacletus 2. both Popes together.			The order of the Knights of the <i>Rhodes</i> , called the <i>Johannites</i> , and of the Templars, rose up at this time.	
1131					The Priory of <i>Norton</i> founded.	
1135			Stephen		The King is troubled with three visions; the first of multitudes of huge bandmen flying on him with their Mattocks; requiring the debt he owed unto them. The second of Souldiers, falling upon him. The third of Bishops, threatening him with their Episcopall staves. To prevent the coming to passe of these, hee vowed three things; first repentance, secondly almes, and thirdly amendment of life.	
1136					The King is in a great tempest at sea in this year 1131. He releaseth to the commons <i>Danegit</i> ; he gave to the Churchmen much; and looked to execution of justice, as after his deliverance from the tempest, to fulfill his three vows.	
1138	Conradus 3.			Theobald.	King <i>Henry</i> dies, being in <i>Normandy</i> .	260
1140					Notwithstanding the oath of <i>Stephen</i> and of the Nobilitie to <i>Maud</i> formerly, before her father, they set not up her, or young <i>Henry</i> the son: but this <i>Stephen</i> , sisters son to King <i>Henry</i> , takes upon him the crown, and him the Nobility crowne on <i>S. Stephens</i> day.	
1143					The King takes the Bishop of <i>Salrum</i> and the Bishop of <i>Lincolne</i> , and puts ropes about their necks, and led them to castles held against him, threatening to put to death the Bishops, unless the rebels would yeeld	
1144		Celestine 2. Lucius 2.			This <i>Conradus</i> Emperor, is the onely man, among many Emperors, that did not receive his crown from the Pope.	261
					<i>Maud</i> the Empreffe comes with a great army into <i>England</i> being aided by the Earles of <i>Glocester</i> and <i>Chester</i> , and wars on King <i>Stephen</i> , and takes him prisoner. Then the <i>Kentishmen</i> and <i>Londoners</i> war against <i>Maud</i> , and takes the Earle of <i>Glocester</i> prisoner. So he and K. <i>Stephen</i> are freed by exchange. Then K. <i>Stephen</i> in all haste gathers another army, and chaseth <i>Maud</i> the Empreffe out of the land.	
					But the Earle of <i>Glocester</i> and <i>Chester</i> were so strong, that they in fight had almost taken K. <i>Stephen</i> .	
					<i>Eustace</i> K. <i>Stephens</i> son wars against <i>Normandy</i> , but in vaine.	
					<i>Henry</i> Duke of <i>Normandy</i> makes warre in behalfe of his mother <i>Maud</i> , with grea puissance in <i>England</i> , winning the Tower of <i>London</i> and many other places.	
					<i>Eustace</i> King <i>Stephens</i> son dies.	
					Peace is made betweene K. <i>Stephen</i> and <i>Henry</i> of <i>Normandy</i> ; upon this condition, that <i>Stephen</i> should enjoy the Kingdome his life time; and meane while <i>Henry</i> should be proclaimed in the chiefe townes of the Kingdome heire apparent to the crowne.	
					The <i>Jewes</i> crucife a childe in <i>Norwich</i> .	This



# A Chronologic.

Anno Christi	Emp. of Germ.	Popes of Rome.	Kings of England	Archbish. of Cant.	This yeere also comes in the curling with Bell, Booke and Candle.	Vol. Page
1145		Eugenius 3.			These two Popes, <i>Lucius</i> and <i>Eugenius</i> , much withstood the <i>Romanes</i> this time, in their labouring to recover the old manner of choosing their Consuls and Senators.	
					<div style="display: flex; align-items: flex-start;"> <div style="flex: 1;"> <p>In the time of King <i>Stephens</i> reigne (its not set downe distinctly in what yeeres) flourished as some Authors affirme.</p> </div> <div style="flex: 2; border-left: 1px solid black; padding-left: 5px;"> <p><i>Gratianus</i>, compiler of the Popes decrees.  <i>Petrus Lombardus</i>, master of the sentences.  <i>Petrus Comestor</i>, writer of the scholast. story.  <i>Hugo de Sancto Victore</i>.  <i>Bernardus Clarevallensis</i>.  <i>Hildegare</i> the Nun, a Prophetesse.  <i>Johannes de temporibus</i>, who (as most of our old Authors affirme) lived 361. yeeres: He lived the last of his dayes in this Kings time.</p> </div> <div style="flex: 0.1; text-align: center; font-size: 3em; padding: 0 5px;">}</div> <div style="flex: 0.1; text-align: center; padding: 0 5px;">Brethren.</div> </div>	
1152	Fredericus Barbarossa.				In this Kings time, by <i>Theobald</i> Archbishop it was decreed, that Bishops should teach their flocke more diligently. that reading of the Scriptures should be more frequented in Abbeyes, that priests should learn and teach the Lords prayer and the Creed in English.	
1153		Anastatius 4.			Being the sixteenth yeere of King <i>Stephen</i> , <i>Theobald</i> Archb. of <i>Canterbury</i> and Legate to the Pope, began in the Councell at <i>London</i> the new found appellations from Councils to the Pope, invented by <i>Henry</i> Bishop of <i>Winchester</i> .	
1154		Adrian 4.	Henry 2.		This Pope <i>Adrian</i> was an <i>Englishman</i> , his surname was Breakspere, he belonged once to <i>S. Albons</i> , he kept much adoe also to put downe the <i>Roman</i> Consuls, Senators, &c.	262
					This King <i>Henry</i> was the son of <i>Gefferie Plantagenet</i> , and of <i>Maud</i> the Emperesse and daughter of King <i>Henry</i> the first.	
					This K. <i>Henry</i> , the first yeer of his reigne subdued <i>Ireland</i> ; and not long after made <i>Thomas Becket</i> Lord Chancellor of <i>England</i> . Hee subdued <i>William K. of Scotland</i> : Hee subduing <i>Wales</i> ; cut downe many woods, to make the way plaine. He also had in his rule the <i>Iles Orcades</i> , also <i>Poitou</i> and <i>Guien</i> , <i>Normandy</i> , <i>Gascoine</i> , <i>Angeou</i> , and <i>Chinon</i> . Also <i>Alverne</i> , and the City of <i>Tbolouse</i> he wan. Lastly, by the title of his wife <i>Elenor</i> , daughter to the Earle <i>Poitou</i> , he obtained the mounts <i>Pyram</i> in <i>Spain</i> . None of his Progenitors had so many countreys.	
1157					Two sunnes seene in the firmament in <i>England</i> . Three sunnes seene three houres in <i>Italy</i> .	
1158					Three Moones appeare, whereof the middle had a red crosse overthwart the face: which berokened (as some conceive) the great schisme betwene the Cardinals, for the election of the Bishops of <i>Rome</i> : or else rather the businesse between <i>Fredericus Barbarossa</i> , Emperor, and the Pope, <i>Adrian</i> , of which more will follow by and by.	
					After the appearance of those great lights in the firmament and aire, appeared in the Church <i>Gerbardus</i> and <i>Dulcinus</i> preachers against the Antichrist of <i>Rome</i> , as he that was prefigured by the whore of <i>Babylon</i> in the <i>Apocabyss</i> . These two (as <i>Robert Guisburnes</i> story affirms) brought thirty with them into <i>England</i> ; who by the King and Prelates were all burnt in the forehead, and so driven out of the Kingdome, and after (as <i>Illiricus</i> writeth) were slaine by the Pope.	
					The businesse betwene Pope <i>Adrian</i> the fourth was; first, that the Emperor held the Popes stirrup on the left side; who excused himself to the offended Pope, by telling him he had not beene used to hold stirrups. The next day the Emperor makes amends by holding it on the right side. Secondly, that the Emperor having marched into <i>Italy</i> , subduing some rebels, he was informed by the Pope, that according to the former custome of <i>Carolus Magnus</i> subduing the <i>Lombards</i> , O-	

# A Chronologie.

Anno Christi	Emp. of Germ.	Popes of Rome.	Kings of England	Archbish. Cant.		Vol. I Page
					<p><i>tho the Berengarians, and Lotharius the Normans, who left for the See of Rome some token of benevolence, for the obtaining their victories, he should likewise upon this victory of his leave a benevolence; and in particular, it must be Apulia; which at his owne cost and pains he must winne from Duke William, that it might be restored againe to the Church of Rome. This businesse was so resolved upon by the P. that untill the Emperor promised the same, he could not receive his crowne from the Pope. For the Popes in those dayes had the Emperors at this a-bey, that for to be crowned, they were faine to yeeld to any thing.</i></p> <p>But the Pope himselfe in stirring in the execution of his plot, was so besieged by <i>William the Duke</i>, that before intreated peace of the Pope, which would not yeeld it upon any termes, that they were forced to intreat the Duke for peace; which was granted, with profitable conditions to the Duke.</p> <p>The Emperor this while sitting quietly at home, and considering how the Pope had wrested his power in election of Popes, investing of Prelates, &amp;c. how he had pilled and polled all Nations by the Legates, and sowne discord in his Empire: hereupon he requires homage and oath of Allegiance of all his Bishops; and forbids the Popes Legates to enter into the Empire, without his sending for, and all appeales to <i>Rome</i>. Finally, in his letters he prefixed his name before the Emperor.</p> <p>Hereupon the Pope writes a rebuking letter to the Emperor. The Emperor writes backe in defence of his doings an apologeticall epistle. The Pope replies with a Bull of excommunication. The Emperour makes answer to that with accusatory letters against the vilenesse, pride, &amp;c. of the See of <i>Rome</i>. Then the Pope writes to the <i>Germane</i> Bishops to worke against the Emperor. The Bishops they write their excusing of the Emperor.</p> <p>This Pope towards the end of his life ( who dyed amidst these broyles, being choaked with a flie as he was walking abroad) was wont to say, that there was no more miserable kinde of life in the earth, then to be a Pope.</p>	
1159		Alexander the third, and Victor the fourth, both Popes together.			<p>This Pope, being set up by the Popes faction.</p> <p>The two Popes made great schisme and tumult.</p> <p>This Victor was set up by the Emperor and nine Cardinals.</p> <p>The Emperor to quiet them, sent for them to appeare before him. <i>Alexander</i> scornes the motion; <i>Victor</i> doth appeare: him therefore the Emperor aides to the City, and settles him to be Pope. <i>Alexander</i> then flying to <i>France</i>, to <i>Sicill</i> and <i>Venice</i>, workes by mony and cunning; gets the City of <i>Rome</i> on his side to set up such Confulls as were for his turne. Also of the <i>French</i>, and <i>Venetians</i>, and <i>Apulians</i>, he got force of ships and armes on his side: against which the Emperor sends his sonne <i>Otho</i> with ships and men well appointed, against the <i>Venetians</i> and the Pope; charging him to doe nothing till hee should come to him. But he not tarrying for his father, was beaten and taken: for the delivery of whom, the Emperor was faine to submit himselfe to the Pope; who putting his foot upon the Emperors necke, spake these words; <i>Thou shalt walke upon the Adders and Basilisks, and shalt tread downe the Lion and Dragon.</i> Meane while the Emperour speaking to the Pope from under his foote, Not to thee but to <i>Peter</i>: The Pope answers, Both to me and to <i>Peter</i>. Thus the Emperor</p>	264 265



# A Chronologie.

Anno Christi	Emp. of Germ.	Popes of Rome.	Kings of England	Archbish. of Cant.	Emperor having subjected himselfe, promising to take <i>Alexander</i> for the true Pope, and to restore all he had taken away from <i>Rome</i> , departed.	Page
					Pope <i>Alexander</i> the third sitting Pope one and twenty yeeres, calling divers Councils at <i>Turo</i> , ratified the wicked acts of <i>Hildebrand</i> .	266
1160					This yeere many chiefe men of <i>Lyons</i> walking together, one whereof falling downe dead, to the amazement of them all, one <i>Waldus</i> a rich man, was above all the rest, by Gods spirit working together with the example, stricken with a found inward repentance, a new life following thereupon, with great study of the Word of God, wherewith he much instructed his family, others also resorting to him to be taught; and so he became the originall of the <i>Waldenses</i> .	
1161				Tho Becket.	This <i>Becket</i> lived in the time of this Pope <i>Alexander</i> . He did not (as some affirme) dye a Martyr, but a stubborn man against his King, who had preferred him from an Archdeacon, to be Lord Chancellor of <i>England</i> , and after to be Archbishop of <i>Canterbury</i> .	
					The Pope, viz. <i>Alexander</i> the third, holds with <i>Becket</i> in his obstinacy against the King and his Lawes.	269 270
					The Bishops generally counselling <i>Becket</i> to submission to the King, are sharply rated by him.	271 282
					This yeere a childe was crucified by the <i>Jewes</i> .	284
1167					This yeere a collection of two pence in every pound, was gathered thorowout all <i>England</i> and <i>France</i> , for the succor the of East Christians against the <i>Turkes</i> .	
1169					This yeere, being about the fifteenth yeere of K. <i>Henry</i> the second, so feared lest the Archbishop would proceed to excommunication of his owne person, that he appealed to the Pope, intreating him to send downe two Legates to <i>England</i> , to take up the matter betweene him and his Archbishop.	
1170					This yeere the doctrine of the <i>Waldenses</i> (coming of that <i>Waldus</i> an able and learned man in the Scriptures and true godlinesse, as hath beene seene in old parchments, and records of things of his penning) sprang up more and more in the time of this wicked Pope <i>Alexander</i> , who with his faction much set against these Christians, whose tenents are ordinarily to be seene to be very orthodoxe and sound.	
					This yeere <i>William</i> King of <i>Scots</i> with <i>David</i> his brother, do homage to <i>England</i> .	
					This yeere <i>Babylon</i> was destroyed (and never built againe) by <i>Almaricus</i> King of <i>Hierusalem</i> .	
					<i>Becket</i> this yeere bare another grudge against the King, because King <i>Henry</i> the second by authority of the Parliament, crowning his sonne King, by the hands of the Archbishop of <i>Torke</i> , and other Bishops, not sending for him. Also he makes the Pope to suspend the Bishops.	289
					This same yeere also <i>Ludovike</i> the <i>French</i> King, came with a great army against the King to <i>Normandy</i> , for not crowning <i>Margaret</i> his daughter, with her husband.	
1171					<i>Becket</i> is slaine by four souldiers. Many Authors alleadged that condemned <i>Becket</i> s carriage towards the King.	292

# A Chronologie.

<i>Anno Christi</i>	Emp. of Germ.	Popes of Rome.	Kings of England	Archbish. Cant.	Abundance of strange lies are reported touching <i>Becket's</i> miracles. Of him was made this blasphemous Anthem :  <i>For the blood of Thomas, which be for thee did spend, Grant us Christ to climbe where Thomas did ascend.</i>  The Pope is angry, and more incensed by <i>Ludovike</i> the French K. for the death of <i>Becket</i> .  The Pope injoyne the four Knights that killed <i>Becket</i> such hard penance of going to <i>Hersusalem</i> barefoot in linen breeches, with much fasting and prayer, that in few yeeres after they are said to die.  The K. subdued <i>Ireland</i> and foure of the five Kings thereof : the King of <i>Tonacla</i> in that land, denying to be subdued ; keeping in woods and marshes.  The Legates from the Pope, being come into <i>Normandy</i> , touching the death of <i>Becket</i> , the King repaires to them, sweares he neither assented to, nor assisted in <i>Becket's</i> death; but only spake rigorously against his Knights which did not avenge him of <i>Becket</i> . For which the Legates injoyne the King great penance, of fighting against the Turke, and oblieging himselfe to the Pope.  All <i>England</i> almost diseased with a cough.  <i>William</i> King of <i>Scots</i> , is imprisoned in <i>England</i> , being taken in warre. See the first great vol. p. 302.  This yeere <i>Canterbury</i> City is almost all burnt.  A convocation of Bishops is held this yeere about the subjection of Bishopricks to the Archbishop of <i>Torke</i> , and of <i>Torke</i> to <i>Canterbury</i> .  This yeere King <i>Henry</i> the second divides the kingdome into fixe parts, appoints for every part three Justices of Assise.  The ancient custome of exempting priests from the temporall sword, in case of murther, inflicting on them onely excommunication, this yeere, in this King <i>Henries</i> time, began to be altered, by the procurement of <i>Richard</i> Archbishop of <i>Canterbury</i> .  <i>Ireland</i> this yeere is subdued to the king of <i>England</i> .  <i>Hovenden</i> in this yeer brings in Letters of P. <i>Alexander</i> to Roger Archbishop of <i>Torke</i> , and the Bishop of <i>Duresme</i> .  Contention betweene the Archbishop of <i>Torke</i> and <i>Canterbury</i> revives.  The Popes Commissioners persecute sorely some in <i>Tbolause</i> , holding against transubstantiation.  Pope <i>Alexander</i> in some of those many counells held at <i>Laterane</i> , whereof was one this yeere, and in <i>France</i> , &c. decreed that no Archbishop should receive the Pall, unlesse he would first sweare. The forme of giving the Pall and taking the oath, see the first great Volume p. 298.  Under the reigne of this <i>Henry</i> the second, the Dominions and Crowne of <i>England</i> extended farther than ever before in <i>England</i> .	Vol. 1 Page 293 294
1172				Richard.		
1173						
1174						295.
1175						
1176						
1177						
1178						
1179						296
						<i>Viz.</i>



# A Chronologie.

Anno Christi	Emp. of Germ.	Popes of Rome.	Kings of England.	Archbishops of Cant.	<i>Scotland.</i> <i>Ireland.</i> <i>England.</i> <i>Normandy.</i> <i>Aquitain.</i> <i>Cant, &amp;c.</i> To the mountaine of <i>Pirenei</i> , which be the uttermost parts of the great Ocean in the <i>British</i> Sea.	Vol. I. Page
1180 1181					<i>Viz.</i> He is King over <i>Pisanus Burgundo</i> a very learned man in Greeke and Latine, presents to Pope <i>Alexanders</i> Councell <i>Cbrystomes</i> Homily on the Gospel of <i>John</i> , translated out of Greeke into Latine.  He is Protector of <i>France</i> ; <i>Philip</i> the <i>French</i> King yeelding himselfe and his Realme wholly to his governance.  He was offered to be King of <i>Jerusalem</i> , but he refused it, fearing the re- bellion of his sonnes in his absence.  Princes from most parts of Christendome came to this King, for his wife- dome, to be advised, and have questions determined.	297
					He maintained great warres much of his thirty five yeeres he reigned; yet never put he any taxe upon the Laity, or first fruits or appropriations upon the Clergy; and yet dyed worth 900000. pounds, besides jewels, precious stones, and household furniture.  This many-ways-happy King was unhappy in his sonnes, who stood in armour against him, taking part with the <i>French</i> King against him; causing him with extreme griefe to fall sicke, and in foure dayes to dye.  The King being dead, bled afresh at the coming neere of one of his sonnes; whereby the beholders concluded, that he was the Author of his fathers death.  His sonnes (their Kingly father being dead) unsuccessfull in their designes, as what else could be expected of such sonnes? lose all their fathers Dominions beyond sea.	
1184			Baldwinus.		Great contention was betweene this <i>Baldwinus</i> and the Monkes of <i>Canter-</i> <i>bury</i> . See the first great Vol. p. 309.	303
1185 1187		Urban 35			Pope <i>Urban</i> writes to Archbishop <i>Baldwin</i> , sharply rebuking him, and up- holding the Monkes. In few dayes after he dyes.  This yeere King <i>Henry</i> payes to <i>Rome</i> 40000. markes of silver, and five thousand of gold, for the death of <i>Becket</i> .  Archbishop <i>Baldwin</i> begins the building of the new house at <i>Lambeth</i> , with the Church.  Pope <i>Gregory</i> dyes with sorrow for the losse of the holy Crosse.	
1188		Gregory 2.  Clement 3.			This Pope <i>Clement</i> forbids Archbishop <i>Baldwin</i> to proceed. And also sharply writes (as did Pope <i>Urban</i> ) to rebuke him as an oppressor of the Monkes of <i>Canterbury</i> .  This Pope <i>Clement</i> sends another more sharpe letter to this Archbishop, by his Legate <i>Rodulphus</i> , to the same effect.  This yeere Pope <i>Clement</i> writes a third letter to Archbishop <i>Baldwin</i> .	
1189						This

Anno Christi	Emp. of Germ.	Popes of Rome.	Kings of England. <small>Richard the first, surnamed Caier de Lion.</small>	Archbishops of Cant.		Vol. 1. Page
					This King forbidding any <i>Jewes</i> to approach his palace at his coronation, the <i>Jewes</i> notwithstanding pressing on, were by the gate keepers smitten, and at last many, on boldship of the Kings command of keeping them out of the palace, slew many of them; on which was raised a report that all the <i>Jewes</i> must be destroyed; insomuch that the <i>Londoners</i> fired divers houses of the <i>Jewes</i> , and the inhabitants in them.	
					The King strongly tooke part with the Archbishop against the Monkes.	
					The King sorrowing for his rebellion against his father, for satisfaction agrees with King <i>Philip</i> of <i>France</i> to goe to the holy land, to recover Christ his patrimony, as they called it. In which voyage, as he had much contention with the unfaithfull hearted <i>French</i> King, so he had divers victories against the enemy; as against <i>Isakius</i> King of <i>Cyprus</i> , and against <i>Achon</i> and others. See following, Anno 1192, &c.	
					The manner of the Popes crowning this Emperor, see in the next yeere.	
1190	Henricus 6. sonne of Fredericus Bar. 6.				In this yeere was a great Northerne brawle, on Twelfe-Even, betwene the Archbishop, elect of the Church of <i>Yorke</i> , and his company on the one side, and <i>Henry</i> Deane of that Church, and his Chanter and Singingmen on the other side; because the Deane and his Quiresters presumed to begin their Service before the Bishop came; whom they conceived to stay too long in attiring himselfe, or some such occasion. The Archbishop bids them stay their over forward service, now halfe done at the Bishops coming in: The Deane and Chanter bids them proceed on. At last the Archbishop silenced the Service, and makes them begin againe the first part, which he had not yet heard: the others seeing the Bishops authority to make the service begin againe, put out the lights; whereby these Popish devotions which cannot be done without candle-light, were for the present extinguished.	
1191		Celest. 3.			King <i>Richard</i> sends over his Gallies to <i>Naples</i> , there to meete his mother <i>Elenor</i> , and <i>Berengaria</i> the daughter of <i>Sandim</i> King of <i>Navarre</i> , whom he purposed to marry, who shortly after meete together.	316
					<i>Henry</i> Emperor is crowned (upon condition of restoring many things to <i>S. Peter</i> , pretended by the Pope to have beene taken away) the Pope holding the Crowne betwene his feete, and so the Emperor stoopes with his head to take it on: the Pope estoones with his foote striking it off (intimating his power to depose him as well as to crowne him) the Cardinals taking up the Crowne thus kicked off, and putting it on againe.	317
					In this absence of the King of <i>England</i> , by reason of his voyage to the Holy-Land, the King had appointed the government of the Realme to <i>Hugo</i> Bishop of <i>Durham</i> , and <i>William</i> Bishop of <i>Ely</i> . To <i>Hugo</i> of <i>Durham</i> was committed <i>Windsor</i> Castle: to <i>William</i> of <i>Ely</i> the Tower of <i>London</i> . To these two Bishops were adjoynd four chiefe Justices: viz. <i>Hugh Eardolfe</i> , <i>William Marshall</i> , <i>Gefferey Peterson</i> , and <i>William Bruer</i> , to have the hearing and oversight over all causes. But above all these, the Bishop of <i>Ely</i> (being Chancellor, and by his money got to be the Popes Legate) tooke upon him mightily, taking away <i>Windsor</i> Castle from the other Bishop. It is incredible to thinke how intemperately this Bishop and Chancellor misused himselfe after the Kings departure into <i>Syria</i> , in excesse of pride, and in cruell exactions and oppressions of the Kings Subjects.	319



# A Chronologie.

Anno Christi	Emp. of Germ.	Popes of Rome.	Kings of England.	Archbishops of Cant.	<p>A great contention arose betweene <i>John</i> Earle of <i>Morton</i>, the Kings brother, with other states of the Realme, and the said <i>William</i> Bishop of <i>Page Ely</i>, through his pride usurping all the government of the Kingdome to himselfe. In short, he was at variance with many of the great persons of the Kingdomes, till by Earle <i>John</i>s meanes and others, he was for his ill behaviour faine to disguise himselfe in womans apparell, make to the sea side, and to saile out of the Kingdome, complaining to Pope <i>Celestine</i>, and sending letters to the King, complaining to him likewise.</p>	Vol 1.
1192					The King gets victories against the <i>Saladine</i> , got <i>Sclavonia</i> from the <i>Saracens</i> .	
1193				Hubertus.	<p>The <i>French</i> King not agreeing with King <i>Richard</i>, returnes home, invades <i>Normandy</i>, perswades <i>John</i> the Kings brother to take upon him the Crowne of <i>England</i>,<sup>s</sup> in the Kings absence: whereby he made league with the <i>French</i> King, and did him homage.</p> <p>King <i>Richard</i> hearing this, makes peace with the Turke for three yeeres, and returnes homeward; who, as he was coming, by tempest was driven to <i>Histria</i>, to a Towne called <i>Synaca</i>, and taken by <i>Lympold</i> Duke of that Counrey, and by him sold to the Emperour for sixty thousand markes; which Emperour writes his triumph therein to the said <i>French</i> King.</p> <p>The King is thus a Captive a yeere and three moneths.</p> <p>This while the <i>French</i> King warres upon <i>Normandy</i>, and makes Earle <i>John</i>, King <i>Richards</i> brother to invade <i>England</i>. But by the Barons he was made flye into <i>France</i>. At last for 100000. pounds to the Emperour, the King was releated; that money being made up of Chalicees, Crossees and other Church plate.</p>	
1195					This yeere the Pope granted that Priests might administer with Latine, and tin Chalicees (the silver and gold Chalicees being gone to redeeme the King) and so it continued long after.	322
1196					<i>Lympold</i> Duke of <i>Austrige</i> fell in displeasure with the Bishop of <i>Rome</i> , and dyed excommunicate.	
1197					<i>Philip</i> King of <i>France</i> breakes his truce made with <i>Richard</i> King of <i>England</i> , so that King <i>Richard</i> was faine to saile over into <i>Normandy</i> to wight and him.	
					<i>Fulco</i> , alias <i>Gualter</i> , Archbishop of <i>Rome</i> , rebukes the King for his three daughters. The King in a rage calling him mad man, and saying; I have no daughter. <i>Fulco</i> replies, telling him that his three daughters were <i>Pride</i> , <i>Covetousnesse</i> , and <i>Luxury</i> ; and that unlesse the King did marry them away they would undoe him, and his Kingdome. To which the King calling the Nobles, reciting <i>Fulco</i> his parable, and confessing his fatherhood of such children, makes this answer; Here before you all I give my daughter <i>Pride</i> to wife unto the proude <i>Templars</i> ; my daughter <i>Avarice</i> to the Covetous order of the <i>Cistercian Monkes</i> ; and my daughter <i>Luxurie</i> to the riotous <i>Prelates</i> .	323
1198					King <i>Richard</i> the first, viewing a Castle, is hit with an Arrow in the arme with the fistring of the iron whereof he dyes.	
1199	Otto the fourth.	Innocent the third.	John.		This King <i>John</i> was the brother of King <i>Richard</i> , and Earle of <i>Morton</i> ; being crowned and sworne with a strict charge of the Archbishop to keepe the Lawes, he sayles over into <i>Normandy</i> , and makes truce with the <i>French</i> King for a time.	King

# A Chronologie.

Anno Christi	Emp. of Germ.	Popes of Rome.	Kings of England.	Archbishops of Cant.	King <i>John</i> being divorced from his wife, daughter of the Earle of Gloucester, being in the third degree of kined; by the Councell of the French King, he marries <i>Isabell</i> , daughter of the Earle of Anguilla: and then Arthur of Britaine did homage to King <i>John</i> for Britaine and other places.	Vol. 1. Page
1200					About this time arose divers contentions betweene King <i>John</i> and the Archbishop for fundry things.	324
1202					<i>Philip</i> the French King in a communication betweene him and King <i>John</i> , requires King <i>John</i> to part with all his lands in Normandy, and Pistavia, which he had beyond the Sea, unto <i>Arthur</i> his Nephew, the sonne of King <i>John</i> s elder brother, and that presently, or else he would warre against him. King <i>John</i> denying it, the French King warring, and <i>Arthur</i> assisting, King <i>John</i> takes <i>Arthur</i> prisoner, and scarce leaves any of the French to carry backe tydings.	
1203					This yeere King <i>John</i> for lacke of rescue lost all his Holds (as Writers affirme) and Possessions in Normandy, through the force of the French King.	
1205					<i>Hubert</i> Archbishop of <i>Canterbury</i> deceaseth. The younger sort of Monkes at midnight choose their superiour <i>Reignold</i> , and without the Kings licence privately placeth him in the Metropolitall seate, singing <i>Te Deum</i> , and after post him away to the Pope.	
1206					The next yeere the contention betweene the Suffragans and Monkes of <i>Canterbury</i> about the said Election, is brought before the Pope, who passed sentence on the Monkes side, charging the Suffragans and Bishops of <i>Canterbury</i> henceforth to meddle no more with that Election, but to let the Monkes alone.	
1207				Stephen Langhton.	The Monkes of <i>Canterbury</i> now having the said Elect of an Archbishop in their owne hands, fall at oddes between themselves, the younger against the elder; the younger standing for <i>Reignold</i> , the elder choose another. They bringing their cause, their elections, and allegations before Pope <i>Innocent</i> the third; he condemning both their elections, commanded them to choose <i>Stephen Langhton</i> , then Cardinall of Saint <i>Chrysogon</i> , for their Archbishop, which done, though with secrete muttering of many the Monkes, they sing <i>Te Deum</i> . The King was content to let this Election thus to passe, so as he might have his Sovereignty entire. But this Archbishop <i>Langhton</i> was so proud and stubborne against the King, that the King sent abroad into all parts of the Kingdome letters Certificatory of the same. Whereupon the Pope mightily sets himselfe against King <i>John</i> , interdicting and cursing King <i>John</i> , and all that should eate, drinke, talke, &c. with him; insomuch that at last the King was faine to passe over his Crowne to the Pope.	325 329
1212	Fridericke 2.				The French King makes an attempt in hope to get the Crowne of <i>England</i> . But the English take 300. of the French Kings ships, and so defeated his project.	
1215					Pope <i>Innocent</i> the third calls a Synod at Rome, called the Councell of <i>Lateran</i> , upon this occasion. Princes now beginning to resist the Pope, whereby many Princes were excommunicated, as <i>Orso</i> the Emperour, <i>John</i> King of <i>England</i> , <i>Peter</i> King of <i>Aragon</i> , <i>Raimund</i> the Earle of <i>Tbolouse</i> , <i>Aquitania</i> , <i>Sataloni</i> , &c. The Pope now to prevent any future increase of opposition, inacts in this Synod, that the Pope henceforth should have the correction of all Christian Princes.	339



# A Chronologie.

Anno Christi	Germanic Emp.	Romane Popes.	Kings of England.	Archbishops of Cant.	In this Councell also was first invented transubstantiation, and forbidding Priests marriage was confirmed.	Vol. 1 Page
1216		Honorius 3.			<p>To this Councell were those great men in <i>England</i> summoned to appeare, who would not consent to the expulsion and tyrannicall deposing of their King. But the other side and faction of the nobilitie opposed their King lustily, desiring <i>Philip</i> the French King to send his eldest sonne <i>Ludovike</i> with a great power, and they would choose him for their King, and so he came and was chosen; howbeit against the Popes consent, who charged the French King rather to helpe King <i>John</i> against his rebellious Subjects, for that (saith the Pope) King <i>John</i> is my feydary tenant. But this hindred not.</p> <p><i>Simon Langhton</i> is chosen Archbishop of <i>Yorke</i>. But that choice was anone dissolved, information being given to the Pope, that he was brother to that <i>Stephen Langhton</i> that had made that tumult in <i>England</i>.</p> <p>This yeere K. <i>John</i> was poysoned by one <i>Simon</i> a Monke, who being absolved of his Abbot afore-hand for doing this fact, he findes a Toade in the Garden, prickes him with a pen-knife untill he had made him vomit up all his poison, which he having conveighed into a cup of wine, began to the King with a smiling countenance, speaking these words: If it shall please your princely Majestie, here is such a Cup of Wine, as you never dranke a better, I trust this Wassell shall make all <i>England</i> glad. The King having drunk, and anon being ill, inquired for <i>Simon</i> the monke; to whom some answering that he was departed this life (for his guts gushed out of his belly) the King replies, Then God have mercy upon my soule; and so he dyed, much repenting of his former life.</p> <p>In this Kings time was the Bridge of <i>London</i>, being of wood, built of stone; and the power of choosing a Maior in <i>London</i> was first granted.</p> <p><i>Henry</i> the third being King <i>John</i>s eldest sonne, began his raigne in the ninth yeere of his age. Against him, some that hated the father, stood for <i>Lewis</i> the K. of <i>France</i> his sonne. But <i>W.</i> Earle Marshall orating to the nobles that the French Kings sonne was the shame of their servitude, and that hatred of the childe for the father, was unjust persecution of the innocent childe; Hereupon they all gave consent to choose this young <i>Henry</i> for their King; who is crowned at <i>Glocester</i>, because the French held <i>Westminster</i>.</p>	331
1217					<p>Upon the choice of the sonne of King <i>John</i> to be King, <i>Lewis</i> the French Kings son makes warre upon <i>England</i>; Earle Marshall and others gives him battell, and winne the field of him. Then <i>Lewis</i> takes <i>London</i> for his safety, shutting the gates, till great ayde from <i>France</i> was sent him in a 100 ships; but they were encountred with upon the sea, most of them taken, and <i>Eustace</i> the chief of them; and his head was smitten off: so that the French kings sonne <i>Lewis</i> agreed for 1000. pound of silver he would depart out of the kingdome never to returne he nor his.</p>	333
1218					<p>A parliament is held in <i>England</i> (now <i>Lewis</i> and his French are gone out of the land) in which King <i>Henry</i> the third confirmeth all the priviledges that had beene granted by <i>John</i> his father.</p>	334
1219					<p>The kingdome on the other side grant to the king two shillings of every plow land.</p>	335
1220					<p><i>Thomas Becket</i> is shined.</p> <p>This yeere Order was proclaimed that all aliens should depart out of the Realme, except Merchandizers, going in and our under the Popes safe conduct. It was conceived that the devise was to make divers great men strangers, that held castles and holds of the King against his will, to goe out of the kingdome.</p>	336
1221					<p>About this time the young King was crowned againe at <i>Westminster</i>.</p> <p>This yeere the Pope of <i>Rome</i> stirres up <i>Ludovike</i> the French king to lay siege against the city of <i>Tholouse</i> to extinguisht the <i>Albigeneses</i>. Vol. 1. page 347.</p> <p>The Lord keeps the <i>Albigeneses</i> that the French king and his host could not touch them; but strikes them with a fore pestilence and famine, forcing them to retire home againe to <i>France</i>, Vol. 1. p. 347. c. 2.</p>	347
1222					<p>This yeere the king went to <i>Oxford</i>, where he had somethings to doe with <i>William</i> Earle de <i>Albemarle</i>.</p>	348
1223					<p>The Gray or Minority Friers enter first into <i>England</i>.</p> <p>The house of the <i>Carthusian</i> Monkes is founded.</p> <p>In <i>England</i> are such violent tempests, that many trees, towers, churches are throwne downe, and some persons slaine in an house.</p>	349

# A Chronologie.

Anno Christi	Germane Emp.	Romane Popes.	Kings of England	Archbifh. of Cant.	Philip the French king dies, his fon <i>Ludovike</i> fucceeding him. The order of Friers Minorites is confirmed by Pope <i>Honorius</i> the third. Pope <i>Honorius</i> the third, a great adverfary to <i>Frederike</i> Emperor dies, after whom fucceeds <i>Gregory</i> the ninth, more grievous than his predeceffor.	Vol. I. Page
1223		Gregory the ninth.			<i>Francifcus</i> patrone of the Frier Minorites dies.	
1224					<i>Ela</i> foundeth the houfe of the Nuns at Lacock.	
1226					<i>W. Bifhop</i> of London gave over his Bifhoprick.	
1227					The Pope workes <i>Reimundus</i> the good Earle of Thouloufe great trouble.	349
1228					This yeere the king of England makes the Londoners to pay the fumme of 1000, marks to him, becaufe they had given or lent the like fum to <i>Lewis</i> the French King, his adverfary, at his departure out of England. With thefe and other taxes, provision is made to recover Normandy.	352
					The King grants to the citie of London to be toll-free.	
					Great contention arifeth betweene the prior and Covent of <i>Durham</i> , and this king <i>Henry</i> the third, becaufe they would not chufe him to their Bifhop whom the King did defire.	
1229				Richardus magnus.	The choice of this Archbifhop coft the Realme the tenths of all moveables, fee Vol. I. p. 355.	
					The new Church of Coventry is finifhed by <i>Alexander</i> the Bifh. of that city.	
					The French provide againe to warre againft the forefaid <i>Reimundus</i> Earle of Thouloufe, and to expulfe him out of his poffeffions. The Earle gives them a great overthrow, and difcomfits the French three times that fummer.	355
1230					As the Bifhop and his deacon and many people were in <i>S. Pauls</i> Church in London at Maffe, there arofe fuch a darke tempeft with thunder, &c. that the peopleran out, fell down amazed, conceiving that doomefday was come; the Bifhop and Deacon meane while take faft hold of the Altar.	
1231					The Archbifhop now confirmed in his See, complains againft <i>Hubert</i> Lord chiefe juftice, as one that with-held fome lands due to Canterbury.	
					The Archbifhop goes to the Pope and complaines againft the king for committing fo much truft of the affaires of the kingdome to <i>Hubert</i> .	
					<i>Rich.</i> dies in his returne from complaining to the Pope, in whofe roome the Monkes choofe <i>Ralf</i> Nevill, alias <i>Radulphus de nova villa</i> , who was the kings Chancel. the K. well liking the choice; he is commended in ftories to be a very good man. But being depraved and traduced to the Pope by <i>Simon Langhton</i> Archbifhop of <i>Torke</i> , the Pope fruftrates the choice.	356
					Then the Monks choofe <i>John</i> their Prior to be Archbifhop, who going to the Pope (and therefore not infufficient by age to governe, who could take fuch a voyage) to receive his pall, and being examined three dayes, was rejected for being too old by the Pope, perhaps older then was he.	
1232					A great confiftory of Abbats, Priors, and of the nobility, is held at Saint <i>Alban</i> betweene the Counteffe of <i>Effex</i> and her husband.	357
					Romane and Italian parfons in <i>England</i> are robbed.	
					The Bifhops labour to bring <i>Hubert</i> out of the Kings favour, and prevaile, to the incenfing of the King againft him, and making him to queftion <i>Hubert</i> for many things unreafonably, to imprifon him, and bereave him of all his treafure.	358
1233					<i>Hubert</i> is conveighed out of prifon into a Church; but without refpect to that as a Sanctuary, he being found by the keepers is dragged to prifon againe, to the great offence of the Bifhop, for fo difrefpecting the facredneffe of that place.	362
					<i>John Blund</i> is chofen Archb. But he is the third of thofe that are unchofen by the Pope one after another, before any election would take with the Pope.	
1234				Edmund of A-bendon.	This Archbifhop <i>Edmund</i> was chofen by the Popes command.	
					Archbifhop <i>Edmund</i> with his Bifhops in Councell at Weftminfter (the K. now being at variance with the Nobles) declared to the King plainly that the Counfell he followed was not good, but dangerous to him and the ftate (meaning the Counfell of <i>Peter Wincheftre</i> and <i>Peter</i> of <i>Rivall</i> , &c.) fhewing it in their turning the Kings heart from his owne naturall Subjects, and in eleven particulars more.	
					The King takes pitie of Juftice <i>Huberts</i> wife.	
					<i>Richard</i> Earle Marfhall is fraudulently circumvented and flaine in <i>Ireland</i> .	
					The King laments it.	



# A Chronologie.

Anno Christi	Emp. of Germ.	Popes of Rome.	Kings of England.	Archbishops of Cant.	Many of the Catini and the Albingenses are slain by the Popes command. Peace is concluded betweene the King and the nobles. Justice Hubert is restored againe to the Kings favour. The King calling a Councell, calls the Bishop of Winchester, Peter Riwall, Stephen Segrave, &c. to account for abusing his seale; &c. Great variance ariseth betweene the Romanes and Pope Gregory the ninth, because the Pope contended contrary to the custome (as the Romanes pleaded) that he might excommunicate a Citizen of Rome, and interdict the Citie. Schisme ariseth betweene the Greeke and the Romane Church, because that an elected Grecian Archbishop could not be confirmed when he was come to Rome, unlesse he would give a great summe of money; which simony the Archbishop and the Grecians with one consent did abhominat, and separated from Rome. This separation of the Greeke Church from Pope Gregory the ninth, and the Church of Rome, causeth that Germanus Archbishop and Patriarch of Constantinople wrote to Pope Gregory the ninth, to reforme matters, and studie meanes of Unitie in the seamelesse Coate of Christ. The Pope imposeth so many exactions upon England, beginning at this 1237. yeere, and so forward (as he had many yeeres before to the said yeere) as make up large tables. Otho the Popes Legat hath authority to stay longer and gather more money in England. Not long after in this year, Pope Gregory sends a new precept to legat Otho, that all beneficed men in England and France should pay to the pope the fifth part of their revenewes. Who notwithstanding their foure materiall excuses, were faine to pay it. Preachers are stirred up by the Lord to preach that the pope was an heretike, and condemned for their paines; viz. Arnoldus, Johannes Semeca the glosse writer of the popes decrees an opposer of the pope, Gulielmus De sancto amore, giving many signes of false Teachers, Galus and Groftbead. Petrus Supino gets 1500. markes out of Ireland for the pope; and Petrus Ruperus in England gets of the Abbots and Priors, shewing to them the popes bills and bulls, a mighty quantitie of silver and gold. The pope demands of the house of Peterborow, that they should grant him some benefice lying in their donation, whose fruits were worth an 100. pound, so that they should be as farmers, and the pope to receive the profits. But the King forbade them any such grant. From pope Innocent the fourth comes M. Martinus, a new Merchant of the pope, with power to suspend all prelates in England from giving benefices, till the popes kinsmen were preferred. The King writes a letter to pope Innocent to forbear his intolerable oppressions of the Kingdome of England. Martinus being an instrument of the popes oppression of England, is warned by the nobility (and he had little lesse comfort of the King) to be gone out of England upon paine of being cut in peeces; who taking his leave of the King, the King, (as Matthew Paris saith) bids him farewell in the devils name. The nobles and commons of England write a supplication to pope Innocent the fourth in the generall Councell at Lions, against his injurious taxes imposed upon England. Pope Innocent in a meeting at Cluniack perswades the French King (who was addressing himselfe for his voyage to Jerusalem) to warre against Regulum istum, that is, the feeble King of England (for his not condescending to the pope in all things) either to drive him out of his dominions, or to make him accommodate the pope in every thing. The clergie and commonaltie of England write another letter to pope Innocent the fourth against his exactions in England. The Abbot of Abingdon commanded to give a benefice by the pope to one, and by the King to another, rather obeyes the King then the pope. For which he is cited to appear before the pope, and condemned in 50. marks. The French King bent and bound for the holy land, is perswaded by his friends and mother to lay down the obligatory crosse for his journey, as having (say they) taken it up in the weaknes of his senses in his sicknesse. The King hereupon	Vol. I. Page			
									364
1237									365
1238									369
1240									370
									371
1241									372
1243		Innocent the fourth.							
1245									374
1246									375
1247									377
1248									380

(G 2)

upon

# A Chronologie.

<i>Anno Christi</i>	Emp. of Germ.	Popes of Rome.	Kings of England.	Archbishops of Cant.		Vol. 1. Page
					upon tearing off his badge and resigning it to the Bishop (all the per- swaders joyning therein) by and by takes it up againe, saying, If for- merly in my weaknesse of body and senses I tooke up the Crosse to goe to the holy land to fight against the heathens, now I take it up againe in the full strength of both.	
1250					The Pope being at oddes with the Emperor <i>Fredericke</i> the second, will not at any hand be reconciled, though the King of <i>France</i> strongly interce- ded, and the Emperor himselfe cleeres himselfe of all imputation, offers full satisfaction for all pretended wrongs, will goe out of his Empire (if the Pope could not indure him there) to the holy Land, never to returne into Europe again, so as his sonne <i>Henry</i> nephew to King <i>Henry</i> of <i>England</i> might succeed him, with offer of other most reasonable con- ditions. These oppositions of the Pope against Christian Emperors and Kings, gave the Turkes great advantage of prevailing.	
					The French King in his voyage to Jerusalem takes in <i>Damiata</i> .	381
					This yeere the Sarazens to day are beaten of the French before <i>Damiata</i> ; on the morrow the French are beateen by the Sarazens ten times more. See more Vol. 1. p. 383.	
					The Templaries fighting for the holy Temple against the Sarazens neere to <i>Antioch</i> are vanquished, and their standard bearer slaine.	
1253					The grand cause of Gods not prospering the Christians in their warres in the holy Land, was the Christians adhering to their masses and other superstitions.	382
1254					Men that can dispend fifteene pound land <i>per annum</i> , must make the King a souldier, V. 1. p. 424. c. 1.	
				Boniface.	This yeere pope <i>Innocent</i> would needes have the bones of <i>Robert Grossthead</i> bishop of <i>Lincolne</i> , contrary to the mindes of the Cardinals, to be taken up and cast out of the Church, for his open plaine rebuking the pope in his life time, to the putting of him into a great terror of Conscience, so that the pope seemed to see a Bishop in a vision to say unto him, <i>Arise</i> <i>wretch, and come to judgement.</i>	422
1255		Alexander the fourth.			The Kings great expences in his voyage to <i>Wascon</i> makes him put many taxes upon his subjects chiefly on the Church-men, who being wont to receive tithes from, are now made to give tithes to the laicity, V. 1. g. 424.	
					Pope <i>Innocent</i> dyes.	423
					Great dissention ariseth betweene <i>Boniface</i> Archbishop of <i>Canterbury</i> , and the Canons of <i>Lincolne</i> about the right of giving prebendships.	
					The Jewes crucifie a childe nine yeeres old with great torment.	
1257					The King of <i>England</i> exacts of the Jewes 8000. markes in paine of hanging, <i>Walter Gray</i> Archbishop of <i>Yorke</i> with superstitious excessive fasting, kil- led himselfe.	
					A Jew falling into a privy at <i>Teukesbury</i> upon Saturday being the Jewes Sabbath would not for reverence thereof be lifted out: and on the mor- row being the Christians Sabbath <i>Richard</i> Earle of <i>Glocester</i> would not suffer him to be taken out, and so hedyed in the dung.	
1259						
					The King entring into <i>France</i> , required the restitution of such lands in <i>Normandy</i> and <i>Anjou</i> , as of old right were due to him, and wrongfully withheld from him, and made the French K. to agree to him, V. 1. p. 425.	
1260					A great contention is at <i>Oxford</i> betweene the Schollars.	
					To this yeere continueth the historie of <i>Matthew Paris</i> ; leaving in the story of the death of <i>Fulco</i> bishop of <i>London</i> .	424
					The King gives Licence to plant an Univerfitie at <i>Northampton</i> , and writes to the Magistrates of that towne to courteously intreate the Schollars when they came.	426
1261		Vrban the fourth.			The King gets from the pope a release of his oath wherein he had sworne to some statutes at <i>Oxford</i> , See V. 1. p. 4.	427
1262						
1263					The King renewes his release from his oath, by this pope <i>Vrban</i> .	
					The Barons combine to maintaine the statutes of <i>Oxford</i> . An agreement is made betweene the King and the nobles.	428
1264					The King besiegeth and invades the Barons at <i>Northampton</i> ;	
					The Schollars there also are stubborne against the King, shooting with slings, long bowes, and crasse-bowes doing much hurt, but at length are beaten, slaine, and made to flye.	
					A battle fought at <i>Lewis</i> betweene King <i>Henry</i> 3. the Barons win the field, and	431



# A Chronologie.

Ann <sup>o</sup> Christi	Emp. of Germ.	Popes of Rome.	Kings of England	Archbish. of Cant.		Vol. I.
1265		Clement the fourth.			and doe take <i>Richard</i> King of Almonie, <i>K. Henries</i> brother, and his son, who assisted the kings prisoners. This Pope was at first a married man and had children. Then hee was the French K. Chancellor. After his wifes death he was made B. called <i>Po- diensis</i> . After that Archbish. of Narbon. After Card. and last of all Pope. <i>Thomas Aquinas</i> flourisheth about this time, and <i>Em. n. enture</i> .	Page 433
1266					A forme of peace is drawne betweene the K. and his Barons, wherein the K. promisseth much reformation of things in Church and Common-wealth. <i>K. Henry</i> the third writes to Oxford sheriffe against an assembly or meeting of men, who termed themselves Harlots It is probable that this was some pretended order of religion; and that from it came the reproachfull name of Harlot.	435
1267					Dissention ariseth between Earle <i>Simon</i> and the Earle of Glocester, they fight a battell, and <i>Simon</i> and many of his side are slaine.	436
					The K. being in the custody of the Barons is now restored to his regality. Kenelworth decree confirmed, that they that had lost their lands by attain- dor (although not yet atteinted) should fine therefore at the Kings plea- sure, and take them of the king againe.	437
					The King besiegeth the Castle of Kenelworth, whither repaires <i>Oñibonus</i> the Popes legate, and by his perswasion <i>Henry Hastings</i> that had valiant- ly kept it against the King, yeelds it to the king, pardon being granted to him, of life, lands, goods, &c.	438
					The Barons fortifie the Isle of Ely, and after that London against the King. Peace concluded betweene the King and Nobles.	
1270					Prince <i>Edward</i> the Kings sonne, and many Princes of other Kingdoms take upon the crosse to make an expedition to Hierusalem.	439
1271		Gregory the tenth.			<i>Boniface</i> Archbishop being dead, the monkes of Canterbury agree upon the Prior of their house <i>Adam Chelenden</i> .	
					The King and his sonne <i>Edward</i> intreated the Monkes to choose <i>Robert Burnell</i> , Prior <i>Chelenden</i> elect and not admitted by the king, goes up to Rome, there continues two yeeres, and at last resignes up his election to Pope <i>Gregory</i> , who gave it to <i>Ro. Kilwarby</i> .	
1272				Rob. Kilwarby.	The great Concordance came forth about this time by an English Frier, cal- led, <i>John Derrington</i> .	
					Whereas the other Princes that went to the holy land, especially the French, did take money of the Infidels, instead of giving them blowes, Prince <i>Edward</i> refused this money, (who was for his integrity safe when many of the others with their monies were drowned with tempest) and also prospered his designs.	
1273					Pope <i>Gregory</i> the tenth calls a councell at Lions about the controversie be- tweene the Greek Church and the Latine Church.	442
1274		Edward the first.			<i>K. Henry</i> the third dies having reigned 56. yeeres.	
					<i>Edward</i> the eldest son of <i>Henry</i> the first being in Vasconia, when his father died, returnes home and is crowned this yeere. At which crowning, hee putting off his Crowne, said, he would not put it on againe till he had gathered together all the lands that belonged unto it.	443
					This K. had much adoe with Wales, but at length cuts down their Woods, subdued the Country and their King <i>Lewline</i> , and made his son Prince of Wales.	
					The said <i>Lewline</i> , rebelling (as we said) asked counsell of the Conjurers what should be the event; to whom it was answered that he should goe forward boldly, for he should ride thorow Cheape with a Crowne on his head; which was thus fulfilled. He being slaine, his head was carried thorow Cheape with a Crowne of silver to London Bridge.	
1278				John Peckam.	This Archbishop <i>Peckam</i> , resisted the King, in the right of certaine liberties pertaining to the Crowne, touching patronages, &c. See Vol. I. pa. 158. He ordained that one Minister should have but one benefice; V. I. p. 458.	
1279					Jewes for money-clipping are executed.	
1284					The great Conduit in Cheap began to be built.	
1288					After this Pope <i>Nicolas</i> , the Sea of Rome was voide two yeeres and three moneths through the dissention of the Cardinals, before another Pope was chosen. Vol. I. pag. 447.	
1291		Nicolas the fourth.			The King of Eng. being proved by many ancient records, to be chiefe Sove- raigne	444

# A Chronologie.

Anno Christi	Emp. of Germ.	Popes of Rome.	Kings of England	Archbifh. Cant.		Vol. I Page
1294		Celestinus the 5. Boniface the eighth.		R. Winchelsey.	raigne of Scotland, tooke full poffeffion of the fame ; appointing the Crowne to <i>John Baliol</i> under him.	
1298					This Archbifhop <i>Winchelsey</i> much troubled the King, accusing him to the Pope. The Scots rebell againft England. Of Pope <i>Boniface</i> the eight, and Pope <i>Celestine</i> , Vol. I. p. 445. How he was thought to be the eight <i>Nero</i> , and how with a Reed he fpeakes thorow a wall in the night to Pope <i>Nicholas</i> , (becaufe he was a man laborious to reforme the Church) as if it had bene a voyce from Heaven to give over his Bifhopricke ; and fo at laft gat him out, the fame yeer he was Pope.	
1299					The King of England and the Scots have a great fight ; but King <i>Edward</i> hath the victory. The Scots rebelling againe, againe are fuppreffed by the king, and made to fweare to the kings allegiance. This Pope <i>Boniface</i> the eight challengeth of king <i>Edward</i> the kingdome of Scotland.	
1301					The king wifeth the Pope to fend his grounds of challenging the kingdome of England ; calls a Parliament, writes to the Pope abundance of paffages and prefidents from Anno 900. to 1230. that the kingdome of Scots was the kings of England.	445
1303					Pope <i>Boniface</i> the eight, being offended with <i>Philip</i> the French king, excites king <i>Edward</i> of England to warre againft him ; but king <i>Edward</i> well knowing the Pope, put him off with delayes, and the French king fearing king <i>Edward</i> , reftored unto him <i>Valcone</i> , which he wrongfully had detained.	446
					The Scots rebell again againft king <i>Edward</i> the first, under <i>W. Wales</i> . Great variance arifeth betwene <i>Philip</i> king of France, and Pope <i>Boniface</i> the eight. The Pope thundring out his curfe of excommunication againft the king, becaufe the king commanded his Legate and a Bifhop (whom the Legate got releafed, being imprifoned for a conspiracy againft the king) to depart out of his Realme. The king on the other fide calls a Parliament, and makes a declaration againft the Popes intolerable wickedneffe, and an appellation from the Pope, to a generall Councell.	447
1304		Benedict the 11.			This yeere Captaine <i>Schaira</i> with Souldiers, befiege, apprehend and rifle the Pope, and fet him on a Colt with his face towards the taile, caufing the unbroken Colt to courfe up and downe with him, till the Pope was out of breath.	448
					This Pope, what by feare, and what by sorrow, dies, and Pope <i>Benedict</i> the eleventh, fucceeds,	455
1305		Clement the 5.			To this Pope <i>Clement</i> , king <i>Edward</i> wrote divers letters againft <i>Ro. Winb.</i> Archbifhop, with whom he was much pestered.	456
1306					This Pope <i>Clement</i> having provided ftrongly to keep the Emperour of Germany under his feet, that no Emperour could be crowned without his leave: next he intermeddles with the Empire of Constantinople, excommunicating <i>Andronicus Paleologus</i> Emperour of Constantinople, as an heretike, becaufe he would not fuffer the Greek church to appeal to Rome.	
1307					A Parliament is held by the king at Carliel, wherein many great complaints are made againft the Popes exactions. A Parliament is held in France, wherein Popifh and Ecclefiafticall jurisdiction is thorowly difcuffed, and regall fupremacy juftly advanced againft the vaine reasons of the Papifts.	461
					K. <i>Edward</i> the first marching towards Scotland, falls fick of a flux: fwears the Nobles to make his fon <i>Edward</i> king after him : chargeth his fon not to call home wicked <i>Garvefton</i> , whom he had banifhed : to go in war to the holy land, carrying his heart with him, which had vowed to goe that voyage himfelfe, but Scottifh warres hindered him, and fo he dies.	476
1308				Edward the 2.	This <i>Edward</i> in this 1307. enters into the throne ; being of a gracefull body, but not fo gracious in his foule.  This yeere and not afore is king <i>Edward</i> crowned. The king is much led afide by the evill Counfell of one <i>Garvefton</i> , and the two <i>Spencers</i> .	478



# A Chronologie.

Anno Christi	Germ. Emper.	Romane Popes.	Kings of England.	Archbishops of Cant.	A Parliament is called, wherein are exhibited divers articles touching things his father had given him in charge, namely to remove from him and his Court all Aliens and perverse Counsellors, and to let matters of State be debated by the Counsell of the kingdom, and touching fundry other matters. The King perceiving that this did hit at his <i>Graveston</i> , did when there was no remedy yeeld to let <i>Graveston</i> be banished into <i>Ireland</i> , and so the Parliament ended, the other Articles not sped.	Vol. 1 Page
1310						479
1311					The 1. <i>Ottoman</i> having conquered the other three families of the Turks, <i>An. 1300.</i> now goes on conquering the Christians, Vol. 1. p. 965. <i>Ro. Winchelsey</i> Archbishop of Canterbury whom <i>Edward</i> the first had banished. is now released, and returns from <i>Rome</i> home. The Archbishop of Canterbury excommunicates the bishop of Coventry for holding with <i>Peter Graveston</i> , which <i>Graveston</i> though banished upon forfeiture of life, goods, &c. Presumes upon the kings favour, returns againe.	480
1312					<i>Peter Graveston</i> is apprehended by <i>Guido</i> , alias <i>Guy</i> Earle of Warwicke, and beheaded by the Nobles. The king hath a young son borne, the joy whereof made him begin to forget his sorrow for <i>Graveston</i> ; but that French men make bates, cause contention betweene the King and Nobles to arise againe.	481
1313					The Scots take occasion by this discord to rebell against the King, under one <i>Rob. Bruin</i> , whom <i>K. Edward</i> the first had chased out of Scotland, was now returned thither, getting himselfe to be made king, who when the King of England and his Lords and Armies encountred him and his Host, did discomfort them, and slew many of the English Lords.	482
1314	Ludovicus the 5. Bavarius.				Pope <i>Clement</i> dies, after whom the Papacy continues voide two yeers.	
1316	Nicolaus the 5. Anti-Pope.				This Emperor <i>Ludovicus</i> a worthy man, was crowned without the Popes consent, and was much vexed by this wicked Pope <i>John</i> , Vol. 1. p. 487. colonne 2.	
1317		Iohn 22.			The King raiseth an Armie, and besiegeth <i>Barwicke</i> in Scotland: The mean while the Scots by another way invaded the Merchants of <i>Yorkshire</i> robbing the Countrey, and slaying much people, and of an Army gathered by the Archbish. of <i>Yorke</i> , of divers Abbats, Priors, Clerks and Husbandmen to resist them, they slay many, and that of the Clergy, called therefore the white battell; inso much that the king was faine to retire from <i>Barwicke</i> , and rescue <i>Yorkshire</i> .	
					At this time the two <i>Spensers</i> , <i>Hugh</i> the father, and <i>Hugh</i> the son, were so impious, and yet so potent in the Kingdom, that no Lord durst controule them, so that they were much hated of the Nobles.	482
1321					A prohibition is set forth against <i>Peter-pence</i> . The <i>Spensers</i> banished by act of parliament for their wickednesse, are restored and advanced by the King. The Nobles to redresse this evill, assemble their power; but being scattered by the kings forces before they could come together, were pursued and taken, and two and twenty of the chiefe Earls and Lords, were hanged, drawne and quartered, saving that the Earle of <i>Lancaster</i> was beheaded. This cruelty to his naturall subjects wrought his utter ruine at last.	484
1322					Now the King begins with the <i>Spensers</i> , to triumph in this his victory of putting the Nobles to death.	
1323					The King advanceth <i>Hugh Spenser</i> to be an Earle, and ill reported, and reputed fir <i>John Baldocke</i> to be Chancellor of England: also the King raiseth an Army against the Scots, but the good leaders being put to death, and unskilful ones leading this Army, one hundred thousand of this Army perisheth by famine.	
1324		Benedict 12.			Of <i>Benedict 12.</i> see Vol. 1. page 478. col. 2.	
					The King cited by the French to doe homage to him for the Dukedome of <i>Aquitain</i> , which the king held of France; about this was great contention betweene the two kings. Prince <i>Edward</i> with the Queene is sent over to quiet matters; who would not returne againe till they had fitted matters for the ruine of the king and his wicked favourites.	485
1325					The French King by reason of the great adoe the king of England made by proclamations for the Queen and her son to returne, and by threatening of the French king himselfe. The French King removed the Queene and her son from him, who are both joyfully received in the Court and Countrey of the Earle of <i>Henarwde</i> ; where a marriage was concluded between <i>Edward</i> her son being of the age of 14. and <i>Philip</i> the said Earls daughter.	

# A Chronologie.

Anno Christi	Germane Emp.	Romane Popes.	Kings of England	Archbishops of Cant.	Text	Vol. Page
1326					By this marriage-match was knit a combination of Warre, whereby the Queene and the young Prince should invade <i>England</i> ; who being furnished out of <i>Hennawde</i> , and with some Lords that came out of <i>England</i> at the hearing of the marriage, with 2757. Souldiers. With these she and her some lands; very many of the greatest of the Nobilitie (the Archbishop also, as they say, sending reliefe of money and provision) resort to the Queene; so that daily her power increased; and on the other side, scarce any would be hired to fight on the Kings side. Then the King flies to <i>Bristow</i> , appointing <i>Spenser</i> the father to keep <i>Bristow</i> Castle. The Queene followes, takes the Castle, apprehends the said <i>Spenser</i> , whom being torne, at last they hanged him at the said Citie in chaines of Iron. The King flies to <i>Wales</i> ; the Queene followes, proclaiming that if the King would come in and appeare, he should receive his Kingdome againe, if he would be conformable to his liege people. Who not appearing, Prince <i>Edward</i> is proclaimed high keeper of the Realme. The Queene sends Lords to pursue after the King; the King is taken and put in <i>Kenehworth</i> Castle. Divers Lords and great persons are apprehended, of whom <i>Spenser</i> the sonne is drawne and hanged on a gallows fiftie foote high; and beheading him, and quartering him, they send his limbes into severall quarters of the Kingdome. <i>Sr John Arundel</i> also was beheaded. A Parliament is called at <i>London</i> , from which a message is sent to the King, that if he would resigne his crowne, his sonne should have it after him, if not, another should take it to whom the lot would give it. The King being not able otherwise to chuse, yeelds up his Crowne, is kept in prison, deposed by the Parliament, the Sonne set up as King, the old King living in prison, at last is slaine (as authors affirme) with a hot spit thrust up into his body by <i>Roger Mortimers</i> meanes, for which he was drawne and quartered afterward. This King built <i>Oriel</i> Colledge, and <i>Saint Mary</i> Hall in <i>Oxford</i> . This yeer 1326. great fury and outrage arose between the Townesmen and the Abbey of <i>Bury</i> , the Town rising the monastery and imprisoning the Monkes, and some slaughter was betweene them. Of this Archbishop <i>Simon</i> , see Vol. 1. page 487. As also pag. 517. of the same Volume. This being the life and death of King <i>Edward</i> the second, the father as we have heard; <i>Edward</i> the third, the son is crowned at the age of fifteene yeeres. A man temperate, warlike and prosperous. <i>Orchanes</i> the 2. <i>Ottoman</i> , V. 1. p. 465. by right p. 965. The King with the Queene is at <i>Torke</i> with an Army of 60000. men, ready to encounter with the King of Scots. The Scots steale away, so that no battell is fought. King <i>Edward</i> the third, is now married to the Earle of <i>Haynaults</i> daughter abovesaid. A release by the meanes of <i>Roger Mortimer</i> and the old Queene is granted by the King under age to the Scots of all their homage and fealtrie to the Crowne of <i>England</i> , which they were tyed unto by Seale and Indenture, called the Ragman-Role. The blacke Crosse also won from <i>Scotland</i> by valour of the former King <i>Edward</i> is given backe to the Scots, with other things very prejudiciall to <i>England</i> . The Nobles desiring to redresse these matters in a legall way, are falsely accused of conspiracie against the King, and the Earle of <i>Kent</i> being guiltlesse, is put to death, being the Kings Uncle, and never brought to answer for himselfe. The King conquers <i>France</i> . Of this Archbishop, see Vol. 1. p. 517. The King challengeth <i>France</i> as his owne, Vol. 1. p. 493. The Pope sends to the King of <i>England</i> for three yeeres truce with the King of <i>France</i> , Vol. 1. p. 500. The Emperour <i>Ludovicus Bavar</i> , that before was for the King of <i>England</i> against the King of <i>France</i> , now is against the King of <i>England</i> . <i>Benedict</i> 12. dyes, whose infamy lives in Latine Epitaph, thus Englished, <i>Here's Nero laid; in life, a death to lay; To Clergie men a Viper. And they say, His heart a wand'rer was from truth divine, His head a Cup fill'd up with strongest Wine.</i> See the latter verse, Vol. 1. p. 488.	486
1327			Edward the third.	Simon Mepham.		489
1332						
1333						
1340						
1341						
1342						
		Clement the sixth.		John Stratford.		491



# A Chronologie.

Anno bristi	Emper. Germ.	Romane Popes.	Kings of England.	Archbishops of Cant.	Windfor Castle repaired, the round table made. Henry, Earle of Lancaster with 600 Archers, and as many men at Armes, won many Townes and Conquests from the French in Gascoine.	Vol. 1 Page
1345						
1348				Thomas Braidwarden.	The King wins Calis, translated the staple thither, takes the French King prisoner (who had stirred up the king of Scots against the King of England) and is the first that conjoyned the French Armies with the English Armies, vol. 1. page 490. and vol. 1. page 518.	507
1349				Simon Islip.	The raging plague going from London into the North parts, this yeere swageth.	
1350					Amurates the 3. Ottoman, v. 1. p. 966.	
1351					Callis almost won from the English by the French, vol. 1. pag. 518.	
1352		Innocent the 6.			Philip the French king dies. Earle Ewe, Constable of France, upon false pretence is beheaded. In this Pope Innocent the six this time, was Johannes de Rospiscissa, v. 1. pag. 532. c. 1.	
1354					The Marshall of France with his great army, is put to flight by sir Roger Bentele, a captain in Britaine, having but only 600 souldiers with him. Of Pope Innocent 6, see vol. 1. p. 5. 12. c. 1.	
1355					The Kings of France and England had made peace, but that the Popes partiality inclining to the French, hindred the same. Rochaylidus and a Friar scourged and burned, for preaching that Rome was the whore of Babylon, and condemning the Popes Bull, vol. 1. pag. 512. c. 1.	
1356					The King of England hearing of the death of king Philip of France, and the succession of his sonne, who had given the Dukedome of Aquitania to Charles his eldest son, and Dolphin of Vienna, sends over Prince Edward with Earles and common souldiers, who subdued the said Dukedome.	
1360					Prince Edward being in Gascoine, wins great victories of the French. The King hath trouble with the Pope. Having passed over the time of loosing Satan, and his darkening of the Church with ignorance and affliction, now we come to the time wherein the Church began to be reformed somewhat, by a great Catalogue of excellent men :	520
					<div style="display: flex; align-items: center;"> <div style="margin-right: 10px;"> <i>Guliel. de sancto amore,</i>  <i>Marcellus Patavinus,</i>  <i>Ockam, Grostthead;</i> </div> <div style="font-size: 2em;">}</div> <div>             Having made way for              reformation, of whom              we spake afore.           </div> </div>	
1362					<div style="display: flex; align-items: center;"> <div style="margin-right: 10px;">             As <i>Petrus de Cugnerijs,</i>  <i>Conradus Hagar,</i>  <i>Cesnas</i> and others as              shall follow in their              yeeres.           </div> <div style="font-size: 2em;">}</div> <div>             Go on with              reformation.           </div> </div>	
1364					About this time was the Author, and penning of that excellent Treatise against popery, called the prayer and complaint of the Ploughman. About this time was that rare man <i>Armachanus</i> , Primare of Ireland, who disputed and preached against heresies; in particular against the order of begging Friars, and against popish confessions, &c. With this <i>Armachanus</i> in this disputation and time of reformation, were	521 532
					<div style="display: flex; align-items: center;"> <div style="margin-right: 10px;"> <i>Henricus de Gandavo.</i>  <i>Gulielmus de Lindamo.</i>  <i>Jobannes Monachus,</i> </div> <div style="font-size: 2em;">}</div> <div>             Cardinal.           </div> </div>	536
		Urban the 5.			This being the second yeer of Pope Urban the 5. <i>Nicholas Orem</i> preached a sermon before the Pope and his Cardinals, wherein he worthily rebukes the Prelates of his time, declaring their destruction not to be farre off by certaine signes. All the sayings of the Prophets spoken against the wicked Jewish priests are aptly applied against the Romish Clergie, comparing the Church at this time with the strumper, spoken of <i>Ezek. 16</i> . Concluding that he Clergie now were worse than the Jewish Synagogue. <i>Militinus</i> a Bohemian, preacheth that Antichrist was come already, vol. 1. pag. 547.	542
1366						
1367				Wi. Simon Langham.	In this yeer, being the 5 of Pope Urb. m. began first the order of the Jesuites: This yeere the offices of Chancellorship of England, of the privy seale, and of the treasurership, which were wont to be in the hands of Clergie-men, by a motion in Parliament were removed from the Clergie, into the hands of the Lords Temporall.	547
1368				Wi. Witlesey.		

# A Chronologie.

Anno Christi	Germane Emp.	Romane Popes. Gregory II.	Kings of England	Archbish. of Cant.	This Pope reduceth the papacy from France, where it had beene 70 yeeres to Rome againe. This yeere lived Saint <i>Bridget</i> , as the papists canonize her, who notwithstanding was a great enemy to the unholinesse of the Pope, calling him a spiller of Christs flocke, a murtherer of soules, &c.  <i>Matthias Parisiensis</i> a Bohemian, writes against Antichrist, proving him already to be come, v. 1. p. 549. About this time was <i>Wickliffe</i> , professor of Divinity in Oxford. <i>Henricus Hassia</i> writes <i>De erroribus Christianorum</i> . <i>Henricus</i> de Iota now flourisheth. This being the third yeere of Pope <i>Greg. 11.</i> K. <i>Edward</i> holds a Parliament, and complaines of the Popes reservation of benefices in England. About this yeer began <i>Bajazetes</i> the 4 Ottoman, to raigne over the Turks, with the murder of his brother. The King and the Pope concludes that the Pope should not reserve benefices, and that the King should not give benefices upon the writ <i>Quare impedit</i> . This King <i>Rich.</i> son of <i>Edward 3.</i> is but eleven yeeres of age when he began his raigne, who like his father was in his raigne no great dis-favourer of <i>Wickliffes</i> doctrine. Pope <i>Gregory</i> sends a bull sharply rebuking Oxford University for their permitting <i>Wickliffe</i> , v. 1. p. 563. In Pope <i>Urban</i> 's time began a schisme in the see of Rome, that lasted 39 yeeres, v. 1. p. 567. <i>Katharina Senensis</i> , an holy Virgin, lived at this time, spake much against the wickednesse of the Prelates of Rome, and prophesied of the great schisme that should be among them, which after came to passe. The Vice-chancellor of Oxford, viz. <i>Wi. Barton</i> annexeth the University seale to edicts against the favourers of <i>Wickliffes</i> doctrine. Of this Archbishop see v. 1. p. 664. A Convocation is held at London, summoning <i>Wickl.</i> to appear, v. 1. p. 588 The examination and troubles of <i>Nic. Herford</i> , <i>Phil. Reppinton</i> , and <i>John Asthon</i> , v. 1. p. 157. Pope <i>Urban</i> wars against <i>Clem.</i> Anti-pope, v. 1. p. 582. <i>Johannes Mountziger</i> Rector of the University of Ulme, propounded openly in the Schools in an oration that the body of Christ was not God, and therefore not to be worshipped as God, with <i>Latreia</i> , meaning that the Sacrament was not to be adored; which after he also defended by writing. Of Pope <i>Boniface</i> the ninth. His Bull against the Lollards, v. 1. p. 637. The story of that famous Christians troubles, <i>W. Swinderby</i> , v. 1. p. 607. Also of <i>Wa. Brute</i> his companion, v. 1. p. 621. <i>R. Wimbleson</i> preacheth an excellent Sermon at <i>Pauls</i> crosse, v. 1. p. 712. <i>Jacobus Misvensis</i> writes of the coming of Antichrist. At <i>Erwiga</i> are burned 36 citizens of Moguntia, for the doctrine of the Waldenses, affirming the Pope to be Antichrist. 140 in the province of Narbone rather indured any persecution by fire, than to receive the decretals of the Romish Church, contrary to the truth of the Scriptures. Of <i>Benedict 13.</i> see v. 1. p. 721. A Parliament is held at Westminster. In this Parliament twelve articles are put up by the Gospellers, and also fastened at <i>Pauls</i> doores, &c. touching reformation, v. 1. p. 662. This Archbishop was brother to Earle of Arundell. Of him, see v. p. 664. He made many constitutions against Religion, v. 1. p. 683. <i>Bajazetes</i> 4 Ottoman, is captivated to <i>Tamerlan</i> the Parthian, in an iron Cage and golden fetters, v. 1. p. 966. <i>Bajazetes</i> dies in his captivity, v. 1. p. 966. <i>Calepinus</i> the 5 Ottoman succeeds. He vexed the Christians by meanes of their discords, v. 1. p. 967. K. <i>Rich. 2.</i> takes his voyage to Ireland; meane while the Earle of Darby and Duke of Hereford, and with him Archbishop Arundell (which before were both exiled) returne out of France into England, challenging the Dukedome of Lancaster after the death of his father; at the knowledge whereof, multitudes of people gathered to them, with many of the greatest noble-men in the land; whereby the King flying to Wales, was so distressed, that he was faine to resigne his Crown to <i>Henry</i> the fourth. <i>W. Sautre</i>	Vol. I Page
1371						
1373						
1374						548
1375						
1377						
1378		Urban 6.	Richard the 2.	Simon Sudbury.		
1379						
1380						
1381				Will. Courtney.		
1382						
1383						
1384						549
1389		Boniface the 9.				
1390						550
1394						
1395		Benedict the 13.				
1396						
1397				Thomas Arundell.		
1399						
			Henry the 4.			



# A Chronologic.

Anno Christi	Emper. Germ.	Romane Popes.	Kings of England, of Archbish of Cant.	W. S. metre Martyr, his troubles, v. 1. p. 671. Articles put on the Church doore against Henry the fourth, v. 1. p. 676. Calepinus the 5 Ottoman, dyes, } Orchanes and Moser his Uncle, } v. 1. p. 967. the 6 Ottoman. } Of Gregory the 12, and K. Henry the fourths letter to him, see v. 1. p. 720. Moser the Uncle having slaine Orchanes the Nephew, reigns but two yeeres, and is now slaine by Mahumetes, Orchanes his brother; who now succeeds, and is the 7 Ottoman, v. 1. p. 967. Wil. Thorps examination and troubles, v. 1. p. 689. Purveyers troubles, v. 1. p. 708 The Archb. of York, with the Lord Morbray and others executed, v. 1. p. 678. John Badby, Artificer, Martyr, v. 1. p. 679. Of Sigismund Emperor, see v. 1. p. 847, and 848. John Hus, in defence of Wickliffe, delivers his determination upon the four- teenth Article of Wickliffe, touching preaching and hearing of the word, v. 1. p. 588. Hus his defence of the 15 articles of Wickliffe, viz. that its lawfull for a priest or deacon to preach without the authority of the Apostolike See, v. 1. p. 591. Disputation at Prage University upon Wickliffes seventh article, proving by 24 arguments, that Princes and Lords Temporall have lawfull authority o- ver the spiritualty. Henry the fourth is sicke in a Chamber at Westminster, called Hierusalem, is perswaded he should die (and so did) because it was prophesied he should dy at Hierusalem, His son Henry 5 succeeds. This yeer a Synod is called at London by Archbishop Arundell, to persecute that worthy Lord Cobham, who for religion suffers great trouble at this time. Many Lollards are martyred this yeere. Archbishop Arundell dies. This Archbishop Chicheley was an adversary as his predecessors to the favourers of the truth, v. 1. p. 775. The troubles and martyrdom of John Hus and the Bohemians. The Pope holds a Councell at Constance, the proceedings thereof. An Owle would needs be in the Councell. Jerome of Prage is condemned and burnt, v. 1. p. 836. P. John 23 is deposed, v. 1. p. 847. John Claidon and Rich. Turning are persecuted, v. 1. p. 840. Archbishop Chicheley makes a constitution against the Lollards. The execution thereof is the persecution of many good men. L. Cobham is put to death with the burning death of martyrdom, not with the hanging death of a traitor, about the yeere 1418 or latter end of 1417. Pope Martin upon S. Martinus day is chosen Pope by the Councell of Con- stance, the Emperor kissing his feet. This Martin vexeth the Bohemians that adhere to the doctrine of John Hus and Hierome of Prage. Amurathes the second of that name, the 8 Ottoman, v. 1. p. 967. He becomes a turkish Monke, v. 1. p. 970. c. 1. He is faine to come forth againe to war, he is conquered, dies with fury and madnesse, v. 1. p. 970. The valour of { Scanderbeius, } against the Turkes, v. 1. p. 969, 970, &c. { Castriotus, } { Huniades, } Zisea a noble man raising 40000 souldiers, becomes their captaine, and beating back the Emperor Sigismund, ruins the popish persons, towns, monasteries, and religion, in revenge of John Hus and Jerome of Prages death. Henry Grunfelder priest of Germany, martyred, v. 1. p. 876. P. Martin sends forth a bloody bull against the followers of Wickliffe of Eng- land, and of John Hus and Hierome of Prague of Boheme. To countermand the Bull of Pope Martin, an exhortation is put forth to Kings and princes, against the pestiferous sea of Rome, under the name of Procopius Conradus, and other captaines of the Bohemians. By the valour of Procopius Magnus and the Bohemian souldiers, Sigismund em- peror was faine to intreat for his kingdom, who before would not be intrea- ted for John Hus and Jerome of Prage, whom he helped forward into the fire, The popish army with the nobles and Cardinall of Winchester flye before the Christian Bohemians.	Vol. 1 Page
1400					
1401					
1404					
1406					
1407		Gregory the 12.			
1408					
1409					
1411	Sigif- mund.				
1412					
1413			Henry 5.		
1414					729 774
1415			Henry Chi- chelsey.		776 781 831
1416		John 23.			842 843
1419					846 847
1420					851 857 861

# A Chronologie.

Anno Christi	Germane Emp.	Romane Popes.	Kings of England.	Archbish. of Cant.	<i>Sigismund</i> Emperor, & Pope <i>Martin</i> , gather new forces against the Bohemiās. The Popes army again with Cardinall <i>Julian</i> , flies for fear. <i>Henry</i> the fifth (of whose wars in France it is not for our Ecclesiasticall story to relate) now dyes; his son <i>Henry</i> the sixth but one yeer old, succeeding. <i>W. T. Taylor</i> a Priest under <i>Henry Chichefly</i> Archbishop of Cant. is valiant to be burned for Christs truth, notwithstanding that under Archbishop <i>Arundell</i> he through fear did abjure. <i>Henry Ratgeber</i> Priest of Germany martyred, v. i. p. 876. c. 2. <i>John Florence</i> , for denying the Popes supreme-law-making-authority, and his ceremoniall observacion of dayes, fastings, &c. is displed. <i>John Draendorf</i> of noble birth, a Priest, was burned at Wormbs, v. i. p. 876. c. 2. <i>Richard Belward</i> is troubled for the truth. <i>John Goddesell</i> persecuted for Christs sake. <i>Peter Thoraw</i> burned at Spire, v. i. p. 876. Leaden Hall in London is founded, v. i. p. 933. <i>Matthew Hager</i> suffered at Berlin in Germany not long after, v. i. p. 876. A widow murdered in London. The Author going into banishment, is slain by women, v. i. p. 933. K. <i>Henry 6.</i> sends down most cruell Letters for the apprehension of <i>W. White</i> , priest, and other Lollards, as they call them; whereupon well neer an hundred are vexed and troubled for Religion in Suffolk and Norfolk. <i>W. White</i> , priest, is burned for the truth. <i>Tbo. Pye</i> and <i>John Mendam</i> displed for the truth. <i>John Beverly</i> , alias <i>Batild</i> , is whipped, alias fustigated for the truth. <i>John Skilley</i> made to do penance for the truth. The troubles of <i>Margery Backster</i> . K. <i>Henry 6.</i> is this yeer, and not afore, crowned with his regall Diademe. The same yeer he crowns <i>Rich. Hoveden</i> with Martyrdom and many others, with the crowns of thorns of persecution. Of Pope <i>Eugenius</i> the 4. see v. i. p. 876. c. 2. <i>Nicholas Canon</i> persecuted for true Religion. <i>Tbo. Bagley</i> priest, persecuted for Religion. <i>Paul Crawl</i> a Bohemian delivered up to be burnt for holding opinions, contrary to the Church of Rome. The Councell of Basill is called, lasting about eleven yeeres. <i>Tbo. Rbedon</i> alias <i>Rbedonensis</i> a French man, and a Carmelite Friar burnt in Italy for the truth. Of this Emperor <i>Alb. 2.</i> see v. i. p. 905. c. 1. and more p. 942. The businesse of the Bohemians at the Councell of Basill, v. i. p. 906. They put up petitions to the Councell, v. i. p. 911. Pope <i>Eugenius</i> is depofed by the Councell of Basill, and pope <i>Felix</i> chosen in his roome. These two former yeers the pope imposeth infinite exactions upon France and Germany, whereof complaint is made, v. i. p. 947, 948. <i>Richard Wich</i> persecuted for religion. This yeere a Councell is called by <i>Henry</i> Archbishop, to consult about <i>Premunire facias</i> , to remove that law, by which the prelates were cut short in many things they would have done. Of this <i>Frederike</i> Emperor, see more v. i. p. 943. Cardinall of Winchester unjustly hates good Duke <i>Humfrey</i> . The Duke justly articles against the Cardinall, v. i. p. 922. <i>Eleanor Cobham</i> , Dutcheffe of Glocester, and sir <i>Roger Onley</i> priest, are condemned about this time, or the next yeere following, the one to death, the other to perpetuall prison. <i>Pauls</i> steeple burnt with lightning, v. i. p. 923. c. 1. Archbishop <i>Chichefly</i> dies: whom in his life built <i>Alsolne</i> Colledge, and <i>Bernard</i> Colledge in Oxford. Of pope <i>Nic. 5.</i> see v. i. p. 930. c. 2. The death of that good Duke <i>Humfrey</i> , duke of Glocester. Cardinall of Winchester, the wicked enemy of Duke <i>Humfrey</i> , not being able to intreate or bribe death, though he speakes of both, dies. <i>Mat. Palmerius</i> a Florentine, martyr, v. i. p. 930. <i>W. Wanslet</i> succeeds the Cardinall at Winchester. Magdalen Colledge is built at Oxford. The Marquesse (after Duke) of Suffolke, another enemy of Duke <i>Humfrey</i> , now is beheaded. The commended Art of Printing is invented.	Page	Vol. 1
1421					862		
1422			Henry 6.		864		
1423					865		
1424					866		
1425					867		
1426							
1427							
1428					868		
					869		
					870		
					871		
1430					873		
1431							
		Eugenius the 4.			874		
1436					875		
1438	Albertus the 2. Duke of Austria.				876		
1439		Felix 4.			903		
					919		
1440							
	Frederike the 3. Duke of Austria.				920		
1443							
1445					923		
			John Stafford.				
1447							
1448		Nicolas 5.			925		
1449					926		
1450							



*A Chronologie.*

Anno Christi	Germane Emp.	Romane Popes.	Kings of England	Archbifh of Cant.	Mathewes the fecond of that name, is now the ninth Ottoman. What he won from the Christians, fee v. 1. p. 970.	Vol. 1 Page
1452					Duke <i>Humphrey</i> king <i>Henry</i> the fixth his Uncle, being dead; the king lofeth the hearts of his fubjects, and enemies to the king rife againft him, as <i>Luck Cade</i> ;	
1453				Io. Kemp.	after, the Duke of York, as it follows in its time and yeer. The lamentable lofing of Conftantinople to the Turk.	928
					The Duke of York with 3 Earls, fet upon king <i>Henry</i> 6. neer S. Albans, and take him prifoner. A Parliament is called, the faid Duke is proclaimed Protector, v. 1. p. 932. c. 2.	
				Th. Bourchier.	After this was long war between the houfe of Lancafter and York; <i>ibid.</i> <i>Reynold Peacock</i> Bifhop of Chichefter is imprifoned and persecuted for the Gofpel.	
1454					Many good fentences of <i>Pius</i> the Pope, fee of him, c. 2. l. 66.	931
1455					The Duke of York is flain in battell by the Queen.	
1458					Prince <i>Edward</i> the fon and heir of the faid Duke of York, raifeth a great army, and by conqueft in battell poffeffeth himfelf of the Crown; and makes king <i>Henry</i> 6. to flye to Scotland.	933
1459		Calixtus the 2. Pius 2.	Edward the 4.		<i>O. Margaret</i> flyeth the land. King <i>Edward</i> himfelf fitteth on his own Bench, in the caufe of a certain widow for rape.	
1461					King <i>Henry</i> 6. comes with a fufficient power of Scots and French, to recover his Crown, he is beaten and flyes.	
					Of this Pope <i>Paulus</i> , fee v. 1. p. 931.	
1463		Paulus 2.			King <i>Henry</i> 6. is found in a wood, taken and imprifoned.	
1464					The Earl of Warwick, who before was much for King <i>Edward</i> 4. being difpleafed, for that King <i>Edward</i> 4. would not match according to his defire, moves great war againft him.	934
1465					Of this Popes great wickednes, fee v. 1. p. 931. c. 2. l. ult. and 932. alfo p. 950. c. 2.	
					Great fights between <i>Edward</i> 4. and many Nobles that rofe up againft him. <i>O. Margaret</i> being taken in battell, and Prince <i>Edward</i> , fon of K. <i>Henry</i> 6. brought before the King.	
1471		Sixtus 4.			<i>John Goofe</i> (an Englifh <i>Hus</i> , for <i>Hus</i> fignifies a <i>Goofe</i> in the Bohemian tongue) is unjuftly burnt at Tower Hill in London.	
1473					The Pope curfeth and excommunicateth <i>Pogiebracius</i> . The Bohemians notwithstanding, ftick to their King. <i>Matthias</i> takes from him Moravia, and much of Silefia, v. 1. p. 946.	
1474					Wars and peace between <i>Charles</i> Duke of Burgoin, and <i>Frederike</i> Emperour, v. 1. p. 947.	
					<i>John</i> a Nerheard of Franconia martyred.	
1475					This yeer <i>John</i> de Weffalia is persecuted.	
1476					<i>Bajazetes</i> the fecond of that name, is the 10. Ottoman, what he won from the Christians, v. 1. p. 974.	
1479					A Merchant in Cheapfide for jefting, he would make his fon heir to the Crown (meaning his own figh, being the Crown) is by King <i>Edward</i> the fourths command, within leffe than four hours, hanged, drawn and quartered, v. 1. p. 1483.	
1481					King <i>Edward</i> 4. dyes, v. 1. p. 951.	
			Edward the 5.		King <i>Edward</i> 5. in three moneths is deprived of his Crown and life by his Uncle <i>Richard</i> Duke of Glocefter, v. 1. p. 951. and p. 953. c. 1.	
					The Lord <i>Hastings</i> a murtherer, is murthered, v. 1. p. 952.	
			Richard the 3.		Pope <i>Sixtus</i> dyes, a Monfter rather than a Prelate.	950
					The great tyranny of <i>Richard</i> lord Protector, v. 1. p. 952. He afpires to, and ufurps the Crown, v. 1. p. 953.	
					Of this Pope, fee v. 1. p. 932.	
1484		Innocent the 8.			<i>George</i> King of Boheme is condemned of herefie, v. 1. p. 932.	
					He condemned 8. men and 6. women, for denying that Bifhops that came after <i>Peter</i> , to be Chrifts Vicars, <i>ibid.</i>	
1485					By the device of this <i>Morton</i> Bifhop of Ely, and after Archbishop of Canterbury, the two houfes of York and Lancafter are united, by King <i>Richards</i> tyranny, conftaining them to call home banifhed Earl <i>Richmund</i> , and to fet him up as King, v. 1. p. 953.	
					Of <i>Maximilian</i> Emperour, fee v. 1. p. 947.	
					King of the Romans divers yeers before he was Emperour.	
					K. <i>Richard</i> the third is flain by <i>Henry</i> Earl of Richmund, is carried like a dead Calf all dirted, overthrownt an horfe to be buried, v. 1. p. 954.	
					The faid <i>Henry</i> Earl of Richmund is crowned King, called <i>Henry</i> the feventh, v. 1. p. 954.	
			Henry 7.			

# A Chronologie.

Anno Christi	Germane Emp.	Romane Popes.	Kings of England	Archbish of Cant.	Great perfection is moved in Coventry and Litchfield diocesse this yeer, v. 1. p. 1015.	Vol. 1. Page
1486	Maximilian.				This yeer <i>Fredericus</i> Emperour waxing aged, and the hearts of the Germans towards the Emperour seeming doubtfull to him, doth now in his life time associate his son <i>Maximilian</i> to be joynd Emperour with him, with whom he reigns seven yeers.	955
1487				John Morton.	<i>Maximilian</i> taken captiue in the lower countries of Flanders, is rescued by <i>Frederick</i> his father.	
1490					Of this Archbishop <i>Morton</i> , see v. 1. p. 1016. c. 2.	
1492		Alexander 6.			The learnednesse of the Emperour <i>Maximilian</i> , caused that in this facility of dispersing learning by the late Invention of Printing, many men became very learned, among which was <i>Weselus</i> , who was not long after, nor unknown to D. de <i>Wessalia</i> . This <i>Weselus</i> dyed this yeer.	
1494					The Germans put up ten grievances against the Pope to the Emperour, with an advertisement, v. 1. p. 958.	
					<i>Fredericus</i> Emperour dyes, leaving his son sole Emperour.	
					Of Pope <i>Alexander</i> , see v. 2. p. 6. and v. 1. p. 961.	
					<i>Joan Boughton</i> a very old woman, mother to the Lady <i>Young</i> , is martyred in the fire, for holding <i>Wickliffes</i> opinions.	956
				Thomas Langhton	<i>Tho. Langhton</i> was elected Archbishop, but dyed before he was confirmed, v. 1. p. 1016. c. 2.	
1497					<i>Rich. Milderale</i> , } bear faggots before the Procession at <i>Pauls</i> , by way of Penance for the truth.	
1498					<i>James Sturdy</i> , } <i>Hugh Glover</i> , }	
1499					A Priest being perswaded by the King to revoke, is presently burned also.	
					<i>Edward Plantaginet</i> being beheaded, the Queen moves to Calis.	
					<i>Brabram</i> , martyr, is burned in Norfolk.	
					<i>Hieronymus Savanarola</i> with two Friars, all martyred, are burned.	958
1500					Divers taken in Kent, are made to do penance for the truth, v. 1. p. 1010.	
1501					An old man is burnt in Smithfield, v. 1. p. 1010.	
1503		Pius 2. Julius 2.		Henry Deane.	Of this Archbishop, see v. 1. p. 1016. c. 2.	
					Besides in this Pope, of this v. 1. See 2. v. 6. p. of these two Popes, and their sending to King <i>Henry 7.</i> Also of Pope <i>Julius</i> , see v. 2. p. 9.	961
1504					<i>Perkin Werbeck</i> moves sedition, v. 2. p. 6.	
1506					<i>W. T. itworth</i> is burnt at <i>Amerham</i> , his onely daughter being constrained to set fire to her dear father, v. 1. p. 1010. and 21. do penance for the truth, v. 1. p. 1010	
					Father <i>Roberts</i> is burned at Buckingham, v. 1. p. 1010.	
					A great sedition and tumult is raised in Blackheath-field by the Blacksmith, vol. 2. pag. 6.	
1507					<i>Tho. Chafe</i> of <i>Amerham</i> is in this yeer 1506, most wickedly strangled and martyred in prison at Wooburn.	1011
1508					<i>Tho. Norice</i> is burned at Norwich for the truth.	
					<i>Elizabeth Sampson</i> is persecuted for speaking against Popery.	1012
					About this time <i>Laurence Gbest</i> was burned.	
					<i>Lunes Mordon</i> and <i>Tho. Bernard</i> burnt at <i>Amerham</i> , v. 1. p. 1011.	
					A faithfull woman of Cheaping-Sadbury is burnt, the persecutor Doctor <i>Whiting</i> , then and there being slain by a Bull,	
1509			Henry 8.		King <i>Henry</i> the seventh dyes.	Vol. 2. Pag. 6.
					Prince <i>Arthur</i> being fifteen yeers of age, marrying in his fathers time lady <i>Katherine</i> daughter of <i>Ferdinand</i> , and dying within five moneths after, the Crown fell next to <i>Henry 8.</i> being of the age of 18. yeers, entering his reign this yeer, marrying shortly after his brother <i>Arthurs</i> wite, that the Dowry might not depart out of the land.	
					<i>Empson</i> and <i>Dudley</i> , the one a Knight, the other an Esquire, having been strict executors of penall statutes in <i>Henry 7.</i> time, purchasing thereby great hate; about this time, by this King, are beheaded.	
					Great contention between the Dominick and Franciscan Friars, touching the conception of the Virgin <i>Mary</i> without sin, and other of her privileges.	8
					The Friars upon this contention, make an Image of the Virg. <i>Mary</i> , with artificiall motions, to stir, sigh, groan, and weep, &c. to bring the people into a greater conceit of the Image than of an Image, for which they are burned.	
1510					Pope <i>Julius</i> questioned in Turone Council in France: of this see also v. 1. p. 962	9
1511					This yeer is great persecution in London diocesse, wherof 40. names are found recorded, to Anno 1527.	
				W. Warham.	<i>John Broxon</i> martyred, v. 2. p. 649.	
					Many are martyred in Canterbury diocesse under <i>W. Warham</i> , v. 2. p. 627.	
					<i>W. Sweeting</i>	



*A Chronologic.*

<i>Anno Christi</i>	Germane Emp.	Romane Popes.	Kings of England.	Archbishops of Cant.	<p><i>W. Sweeting,</i> } burned in Smithfield for the truth,v.2.p.12.  <i>John Brewster</i> }  The renewing of <i>W. Sweetings</i> troubles; for the truth,v.2.p.30.c.1.  <i>James Brewster</i> burned with <i>Sweeting</i>,v.2.p.30.  <i>Zelymus</i> the eleventh Ottoman raigenth over the Turkes.He conquers part  of Christendome,v.1.p.975.  Pope <i>Julius</i> nor standing to the judgement of a Councell, is conquered in  war by <i>Ludovike</i> French King.  Pope <i>Julius</i> throwing away his keyes into the River,and being unable to  conquer by his sword,dycs.  Great change happens { Pope <i>Leo</i> the tenth,  in the Church in the { <i>Carolus</i> 5, Empe.or,  times of these living { Francis k.of France,  together, { Hen.8.k.of England,  { <i>Iames</i> k.of Scotland;  Although they began to  raign at times a little differ-  rent, as may be seen in the  severall columes.  <i>JAMES</i> is King of Scots.  <i>John Hunne</i> persecuted and murdered in the Lollards tower, described,  v.2.p.13.and 15.  Francis is King of France.  Great war is this yeere between <i>Fredरिके</i> Duke of Austria, and <i>Ludovike</i>  Duke of Bavaria.  <i>Campsan</i>, Ruler of the Egyptians,is slaine,v.1.p.977.  <i>John Browne</i> is burned for the truth.  Elizabeth Stamford, John Household,&amp;c.persecuted for the truth,v.2.p.24.  Tomoumbeius ruler of the Egyptians is tormented to death by the Turke,  v.1.p.976.c.2.  The Popes proclamaion of pardons,makes <i>Luther</i> write against them,v.2.  p.61,62.  The troubles and burning of <i>John Stilman</i>, Martyr,v.2.p.25,26.  The martyrdome of <i>Tbo.Maan</i>,v.2.p.26.c.2.l.74-p.27,28.  <i>Christopher Shoemaker</i> is burned for religion,v.2.p.31.  Of Car, Emperor, see v.1.p.981,c.2.and v.2.p.9.  Solyman 12 Ottoman begins to raigne. He wins from the Christians, v.1.  p.976.c.2.l.77.p.977.  Famous D. Colet dies, of whose life, see v.2.p.54,55. Not long before  whose death flourished famous Grocius an Englishman, Reader of Divi-  nity Lecture in Pauls in London.  Persecution in England offundry good men this yeere is mooved in Co-  ventry,where seven are burned together,v.2.p.225.  A proclamation against the doctrine of Luther,&amp; the followers of it in Eng-  land,is set forth this year,v.2.p.287.He forbids 13 good books,v.2.p.289  <i>John Southwike</i> persecuted,v.2.p.25.  The Clergie of England taken in apremunire;they pay a masse of money  for it,v.2.p.501.  Pope Leo the tenth sends forth his bull against <i>Luther</i>, which <i>Luther</i> well  baits in his answer,v.2.p.638.  This yeer was terrible trouble and persecution of hundreds of good people  for the truth; in the Diocesse of Lincolne under <i>John Longland</i> their Bi-  shop,to finde whose names if thou wilt not take the paines to begin at  this 33 p.of this second volume;to read the eleven leaves of Catalogues  of them,thou maist in the table at the latter end find them more readily.  This yeere reformation in the Church by <i>Luther</i>,of whom went prophecies  before.  His acts and doings before the Emperor.  King Hen.8 writes against <i>Luth</i>.(as it is commonly reported and reputed)  in which work others are supposed to have the chief hand ;and the King  the name,for which he is by the pope stiled.Defender of the Christian faith.  Pope Leo the tenth wars and wins from the French King; rides in triumph  in the same,and dies.  The Christian Princes at discord encourageth Solymanus the 12 Ottoman  to war against Christendome,to take Belgrade,v.1.p.977.  Zuinglius this yeere is questioned for teaching against the abuses in the  Church : his life and acts,v.2.p.91.  This pope was sometimes schoolmaster to Emperor Charles the fifth;He is a  Germane born,yet a great enemy to <i>Luther</i>,plotting &amp; acting sundry de-  vices: <i>Luther</i> and the nobles of Germany countermanding ; He by reason-  ing,they by putting up their complaints against the pope,touching forbid-  ding</p>
1512					
1513		Leo 10.			
1514					
1515					
1516					
1517					
1518					
1519	Carolus 5.				
1520					
1521					
1522		Hadrian the 6.			

# A Chronologie.

Anno Christi	Germane Emp.	Romane Popes.	Kings of England	Archbish. of Cant.		
1523		Clemens the 7.			ding times of marriage, commanding too many times for holy dayes, selling remission of sins for money, abusing excommunication, and many more particulars.	Vol. 1. Page
					<i>Solyman</i> the Turke wins the Iland Rhodes, vol. 1. p. 977.	
					The lamentable martyrdome of <i>John Clerke</i> of Melden in France, vol. 2. pag. 107.	
					Pope <i>Clement</i> the seventh, his Bull against <i>Henry</i> the eighth, in behalfe of <i>Queen Katherine</i> . A marriage to him who was his brother <i>Arthur</i> s wife, volume 2. pag. 632.	
					Of Pope <i>Clement</i> the seventh, how in the sacking of <i>Rome</i> he is taken: see v. 2. page 242.	
					This yeer met <i>Zuinglius</i> and <i>Johannes Faber</i> , and others to dispute; <i>Zuinglius</i> for, the rest against the truth. But none willing to dispute with <i>Zuinglius</i> touching his 67 Articles of the truth, the Senate of <i>Zurick</i> proclaims throughout their dominions that the traditions of men should be put downe, and Christs Gospell should be set up, and so reformation begins in those parts.	91
					<i>Henry Voet</i> and <i>John Esch</i> Friers Augustines are burnt at Bruxels for the Gospell vol. 2. page 101.	
					Persecution begins this yeer in Germany of hundreds of Martyrs continuing for many yeers, vol. 2. page 116. Likewise in France this yeere persecution begins, martyring multitudes, not ceasing in many yeeres, vol. 2. page 128. whose names thou maist either finde in reading over the Catalogues; or if it be too much paines, thou maist have them readily in the table in the end of the Booke.	
1524					<i>Henry Sutphen</i> is burned about the City of Diethmar, vol. 2. page 102.	
					Divers Martyrs secretly drowned in Germany, vol. 2. page 106. col. 2.	
					<i>George Hula</i> of Saxonie a preacher, martyred, vol. 2. page 107.	
1525					The Tigrines write in defence of true religion upon occasion of the Cantons apprehending the preacher <i>Johannes Oxlinus</i> .	95
					Persecution of many in Lincolne and Oxfordshire Diocesse, vol. 2. page 240, 241.	
					This yeer the Senat of <i>Zurick</i> deposeth the mass with all its appurtenances. <i>Wolfgangus</i> is martyred, great judgments befall his condemners, vol. 2. p. 113.	
					Doctor <i>John Castellane</i> martyred in Germany, vol. 2. page 107. col. 2. 109 colume 1.	
					The story of a good pastor murdered this yeere penned by <i>Oecolampadius</i> v. 2. page 110.	
					Another story of master <i>Peter Spenser</i> , minister, drowned this yeer; penned by <i>Oecolampadius</i> , vol. 2. page 111.	
					Cardinall <i>Wolsey</i> setting the Lord <i>Cromwell</i> at worke to pull downe some religious houses for the Cardinals ends, teacheth and forebodeth ominously the ruine of the great Abbeyes, which after fell by that Lord <i>Cromwell</i> , vol. 2. page 500. col. 1.	
1526					About this time the Rusticks in Germany make a tumult; which being al- laid, the Papiests falsly accuse the Gospellers to have an hand in it, and so condemne them, vol. 2. page 112. col. 2.	
					About this time a disputation is held at <i>Baden</i> in Germany, touching the Sacrament of holy Supper, the Masse, &c. <i>Eckius</i> defends the Popes tenet, <i>Oecolampadius</i> is against <i>Eckius</i> . <i>Zuinglius</i> could not be there, for which he excuseth himselfe.	96
					<i>John Huglein</i> martyred, vol. 2. pag. 113.	
					<i>Leonard Keyser</i> of Bavaria burned for the Gospell, vol. 2. pag. 114.	
					A prohibition of the New Testament in English, and of severeteene other good Bookes, is set forth, vol. 2. pag. 248.	
					The many wicked practises of Cardinall <i>Wolsey</i> , making men do penance for eating of flesh, abjures men for speaking against the Pope, vol. 2. p. 253.	
					<i>Solyman</i> the Turke, conquers <i>Ludovike</i> the French Kings Army, the King himselfe falling off his horse, and dying in a Marsh place, vol. 1. pag. 977.	
1527					The Senate and people of <i>Berne</i> in <i>Helvetia</i> appoint another disputation, between the Protestants and <i>Zuinglians</i> on the one side, and the Papiests on the other. The Bishops round about; as the Bishops of <i>Basil</i> , <i>Constance</i> , &c. are injoynted to present and bring Divines with them, on pain of forfeiture of all their possessions within the bounds of their precinct.	
					At this disputation were present <i>Zuinglius</i> , <i>Oecolampadius</i> , <i>Bucerus</i> , <i>Capito</i> , &c. On the contrary side, the chiefe was <i>Conradus Tregerus</i> .	
					Thus by this meanes reformation began at <i>Berne</i> , <i>Constance</i> , <i>Geneva</i> , &c. the Masse, Images, &c. are put downe.	The



# A Chronologie.

Anno Christi	Germane Emper.	Romane Popes.	Kings of England, of Cant.	The Bernates in the yeer of their reformation from popery to true Religion, Vol. 2. did ingrave the same in a pillar of brasle with golden letters. George Carpenter martyred at Munchen in Bawaria. vol. 2. page 111. The widdow Wendelmutter is martyred in Holland. vol. 2. pag. 115. Patrick Humleton a Scot at Saint Andrews in Scotland martyred volume 2. pag. 226. His excellent treatises, vol. 2. page 229. A Christian Jew martyred by the Turks, vol. 2. p. 223. Lome, Nicolson and Raimund are made to abjure in London Diocesse, volume 2. pag. 315. They of Strausburgh calling a Councel, after long controversie about religion, depose the Masse till the patrons of it could prove the lawfulness of it by the Scripture; and so set reformation on foot in Strausburgh also. Simon Fish his Booke called the supplication of beggers, comes to the King's hand, vol. 2. page 279. Cardinal Wolsey is cast out of the King's favour and so begins to fall, for his de- laying in matters touching the kings marriage, v. 2. pag. 251, 252, 253, &c. Ferdinand, the brother of Carolus the fifth Emperour, and deputy in Germany, labours against the Protestants and reformation. John Tempsbury of London martyred, vol. 2. pag. 294. Now began the name of Protestants, from their protesting in Germany against the evill Decree of Spire, which was also this yeer, The Turk besiegeth Vienna, vol. 1. pag. 977. Reformation is wrought in Basil also. Paul Luther an Englishman, also Wharphod, Gaderide, West, Witte, Kichen, Wegen, Hale, are made to abjure this yeer in London Diocesse, volume 2. pag. 315, 316. Neer an hundred good Books are forbidden in England, vol. 2. pag. 285. Ferdinandus wins from the Turk places which he had taken, and also expul- seth his other enemy Vainoda, vol. 1. pag. 977. The Turk takes Gunza in Hungarie, vol. 1. pag. 982. A Councell is held at Ausburge: the confession of the protestants there. Thomas Hinton martyred at Maydstone, vol. 2. pag. 258. John Tindal, Worley, Stacy, Maxwell, Curson, Cornwell, and Philip, are made to abjure in London Diocesse, v. 2. p. 316. Wars begin between the Protestants and the five popish towns of Switzer- land; where Zuinglius is slain. Peace is concluded between them. Oecolampadius being sick in body, and now worse by sorrow of minde, hearing of Zuinglius his death, dies. The troubles of Thomas Bilney, vol. 2. pag. 258. His learning to burn, by putting his finger in the candle, vol. 2. pag. 277. His death, vol. 2. pag. 278. Thomas Arthurs troubles vol. 2. pag. 259. The troubles of John Frith, vol. 2. pag. 303. His Martyrdome, see Anno 1533. Thomas Bennet is martyred in the fire, vol. 2. pag. 314.  This yeer Periman, Goldstone, Staple, Tomson, Wetzel, Mm, Feldon, Cooper Roe, Wallom, Palmer, Brasier, Fairested, Bul, Haymond, Limbe, Hewet, the two Patmoores, the two Smithes, Row, Christopher, Nelson, Eve, Hudson, Hewet, Kyry, Lobley, Lincolne, Mell, Medwell, Fulman, Boring, Tiler, Lan- caster, the two Topleyes, Gardiner, Johnson, are made to abjure, with divers other at Bumsteed, vol. 2. pag. 318. to pag. 323.  Men and women of Essex troubled for the Gospel, vol. 2. Pag. 324. Solymann the Turk murders his own son Mustapha, vol. 1. pag. 987. The troubles and burning of the Martyr Richard Bayfield. James Bainham is brought into trouble, vol. 2. pag. 299. col. 2. His penance, pag. 300. His burning, 301. Three men are hanged for the burning of the Rood of Dover Court, volume 2. pag. 303. Maiter Tracy being dead, is taken up and burned, volume 2. pag. 317. col. 2.  Cranmer. Of the death of Archbishop Warham, and Cranmers succeeding in the Archbi- shoprick of Canterbury, a little after his being Ambassadour to the Pope, to dispute of K. Henry the eight his marriage with his brothers wite, that it was unlawfull, see vol. 2. pag. 423.	Page
1528					97
1529					93
1530					99
1531					100
1532					289
1533					

# A Chronologie.

Anno Christi	Germane Emp.	Romane Popes.	Kings of England.	Archbishi of Cant.	John Frib Martyr, vol.2. pag.308.col.2.309,310. And Andrew Hewbet Martyr, vol.2. p. 300.c.310. Thomas Harding of Chesham in Buckinghamshire is martyred, vol.2. pag.238.	Vol.2. Page
1534					<p>The King is divorced from Lady <i>Katharine Dowager</i>, and marries Lady <i>Anne Bullen</i>, vol.2. pag.326.col.1.1.25. Compare pag.325. c.2. pag.330.c.2.1.23, &amp; p.333.c.1.1.18.</p> <p>Queen <i>Anne</i> is crowned. Of her Queen <i>Elizabeth</i> is born, vol.2. p.333.</p> <p>The Turk sends his Admirall into Afrike against the King of Tunis, who dispossesseth the King, and deprives him of his Kingdom, v.1. p.982.</p> <p>The Friars of Orleance counterfeite the walking of a womans Ghost, volume 2 pag.648.</p> <p>The King calls a Parliament, wherein the Commons complain of the cruelty of the prelates, for calling them before them, <i>ex officio</i>.</p> <p>An Act of succession of the Crown is concluded, vol.2. p.334.</p>	323
1535		Paul 3.			<p>The Popes authority is cast out of England.</p> <p>The Kings subjects are sworn to his supremacy.</p> <p>The Bishops and Universities write against the Popes supremacy.</p>	335
1536					<p><i>Charles</i> the 5 Emperor restores the king of Tunij to his Kingdom, and restoreth 20000 Captives out of servitude, vol.1. pag.982.</p> <p>Pope <i>Paul</i> the third, calling a Councell, calleth our king unto the Councel, the kings answer, vol.2. pag.372.</p> <p>Sir <i>Thomas Moore</i> and <i>Fisher</i>, Bishop of Rochester (who had written against <i>Luther</i> and <i>Oecolampadius</i>) denying to be sworn to the Kings supremacy, are executed this year.</p> <p>The King having made all safe at home with his subjects for his own supremacy against the Popes, now he endeavours to make safe to him the favour and peace of other Princes, that the Pope might not set them against him.</p> <p>The troubles of <i>William Tindall</i>.</p> <p>His Martyrdome.</p> <p>This year also died Lady <i>Katharine</i>, Princeesse <i>Dowager</i>, and Queen <i>Anne</i> is beheaded.</p>	358 353 354 361 366 370
1537					<p>In three dayes after, the King marries Lady <i>Iane Seymer</i>.</p> <p>By the means of a Monk a rebellion is raised against the King in Lincolnshire, upon the chief of which execution was done.</p> <p>Prince <i>Edward</i> is born of the Lady <i>Iane Seymer</i>, the Queen dies in Childbed.</p> <p><i>Solyman</i> the twelfth <i>Ottoman</i> takes and wastes <i>Corcyra</i>, the Island of the <i>Venetians</i>, vol.1. pag.981.col.2.</p>	371 376 377
1538					<p>Whiles the Pope and the Emperour, and the <i>Venetians</i> are at odds, <i>Solyman</i> the Turk invades and wastes <i>Apulia</i>, v.1. p.982.</p> <p><i>D. Bonner</i>, now but Archdeacon, is sent by the King Ambassador into France, to succeed <i>Stephen Gardiner</i> in Ambassie, <i>Bonnors</i> letters to the Lord <i>Cromwell</i>, and his description to the said Lord of the evill behaviour of <i>Gardiner</i>.</p>	378 381
					<p>A poor woman persecuted for eating of a pig in Lent, which she longed for, being with childe, v.2. p.506,507.</p> <p>Articles devised by the Kings highnesse to establish Christian quietnesse, and unity among the people, with certain injunctions.</p> <p><i>John Longland</i> Bishop of Lincoln (before a great persecutor of Christians) preacheth for the Kings supremacy against the Pope, before the King at Greenwich.</p> <p>Many idols, images and pilgrimages are deposed by means of the said injunctions of the King this year. Among those idols, that called <i>Darvell Gathbaren</i>, is burned, with the which idoll, <i>Friar Forrest</i>, for denying the Kings supremacy was burned, being hanged in chains over the fire; and so was fulfilled the prophesie, that that idoll should set a whole <i>Forest</i> on fire.</p> <p>This same year after the fall of images, followed the ruine of the Abbies.</p> <p>After the fall of Abbies, the living Temple of Christ <i>John Lambert</i>, falls into trouble and the martyring fire, by the devise of <i>Gardiner</i>.</p> <p><i>Collins</i> distracted, is with his dog burned this year, for holding up that dog in imitation of the priests Masse.</p> <p><i>Cambridge</i> distracted, burnt for articles, who knew not what he said himself.</p> <p><i>Wil. Laiton</i> burned for speaking against an idoll,</p>	386 387 388 391 395 396 397 427 436
					<p><i>Puttedem</i></p>	437



# A Chronologie.

Anno Christi.	Germane Emp.	Romane Popes.	Kings of England.	Archbishops of Cant.	Partedow is burned for saying jestingly, that when the priest himself had drunk up all the Wine, he did blesse the people with the empty Chalice. Peke is burned. 40 dayes pardon is proclaimed for them that will cast sticks into his fire. A knight and gentlemen for this reward cut boughes with their swords, and throw them in. The King is desired by the Emperor to come or send to the Popes Councell at Vincence. The King excuseth himself and his Kingdom for abience, and discovereth the defects of the Popes Councils. The great deliverance of <i>Grinam</i> from danger, v.3. p.926. This King <i>Henry</i> the eight sets forth injunctions against English Books, sacramentary persons, sects of religions, by the device of <i>Gardiner</i> . A description how religion now begins to go backward. The Turks passing by Dalmatia, take there a town called <i>Castellum Novum</i> , New Castle, away from the Spaniards, who kept it, v.1. p.983. This yeer persecution was in Spain, martyring very many Christians, not giving over in many yeers, v.2. p.167. If the Catalogues be too tedious in this page for thee to read and finde their names; see the table at the end.	Page.
1539						
1540						440
					A Parliament is called; and in it the Act of the six Articles, viz. <div style="display: flex; align-items: center;"> <div style="flex: 1;"> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. For Transubstantiation,</li> <li>2. Against giving the Cup,</li> <li>3. Against priests marriage,</li> <li>4. For vows of Chastity,</li> <li>5. For Masses,</li> <li>6. For auricular confession,</li> </ol> </div> <div style="flex: 1; font-size: 2em;">}</div> <div style="flex: 1;">             is concluded, notwithstanding many allegations against the Act and Articles.           </div> </div>	441
					The great Bible in English printed by the Lord <i>Cromwells</i> means, v.2. p.515. Persecution moved in Scotland, where sir <i>John Brothwicke</i> hath great troubles, v.2. p.605. The good Lord <i>Cromwell</i> is beheaded. The Lord <i>Cromwell</i> being made away by <i>Gardiners</i> device, Christs sheep are slain apace, as <i>Ro. Burnes</i> , <i>Tho. Garret</i> , <i>Wil. Hierome</i> , Divines. Three papists executed the same time with them, for denying the Kings supremacy. <i>Mekins</i> a youth of fifteen yeers old, brought to the fire by <i>Bonner</i> , sitting in Guild-Hall in Commission for the six Articles, for speaking upon hearing of others talk, against the Sacrament of the Altar. <i>Spenser</i> , <i>Ramsay</i> , and <i>Hewer</i> , suffer at Salisbury. Great trouble and persecution in London of neer an hundred persons for the six Articles. <i>Alexander Seton</i> persecuted. <i>John Porter</i> cruelly martyred for reading the Bible in <i>Pauls</i> Church in London. Persecution is moved in Lincoln Diocesse by the six Articles. <i>Barber</i> recants in Saint <i>Maries</i> at Oxford, at which is a fear lest the Church were on fire. King <i>Henry</i> is divorced from <i>Anne</i> of Cleve, and marries <i>Katharine Howard</i> .	515 517 528 529 531
1541						535 536 537 538 540
					This yeer Lady <i>Howard</i> being accused to the King of incontinent living, both before her marriage with <i>Francis Dereham</i> , and since with <i>Thomas Culpeper</i> ; those two men, as also Queen <i>Katharine</i> , with the Lady <i>Rockford</i> , are put to death.	541
1542						
1543					The town in Hungary called <i>Quinque-Ecclesie</i> , that is, Five-Churches, is taken by the Turks. After it they take in the same Country <i>Soclosia</i> , v.1. p.984. The Cardinall of Scotland moves persecution at <i>Perith</i> , v.2. p.614. A piece of a child in the siege of <i>Alba</i> , is found in a souldiers satchell, the other part being eaten, v.1. p.987. Persecution of above twenty in <i>Callis</i> ; where <i>George Buckner</i> , alias <i>Adam Damplicke</i> is martyred, v.2. p.556. & p.564. The persecution of 4 Winsor men, viz, <i>Testwood</i> , <i>Filmer</i> , <i>Person</i> and <i>Murbecke</i> . The Turks take <i>Wezigradum</i> . The Act of the six Articles is somewhat qualified in Parliament. It is yet qualified more in another Parliament. <i>Testwoods</i> recantation of denying the six Articles. The Scots are subdued; Bullen in France is won, v.2. p.570. The troubles of Mistris <i>Anne Askew</i> begin, v.2. p.572. <i>Martin Luther</i> dies godlily and quietly, v.2. p.88. <i>John Daxius</i> a Spaniard, is martyred, his own brother killing him at <i>Neoberge</i> in Germany, v.2. p.109. <i>Kerby</i> and <i>Clerke</i> of <i>Suffolk</i> martyred.	542 566 567
1544						
1545						
1546						588

# A Chronologie.

Anno Christi	Germane Emp.	Romane Popes.	Kings of England	Archbishops of Canterbury.	George Wiseheart martyred in Scotland, v. 2. p. 616, 621. Anne Askew is burned, and with her Nicholas Beleniam. Proclamation is set forth against English Books, v. 2. p. 787. The troubles and dangers of Queen Katharine Parre, by Gardiners plots.  Great persecution is in Italy for many yeers, v. 2. p. 174. Read the Catalogue in this page, or see the table and the end. The Cardinall of Scotland, a wicked persecutor, is murdered and buried in a dung-hill, v. 1. p. 621. King Henry the eighth dies. King Edward was nine yeers of age when he began to reign, v. 2. p. 651. He sends for Bucer, Peter Martyr, and other godly learned men into England, v. 2. p. 654. Appoints learned Preachers, v. 2. p. 655. John Hume persecuted, v. 2. p. 655. Bonner writes two letters for the abolishing of images and palms. Some people contending for one image, others for another, gave occasion that the king took down all. The Councell writes to the Bishops of the Realm, that the Communion should be admittred in both kindes. King Edward the sixth sets forth by act of Parliament an uniform revised Communion prayer book, with great penalties to the contemners of the same. It is enacted at Parliament that Priests may marry. The Councell writes to Bonner Bishop of London, to abrogate private Masses. Peter Martyrs disputation before the Kings Visitors at Oxford, against Transubstantiation, v. 2. p. 760. Disputation at Cambridge before the Kings Commissioners about the Sacrament, by Doctor Madew respondent, and Ridley and Bucer and others, v. 2. p. 760, & p. 778. Lady Mary writes to the Lord Protector and the Councell, declaring her dislike of King Edwards reformation, and excusing her self for disobeying those reformatory lawes, v. 2. p. 701. The Lords write somewhat a sharp rebuke. ibidem. After the Cardinall of Scotland, one Hamleton is made Archbishop, a great persecutor as was the Cardinall, v. 1. p. 621. Bonner being negligent to set forth King Edward the sixth Service-book, the King and his Councell write a rebuking letter, charging him to be more diligent to send the book abroad in his Diocesse: whereupon Bonner writes to his Dean and Chapter of Pauls to further the businesse.  Bonner being yet a suspicious person for popishnesse, negligent to further the Word and Sacraments in London, so that many went to private Masse, is called to Coram many times, before the Protector and the Councell, and an appointed Commission, and at last deprived and imprisoned. The Kings proceedings and message to certain, moving rebellion against him in Devonshire, and his answer to their Articles, gently convincing their unjust commotion, and executing the two Kets, the chief of the Rebels.  Thirty two persons are appointed and assigned by Parliament, for the compiling of Ecclesiasticall Lawes. Books of Latine Service are called in and abolished. The Altars are taken down, Communion Tables are set up, and it is resolved upon six reasons; they must stand and be used table-wile. Adam Wallace martyred in Scotland, v. 2. p. 623. The King himself writes to the Lady Mary, and sends instructions to her, to bring her to conformity to his reformation of the Church: She defends her own opinion and practice against that reformation, by letters to the King and Councell. Of the blasphemies of this Pope, not fit to be spoken, See v. 3. p. 222. c. 1. This yeer also the King and Councell continue labouring to reduce the Lady Mary to conform to the reformation of the Church. Gardiner B. of Winchester, for his many misdemeanors contrary to the Kings reformation of Religion, is called in question, and deprived and imprisoned.  Doctor Redmans conference with Richard Wilkes in his chamber, being sick, but of good memory, before M. Yong, and two of the said Dr. Redmans servants; tending to prove corporall presence, and to deliver the truth of certain points of religion.	Vol. 2. page 568 569 581  605  621 622 658 659  660 661       663  664 671 696 666  699  703 704 705    707 708 711 739
1547			Edward the 6.			
1548						
1541						
1550						
1551			Julius 3.			



# A Chronologie.

Anno Christi	Germane Emp.	Romane Popes.	Kings of Archbish England of Cant.		Vol. 2 Page
1552				<p>The Lord admirall (his brother being Lord protector) is beheaded, vol. 2. p. 78.</p> <p>A Dialogue between custome and verity, with the judgement of the fathers touching these words, This is my Body, v. 2. p. 778. and p. 785. c. 1.</p> <p>The lamentable tormenting of <i>W. Gardiner</i>, an English Merchant, pulling him up, and letting him down into the fire in Portugall; for catching the Masse cake out of the Cardinals hands (saying Masse and lifting the host before the King) and treading it under his feet.</p> <p>The troubles of the worthy Lord <i>Edward</i> Duke of Somerset, Lord Protector by the means of many great Nobles in the Kingdom, with their false pretences, till contrary to King <i>Edwards</i> minde, they take off his head.</p> <p>Divers Knights were in the same pretended accusations put to death, as accessory to the said Duke.</p> <p><i>Solyman</i> the Turk, murders his own son <i>Mustapha</i>, v. 1. p. 987.</p> <p>Doctor <i>Ridley</i> Bishop of London, goes to visit Lady <i>Mary</i>; he presents his duties, and offers to preach before her; but she said, If he would preach, he might, but neither her self nor any of hers should hear him; adding bitter words against the present reformation, v. 2. p. 788.</p> <p>The Bishop after drinking in the Lady <i>Maries</i> house, condemns himself with his speech vehemently uttered, <i>I should not have drunk where Gods Word was refused, but have spoken off the dust of my feet against the place.</i> At which words some hair did even stand upright on their heads, as they confessed themselves, p. 788.</p> <p>Nor King, nor Councell, nor Bishops, nor any means could reclaim Lady <i>Mary</i> from her Popery; Insomuch that the King her father, for her self-willednesse would not title her Princeesse, for which she wrote to her father, and contested with the Councell. And King <i>Edward</i> her brother, for the same self-willednesse in error, gave away the kingdom by Will from her. See besides this pag. of 2. vol. also vol. 3. p. 13.</p> <p>King <i>Edward</i> the sixth, dies, entring into his seventh yeer of raigning, and the 17. of his age, v. 2. p. 786. c. 1.</p> <p><i>Thomas Harding</i> of Chesham in Buckinghamshire martyred, v. 2. p. 238.</p>	744 748 749 756
1553				<p>A Preface containing a learned discourse touching the wicked Masse, for which so many bled and burned, in this 3. vol. is premised to the ensuing stories.</p> <p>Queen <i>Jane</i> by King <i>Edwards</i> will, the witnesse of most of the greatest Nobles, and by their assistance and Proclamations, is proclaimed Queen of England, throughout the kingdom.</p> <p>Lady <i>Mary</i> claims the Crown of England by letters to the Councell.</p> <p>Their answer, denying her demand.</p> <p>Lady <i>Mary</i> by fained promises (which she cruelly after brake) made to the Suffolk men, (who were alwayes ready to promote the Gospel) gets their assistance by War, to settle her in the Crown, against the Lady <i>Jane</i>.</p> <p>By these Suffolk forces, Queen <i>Mary</i> overthrows the forces that were for Q. <i>Jane</i>; so that Lady <i>Mary</i> is proclaimed Queen, and the Lords begin to fall off from the Lady <i>Jane</i>.</p> <p>The Duke of Northumberland, the father in law of Lady <i>Jane</i>, is imprisoned by Queen <i>Mary</i> in the Tower, with Lord <i>Gilford</i> his son, and Queen <i>Jane</i> his wife.</p> <p>The Duke made in hope of life to revoke his religion, is beheaded, with Sir <i>John Gates</i>, and Sir <i>Thomas Palmer</i>, confessing their faith.</p> <p>Good Bishops are displaced, preaching, and printing, and plays, and the terms Papist and Heretike, is prohibited by Proclamation.</p> <p>Bishop <i>Bonner</i> is released out of prison, cast in there by <i>Edward</i> the sixth: He set up <i>Bourn</i> a Canon of Pauls, to preach at the Crosse, and to cleer him, upon the same Text, for which, as <i>Bourn</i> said four yeers afore, the said <i>Bonner</i> was cast into the Marshalsey. A dagger is thrown at <i>Bourn</i> for his pains.</p> <p>In August, this yeer, many are clapt up in prison for dislike of Popery and its Abettors.</p> <p>In September the same yeer, many are troubled for religion.</p> <p>In October, the same yeer, Queen <i>Mary</i> is crowned. A Parliament is called. Popery, as Masse, &amp;c. set up. Judge <i>Hales</i> that had been for Queen <i>Mary</i>, in title to the Crown, is now by her tronbled, for standing for the Law.</p> <p>A disputation concerning religion, as reall presence. &amp;c. is held in a Convocation between the Protestant and Papist Divines this yeer, Octob. 18.</p> <p>The Convocation is dissolved.</p>	Vol. 3. Pag. 1. 23, 47 5, 6, to 13. 14 15 16 17 18 19 19 29
			Q. Jane.		
			Q. Mary.		

# A Chronologie.

Anno Christi	Germane Emp.	Romane Popes.	Kings of England	Archbish of Cant.	Many great Lords, &c. and Bishops put in prison, and <i>Gardiner</i> among the rest, for the supremacie, &c. matters are now releas'd by the Queen, and advanced.	Vol. 3. Page
1554					The Queen shuts up many this yeer in prison for religion.	30
					The Queens rigour touching religion, and her likelyhood to marry <i>Philip</i> , cause a rebellion of sir <i>Thomas Wyatt</i> , &c. in Kent, and of the D. of Suffolk, lady <i>Janes</i> own father, in Warwick and Leiceſterſhire. They are taken.	
					The Queens oration in Guild-hall againſt <i>Wyat</i> , and touching her marriage.	31
					Conference between lady <i>Jane</i> and <i>Fecknam</i> about points of religion.	32
					Lady <i>Janes</i> letter to her own father in prison.	33
					Lady <i>Janes</i> letter to Maſter <i>Harding</i> her fathers Chaplain, now revolted to popery, notably terrifying him out with places of the Scripture for the ſame.	
					Lady <i>Janes</i> letter to her ſiſter <i>Katharine</i> .	35
					The admirable ſweet carriage and death of the lady <i>Jane</i> .	36
					<i>Bonner</i> ſearching after them that would not come in Lent to confeſſion.	37
					The Queens letter and articles to the Biſhop of London, againſt religion and religious perſons.	38
					A like Preſcript with articles the Queen ſends to the Lord Maior of London.	39
					The Queen by Proclamation, expulſeth all ſtrangers and forreigners out of the land, whereby <i>Peter Martyr</i> and others avoid the realm.	40
					Lady <i>Elizabeth</i> is ſuſpected of, and imprifoned for conſenting to <i>Wyats</i> rebellion, by whom ſhe is cleared: but <i>Gardiner</i> and <i>Wyſton</i> labour her ruine by tales in Star-chamber, &c.	
					The Queen holds a Parliament, wherein ſhe laboured, but in vain, to reſtore the Popes ſupremacie. But in her own writing to the Biſhop of London, &c. ſhe left out the uſuall claufe of <i>Henry 8.</i> and <i>Edward 6. Eccleſiæ anglicanæ &amp; Hybernici. Caput.</i>	41
					<i>Bonner</i> in Convocation with hyperbolical blaſphemy, extols Priests dignity to be above Kings, and Princes, and Angels, equall with the Virgin <i>Mary</i> , maker of his Creator.	
					Doctör <i>Ridley</i> his conference in priſon touching the Sacrament, &c. with Secretary <i>Bonner</i> .	42
					<i>Cranmer</i> Archbiſhop, <i>Ridley</i> Biſhop, are, April 10. ſent down to Oxford to diſpute touching religion. <i>Cranmer</i> diſputes.	44
					Diſputation at Oxford between Doctör <i>Smith</i> , and <i>Ridley</i> Biſhop of London touching religion, April 17.	61
					Diſputation at Oxford, Apr. 18, between M. <i>Smith</i> and M. <i>Latimer</i> at Oxford.	79
					<i>Hayesfields</i> diſputation at Oxford for his degree, April 19. <i>Cranmer</i> diſputeth.	86
					Biſhop <i>Ridleys</i> report of Oxfords miſordered diſputation with him and his fellow priſoners.	90
					Biſhop <i>Ridley</i> writes letters to the prolocutor, for his breach of promiſes to him touching the order of diſputation.	92
					The Archbiſhop <i>Cranmer</i> writes letters by Doctör <i>Wyſton</i> to the Councell for all lawfull favour, which he reſuſed to deliver.	
					Biſhop <i>Ridley</i> writes an unanimous conciliatory letter to the Archbiſhop, touching their conſent in the ſubſtance of religion.	93
					M. <i>Bradford</i> and others are committed to the tower, Aug. 16.	
					<i>Cranmer</i> archbiſhop cleers himſelf of ſcandall put upon him.	94
					Queen <i>Mary</i> is crowned, <i>Latimer</i> and <i>Cranmer</i> are put in the tower.	95
					The Queen by Proclamation at her Coronation, pardons other priſoners, but not thoſe in the Tower and the Fleet, and 62. perſons more.	
					The Archbiſhop of York is committed to the Tower.	
					The Queen rides in pomp to Parliament, October 5.	
					M. <i>Laurence Saunders</i> , October the tenth, preacheth in London againſt the abomination of the Maſſe.	
					Doctör <i>Wyſton</i> upon the tenth of October, makes a popiſh Sermon at <i>Pauls Croſſe</i> .	
					Cambridge Univerſity defend the Queens proceedings, before any Law be enacted to the ſame purpoſe.	
					King <i>Edwards</i> Acts are repealed, December 15.	
					A prieſt of Canterbury ſaying Maſſe, the morrow repenting, preaches againſt it	96
					Juſtice <i>Hales</i> and M. <i>Rogers</i> are imprifoned, Jan. 26.	



# A Chronologic.

Anno Christi	Germ. Emper.	Romane Popes.	Kings of England.	Archbish of Cant.	Strange sights are seene at nine in the morning in the heavens, Feb. 15. before the coming in of King <i>Philip</i> , and the going out of true religion.	Vol. Page
					This moneth of Feb. <i>Winchester</i> in his Sermon before the Queen ities her up to use no mercie towards the Kentish men, but severe execution upon them, for their rising in rebellion.	
					The Duke of Suffolke is beheaded, Feb. 23.	97
					M. <i>Mantell</i> in this month of Feb. is executed in Kent, among other Gentlemen; who at his first falling under the gallows, the rope brake: whereupon for recantation of his Religion, pardon was offered, which he refused and chose rather to dye. His Apologie clearing himse of asperitions of recantation.	
					All London are commanded, March 17. to prepare themselves for shrift.	99
					March 18. Lady <i>Elizabeth</i> is put in the Tower.	
					Neere twenty gallowses are set up about London, upon occasion of <i>Wyts</i> rebellion to terrifie others; upon one of which, in Cheapside a Cat was hanged with a shaven Crowne, and a paper between her feete like a Priest at masse with his wafer.	
					The Priest of <i>Pancrase</i> in Cheape on Easter day, according to the Popish manner, kneeling in the sepulcher for the pix and crucifix, and saying, <i>He is not here, but is risen</i> ; it proved that they were not there indeed; for some body or other had stolne them away, about which much search was made.	
					The Lord <i>Gray</i> is hanged and quartered, for a conspiracy against the <i>Queenes</i> life as it was alledged.	
					<i>Bradford, Saunders, &amp;c.</i> narration touching their disputation and religion.	100
					The imprisonment of Lady <i>Elizabeth</i> in Woodstock.	102
					Queen <i>Mary</i> is married to <i>Philip</i> , a forme drawne for their mutuall stile.	
					<i>Winchester</i> preacheth at <i>Pauls</i> Crosse extreame blasphemie against the truth, and flatterie of King <i>Philip</i> .	104
					<i>John Streete</i> troubled for coming under the Priests Canopie.	105
					<i>Boners</i> frantike behaviour in his visitation, striking, scolding, &c.	
					A Rood in Lancashire is made so ugly, that (as they there concluded) it was fitter to make a divell.	106
					<i>Boner</i> sends forth a mandate to abolish the Scriptures and writings painted on the Church walls.	107
					Queen <i>Maries</i> persecution make 24. Fellowes places voyde in Cambridge at once in one Colledge.	
					The businesse the Councell, the Bishops and the Parliament made about Queen <i>Maries</i> conceiving with childe as they conceived.	108 & 114
					Cardinall <i>Pooles</i> entertainment, oration and actions at the Parliament before the Queen.	115
					<i>Gardiners</i> dreaming Sermon at the Crosse on the words, <i>It is high time to awake</i> , &c. pleading for poperie.	271
					Thirtie Christians martyrs, and a Minister apprehended in Bow-Church-yard for the Gospell and imprisoned.	113
					The act of the Popes supremacie is passed in Parliament.	114
					A great tumult of Westminster between the Spanish and English.	
					This yeer begins the persecution of the Waldenses or Waldoyes in the valleys of Angrogne-luserne, S. <i>Martin</i> , <i>Perouse</i> , &c. in the Countrey of Piedmont, continuing to An. 1561. V. 2. p. 201.	
					M. <i>Hooper</i> writes comfort to the martyrs apprehended in Bow-Church-yard.	116
					The persecuted preachers make supplication to the King and Queene.	118
					Vol. 3. p. 105. Of this Cardinals pranks more will follow in order of yeers.	
					<i>John Rogers</i> his troubles and martyrdom.	119
					M. <i>Lawrence Saunders</i> his troubles and martyrdom.	132
					<i>John Hooper</i> Bishop of Worcester and Gloucester, burned for the truth.	143 & 155
					Doctor <i>Rowland Taylors</i> suffering for the truth.	166 & 177
					The Queene solicited by the King of Denmarke, in the behalfe of Master <i>Coverdale</i> , now in danger of his life for religion, writes her answer to the said King.	181
					Judge <i>Hales</i> is rebuked by <i>Winchester</i> ; he drownes himselfe.	182
						185
						186

# A Chronologie.

Anno Christi	Germane Emp.	Romane Popes.	Kings of England.	Archbish. of Cant.	Thomas Tompkins hand is first burned, then his body by Bonner for the truth. William Hunter martyred.	Vol. 3 Page
					Master Higbed and Casson Gentlemen, burnt in Essex for the truth.	187 & 190
					William Pigot, Stephen Knight, and John Laurence persecuted and martyred.	194
					Doctor Farrar Bishop of Saint Davids, persecuted and martyred.	198
					Rawlins White burned at Cardiffe in Wales for the Gospel.	201 & 216
					Queen Maries words to her Councell, touching restitution of Abbey lands.	217
					Winchesters letter to Bonner, touching the solemnizing of the Popes funerall.	220
					George Marsh martyred.	221
					William Branch, alias Flower, persecuted and martyred.	222 & 223
					John Taylor, alias Cardmaker, and John Warrn burned together for the Gospel in Smithfield.	231 242
					John Simpson and John Audeley, dwelling in Essex, persecuted by Bonner.	246 249
					Bonnors ridiculous proceedings against John Tooley, martyred after his death.	252
					Thomas Hauks a Gentleman, a worthy martyr of Christ, martyred.	253
					Thomas Wats is persecuted unto fire for the Gospel.	255 265
					Proclamation against good Books that are against the Pope his doctrine and Church: (the Wardens of each Company being to search them out) and the putting forth of evil Books, as our Ladies Psalter, &c.	268 270 271
					The troubles and martyrdom of Thomas Osmond, Chamberlain, and William Bamford.	273 278 280
					The letters and martyrdom of that famous man, Master Bradford.	307
					The martyrdom of John Blind preacher, and at the same time of John Frankesb, Humfrey Middleton, Nicolas Sbeterden.	303 373
					The martyrdom of Margery Polley.	381
					The martyrdom of Christopher VVaide.	382 &
					The martyrdom of Dirick Carver and John Launder.	385
					The Marquesse of Winchester helps forward persecution.	383
					Thomas Iveson martyred.	386
					John Denley, John Newman, and Patrick Packingham apprehended, and martyred.	387
					Edmund Tyrell writes to the Queens Commissioners, touching assistance in persecution.	394
					Coker, Hooper, Laurence, Colliar, VVright, and Steve, burned for the Gospel at Canterbury.	395 396
					Elizabeth VVarn widow, burnt at Stratford-bow.	397
					The martyrdom of George Tankerfield at Saint Albans.	403
					The martyrdom of Robert Smith.	413
					The manner of the imprisonment in the Lollards Tower.	419
					The martyrdom of Robert Samuel preacher.	420
					VVilliam Allen martyred.	428
					Ro. Coo of Melford in Suffolk martyred.	429
					Thomas Cob martyr.	431
					Catmer, Streater, Burward, Brodbridge, Tuttey, in one fire at Canterbury, martyrs.	524
					Thomas Hayward and John Goreway martyrs.	537
					Master Robert and John Glover Gentlemen, persecuted in Litchfield Diocese.	
					Master Ro. Glover and Cornelius Bangty, are burned at Coventry.	
					The Bishop of Chesters letter against the buriall of VVilliam Glovers body.	
					VVilliam VVolsley and Robert Pigot martyred.	
					The Acts, letters, troubles and martyrdom of Ridley and Latimer, Bishops.	
					The uncomfortable death following Gardiners wicked life,	
					VVeb, Roper, Park, burned at Canterbury for religion.	



# A Chronologic.

anno Christi	Germane Emperors.	Romane Popes.	Kings of England.	Archbishi of Cant.	William Wiseman imprisoned for the Gospel; there dying, is cast out into the fields, (by others, whose burials in the field are here described) as <i>bestia mortua</i> , as can ion for dogs, with command that no man should bury them.	Vol. 2. Page
556		Pius 5.			A notable letter of a woman to <i>Banner</i> for his cruelty y. 3. p. 610. The examination, condemnation, letters and Martyrdom of <i>John Philpot</i> Archdeacon. <i>Wittle, Greene, Tudson, Went, Browne, Isabel Foster, John VVarne</i> , martyred together at London. <i>John Lomas, Anne Albright, Ioan Carmer, Agnes Snaib, Ioane Soale</i> , burned at Canterbury for the truth. <i>Cramer</i> Archbishop of Canterbury his troubles, acts and Martyrdom at Oxford, putting his hand voluntarily first into the fire. This year the Turk (as some report) waited part of Italy, v. 1. p. 988. <i>Agnes Potter</i> and <i>Ioan Trinchfield</i> , martyred at Ipswich.	533 593 612 631 632 633 671 678
					<i>John Spicer, VVilliam Coberley, John Maudrell</i> , burned for Christ, in one fire at Salisbury. <i>Drakes, Tims, two Spurges, Cavel, Ambrosed</i> , burned at London for Christ. The Northfolk and Suffolke mens godly supplication to the Queens periculing Commissioners. <i>John Herpole, Ioan Beach</i> , martyred. The letters, acts and Martyrdom of <i>John Fullier</i> Minister.	679 680 690 695 696
					<i>Lyster, Mace, Spencer, Loyne, Nichols, Hamond</i> , burned at Colchester for Christ. <i>Lame Laverocke</i> , and blinde <i>Apprice</i> , martyred at Stratford Bow. Three women, viz. <i>Hur, Thacknell, and Hornes</i> , burned for Christ in Smithfield.	699 700 701 702
					Sir <i>John Mordant</i> , and <i>Edmund Tyrell</i> , Esquire, persecuting Justices in Essex, write to <i>Banner</i> . <i>Spicer, Denny and Poole</i> , martyred in Suffolk. <i>Gregory Crow</i> , and his New Testament, and three other men wonderfully preserved at Sea. <i>VV. Slith</i> dies in the Kings Bench. <i>Harland, Oswald, Avington, Read</i> , condemned at Lewis.	703 705 706
					<i>Thomas VVood</i> and <i>Milles</i> martyred at Lewis. <i>Adberall</i> , and <i>Clement</i> die in the Kings Bench. <i>Adlington, Parnam, VVye, Hallywell, Bonnyer, Searles, Hurst, Camweb, Iuckeson, Derisall, Rub, Elizabeth Pepper, Agn, George</i> , burned at Stratford Bow in one fire. <i>Freeman, Stannard</i> and <i>Adams</i> were condemned with them. <i>Parret, Hunt, Norrice</i> , with <i>Hardskip</i> , for Christ in the Kings Bench there die, and one of them buried in the backside. The troubles of <i>John Fortune</i> for Christs sake.	708 710 711
					<i>John Charles</i> is persecuted, His letters, he is imprisoned for Christ, in the kings Bench, there dies. <i>Iulius Palmer</i> , Fellow of <i>Magdalen Colledge</i> in Oxford, a famous Martyr; His acts, troubles and Martyrdom. The lamentable burning of three women and an Infant in <i>Garnsey</i> . <i>Thomas Dugat, John Foreman</i> , and <i>Mother Tree</i> , are burned for Christ in Suffex. The Martyrdom of <i>Thomas More</i> , at Leicester. The examination of <i>Jackeson</i> and <i>Newman</i> , a Martyr. Blinde <i>Joan VV. fle</i> is martyred at Derby.	713 733 747 753 754 756
					<i>Sharp</i> martyred at Bristow, and <i>Hart, Rensdale</i> also a Shoemaker and Currier, martyred at Mayfield in Suffex. <i>John Horne</i> and a woman burned for Christ at Wotton Underhedge in Gloucestershire. The cruell imprisonment of <i>Dangerfield</i> , and of his wife being in childebed, and her infant. A Shoemaker martyred in North-hampton, and five Martyrs furnished in Canterbury, they declaring the same by a letter, thrown out at the window, A complaint against the Christians at Ipswich, v. 3. p. 241. The story of <i>John Cheeke</i> , King <i>Edwards</i> Schoolmaster.	758 759

# A Chronologie.

A.D. Christi 1557	Germane Emp.	Romane Popes.	Kings of England.	Archbish of Cant.	The Cardinall <i>Pools</i> visitation of Cambridge, and his burning of dead <i>Bucers</i> bones, and the ceremonies, Sermon, &c, thereof.	Vol. 2. Page
					The like is done of the Visitors, to <i>Peter Martyrs</i> wives dead bones.	761
					The Cardinals Articles, &c, of the Visitation of Canterbury Dioceffe.	762
					<i>Philpot, Bedingden, Kemp, Hy, Hudson, Bradbridge, Stephens, Final, Lowicke, Provins,</i> Martyrs in Canterbury Dioceffe.	778
					King <i>Philip</i> , and Queen <i>Maries</i> bloody Commission to persecute good Christians.	779
					Two and twenty good Christians apprehended for Christ, and sent from Colchester to London, where they are persecuted.	780
					Commissary <i>Kingstons</i> letter to <i>Bonner</i> , touching furthering persecution, <i>Loseby, Ramsey, Thirtel, Margaret Hide, and Agnes Stanley</i> , martyred in Smithfield.	781
					The narration of <i>Stephan Gratwicke</i> his condemnation and Martyrdom, and of <i>Morant</i> and <i>King</i> with him.	782
					<i>John Bradbridge, Appleby, Petronill, Allie</i> and his wife, <i>Ioan Mannings</i> , and <i>Elizabeth</i> a blinde maid, burned for Christ at Maydfon.	783
					<i>Fishecocke, White, Pardu,</i> widdow <i>Final</i> , widdow <i>Bradbridge</i> , <i>Goodwife Wilson</i> , and <i>Goodwife Benden</i> , Martyrs at Canterbury.	784
					The handling of <i>Matthew Plaise</i> in Kent by the Bishop and his company of persecutors.	787
					<i>Woodman</i> six times largely examined, <i>Stevens, Mainard, Hofman, Wood</i> , a maid <i>Marg.</i> and <i>John Morris</i> ; <i>Burgis Asbdoms</i> wife, <i>Groves</i> wife burnt for Christ in one fire at Lewis.	792
					<i>Ambrose</i> dies in prison for Christ, and <i>Rich. Lush</i> is martyred.	795
					<i>Elizabeth Cooper</i> , and <i>Simon Miller</i> burnt at Norwich.	797
					Persecutors make supplication to the lord <i>Darcy</i> to move forward more persecution.	799
					<i>Rose Allins</i> hand burnt by <i>Tyrrell</i> .	826
					Motehall and Colchester Castle prisoners persecuted for Christ.	827
					Six Martyrs, three men and three women burnt for Christ at Colchester in the morning, and four more in the afternoon.	828
					<i>John Thurston</i> , Martyr, dies in prison.	829
					<i>John Eagles</i> martyred for Christ.	832
					The troubles and Martyrdom of <i>Richard Crashfield</i> .	833
					The apprehension and Martyrdom of Mistris <i>Joyce Lewes</i> of Lichfield.	834
					The Martyrdom of <i>Allerton, James</i> and <i>Marg. Austoo</i> , and <i>Richard Rath</i> at Hlinton.	840
					<i>Bongeor</i> , and <i>Thurston</i> women, burnt at Colchester for Christ.	848
					<i>John Kurde</i> burnt at Northampton.	849
					<i>John Noyes</i> of Laxefield in Suffolk martyred.	850
					<i>Cicely Ormes</i> martyred at Norwich.	851
					The troubles of Christians at Lichfield.	852
					Great persecution in Chichester Dioceffe.	853
					<i>Sbnp, Benion</i> and <i>Hal</i> , burnt for Christ at Bristow, v. 3. p. 892.	854
					<i>Tbo. Spurdance</i> , Queen <i>Maries</i> servant examined before Norwich Chancellor.	856
					<i>Hallindale, Sparrow</i> , and <i>Gybson</i> martyred in Smithfield.	860
					The Martyrdom of <i>John Roub</i> , Minister, and <i>Margaret Mcaving</i> at London.	865
1558					The racking and tormenting of <i>Cutbert Symson</i> in the Tower, and his burning in Smithfield for Christ, with <i>Fox</i> and <i>Devenish</i> .	868
	Ferdinandus.				<i>W. Nichol</i> burned for Christ in Hereford west in Wales.	



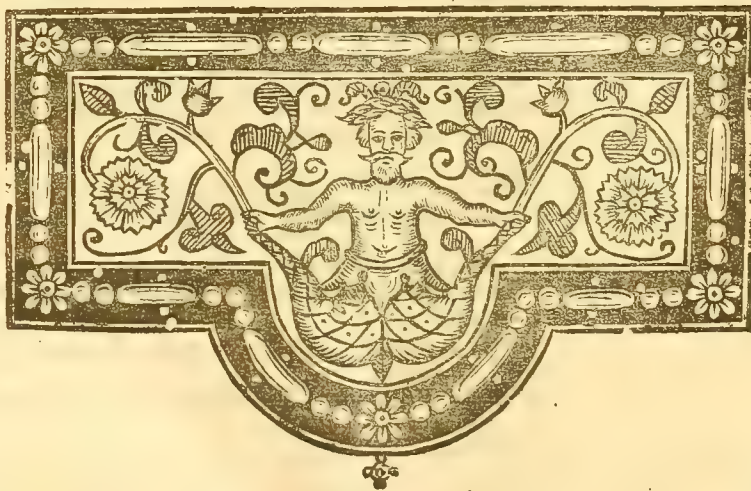
# A Chronologie.

Anno Christi	Germane Emp.	Romane Popes.	Kings of England	Archbishops of Cant.	Of the Emperor Frederike, his brotherhood to Carulus the fifth Emperor, and of his acts whiles he was deputy in Germany, see v. 2. p. 98. c. 2.	Vol. 3 Page
					<i>Seaman, Cayman, and Hudson</i> , put to death for Christ at Norwich.	870
					<i>Harris, Day, George</i> , burnt at Colchester for Christ.	
					Godly persons for praying in a field at Illington are apprehended, thirteen of them burned.	871
					Proclamation against books that are against popery, &c.	
					<i>W. Mille</i> martyred, v. 2. p. 625, 626.	
					The examination and condemnation of <i>Roger Holland</i> .	874
					Six Martyrs burned at Brainford.	878 &c
					<i>Bonnors</i> scourging of <i>Tbo. Hinsbaw</i> , pictured out.	879
						880
					<i>Richard Teom. m.</i> , Doctor <i>Taylor's</i> Curate at Hadley suffers for the Gospel.	882
					<i>John Alcock's</i> troubles for Christ.	883
					A childe is whipped to death by <i>Bonner</i> , v. 3. p. 897.	
					<i>Tbo. Benbridge</i> , Martyr.	884
					<i>Cooke, Miles, Lane, Aspley</i> Martyrs at S. Edmundsbury.	885
					<i>Alexander Gouch</i> , and <i>Alice Driver</i> , suffer for Christ at Ipswich.	886
						888
					<i>Pbil. Humfrey, John David</i> , and <i>Hen. David</i> put to death for Christ in the same month <i>Queen Mary</i> died.	
					<i>Cornford, Browne, Herst, Snotb</i> , and <i>Kath. Knight</i> were the last of the Martyrs that suffered death in <i>Q. Maries</i> dayes, according to their prayer, they might be the last.	893
					A note of such as were scourged for Christ in <i>Q. Maries</i> dayes, v. 3. p. 900, &c.	
					The great deliverance of Lady <i>Elizabeth</i> from danger in <i>Q. Maries</i> dayes, by the death of the said <i>Queen</i> ; who dies this year, Novemb 17, and the said Lady <i>Elizabeth</i> proclaimed <i>Queen</i> the same day.	952
			Queen Elizabeth		<i>John Hiles</i> his Oration to <i>Q. Elizabeth</i> at her first beginning to raig, vol. 3 pag. 976.	
					A relation of the unprosperous successe of <i>Queen Mary</i> , in her persecuting life, to her death.	953
					Gods judgements on the persecutors that assisted all <i>Queen Maries</i> life time, till her death, in persecuting.	954
					<i>Kath. Dutchesse</i> of Suffolk in trouble, is delivered, v. 3. p. 926.	
					<i>Rich. White</i> is examined, and <i>John Hunt</i> condemned, and both to be burned, but <i>Queen Maries</i> death saves them alive.	894
					A Catalogue of many Martyrs appointed to death in <i>Queen Maries</i> persecution, escaping by her death, &c. other means, v. 3. p. 906.	
1559					A disputation is held between the protestants and papists at Westminster.	978
1560				Matthew Parker.	The torments of <i>Nic. Burton</i> an English Merchant in Spain, for true religion, v. 3. p. 897.	
					Other Englishmen also suffer Martyrdom this yeer in Spain and Portugall, v. 3. p. 899.	
1562					Forraign persecution by the Bishops of Rome, before the French Massacre, v. 3. p. 1028.	
					A Massacre in France, v. 3. p. 1023.	
1572			Gregory the 12.		Thus have we with all the Method and pichineste we could use in these present labours, Chronologically annuated all remarkables in these three volumes; leaving and placing them according to their age, each particular in his own year. If any man shoud wish to have had here a larger universe of particulars, though of lesse consequence; and a precisè punctuallnesse of times, even to Moneths and dayes, such a man shall be able fully to satisfie himself with these considerations.	

# A Chronologie.

Anno <i>Christi</i> Emp.	Germane Popes.	Romane Kings of England	Archbi- shops of Canter- bury.	First, that keeping close to the nature of the most and best Chronologies, with a studied conciseness, we intended to compose of things materiall, not triviall, <i>Annals</i> not <i>Kalenders</i> , and <i>Ephemerides</i> ; that is, to date yeeres, not months and dayes.	Vol. 3. page
				Secondly, that seeing largeness is to be bound fast to the abbreviature, the second and third volume, and so they go together abroad into the world: Its but turning over leaves, and when that hath been too tediously prolix in its ample narrations, this will tell the same after that, without wearying eyes or ears. And when this with its Laconicall shortnesse, leaves the Reader hungry, to have seen and heard somewhat more, that will be ready to fill that appetite.	
				Thirdly, that although the first volume makes dispatch in its relations, and so fills up its vastnesse with variety of stories, till it brings us beyond the 1500 year; yet the second and third volumes consist of few stories, swollen to that hugeness by the massinesse and voluminousnesse of each story; so that they both begin and end within the compasse of about 50 and odd yeeres, as this our Chronicle it self shews in the time, page and columes; so that of themselves, unlesse we would turn Chronologizing into Epitomizing, would winde up themselves into a narrow Compasse. Besides the first and second volume in above forty yeeres are woven together; as may be seen in the quotations of the large Colume of matter of both these volumes.	
				Fourthly, that of all the Martyrs which indeed are the main bulk of the second and third volume, Master Fox hath penn'd and placed at the beginning a most punctuall and methodicall Kalendarly Chronicle of yeeres, months and dayes of their troubles and sufferings: yet to make our project a compleatenesse and perfection, we took into our other passages of estate, all speciall and dated stories of Martyrs; though in thus doing in regard of Master Fox his Kalendar, we <i>Actum agimus, &amp; post Homerum Teximus Iliades</i> , do that which needed not.	

FINIS.







# ACTS AND MONVMENTS OF THE Christian Martyrs, and matters Ecclesiasticall passed in the Church of Christ, from the Primitive beginning, to these our daies, as well in other Countries, as namely in this Realme of England, and also of Scotland; Discoursed at large.

And first, the difference betweene the Church of Rome that now is, and the  
ancient Church of Rome that then was.



**CHRIST** our Saviour  
in the Gospel of Saint  
Matth. cap. 16. hearing  
the confession of Simon  
Peter who first of all  
other, openly acknow-  
ledged him to be the  
Son of God, and per-  
ceiving the secret hand  
of his Father therein,  
answered againe, and  
alluding to his name,

called him a Rock, upon which Rock he would build  
his Church so strong, that the gates of hell should  
not prevaile against it, &c. In which words three  
things are to be noted. First, that Christ will have  
a Church in this world. Secondly, that the same  
church should mightily be impugned, not only by the  
world, but also by the uttermost strength & powers  
of all hell. And thirdly, that the same Church, not-  
withstanding the uttermost of the detell and all his  
malice should continue. Which prophecy of Christ  
we see wonderfully to be verified, inasmuch that the  
whole course of the Church to this day, may seeme  
nothing else but a verifying of the said prophecy.  
First, that Christ hath set up a Church, needeth no  
declaration. Secondly, what force, what sides & sorts  
of men, of Princes, Kings, Monarchs, Governours,  
& Rulers of this world, with their Subjects publi-  
ly and privately, with all their strength & cunning,  
have bent themselves against this Church. And  
thirdly, how the said Church, all this notwithstanding  
hath yet endured and holden his owne. What  
stormes and tempests it hath overpast, wonderous  
it is to behold. For the more evident declaration  
whereof, I have addrest this present History, in-  
tending by the favourable aid of Christ our Lord,  
not so much to delight the eares of my Countrey in  
reading of newes, as most specially to profit the  
hearts of the godly, in perusing antiquities of an-  
cient times, to the end that the wonderfull workes of  
God, first in this church, might appeare to his glory.  
Also that the continuance and proceedings of the  
Church from time to time, being set forth in these  
Acts and Monuments, more knowledge and experi-  
ence may redound thereby, to the profit of the Rea-  
der, and edification of Christian faith.

For the better accomplishing whereof, so to pro-  
secute the matter, as may best serve to the profit of the  
Reader: I have thought good first, beginning from  
the time of the Primitive church, and so continuing  
(by the Lords grace) to these latter yeeres, to runne  
over the whole state & course of the Church in gene-

ral, in such order as digressing the whole tractation  
of this history into five sundry diversities of times.

1. First, I will intreate of the suffering time of  
the Church, which continued from the Apostles ages  
about three hundred yeeres.

The suffering  
time of the  
church.

2. Secondly, of the flourishing time of the Church,  
which lasted other three hundred yeeres.

The flourishing  
time of the  
church.

3. Thirdly, of the declining or backsliding time of  
the Church, which comprehendeth other three hun-  
dred yeeres, untill the loosing out of Satan, which  
was about the thousandth yeere after the ceasing of  
persecution. During which space of time, the church  
although in ambition & pride it was much altered  
from the simple sincerity of the primitive time, yet  
in outward profession of Doctrine and Religion, it  
was something tolerable, and had some face of a  
Church: notwithstanding some corruption of Do-  
ctrine with superstition and hypocrisie was then  
also crept in. And yet in compar' on of that which  
followed after, it might seeme as I said, something  
sufferable.

The declining  
time of the  
church.

4. Fourthly, followed the time of Antichrist, and  
loosing of Satan, or desolation of the Church, whose  
full swinge containeth the space of foure hundred  
yeeres. In which time, both doctrine and sincerity of  
life was utterly almost extinguished: namely, in the  
chiefe Heads and Rulers of this West Church,  
through the meanes of the Romane Bishops, espe-  
cially counting from Gregory the seventh, called  
Hildebrand, Innocentius the third, & friers which  
with him crept in, till the time of John Wicliffe  
and John Husse, during foure hundred yeeres.

The time of  
antichrist in the  
church.

5. Fifthly and lastly, after this time of Antichrist  
raigning in the Church of God by violence and ty-  
ranny, followeth the reformation and purging of  
the Church of God, wherein Antichrist beginneth  
to be revealed, and to appeare in his colour, and his  
Antichristian doctrine to be detected, the number of  
his Church decreasing, and the number of the true  
church increasing. The durance of which time hath  
continued hitherto about the space of two hundred  
& fourescore yeeres, and how long it shall continue  
more, the Lord and governour of all times, he only  
knoweth. For in these five diversities and altera-  
tions of times, I suppose the whole course of the  
Church may wel be comprised. The which Church  
because it is universall, and sparsed through all  
Countries dilated, therefore in this History stand-  
ing upon such a generall argument, I shall not be  
bound to any one certaine Nation more than ano-  
ther: yet notwithstanding keeping mine argument  
aforesaid, I have purposed principally to carry  
upon such Historiicall Acts and Records, as most  
appertaine

The reformati-  
on of the church

1ath. 16.

Three things  
noted in  
Christs words.

The order of  
the disposition  
of this history.



appertaine to this my Countrey of England and Scotland.

The church of Rome.

And for so much as the Church of Rome, in all these ages above specified, hath chalenged to it selfe the supream title, and ringleading of the whole universall Church on earth, by whose direction all other Churches have bene governed: in writing therefore of the Church of Christ, I cannot but partly also intermeddle with the acts & proceedings of the same Church, for so much as the doings and orderings of all other Churches from time to time, as well here in England, as in other Nations, have this long season chiefly depended upon the same. Wherefore, as it is much needfull and requisite to have the doings & orderings of the said Church to be made manifest to all Christian Congregations: so have I framed this History, according to the same purpose. First, in a generall description briefly to declare, as in a summary table, the misguiding of that Church, comparing the former primitive state of the forenamed Church of Rome, with the latter times of the same: which done, then after in a more speciall tractation, to prosecute more at large all the particulars thereof, so farre forth as shall seeme not unprofitable for the publike instruction of all other Christian Churches, to behold & consider the manner & dealing of this one. In the which one Church of Rome four things, as most speciall points, seeme to me chiefly to be considered. To wit, Title, Jurisdiction, Life, and Doctrine. Wherein I have here to declare, first, concerning the Title, or primacy of the Church, how it first began, and upon what occasion. Secondly, concerning the Jurisdiction and authority thereof, what it was, and how farre it did extend. Thirdly, touching the misorder of life and conversation, how inordinate it is. And fourthly, the forme of doctrine, how superstitious and idolatrous of late it hath bene. Of the which four, the first was prejudiciall to all Bishops. The second, derogatory to Kings and Emperours. The third, detestable to all men. The fourth, injurious against Christ.

Four things to be considered in the church of Rome.

1. Title.
2. Jurisdiction.
3. Life.
4. Doctrine.

The title of the Pope.

For first, the title and stile of that Church was such, that it overwent all other Churches, being called The Holy Universall Mother Church, which could not erre: and the Bishop thereof, Holy Father the Pope, Bishop universall, Prince of Bishops, Supream Head of the Universall Church, Vicar of Christ here in earth, which must not be judged, having all knowledge of Scripture and all Lawes contained within the chest of his brest.

The jurisdiction of the Pope.

Secondly, the jurisdiction of that Bishop was such, that chalenging to him selfe both the sword, that is, both the keyes of the Scripture, and the Scepter of the Lawe: not onely he subdued all Bishops under him, but also advanced himselfe above Kings and Emperours, causing some of them to lie under his feet, some to hold his stirrup, Kings to lead his Horse by the bridle, some to kisse his feet, placing and displacing Emperours, Kings, Dukes, and Carles, whom and when he listed, taking upon him to translate the Empire at his pleasure: first, from Greece to France, from France to Germany, preferring and deposing whom he pleased, confirming them which were elected. Also being Emperour himselfe Sede vacante, pretending authority or power to invest Bishops, to give Benefices, to spoile Churches, to give authority to bind and loose, to call generall Councils, to judge over the same, to set up Religions, to Canonize Saints, to take Appeals, to bind consciences, to make Lawes, to dispence with the Law & Word of God, to deliver from Purgatory, to command Angels, &c.

The properties of life in the Romish Clergie.

Thirdly, what was the life and conversation of the Court of Rome, hereafter in the proceesse of this History followeth to be seene and observed.

Fourthly, such was his Doctrine in like man-

ner, tedious to students, pernicious to mens consciences, injurious to Christ Jesus, and contrary to it selfe. In lawes more divers, in volume more large, in diligence and study more applied, in vantage and preferment more gainfull than ever was the study and learning of the holy Scripture of God.

All which four points well considered and added in this present history set forth, I trust it may minister to the indifferent Christian Reader, sufficient instruction to judge what is of this See and Church of Rome to be esteemed.

But here by the way it is to be noted, that all these deformities above touched of baine title, of pretended jurisdiction, of hereticall doctrine, of schismaticall life, came not into the Church of Rome all at one time, nor springing with the beginning of the same Church, but with long working, and continuance of time by little and little crept up, through occasion, and came not to full perfection, till the time partly of Pope Silvester, partly of Pope Gregory the seventh, in the yere of our Lord 1170. partly of Innocentius the third, & finally of Pope Boniface the eighth, in the yere of our Lord 1300. Of the which four popes, the first brought in the title in the yere of the Lord 670. which was never in such ample wise before publicly enacted, and received publicly in the said Church of Rome. The second brought in jurisdiction. The third which was Pope Innocent with his rabble of Monks and Friers (as Thomas Aquine, Petrus Lombardus, Johannes Scotus) & with such other Bishops as succeeded in the same See after him, corrupted and obscured the sincerity of Christ's doctrine and manners also. And lastly, Pope Boniface the eighth, and after him Pope Clement the fifth over and besides the jurisdiction sufficiently advanced before by Pope Hilbrand, added more over the temporall sword to be carried before them. And that no Emperour (were he never so well elected) should be sufficient and lawfull, without the Popes admission, in the yere of our Lord 1300. whereby the Popes power was brought nolo to his full pride and perfection. And thus came up the corruption of the Romish church in continuance of yeres by degrees, and not altogether, nor at one time, as is declared, and hereafter more particularly (Christ willing) shall be expressed.

Wherefore, whosoever shall have hereafter to do with any abbesaries, about the antiquity or authority of the church of Rome, let him here wel consider when and how, the title, jurisdiction, and corruption of doctrine first began in the popes See. And so shall he see, that the church of Rome, as it is now governed with this manner of title, jurisdiction & institution of doctrine, never descended from the primitive age of the Apostles, or from their succession, Nisi tantum æquivoce, & non univoce; Like as Sancta Maria picta non est sancta Maria, & homo pictus non est homo, as the scholles do say: that is, As the picture of the holy Virgin, is not the holy Virgin, & as a man painted on the wall, is not a man: so it is to be said of the Church of Rome (the institution & doctrine of the church of Rome I meane) that although it hath the name of the Church Apostolicall, and doth bring forth a long Genealogy of outward succession from the Apostles, as the Pharises did in Christs time bring their descent from Abraham their father: yet all this is (as I said) but onely æquivoce, that is, in name onely, and not in effect or matter, which maketh the apostolicall church indeed: for as much as the definition of the Apostolicall church neither now agreeth with this present church of Rome, nor yet the manner, forme and institution of the said Romish church, as it now standeth with this title, jurisdiction & doctrine, had ever any succession or offspring from the primitive church of the Apostles. But as Christ said by the Pharises, that they were the children, not of Abraham, but of the devill: in sensible wise may be answered, that this church

Pope Silvester the second. Pope Gregory the seventh called by the name of Hilbrand.

Pope Innocentius the third.

Pope Boniface the eighth.

Æquivoce. That is, in name onely, and not in very deed.

Univoc. That is, both in name, and also in definition and effect, agreeing with the name.

The Church of Rome as now is, is not apostolicall, but onely æquivoce.



church of Rome now present, with this title, jurisdiction, and doctrine now used, cannot be fathered upon the Apostles, neither Petrus, nor Linus, but of an other author, whom here I will not name.

And here now cometh in the argument of Pighius, Hostius and Cecilius, to be answered unto, who arguing for the antiquity and authority of the church of Rome, reason on this manner.

Da That forsomuch as an ordinary and a knowne church visible must here be knowne continually on earth, during from the time of the Apostles, to the which church all other churches must have recourse :

ri. And seeing then there is no other church visible, orderly knowne to have indured from the Apostles time, but onely the church of Rome :

i. They conclude therefore that the church of Rome is that church whereunto all other churches must have recourse, &c.

To the which paralogsme I answer thus : that this word Durans ecclesia, the during church in the Minor, hath Fallaciam equivoci. For although the name of the church and outward succession of Bishops have had their durance from the time of the Apostles, yet the definition & matter which maketh a true apostolicall church indeed, & univocce, neither is now in the church of Rome, nor yet the forme and institution of the church now used in Rome, was ever from the Apostles: which Apostles were never authors or fathers of this title, jurisdiction, and doctrine now taught in Rome, but rather were enemies ever to the same.

Againe to the Maior, which standeth upon two parts, I answer: first, although the necessity of the church during from the Apostles, may and must be granted; yet the same necessity was not bound to any certaine place or person, but onely to faith: so that wheresoever, that is to say, in whatsoever congregation true faith was, there was the Church of Christ. And because the true faith of Christ must needs ever remaine on earth, therefore the Church also must needs remaine on earth. And God forbid that the said true faith of Christ should onely remaine in one City in the world, & not in another as well. And therefore to the second part of the Maior is to be said, that as this true and sincere faith of Christ is not so given, to remaine firstly in one place or city alone: so neither is there any one church in the world so ordained and appointed of God, that all other churches should have their recourse unto it, for determination of their causes and controversies incident, &c. And thus much to the argument of Pighius and Hostius, &c.

Now as touching the authorities and allegations of the ancient Doctors and holy Fathers in the commendation of the church of Rome; here cometh in also to be noted, that whosoever will understand rightly their authorities, and answer to the same, must first learne to make a difference and distinction of the said church of Rome, from that it was, to that it is: forasmuch as the church of Rome is not the same church now, which it was then, but onely Aequivocce: otherwise as touching the very property and definition of a church, it is another church, and nothing agreeing to that it was then, save onely in outward name and place. Therefore by this distinction made, I answer the place of Irenaeus, Cyprianus, and other famous doctors, commending the church of Rome as catholike and apostolicall, and say that these doctors, speaking of the church of Rome which then was, said not untrue, calling it catholike and apostolicall, for that the same church tooke their ordinary succession of Bishops joined with the ordinary doctrine and institution from the Apostles. But speaking of the church of Rome which now is, we say the said places of the Doctors are not true, neither doe appertaine to the same: all which Doctors neither knew

the church of Rome that now is, neither if they had, would ever have judged any thing therein worthy such commendation.

Over and besides, our adberfaries yet more objected against us, who heaving and shoving for the antiquity of the Romish church, for lacke of other sufficient reason to prove, are driven to fall in scanning the times and pæres. What (say they) where was this church of yours before these fittie yeres? To whom briefly to answer, first we demand what they meane by this which they call our church? If they meane the ordinance and institution of doctrine and Sacraments now received of us, and differing from the church of Rome, we affirme and say, that our church was, when this church of theirs was not yet hatched out of the shell, nor did yet ever see any light: that is, in the time of the Apostles, in the primitive age, in the time of Gregory the first, and the old Roman church, when as yet no universall Pope was received publicly, but repelled in Rome; nor this fulnesse of plenary power yet knowne, nor this doctrine, and abuse of Sacraments yet heard of. In witness whereof we have the old ads and histories of ancient time to give testimony with us, wherein we have sufficient matter for us to declare the same forme, usage, and institution of this our church reformed now, not to be the beginning of any new church of our own, but to be the renewing of the old ancient Church of Christ: nor to be any severing from the church of Rome, but rather a reducing to the church of Rome. Whereas contrary, the church of Rome which now is, is nothing but a severing from the church of Rome, as partly is declared, and more shall appeare (Christ willing) hereafter.

And where the said our adberfaries do moreover charge us with the faith of our fathers and Godfathers, wherein we were baptised, accusing and condemning us for that we are now revolted from them and their faith, wherein we were first christened: To this we answer, that we being first baptised by our fathers and Godfathers, in water, in the name of the Father, of the Sonne, & of the holy Ghost, the same faith wherein we were christened then, we doe retain: and because our Godfathers were themselves also in the same faith, therefore they cannot say that we have forsaken the faith of our Godfathers, &c. As for other points of Ecclesiasticall uses, and circumstances considered, besides the principall substance of faith and Baptisme, if they held any thing which receded from the doctrine and rule of Christ, therein we now remove our selves; not because we would differ from them, but because we would not with them remove from the rule of Christs doctrine. Neither doth the sacrament of our Baptisme binde us in all points to the opinions of them that baptised us, but to the faith of him in whose name we were baptised. For as if a man were christened of an heretike, the baptisme of him notwithstanding were good, although the baptiser were naughty: so if our Godfathers or fathers, which christened us, were taught any thing not consonant to Christian doctrine in all points, neither is our baptisme worse for that, nor yet we bound to follow them in all things, wherein they themselves did not follow the true church of Christ.

Wherefore as it is false that we have renounced the faith of our Godfathers wherein we were first baptised, so is it not true that we are removed from the church of Rome: but rather say and (by the leave of Christ) will prove that the church of Rome hath utterly parted from the church of Rome, according to my distinction before touched. Which thing the more evidently to declare, I will here compare the church of Rome with the church of Rome; and in a generall description set forth (by Gods grace) the difference of both the churches, that is, of both the times of the church of Rome: to the intent it may be seen whether we or the church of

The principall objection of the papists against the protestants.

Answer to the objection.

The church of Rome revolted from the church of Rome.

Another objection of the papists.

An answer to the objection.

No man bound to follow the opinions of his Godfathers in all points, unless they be consonant in all things.

The church of Rome distinguished from the church of Rome.

Two times of the church of Rome considered and examined.



Rome have more apostated from the church of Rome. And here first I debate the church of Rome in a double consideration of time: first, of those first six hundred yeeres which were immediately after Christ: and secondly of the other six hundred yeeres, which now have been in these our latter daies: and so in comparing these two together, will search out what difference is betwixt them both. Of the which two ages & states of the Romane church, the first I call the primitive church of Rome, the other I call the latter church of Rome, counting this latter church from the thousand yeeres expired after the binding of Satan, to the time of his loosing againe, according to the prophesie of the twentieth chapter of Saint Johns Revelation: counting these thousand yeeres from the sealing of persecution, under Constantinus Magnus, to the beginning of persecution of the church againe under Innocentius the third, and Ottomannus the first Turcian Emperour. And thus have we the church of Rome parted into two churches, in a double respect and consideration of two sundry states and times. Now in setting and matching the one state with the other, let us see whether the church of Rome hath swerved from the church of Rome more than we, or no.

The first point.

As to begin first with the order and qualities of life I aske here of this Romane Clergie, where was this church of theirs which now is, in the old ancient time of the primitive church of Rome, with this poyn & pride, with this riches and superfluity, with this Gloria mundi, and name of Cardinals, with this parrish dissoluteness & whoring of the Courtians, with this extortion, bribing, buying and selling of Spirituall dignities, these Annates, reformations, procurations, exactions, and other practices for money, this avarice insatiable, ambition intolerable, fleshly filthinesse most detestable, barbarousnesse & negligence in preaching, promise breaking faithlesnesse, poisoning & supplanting one another, with such schismes and divisions, which never were more scene than in the elections and court of Rome these seven hundred yeeres, with such extreme cruelty, malice, and foray in burning and persecuting their poye brethren to death?

The enormities of life in the latter church of Rome described. Policies and practices of Rome to get money.

It were too long, and a thing infinite, to stand particularly upon these above rehearsed. And if a man should prosecute at large all the schismes that have bene in the church of Rome since the time of Damasus the first, which are counted to the number of eightene schismes: what a volume would it require? Or if here should be recorded all that this See hath burned and put to death since the loosing out of Satan, who were able to number them? Or if all their sleights to get money should be described as processes of matter would require, who were able to recite them all? Of which all notwithstanding, the most principall grounds are reckoned at least to foure score or fiftene sleights.

Fiftene practices of the new church of Rome to get money

1. First, for annates, or vacancies of Arch-bishops, riches, Bishoppicks, Abbacies, Priories conventuall, and other Benefices elective.
2. Secondly, for the holding and retaining of all other spirituall livings whatsoever, besides this which now the Incumbent payeth for, or which he may hold hereafter.
3. Thirdly, new annates for all the same are required againe, Toties quoties any one of all his spirituall livings be, or are fained to be not orderly come by, whereby it hath chanced divers times three or foure annates to be paid for one Benefice.
4. Fourthly, for giving out prebentions of Benefices before they fall, and many times some one prebention to be given to divers and sundry persons by the office for monies sake.
5. Fifthly, for resignations upon labour, which in many cases the Pope challengeth to be reserved to himselfe.

Sixtly, for Commendams.

Seventhly, for compounding with such as be absent from their charge, and give their attendance about the Court.

Eighthly, for infinite dispensations, as to dispence with age, with order, with Benefices incompatible, as if the number be full, if the house be of such or such an order. Item, dispensation for irregularity, for whoredome and adultery, for times of marriage, for marrying in degrees forbidden, or in affinity Canonically, for gossips to marry, for the which it hath ben scene in France a thousand crownes to be paid to Rome at one time, for dispensing with this Canonically affinity of gossips, as we call it, the same being yet not true, but fained. Item, dispensing for eating meats in times prohibited.

Ninthly, for innumerable privileges, exemptions, graces for not visiting, or visiting by a Proxy, for confirmations of privileges, for transactions made upon speciall favour of the Pope, for permutations of Benefices with dispensation annexed, or making of pensions, with such like.

Tenthly, for mandates granted by the Pope, to Ordinaries, whereof every Ordinary if he have the collation or presentation often, may receive one mandat: if he have fifty, he may receive two mandates: & for every mandat there comes to the Pope about twenty ducats. And yet notwithstanding so many are sold, as will come buyers to pay for them.

Eleventhly, for the Popes penitentiary, for absolution of cases referred to the Pope, for breaking and changing of vows, for translation from one Monastery to another, also from one order to another, for licence to enter into certaine Monasteries, to carry about altars, with many other things of like debire, pertaining to the office of the Popes penitentiary.

Twelfthly, for giving and granting of innumerable pardons and indulgences, to be read not onely in publique temples, but also to be bought in private houses, and of private persons, in divers and sundry respects.

Thirteenthly, for making Notaries, and Protonotaries, and other offices of the court of Rome.

Fourteenthly, for granting out Bulls, and Commissions of new foundations, or for changing of the old, for reducing regular Monasteries to a secular state, for restoring againe into the old, and for other infinite rescripts & writs about matters depending in controversie, that otherwise might & ought by the Ordinary to be decided.

Fiftenthly, for giving the Ball to Arch-bishops newly elected. By reason of all which devices (besides the first of the Annates) it hath ben accounted out of the Kings treasuries in France, in the time of Ludovicke the ninth (as testifieth Polineus) to the number of two hundred thousand crownes, onely out of France payed and transported to Rome. Which sum since that time hath bene doubled and tripled, besides Annates and Bulls, which also together are thought to make the totall summe, yearly going out of France to the Popes coffers of late yeeres, ten myriades, or millions, every myriad mounting to ten thousand crownes. Now what hath risen besides in other Realms and Nations, let other men conjecture.

Therefore if the Gospell send us to the fruits to know the tree, I pray you what is to be thought of the church of Rome, with these fruits of life? Or if we will seeke the church in length and number of yeeres: where was this church of Rome, with these qualities then, at what time the church of Rome was a persecuted church, not a persecuting church? And when the Bishops thereof did not make martyrs as these doe now, but were made martyrs themselves, to the number of five and twenty, in order one after another? Or when the Bishops thereof were elected and exalted, not by factious conspiring

6.

7.

8.

9.

10.

11.

12.

13.

14.

15.

Summa totalis.



ring, not by power or parts taking, not by money or friends making, as they be now; but by the free voices of the people and of the Clergy, with the consent of the Emperour joyned withall, and not by a few conspiring Cardinals, closed up in a corner, as now they be, &c.

**A**nd yet if there were no other difference in the matter, but onely corruption of life, all that we would tolerate, or else impute to the common fragility of man, and charge them no further therein than we might charge our selves. Now over and beside this deformity of life, wherein they are cleane gone from the former steps of the true church of Rome, we have moreover to charge them in greater points, more nearly touching the substantiall ground of the church, as in their jurisdiction presumptuously usurped, in their title falsely grounded, and in their doctrine heretically corrupted. In all which three points, this latter pretended church of Rome hath utterly sequestred it selfe from the Image and nature of the ancient and true church of Rome, and have erected to themselves a new church of their owne making, as first usurping a jurisdiction never knowne before to their ancient predecessors. For although the church of Rome in the old primitive time had his due authority and place due unto that Sea, among other Patriarchall churches, over and upon such churches as were within his pericinct, and bordering nere unto it, as appeareth by the acts of the Nicene councill: yet the universall fullnesse and plenitude of power in both the regiments, spirituall and temporall, in deposing and dispensing matters of the church not to him belonging, in taking appeales, in giving elections, investing in Benefices, in exempting himselfe from obedience and subjection of his ordinary power and Magistrate, with his coactive power newly erected in the church of Rome, was never received nor used in the old Roman church, from the which they disagree in all their doings.

For although Victor then Bishop of Rome, Anno 200, went about to Excommunicate the East churches for the observation of Easter day: yet neither did he proceed therein, neither was permitted by Irenaeus so to doe. And although Boniface the first likewise, waiting to the Bishops of Carthage, required of them to send up their appellations unto the church of Rome, alleaging moreover the decrees of the Nicene councill for his authority: the Bishops and Clergy of Carthage assembling together in a generall councill (called the first councill of Carthage) to the number of two hundred and seventene Bishops, after that they had perused the decrees in the authentick copies of the foresaid Nicene councill, and found no such matter by the said Boniface alleaged, made therefore a publike decree, that none out of that countrey should make any appeale over the Sea, &c. And what marvell if appeales were forbidden them to be made to Rome, whenas both here in England the Kings of this land would not permit any to appeale from them to Rome, before King Henry the second, because of the murder of Thomas Becket, being thereunto compelled by Pope Alexander the third? And also in France the like prohibitions were expressly made by Ludovicus Pius, Anno 1268. which did forbid by a publike instrument called Pragmatica sanctio, all exactions of the Popes court within this Realme. Also by King Philip named Le bel, Anno 1296. the like was done, which not onely restrained all sending or going up of his subjects to Rome, but also, that no money, armour, nor subsidy should be transported out of his Realme. The like also after him did King Charles the first, furnished the wife, and his some likewise after him Charles the first, who also punished as traytors certaine seditious persons for appealing to Rome. The like resistance moreover

was in the said countrey of France, against the Popes reservations, prebentions, and other like practices of his usurped jurisdiction in the daies of Pope Martin the first, Anno 1418. Item, when King Henry the first in England, & King Charles the seventh in France, did both accord with the Pope, in unbelling and in collation of Benefices: yet notwithstanding the high Court of Parliament in France did not admit the same, but still maintained the old liberty and customes of the French church. Inasmuch that when the Duke of Bedford came with the Kings letters patents to have the Popes procurations and reservations admitted, yet the court of Parliament would not agree to the same, but the Kings procurator generall was faine to goe betwixt them, as is to be seene in their Registers, Anno 1425. the fifth day of March. In the daies of the which King Charles the seventh, was set forth in France, Pragmatica sanctio, as they call it, against the Annates, reservations, expectatives, and such other proceedings of the Popes pretended jurisdiction, Anno 1438. Wherefore what marvell if this jurisdiction of the Popes court in Excommunicating, taking Appeales, and giving of Benefices, was not used in the old church of Rome, whenas in these latter daies it hath been so much resisted?

And what should I speake of the forme and manner of elections, now used in the church of Rome, cleane converted from the manner of the old church of their predecessors? For first in those ancient daies, whenas yet the church remained in the Apostles onely, and a few other Disciples, the Apostles then with prayer and imposition of hands elected Bishops and Ministers, as by the Apostles, James was made Bishop of Jerusalem, Paul in Creta elected Titus, and Timothy in Ephesus. Also Peter ordained Linus and Clement in Rome, &c. After which time of the Apostles, when the church began more to multiply, the election of Bishops and Ministers stood by the Clergy and the people, with the consent of the chiefe magistrate of the place, and so continued during all the time of the primitive church, till the time, and after the time of Constantine the fourth Emperour, which Emperour (as writeth Platina and Sabellicus, Enead. 8. lib. 6.) published a law concerning the election of the Romane Bishop, that he should be taken for true Bishop, whom the Clergy and people of Rome did choose or elect, without any tarrying for any authority of the Emperour of Constantinople, or the deputy of Italy: so as the custome and fashion had ever bene before that day, Anno 280. And here the Bishops began first to wipthe out their elections and their neckes a little from the Emperours subjection, if it be so as the said Platina and Sabellicus after him reporteth. But many conjectures there be, not unprofitable, rather to think this constitution of Constantine to be forged and untrue: first, for that it is taken out of the Popes bibliothecary, a suspected place, and collected by the keeper and master of the Popes library, a suspected authour, who whatsoever feigned writings or apocrypha he could finde in the Popes chests of records, making any thing on his masters side: that he compiled together, and thereof both Platina, Sabellicus, and Gratianus take most part of their reports, and therefore may the more be suspected, &c.

Secondly, where Platina and Sabellicus say that Constantine moved with the holinesse of Pope Benedict the first, made that constitution: how seemeth that to stand with truth, when both the Emperour was so far off from him, being at Constantinople, and also for that the said Pope reigned but ten moneths: which was but a small time to make his holinesse knowne to the Emperour so farre off. And grant he were so holy, yet that holinesse might rather be an occasion for the Emperour so to confirme and maintain the old received

The Popes jurisdiction resisted in France.

Pragmatica sanctio.

The Popes jurisdiction concerning elections examined.

Platina, Sabellicus. Enead. 8. lib. 6.

Constantine the fourth Emperour of Constantinople. The Popes bibliothecary suspected. The Constitution of Constantine the fourth Emperour of Constantinople examined.

The jurisdiction and power of this new church of Rome examined.

This new church of Rome in three points challenged.

View. com. ca. 6.

Victor stopped from his excommunication by Irenaeus. Boniface the first, falsified the councill of Nice.

The first councill of Carthage.

Appellations to Rome forbidden in England.

Appellations to Rome forbidden in France.

Ex Aemilio de gestis Francorum, lib. 5. ca. 13.



manner of his institution, than to alter it.

The third conjecture is this, for that the said constitution was not observed, but shortly after by the said Benedict, was broken in the election of Pope Conon. And yet notwithstanding albeit the constitution were true, yet the election thereby was not taken away from the people, & limited to the Clergy onely, and much lesse might be taken away from the Clergy, and be limited only to the Cardinals, without the consent of their Prince and Ruler, according to their owne rubric in their decrees, where the rubric saith: De ordinatione Episcopi: Nullus invitatus detur Episcopus; cleri, plebis, & ordinis consensus & desiderium requiratur, &c. That is: Let no Bishop be given to any people against their wills: but let the consent and desire both of the Clergy and of the people, and of the order, be also required, &c. And in the same distinction also, cap. Sacrorum, we read the same liberty and interest to be granted by Carolus Magnus, and Ludovicus his sonne, not to a few Cardinals onely, but to the order as well of the Clergy, as of the people, to chuse not onely the Bishop of Rome, but any other Bishop within their owne diocesse whatsoever, and to the Monkes likewise to chuse their owne Abbat, setting aside all respect of persons and gifts, onely for the worthinesse of life, and gift of wisdom, so as might be most profitable for doctrine and example unto the flocke, &c.

And this continued till the time of the foresaid Carolus Magnus, and Ludovicus his sonne, Anno 810. of the which time, Carolus the father received expressly of Pope Adrian the first, full jurisdiction and power to elect and ordaine the Bishop of Rome, like as Pope Leo the ninth did also to who the first German Emperour, Anno 961. The other, that is Ludovicus, sonne to the foresaid Charles, is said to renounce againe, and surrender from himselfe and his successors, unto Pope Paschalis and the Romans, the right and interest of choosing the Roman Bishop, and moreover to give and grant to the said Paschalis the full possession of the City of Rome, and the whole territory to the same belonging, Anno 821. as appeareth by the decree, Ego Ludovicus, Dist. 63. But admit thatained decree to be unfai- nely true (as it may well be suspected for many causes, as proceeding out of the same fountain, with the constitution of Constantine above mentioned, that is, from the master of the Popes Library, of whom both Gratianus and Colatran, by their owne confession, take their ground) yet the same decree doth not so give away the freedome of that election, that he limiteth it onely to the Cardinals, but also requirerh the whole consent of the Romans: neither doth he simply and absolutely give the same, but with condition, so that, Omnes Romani uno consilio, & una concordia, sine aliqua promissione ad pontificatus ordinem eligerent: that is, whom as all the Romans with one counsel, and with one accord, without any promise of their voices granted before, shall chuse to be Bishop of Rome. And moreover in the same decree is required, that at the consecration of the same Bishop, messengers should be directed incontinent to the French King concerning the same.

Furthermore, neither yet did the same decree (albeit it were true) long continue. For although Pope Stephen the fourth, and Pope Paschalis the first, in Ludovicus time were impeached through discord, without election of the Emperour, yet they were faine by message to send their purgation to him of their election. And after that, in the time of Eugenius the second, which succeeded next to Paschalis, Lotharius sonne of Ludovicus, and Emperour with his father, came to Rome, and there appointed Lawes and Magistrates over the City. Whereby may appeare the donation of Ludovicus, in giving away the City of Rome to the Pope, to be feined. And after Eugenius, Pope Gregory the

fourth, who following within a yere after Eugenius, durst not take his election without the consent and confirmation of the said Emperour Ludovicus. And so in like manner his successors, Pope Sergius the second, Pope Leo the fourth, Pope Nicholas the first, and so orderly in a long tract of time, from the foresaid Nicholas the first, to Pope Nicholas the second, Anno 1061. (which Nicholas in his decree, beginning, In nomine Domini, Dist. 23. ordained also the same) to that in the election of the Bishops of Rome, commonly the consent of the Emperour and the people with the Clergy of Rome was not lacking. After which Nicholas came Alexander the second, and wicked Hildebrand, which Alexander being first elected without the Emperours will and consent, afterward repenting the same openly in his preaching to the people declared that he would no longer sit in the Apostolicall See, unless he were by the Emperour confirmed. Wherefore he was greatly rebuked, and cast into prison by Hildebrand, and so deposed. Then Hildebrand and his followers so ordered the matter of this election, that first the Emperour, then the lay people, after that, the Clergy also began to be excluded. And so the election by little and little was reduced to the hands of a few Cardinals, contrary to all ancient order, where ever since it hath remained.

And like as in elections, so also in power judicatory, in deciding and determining of causes of faith, & of Ecclesiasticall discipline, the state of the church of Rome, now being, hath no conformity with the old Roman church heretofore. For then Bishops debated all causes of faith onely by the Scripture, and other questions of Ecclesiasticall discipline they determined by the Canons, not of the Pope, but of the church, such as were decreed by the ancient councils, as witeth Gregor. Turonensis in Francorum historia. Whereas now both the rule of Scripture, and sanctions of the old councils set aside, all things for the most part are decided by certain new decrees, fall or rather erre decrees, and extravagant constitutions, in the Popes Canon law compiled, and in his constitutions practised.

And whereas the old ordinance and disposition, as well of the Common law, as of the sacred councils, and institution of ancient Fathers, have given to Bishops, and other Prelates, also to Parsons and Doctors of Ecclesiasticall Benefices, every one within his owne precinct and dominion, also to Cathedral churches and other, to have their free elections, and to prosecute the same in full effect, ordering and disposing promotions, collations, provisions and dispositions of Prelacies, Dignities, and all other Ecclesiasticall Benefices whatsoever, after their owne arbitrement, as appeareth by the first generall councill of France 16. q. 7. cap. Omnes Basilica, by the first generall councill of Spise, cap. 6. Also by the generall councill of Antioch, cap. 9. and is to be seene in the Popes decrees, 9. q. 3. Per singulas. And likewise beside these ancient decrees, the same is confirmed againe in more latter yeres by Ludovicus the ninth French King, in his constitution, called Pragmatica sanctio, made and provided by full Parliament against the Popes exactions, in the yere of our Lord 1228. in these words as follow. Item exactiones & onera gravissima pecuniarum, per curiam Romanam Ecclesie regni nostri impositas vel impositas (quibus regnum miserabiliter depauperatum existit) sine etiam imponendas vel imponenda levare aut colligi nullatenus volumus: nisi duntaxat pro rationabili, pia & urgentissima causa, vel inevitabili necessitate, ac etiam de expresso, & spontaneo jussu nostro, & ipsius Ecclesie regni nostri, &c. that is: Item, all exactions and impossible burdens of money, which the Court of Rome hath laid upon the church of our Kingdom (whereby our said Kingdom hath bene miserably hitherto impoverished) or hereafter shall impose or lay upon us,

Rubrica de ordinatione episcopi, ex Constituto Papa Dist. 23. ca. Cleri. dist. 63. cap. Sacrorum.

Liberty granted to the Clergy, and to the people to choose their bishop.

Carolus Mag. Ludovici, Pater.

The decree, Ego Ludovicus, dist. 63. suspected.

Gratianus and Colatranus, what ground they have of their records. Dist. 63. ca. Ego Ludovicus. Election of the bishop of Rome standeth upon the content of the Clergy and the people of Rome.

The decree Ego Ludovicus, proved false.

Dist. 23. ca. In nomine Domini.

The indicary power of the Pope examined.

Greg. Turonensis in Francorum hist. b. 10. ca. 13.

The Popes institution usurped in giving and disposing ecclesiasticall promotions.

16. q. 7. cap. Omnes Basilica. The councill of Spise, ca. 6. The generall councill of Antioch, ca. 9. 9. q. 3. cap. Per singulas, Pragmatica sanctio, Sancti Ludovici.



us, we utterly discharge and forbid to be levied or collected hereafter for any manner of cause, unless there come some reasonable, godly, and most urgent and inevitable necessity; and that also not to be done without the expresse and voluntary commandment of us, and of the Church of the same our foresaid Kingdom, &c. Now contrary to and against these so manifest and expresse decrements of generall Councils, and Constitutions Synodall, this latter church of Rome of late presumption, degenerating from all the steps of the elders, have taken upon them a singular jurisdiction by themselves, and for their owne advantage, to intermeddle in disposing and transposing Churches, Colleges, Monasteries, with the collations, exemptions, election, goods and lands to the same belonging, by reason and example where have come in these Improprinations, first fruits, and refections of Benefices, to the miserable spoiling of Parishes, and horrible decay of Christian faith, which things among the old Roman elders were never knowne. For so much then did it lacke, that due necessities were pluckt from the Church, that Emperours, Kings, and Princes plucking from their owne, did rather cumulate the Church with superfluities.

Againe, when such goods were given the Church by those Ancellors, they were neither so given, nor yet taken to serve the private use of certain churchmen taking no paines therein, but rather to serve the publike subvention of the needy, as is contained in the canonick Institutions by the Emperour Ludovicus Pius, set forth in the yere of the Lord, 880. The words be these: Res Ecclesie vota sunt fidelium, pretia peccatorum, & patrimonium pauperum: that is, The goods of the Church be the votes and bequests of the faithfull, prices to ransome such as be in captivity or prison, and patrimonies to succour them with hospitality that be needy.

Wherunto agreth also the testimony of Prosper, whose words be these: Viros sanctos Ecclesie res non vendicasse ut proprias, sed ut commendatas pauperibus divisisse: that is, good men gave the goods of the Church, not as their owne, but distributed them as given and bequeathed to the poore. And saith moreover: Quod habet Ecclesia, cum omnibus nihil habentibus habet commune: that is, Whatsoever the Church hath, it hath it common with all such as have nothing, &c.

Adde the worthy testimony of S. August. ad Bonific. Si autem privatim, que nobis sufficient possidemus, non sunt illa nostra, sed pauperum, quorum procuracionem quodammodo gerimus, non proprietatem nobis usurpatione damnavimus vendicamus, &c.

Likewise Cyprianus and pluralities of Benefices were things then as much unknowne, as now they are pernicious to the Church, taking away all free election of Ministers from the flocke of Christ.

All which inconveniences as they first came and crept in chiefly by the pretended authority and jurisdiction abused in this latter church of Rome: so it cannot be denied, but the said latter church of Rome hath taken and attributed to it selfe much more than either the limits of Gods Word doe give, or standeth with the example of the old Roman church, in these three things especiall. Whereof as mention is touched before, so briefly I will recapitulate the same.

The first is this, that whatsoever the Scripture giveth & referreth, either to the whole Church universally, or to every particular Church severally, this church now of Rome doth arrogate to it selfe absolutely and onely, both doing injury to other Churches, and also abusing the Scriptures of God. For albeit the Scripture doth give authority to bind and loose, it limiteth it neither to person nor place, that is, neither to the City of Rome onely, more than to other Cities nor to the See of Peter, more than to other Apostles, but giveth it clearely to

the Church, wherof Peter did beare the figure, so that wheresoever the true Church of Christ is, there is annexed power to bind and loose, given and taken merely as from Christ, and not mediately by the Pope or Bishop of Peters See.

The second point wherein this present church of Rome abuseth his jurisdiction contrary to the Scripture and steps of the old Roman church, is this, for that it extendeth his authority further and more amply, than either the warrant of the Word, or example of time will give. For although the church of Rome hath (as other particular Churches have) authority to bind and absolve, yet it hath no such authority to absolve subjects from their oath, subjection and loyalty to their Rulers and Magistrates, to dispense with perjury, to denounce remission where no earnest repentance is shewed before, to number remission by daies and yeres, to dispense with things expressly in the word forbidden, or to restraints that which the word maketh free, to divide Religion into Religions, to bind and burthen consciences with constitutions of men, to excommunicate for worldly matters, as for breaking of parkes, for not ringing of bells at the Bishops coming, for not bringing litter for their horse, for not paying their fees and rents, for withholding the Church goods, for holding on their Princes side in princely cases, for not going at the Popes commandment, for not agreeing to the Popes election in another Princes Realme, with other such things more, and more vaine than these, &c. Againe, although the Scripture giveth leave and authority to the Bishop & church of Rome, to minister Sacraments: yet it giveth no authority to make Sacraments, much lesse to improve Sacraments. And though their authority serveth to baptise men, yet it extendeth not to christen bells: neither have they authority by any word of God to adde to the Word of God, or take from the same, to set up unwritten verities under paine of damnation, to make other articles of beliefe, to institute strange worship, other wise than he hath prescribed which hath told us how he would be worshipped, &c.

The third abuse of the Popes jurisdiction standeth in this, that as in spirittual jurisdiction they have vehemently exceeded the bounds of Scripture, so they have impudently intermeddled themselves in temporall jurisdiction, wherein they have nothing to do. In so much that they have translated their Empire, they have deposed Emperours, Kings, Princes, Rulers, and Senators of Rome, and set up other, or the same againe at their pleasure; they have proclaimed warres, and have waged themselves. And whereas Emperours in ancient time have dignified them in titles, have enlarged them with donations, and they receiving their confirmation by the Emperours, have like ingratefull clients to such benefactors, afterward stamped upon their neckes, have made them to hold their stirrup, some to hold the hable of their horse, have caused them to seeke their confirmation at their hand; yea, have borne Emperours themselves, Sede vacante, & in discordia electionis, and also have been Senators of the City: moreover have extorted into their owne hands the plenary fulnesse of power and jurisdiction of both the sword; especially since the time of Pope Hildebrand; which Hildebrand deposing Henricus the fourth Emperour, made him give attendance at his City gate. And after him Pope Boniface the eighth, shewed himselfe unto the people on the first day like a Bishop, with his knees before him, and the next day in his robes Imperiall, having a naked sword borne before him, like an Emperour, in the yere of our Lord 1298. And for so much as this inordinate jurisdiction hath not onely bene used of them, but also to this day is maintained in Rome; let us therefore now compare for usage hereof to the

2. Ecclesiasticall jurisdiction abused and extended in the church of Rome further than the Word limiteth.

Christening of Bells.

3. The jurisdiction of the Pope abused & usurped in temporall matters where belongeth nothing to doe.

Improprinations and their fruits of Benefices.

Institutiones canonice sub Ludovico Pio.

The words of Prosper.

Aug. ad Bonific.

Cyprianus and pluralities of Benefices.

Three points wherein the Popes church erreth in his jurisdiction.

I. Ecclesiasticall jurisdiction fairly restrained and unproprate to the church of Rome, which ought to be generally equal to all churches Christian.



the old manner in times past, meaning the Primitive and first age of the Church of the Romanes. Wherin the old Bishops of Rome in those daies, as they were then subject to their Emperors, so were other Bishops in like manner of other nations subject every one to his King & Prince, acknowledging them for their Lords, and were ordered by their authority, and obeyed their Lawes, and that not onely in causes civil, but also in regiment Ecclesiasticall, as appeareth Dist. 10. cap. 1. & 2. Dist. 97. cap. De illicita.

Popes submitted in the old time to Emperours.

Ex cap. de juramentis calumniant.

Also, 24. q. 3. So was Gregorius, surnamed Magnus, subject to Mauricius, and to Phocas, although a wicked Emperour. So also both Pope and people of Rome took their Lawes of the Emperours of Constantinople, and were submitted to them, not onely in the time of Honorius an hundred yeeres after Constantine the great, but also in the time of Marcianus, Anno 451. and so further unto the time of Justinian and of Carolus Magnus, and also after the daies of them. In all which continuance of time, it is manifest, that the Imperiall law of Marcian did rule and bind in Rome, both in the daies of Justinian, and 150. yeeres after, till the time of the Empire being translated from Greece unto France. Whereby it may appeare false, that that the City of Rome was given by Constantine the first, unto the Bishop of Rome to governe: for that Pope Boniface the first, writing to the Emperour Honorius, calleth in the same place Rome the Emperours City, Dist. 97. cap. 1. And Lotharius also Emperour, appointed Magistrates and Lawes in Rome, as is above mentioned. Moreover, for further probation hereof, that both the Bishop of Rome, and all other Ecclesiasticall persons were in former time, and ought to be subject to their Emperours and lawfull Magistrates, in causes as well spirituall as civil, by many evidences may appeare, taken out both of Gods Law and mans law. And first by Gods Law, we have example of goodly King David, who numbred all the Priests and Levites, and disposed them into foure and twenty orders or courses, appointing them continually to serve in the Ministry, every one in his proper order and turne, as came about: which Institution of the Clergie also, good King Ezechias after ward renewed, of whom it is written: He did that was right in the sight of the Lord, according to all things as his father David had done before: he took away the high grobes, and brake downe Images, &c. 4. Reg. 8.

Mat. in vita Euge. 2.

Evidences proving Ecclesiasticall persons to have bene subject to their Magistrates in causes both Ecclesiasticall and Tempozall. Evidences out of the Scripture.

David.  
1. Par. c. 30. 31.  
Ezechias.  
4. Reg. 8.

The order of Abias was the right order among the Priests.  
1. Par. 24.

Salomon.

Judas Machabius.

2. Mac. 10.  
1. Mac. 14.  
Jesaphat.

2. Par. 19.

The said Ezechias also reduced the Priests and Levites unto their orders prescribed by David before, to serve every one in his office of ministrati-  
on: 2. Paralip. 30. 31. And this order from David still continued till the time of Zachary, at the coming of Christ our Lord, being of Abias course, which was the eight order of the Priests appointed to serve in the Tabernacle, Luke 1. To passe over other lighter offices translated from the Priests to Kings authority, as concerning the ordering of oblations in the Temple, & reparations of the Lords House, King Salomon displaced Abiathar the high Priest by his kingly power, and placed Sadach in his stead: 3. Reg. cap. 6. Also dedicating the Temple of the Lord with all the people, blessed the whole Congregation of Israel. 3. Reg. 8. Judas Machabius also elected Priests, such as being without spot, had a zeale to the Law of the Lord, to purge the Temple, which the idolatrous Gentiles had before profaned: 1. Mac. 4.

Also King Alexander writing to Jonathan, appointed him chiefe Priest in his country, 1. Mac. 10. Demetrius ordained Simon and Alcimus in the like office of Priesthood. Jesaphat likewise as in the whole land did set Judges: so also in Jerusalem he appointed Levites and Priests, and heads of families to have the hearing of causes, and to minister judgement over the people: 2. Paral. 19. By these

and many other is to be seen, that Kings and Princes in the old time, as well when Priests were borne Priests, as when they were made by election, had the dealing also in Ecclesiasticall matters, as in calling the people to Gods service, in cutting downe grobes, in destroying images, in gathering tithes into the Lords house, in dedicating the Temple, in blessing the people, in casting downe the brazen Serpent within the Temple, in correcting and deposing Priests, in constituting the order & offices of Priests, in commanding such things as pertained to the service and worship of God, and in punishing the contrary, &c. And in the new Testament what meaneth the example of Christ himselfe, both giving and teaching tribute to be given to Cesar? to Cesar I say, and not to the high Priest. What meaneth his words to Pilate, not denying power to be given to him from above?

10 And againe, declaring the Kings of nations to have dominion over them, and willing his disciples not so to doe, giving us to understand the difference betweene the regiment of his spirituall Kingdom, and of the Kingdomes of this world, willing all worldly states to be subject under the superior Rulers and Magistrates, in whose regiment is dominion and subjection, and not in the other. Whereunto accordeth also the doctrine of S. Paul, where it is written: Let every soule be subject to the higher Powers, under whose obedience, neither Pope,

John 19.

30 Cardinall, Patriarch, Bishop, Priest, Frier nor Monk is excepted nor exempted: as Theophylactus expounding the same place declareth, and saith: Vni-versos erudit, five Sacerdos sit ille, five Monachus, five Apostolus, ut se principibus subdant: that is, He teacheth all states, whether he be Priest, or Monk, or else Apostle, that they should submit themselves under their Princes, &c. And S. Augustine writing ad Bonifacium, saith in much like sort: Quicunque autem legibus imperatoris, quæ pro Dei veritate feruntur, obtemperare non vult, acquirit grande supplicium: that is, Whosoever refuseth to obey the Lawes of the Emperour, which make for the verity of God, incur the danger of great punishment, &c. Also in another place, writing Contra Cresconium, hath these words: In hoc enim reges sicut eis divinitus præcipitur, Deo serviunt, in quantum reges, si in suo regno bona jubeant, mala prohibeant, non solum quæ pertinent ad humanam societatem, verum etiam quæ ad divinam religionem, &c. that is, Kings according as it is enjoined them of God, doe serve God in that they are Kings, if they in their Kingdomes command those things that be good, and forbid things that be evil, such as appertaine not onely to humane society, but also to Gods Religion, &c. And yet to come more nere to the Popes owne doctors, Thomas Aquine not much discrepant from the injunction of the Apostle above alleged, thus describeth the office of a King: Hoc, inquit, officium Rex se suscepisse cognoscat, ut sit in regno sicut in corpore anima, & sicut Deus in mundo, &c. Let a King (saith he) understand, that he hath taken this office upon him to be as the soule within the body, and as God in the world. In like agreement with the holy Apostle S. Paul, joyneeth also S. Peter: We you subiect (saith he) to every humane creature, whether it be to the King, as most preeminent, or to other let over you, &c. Where the common gloss addeth thereto, To obey the same, whether they be good or evil. These places rightly pondered, let any man now judge, whether the Pope hath done open wrong to the Emperour, in surpring above the jurisdiction of his lawfull Prince and Magistrate, notwithstanding whatsoever his owne canon law saith to the contrary.

Rom. 13.

Theophylactus.

Aug. ad Bonif. factum.

Aug. contra Cresconium, lib. 3. cap. 5.

Thomas Aquin. princip. lib. 1. c. 31.

1. Peter 2.

And as it is sufficiently hitherto proved by Gods Law, that all Ecclesiasticall persons owe their due subjection to their lawfull Princes, in matters as well tempozall as spirituall: so no lesse evidences may



may also be inferred out of mans law, and exam-  
ples of the oldest fathers, to probe the same. And  
first to begin with the example of Gregory the  
great, who in his Epistle to Mauricius writeth  
thus: Dominus meus fuit, quando adhuc Dominus  
omnium non erat: ecce per me servum ultimum suum  
& vestrum respondebit Christus, &c. that is, You  
were then my Lord, when you were not the Lord of  
the whole Empire: behold Christ himselfe shall  
make you answer by me, which am his most sim-  
ple servant and yours, &c. And before him Cleu-  
therius his predecessor, Bishop of Rome, writing to  
Lucius, King of this Realme, calleth him by the  
name of Christs Vicar. But what needeth much  
confirmation of this matter, when the Popes de-  
crees and canons be full of records hereof, testifying  
how the ancient Church of Rome not onely recei-  
ved, but also required of the Emperors, Lawes and  
Constitutions to be made, touching not onely such  
causes, but also such persons as were Ecclesiasticall.  
And here to omit by the way the chapter Principes  
seculi, also Chapter Administratores, 23. quest. 5.  
with divers other beside, I will recite out of the  
Epistle of Boniface the first, to the Emperour Ho-  
norius, so much as serveth for our purpose, written  
Dist. cap. 92. Ecclesia, cap. Victor. Where it is men-  
tioned, that the said Bonifacius Bishop of Rome,  
sent an humble supplication to the forenamed Em-  
perour, desiring him by his authority, to provide some  
remedy against the ambitious contentions of the  
Clergie, concerning the Bishopricke of Rome.  
Which Emperour Honorius incontinent at his re-  
quest, directed & stablished a Law, that none should  
be made Bishop of Rome through ambition, char-  
ging all Ecclesiasticall Ministers to surcease from  
ambition; appointing moreover, that if two were  
elected together, neither of them both should be ta-  
ken, but the election to proceed further to another to  
be chosen by a full consent of voices, as is expressed,  
Dist. 79. cap. Si duo.

To this I adioyne also the Law & Constitution  
of Iustinian the Emperour, ratified and renewed af-  
terward in the councill of Paris, in time of King  
Ludovicus Vins. Where all Bishops and Priests  
be expressly forbidden not to Excommunicate any  
man, before his cause was knowne and proved to be  
such, as for the which the ancient Canons of the  
Church would have him to be Excommunicate.  
And if any should otherwise proceed contrary to the  
same, then the Excommunicate person to be abso-  
lved by the authority of an higher decree, and the  
Excommunicate to be sequestred from the Com-  
munion, so long as should seeme convenient to him  
that had the execution thereof, as is expressed, 24.  
q. 3. De illicitis. The same Iustinian moreover in  
his Lawes & Constitutions, how many things did  
he dispose and ordaine in Church matters, as to  
have a determinate number of Churchmen or clerks  
in Churches, const. 3. Also concerning Monasteries  
and Houses, const. 5. how Bishops and Priests  
should be ordained, const. 6. concerning removing  
of Ecclesiasticall persons from one Church to ano-  
ther. Also concerning the constitution of the Churches  
in A strike. And that the holy mysteries should  
not be done in private houses: so that whosoever  
should attempt the contrary, should be deprived,  
const. 57. Moreover, concerning Clerks leaving  
their Churches, const. 58. Also concerning the order  
and manner of funerals, const. 59. And that Bi-  
shops should not keepe from their flocks, const. 67.  
The same Iustinian granted to the Clergie of  
Constantinople the privilege of the secular court,  
in cases onely civil, and such as touched not the dis-  
turbance of the Bishop: otherwise in all criminal  
causes he left them to the judgement of the secular  
court, const. 83. He giveth also Lawes and Decrees  
for breach of Patrimony, const. 117. and in divers  
other places. And in his const. 123. after the de-

ctrine of S. Paul, he commandeth all Bishops and  
Priests to found out their service, and to celebrate  
the mysteries, not after a secret manner, but with a  
loud voyce, so as they might not onely be heard, but  
also be understood of the faithfull people, what was  
said and done. Whereby it is to be gathered, that  
divine prayers and service then, was in the vulgar  
tongue.

And as the said Iustinian, and other Emperours  
in those daies had the jurisdiction and government  
over spirituall matters and persons, the like exam-  
ples also may be brought of other Kings in other  
landes, who had no lesse authority in their Realmes,  
than Emperours had in their Empire. As in France,  
Clodoveus the first christened King at Orleans,  
caused a councill of thirty three Bishops, where  
thirty three canons were instituted concerning the  
government of the Church, within two hundred  
yeres after Christ: Ex primo tomo Concil. Caro-  
lus Magnus, beside his other lawes and edicts poli-  
ticall, called five Synods, one at Mentz, the second  
at Rome, the third at Rheims, the fourth at Cabi-  
lone, the fifth at Arles, where sundry rites and ordi-  
nances were given to the Clergy, about eight hun-  
dred and ten yeres after Christ. The same Caro-  
lus also decreed, that onely the Canonick bookes of  
Scripture should be read in the church, and none o-  
ther. Which before also was decreed Anno 417. in  
the third generall councill of Carthage. Item, he  
exhorteth and chargeth Bishops & Priests to preach  
the word, with a godly injunction: Episcopi vero ut  
sive per se, sive per vicarios, pabulum verbi divini  
sedulo populis annuncient. Quia, ut ait beatus Grego-  
rius, iram contra se occulti iudicis excitat sacerdos, si  
sine predicationis sonitu incedit. Et ut ipsi clerum sibi  
commisum in sobrietate & castitate nutriendum. Super-  
stitiones quas quibuscumque in locis in exequiis mortuo-  
rum nonnulli faciunt, eradicent: that is, The Bi-  
shops either by themselves, or their deputies, shall  
show forth the word of Gods word to the people with  
all diligence. For as Gregory saith, the Priest pro-  
cureth against him the wrath of the secret Judge,  
which goeth without the sound of preaching. And  
also that they bring up their Clergy to them com-  
mitted, in sobriety and chastity. The superstition  
which in certaine places is used of some, about the  
funerals of the dead, let them exterminate and pluck  
up by the roots, &c.

Moreover, instructing and informing the said  
Bishops and Priests in the office of preaching, wil-  
leth them not to suffer any to saine or preach to the  
people any new doctrine of their owne invention,  
and not agreeing to the word of God, but that they  
themselves both will preach such things as lead to  
eternall life, and also that they let up other to doe  
the same: and joyneth withall a godly exhortation.  
Ideo, dilectissimi, toto corde preparemus nos in sci-  
entia veritatis, & mox: Vt divina donante gratia  
verbum Dei currat & crescat, & multiplicetur, in pro-  
fectum ecclesie Dei sancte, & salutem animarum no-  
strarum, & laudem, & gloriam nominis Domini nostri  
Iesu Christi. Pax predicantibus, gratia obedientibus,  
gloria Domino nostro Iesu Christo, Amen. Further-  
more, the said Carolus in his constitutions divid-  
eth the goods given to the church so, that in the  
more wealthy places, two parts should goe to the  
use of the poore, the third to the stipend of the Cler-  
gie. Otherwise in poore places an equal division  
to be made betwene the poverty and the Clergy,  
unless the gift had some speciall exception. Ex An-  
gesilo. lib. 1. cap. 80. And in the same booke a little  
after, cap. 83. the author declareth by the said Ca-  
rolus to be decreed, that no Ecclesiasticall person  
or persons from thenceforth should presume to take  
of any person, any such gift or donation, whereby  
the children or kinsfolkes of the said donor should be  
defeated of their inheritance due to them belong-  
ing, Ludovicus Vins King of France, and after  
Emperour

Divine service  
used in the vul-  
gar tongue.

Clodoveus.

Consilium  
Aurelian-  
ense  
Carolus  
magnus.

Canonickall  
Scripture only  
to be read in  
ch. Ca. 11. 3.  
cap. 47.

Bishops and  
Priests char-  
ged to preach  
with diligence.

Superstition  
at funerals  
forbidden.  
Ex Angesilo  
abbate lib. 1.  
cap. 76.

Greg. ad Mauric.  
Aug. lib. 3. epist. 61.

The Pope cal-  
led Iustinian Em-  
perour - Christi  
vicar.

23. q. 2. 5. princi-  
paliter. Dist. 97.  
cap. Ecclesia, cap.  
Victor.

Dist. 79. ca.  
Si duo.

94. q. 3. cap.  
De illicitis.

Ex Novel. 5.  
Iustinian.



Ludovicus  
Dux.

Ex Anf. lib. 1.  
cap. 10.

Emperour, was sonne to the foresaid Charles, who being ioyned together with the said Charles his father in the Empire, ordained also with his father sundry acts and ordinances touching the government of the Church, as in the Author before alleged may appeare. As first, that no entrie should be made into the Church by Simony: againe, that Bishops should be ordained by the free election of the Clergie and of the People, without all respect of person or reward, onely for the merit of life, and gift of heavenly wisdom.

Also the said Kings and Emperours forbade that any freeman or Citizen should enter the profession of Monkerie, without licence asked of the King before: and added a double cause wherefore. First, for that many not for mere devotion, but for idlenesse, and aboyding the Kings warres, doe give themselves to Religion: againe, for that many be craftily circumvented and deluded by subtil covetous persons seeking to get from them that which they have, Lib. 1. cap. 114. ibidem. Item, that no young children or boyes should be shaven, or enter any profession without the will of their Parents. And no young maidens should take the vail or profession of a Nun, before they came to sufficient discretion of yeres to discern and chooe what they will follow. That none should be entered or buried thenceforth within the Church: which also was decreed by Theodosius and Valentinianus, forty yeres before them. Item, the said Carolus, two and twenty yeres before this Emperour, enacted that murderers and such as were guilty of death by the Law, should have no sanctuary by flying into the Church, &c. which also was decreed by Justinian three hundred yeres before this Carolus. Ex novel. Iustinian.

Ludovicus and  
Clotharius.

Anf. lib. 2.  
cap. 43.

Clotharius. 11.

Moreover, the afore said Ludovicus Dux, with his sonne Clotharius (or as some call him, Clotharius) ioyned with him, among other Ecclesiasticall sanctions, ordained a goodly Law, for laymen to communicate the Sacrament of the body and blood of the Lord in these words: *Vt si non frequenter, vel ter, laici homines communicent: nisi forte gravioribus quibusdam criminibus impediatur: That laymen doe communicate at least thrice, if not oftener, except they be let percase by some more heinous and grievous offences.* Anf. lib. 2. Cap. 43. Item, they enacted that no goods of the Church should be alienated under the paine Leonine constitutionis. Unto this Clotharius, French King and Emperour, Pope Leo the fourth writeth that Romana lex, that is, the Romane Law (meaning the law of the French Emperours) as it hath hitherto stood in force: Ita & nunc suum robur propriumque vigorem obtineat, that is, So now it may continue still in its vigour and strength. Ino Carnotensis, lib. 11. Decretorum, About the yere of the Lord, 848. after this Clotharius, succeeded his sonne Ludovicus the second, in the Kingdome & Empire of France, before whom the foresaid Pope Leo was brought into judgement, and pleaded his cause of treason, and there was before the Emperour quit and released. Which declareth that Popes and Bishops all this while were in subjection under their Kings and Emperours.

Ludovicus 9.

Pragmatica sanctionis  
S. Ludovici.

Arestum Senatus  
Parisien. ex  
Molano.

Moreover, descending yet to lower times, Anno, 1228. Ludovicus the ninth, called holy Ludovike, made a Law against the pestiferous Simonie in the Church, also for the maintenance of the liberty of the Church of France, established a Law or Decree, against the new inventions, reservations, prebensions, and exactions of the Court of Rome, called Pragmatica sanctio, S. Ludovici, the which sanction was also practised long after in the Kingdome of France against the Popes collectors and under collectors, as appeareth by the Arrestum of the court of Paris, Anno, 1463. Ex Molino in Commentariis. Furthermore, King Philip le Bel, 1303.

set forth a Law, called Philippina, wherein was forbidden any exaction of new tithes and first fruits, and other unaccustomed collections to be put upon the Church of France. Carolus the fifth, named Sapiens, Anno 1369. by a Law, commanded that no Bishops nor Prelates, or their Officials within his Kingdome of France, should execute any censure of suspensio, or Excommunication, at the Popes commandement, over or upon the cities or townes, corporations, or commons of his Realme.

Ex regist. antiquarum consiliorum chart. 26. Item Carolus the first, Anno 1388. against the Cardinals and other Officials, and collectors of the Pope, rebroke againe the power which he had given to them before, provided by a Law, that the fruits and rents of Benefices, with other pensions, and Bishops goods that departed, should no more be exported by the Cardinals & the Popes collectors unto Rome, but should be brought to the King, and so restored to them to whom they did rightly appertaine.

The like also may be inferred and proved by the stories and examples of our Kings here in England, as King Offa, King Cobericus, Cogarus, Aluredus, Athelwoldus, Canutus, Edwardus, William the Conquerour, William Rufus, Henry the first, Henry the second, till the time of King John and after. Whose dealing as well in Ecclesiasticall cases as Temporal, is a sufficient demonstration to prove what injury the Popes in these latter daies have done unto the Emperours, their lawfull Governours and Magistrates: in usurping such fulnesse of power and jurisdiction over them, to whom properly they owe subjection, contrary to the steps and example of the old Romane Bishops their ancestors: and therefore have incurred the danger of a Premonition, worthy to be deprived. Although it is not to be denied, but that Ecclesiasticall Ministers and Servitors have their power also committed unto them, after their sort, of the Lord: yet it becometh every man to know his owne place and standing, and there to keepe him, wherein his owne precinct doth pale him, and not rashly to breake out into other mens walkes. As it is not lawfull for a civill Magistrate to intermeddle with a Bishops or a Preachers function: so unseemely and unorderly it is againe, that Bishops face the eighth should have borne before him the temporal mace and naked sword of the Emperour: or that any Pope should beare a triple Crowne, or take upon him like a Lord & King. Wherefore let every man consider the compasse and limitation of his charge, and exceed no further. The office of a Bishop or servitor Ecclesiasticall, was in the old Law to offer sacrifice, to burne incense, to pray for the people, to exorise the Law, to minister in the Tabernacle, with which office it was not lawfull for any Prince or man else to intermeddle: as we reade how Josias was punished for offering incense, and another for touching the Arke: so now the office of Christian Ministers, is, to preach the Word, to minister the Sacraments, to pray, to bind and loose, where cause urgently requireth, to judge the spiritual cases, to publish and denounce free reconciliation and remission in the name of Christ, to erect and comfort troubled consciences, with the rich grace of the Gospel, to teach the people the true difference betwixt the Law and the Gospel, whereof the one belongeth to such as be not in Christ, & contrarie to him: the other pertaineth to the true believers in the Sonne of God: to admonish also the Magistrates erring or transgressing in their office, &c.

And as the properly belong to the function of the Ecclesiasticall sort: so hath the civill Governour or Magistrate againe his proper charge and office to him assigned, which is, to see the administration of iustice and judgement, to defend with power the right of the weak that suffer wrong, to defend from oppellion the poore oppressed, to minister with equite

Philippus  
Pulcher.

Carolus Sapiens.

Carolus 6.

The office of  
the Ecclesiastical  
Minister.

The office of  
civill Rulers  
and Magistrates.



Ex Ep. R. PM  
seconds. 103.

The four Pa-  
triarchs ap-  
pointed by the  
council of  
Nice.  
Ex Concll. Nicen.  
Ex Concll. Constam-  
tinop. cap. 36.

Ex Concil. Com-  
stat 2. cap. 16.

Ex Concil. Constant.  
cap. 233.

at Ex Concil. Carthag.  
Can. 39.

Le Concil. Calce-  
dons. ca. 28.

confirmed

4. q. 1. cap. Le  
vieur. Diff. 50.  
8. De 101 tenu.

apa, a common  
name in the old  
time to all Bi-  
shops of higher  
knowledge and  
repute.

lacrony. ad  
bromatrum,  
pist. Idem ad  
castellum &  
abiolam.



confirmed by Eusebius Caesariensis, declaring, Quod excellentia Romani imperii extulit papatum Rom. pontificis supra alias ecclesias; That the excellency of the Romane Empery did advance the Popes dome of the Romane Bishop above other churches, &c. Ex Gab. Biel. Hozerover, saith the said Caesariensis; Nicena synodus hoc consulit privilegium Rom. pontifici, ut sicut Romanorum Rex Augustus prae ceteris appellatur; ita Rom. pontifex prae ceteris episcopis papa vocetur. That is, The counsell (saith he) of Nice gave this priviledge to the bishop of Rome, that like as the King of the Romanes is named Emperour above all other Kings, so the Bishop of the same City of Rome should be called Pope above other bishops, &c. By these places hitherto alleaged (and such other, many more than be here alleaged) it appeareth, that though these titles of superiority had bene attributed to the bishop of Rome: yet it remaineth certain, that the said bishop received that preferment, Iure non divino, sed humano, by mans law, not by the law of God. And so is the distinction of the popes proved false, where is said: Romanam ecclesiam non a consilio aliquo, sed a divina voce primum accepisse, That the Church of Rome toke not his primacy by any counsell, but onely by the voice of God. And this is to be said, although it were true that these titles and termes were so given to the Bishop of Rome in the old time: yet how and by whom they were given, we see. Now to try this matter, as joining an issue with our adversaries, whether these foresaid titles of sovereignty were applied in the old time of the primitive Church to the Bishop of Rome, as to be called the Vicar general of Christ, the head of the whole Church, and universal Bishop, remaineth to be proved. Whereunto this in my mind is to be answered, that albeit the Bishops of Rome (of some peradventure) were so called by the names of higher preeminence of that City, of some going about to please them or to crave some helpe at their hands: yet that calling, 1. Was used then but of a few. 2. Neither was given to many. 3. Was rather given than sought for, of the most. 4. Was not so given that it maketh or can make any generall necessity of law why every one is so bound to call them, as the Bishop of Rome now seeketh to be taken and called, and that by necessity of salvation, as the decree of Pope Boniface the eighth witnesseth, where is said, Quod sit de necessitate salutis ut credatur primatus ecclesiae Rom. & ei subesse; That it standeth upon necessity of salvation, to beleve the primacy of the Church of Rome, and to be subject to the same, &c.

As touching therefore these titles and termes of preeminence aforesaid, orderly to set forth and declare what histories of times doe say in that matter, by the grace of Christ: first, we will see what be the titles the bishop of Rome doth take and challenge to himself, and what is the meaning of them.

1. When they first came in, whether in the primitive time or not, and by whom.
2. How they were first given to the Roman Bishops; that is, whether of necessary duty, or voluntary devotion, whether commonly of the whole, or particularly of a few, and whether in respect of Peter, or in respect of the City, or else of the worthinesse of the Bishop which there sat.
3. And if the aforesaid names were then given of certaine Bishops, unto the Bishop of Rome: whether all the said names were given, or but certaine, or what they were.
4. Whether they were then received of all Bishops of Rome, to whom they were given, or else refused of some.
5. And finally, whether they ought to have bene refused being given, or not.
6. Touching the discourse of which matters, although it appertaineth to the profession rather of Divines, than Historians, and would require a long and large debating: yet for

so much as both in these, and divers other weighty controversies of divinity, the knowledge of times and Histories must needs helpe divines disputing about the same, so much as the grace of Christ shall assist me therein, I will sojourn to the seeking out of truth such helpe as I may.

And first to begin with the names and titles now claimed and attributed to the See and Bishop of Rome, and what they be, is sufficiently declared above, that is, the Chief priest of the World, the Prince of the Church, Bishop apostolical, the Universal head of the Church, the Head and Bishop of the Universal Church, the Successor of Peter, Most holy Pope, Vicar of God on Earth, Neither God nor man, but a mixt thing betweene both; the Patriarch or Metropolitan of the Church of Rome, the Bishop of the first See, &c. Unto the which titles or styles is annexed a triple crowne, a triple crosse, three croses, a naked sword, sevenfold scales, in token of the sevenfold gifts of the holy Ghost, he being carried pick-backe upon mens shoulders, after the manner of the heathen Kings, having all the Empery and the Emperour under his dominion: and that it is not convenient for any terrene Prince to raigne there, where he sitteth, having the plenarie fullnesse of power, as well of temporall things as spirituall things in his hands: that all things are his, and that all such Princes as have given him any thing, have given him but his owne, having at his will and pleasure to preach indulgences, and the crosse against Christian Princes whatsoever: and that the Emperour and certaine other Princes, ought to make to him confession of subjection at their coronation: having authority to depose, and that he De facto, hath deposed Emperours and the King of France: also to absolve the Subjects from their allegiance to their Princes: whom Kings have served for foot-men to lead his horse, and the Emperour to hold his stirrop; that he may and doth give power to bishops upon the bodies of men, and hath granted them to have prisons; without whose authority no generall counsell hath any force. And to whom appellations in all manner of causes may and ought to be made. That his Decrees be equall with the decrees of the generall counsell, & are to be observed and taken in no lesse force than if they had bene confirmed with the heavenly voyce of Saint Peter himselfe. Ex fra. Barth. & aliis. Item that the said Bishop of Rome hath the heavenly disposition of things, and therefore may alter and change the nature of things, by applying the substance of one thing to another. cap. Quando de trans. Epil. tit. 7. Item that hee can of nothing make something, and cause the sentence, which before was none, to stand in effect: and may dispence above the Law, and of injustice make justice, in correcting and changing lawes, for he hath the fullnesse of power. And againe, dist. 40. cap. Si Papa: If the Pope doe lead with him innumerable soules by flockes into hell, yet no man must presume to rebuke his faults in this world. Item that it standeth upon necessity of salvation to beleve the primacy of the See of Rome, and to be subject to the same, &c.

These things thus declared, now let us see whether these names and titles, with the forme and manner of this authority and regality above rehearsed, were ever attributed to any in the primitive time of the Bishop of Rome. For all these he doth challenge and claime unto him by old possession from the time of Saint Peter. And here a question is to be asked of our adversaries the Papists, whether they will avouch all these aforesaid titles, together with the whole forme and tenour of regality to the same belonging as is aforesaid touched, or not: If they will, let them come forth with their allegations, which they never have done yet, nor ever shall be able. If they will not, or cannot

That names and titles be attributed to the Bishop of Rome.

Ex G. decret. lib. de elect. & elect. potestas est. 6. m. cap. 17. in promissa. glossa. The forme of the Popes regality in his titles appearing.

Regalia sanctae Pauli.

Ex fra. Barth. & aliis.

Cap. quando de trans. Epil. & episc. tit. 7.

Dist. 40. cap. Si Papa.

Ex Gab. Biel. Hozerover.

The popes decree proved false.

1.  
2.  
3.  
4.

Boniface 8. Extravag. de majoritat. & obedientia. cap. 1. 2. 3. 4.



about them altogether in manner as is specified, then why doth the Bishop claime them all together so stoutly, uſurpe them ſo ſalfely, and obtrude them upon us ſo ſtrictly: & creeber if the ſaid our aduerſaries, being convicted by plaine evidence of hiftoꝝ, and example of time, will yield unto us (as they muſt needs) in part, and not in the whole, let us come then to the particulars, and ſee what part of this regality they will defend, and derive from the ancient cuſtome of the primitive Church, (that is, from the firſt five hundred yeeres, I meane after Chriſt.) Firſt, in the counsell of Nice, which was the yere of our Lord 340. and in the firſt Canon of the ſaid counsell, we finde it ſo decreed: that in every Province or precinct ſome one Church, and biſhop of the ſame, was appointed and ſet up to have the inſpection and regiment of other Churches about him, Secundum morem antiquum; that is, After the ancient cuſtome, as the words of the counsell doe purpoſe: ſo that the Biſhop of Alexandria ſhould have power of Libya, and Pentapolis in Egypt, ſo much as the biſhop of the City of Rome hath the like or ſame manner. And in like ſort alſo in Antioch and in other countries, let every Church have his due honour, and confequently that the Biſhop of Jeruſalem have alſo his due honour to him referred, ſo that ſuch order be kept, that the metropolitane Cities be not defrauded of their dignity which to them is due and proper, &c. In this counsell and in the ſame canon ſixt and ſeventh, where the Biſhops of Alexandria, of Rome, and of Antioch, are joyned together in one like manner of dignity, firſt there appeareth no difference of honour to be meant therein. Secondly, ſo much as in the ſaid two canons after mention made of them, immediately followeth, that no Biſhop ſhould be made without conſent of their metropolitans, yea and that the City alſo of Hieruſalem ſhould be under his metropolitane, & that the metropolitane ſhould have the full power to conſirme every biſhop made in his province: therefore it may be well ſuſpected, that the third epistle decretall of Pope Anacleſus, and of Pope Stephanus, with other more, are forged, wherein theſe biſhops, and eſpecially the biſhop of Rome, is exempted & diſtanced from the name of a metropolitane or an Arch-biſhop, to the name of a Patriarch or Primat: as appeareth in the decrees, Diſt. 22. cap. Sacroſancta. Wherefore as we muſt needs grant the biſhop of Rome to be a metropolitane or archbiſhop by the Counsell of Nice: ſo we will not greatly ſtrike in this alſo, to hate him numbred with Patriarchs or Primats. Which title ſometh in the old time to be common to moe Cities than to Rome, both by the Epistle of Anacleſus, of Pope Stephanus, of Pope Julius, and I co, &c.

After this followed a generall counsell in Africke, called the firſt counsell of Carthage, Anno 420. where were congregated two hundred and ſeventene biſhops, among whom was alſo Auguſtinus, Proſper, Doſius, with divers other famous perſons. This counsell continued the ſpace of five yeeres, wherein was great contention about the ſupremacy and iuriſdiction of Rome: the Biſhop whereof then was Zoſimus. This Zoſimus the Roman biſhop had received the ſame time into the communion of the Church without any examination, one that came to complaine to him out of Africke, named Apiarius, a Prieſt whom Aurelius the metropolitane with the counsell of Africke had worſhipfully excommunicated for his detestable conditions beſore. Upon this Zoſimus after that he had received and ſhewed ſuch favour to Apiarius, ſo that he did appeale to him, ſendeth to the counsell his meſſengers, to wit, Fauſtinus Biſhop of Pontefine, and two Prieſts of the church of Rome named Philippus and Aſellus, with theſe ſoure requeſts: firſt, that Apiarius, whom he had abſolved

might be received of them againe, and that it might be lawfull for Biſhops or Prieſts to appeale from the ſentence of their metropolitans, and alſo of the counsell to the See of Rome.

Secondly, that biſhops ſhould not ſaile over unſortunely Ad comitatum. Thirdly, that if any Prieſt or Deacon were wrongfully excommunicate by the Biſhops of their owne Province, it ſhould be lawfull for them to remove the hearing and judging of their cauſe to their neighbour biſhops. Fourthly, that Urbanus their biſhop, either ſhould be excommunicated, or elſe ſent up to Rome, unleſſe he would correct thoſe things that were to be corrected, &c. For the approbation whereof, the ſaid Zoſimus alleged for him the words (as he pretended) taken out of Nicene counsell. The counsell of Carthage hearing this, and remembering no ſuch thing in the counsell of Nice to be decreed, and yet not ſuſpecting the Biſhop of Rome, to dare wrongfully to falſifie the words of that counsell, writeth againe to Zoſimus, declaring that they never read to their remembrance, in their common Latine exemplar of the Nicene counsell any ſuch canon: yet notwithstanding for quietneſſe ſake, they would obeye the ſame time till they might procure the original copies of that counsell to be ſent to them from Conſtantinople, Alexandria, and from Antioch. In like effect afterward they wrote to Pope Boniface, which then ſucceeded Zoſimus. And ſtrictly alſo to Celeſtinus, which ſhortly after ſucceeded Boniface.

In the meane time this ſecond counsell ſent their Legates, Marcellus and Innocentius to Attilius Patriarch of Conſtantinople, and to Cyrillus Patriarch of Alexandria, for the authentick copies in Greek of Nicene counsell, which being ſent unto them, and they finding in the true originals no ſuch canon, as the Biſhop of Rome had falſely forged, they wrote a ſharpe and an handſome letter to Celeſtinus biſhop of Rome, calling him in the ſaid letter by the way Domine frater: declaring to him, how they had peruſed all the copies of the counsell of Nice, and could finde no ſuch canon as hee and his predeceſſors had falſely alledged, and therewithall reciting the firſt canon afore mentioned, declared how the decrees of the Nicene counsell had committed all and ſingular perſons eccleſiaſticall, as well biſhops as other, unto the charge of their metropolitans. Whereover expounding the ſame decree, they ſhewed the reaſon thereof.

1 For that (ſay they) the fathers of that counsell did well foreſee, to be moſt juſt and convenient, that all controverſies there be ended (in iuſdem locis) where they begin.

2 For that it is not to be ſuppoſed contrary, but that the grace of God will be as preſt and ready in one province as in another, to inſtruct his miniſters both prudently to underſtand judgement, and conſtantly to maintaine the ſame.

3 For that there is no need to ſeek further to any outlandiſh helpe, becauſe ſpecially that the party whoſeover is not contented with the determination of his Judges or Commiſſioners, may lawfully appeale either to the provincially or to any generall counsell.

4 That way to be better, than to runne to any forren Judge, it muſt needs be granted, becauſe it is not like that our God will inſpire his Juſtice and Truth of examining unto one Biſhop, and deny it unto a multitude congregated in a whole counsell.

5 Neither can it be, that any ſuch outlandiſh judgement in hearing and determining cauſes, can ſtand perfect and upright, ſo that the neceſſary perſons of witneſſes, either for infirmity of ſexe, of age, of ſickneſſe, or ſome other impeachment, are not able to be preſent, by whom the truth of the ſentence ſhould be directed. Wherefore as by theſe and other reaſons

Urbanus episcopus  
pater Gregorius.

The Popes of  
Rome taken  
away the man-  
ner in ſuſtaining  
the decree of  
Nicene counsell.

The Biſhop of  
Rome called  
Dominus frater,  
that is, brother  
biſhop.  
Biſhops of  
Rome proved  
falſities of the  
Nicene counsell.  
Five reaſons  
why matters of  
controverſie  
ought not to be  
had out of their  
countries unto  
Rome.

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

Every country  
to appeale ſirſt  
to his owne  
metropolitane,  
ſecondly to a  
provincially or  
generally coun-  
cell.

Ex Concil.  
Nice. cano.

Diſt. 65. cap.  
Mos antiquus.

Ex concil.  
Nice. cano.

Diſt. 22. cap.  
Sacroſancta.

The biſhop of  
Rome called  
metropolitane,  
Archbiſhop,  
Patriarch,  
Primat.

The firſt coun-  
sell of Car-  
thage.

Ex conciliorum  
rom. i. in ſexta  
ſynod. Carthag.



reasons they thought it not convenient from them to bring their matters over unto Rome: so neither was it to be found, said they, by any council of the old fathers decreed, that any Legats should be sent from Rome to them, for deciding of their matters. And therefore exhorted they the said Bishop of Rome, that he would not induce *Fumosum typhum* (or rather as I may call it) *typhos seculi*, in ecclesiam Christi, quæ lucem simplicitatis & humilitatis præfert iis qui Deum diligunt: that is, That he would not induce the swelling pride of the world into the Church of Christ, which Church shewith and giveth the light of simplicity and of humility to such as love God, &c. In these foresaid letters moreover is signified, how the foresaid malefactor Apianus, whom the Bishop of Rome before had absolved and received to the communion of the Church, was afterward found culpable, and therefore the council proceeded against him, brought him to open confession of his faults, and so imposed him due penance for his demerits, notwithstanding the abolition and inconsiderate clearing of the Bishop of Rome before proceeding.

In summe, out of this council of Carthage these points are to be noted. First, how glad the Bishops of Rome were to receive such as came to them for succour.

What pride they took by the occasion thereof, thinking and saking thereby to have all under their subjection.

To the intent to allure other to sake to them, how ready they were to release and quit this Apianus as guiltlesse, which after was to be tried culpable by his owne confession.

How contrary to the acts and doings of the Romanish Bishop, this council condemned him, whom the said Bishop of Rome before had absolved, little respecting the proceedings of the Romanish church.

How the Bishops of old time, have bene falsifiers of ancient councils and writings, whereby it may be suspected, that they which shamed not to falsifie and corrupt the council of Nice, muchlesse would they sticke to abuse and falsifie the decretall epistles and writings of particular bishops and doctors for their owne advantage, as no doubt they have done many one.

In this foresaid council, whereat Augustine himselfe was present, and where Aurelius president of the same, was called Papa, the Bishop of Rome was called expressly in their letters but Bishop of the City of Rome, and Dominus frater, that is, brother Lord Bishop.

The Dominion of this Romane Patriarch, in the said council of Carthage, was cut so short, that neither it was permitted to them of Africke to appeale over the Sea to him, nor for him to send over his Legats to them for ending their controversies. Whereby it may sufficiently appeare, that the Bishop of Rome in those daies was not at all admitted to be the chiefe of all other Bishops, nor the head of the universall Church of Christ in earth, &c.

We heare in this council, five causes or reasons given, why it is not necessary nor yet convenient for all foraine causes to be brought to one universall head or indre, as is before recited.

Nally, by the said council of Carthage, we heare a verious exhortation to be given to the Bishop of Rome, that he would not induce into the same and humble Church of Christ, the swelling & swelling pride of the world, as is before declared, &c. In this, or in some other council of Carthage, it was moreover provided by expresse Law, and also specified in the Popes decrees, that no Bishop of the first seate, should be called the Prince of Bishops, or the chiefe Bishop, or any such like thing; but only the Bishop of the first seate, as followeth moze in the said decree. *Universalis autem, nec etiam Romanus pontifex appellatur, that is, he it enacted, that no Bishop*

no not the Bishop of Rome be called universall Bishop, &c. And thus much concerning this foresaid council of Carthage.

Not long before this council, was celebrated in Affricke an other council, called Synodus Milevitana, about the yere of our Lord 442. at the which council also S. Augustine was present, where it was decreed under paine of excommunication, that no Minister or Bishop should appeale over the Sea to the Bishop of Rome. Whereby it may appeare that the Bishop of Rome all this space was not universall Bishop, but Bishop of the first seate: so that if there were any preferment therein, it was in the reverence of the place, and not in the authority of the person. And yet it was not so in the place, that the place importeth the City of Rome onely, but the first seate then was called metropolitan Church, as by the words of the Nicene council, and other constitutions moze is to be seen, where the foure Patriarches were called *ἐπίσκοποι καὶ ἀρχιεπίσκοποι*, as namely, by the words of the council of Carthage may appeare which be these: *ἐπὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῆς ἀφρικανικῆς καὶ ἀσιατικῆς καὶ ἰταλικῆς καὶ ἰλλυρικῆς ἐκκλησίας*. That is, except he have some special licence or exception, by the consent of the first seate of the proper Bishop in every country, that is, of him that is the primate in the said country, &c. Also the words of the Can.

39. of the council of Carthage, before touched, be these, *ut si quis episcopus ecclesiam suam non habuerit, non sit episcopus, sed presbyter*. That is, That the Bishop of the first seate be not called Prince of Bishops, or head Bishop, or else any such like. Again, Anicetus the tenth Bishop of Rome, and Pope Stephan, and Pope Gelasius, making a difference betweene a Primate and Metropolitan, writeth thus: Let no Archbishops be called Primates, but only such as have the first seate, &c. Thus it is made plaine, how the bishop of the first seate, or first bishop, or primate is none other but he which was called Patriarch, and belonged not onely to the Church of Rome, but to all such Cities and places where as before among the Gentiles were Primi

flamines, &c. diff. 80. cap. *urbes & loca*, & in illis. Where, by the way is to be noted the repugnance or contrariety of such as craftily, but falsely have counterfeited the Popes decretall Epistles: which besides other great and many coniectures also hereby may be gathered. For where Clement, Anacletus, epi. 12. Anicetus and other, joining together the office of Patriarchs and Primates, doe divide the same from the order of Metropolitanians, or Archbishops, alleaging therein the constitution of the Apostles and their successors, that is to be found false by the Canons of the Apostles, by the council of Nice, and by the council of Antioch, with other mo.

For in the Canons of the Apostles, where in every Canon almost, mention is made of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, no word is there touched either of any order above the bishop, or lower than the deacon, save onely in the thirty three canon, setting an order among bishops, the canon willett the bishop of every nation to know their first or chiefe bishop, and him to be taken for the head of them: he saith not the head of the church, or head of the world, but the head of those bishops. And where? not in Rome onely, but plainly and expressly in every nation, for to the words purport, *ἵνα ὁ καθ' ἑκάστην ἐκκλησίαν*, that is, The bishops of every nation ought to know the first or chiefe among them, &c. Moreover, the council of Antioch reciting the foresaid canon word for word, expoundeth the matter plainly, in head of the world, as much to say as metropolitan; and in the end of the said canon, calleth him *ἐπίσκοπος καὶ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος*, Id est, metropolitanum, 6. q. 3. per singulas.

Whereby it may be seen, that the Bishop of Rome is not called universall Bishop, but Bishop of the first seate. And thus much concerning this foresaid council of Carthage.

Not long before this council, was celebrated in Affricke an other council, called Synodus Milevitana, about the yere of our Lord 442. at the which council also S. Augustine was present, where it was decreed under paine of excommunication, that no Minister or Bishop should appeale over the Sea to the Bishop of Rome. Whereby it may appeare that the Bishop of Rome all this space was not universall Bishop, but Bishop of the first seate: so that if there were any preferment therein, it was in the reverence of the place, and not in the authority of the person. And yet it was not so in the place, that the place importeth the City of Rome onely, but the first seate then was called metropolitan Church, as by the words of the Nicene council, and other constitutions moze is to be seen, where the foure Patriarches were called *ἐπίσκοποι καὶ ἀρχιεπίσκοποι*, as namely, by the words of the council of Carthage may appeare which be these: *ἐπὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῆς ἀφρικανικῆς καὶ ἀσιατικῆς καὶ ἰταλικῆς καὶ ἰλλυρικῆς ἐκκλησίας*. That is, except he have some special licence or exception, by the consent of the first seate of the proper Bishop in every country, that is, of him that is the primate in the said country, &c. Also the words of the Can.

39. of the council of Carthage, before touched, be these, *ut si quis episcopus ecclesiam suam non habuerit, non sit episcopus, sed presbyter*. That is, That the Bishop of the first seate be not called Prince of Bishops, or head Bishop, or else any such like. Again, Anicetus the tenth Bishop of Rome, and Pope Stephan, and Pope Gelasius, making a difference betweene a Primate and Metropolitan, writeth thus: Let no Archbishops be called Primates, but only such as have the first seate, &c. Thus it is made plaine, how the bishop of the first seate, or first bishop, or primate is none other but he which was called Patriarch, and belonged not onely to the Church of Rome, but to all such Cities and places where as before among the Gentiles were Primi

flamines, &c. diff. 80. cap. *urbes & loca*, & in illis. Where, by the way is to be noted the repugnance or contrariety of such as craftily, but falsely have counterfeited the Popes decretall Epistles: which besides other great and many coniectures also hereby may be gathered. For where Clement, Anacletus, epi. 12. Anicetus and other, joining together the office of Patriarchs and Primates, doe divide the same from the order of Metropolitanians, or Archbishops, alleaging therein the constitution of the Apostles and their successors, that is to be found false by the Canons of the Apostles, by the council of Nice, and by the council of Antioch, with other mo.

For in the Canons of the Apostles, where in every Canon almost, mention is made of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, no word is there touched either of any order above the bishop, or lower than the deacon, save onely in the thirty three canon, setting an order among bishops, the canon willett the bishop of every nation to know their first or chiefe bishop, and him to be taken for the head of them: he saith not the head of the church, or head of the world, but the head of those bishops. And where? not in Rome onely, but plainly and expressly in every nation, for to the words purport, *ἵνα ὁ καθ' ἑκάστην ἐκκλησίαν*, that is, The bishops of every nation ought to know the first or chiefe among them, &c. Moreover, the council of Antioch reciting the foresaid canon word for word, expoundeth the matter plainly, in head of the world, as much to say as metropolitan; and in the end of the said canon, calleth him *ἐπίσκοπος καὶ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος*, Id est, metropolitanum, 6. q. 3. per singulas.

The bishop of Rome forbidden to be called universall bishop.

Synodus Milevitana.

No bishop to appeale over the Sea.

Bishop of the first seate what it meaneth.

Council. Car. cano. 23.

Council Car. cano. 39.

Ex epist. dectis. Anicet. Sep. Felices

Diff. 80. cap. Urbes & loca. ibid. can. illis.

The papists in their decrees contrary to themselves.

Cano. apo. 34.

Cano. apo. 33. The first bishop or head bishop expounded, how it is to be taken.

Anicet. can. cap. 9. q. 3. per singulas provincias.

*Fumosum typhum seculi*

Summary notes gathered out of the council of Carthage against the Pope.

Diff. 99. cap. sedes episc.

The highest title belonging to a bishop, is to be called the bishop of the first seate.



by it is concluded, that to be false, that Clement and Anacleus, and Anicetus be reported (but fall-ly) to put a difference between Primates or Patriarches, and Metropolitans, or Arch-bishops: Whereas by sufficient authority it is to be proved, that in the old church both primates, first bishops, bishops of the first seate, patriarches, metropolitans, bishops of the mother City, and arch-bishops were all one. first, that Primates and Metropolitans were both one, is before declared by the canons of the apostles, and by the council of Antioch aforesaid. Again, that patriarches and archbishops were all one, it is evident Ex Novella Iustiniani. cap. 22. where the said constitution reciting the four patriarches (above mentioned) calleth them by the name of archbishops. And a little after calleth the patriarch of Constantinople, archbishop, by these words: οἱ πρῶτος καὶ ὁ μακαριώτατος ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, καὶ πατριάρχης εἰς αὐτόν: that is, which be under the Archbishop and Patriarch of Constantinople. And after speaking more plainly in the matter, setteth an other order, differs from that of Clement, Anacleus, and Anicetus, in placing these foresaid persons, first beginning with bishops, then over them setteth the Metropolitan, and over him againe the archbishop, and there stayeth, making no further mention of any other above him: whose words be these, εἴπε ὁ ἐπισκοπὸς εἰς ὁ κατηγόρου ἡ, ὅ τὸν μητροπολίτην ὁ ἐπισκοπὸς τὸν ἀρχιεπίσκοπον εἰς ὁ μακαριώτατος, ὁ δὲ ἐπισκοπὸς, that is, If a Bishop be accused, the Metropolitan to have the examination of those things that are brought against him; if the Metropolitan be accused, then the archbishop to have the hearing thereof, under whom he dwelleth and pertaineth, &c.

And in the same constitution moreover, καὶ ὁ πατριάρχης, ὁ ἀλλὰ οὐδέποτε ἐπισκοπὸς καὶ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος, ὁ δὲ ἐπισκοπὸς τὸν ἀρχιεπίσκοπον εἰς ὁ μακαριώτατος ἀρχιεπίσκοπον καὶ πατριάρχης τὸ διοικῆσαι ἀμὲν ἀναφέρει τὸν πατριάρχην, &c. If any suite or supplication be brought against a Bishop by a Minister or any other, first the Metropolitan to have the deciding of the matter, and if any default shall be found in the judgement thereof, then the hearing and ending of the case to be brought before the archbishop, &c.

In this constitution of Iustinian, although the metropolitan be placed above the bishop, and the archbishop above the metropolitan: yet notwithstanding by this is sufficiently confuted the forged constitution of Clement, Anacleus, Anicetus, Stephanus, and Felix: who in their epistles decretall, joine together in one forme and order, both archbishop and metropolitan, and above them both doe place the patriarch, and above the patriarch the apostolicall See, to wit the bishop of Rome, as may appear in reading the first epistle of Clement: In illis autem civitatibus, &c. The second epistle of Anacleus art. 4. provinciae, dist. 99. ca. Nulli archiepiscopo. Also the Epistle of Pope Stephan the first, art. 5. (where note by the way, that Gratianus referreth this place of the epistle to Pope Lucius.) Item the epistle of Pope Felix the second, art. 12. In all which foresaid epistles, this order and difference of degrees is taken, that the first and principall place is given to primates, or patriarches, the second to metropolitans, or archbishops, the third to bishops, and finally above all these is extolled the apostolicall See of the bishop of Rome, contrary to all that which before hath been alleged out of Iustinian, the council of Nice and of Antioch, &c. Whereby it may appear, that either Iustinian in preferring archbishops above metropolitans, did not read these epistles decretall, if they were unfeigned; or if they were forged, they which forged the said epistles in their names, did not well advise that Iustinian had written in this matter before.

Thus then these titles above recited, as bishop, metropolitan, the bishop of the first See, Primate, Patriarch, archbishop, that is to say, chief bishop, or head bishop to other bishops of his Province, were not but were in the old time applied, and might be applied to the bishop of Rome, like as the same also were applied to other patriarches in other chief Cities and Provinces.

As touching the name likewise of the high priest, or high priesthood, neither do I deny but that it hath been found in old monuments and records of ancient times: but in such wise and sort as it hath been common to bishops indifferently, and not singularly attributed to any one bishop: or See. Whereof testimony we have out of the seventh general council, dist. 38. ca. Omnes, where the Bishops office is called Summum sacerdotium, The high priesthood: in these words, Substantia summi sacerdotii nostri sunt eloquia divinitus tradita, i. vera divinarum scripturarum disciplina, &c.

That is, the substance (say they) of our high priesthood, is the word of discipline of holy Scriptures given us from above, &c.

And likewise the council of Agatha maketh relation, De pontificibus in summo sacerdotio constitutis, Of bishops set in the high priesthood, meaning not of any one, but indefinitely and indifferently of whomsoever. 12. q. 3. cap. Pontifices. Also Fabianus Bishop of Rome, in the vère of the Lord 240. writing in generall to his brethren, and to all bishops and ministers ecclesiasticall, doth attribute to them the same title of Summum sacerdotium, in these words: Deus ergo, fratres, qui praordinavit vos, & omnes qui summo sacerdotio funguntur, &c. God which hath pre-ordained you brethren, and all them which beare the office of high priesthood, 2. q. cap. 1. Deus ergo. With like phrase of speech Anacleus also in his second epistle (speaking of bishops in generall, calleth them Summos sacerdotes: Vnde, inquit, liquet quod summi sacerdotes, i. episcopi a Deo sunt iudicandi, &c. The high priests, that is, bishops saith he. And moreover in the same place he calleth them Apostles, and successors of the Apostles, &c. So doth Innocentius the first, in the vère of our Lord 405. as appeareth dist. 61. cap. Miserum. Item Zosimus bishop of the said City of Rome, in the vère of our Lord 420. as witnesseth dist. 59. cap. 1. who speaketh, De summo sacerdotio, that is, Of high priesthood, not onely of the church of Rome, but of all other churches. Urbanus the first, was bishop of Rome in the vère of Christ 226. who in his writings alleged by Gratian, referreth the name and place Summi pontificis, of the high bishop, not onely to the seate of Rome, but uniformly to every bishop, as appeareth in the words of the dist. 51. cap. Si officia, &c.

And thus much as touching the name or title of high priest, or supreme bishop. Which title as I doe not deny to have been used in manner and forme aforesaid: so doe I deny this title and stile of Summus orbis pontifex, as it is now used in Rome, to have been used, or usually received during all the primitive times of the church, that is five hundred yeeres after Christ: after the manner and sort I meane of that authority and glory, which in these daies now is used and is given to the same: untill the time of Phocas, the wicked Emperour, which was after the vère of the Lord 608. The which title as it is too glorious for any one bishop in the Church of Christ to use: so is it not to be found in any of the approved and most ancient writers of the Church, namely these, Cyprianus, Basilus, Fulgentius, Chrysostomus, Hieronymus, Ambrosius, Augustinus, Tertullianus: but rather written against by the same, especially of the last. And therefore not without cause it is written and testified of Erasmus, who speaking of the said name of Summus orbis pontifex, denieth plainly the same to have

Bishop, Metropolitan, Bishop of the first See, Primate, Patriarch, Archbishop, Ecclesiastical, &c. in the primitive time of the church.

High priest or high priesthood.

Dist. 38. ca. Omnes, summum sacerdos, summum sacerdotium.

Ex Concil. Agathensi. 12. q. 3. cap. Pontifices.

3. q. 1. cap. Deus ergo.

Ex Anaclei. epist. 2. 2. q. 7. cap. accusatio. Bishops called the successors of the Apostles.

Dist. 61. ca. Miserum. Dist. 59. cap. 1.

Ex Urbani. 1. dist. 51. cap. Si officia.

Summus orbis pontifex.

Ex Erasmi. epist. lib. 3. epist. 1. art. 73.

Dist. 99. cap. 1. Iustinian.

Novella Iustiniani. 22.

Ex Novell. Iustin. ibid.

Archbishop and Metropolitan are not to be joyned.

An Item against the forged epistles decretall.

Clement. epist. 1. Anacleus. epist. 2. art. 4. Anicetus. epist. art. 2. Dist. 39. cap. Nulli Archiepiscopo. Stephanus. epist. art. 5.

Remembrance betweene the institutions of Iustinian, and the epistles decretall.



heard of among the old writers, whose words be these: Certe nomen hoc nondum illis temporibus erat auditum, quantum ex veterum omnium scriptis licet colligere, &c. lib. epist. 3. epist. 1. art. 37. &c. as whosoever readeth the same authours shall finde to be true.

The like is to be affirmed also of other pretentious titles of like ambition, as the head of the universal Church, the vicar of Christ in earth, Prince of Priests, with such like: which all be new found termes, strange to the eares of the old primitive writers and counsels, and not received openly and commonly before the time of Boniface the third, & Phocas the aforesaid.

Now remaineth the name of the Pope, which of his nature, and by his first origine, being a word of the Syracusan speech called *papa*, and signifieth as much as Pater, Father, was then used and frequented of them in the old time, not so as proper onely to the Bishop of Rome, but common and indifferent to all other bishops or personages, whose ever were of worthy excellency, as is partly before declared. But now contrarily, the generality of this name is so restrained and abused, that not only it is appropriate to the Bishop of Rome, but also distincteth and differeth the authority, and pre-eminence of that bishop alone from all other bishops, for which cause it is now worthily come into contempt and execrations. No less is to be rejected also the name of *Universalis* or *Oecumenicus* pontifex, *Summus orbis episcopus*, *Caput universalis ecclesie*, *Christi in terris vicarius*, *Princeps sacerdotum*, &c. All which termes and vocables, tending to the derogation of other Bishops and Patriarches, as they were never received nor allowed in Rome (if we believe Gregory) during the time of the primitive Church, so now are worthily of us refused.

Although it cannot be denied, but certainly were in the primitive time which began privately to pretend that proud and wicked title of universal bishop, as Menna, and especially Ioannes Patriarch of Constantinople, who call'd a council at Constantinople, went about to stablish and raise and to dignifie his throne by the consent of the council, and the Emperour of Constantinople, and obtained the same: as appeareth in the first generall council of Constantinople, at the first, where both Menna is named *Oecumenicus Patriarcharum*, and also Ioannes in the said council is titled *Oecumenicus Patriarcha*: ex concil. in general. 5. cap. Domino. Concerning the which title although it was then used in Constantinople through the sufferance of the Emperours, being then willing to have their imperiall City advanced: yet notwithstanding this foresaid title, all this while, was not in the City of Rome. And in Constantinople it stood not then in force (tunc aliquo divino) but only by mans law. And thirdly it was then but onely *Verbalis titulus*: having no true domination upon all other churches, or any reall subjection belonging to the same; for as much as neither the bishop of Rome, nor any of the West churches were subiect or did acknowledge service unto them, but rather did repurpose the same: namely Delagius the second, and Gregorius the first, both bishops at that time of Rome, which Delagius writing to all bishops, saith plainly in the words: that no Patriarch should take the name of universality at any time, because that if any be called universal, the name of Patriarch is derogate from all other. But let this be farre, saith he, from all faithfull men, to wil to take that thing to him, whereby the honour of his brethren is diminished. Therefore the said Delagius chargeth all such bishops, that none of them in their letters will name any Patriarch to be universal, least he take from himself the honour due to him, while they give that which is not due to another. What can be more

evident than these words of Delagius, who was Bishop of Rome next before Gregory, An. 583? In like manner or more plainly, and more earnestly writeth also Gregory of this matter in his register, proving and disputing that no man ought to be called universal Bishop. Moreover, with sharpe words and rebukes, detesting the same title, calling it new, foolish, proud, perverse, wicked, prophane, and such as to consent unto it, is as much as to deny the faith. He addeth further and saith, that whosoever goeth about to extoll himselfe above other Bishops, in so doing followeth the fact of Satan, to whom it was not sufficient to be counted equal to like unto other Angels. In his epistles how oft doth he repeate and declare the same to repugne directly against the gospel, and ancient decrees of councils: affirming that none of his predecessors did ever usurpe to himselfe that stile or title, and concludeth that who ever so doth, denieth himselfe to be a follower of Antichrist, &c. With this judgement of Gregory well agree also the words of Saint Augustine, lib. 2. cap. 3. de baptis. no. where reciting the words of Cyprian, he thus saith: Neque enim quicumque nostrum se episcopum episcoporum constituit, aut tyrannico more ad obsequendi necessitate collegas suos adigit, &c. that is, for none of us doth ever set himselfe to be Bishop of bishops, or after a tyrannicall manner doth subdue and bring under his fellowes unto the necessity of his obedience, &c. By these words of Cyprian, and Augustine, it is manifest that in their time was no supremacie, or universal title among Bishops received, nor that any great respect was had to the Bishop of Rome (as Pius the second saith, epist. 301.) before the council of Nice. And after in that council the said Bishop of Rome had no further authority to him limited, than onely over his province, and places subordinate, bordering about the City of Rome. Against whose primacy others cities also did resist long after that, as the church of Ravenna, Mediolanensis, and Aquilegensis. Also the Greeke churches long resisted the same, so did the churches of Asia Rutenica, Moscovitica, Valachica, and other vice.

But to returne againe to Gregory, who confirming the sentence of Delagius his predecessor above mentioned, had no small conflicts about this title matter, both with the Patriarch, and with the Emperour of Constantinople, as witnesseth Antonius, and other, &c. The history is thus. After that John being made of a Henke Patriarch of Constantinople, by his flattery and hypocrisy, had obtained of Maurice the Emperour to be extolled above other bishops, with the name of universal patriarch, and that he would write to Gregory bishop then of Rome, for his consent concerning the same: Gregory abiding still in his constancy, did set himselfe stoutly against that antichristian title, and would give no place. At the same time the Lombards had invaded the country of Italy, and the City of Rome, the Emperour keeping them at Constantinople, and setting in Italy an oberler called Exarchus, to rule in Ravenna. Gregory perceiving the Emperour Maurice to be displeased with him about the matter afore touched, writeth to Constantina the Emperesse, arguing and declaring in his letters, that presumption and pride of him to be universal Patriarch, was both against the rule of the Gospel, and decrees of the Canons, namely, the first Canon of the Nicene council, and the novelty of that new found title to declare nothing else, but that the time of antichrist was nere. Upon this, Maurice the Emperour taking displeasure with him, calleth home his souldiers againe from Italy, and inciteth the Lombards against the Romans: who with their King Agilulphus, thereupon contrary to their leasure made before, set upon the City of Rome, and besieged it a whole yeare together,

Gregory against the universality of the bishop of Constantinople

August. lib. 3. ca. 3. de baptis. contra Eud.

To be bishop of bishops forbidden by Cyprian & August. Ex Prosecul. epist. 301.

The Popes primacy resisted

Ex Anton. lib. 12. c. 3.

Interfecti pontifex. Caput universalis ecclesie, Christi in terris vicarius, princeps sacerdotum, &c.

Papa.

How they began first at Constantinople, to take the name of universal Bishop.

Ex quibus, 10. de unitate Italie, et Rome primus, cap. ppi. consilium. Paul. cap. Rom. nestro.

Ex Pelag. 20. de unitate 59. Nihil.



gether, Gregory yet notwithstanding still remaining in his former constancy. After these afflictions thus overpast, Eulogius Patriarch of Alexandria, writeth to the said Gregory in his letters, naming him universall Pope: unto whom Gregory refusing the same, answered againe as followeth.

The letter of Gregory to the Patriarch of Alexandria.



Ehold: in the preface of your epistle directed to me, ye have used a word of a proud name, calling me universall Pop<sup>e</sup>, which I pray your holiness you will cease hereafter to doe, for that is derogated from you, whatsoever is attributed to another more than right and reason requireth. As for me I seeke not mine advancement in words, but in manners: neither doe I account that any honour wherein the honour of my brethren I see to be hindred: for my honour I take to be the honour of the universall Church: my honour is the whole and perfect vigour of my brethren. Then am I honoured when to no man is denied the due honour which to him belongeth. For if your holiness call me universall Pope, in so doing you deny your selfe to be that, which ye asseme me to be, universall: but that God forbid. Let these words therefore goe, which doe nothing but puffed up vanity, and wound charity, &c.

It were too long here to inferre all such letters and epistles of his concerning this matter, written to the Emperour Mauricius and Constantina the Emperesse, but that shall more largely appeare hereafter (Christ willing) in the body of the history, where we come to the yeare and time of Gregory, which was well nigh five hundred yeeres after Christ. In the mean season this is sufficient to declare, how the church of Rome with the sayne and manner of their title of universall Supremacy now used and maintained, hath utterly swerved from the ancient steps of the primitive church of Rome.

Now let us see what the adversary side hath to object againe for the title of their universality, or rather singularity. And first here cometh in a blind cavillation of a certain sophister, who glossing upon the words of Delagius above recited, labourereth to colour the plaine text with a subtile meaning, as though the sence of the canon were this, not to deny there the state of supremacy: Sed negari ibi aliquem posse esse universalem Episcopum, sub eo sensu duntaxat, quod esset cuiusque ecclesie proprius rector, ita quod nullus alius esset episcopus, &c. that is, Not to deny there, that any may be universall Bishop after this sence and meaning onely, so that he should be the proper Pastor of every Church alone, and that there should be no other Bishop beside himself, &c. Thus goeth this sophister about to dash out this text, but he cannot so discharge the matter. For neither did John the Patriarch then seeke any such thing to be Bishop and proper Pastor of every Church alone: nor if he had, the councill of Chalcedon and the Emperour Iustinian would never have agreed thereminto. Neither is it true, that this glosser demeth Delagius, here to forbid the primacy or supremacy of that Patriarch, which indeed is the onely intent of Delagius in that canon, witnessing as well other historiographers, as namely, Anton. tit. 12. cap. 3. par. 13. and also the gloss ordinary upon the same canon, &c.

Out of the same fontaine springeth the like or very same reason of late renewed by a certaine newfart English Clerke in these our daies, who answering to the places of Gregory touching the said matter, labourereth to aboye the cleare authority of him, by a like blind cavillation, saying that John Bishop of Constantinople, by this title of universall bishop, understood himselfe onely to be a bishop,

and none else. And that Gregory in resisting him, had none other meaning but the same. And to prove this to be the very meaning of Gregory, he reciteth the words of Gregory, written to the said John archbishop of Constantinople as followeth: Qui enim indignum te esse fatebaris, ut Episcopus dicerer, ad hoc quandoque perductus es, ut despectis fratribus Episcopus appetis solus vocari: that is to say, For thou (John Bishop of Constantinople)

- 10 which sometime didst grant thy selfe unworthy the name of a Bishop, art now come to this, that thou dost seeke to be called a Bishop alone, &c. Upon this word Episcopus solus, this glosser would ground a surmise, that Gregory did finde fault with the archbishop, not for any primacy which he sought for above other Bishops, but onely for that he coveted to be a Bishop and pastor alone in every Church, in such sort, as there should be no other Bishop nor pastor else, but himselfe onely. But as is said, that was never the archbishops seeking, nor the matter of Gregories reprehension. For the said Bishop of Constantinople went not about to be Bishop alone (which was too much absurd, and also impossible) but to be universall alone: not to take away the office from other, but the honour from other: not to depose them, but to despise them. And therefore saith Gregory, Ut despectis fratribus, not Depositis fratribus: so that this word Solus, here noteth a despising of other, not a deposing of other, and importeth a singularity in condition above other, and not the office or substance of ministration without other, that is to be universall among many, and not be one alone without any, nor to diminish the number of them, but onely to increase the honour to himselfe: for the more evident probation whereof (although the thing it selfe is so evident, that it needeth no prove) what can be more plaine, than the words themselves of Delagius and Gregory: wherewith they charge him for running before his brethren, for challenging superiority above them, for diminishing their honour by taking more honour than to him was due, for following the angel of pride in exalting himselfe, in admitting that to him, which the Bishops of Rome and their predecessors had refused, being offered to them before, &c. All which declare that he sought not to thrust out all other Bishops out of their churches, and to be Bishop himselfe alone. For that was never offered to the Bishops of Rome by the councill of Chalcedon, that they should be Bishops alone, and none other. Neither did Lucifer seeke to have no more angels in all heaven but himselfe, but he to be above all other alone.

- 15 Likewise the word *Præcurrere*, that is, To runne before other, in the epistle of Delagius, declareth that John sought not to be bishop alone, but bishop universall. We say not that a man runneth before another, when he runneth alone, and no man followeth him, that is not properly *Præcurrere*, but *Solus currere*. Moreover, in seeking to be superior to other bishops, he seeketh not to take away other bishops, but to make other bishops inferior to him. For where no inferior is, there can be no superior, so much as these together are correlatives, and inferre necessary respect mutually. And if it were true as this glosser saith, that he had sought to be bishop alone, how would that councill either have granted that unto him, or have offered it to the Bishop of Rome before? or if they had, how could it be possible for him alone to serve all churches, without any fellow bishop to helpe him? And where this foresaid Clerke standeth so much upon the words of Saint Gregory: Solus episcopus: Gregory therefore shall expound Gregory, and one Solus shall declare another. Wherefore if this Divine (whatsoever he be, Doctor or Batchelor) either knoweth not, or would learne, what (onely bishop) meaneth in this place: another place of the said

A place of Gregory examined.

Pelag. 2. epist. 2.

The answer of Gregory to Eulogius patriarch of Alexandria. Dist. 99. c. 1.

Gregory refused the name of universall Pope.

A sophistical cavillation upon the words of Delagius and Gregory answered.

An objection of a certaine late English writer refuted.







Answer to an  
invincible ar-  
gument pro-  
ving by Chry-  
sostome the  
whole church  
to be commit-  
ted to Saint  
Peter.

But here stumbleth in an argument of our ad-  
versary againe, which he in the margent of his booke  
colleth an invincible argument drawne out of the  
bowels of S. John Chrysostome, lib. 2. De Sacerd.  
Whereby he supposeth to have given a shrewd blow  
to Protestants, and to have gotten Victors victory  
upon a certaine English prisoner taken in plaine  
field, and of all such as take his part. The text one-  
ly of Chrysostome he reciteth, but maketh no argu-  
ment, albeit he maketh mention of an invincible  
argument in the margent. But because he ei-  
ther will not, or list not to shew his cunning there-  
in, I will forme that an argument for him which  
he would have done, but did not: and so will forme  
it (the Lord willing) as he himselfe must of neces-  
sity be driven to doe, if the matter ever come to the  
triall of act, and not to the trifling of words. First,  
he taketh his text out of Chrysostome, as followeth:  
For what cause, I pray you, did Christ shed his  
blood? Truly, to redeeme those sheep, whose charge  
he committed to Peter, and to Peters successors.  
Upon this place of Chrysostome, this Clerke taketh  
his medium, Christs suffering. His conclusion is,  
That all which Christ died for, were committed  
to Peter: wherefore the forme of the argument  
must needs stand thus in the third figure:

Christ suffered for all men:

Christ suffered for them whom he committed to  
Peter.

Ergo, All that Christ died for, were committed  
to Peter.

If this be the forme of his insoluble argument,  
as it seemeth to be, by the order of his reasoning,  
and also must needs be, taking that medium, and  
making that conclusion as he doth, (for else in the  
first figure, and first mood, the text of Chrysostome  
will not serve him) then must the forme and vio-  
lence of this inepugnable argument be denied, for  
that it breaketh the rules of Logike, making his  
conclusion universall, which in that figure must  
needs be particular, either affirmative or negative.  
And so this argument invincible, falleth into one of  
these two straits: either concluding thus, the forme  
will not serve him, or concluding in another figure,  
the words of Chrysostome will not answer to his  
purpose, to prove that all the world was committed  
to Peter. Which proposition as it is strange in  
Scripture: so neither is it the proposition of Chry-  
sostome. And though it were, yet both without in-  
convenience might be granted of us, and being  
granted, serveth his purpose nothing, so long as the  
proposition is not exceptive, excluding other apo-  
stles. For the words of Chrysostome doe not so  
sound, that the whole world was committed to  
Peter onely, and to none other. Likewise then  
as it may be well affirmed of us, that the  
world was committed to Peter: so can it not  
be denied of them that the world was also com-  
mitted to John, James, Bartholomew, Paul,  
Barnabe, and other all and singular Apostles. For  
he that said to Peter, Feed my sheepe, said also to all  
and singular his Apostles, Goe into all the world  
and preach, &c. March. ult. Moreover, for as much as  
this man collecteth out of Chrysostome, that the  
whole world was committed to Peter, how shall  
we then forme this meaning of Chrysostome with  
Saint Paul, which saith that the Gospel was com-  
mitted to Peter over the circumcision, as was  
Paul over the uncircumcision? And here an an-  
swer to his doughty argument, both to the forme,  
and to the matter thereof: albeit concerning the  
matter, here lacketh much to be said more of Peters  
successors in the text of Chrysostome. By the  
which successors is not meant the Bishop of Rome  
onely (as the Papists would have us in hand) but  
all such true and faithfull Pastors, whom the Lords  
calling sendeth, and setteth over his flocke, where-  
soever, or whatsoever they be. For as Peter was

reth a representation of the Church, by the testimo-  
ny of August. in Ioan. tract. 124. Prefat. in Plal. 108.  
so the successors of Peter be all faithfull Pastors  
and overseers of Christs Church, to whom Christ  
our Lord hath committed the charge of his flocke.  
Wherefore they are not a little deceived, which  
looking upon the rocke onely of the person, and  
not the rocke confession (contrary to the rule of  
Hilary De trinit. lib. 6.) doe tie the Apostleship or  
rocke of Peter to one onely Bishop, and the succes-  
sion of Peter to one onely See of Rome: whereas  
this being a spirituall office, and not carnall, hath  
no such carnall race or descent after any worldly or  
locall understanding: but hath a more mysticall  
meaning, after a spirituall sense of succession, such  
as Hierome speaketh of, Epist. ad Evagrium. Omnes,  
inquit, Apostolorum successores sunt, &c. that is: All,  
(saith he, speaking of Bishops) be successors of the  
Apostles, &c.

Of like force and fashion, and out of the same fi-  
gure, the same Author patcheth moreover another  
argument, proving, that the Bishop of Rome was  
titled the head of Christs Church, in the primative  
time of the old ancessors, before the age of Gregory.  
His argument proceedeth thus, in the third figure:  
Saint Peter was called by the ancient Fathers,  
head of Christs Church;

Saint Peter was Bishop of Rome:

Ergo, The Bishop of Rome was called head of  
the Church in the old ancient time.

This argument expostory, being clouded up in  
the third figure, and concluding singularly, hath ra-  
ther a shew of an argument, than maketh any ne-  
cessary conclusion, standing upon no mood in the  
said figure, if the Author thereof were put to triall.  
Albeit to leave the forme, and to come to the matter  
of the argument. First, how well will he dispatch  
himselfe of the major, and prove us that S. Peter  
although he were at Rome, and taught at Rome,  
and suffered at Rome: yet that he was Bishop and  
proper ordinary of that City and speciall See of  
Rome? As touching the allegation of Abdias, Mo-  
sius, Abo, Tertullian, Cyprian, Hierome, Optatus,  
Augustine brought forth for his most advantage, to  
prove his maior: thus I answer concerning Mo-  
sius, Tertullian, Cyprian, Hierome & Augustine,  
that where they speake of Saint Peters chaire, or  
planting the faith at Rome, straight way this man  
argueth thereupon, that Peter was Bishop of  
Rome. But that doth not clerkefully follow. For  
the office of the Apostles was to plant the faith in  
all places, and in every region, yet were they not  
Bishops in every region. And as for the chaire, as  
it is no difference essentiall that maketh a Bishop  
(for so much as a Dodor may have a chaire, and yet  
be no Bishop) so cannot he conclude by the chaire of  
Peter, that Saint Peter was Bishop of Rome.  
For all this proveth no further, but that Peter  
was at Rome, and there taught the faith of Christ,  
as Paul did also, and peradventure in a chaire like-  
wise: yet we say not that Paul was therefore Bi-  
shop of Rome: but that he was there as an Apostle  
of Christ, whether he taught there standing on his  
feete, or sitting in a chaire. In the Scripture com-  
monly the chaire signifieth doctrine or iudgement,  
as sitting also declareth such as teach or iudge, whe-  
ther they sit in the chaire of Moses, or in the chaire  
of pestilence. Planting likewise is a word Aposto-  
licall, and signifieth not only the office of a Bishop.  
Wherefore it is no good consequent, He saith, he  
taught, he planted at Rome, his chaire and seat  
was at Rome; Ergo, he was Bishop of Rome,  
And thus much touching Mosius, Tertullian,  
Cyprian, Augustine.

As for Abdias, Abo, Optatus, and such others,  
although we should have much wrong offered, and  
never should make an end, if we should be puffed  
with the authority of every one that could or did  
move

August. in Ioan.  
tract. 124.

Hilary, lib. 6.

Hierony. epist.  
ad Evagrium.

An argument  
of the Papists.

Answer to the  
argument.

Orosius, Tertul.  
lib. de prescript.  
advers. heres.  
Cyprian. Epist. 3.  
Hier. in catal. 6.  
Epist. 42.

Chrysost. lib. 2.  
de sacerdot.

A Popish por-  
tious parado-  
xisme.

The world was  
committed as  
well to other  
Apostles as to  
Peter.

A place of  
Chrysostome  
examined by  
S. Paul.

The successors  
of Peter.



more pen, in all the whole first age of the Church, to be our Judges in every Ecclesiasticall matter : and much more wrong should have, if the Authors either corrupted, or counterfeited, should be laid unto us, speaking not in the same sense, or in the same tongue, or in the same time wherein they wrote : yet to helpe and to salve the authorities of these authors so much as we may, I answer to their allegations with this distinction of a Bishop, which is to be taken either generally, or specially. After the first, a Bishop is he to whomsoever the publike cure & charge of soules is committed, without any limitation of place. And so the name of Bishop is co incident with the office of Apostle, or any publike Pastor, Doctor, or Curate of the universall flocke of Christ. And thus may Paul, Peter, or any other of the Apostles be called Bishops. So also is Christ himselfe by expresse word called *Emperor* and *King*, that is, Bishop and Pastor, 1 Pet. 2. And thus may Peter well be named a Bishop of these foresaid authors after this manner of taking. But this publike and generall charge universallly over the whole, without limitation, ceased after Christ and the Apostles. For then were Bishops by places and provinces appointed, to have speciall oversight of some particular flocke or province, and so to be resident and attendant onely upon the same.

The other diversity of this name Bishop, is to be taken after a more speciall sort, which is, when any person orderly called, is assigned namely and specially to some one certaine place, City, or Province, whereunto he is onely bound to employ his office and charge, and no where else, according to the old canons of the Apostles, and of the councill of Nice. And this Bishop differing from the other, is called Episcopus intinctus, having his name of his City or Diocese. And thus we deny that Peter the Apostle was ever Bishop elected, intitled, or intituled to the City of Rome : neither doth Optatus, Abdi-as, Adu, or Hierome affirme the same. And if Adu say that Peter was Bishop of Rome five & twenty yeeres, untill the last yeere of Nero, that is easily refuted both by the Scriptures and Histories : for so we understand by the declaration of Saint Paul, Gal. 1. 2. that foureteene yeeres after his conversion, Saint Paul had Peter by the hand at Jerusalem. Moreover, the said Paul in the foresaid Epistle witnesseth that the charge Apostolicall was committed unto Peter over the circumcised, and so was he intituled. Also S. Paul writing to the Romans, in his manifold salutations to them in Rome, maketh no mention there of S. Peter, which doubtlesse should not have bene unremembered, if he had bene then in Rome. Again, S. Peter dating his Epistle from Babylon, was not then belike at Rome.

Furthermore, Histories doe record, that Peter was at Pontus five yeeres, then at Antioch seven yeeres. How could he then be five and twenty yeeres at Rome : Finally, where our adversary alleging out of Adu, saith, that Saint Peter was there five and twenty yeeres, untill the last yeere of Nero : how can that stand, when Saint Paul suffering under Nero, was put to death the same day twelue moneth, that is, a whole yeere after Peter : &c. But especially how agreeth this with Scripture, that Christ should make Peter an Apostle universall to walke in all the world : *Ite per universum orbem.* Item, *Eritis mihi testes usque ad fines terrarum,* &c. And our Papists would needs make him a sitting Bishop, and intitle him to Rome. How accord these : *Apostolus* and *Episcopus*, *Ite* and *sedere*, *Omnes gentes* and *Roma* together :

And thus have I resolved the first untruth of that popish demonstration before rehearsed, wherein they thinke to prove that as Peter, although he was not called universall Apostle, yet was the head of the whole Church : so the Pope might, and hath had after him the charge of the whole Church, although

he was not called universall Bishop in the old time, &c.

Now followeth the second untruth to be touched in the same argument, which is, that because Peter was the head of the Church : so therefore the Pope must also be the head of the Church, and was : albeit if he was not called universall Bishop a long time.

But this we doe deny, yea, the matter denieth it selfe by their owne position, for being granted by them, that the title of universall Bishop was not received at Rome, but refused to the time of Gregory : then must it necessarily be granted, that the Bishops of Rome before Saint Gregory, had not the charge of the whole Church, neither could be admitted by that reason to be heads of the Church.

For so much as there can be no head, but which is universall to the whole body, neither can any have charge of the whole, but he must needs be universall to all and singular parts of that, whereof he hath the charge. As in Sciences, whosever hath knowledge and cunning in all the seven liberall sciences, and all the parts thereof pertaining to liberall knowledge, is said to be an universall learned man : so in office, to whomsoever the publike charge of all Churches doth appertaine, how is he not to be called Bishop universall : Now if before Saint Gregories time, the name of universall Bishop was repealed in Rome : how then can the name be refused, and the definition of the name be admitted :

Or else let our adversaries tell us how they define an universall Bishop, seeing this word Bishop is properly the name of office whereto is annexed charge. Wherefore, if a Bishop be he which hath the charge of all soules in his Diocese committed to him, and must render account for them all ; then whose charge extendeth to all and singular Churches, and must render account for every Christian soule within the whole world, to him cannot be denied the name of an universall Bishop, having the office of an universall Bishop. Or if he be not an universall Bishop, he cannot then have the charge of the whole, that is, of all and singular Churches of Christ. For such is the rule of true definition : *Cui convenit definitio, convenit & definitum ; & contra : Cui admittitur definitio, eidem & definitum admittitur.* Although this word universall, in the Greeke Writers significth that, which was in our vulgar English tongue call Catholike ; yet I suppose our adversaries here will not take universall in that sense. For after that meaning, as we doe not deny that the bishops of Rome may be universall bishops, so neither can they deny but other bishops may also be as universall, that is, as Catholike as they. But such as more distinctly and scholelike discusse this matter, define universall or Catholike by three things : to wit, by time, place, and person. So that whatsoever extendeth it selfe to all times, all places, and all persons, that is properly universall or Catholike.

And contrariwise, what thing is to be called universall or Catholike, reacheth to all those three aforesaid, comprehending all places, times, and persons, and extendeth it selfe of his owne nature to the same, or else it is not to be called properly universall or Catholike. And thus three things there be, which most commonly we call catholike or universall : that is, the Church, which is called the catholike Church : faith, which is called the catholike faith : a man whom also we call a man catholike, because these three of their own nature & disposition (no contrary obstacle letting) extend themselves so to all, that no time, place, nor person is excluded. Which three conditions, if they altogether concur in the charge of the Bishop of Rome, then is it an universall charge, and he an universall Bishop : if not, then is his charge neither universall, nor he the head of the Church, nor yet universall Bishop. For how these three can be separated, I cannot see, except the adversary part

The second untruth of the argument above mentioned.

What is an universall Bishop.

Regula definitionis.

Cui convenit definitio, & definitum.

Universall, defined by three things, time, place, and person.

Three things commonly called Catholike or universall.

To have universall charge to be head of the universall Church, and to be universall Bishop are all co-incidents together.

A double taking of the word bishop.

Christ himselfe a Bishop.

Canon. Apost. 23  
14. 34.  
Con. Nice. cap. 15  
Concil. Antioch.  
cap. 3. 13.  
Petres being at Rome.



doe prove it more evidently than they have done.

And thus much to the objection of our adversaries: arguing thus: that as Saint Peter being not called universall Apostle, yet was the head of the universall Church: so the Pope, although he was not first called universall Bishop, had, and might have the charge of the whole Church, and was the universall head of the same. The which objection containing (as is said) a double untruth, our adversaries, yet notwithstanding, doe busie themselves greatly to fortifie by sundry testimonies and allegations, patched out of old & antient Doctors, but specially out of Theodoretus, Irenaeus, Ambrose and Augustine, proving by them, that the See of Rome having the preeminence & principality, hath bene honoured above all other churches. Whereupon the said adversary before minded, groundeth this consequent.

Irenaeus, Ambrose, Augustine and Theodoretus affirme, that the church of Rome is the chiefe of all other churches.

Ergo, the Bishop and head of that church is chiefe and head over all Bishops, and head over all other churches.

But this consequence is to be denied, for that the excellency of the church or place doth not alwaies argue the excellency of the Minister or Bishop, nor yet necessarily both cause the same. For in matters of the Church, which are spirituall, all preeminences standeth upon spirituall and inward gifts (Spiritualia enim spiritualibus comparantur.) as faith, piety, learning and goodly knowledge, zeale and fervency in the holy Ghost, unity of doctrine, &c. which gifts many times may excell in a Church, where the Minister or Bishop is inferior to Bishops or Ministers of other churches. As the most famous schale in a keelne, hath not alway the most famous scholre-master, neither doth make him thereby most excellent in learning above all others. So if our adversaries doe meane by this preeminence of the church of Rome, such inward gifts of doctrine, faith, unity and peace of religion; then say I, the excellency hereof doth not inferre or argue the excellency of the Bishop. And thus concerning the principality of the church of Rome, commended at that time of the Doctors, it may be true, and so well expounded one way. And thus doe I grant the antecedent of this argument, and deny the consequent. But here will our adversaries peradventure reply againe and say, that the principality of the church of Rome which is commended by the Doctors, is not meant here so much by inward gifts and induements belonging to a Christian Church, as by outward authority & domination over other churches. Wherefore to is to be answered: first, what necessity is there, or where did our Papists learne, to bring into the spirituall Church of Christ, this outward forme of civil regement and policy? that as the Romane Emperours in times past governed over all the world, so the Romane Bishop must have his Monarchy upon the universall Clergy, to make all other Churches to stoop under his subjection. And where then be the words of our Saviour? Vos autem non sic. If they hold their affirmative Quid sic. where then is Christs negative Non sic? If they say, there must needs be distinction of degrees in the Church, and in this distinction of degrees, superiority must necessarily be granted for the outward discipline of the Church, for directing matters, for quelling of schismes, for setting orders, for commencing of consecrations and Councils, as need shall require, &c. Against this superiority we stand not, and therefore we peld to our superior powers, kings, & Princes, our due obedience, and to our lawfull governors under God of both regiments, ecclesiasticall and temporal. Also in the ecclesiasticall state, we take not away the distinction of ordinary degrees, such as by the Scriptures be appointed, or by the Primitive

church allowed, as Patriarche, Archbishops, Bishops, Ministers & Deacons, for of these four we specially reade as chiefe. In which four degrees, as we grant diversity of office, so we admit in the same also, diversity of dignity: neither denying that which is due to each degree, neither yet maintaining the ambition of any singular person. For as we gave to the Minister place above the Deacon, to the Bishop above the Minister, to the Archbishop above the Bishop: so we see no cause of inequality, why one Minister should be above another Minister: one Bishop in his degree above another Bishop to deale in his Diocese: or one Archbishop above another Archbishop. And this is to keepe an order onely and truly in the Church, according to the true nature and definition of order by the authority of Augustin. And here he thus defineth that which we call order: Ordo est parium dispariumque rerum sua cuique loca tribuens dispositio. Order (saith he) is a discretion or disposition given to all things, according as they are matches, or not matches, proportionally to every one his owne right and proper place.

This definition of S. Augustine, standing with the things before promised: now here toucheth the question betwene us and the Papists. Whether the Metropolitane church of Rome, with the Archbishop of the same, ought to be preferred before other Metropolitane churches and Archbishops, through universall consent, or not? To the answer whereof, if the booke of order might here be heard, it would say, Give to things that be matches and like, like honour, to things unlike, unlike honour, &c. Wherefore, seeing the See of Rome is a Patriarchall See appointed by the primitive Church, and the Bishop thereof and Archbishop limited within his owne bordering churches, which the Council of Nice calleth Suburbicas Ecclesias, as other Archbishops be: he ought therefore orderly to have the honour of an Archbishop (ordering himself thereafter) and such outward preeminence as to other Archbishops is due. More if he doe require, he breaketh the rule of right order, he falleth into presumption, and doth wrong unto his fellows: and they also doe wrong unto themselves, whosoever they be, in which feeding his humour of ambition, gives more unto him than the foresaid rule of order doth require. For so much as they peld to him more than is his right, so much they take from themselves, which is due to them. And the same is the cause, why both Gregory and Pelagius his predecessors reprehended them, which gave to the Archbishop of Constantinople, that which was the Bishop of Rome claimeth to himselfe, charging them with the breach of order in these words: Ne cum privatum aliquod daretur uni, honore debito Sacerdotes privarentur universi. that is, Lett that while any singular thing is given to one person, all other priests be deprived of their due honour. And for the like cause, Pelagius exhorted that no Priest doe give to any one Archbishop, the name of universall Bishop, Ne sibi debitum subtrahat, cum alteri honorem offert indebitum, that is, Lett (saith he) in so doing, he take from himselfe his due honour, while he veldeth that which is not due to another. And also in the same Epistle: Quia si summus Patriarcha universalis dicitur, Patriarcharum nomen ceteris derogatur. For (saith he) if he be called the chiefe universall Patriarch, then is the name of Patriarch derogated from others, &c. Wherefore as is said, seeing the Bishop of Rome is an Archbishop, as others be, order requireth that he should have the dignity which to Archbishops is due: whosoever is added more, is derogation to the rest. And thus much concerning distinction of degrees, and order in giving to every degree his place and honour.

The second reason and answer to the objection before moved, is this: That being granted to the Papists, that the Doctors aforesaid, speaking of the principality

Aug. lib. de Civ. Dei. cap. 91.

Order defined.

Ex registro Greg. lib. 4. Epist. 32.

Ex Epist. 2. Pelagii 2. dist. 99. cap. Nullus.

The second answer to the objection before moved.

Gen. lib. 3. ap. 3. Amb. de deff. ent. lib. 2. cap. 6. Aug. Epist. 162. In argument Et de Baptis.

In text.

Preeminence of a Church effected after a double consecration.

Objection. Outward preeminence belongeth unto outward kingdoms, not to the Church of Christ. The first answer to the objection.

New se. lastly Epist. 2. dist. 99. cap. Nullus. Objection. Answer. Superiority in the Church. Distinction of degrees in the Church. Diversity of dignities in degrees. Order kept in the Church, and what true order is.



principality of the church of Rome, doe meane not onely of the inward vertues of that church, but also of the outward authority and iurisdiction of the same, aboue other churches: yet the cause wherefore they did attribute so much to that Church, is to be expounded, which was this, as before was alleged out of the Council of Chalcedon, Can. 28. *ἡ δὲ ἐκκλησία τῆς πόλεως Ῥώμης, ἡ ἡγουμένη τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας*, that is, for the rule and Empery which that city of Rome had then aboue other cities; which cause being outward and carnall, was neither then cause sufficient, and now ceasing, importeth not to us the like effect, according as they say: *Sublata causa tollitur effectus*. So that by the reason thereof, the aforesaid principality of the church of Rome, did not hold then iure divino sed humano. And as it holdeth by mans law, so by mans law may be repealed againe.

Wherefore, be it admitted that both the Pope sitteth and succedeth in the chaire of Peter, and also that hee is the Bishop of the greatest City in the world: yet it followeth not thereby that he should have rule and Lordship over all other Bishops and Churches of the world. For first touching the succession of Peter, many things are to be considered.

First, whether Peter late, and had his chaire in Rome, or not?

Secondly, whether he late there as an Apostle, or as a Bishop?

Thirdly, whether the sitting in the outward seat of Peter maketh successors of Peter?

Fourthly, whether he sitteth in the chair and seat of Peter, which sitteth not in the doctrine of Peter?

Fifthly, whether the succession of Peter maketh rather an Apostle than a Bishop, and so should we call the Pope the Apostle of Rome, and not the Bishop of Rome?

Sixthly, whether Ecclesiasticall functions ought to be effected by ordinary succession of place, or by Gods secret calling and sending?

Seventhly and lastly, whether it stand by Scripture, any succession at all to be pointed in Christs Church, or why more from Peter than from other Apostles?

All which Interrogatories being well discussed (which would aske a long pcesse) it should well appeare what little hold the Pope hath to take this state upon him, aboue all other churches, as he doth. In the meane time, this one argument by the way may suffice, in stead of many, for our aduersaries to answer to at their convenient leisure. Which argument thus I soune and frame in Camellres.

Ca. All the true successors of Peter sit in the chaire of the doctrine of Peter, and other Apostles uniformly:

me. No Popes of this latter church of Rome sit in the chaire of S. Peters and other Apostles doctrine uniformly:

fres. Ergo. No Popes of this latter church of Rome be the true successors of Peter.

And when they have well perused the minor of this argument, and have well conferred together the doctrine taught them of S. Peter, with the doctrine taught now by the Popes, of iustification of a churistian man, of the office of the law, of the strength and largenesse of sin, of mens merits, of free will, of works of supererogation, of setting up images, of seuen sacraments, of auricular confession, of satisfaction, of sacrifice of the masse, of communicating under one kinde, of elevating and adoring the sacramentall elements, of Latine service, of invocation, of prohibition of meats and marriage, of bowing chastity of sects and rules of diuers religions, of indulgences and pardons: also with their doctrine taught now of Magistrates, of the fulnesse of power and regality of the See of Rome, with many other like to these, &c. then will I be glad to heare what they shall say to the premises.

Secondly, if they would prove by the allegati-

on of the Doctors, Irenaeus, Ambrose, Augustine, Theodoretus aforesaid, the Bishop of Rome to be the chiefe of all Bishops therefore, because the City whereof hee is Bishop, is the chiefe and principall aboue all other churches, that consequent is to be denied. For it followeth not (taking as I say, the principality of that church to stand *ἡ δὲ ἐκκλησία τῆς πόλεως Ῥώμης*) no more than this consequent followeth.

London is the chiefe City in all England:

Ergo, the Bishop of London is the chiefe of all Bishops in this Realme.

Which argument were derogatory to the Archbishops both of Canterbury and Yorke.

Pea, to grant yet more to our aduersaries (which is all they can require) the minde of the aforesaid Doctors, as Irenaeus, Ambrose, Augustine, and Theodoretus, in giving principality unto Rome, to have respect unto the vertue of succession from Peter, and not unto the greatnesse of the City: yet notwithstanding for all this their argument holdeth not, if it be rightly considered: to say:

The Apostolicall See of Rome, having succession from Peter, with the Bishops thereof, was chiefe then of all other churches in the primitive time of these Doctors:

Ergo, The Apostolicall See of Rome, with the Bishops thereof, having succession from Peter, ought now to be chiefe of all other churches in these our daies.

This consequent might well follow, if the times were like, or if succession which gave them the cause of principality, were the same now, which was then. But now the time and succession is not correspondent, for then succession in the time of these Doctors, was as well in doctrine Apostolicall, as in place Apostolicall. Now, the succession of doctrine Apostolicall hath long ceased in the See Apostolicall: and nothing remaineth but onely place, which is the least matter of true spiritual and Apostolicall succession. And thus much to the authority and testimony of these soenamed Doctors.

Besides these objections heretofore recited out of Irenaeus, Ambrose, Augustine, and Theodoretus, our aduersaries yet object and heape up against us moreover examples of the primitive time of the Church, testimonies of generall Councils, and opinions of ancient Writers taken out of the booke of Councils, and Epistles decretall, whereby their intent is to prove the foresaid termes (of the head of the Church, ruler of the Church, chiefe of all other Bishops) to be applied not onely to Peter, but also to the Bishop of Rome within the compasse of the primitive time. And here commeth in the testimony cited of Vincentius Lirinensis. Of the Epistle of Paschasius and his fellows, writing to Leo from the Council of Chalcedon. The testimony also of Iustinian the Emperour in his codex; where Iohannes then Pope, was called *Caput omnium Ecclesiarum*, Epist. inter claras, cap. De summa trinitate & fide cath. The testimony also of Athanasius, with his fellow Bishops of Egypt, of Thebaida and Lybia, in their Epistles to Pope Marcus, Liberius, and Felix. Likewise the testimony of Jerome, in Praef. in 4. Evang. Item Ep. 42. tom. 1. Item Ep. 41. tom. 2. Of S. Ambrose, 1. tom. 3. Of S. Augustine to Boniface. Ad Bonif. contra duas Epist. Palag. l. 1. c. 1. Item l. 2. de bapt. c. 1. Of Theodoretus in his Epistle to Pope Leo, Epist. commentar. in Pauli Ep. praefixa. Of Chrysostome, Epist. ad Innocentium, tom. 5. &c. By which testimonies our aduersaries would prove Saint Peter, and after him the Bishop of Rome to be called and taken for head of the Church, chiefe Bishop, Prince a ruler of the whole Clergy. To all which objections fully and exactly to answer in order, would require a whole volume by it selfe. In the meane time, leaving the rest unto them, unto whom it doth more properly appertaine, briefly

Ex Concil. Chalced. cap. 28.

Certaine demands for the Popists to answer unto.

An argument proving the Popes of this latter church of Rome not to be successors of Peter.

A false consequent of the Popists.

Answer to the consequent.

Succession Apostolicall denied, which would be concluded.

Testimonies alleged for the principality of the Pope.



Infer by a  
function.

But & Princeps  
are a double  
understanding

How Peter is  
Princeps Aposto-  
lorum, Princeps  
Eloquentie.  
Cicero, Princeps  
Philosophorum  
Cratippus.

Petrus Princeps  
Apostolorum,  
Apostolorum.

With this alone short distinction I answer these and all such other like places, where St. Peter with his successors are called Head of the Church, Chief of Bishops, Prince of the Apostles, &c. In which places, this word Head, Chief, and Prince of the Apostles, may be taken two manner of waies: to note either dominion or else commendation. For so we reade sometime Caput and Princeps, to be words not of authority, but of excellency, whereby is declared the chiefest and worthiest part among many parts, and not possessor and governour of the whole. Like as in the person of man, the head is the principall part of the whole body, being indued with reason, and furnished with most excellent senses, by the which the whole body of man is directed: so thereof is derived by a metaphor, to what man or thing soever nature or condition hath given the greatest excellency of gifts and properties above other parts or members, the same society to be called of the said parties, Caput or Princeps, Head or Prince. And yet the same Head or Prince so called, hath not allwaies dominion or jurisdiction of the rest. So we call in our vulgar speech, the head or chiefe men of the parish, who for their riches, wisdom, or place, are most specially noted: after like phrase of speech we call the head man of the inquest, him that hath first place: and yet neither they nor these have any dominion or jurisdiction upon the residue. In a scholl the chiefest scholler in learning, is not therefore the master or governour of his fellowes. Neither hath St. Cicero any title thereby to claime subjection and service of all other Orators, because he is named Princeps eloquentie, and goeth before them in that kinde of phrase. The same Cicero, lib. 1. offic. calleth Cratippum principem hujus atatis philosophorum: as Homer may be also called Poetarum princeps: and yet neither Philosophers to Cratippus, nor Poets to Homer owe any thing else, but onely fame and praise.

And what if Saint Peter the blessed Apostle be called & counted by the old ancient Doctors, as head and prince of the Apostles, which is as much as Coryphaeus Apostolorum, for his excellent faith, for his divine confession and singular affection to the Lord Jesus: yet what interest or charge either hath he to challenge over the Apostles, or the Pope after him over all other Bishops and the whole Church of Christ, although the Pope have the like excellency of Christs faith which Peter had, as would God he had! As concerning these allegations therefore out of the Doctors, two things are to be observed: first, that neither these names and titles, though they be given to Peter, doe give him any state or dominion over other Apostles: nor yet the succession of him doth further any whit this celsitude and regality of the Pope to advance him above his fellow Archbishops, as now he doth.

And if our adversaries would needs provoke us to the numbering of testimonies, and dividing the house (speaking of the writers and Councils of the Primitive age) for these aforesaid testimonies alleged on their side: I could on the contrary part recite out of the witness of Doctors, out of the examples of Councils, and practices of Emperors, no lesse than fifty voyces, much more repugnant against their assertion, than there is for the Pope. The translation whereof for this present I do referre, either to them that have more leisure at this time to discourse them, or else omit it to another time, if the good pleasure of the Lord shall be to grant me further leisure in another booke to treat thereof at large in such order, as (if the Lord so grant) shall appeare sufficient matter, to prove by the Doctors, generall Councils, examples and histories of time, that the Bishops of Rome, during the first five hundred yeeres after Christ, although for the greatnesse of the Empire, were somewhat more magnified than the other, and therefore were sought of many,

and were flattered of some, and they themselves divers did set forth themselves more than they should: yet by the common consent of Churches were stopped of their purpose, so that by the consent of the most part, within the compasse of that age, the Bishops of Rome had not this regall state of title, jurisdiction and fullnesse of power, which now they usurp, but were taken as Archbishops, of equall honour, of equall merit with other Archbishops and Rulers of the Church. And if any preferment was given unto them something above the rest, yet neither was it so given of all, nor of the most part: secondly, neither was it so given of them for any such necessity of Gods Word, Aut jure aliquo divino, as which did so binde them thereunto, nor yet so much for the respect of Peter, and his succession: as for certaine other causes and respects, as may be gathered to the number of thirteene.

Of which, the first is the greatnesse of the City and Monarchy of Rome.

The second, is the authority of the Emperour Constantine the great, first of the Emperors converted to the Faith, and ruling in the same City, by whom the universall liberty of the Church was first promoted: and the causes of the Bishops being then at variance, were commisted partly to the Bishop of Rome, partly to other Bishops neere by, to be decided, as appeareth, Euseb. lib. 10. cap. 5.

The third was the Council of Nice, which confirmed the preeminence of that Church to have the oversight of the Churches bordering about it.

The fourth cause of advancing the Church of Rome, was the unquiet state of the Greek Church, much troubled in those daies with sects, factions, and dissensions, whereof we may reade, Socrat. lib. 2. cap. 15. Sozom. lib. 3. cap. 8.

The fifth, whereas Synods were called by other Metropolitans; then if it chanced the Bishops of Rome to be absent, and their sentence being absent to be required, by the occasion thereof they began at length to take their sentence for a canon or rule ecclesiasticall, & thereby to refuse other Synods, where their decrees or sentence was not required.

Another cause was, that when any common matter was in hand at other places, whatsoever was done, commonly the manner was to write to the Romane Bishop for his approbation in the same for publike unity and consent to be had in Christs Church, as appeareth, Lib. 10. Epist. 78. An. b. of. ad Theophyl.

Item, for that the testimony sometimes of the Romane Bishop was wont in those daies also to be desired for admitting Teachers and Bishops in other Churches, whereof we have example in Socrat. lib. 4. cap. 37.

Moreover, this was a great settling up of that Church, whereas their sentence not only was required, but also received divers times of other Bishops. And when Bishops of other provinces were at any dissention among themselves, they of their owne accord appealed to the Bishop of Rome, desiring him to cite up both parties, & to have the hearing and deciding of the cause, as did Macarius, and Hecychius send to Julius then Bishop of Rome, &c.

Item, in that certaine of the Arians returning from their Arianism, offered up and exhibited unto the Bishops of Rome their libels of repentance, and were of them received againe, as Ursacius and Valens did to Julius, Socrat. lib. 2. cap. 24.

The tenth cause was also, for that Gratianus the Emperour made a Law, that all men should retain that Religion which Damasus Bishop of Rome, and Peter Bishop of Alexandria did hold, Sozom. lib. 7. cap. 4.

And also if it hymned the Bishop of Rome to disallow the ordering of any minister or ministers, the Popes perceiving how diligent & ready they were to seeke their favour, and to send up their messen-

Episteme cano-  
lico of abbauc-  
ting of the Sec  
of Rome.

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

6.

7.

8.

9.

10.

11.

gers



gers to Rome for their purgation, tooke thereby no little manner of exaltation, Theodoret. lib. 5. cap. 23.

12.

Besides these aforesaid, the Bishops of Rome had also another artificiall practise, that in sending out their letters abroad, as they did so many, in all their Epistles (if the Epistles be theirs, and not forged) ever they were harping of the greatnesse of their name, and of their Apostolike See, and of the primacy of Saint Peter, their predecessor and prince of all the Apostles, &c. And thus they used in every letter, whensoever they wrote to any, as appeareth in all their letters decretall, namely, in the letters of Hilarius, Marcellus, and Marcius, &c.

13.

Again, if any of the Cast church directed any writing to them, wherein any signification was contained of never so little reverence given unto them (as learned men commonly use for modestie sake) that was taken by and by, and construed for plaine subjection and due obedience, as declareth the letter of Damasus, written to the Bishops of the Cast church, beginning thus: Quod debita reverentia, &c. In English thus: But that your charity yeldeth due reverence to the Apostolical See, you in doing (deare children) do much for your selves, &c. Theodoret. lib. 5. cap. 9. whereas the Bishops of the Cast church notwithstanding, had shewed little or no reverence in their Epistle to Pope Damasus before.

Thus have the first and originall grounds, by the means whereof, the Archbishops of the Romish See have achieved to this their great kingdome and celestiall over Christs Church, first beginning the mystery of their iniquity by that which was modestly and voluntarily given them; afterward by use and custome claiming it ambitiously unto them of duty and service; and lastly, holding fast (as we see) that which once they had gotten into their possession, so that now in no case they can abide the birds to call home their feathers againe, which they so long have usurped.

And thus much concerning the life, jurisdiction and title of the Romane Bishops: in all which (as is declared) they, and not we, have fallen from the church of Rome. To these I might also joine the manner of government, wherein the said Romish Bishops have no lesse altered, both from the rule of Scripture, and from the steps of the true Church of Rome, which government as it hath bene, and ought to be onely spirituall, so hath the Bishop of Rome used it of late yeeres no otherwise than hath an earthly King or Prince governed his Realme and Dominions, with riches, glory, power, terror, outward strength, force, prison, death, execution, lawes, policies, promoting his friends to dignities, rebenging his affections, punishing and correcting faults against his person more than other offences against God committed, using and abusing in all these things the Word of God for his preferre and cloke to worke his worldly purpose withall: where, as indeed, the Word of God ministereth no such power to spirituall persons, but such as is spirituall: according to the saying of the Apostle; *Arma militie nostrae non sunt carnalia, sed spiritualia, &c.* The Armour and Artillery, saith Saint Paul, of our warfare, is not carnall, but spirituall: such as serbe not against flesh and blood, nor against the weake person of man: but against Satan, against the gates of Hell, and the profundities of the wicked power, &c.

Which Armour, as it is all spirituall, so ought they, which have the dealing thereof, to be likewise spirituall, well furnished with all such gifts and graces of the holy Ghost, meet for the governance of his spirituall Church: as with wisdom and knowledge in the Scripture to instruct the ignorant: with inward intelligence and foresight of the crafty cogitations and operations of Satan, with power of the spirit to resist the same: with practice and expe-

rience of temptations, to comfort such as be afflicted and oppressed of Satan: with heavenly discretion to discern spirits, and truth from untruth: with judgement and knowledge of tongues and learning to confute error: with zeale of Gods glory, with fervency of prayer, with patience in persecution: with a minde contented with all cases and states incident, with feares and compassion on other mens griefes: with stoutnesse and courage against proud and stout oppressors: with humility toward the poore and miserable: with the counsell of the Lord Jesus by his Word and Spirit to direct him in all things to be done: with strength against sinne: with hatred of this world: with gift of faith: power of the keyes in spirituall causes: as to minister the Word, the Sacraments and excommunication when the Word biddeth, that the spirit may be saved, and to reconcile againe as cause requireth, &c. These and such like are the matters wherein consisteth the sinewes & strength of the Church, and for true governance of the same. But contrary to these aforesaid both the Bishop and Clergy of this latter church of Rome, proceeding in their administration and governance, as who under the name and pretense of Christ and his Word, have exercised of long time nothing else but a worldly dominion, seeking indeed their own glory, not the glory of Christ: riches of the world, not the lucre of soules: not feeding of the flocke, but filling the purse: rebenging their owne wrongs, but neglecting Gods glory: striving against man onely, and killing him; but not killing the vice, nor confuting the error of man: strong against flesh and blood, but weak against the Devil, stout against the simple, but meek against the mighty: briefly, doing almost all things preposterously, more like to secular Princes, than spirituall Pastors of Christs flocke, with outward forcement, and feare of punishment, with imprisoning, famishing, hanging, racking, drowning, beating, slaying, murdering, and burning, and war-rung also: on the other side, with his riches and treasures, with his guard and guardiance, with strength of men, with Court and Cardinals: with pompe and pride about them, with their triple crowne, with the naked sword, with their ordinary succession: with their lawes and executions: their promotions and preferments: their biddings and commandings: theauntings and rebengings, &c.

In fine, to compare therefore the images of a worldly kingdome, with this kingdome of the pope, there is no difference, save onely that this kingdome of the Pope, under hypocrisie maketh a face of the spirituall sword, which is the Word of God: but in very deed doth all things with the temporall sword, that is, with outward forcement and coaction: differing nothing from civill and secular regiment in all properties and conditions, if it be well considered. For as in an earthly kingdome, first there is a Prince or some chiefe Magistrate appointed, having dominion over his nobles and commons, containing all his subjects under his statutes and lawes: with the which lawes notwithstanding hee dispenseth at his pleasure; under whom all other inferior Magistrates have their order and place to them appointed to rule over the subjects, and yet to be subject under him: so if the state and forme of the Pope be well considered, we shall see it altereth nothing from the same, but onely in the names of the persons. In civill government, all subjection is referred to one head ruler, whose authority surmounteth all the rest, and keepeth them under obedience: in like manner the government of the popish church is committed to one man, who as chiefe steward, overseer & ruler of Christs household in his absence, hath supreme power over all churches to moderate and direct all the affaires thereof. But here standeth the difference, in civill policie he is called a King or Prince: here he is called a Pope.

Preposterous government of the church by the Pope.

A comparison betwene the kingdome of this world, and the kingdome of the Pope.

This latter church of Rome differing from the first church of Rome in forme of government.

How the Church of Christ ought to be governed.



regular nobility compared with ecclesiastical nobility.

skill magistrates compared with ecclesiastical.

Officers of the temporal court compared with Officers of the spiritual court.

Glory compared. Power compared. Riches compared.

Subtlety compared.

The difference between the popes regiment and the order of the primitive Church.

2 Cor. 10. Ephes. 6. 1 Tim. 1.

The arm proper to Churchmen.

Horrible abuse of excommunication in the popes Church.

The popes governing in matters to them not pertaining.

The King hath next unto him his Dukes and Carles: the Popes nobility standeth in his Cardinals and Legats: who though they be no Dukes in name, yet in pompe and pride will not onely gibe checke to them, but also mate to Kings themselves, if they might be suffered, as did Theodosius, Lanfrancus, Anclmus, Thomas Becket, and so would Thomas Wolsey have done, had not the King given him a necke to his mate betime. In civill policy next to Dukes and Carles followeth the order of Lords, Barons, Knights, Esquires, Gentlemen, with Majors, Sheriffes, Constables, Waliffes, Wardens, &c. The like race is to be seene also, although under other names, in the Popes policy: of Primates, Bishops, Suffragans, Probosits, Deans, Canons, Vicars, Archdeacons, Priests, Deacons, Subdeacons, Acolythes, Croziers, Lectors, Doctores, Singlers, with other Clerkes. And as in the other, Under wardens cometh the order of Scavengers: so neither doth the Popes Monarchy lacke his Chancelers, to whom may well be compared that rablement of Abbats, Provincials, Priors, Monks, Friers, with their Covenants, and Pinneries.

Procurer, from Justices, Judges, Lawyers, Serjeants, Attorneys, which be necessary officers in the Common wealth, what differ the Popes Inquisitors, Canonists, Doctors, and Bachelors of the Popes law, Commissaries, Officials, Proctors, promotores, with such others, which serve no lesse in spiritual court, & in the consistory, then the other aforesaid doe in temporal court, or in Guildhall: Now whose list to compare the glory and magnificence of the one, with the glory of the other; also the power & strength of the one regiment, with the power of the other: and so the riches of the one, with the riches of the other; I suppose he shall see no great oddes betwixen them both, taking the Popes kingdom, as it hath stood in his full ruffe, and yet doth stand where churches are not reformed. As for subtilty and politike practise, there is no man that is indifferent that doubteth, or that hath his eyes that see not, that the Popes hierarchy in holding up their state, farre excelleth all the kingdoms of worldly Princes, of whom all other may take example to learne.

Thus in comparing the Popes regiment with civill governance, as they doe little or nothing disagree: so in comparing againe the same with the order of Scriptures, or with the regiment that was in the old ancient church of Rome, we shall see no resemblance betwixen them. As we read in the Apostles time, all the armour of Christs ministers was spirituall and full of godly power against the spirituall enemies of our salvation, governing the Church then with peace, patience, humility, true knowledge of God, the sword of the Spirit, the shield of faith, the breastplate of righteousness, hearty charity, sincere faith, & a good conscience: so after the Apostles in the time of Ambrose, by his own testimony it is to be understood, that the armour of churchmen was then, Preces & lachrymæ, prayers & teares: where now the armour of the Popes priesthood is nothing else but Ignis & ferrum, fire and sword, wherewith they keepe all things under their subjection. And here cometh the enorme and horrible abuse of excommunication, suspension, & interdiction in cases friuolous, or worldly; and for such things as for which the civill Magistrate will not commit any Citizens to the stocks, the Popes censure will not sticke to commit a Christian to the Devil: not to speake of their other usurped dealings and doings in matters, that belong to the civill sword, and be to them impertinent. As in punishing whoredome and adultery, in administration and probats of testaments, in bearing civill office, as Popes to be senators of Rome, and Emperour also Sede vacante, Cardinals to be Captaines in warre, and rulers of Regions; Bishops to be Presidents or Chancellors.

Priests to be Stewards in great mens houses or masters of mints, or Clerks of the market, or gardeners to gentlemen, &c. All which here I overpasse, referring them to the deeper consideration of such as have more leisure to marke the order of their doings, and so to judge of the same with indifference, according to the rule of truth taught in Gods word, and publick examples of the ancient church of Christ in the primitive time.

Thus having discoursed sufficiently so much as concerneth the manner of life, title, jurisdiction, and government of the Popes See (in all which points it is to be seen how this later church of Rome hath receded from the true ancient church of Rome) it now remaineth according to my promise, and order prescribed, consequently to proceed to the fourth and last point, which is of doctrine: wherein consisteth the chiefest matter that maketh with us and against them, in such sort as (their doctrine standing as it doth) neither they are to be reputed for true catholikes, being altered so farre from them: nor we other then hereticks, if we should now joyne with these. For the more tryall wherof, let us examine the doctrine and rites of the said Church of Rome now used, and compare the same with the teaching of the ancient catholikes, to the intent that such simple soules as have bene hitherto, and yet are seduced by the false visage and image of this pretended and bastardly church, perceiving what lieth within it, may be warned betime, either to eschew the perill, if they list to be instructed; or if not, to blame none but themselves for their owne willfull destruction. And albeit I could here charge the new fangled church of the Pope with seven or eight heinous crimes, as blasphemie, idolatry, heresie, superstition, absurdity, vanity, cruelty, and contrariety (in which it neither agreeth with the old learning of their forefathers, nor yet with themselves in sundry points yet after a more temperate sort to passe this matter with them, these two things I will and dare boldly affirme, that in this doctrine of the Pope now taught in the church of Rome, is neither any consolation of conscience, nor salvation of mans soule. For seeing there is no life nor soules health but only in Christ, nor any promise of salvation or comfort made, but onely by faith in the Sonne of God: what assurance can there be of perfect peace, life, or salvation, where that which onely maketh all, is least made of, & other things which make least are most esteemed: For to say the simple truth, what else is the whole course and body of the Popes law now set forth, but a doctrine of lawes, a heape of ceremonies, a teaching of traditions, a meditation of merits, a foundation of new religions: all which conferre not one jot to the justification of our soules before the terrible judgement of God.

And therefore as it may be truly said that this doctrine of the Pope is void of all true comfort and salvation: so likewise it seemeth that these, which addid themselves to devoutly to the Popes learning, were never earnestly assisted in conscience, never humbled in spirit nor broken in heart, never entered into any serious feeling of Gods judgement, nor ever felt the strength of the law and of death. For if they had, they should some have seene their owne weaknesse & bene driven to Christ: then should they have seene what a horrible thing it is to appeare before God the father, or once to think on him (as Luther saith) without Christ. And on the contrary side, then should they know what a glory, what a kingdom, what liberty and life it were to be in Christ Jesus by faith, holding their inheritance, not with the bond-servants of Agar, but with the free-sonnes of Sara: by promise, and not by the law; by grace, and not by works; by gift, and not by deserving; that God onely might be praised, and not man.

And thus were the old Romanes first taught by Saint Paul writing to the Romans. The same did Cornelius

The corrupt doctrine of the popes church examined and detected.

The false image of the popes church.

No comfort nor salvation in the popes doctrine now taught.

The scope and summe of the popes doctrine whither it tendeth.

Popists never rightly afflicted in conscience deeply.

An horrible thing to thinke of God without Christ. Luther.

The right faith of the old Romanes.



Cornelius, a  
Romane, first  
baptized of all  
the Gentiles.

Cornelius the Romane, and first that was baptised of all the Gentiles, learne of Saint Peter when he received the holy Ghost, not by the deedes of the law, but only by hearing the faith of Iesus preached. And in the same doctrine the said church of the Romans many yeares continued, so long as they were in addition. And in the same doctrine the bishop of Rome with his Romanes now also should still remaine, if they were such ancient Catholikes as they pretend, and would follow the old mother church of Rome, and hold the first liquor wherewith they were first seasoned. But the sweet verdoz and sent of that liquor and pleasant Must is now cleane put out through other unlaboy infusions of the Popes thrusting in; so that almost no taste nor peace remaineth of al that primitive doctrine, which S. Paul and other Apostles first planted among the Gentiles. And what marvell if the Romanes now in so long tract of time have lost their first sap, seeing the Church of the Galathians then in the very time of Saint Paul their Scholemaster, he being amongst them, had not so soone turned his backe a little, but they were all turned almost from the doctrine of faith, and had much adoe to be recovered againe?

The church of  
Rome hath lost  
the liquor wher-  
with it was  
first seasoned,

The Galath-  
ians almost gone  
from faith in  
S. Pauls tune,

1 Tim. 4.

Of this defection and falling from faith, S. Paul expressly foretelleth us in his letters both to the Thessalonians, and also to Timothy, where he sheweth, that a defection shall come, and that certaine shall depart from the faith, attending to spirits of error, &c. 1 Tim. 4. and to know what errors these shall be, the circumstance plainly leadeth us to understand in the same place, where the said Apostle speaketh of marked consciences, forbidding men to marry, and to eate meats ordained of God to be taken with thanksgiving, for mans sustenance; most evidently, as with his finger, pointing out unto us the church of Rome, which not in these points onely, but also in all other conditions almost is utterly rebolted from the pure originall sincerity of that doctrine, which S. Paul planted in the church of the Romans, and of all other Gentiles.

### The summe of S. Pauls doctrine

delivered to the Gentiles.

A briefe summe  
of Saint  
Pauls doctrine  
delivered to  
the Gentiles.

**I.** First, the doctrine of S. Paul ascribeth all our iustification freely and merely to faith only in Christ, as to the only means and cause immediate, whereby the merits of Christs passion be applied unto us, without any other respect of work or works of the law, whatsoeuer: and in this doctrine the church of the Romans was first planted.

Saluation by  
mercy only, and  
not by merits.

**2.** Secondly, the same doctrine of S. Paul cutting off, and excluding all gloz of mans deserving, stayeth onely upon Gods promise and upon grace, not mans merits: upon mercy, not mans labouring or running: upon election and calling, not mans willing, &c.

All flesh conde-  
ned under sin.

**3.** Thirdly, the same doctrine casting downe the strength of man and his Integra naturalia (as the scholes doe terme them) concludeth all flesh under sinne, and maketh the same destitute of the gloz of God.

Difference be-  
tweene the law  
and the gospell.

**4.** Item, it maketh manifest difference betwene the law and the Gospell, declaring the use and end of them to be diuers: the one to kill, the other to quicken; the one to condemne, the other to iustifie; the one to have an end and a time, the other to be perpetuall, &c.

Iustitia Dei:  
Iustitia propria.

**5.** Item, the same doctrine of Saint Paul as it sheweth a difference betwene the law and the gospell; so it maketh no lesse difference betwene Iustitia Dei; and Iustitia propria: that is, the righteousnesse of God and the righteousnesse of man, abhorring the one, that is, mans owne righteousnesse, comming by the law and workes; and embracing the other which God imputeth freely and graciously

to us for Christ his formes sake, in whom we beleue.

**6.** Item, it wipeth away all traditions, and constitutions of men whatsoeuer, especially from binding of conscience, calling them beggerly elements of this world.

The righteous-  
nesse of God, &  
the righteous-  
nesse of men,  
how they differ  
in Scripture.

**7.** Likewise it rejecteth and wipeth away all curious subtilties, and superfluous speculations, and knoweth nothing else but Christ onely crucified, which is only the object wherunto our faith looketh.

A true Christi-  
an knoweth no  
thing but  
Christ cruci-  
fied.

**8.** Furthermore as the same doctrine of S. Paul defineth all men to be transgressors by disobedience of one Adam, though they never touched the apple, they comming of his stocke by nature; so doth it probe all men to be iustified by the obedience of one, though they did not his obedience, they being like- wise borne of him by spirituall regeneration & faith.

All men con-  
demned by one.

**9.** And therefore as all men comming of Adam be condemned originally, before they grow up to com- mit any sinne against the law: so all men regene- rated by faith in Christ, be saved originally before they begin to doe any good worke of charity, or any other good doe.

All men saved  
by one.

**10.** Item, the doctrine of Saint Paul perpen- dic the high gloz of a Christian mans state in Christ Iesus by faith, first letteth him in a perfect peace with Almighty God. Rom. 5. Secondly, ex- empteth him from all condemnation. Rom. 8. Third- ly, it matcheth him with Angels: it equalleth him with Saints and fellow citizens of Heaven: it

Dignitie in  
Christ.

numbereth him with the household of God; and in- heriteth him with Iesus Christ himselfe. Ephes. 2. Fourthly, it adopteth him from the state of a ser- vant, to the state of the Sonne of God, crying Abba father. Gal. 4. Fifthly, it openeth to him a bold access & entrance to the high maiesty and throne of grace. Ephes. 2. Heb. 4. Sixthly, it subiecteth all things un- der him, as ministers, yea the Apostles themselves in their highest office, death, life, things present,

Rom. 5.  
Rom. 8.

things to come, with the whole world besides, and assigneth him no spirituall head, but onely Christ, saying, And you are Christs, and Christ is Gods, 1. Cor. 3. Seventhly, it aduanceth and setteth him in a spirituall liberty or freedom, above all terrors of spirit, rising either of Gods Law, or mans law, above all dreadfull feares of sinne, damnation, ma- lediction, rejection, death, hell, or purgatory: above

Heb. 2. i  
Iraque iam non es  
seruus, sed filius.  
Galath. 4.  
Ephes. 2.  
Heb. 4.

all servile bondage of ceremonies, mens precepts, traditions, superstitious vices, yokes, customes, or what else soeuer oppresseth and entangleth the spirituall freedom of a conscience which Christ hath set at liberty; and requireth moreover that we walke and stand stout in that liberty whereto we are brought with the free-sonne of Sara, and not suffer our selves any more to be clogged with any such servile bondage: that is to say, although we must be content to subiect our bodies to all service, and to all men, yet must we not yeld our spirituall consciences and soules as slaves and servants; to be subiect to the feare or bondage of any terrene thing in this world, for so much as we are in that

1 Cor. 3.  
The glorious  
state of Christi-  
an libertie and  
spirituall  
freedom in  
Christ Iesus.

part made Lords and Princes over all things whatsoeuer can harne, or binde, or terrifie us. Gal. 4. Col. 2.

Gal. 4.  
Coloss. 2.

**11.** Item, the right veine of S. Pauls doctrine putteth no difference nor obseruation in daies and times. Gal. 4. Col. 2.

Dayes & times  
indifferent.

**12.** Item, it leaveth all meats to be indifferent, with thanksgiving, to serue the necessity of the body, and not the body to serue them. Coloss. 2. 1. Tim. 4.

Meats indif-  
ferent with  
thanksgiving.

**13.** Item, it permitteeth marriage without re- straint or exception, lawfull and also expedient for all men, having need thereof. 1. Cor. 7.

Marriage  
lawfull for all  
men.

**14.** Item it admitteth no sacrifice for sinne but the sacrifice of Christ alone, and that done once for all with blood. For without blood there is no remis- sion of sinne, which is applied to us by faith onely, and by nothing else, Heb. 9.

One sacrifice  
for sin, and no  
more.

15. Item,







The fourth  
branch.

Faith onely the  
meane cause of  
salvation and  
nothing else.

The righteous-  
nesse of the law.  
Philip. 3.

The righteous-  
nesse of the gos-  
pell.  
Romans 9.

The places of  
Saint Paul  
expounded.  
Romans 3.

The righteous-  
nesse of faith,  
why it is called  
Gods righte-  
ousnesse.

Romans 3.

A lesson out of  
Saint Pauls  
doctrine, of all  
Christians to  
be observed.

Romans 9.

Acts 10.  
Salvation  
cometh onely  
by faith.

Matth. 16.

Luke 19.

Luke 7.

4. The fourth branch is, to teach us and informe us, to whom the benefits of Christs passion and victory doe appertain, by what means the same is applied and reboundeth unto us: which means is onely one, that is, onely faith in Christ Jesus, and no other thing. Which faith it pleaseth Almighty God to accept for righteousness. And this righteousness it is, which onely standeth before God, and none other, as we are plainly taught by the Scriptures, and especially by the doctrine of Saint Paul. Which righteousness thus rising of faith in Christ, Saint Paul calleth the righteousness of God, where he speaketh of himselfe, utterly refusing the other righteousness which is of the law, that he might be found in him, not having his owne righteousness which is of the law, but the righteousness of Christ, which is of faith, Phil. 3. Again, the said Apostle writing of the Jewes, which sought for righteousness and found it not; and also of the Gentiles, which sought not for it, and yet found it, sheweth the reason why: Because (saith he) the one sought it by workes and the Law, and not knowing the righteousness of God, and seeking to set up their owne righteousness, did not submit themselves to the righteousness which is of God. The other, which were the Gentiles, and sought not for it, obtained righteousness, that righteousness which is of faith, 2. Cor. 9. Also in another place of the same Epistle, Saint Paul writing of this righteousness which cometh of faith, calleth it the righteousness of God, in these words: Whom God (saith he) hath set up for a propitiation by faith in his blood, whereby to make manifest the righteousness which is of himselfe in tolerating our sinnes, &c. Rom. 3. By the which righteousness it is evident that Saint Paul meaneth the righteousness of faith, which Almighty God now revealeth and maketh manifest by preaching of the Gospel. Willst thou see yet more plainly this righteousness of God, how it is taken in Saint Paul for the righteousness of faith, and therefore is called the righteousness of God, because it is imputed onely of God to faith, and not deserved of man? In the same Epistle to the Romanes and in the third chapter aforesaid, his words be manifest: The righteousness of God (saith he) is by faith of Iesus Christ, in all, and upon all that doe believe, &c.

Wherefore whosoever studieth to be accepted with God, and to be found righteous in his sight, let him learne diligently by the doctrine of Saint Paul to make a difference and a separation, as farre as from Heaven to Earth, betwene these two, that is betwene the righteousness of workes, and righteousness of faith: and in any wise beware he bring no other means for his justification, or remission of his sinnes, but onely faith apprehending the body or person of Christ Iesus crucified. For as there is no way into the house but by the doore, so is there no coming to God but by Christ alone, which is by faith. And as the mortall body, without bodily sustenance of bread and drinke, cannot but perish: so the spirituall soule of man hath no other refreshing but onely by faith in the body and blood of Christ, whereby to be saved. With this faith the idolatrous Gentiles apprehended Iesus Christ, and received thereby righteousness. Cornelius (the first baptised Romane) so soon as he heard Peter preach Christ, received straightway the holy Ghost. Peter himselfe confessed, and for his confession had the Keyes of Heaven. Matth. 16. Zachens received the person of Christ into his house, and withall received salvation both to him and his whole household. Luke 19. What a sinner was Mary, which had no lesse in her then seven Devils, and yet because she set her heart and affection upon that person, many sinnes were forgiven her? Luke 7. The right hand thase, how farre was he from all workes of the

Law, and yet by faith entered he justified into Paradise the same day with Christ, Luke 23. In like manner, although the poye Publican came to the Church with lesse holiness after the Law, yet went he home to his house more justified than the Pharisee with all his workes, and all by reason of faith, Luke 18. The parable of the prodigall sonne which was lost, yet recovered againe; also of the lost goat, and of the lost sheepe which went astray and was found againe: what doe these declare, but that which is lost by the Law to be recovered by faith and grace? And how oft doe we read in the Gospels? Thy faith hath saved thee, &c. Iesus seeing their

believe, &c. He that beleeveeth in me, I will raise him up in the last day, &c. Beleeve also in me, &c. He that beleeveeth in me hath everlasting life, &c. Without me ye can doe nothing, &c. He that is in me, &c. He that loveth me, &c. He that heareth me, &c. He that abideth in me, &c. He that receiveth me, &c. Unless ye eate my flesh, and drinke my blood, &c. That they may receive remission of sinnes by their faith in me, &c. Acts 26. To him all the Prophets give witness, to have remission of sinnes, whosoever beleeveeth in his Name, &c. Acts 10. He that beleeveeth and is baptised, Matth. ult. He that beleeveeth in me shall doe the workes that I doe, and greater then these, &c.

And likewise in the writings of Saint Paul, how often doe we heare the name of Christ, almost in every third or fourth line, where he still repeateth: In Christo Iesu, per Christum Iesum, per Iesum Christum Dominum nostrum, &c. Qui credunt in ipso, &c. Omnes qui credunt in eo, &c. Credentes in illo, in eum, credentes illi, in nomen ejus, in nomine Domini nostri Iesu Christi, &c. Beleeve (saith S. Paul to the Thymothee) in the Lord Iesus, and thou shalt be saved and thy whole house, &c. Acts 16.

Thus then thou seest, as the passion of Christ is onely the efficient or personall cause immediate of our salvation: so is faith onely the instrumentall or meane cause that maketh the merits of Christ to us available. For as the passion of Christ serveth to none but such as doe believe: so neither doth faith (as it is onely a bare quality or action in mans mind) it selfe justifie, unless it be directed to the body of Christ crucified as to his object, of whom it receiveth all his vertue. And therefore these two must alwaies jointly concur together, faith, and Christ Iesus crucified. As for example, when the children of Israel were bid of Moses to wake up to the brazen Serpent: neither could the Serpent have helped them, except they had looked up, nor yet they looking upward have profited them, unless they had directed their eyes upon the said serpent, as the onely object set up to the same purpose for them to behold. So our faith in like case directed to the body of Iesus our Saviour, is the onely means whereby Christs merits are applied unto us, and we now justified before God, according to the doctrine of Saint Paul, (who in expresse words, defining to us what this faith is, and how it justifieth) saith: If thou shalt confesse with thy mouth the Lord Iesus, and believe with thy heart that God raised him from death, thou shalt be saved, &c. Rom. 10. Besides this, what action or quality soever is in man, either hope, charity, or any other kind of faith and beleeving, be it never so true, except it apprehend this object (which is the body of Christ the Sonne of God, it serveth not to justification. And that is the cause why we adde this particle (onely) to faith, and say that onely faith in Christ justifieth us, to exclude all other actions, qualities, gifts, or workes of man, from the cause of justifying: for so much as there is no other knowledge nor gift given of God to man, be it never so excellent, that can stand before the judgement of God unto justification, or whereunto any promise of salvation is annexed; but onely this faith looking up

Luke 18.  
That which is  
lost by the Law  
is recovered by  
faith.

Luke 18.  
John 9.  
John 14.  
John 15.  
John 6.

Acts 26.  
Acts 10.  
Math. ult.  
John 14.

The writings  
of S. Paul full  
of the name of  
Christ Iesus.  
Use onely in  
Christ saveth.

Acts 16.

The personall  
cause of salva-  
tion.  
The instru-  
mentall cause.

How faith  
justifieth.

Christ the only  
object of faith  
which justifieth.  
Example of the  
brazen serpent.

What faith is  
by Saint Paul  
Rom. 10.

Faith onely.



to the brazen serpent, that is, to the body of Christ Jesus for us crucified.

As for example, when the Turke saith, that he believeth in one living God that made Heaven, and Earth, his beloe therein is true, yet it justifieth him not, because it lacketh the right object, which is Christ. So when the Jew saith, that he beloeveth in one God maker of Heaven and Earth, and beloeveth also the same God to be omnipotent, mercifull, iust, and true of promise, and that he hath cleed the seed of Abraham: true it is that he beloeveth, and yet all this serveth him not, because Christ the Sonne of God is not joynd withall. And though the said Jew should be never so devout in his prayers, or charitable in almes, or pacific in keeping the law, and beloeveth never so steadfastly that he is cleed to be saved: yet he is never the nearer to salvation for all this, so long as his faith is not grounded upon the head corner stone, which is the person & body of Christ Jesus the true Saviour. After like sort it may be said of the papist, when he saith, that he is baptised, and beloeveth in the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy Ghost, three persons and one God, and also confesseth Jesus Christ to be the Sonne of God, which died for our finnes, and rose againe for our righteousness, &c. his beloe therein is true, and indeed would save him, if he did stay his salvation in this faith, and upon Christ his Saviour onely, according to the promise and grace of God, and goe no further. But that he doth not: for neither doth he admit Christ onely to be his perfect Saviour without the helpe of the patrons, heads, advocates, and mediators, nor yet permitte his faith in Christ only to be the meanes of his justification, but setteth up other by-meanes, as hope, charity, sacrifice of the Masse, confession, penance, satisfaction, merits, and pardons, supposing thereby to worke his justification before God, contrary to the word of promise, to the Gospel of grace, and to the doctrine of Saint Paul, whereof we shall see more (the Lord willing) hereafter.

And thus much of the true causes of our justification after the doctrine of Saint Paul. Concerning which causes this distinction furthermore by the way is to be added, that as touching the originall causes of our salvation, which be divers and sundry, some are externall, and without us; some are internall, and within us. Of the externall causes which are without us, the first and principall is the mercy and grace of God. Of this followeth predestination and election. Then cometh vocation. The last and next cause to us is the death and bloodshed of Christ, whereby we are redeemed, and all these be externall causes, because they are without us. Of internall causes that be in man through the gift of God, there is but one, and no more in Scripture appointed, that is our faith in Christ, which is the gift of God in us. Besides this, there is no gift of God given to man, vertue, worke, merit, nor any thing else, that is any part or cause of salvation, but onely this gift of faith, to beloeve in Christ Jesus. And this is the cause why we hold that faith onely justifieth, meaning that amongst all the workes, doeds, actions, labours, and operations, whatsoever man doth or can doe, there is nothing in man that worketh salvation, but onely his faith given to him of God to beloeve in Christ his Sonne, following therein the trade of Saint Pauls teaching: who in precise words so ascribeth justification to faith, that he excludeth all other actions of man, and workes of the law. And therefore in the same Epistle to the Romans, Saint Paul reasoning of the glory of justifying, asketh this question, how this glory is excluded: whether by the law of workes? And concludeth, no: ascribing onely the glory thereof to the law of faith, and consequently upon the same he inferreth: Colligimus enim justificari hominem per fidem sine operibus legis: We hold that a man

is justified by faith without the deeds of the law.

And how then can that be accounted for any part of our justification, which Saint Paul utterly doth barreth and excludeth in that behalfe? Of which like exclusives, and negatives the whole course of Saint Pauls doctrine is full, where he still concludeth: Sine operibus, absque operibus legis, non ex operibus, Dei donum est; secundum misericordiam; non ex operibus, ne quis gloriatur, Ephes. 2. Non ex operibus iustitiarum quae fecimus nos, sed secundum propositum suum & gratiam, &c. Tit. 3. Non secundum opera nostra, &c. Tim. 1. That is to say, It is the gift of God, not of workes, that no man should glory, &c. Not of the workes of righteousness, which we have done, but of his owne mercy, &c. Not after our workes, but after his owne purpose and grace which is given to us, &c. Again, Gal. 2. Non justificatur homo ex operibus, &c. That is, A man is not justified by workes, &c. Item, Ei qui non operatur, credenti autem in eum qui justificat impium, fides imputatur ad iustitiam, &c. Rom. 4. To him that worketh not, but believeth in him which justifieth the wicked, his faith is imputed for righteousness, &c. By these exclusives and negatives in Saint Pauls doctrine, what doth he else meane, but utterly to seclude all kind of mans merits, and workes of the law from the office and dignity of justifying: And although he expresseth not the word, Onely: yet upon his exclusives, and negatives, this exceptive must needs be inferred. For in all logike the consequence is necessary and formall, as, One man is suffered to come into the house, and no person else is suffered but one: Ergo one man onely is suffered to enter into the house. And thus much concerning faith in Christ, proved to be the onely meane, or instrumentall, or conditionall cause of our salvation, and no other besides the same alone, by the doctrine of Saint Paul taught to the ancient Romans.

5. The fifth branch, which I note in Saint Pauls doctrine, is this: that after he hath thus established us in certainty of our salvation through faith in Christ, then after that, he exhorteth us vehemently and with all instance to good workes, shewing the true use and end to good workes: which is, first to shew our obedience and dutifull service (as we may) unto God, who hath done so great things for us. Secondly, to relieve our neighbours with our charity and kindnesse, as God hath bene kind to us his enemies. Thirdly, to stirre up others by our example to praise God, to embrace the same religion, and to doe the like. For requisite it is, that as God hath bene so mercifull to us and gracious in eternall gifts, we should be mercifull likewise to other in temporall commodities. And seeing it hath pleased him of his fatherly goodnesse (of our parts so little deserbed) to call us to so high a vocation, to give the blood of his Sonne for us, to forgive us all our finnes, to deliver us from this present wicked world, to make us Citizens of Heaven, &c. his children, more then servants: little then can we doe, and well may we thinke those benefits ill bestowed, if we forgive not our neighbours, and shew not some thing againe worthy that holy calling wherewith he hath called us, in mortifying our worldly lusts here, and studying after heavenly things: and finally if we being provoked with such love and kindnesse, render not againe some love for love, some kindnesse for kindnesse, taking how to walke in the steps which he hath prepared for us to walke in, serving him (so much as we may) in holinesse and righteousness all the daies of our life. And though our obedience shall alwaies be imperfect, doe the best we can: yet reason would that some obedience we should shew, as loving children to such a loving father.

And this is the cause why Saint Paul is so vehement and urgent to call upon good workes, not that

Ephes. 2.

Titus 3.

2 Tim. 1.

Gal. 2.

Rom. 4.

The exclusives and negatives of St. Paul to be marked.

The fifth branch.

The true use and end of good workes.

Good workes suffice not but follow the inward.



workes should iustifie, but that we being iustified so mercifully and tenderly through his grace, should not abuse his grace in vaine, but endeavour our selves to our uttermost to render our service againe to him, in such conversation of life as may most make to his glory, and profit of our neighbour. And though the words of our Saviour same in some places to attribute to our obedience and charity here in earth, great rewards in heaven, that is of his owne free grace and goodnesse so to impute small matters for great deserts, and not for us to claime any meed thereby or thanke at his hand, as by any worthinesse of our doings: no more than the servant can, who when he cometh from the plough and serving the cattell in the field, serveth first his master at home and waiteth upon his table: the master is not bound (saith Christ) to thank his servant therefore, and bid him sit downe: So you (saith he) when you have done that is commanded you, say ye are unprofitable servants: ye have done but what your bound duty was to doe, Luke 17.

Luke 17.

Again, here also is to be understood, that where such rewards be ascribed unto mens deeds, it is not for the worthinesse of the deed it selfe, but for the faith of the doer, which faith maketh the worke to be good in Gods sight: for else if an infidell should doe the same worke that the Christian doth, it were nothing but more sinne before God. In that therefore the Christian mans worke is accepted be it never so small (as to give a cup of cold water) the same is onely for his faith sake that doth it, and not for the worke which is done. Whereby againe we may learne how faith onely doth iustifie a man, and that thre manner of wayes.

Faith iustifieth thre manner of wayes.

First, it iustifieth the person in making him accepted, and the child of God by regeneration, before he begin to doe any good worke.

Secondly, it iustifieth a man from sinne, in procuring remission and forgiveness of the same.

Thirdly, it iustifieth the good deeds and workes of man, not only in bringing forth good fruits, but also in making the same workes to be good and acceptable in the sight of God, which otherwise were impure and execrable in his sight.

The office therefore of faith and workes is divers, and must not be confounded. Faith first goeth before, and regenerateth a man to God, and iustifieth him in the sight of God, both in covering his ill deeds, and in making his good deeds acceptable to God, climbing up to heaven, and there wrestling with God and his judgement for righteousness, for salvation, and for everlasting life. Workes and charity follow faith, and are exercised here upon the earth, and glory onely before man, but not before God, in shewing forth obedience both to God and to man. Further then this our good workes doe not reach, nor have any thing to doe in the judgement of God touching salvation. I speake of our good workes (as S. Paul speaketh, Rom. 7.) as they be ours and imperfect. For else if our workes could be perfect according to the perfection of the law, as Christ wrought them in the perfection of his flesh; that is, if we could perfect them; then as it is said: Qui fecerit ea vivet in eis. But now seeing the imbecillity of our flesh cannot attaine thereto, it followeth thereof that all glory of iustifying is taken from workes, and transferred onely to faith.

And thus much concerning the principall contents of S. Pauls doctrine, wherein the church of the ancient Romans was first grounded and planted, and so continued in the same, or at least did not much alter, during the primitive state of the church. Likewise the same forme of doctrine the later Romans also that followed should have maintained, and not have fallen away for any mans preaching, but hold him accursed, yea if he were an Apostle or Angel from Heaven, teaching any other doctrine besides that institution which they have received.

The office of faith, and the office of the law compared together.

The workes of man be imperfect, and therefore have nothing to doe with iustification.

Gal. 1. for so were they warned before by the Apostle Saint Paul, to doe. And yet notwithstanding all this forewarning and diligent instruction of this blessed Apostle of the Gentiles, what a defection of faith is fallen among the Gentiles, especially among the Romanes, whereof the said Apostle also foretold them so long before, fore-prophecyng: That the day of the Lord shall not come, except there come a defection before, and that the man of sinne should be revealed, the proud adversary of God, &c. Theff. 2.

Defection of faith in the church of Rome.

meaning (no doubt) by this defection, a departing and a falling from that faith which the holy Ghost had then planted by his ministry among the Gentiles: As we see it now come to passe in the church of Rome. Which church is so gone from the faith that Saint Paul taught, that if he were now alive, and saw these decrees and decretals of the Bishop of Rome, these heapes of ceremonies and traditions, these masse-booke, these processe, these festivals and legends, these processions, hymnes, and sequences, these beads and gradualls, and the manner of their invocation, their canons, censures and later counsels, such swarmes of superstitious Monkies and friers, such sects, and so many divers religions, the testament of Saint Francis, the rule of Saint Benedict, of Saint Augustin, of Saint Anthony, &c. the intricate subtilties and labyrinths of the schoolmen, the infinite cases and distinctions of the canonists, the sermons in churches, the assertions in schooles, the glory of the Pope, the pride of the Clergy, the cruelty of persecuting Heretics with their Officials and Promotors: he would say this were not a defection, but rather a plaine destruction and a ruine of faith, neither that this were any true church of Christ, but a new found religion, or paganism rather, brought in under the shadow of Christianity, wherein remaineth almost nothing else but the name onely of Christ, and the outward forme of his religion, the true vaine and effect whereof is utterly decayed: as to them which list to examine all the parts of this new Romish religion may soon appear.

A view of the Popes call on like church. Theff. 2.

The church of Rome degenerated againe almost to new Paganisme.

For save onely that they pretend the solemn forme and words of the creed, and are baptised, confessing the Name of the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy Ghost: as touching all other points and true sincerity of the christian faith, which they outwardly profess, they are utterly degenerated from that which Saint Paul and the Word of Gods first had taught them.

First, they confesse the Father in word, but his Will in his Word expressed they renounce: his grace they acknowledge not, his benefits and promises given unto us in his Sonne they receive not, the vigor of his law they feele not, the terror of his judgements earnestly they feare not, his commandments they observe by traditions and commandments of their owne.

The Popes church only in words cathe, like, in deed Heathenish.

Likewise the name of Christ his Sonne in word they confesse, but his office in deed they deface and diminish: his glory they seeke not, but under his name they doe seeke their owne: the power of his blood and passion they know not, or else dissemble it, whom neither they admit to be the head of his church alone, nor Saviour alone, nor to be our onely patrone and advocate, but match with him our lady, and other patrons, so that every parish almost in Christendome hath his peculiar patron besides Christ to hold by.

In like manner they confesse the name of the holy Ghost, but God himselfe knoweth how farre they are from the comfort, knowledge, and taste of the Holy Ghost: as well may appear by their counsels, by their expounding of Scripture, by their superstitious ceremonies, by their outward worshiping and idolatrous invocation to stockes and stones, and to dead creatures, by their scrupulous observation of daies, times, places, numbers and gestures:

70



The religion of  
the popes  
Church proceedeth  
contrary  
to the working  
of the holy  
Ghost.

The church of  
Rome pretendeth  
a false face  
of religion, but  
in void of the  
feet thereof.

The old pharisees  
and the later  
church of  
the Romane  
compared together.

The popes  
Church under  
the name of the  
Catholike  
Church persecuteth  
the true  
Catholike  
Church of  
Christ.

gestures: and no lesse also by their doctrine, which defraudeth the poore hearts of simple Christians of their due consolation, joy and liberty in the Holy Ghost, and keepeth them still in a servile bondage, and a doubtfull incertainty of their salvation, contrary to the working of the holy Spirit of God.

And thus the church of Rome, pretending onely the name of Christ and of his Religion, is so farre altered from the truth of that which it pretendeth, that under the name of Christ, it persecuteth both Christ and his Religion: working more harme to the Church of Christ, than ever did the open tyrants and persecuting Emperors among the heathen: not much unlike herein to the old Synagogue of the Scribes and Pharisees, who under the name of God crucified the Sonne of God, and under pretence of the Law, fought against the Gospell, and under the title of Abrahams children, persecuted the children of Abraham. And as they bragging so highly of the Temple of the Lord, the Temple of the Lord, did indeed destroy the true Temple of the Lord: right so these pretended Catholikes in these daies, after they have raised up a Catholike Church of their owne, and have armed the same with lawes, and have gathered unto them a power of Bishops, Brelates, Abbats, Monks, of religious men, of Cardinals, and also of secular Princes to take their part; now under the name of the Catholike Church they persecute the true Catholike Church, and colouring their proceeding still with *In nomine Domini*, most cruelly put them to death which die *Pro nomine Domini*; condemning them for Heretikes, Schismatikes and rebels, not which deny any part of the Crede, which they themselves professe, nor such whom they can convince by any Scripture; but onely such, which will not joyne with their errors and heresies, contrary to the honour of God and truth of his Word.

And lest any should thinke this, that we here protest against the corrupt errors and manifold defor-  
mities of this later church of Rome, to proceed of any rancour or affection, rather than grounded upon necessary causes, and demonstrations evident, my purpose is (by the Lords leave) to take herein some little paines, as I have collected a little before this summe and contents of Saint Pauls doctrine, wherewith the old church of Rome was first seasoned and acquainted, so now as in a like summary table to deliver the particular branches and contents of the Popes doctrine now set forth, to the intent that all true Christian readers, comparing the one with the other, may discern what great alteration there is betwene the church of Rome that now is, and the church of Rome that then was planted by the Apostles in the Primitive time. And to the end to open unto the simple reader some way whereby he may the better judge in such matters of doctrine, and not be deceived in discerning truth from error; first we will propound certaine principles or generall positions, as infallible rules or truths of the Scripture, whereby all other doctrines and opinions of men being tried and examined, as with the touchstone, may the more easily be judged whether they be true or contrary, and whether they make against the Scripture, or no.

### Certaine Principles, or generall Verities grounded upon the truth of Gods Word.

#### The first Principle.

1 A S sinne and death came originally by the disobedience of one to all men of his generation by nature: so righteousness and life come originally by the obedience of one to all men regenerated of him by Faith and Baptisme. Rom. 5.

#### The second Principle.

2 The promise of God was freely given to our first parents without their deserving; that the seed of a woman should breake the serpents head. Gen. 3.

#### The third Principle.

3 Promise was given freely to Abraham before he deserved any thing, that in his seed all nations should be blessed. Gen. 12.

#### The fourth Principle.

4 To the Word of God neither must wee add, nor take from it. Deut. 4.

#### The fifth Principle.

5 He that doth the wordes of the Law, shall live therein. Levit. 18. Gal. 3.

#### The sixth Principle.

6 Accursed is he which abideth not in every thing that is written in the Booke of the Law. Deut. 27. Gal. 3.

#### The seventh Principle.

7 God onely is to be worshipped. Deut. 6. Luke 4.

#### The eighth Principle.

8 All our righteousnesse is like a defiled cloth of a woman. Esay 64.

#### The ninth Principle.

9 In all my hole bill they shall not kill nor slay, saith the Lord. Esay 11. 65.

#### The tenth Principle.

10 God loveth mercy and obedience more than sacrifice. Ose. 6. 1 Reg. 15.

#### The eleventh Principle.

11 The Law worketh anger, condemneth and openeth sinne. Rom. 3.

#### The twelfth Principle.

12 The end of the Law is Christ, to righteousnesse to every one that believeth. Rom. 10.

#### The thirteenth Principle.

13 Whosoever believeth and is Baptised, shall be saved. Matth. ult.

#### The fourteenth Principle.

14 A man is justified by faith without workes, freely by grace, not of our selves. Gal. 2. Ephes. 2.

#### The fifteenth Principle.

15 There is no remission of sins without blood. Hebr. 9.

#### The sixteenth Principle.

16 Whatsoever is not of Faith is sin. Rom. 14. Rom. 14. Without faith it is impossible to please God. Heb. 11.

#### The seventeenth Principle.

17 One Mediator betwene God and Man, Christ Jesus. 1 Tim. 2. And he is the propitiation for our sins. 1 John 2.

#### The eighteenth Principle.

18 Whosoever seeketh by the Law to be justified, is fallen from grace. Gal. 5.

#### The nineteenth Principle.

19 In Christ be all the promises of God, Yea & Amen. 2 Cor. 1.

#### The twentieth Principle.

20 Let every soule be subject to superior powers, giving to Cesar that which is Cessars, and to God that which is Gods. Rom. 13.

These Principles and infallible Rules of the Scripture, as no man can deny: so if they be granted, the doctrine then of the Popes church must needs be found not to be Catholike, but rather full of errors and heresies, as in the sequels following remaineth more expressly & particularly by the Grace of Christ to be convinced.

Here followeth a summary collection of the errors, heresies, and absurdities contained in the Popes doctrine, contrary to the Rules of Gods Word, and the first institution of the Church of Rome.

#### Of Faith and Justification.

First as touching the onely meanes and instrumentall cause of our justification, whereby the merits of Christs passion be applied to us and made ours, we heard before how Saint Paul ascribeth

The errors, heresies, and absurdities, in the popes doctrine.

the

Certaine generall principles and Rules grounded out of the Scripture.  
Rom. 5.

Gen. 3.

70

60

50

40

30

20



the same onely to faith; as appeareth by all his letters, especially to the Romanes. Where he excluding all kinde of workes, ascribeth all our salvation, justification, righteousness, reconciliation, and peace with God onely unto faith in Christ. Contrary to which doctrine, the Pope and his church hath set up divers and sundry other means of their owne devising whereby the merits of Christs passion (they say) are applied to us and made ours, to the putting away of sins, and for our justification, as hope, charity, sacrifice of the masse, auricular confession, satisfaction, merits of Saints, and holy orders, the Popes pardons, &c. So that Christs sacrifice, stripes, and suffering, by this teaching doth not heale us, nor is beneficiall to us, though we believe never so well, unless we adde also these workes and merits above recited. Which if it be true, then it is false that Esay the Prophet doth promise: chap. 53. In his stripes we are all made whole, &c. This error; and heresie of the church of Rome, though it seeme at first sight to be the naturall reason of man to be but of small importance; yet if it be earnestly considered, it is in very deed the most pernicious heresie that ever almost crept into the Church; upon the which, as the only foundation, all or the most part of all the errors, absurdities, and inconveniences of the Popes church are grounded. For this being once admitted, that a man is not justified by his faith in Christ alone, but that other means must be fought by our owne working and merits to apply the merits of Christs passion unto us; then is there neither any certainty left of our salvation, nor end in setting up new means and merits of our owne devising for remission of sins. Neither hath there bene any heresie that either hath rebelled more presumptuously against the high Majesty of God the Father, nor more perniciously hath injured the soules of the simple, than this doctrine.

First of all, it subverteth the will and testament of God. For where Almighty God of mercy hath given us his Sonne to die for us, and with him hath given out his full promise, that whosoever believeth upon him, should be saved by their faith, and as if signeth none other condition, either of the Law, or any of workes, but only of faith, to be the meanes betwene his Sonne and us: these men take upon them to alter this testament that God hath set, and adjoyne other conditions, which the Lord in his Word never appointed nor knew. To whom the words of Hierome may be well applied upon the Epistle to the Galathians, speaking of such: Qui de Evangelio Christi faciunt hominis Evangelium, vel quod pejus est, Diaboli, &c. That is, Which make of the Gospell of Christ, the gospell of men, or rather the gospell of the Divell, &c.

Secondly, whereas the Christian reader in the Gospell, reading of the great grace and sweet promises of God given to mankind in Christ his Sonne, might thereby take much comfort of soule, and be at rest and peace with the Lord his God: there cometh in the pestiferous doctrine of these heretikes, wherewith they obscure this free grace of God to choke the sweet comforts of man in the Holy Ghost, and oppress Christian liberty, and bring us into spirituall bondage.

Thirdly, as in this their impious doctrine they shew themselves manifest enemies to Gods Grace: so are they no lesse injurious to Christian men, whom they leave in a doubtfull distrust of Gods favour and of their salvation, contrary to the Word and Will of God, and right institution of the Apostolicke doctrine. And whereas our new scholarmen of late, to maintain the said wicked point of doctrine, doe object unto us that wee rather leave mens conscience uncertaine, so far much as, if life (say they) were not a due reward, it were uncertaine: and now so far much as due debt is certaine, and mercy or fa-

vour is uncertaine, therefore (say they) we leaving mens consciences to the mercy of God, doe leave them in a doubtfull uncertainty of their salvation. To this I answer, that due debt, if it be proved by the Law duly deserved, must be certaine. But if the Law shall prove it unperfected, or insufficiently due, then it is not certaine, neither can there be any thing duly claimed. Now, as touching mercy, so long as it remaineth secret in the Princes will, and not knowne to his subjects, so long it is uncertaine. But when this mercy shall be openly published by proclamation, ratified by promise, conferred by will and testament, established in blood, and sealed with Sacraments, then this mercy remaineth no more doubtfull, but ought firmly to be believed of every true faithfull subject. And therefore Saint Paul, to establish our hearts in this assurance, and to answer to this doubt, in his Epistle to the Romanes, doth teach us, saying: And therefore of faith, that after

Fourthly, as in this their sinister doctrine they breake this principle of Christian religion, which saith that a man is justified by faith without workes, so againe it breaketh another principle above rehearsed. For this rule being granted, that nothing is to be added to Gods Word, nor taken from it: then have these men done wickedly in adding (as they doe) to Gods Word. For where the Word of God limiteth to our justification no condition but faith: Believe (saith hee) in the Lord Iesus, and thou shalt be saved, and thy whole house, &c. Acts 16. these justificaries doe adde thereto divers and sundry other conditions besides, and such as the word also precisely excludeth, as hope, charity, the sacrifice of the masse, the worke of the Priest: Ex opere operato, auricular confession, satisfaction, meritorious deeds, &c. And thus much concerning the doctrine of faith and justification. Wherby it may appeare to what horrible blindness and blasphemy the church of Rome is now fallen, where this kind of doctrine is not onely suffered, but also publikely professed, which speaking against faith, thus blasphemously dare say: Fides illa qua quis firmiter credit, & certo statuit propter Christum sibi remissa esse peccata, selesque possessorum vitam eternam, non fides est, sed temeritas; non spiritus sancti persuasio, sed humane audaciz presumptio. That is, That faith wherewith a man firmly believeth, and certainly assureth himselfe, that for Christs sake his sinnes be forgiven him, and that he shall possesse eternall life, is not faith, but rashnesse; not the perswasion of the Holy Ghost, but presumption of a mans boldnesse.

### Of Works and the Law.

As touching the doctrine of good workes, and the Law, what the teaching of Saint Paul was to the Romanes, yet heard before. Who although hee excludeth good workes from the office of justifying, yet excludeth he them not from the practice and conversation of christian life, but most earnestly calleth upon all faithfull believers in Christ, to walke worthy their vocation, to lay downe their old conversation, to give their members servants of righteousness, to offer their bodies up to God a lively sacrifice, &c. The like example of whose teaching, if the churches now reformed doe not follow, let their ser-

The meanes of applying Christs merits unto us by the Popes doctrine.

The taking away of this article of faith only to iustitie, is the root of great inconvenience in Christs Church.

No heresie to be compared to the heresie of Popes.

The first inconvenience.

No condition limited of God to man for salvation but one. Hieron. in Epist. ad Gal. cap. 1.

The second inconvenience. What hurt cometh into the Church by taking away the article of justification.

The third inconvenience.

Objection of the Papists answered.

The Papists doe teach the mercy of God to be uncertaine.

Mercy of God made certaine by his promises.

Salvation standeth sure and certaine by Gods promise. The place of Saint Pauls Romans 4. expounded.

The fourth inconvenience.

The fourth principle above recited broken.

Ex Lindars is epitome doctrine evangelice.

The first error of the Papists touching good workes.



mons, their preachings, writings, exhortings, and lives of to beare record. Who although they cannot say with Christ, Which of you can blame me of sin? yet they may say to the adversaries, Whosoever of you is without fault, cast the first stone of reproach against us. Wherefore Hosius, Bishopp, with their fellowes doe their open wrong, and slanderously belie them in comparing them in this behalfe to Aetius, Eunomius, and other heretikes called Anomæti, who taking the good sentences of Saint Paul, did abuse the same to filthy licence of the flesh, and corruption of wicked life, &c.

But to let these standers passe, now what the errors be of the Church of Rome touching this part of doctrine, remaineth to be declared. Whose error first standeth in this, that they, misunderstanding the definition of good works, doe call good works, not such as properly are commanded by the Law of God, but such as are agreeable to the Popes law; as building of Abbies and Churches, giving to the high Altar, founding of trentals, finding of chantries, gilding of images, hearing of masses, going on pilgrimage, fighting for the holy crosse, keeping of bowes, entering to orders, fasting of vigils, creeping to the crosse, praying to Saints, &c. All which are not onely reputed for good works, but so preferred also before all other works, that to these is given pardon from the Pope, double and triplefold, more then to any other good works of charity commanded in the Law of Almighty God.

Another error also may be noted in the Papists, touching the efficient or formall cause of good works. For albeit they all confesse in their booke, that Gratia Dei gratis data is the chiefe and principall cause thereof, and worketh in us Iustitiam primam (as they call it) yet the good works after regeneration they referre to other subordinate causes under God, as to free will, or to Habitus virtutis, or Ad integra naturalia, and nothing at all to faith, when as faith onely next under God is the root and fountaine of all well doing: as in the fruits of a good tree, albeit the planter or the husbandman be the principall agent thereof, and some cause also may be in the good ground: yet the next and immediate cause is the roote that maketh the tree fruitful. In like manner, the grace of God in a soft and repentant mollified heart, planteth the gift of faith. Faith as a good roote cannot lie dead or unoccupied, but springeth forth, and maketh both the tree fruitful, and also the fruit thereof to be good, which otherwise had no acceptation nor goodnesse in them, were it not for the goodnesse of the roote from whence they spring: So Paul, although he had certain works in him, such as they were, before his conversion: yet had he no good works before the Grace of Christ had rooted faith in him. So Mary Magdalene the sinner, and Zacheus the publican. So all the nations of the Gentiles began to bring forth fruit, and especially good fruit, when they began to be ingrafted in Christ, and to receive the roote of his faith, whose fruits before that, were all damnable and unsavoury. As touching the cause therefore of good works, there is no other in man but faith, whose office as it is to suffice us in Heaven, so the nature of it is here in earth to worke by love, as the root worketh by the sap. For as a man seeth and feeleth by faith the love and Grace of God toward him in Christ his Sonne: so beginneth he to love againe both God and man, and to doe for his neighbour as God hath done to him. And hereof properly springeth the running fountaine of all good works and deeds of charity.

Thirdly, as they erre in the cause of good works, so doe they erre much more in the end of the Law, and of good works: for where St. Paul teacheth the Law to be given to this end and end, to convict our transgressions, to prove us sinners, to shew and condemne our iniquitie, and to direct us to Christ:

they take and apply no other end to the Law, but to make us perfect, to keepe us from wrath, and to make us just before God. And likewise where Saint Paul propheth all our good works to be unperfect, and utterly secludeth them from the end of justifying: they contrariwise do teach, as though the end of good works were to merit remission of finnes, to satisfie unto God, to deserve grace, to receive soules from purgatory, and that by them the person of the regenerate man both please God, and is made just before God. For so they teach most wickedly and horribly, saying: that Christ suffered for originall sinne, or sins going before Baptisme; but the actual sinnes, which follow after Baptisme, must be done away by mens merits. And so they assigne to Christ the beginning of salvation, or obtaining the first grace (as they call it) but the perfection or consummation of grace they give to works and our owne strength. Neither can they in any case abide, that we be justified freely by the mercy of God through faith onely apprehending the merits of Christ. Howbeit neither doe all Papists in this their error agree in one. For some make distinction, and say, that we are justified by Christ Principaliter, id est, principally: Et minus principaliter, id est, lesse principally, by the dignity of our owne deeds, contrary to the eighth principle before mentioned. Others hold that we are made righteous before God, not by our works that goe before faith, but by our vertues that follow after. Some againe doe thus erpound the saying of Saint Paul, We are justified by faith: that is (say they) by faith, preparing us, or setting us in a good way to be justified. Others expound it by the figure Synecdoche, that is, by faith conjoynd together with other vertues. Others thus: By faith, that is, being formed with charity, &c. Thus all these doe derogate from the benefit of Christ, and attribute unto works a great or the greatest part of our justification, directly against the true veine of Saint Pauls doctrine, and first institution of the ancient church of Rome, and against all the principles of holy Scripture.

Furthermore, as touching the said doctrine of the Law & good works, they erre in misunderstanding the nature of the Law and works. For where Saint Paul disputeth that the Law is spirituall, and requireth of us perfect obedience of the whole power of man, which we being carnall, are never able to accomplish: they affirme otherwise, that the Law doth require but onely outward obedience of man, and therewith is contented. And this obedience (they say) man is not onely able to performe, but also to doe more and greater things than the Law requireth. Whereof rise the works of supererogation, contrary to the sixth and eighth principles above specified. Also there be (say they) among other, certaine works of the Law, which pertaine not to all men, but are Consilia, counsels, left for perfect men, as matter for them to merit by, and these they call Opera perfectionis, or Opera indebita, adding also unto these new devices, to serve God after their owne traditions besides the Word of God; as monasticall volmes, wilfull poverty, difference of meats and garments, pilgrimage to reliques and Saints, worshipping of the dead, superstitious ceremonies, rolaries, &c. with such like; and these they call works of perfection, which they preferre before the other commanded in the Law of God. Inasmuch that in comparison of these, the other necessary duties commanded and commended by the Word of God (as to beare office in the commonwealth, to live in the godly state of matrimony, to sustaine the office of a servant in a house) are condemned, and accounted as prophane in comparison of these, contrary to the tenth principle above mentioned.

The end of the Law and good works provided.

Thom. Aquinas. Huius in 2. tom. conj. ss. cap. 1.

The diversity of opinions of the Catholics the Papists how easily mistaken.

The Popes doctrine against the principles of Scripture.

The fourth error of the Papists touching the imperfection of man in satisfying the perfection of the Law.

Against the principles of Scripture.

Precepts and counsels.

Works of supererogation.

Whose traditions are preferred before the works of Gods Law.

Against the principle of Scripture.

Hosius in 2. tom. confessionis, cap. 1.

The second error of the Papists in the doctrine of good works.

Faith the root and cause of good works.

Works are not to be called good, but by reason of faith. The office of faith to suffice. The effect of faith to bring forth good works.

Fides per dilectionem operans. Gal. 5.

The third error of the Papists, touching the end of the Law and good works.



## Of sinne.

Erroneous doctrine of the latter church of Rome concerning sin.

Of sinne likewise they teach not rightly nor after the institution of the Apostles, and the ancient church of Rome while they consider not the depenence and largenesse of sinne, supposing it still to be nothing else but the inward actions with consent of will, or the outward, such as are against will: whereas the strength of sin extendeth not only to these, but also comprehendeth the blindness and ignorance of the mind, lacke of knowledge and true feare of God, the untowardnesse of mans minde to Godward, the prible rebellion of the heart against the Law of God, the undelighting will of man to God and his Word. The sense of flesh S. Paul also calleth an enemy against God, and feeleth in himselfe, that is, in his flesh, nothing dwelling but sinne.

Originall sin what it is.

As touching also originall sinne, wherein we are borne, which is the destruction of originall iustice, and of Gods image in us (remaining in us, and bringing forth in us wicked cogitations, affections, and motions of naughtinesse against the Law of God, and never ceasing so long as man lieth) this originall sinne the Popes doctrine doth not deny, but yet doth much extenuate the same, and holdeth that this inward concupiscence, and vicious affections not burking out in us with consent of will, are no mortall nor damnable sin, but onely Fomes peccati: and say moreover, that this Concupiscencia in vs is no depravation of the higher, but onely of the lower parts of man being a thing *in seipso*, indifferent, and no lesse naturall in us, than is the appetite to eate and drinke, and that the same is left to remaine in the Saints after Baptisme, to be to them occasion of more meriting, &c.

Fomes peccati. Concupiscencia.

Originall sin extenuated.

## Of Penance, or Repentance.

False doctrine of the latter church of Rome touching penance.

Of Penance, this later Laterane Church of Rome of late hath made a sacrament (contrary to the fourth principle lesse) which penance, say they, standeth of three parts, contrition, confession, and satisfaction canonical. Contrition (as they teach) may be had by strength of free will, without the Law and the holy Ghost, Per Actus elicitos, through mans owne action and endeavour. Which contrition first must be sufficient, and so it meriteth remission of sinne. In confession they require a full rehearsal of all sins, whereby the Priest knowing the crimes, may minister satisfaction accordingly. And this rehearsing of sins, Ex opere operato, deserves remission, contrary to the fourth principle before. satisfactions they call Opera indebita, imposed by the ghostly father. And this satisfaction (say they) taketh away and changeth eternall punishment into temporall paines, which paines also it doth mitigate. And againe, these satisfactions may be taken away by the Popes indulgence, &c.

Contrition. Confession.

Satisfaction.

The doctrine of repentance by the Scripture. 1. Contrition. 2. Confession. 3. Satisfaction.

This unlawful and heathenish doctrine of penance farre differeth from the true teaching of Holy Scripture: By the which teaching, repentance properly containeth these three parts, contrition, faith & new life. Contrition is called in Scripture the sorrow of heart, rising upon the consideration of sin committed, and of the anger of God provoked, which sorrow driveth a man to Christ for succour: whereupon riseth faith. Faith bringeth afterward amendment or newnesse of life, which we call new obedience, working fruits worthy of repentance.

## Difference betweene the Law and the Gospell.

The blindness, ignorance of the Popes church in not distinguishing the Law from the Gospell.

As there is nothing more necessary and comfortable for troubled consciences, than to be well instructed in the difference betweene the Law and the Gospell: so is the church of Rome much to blame

in this behalfe, because it confoundeth together those two, being in nature so divers and contrary one from another: as the eatings with promises, things temporall with things eternall, sorrowfull things with glad tidings, death with life, bondage with freedom, &c. Teaching the people, that whatsoever the law saith, the Gospell confirmeth; and whatsoever the Gospell saith, the same is agreeable to the law, and so make they no difference betweene Moses and Christ: save onely that Moses (they say) was the giver of the old law, Christ is the giver of the new, and a more perfect law. And thus imagine they the Gospell to be nothing else but a new law given by Christ, binding to the promises thereof the condition of our doings and deservings, no otherwise than to the old law. And so divide they the whole law after this distinction, into three parts, to wit, the law of nature, the law of Moses, and the law of Christ. And as for the Gospell (they say) it is revealed for no other cause, but to shew to the world more perfect precepts, and counsels, than were in the old law: to the fulfilling whereof they attribute justification, and so leave the poore consciences of men in perpetuall doubt, and induce other manifold errors: bringing the people into a false opinion of Christ, as though he were not a remedy against the law, but came as another Moses, to give a new law to the world.

10

20

30

40

50

60

70

Furthermore, as they make no difference betweene the nature of the law, and the nature of the Gospell, confounding Moses and Christ together: so neither do they distinguish or discern the time of the law, and the time of the Gospell afterward. For where S. Paul bringeth in the law to be a schoolmaster, and limiteth him his time unto Christ, & saith that Christ is the end of the law, that is, whereas the law ceaseth, there Christ beginneth, and where Christ beginneth there the law endeth: they contrary make the law to have no end nor ceasing, but give to it immortall life and kingdome equall with Christ, so that Christ and the Law together doth raigne over the soule and conscience of man. Which is untrue: For either Christ must give place, and the law stand; or the law (the condemnation and malediction of the law I meane) must end, & Christ reigne. For both these, Christ and the law, grace and malediction cannot reigne and governe together. But Christ the Sonne of God, which once died, can die no more, but must reigne forever. And herfore the law with his strength, sting and curse, must needs cease and have an end. And this is it that S. Paul speaking of the triumph of Christ, saith, that he ascending up led away captivity captive, and hath set man at liberty, not at liberty to live as flesh lieth, neither hath freed him from the use and exercise of the law, but from the dominion and power of the law, so that, There is now no condemnation to them that be in Christ Iesus, which walke not after the flesh, &c. Rom. 8. And in another place S. Paul speaking of the same power and dominion of the law, saith, that Christ hath taken the obligation written against us in decrees, and hath nailed it upon the crosse triumphing over all, &c. So that as the kingdome of Christ first began upon the crosse; even so upon the same crosse, and at the same time the kingdome of the law expired, and the malediction of the law was so crucified upon the crosse, that it shall never rise againe, to have any power against them that be in Christ Iesus. For like as if a woman be discharged from her first husband being dead, and hath married another man, the first husband hath no more power over her: even so we now being espoused unto Christ our second husband, are discharged utterly from our first husband the law, and (as Saint Paul in another place saith) Are no more under the law, that is, under the dominion and malediction of the law, But under grace, that is, under perpetuall remission of sinnes, committed

A Babelonical confusion in the popes doctrine.

What difference the popes put betweene Moses and Christ.

Popes make the Gospell a new law.

Popes divide the law into the law of nature, the law of Moses, and the law of Christ.

The Popes church blind in the office of Christ.

The time of the law, and time of the Gospell distinguished.

Malediction of the law ceaseth in Christ. The use of the law continueth, Christ and the law cannot reigne together.

Ephes. 4. The power of the law is for a time. The power of Christ is eternal.

Roman. 8. Colos. 2. The malediction of the law giveth place to Christ. The curse of the law is crucified and shall never rise againe.

Roman. 7. Roman. 6.

To be under the Law and under grace expounded.

not



not onely before our Baptisme, but as well also after Baptisme, and during all our life long. For therein properly consisteth the grace of God, in not imputing sinne to us, so often as the repenting sinner rising up by faith, flieth unto Christ, and appeareth Gods mercy and remission promised in him, according to the testimony both of the Plaine, Blessed is the man to whom the Lord imputeth no sinne, &c. and also of all the Prophets, Which (as Saint Peter saith) give record to him, that through his name, all that believe in him shall receive remission of their sinnes, &c. Act. 10. Which being so, as it cannot be denied, then what need these private and extraordinary remissions to be brought into the Church by care-confession, by meritorious deeds, and by the Popes pardons? For if there be no condemnation but by the Law; and if this Law it selfe which was the first husband, be captibed, crucified, abolished, and departed, what condemnation then can there be to them that be in Christ Jesus, or by whom should it come? If there be no condemnation, but a free and generall delibrance for all men, once gotten by the victory of Christ, from the penalty of the Law: what needeth then any particular remission of sinnes at sundry times to be sought at the Priestes hands, or the Popes pardons? He that hath a generall pardon, needeth no particular. If remedy for sin be generall and perpetuall, once gotten, so eber to all them that be in Christ Jesus, what needeth any other remedy? by auricular confession? If it be not generall and perpetuall, how then is it true that Saint Paul saith, The Law is crucified, and condemnation abolished? Or how standeth redemption perpetuall and generall, if remission be not generall? For what is redemption else, but remission of sin, or sinns bought out? Or what else to kill the Law, but to discharge us from condemnation for eber? He that delivereth his friend for a time out of his enemies hand doth him a pleasure: but he that killeth the enemy once out of the way, giveth perpetuall safety. So if remission of sinns by Christ were for some sinns, not for all, the Law then must needs live still. But now the killing and crucifying of the Law importeth full remission and absolute, and our safety to be perpetuall. But here, percase, will be objected of some: How standeth remission of sinnes certaine and perpetuall, seeing new offences, being daily committed, doe daily require new remission? Hereto I answer: Albeit sinns doe daily grow, whereby we have need daily to desire God to Forgive our trespasses, &c. Yet notwithstanding the cause of our remission standeth ever one and perpetuall, neither is the same to be repeated any more, nor any other cause to be sought besides that alone. This cause is the body of Christ sacrificed once upon the crosse for all sinns that either have beene or shall be committed. Beside this cause there is no other, neither confession, nor mens pardons that remitteth sinns.

Furthermore, as the cause is one and ever perpetuall, which worketh remission of sinns unto us: so is the promise of God ever one, once made, and standeth perpetuall, that offereth the same to the faith of the repenting sinner. And because the promise of God is alwaies sure and cannot faile, which offereth remission to all them that believe in Christ, being limited neither to time nor number, therefore we may boldly conclude, that what time soever a repenting sinner believeth, and by faith applyeth to him the sacrifice of Christ, he hath by Gods owne promise, remission of his sinns, whether they were done before, or after Baptisme.

And moreover, for so much as the said promise of God offereth remission to the repentant sinner, by no other meanes nor condition, but onely one, that is, by faith in Christ: therefore excluding all other meanes and conditions of mans working, we say, that what repenting sinner soever believeth in

Christ, hath already in himselfe (and needeth not to seeke to any Priest) perpetuall assurance of remission, not for this time or that time only, but for eber and a day. For the promise saith not, He that believeth in Christ shall be pardoned this time, so he sinne no more: neither doth it say, that the Law is laid, or the sentence repealed, but saith plainly, that the Law with her condemnation and sentence if selfe, is condemned and hanged up, and shall never rise againe to them that be in Christ Jesus: and promiseth indeterminately, without limitation, remission of sinns, To all that believe in his name, &c. Act. 10. And likewise in another place, the Scripture speaking absolutely, saith, Sinne shall not prevaile over you, and addeth the reason why; saying, Because yee are not under the Law, but under Grace, Rom. 6. Adding this lesson withall (as followeth in the same place) Not that sinners should sinne more therefore, because they are under Grace, but onely that weake infirmities might be relieved, broken consciences comforted, and repenting sinners holpen from desperation, to the praise of Gods glory. For as God forgiveth not sinners, because they should sinne, so neither doth infirmity of falling diminish the Grace of Christ, but rather doth illustrate the same, as it is written, My strength is made perfect in infirmity, 2 Cor. 12. And againe, Where Sinne aboundeth, there Grace superaboundeth also.

In remission of sinns therefore, these foure things must concur together: first the cause that worketh (which is the sacrifice of Christs body) secondly the promise that offereth, thirdly faith that apprehendeth, fourthly the repenting sinner that receiveth. And although sinnes daily doe grow, which daily provoke us to crave remission: yet as touching the cause that worketh remission of our daily sinnes, and the meanes which apprehend and apply the said cause unto us, they remaine alwaies one and perpetuall: besides which no other cause nor meanes is to be sought of man. So that to them that be repenting sinners, and be in Christ Jesus, there is no law to condemn them, though they have deserved condemnation: but they are under a perpetuall Kingdome, and a Heav'n full of Grace, and remission to cover their sinnes, and not to impute their iniquities, though the promise of God in Christ Jesus our Lord.

And therefore wicked and impious is the doctrine of them, first, which seeke any other cause of remission, than onely the blood of our Saviour: secondly, which assigne any other meanes to apply the blood-shedding of Christ unto us, besides onely faith: thirdly and especially, which so limit and restrain the eternall privilege of Christs passion, as though it served but onely for sinnes done without and before faith, and that the rest after Baptisme committed, must be done away by confession, pardons, and satisfactory deeds. And all this riseth, because the true nature of the Law and the Gospell is not knowne, nor the difference rightly considered between the times of the one and of the other. Neither againe doe they make any distinction between the malediction of the Law and use of the Law. And therefore whensoever they heare us speake of the Law (meaning the malediction of the Law) to be abolished, thereupon they maliciously slander us, as though we spake against the good exercises of the Law, and give liberty of flesh to carnall men to live as they list. Whereof more shall be said (by the Lords grace) as place and time shall hereafter require.

### Of Free-will.

Concerning Free-will, as it may peradventure in some case be admitted, that men without Grace may doe some outward functions of the Law, and

The words of promise free and absolute.

Acts. 10.

Roman. 6.

It is manifestly impaireth not the Grace of Christ, but augments it. 2 Cor. 12.

Rom. 5.

Four things concur in remission of sinnes.

The Popes errors touching remission of sinnes detected.

What inconvenience riseth for lack of distinction between the law and the Gospell.



keepe some outward obseruances or traditions : so as touching things spirituall and appertaining to saluation, the strength of man being not regenerate by Grace is so infirme and impotent, that he can perform nothing, neither in doing well nor willing well. Who, after he be regenerated by Grace, may worke and doe well, but yet in such sort, that still remaineth, notwithstanding, a great imperfection of flesh, and a perpetuall repugnance betwixt the flesh and spirit. And thus was the original Church of the ancient Romans first instructed. From whom see now how farre this latter church of Rome hath degenerated, which holdeth and affirmeth, that men without grace may performe the obedience of the Law, and prepare themselves to grace by working, so that those works may be meritorious, and of congruity obtaine grace. Which grace once obtained, then men may (say they) perfectly performe the full obedience of the Law, and accomplish those spirituall actions and works which God requireth, and to those works of congruity, deserve euerlasting life. As for the infirmity which still remaineth in nature, that they nothing regard nor once speake of.

### Of Invocation and Adoration.

Other and besides these unchristlike and almost unchristian absurdities and defections from the Apostolicall faith aboue specified, let us consider the manner of their invocation, not to God alone, as they should : but to dead men, saying : that Saints are to be called upon, Tanquam mediatores intercessionis, As mediatores of intercession : Christum vero tanquam mediatorem salutis. And Christ as the mediator of saluation : And affirme moreover, that Christ was a mediator onely in time of his passion. Which is repugnant to the words of S. Paul, writing to the old Romans, Chapter eight, where hee speaking of the intercession of Christ : Which is (saith he) on the right hand of God, who also maketh intercession for us, &c. And if Christ be a mediator of saluation : what needeth then any other intercession of Saints for our sutes ? For saluation being once had, what can wee require more ? What lacketh he more to be obtained of the Saints, which is sure to be saved only by Christ ? And then in their catholike deuotions, why doe they teach us thus to pray to the blessed Virgin : Salua omnes qui te glorificant, that is, Save all them that glorifie thee, &c. if saluation belong only to Christ : unless they study of purpose to seeme contrary to themselves.

Hitherto also pertaineth the worshipping of relikes, and the false adoration of Sacraments, that is, the outward signes of the things signified, contrary to the seventh Principle before. Adde to this also the prophaneation of the Lords Supper, contrary to the use for which it was ordained, in reseruing it after the communion ministered, in setting it to sale for money, and falsly perswading both themselves and others, that the Priest doth merit both to himselfe that faith, and to him that heareth, Ex opere operato, sine bono motu utentis, &c. that is, Onely by the mere doing of the worke, though the party that useth the same hath no motion in him,

### Of Sacraments, Baptisme, and the Lords Supper.

As touching Sacraments, their doctrine likewise is corrupt and erroneous.

1 First they erre falsely in the number. For where the institution of Christ ordaineth but two, they (contrary to the fourth Principle aboue prescribed) have added to the prescription of the Lords Word, five other sacraments.

2 Secondly, in the cause finall they erre. For where the Word hath ordained those Sacraments

to ercite our faith, and to giue us admonitions of spirituall things : they contrariwise doe teach that the Sacraments doe not onely stirre up faith, but also that they abate and are effectuell without faith, Ex opere operato, sine bono motu utentis, &c. As is to be found in Thomas Aquinas, Scotus, Catharinus, and others more.

3 Thirdly, in the operation and effect of the Sacraments they faile, where they contrary to the mind of the Scriptures doe say, that they giue grace, and not onely doe signifie, but also containe and exhibite that which they signifie, to wit, Grace & Saluation.

4 Fourthly, they erre also in application, applying their Sacraments both to the quicke and the dead, to them also that be absent, to remission of sins, and releasing of paine, &c.

In the Sacrament of Baptisme they are to be reproved, not onely for adding to the simple words of Christs institution diuers other new found rites and phantasies of men : but also where the use of the old church of Rome was onely to baptise men, they baptise also Wels, and apply the words of Baptisme to water, fire, candles, stocks and stones, &c.

But especially in the Supper of the Lord their doctrine most filthily swerbeth from the right mind of the Scripture, all order, reason and fashion : most worthy to be exploded out of all christian Churches. Touching the which Sacrament, the first error is their idolatrous abuse by worshipping, adoring, censuring, knocking and kneeling unto it, in reseruing also and carrying the same about in pompe and procession in townes and fields. Secondly, also in the substance thereof their teaching is monstrous, leaving there no substance of Bread and Wine to remaine, but onely the reall body and blood of Christ, putting no difference betwixt calling and making. Because Christ called Bread his body, therefore say they, he made it his body, and so of a whollsome Sacrament, make a perillous idoll : and that which the old church of Rome did euer take to be a mystery, they turne into a blind mist of more accidents to blear the peoples eyes, making them believe they see that they see not : and not to see that which they see, and to worship a thing made, for their maker, a creature for their Creator : and that which was threshed out of a wheaten sheafe, they set up in the Church, and worship for a Saviour : and when they have worshipped him, then they offer him to his father : and when they haue offered him, then they eat him up, or else close him fast in a pit, where if he corrupt and putrifie before he be eaten, then they burne him to powder and ashes. And notwithstanding they know well by Scriptures, that the body of Christ can neuer corrupt and putrifie : yet for all this corruption, will they needs make it the body of Christ, and burne all them which believe not that which is against true Christian beleefe.

### Of Matrimony.

What order and rule Saint Paul hath set for marriage in his Epistle to the Corinthians it is manifest : where, as hee preferreth single life in such as haue the gift of continence, before the married estate : so againe, in such as haue not the gift, he preferreth the coupled life before the other : willing every such one to haue his wife : Because of fornication. Furthermore, how the said Apostle alloweth a Bishop to be the husband of one wife (so he exceed not to the manner of the Iewes, which were permitted to haue many) and how vehemently hee reprobeth them that restraine marriage, his letters to Timothy doe record. Moreover, what degrees be permitted by the Law of God to marry, in the Booke of Leviticus is to be seene, chapter eightene. Also how children ought not to marry without consent of their parents by manifest examples of the Scriptures it is notorious.

Con:

Erroneous doctrine of the Papists concerning free-will.

Meritum de congruo.

Meritum de condigno.

False doctrine concerning invocation.

Mediator of intercession. Christ a continual mediator of S. Paul.

Roman. 8.

Christ onely bringing our mediator of saluation, what needeth any other mediation of Saints?

Saluation falsely attributed to the blessed Virgin.

Idolatrous adoration of relikes and sacraments.

Prophanation of the Lords Supper.

False merit by masses.

False doctrine touching Sacraments. The number.

Cause finall.

The operation.

The application of Sacraments.

Errors and abuses of Baptisme.

Baptisme of wells.

False doctrine of the Popes church concerning the Lords Supper. Idolatry committed to the Sacrament.

The Sacrament turned to an idoll.

Changing, worshipping, offering, eating, burning the body of Christ in the Sacrament of the altar.

Aburdities and errors of the Popes church touching matrimony.

1 Cor. 7.

1 Tim. 3.

1 Tim. 4.

Levit. 18.



Contrary to these ordinances of the Scripture, the new catholikes of the Popes church, first doe refuse and call marriage a state of imperfection, and preferre single life, be it never so impure, before the same, pretending that where the one replenisheth the earth, the other filleth heaven. Furthermore, as good as the third part of christendome, if it be no more, both men and women, they keepe through coacted boloes from marriage, having no respect whether they have the gift or no. Ministers and Priests such as are found to have wives, not onely they remove out of place, but also pronounce sentence of death upon them, and account their children for bastards and illegitimate. Again, as good as the third part of the poore they exempt and suspend from liberty of marriage. Degrees of copulation forbidden they extend further then ever did the Law of God, even to the fifth or sixth degree. Which degree notwithstanding they release againe when they list for money. Over and besides all this, they have added a new found prohibition of spirituall kindred, that is, that such as have bene godfathers or godmothers and godmothers together in christening another mans child, must not by their law marry together. Briefly and finally in this doctrine and cases of matrimony, they gaine and rake to themselves much money from the people, they augment horrible sodomitry, they nourish wicked adultery and much fornication, they fill the world with offenses and bastards, and give great occasion of murdering infants.

### Of Magistrates and civil government.

Ye heard before what rules and lessons Saint Paul gave to the old Romans concerning magistrates, to whose authority he would have all humane creatures to be subjected, and how they are the Ministers of God, having the sword given unto them, wherewith they ought to repress false doctrine and idolatry, and maintaine that which is true and right, Rom. 13. Now let us survey a little the Popes proceedings, and marke how farre he transgresseth in this, as he doth in all other points almost from true Christianity.

- 1 First, the Pope with all his Clergy exempt themselves from all obedience it will.
- 2 They arrogate to themselves authority to ordaine and constitute, without all leave or knowledge of the ordinary Magistrate.
- 3 They take upon them to depose and set up Rulers and Magistrates, whom they list.

### Of purgatory.

The Paradoxes, or rather the fantasies of the latter church of Rome concerning Purgatory, be monstrous, neither old nor apostolicall.

- 1 First (say they) there is a purgatory, where soules doe burne in fire after this life.
- 2 The paine of purgatory differeth nothing from the paines of Hell, but onely that it hath an end, the paines of Hell have none.
- 3 The painefull suffering of this fire freeth and scowereth away the finnes before committed in this body.
- 4 The time in these paines indureth in some longer, in some lesse, according as their finnes deserve.

5 After which time of their paines being expired, then the mercy of God doth translate them to Heavensly blisse, which the body of Christ hath bought for them.

6 The paines of purgatory be so great, that if all the beggers of the world were seene on the one side, and but one soule of purgatory on the other side, the whole world would pity more that one, then all the others.

7 The whole time of punishment in this purgatory must continue so long, till the fire have consumed and scoured away the rusty spots of every sinfull soule there burning, unless there come some release.

8 Helpest and releases that may shorten the time of their purgation, by the Popes pardons and indulgences, sacrifice of the Altar, vigiles, and trentals, prayer, fasting, meritorious deeds out of the treasure house of the church, almes and charitable deeds of the living, in satisfying Gods justice for them, &c.

9 Lacke of helpe of purgatory bringeth to hell.

Many other false errors and great deformities, heresies, absurdities, vanities, & follies, besides their blasphemous sayings, and contumelies, may be noted in the said latter church of Rome, wherein they have made manifest defecion from the old faith of Rome, as in depriving the church of one kind of the Sacrament, in taking from the people the knowledge and reading of Gods Word, in praying and speaking to the people, and administering Sacraments in a tongue unknowne, in mistaking the authority of the keyes, in their unwritten verities, in making the authority of the Scripture insufficient, in untrue judgement of the church, and the wrong notes of the same in the suprenacy of the See of Rome, in their wrong opinions of Antichrist.

But because these, with all other parts of doctrine, are more copiously and at large comprehended in other bookes both in Latine and English, set forth in these our daies; I shall not need further herein to travell, especially seeing the contrariety betweene the Popes church and the Church of Christ, betweene the doctrine of the one, and the doctrine of the other, is so evident, that he is blind that seeth it not, and hath no hands almost that feel it not.

For (briefly in one note to comprehend, that which may suffice for all) whereas the doctrine of Christ is altogether spirituall, consisting wholly in spirit and verity, and requireth no outward thing to make a true Christian man but only baptisme (which is the outward profession of faith) and receiving the Lords supper: let us now examine the whole religion of this later church of Rome, and we shall finde it, from top to toe, to consist in nothing else but altogether in outward and ceremoniall exercises; as outward confession, absolution at the priests hand, outward sacrifice of the masse, burying of pardons, purchasing of obits, externe worshipping of images and reliques, pilgrimage to this place or that, building of churches, founding of monasteries, outward workes of the law, outward gestures, garments, colours, choice of meats, difference of times and places, peculiar rites and observances, set prayers, and number of prayers prescribed, fasting of vigils, keeping of holidays, commuting to Church, hearing of service, externe succession of Bishops, and of others See, externe forme and notes of the Church, &c. So that by this religion to make a true Christian and a good catholike, there is no working of the holy Ghost almost required. As for example, to make this matter more demonstrable, let us here define a Christian man after the Popes making: wherby we may see the better what is to be judged of the scope of his doctrine.

A Christian man after the Popes making defined.

After the Popes catholike religion, a true Christian man is thus defined: first, to be baptised in the Latine tongue (where the godfathers profess they cannot tell what) then confirmed by the bishop: the mother of the child to be purified; after he be growne in yeeres, then to come to the church, to keepe his fasting daies, to fast the Lent, to come under benedict, that is, to be confessed of the Priest,

Contrariety betweene the religion of Christ and of the Popes church, in the old faith of Rome.

Contrariety betweene the religion of Christ and of the Popes church, in the old faith of Rome.

No outward thing is required in Christs doctrine to make a Christian man, but onely baptisme and the Lords supper.

All doctrine of the Popes standeth onely in outward things.

A Christian man defined after the Popes doctrine.

Corporall ex-  
ercise serueth  
small profit.

Priest, to doe his penance, at Easter to take his rites, to heare Masse and Divine service, to set up Candles before Images, to creepe to the Crosse, to take holy bread and holy water, to goe on procession, to carry his Palmes and Candle, and to take ashes, to fast the Ember daies, Rogation daies, and Vigils, to keepe the Holidaves, to pay his Wities and Offering daies, to goe on Pilgrimage, to buy Pardons, to worship his Baker over the Priest's head, to receiue the Pope for his supreme head, and to obey his lawes, to receiue Saint Nicholas Clerkes, to haue his beads, and to giue to the high Altar, to take orders if he will be a Priest, to say his Mattens, to sing his Masse, to lift up faire, to keepe

his bow and not to marry, when he is sicke to be anneled and take the rites of the Holy Church, to be buried in the Church yard, to be rung for, to be sung for, to be buried in a Friers Coole, to finde a soule Priest, &c.

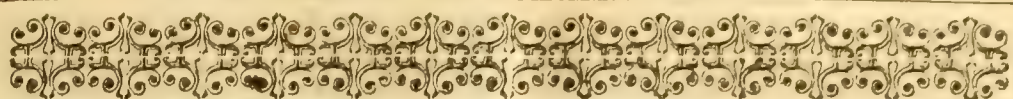
All which points being obserued, who can deny but this is a deuout man and a perfect Christian catholicke, and sure to be sated, as a true faithfull child of the holy mother church?

Now looke upon this definition, and tell me (good reader) what faith or spirit, or what working of the Holy Ghost in all this doctrine is to be required. The grace of our Lord Iesus giue the true light of his Gospell to shine in our hearts. Amen.

Edw T. X. 157.







# THE FIRST BOOKE OF THE ACTS AND MONVMENTS, CONTAINING

The three hundred yeeres next after CHRIST, with the  
ten Persecutions of the Primitive Church.



These things before  
promised, having  
thus hitherto prepa-  
red the way unto our  
story, let us now (by  
the grace and speed  
of Christ our Lord)  
enter into the mat-  
ter: that as we have  
heretofore set forth in  
a general description  
the whole state as

well of the primitive as of the later times of this  
church of Rome: so now consequently we may dis-  
course in particular for the acts and doings of every  
age, by it selfe, in such order as is afoze prefixed.

1. First, to declare of the suffering time of the  
church, which containeth about the time of three  
hundred yeeres after Christ.

2. Secondly, the flourishing and growing time of the  
same, containing other three hundred yeeres.

3. Thirdly, the declining time of the church, and of  
true Religion, other three hundred yeeres.

4. Fourthly, of the time of Antichrist, reigning and  
raging in the Church, since the loosing of Satan.

5. Lastly, of the reforming time of Christs Church,  
in these later three hundred yeeres.

In the tractation of all which things our chiefe  
purpose and endeavour shall be (so nere as the Lord  
will give us grace) not so much to intermeddle with  
outward affaires of Princes, or matters civill (ex-  
cept sometime for example of life) as specially mind-  
ing (by the help of the Lord) to prosecute such things  
which to the ecclesiasticall state of the Church are  
appertaining: as first to intreate of the stablishing  
of Christian faith, then of the persecutions of Ty-  
rants, the constancy and patience of Gods Saints,  
the first conversion of Christian Realmes to the  
faith of Christ, namely of this Realme of England  
and Scotland: first beginning with King Lucius,  
and so forward following the order of our English  
Kings here in this land, to declare the maintenance  
of true doctrine, the false practise of Prelats, the cra-  
ping in of superstition and hypocrisie, the manifold  
assaults, warres and tumults of the Princes of this  
world against the people of God. Wherein may ap-  
peare the wonderfull operation of Christs mighty  
hand, ever working in his Church, and never cea-  
sing to defend the same against his enemies, accord-  
ing to the verity of his owne word, promising to be  
with his Church while the world shall stand, so as  
by the proceesse of this story may well be proved, and  
will be testified in the sequelle thereof.

In the tractation of all which things two special  
points I chiefly commend to the reader, as most re-  
quisite and necessary for every Christian man to ob-  
serve and to note for his owne experience and profit,  
as first the disposition and nature of this world; se-  
condly the nature and condition of the Kingdome of  
Christ: the vanity of the one, and stablishment of

the other; the unprosperous and unquiet state of the  
one, ruled by mans violence and wisdom, and the  
happy successe of the other ever ruled by Gods ble-  
sing and providence; the wrath and revenging hand  
of God in the one, and his mercy upon the other.

The world I call all such as be without or against  
Christ, either by ignorance not knowing him, or by  
heathenish life not following him, or by violence  
resisting him. On the other side, the Kingdome of  
Christ in this world, I take to be all them which  
belong to the faith of Christ, & here take his part in  
this world against the world: the number of whom  
although it be much smaller then the other, and al-  
waies lightly is hated and molested of the world,

yet it is the number, which the Lord peculiarly doth  
blesse and prosper, and ever will. And this number  
of Christs subjects is it, which we call the visible  
church here in earth. Which visible Church, having  
in it selfe a difference of two sorts of people, so is it  
to be divided in two parts, of which the one standeth  
of such as be of outward profession onely, the other  
which by election inwardly are joyned to Christ: the  
first in words and lips seeme to honour Christ, and  
are in the visible church onely, but not in the church  
invisible, and partake the outward Sacraments of  
Christ, but not the inward blessing of Christ. The  
other are both in the visible and also in the invisible  
church of Christ, which not in words onely and out-  
ward profession, but also in heart doe truly serve  
and honour Christ, partaking not onely the Sacra-  
ments, but also the heavenly blessings and grace of  
Christ.

And many times it happeneth, that as betwene  
the world and the Kingdome of Christ there is a  
continuall repugnance: so betwene these two parts  
of this visible church aforesaid oft times groweth  
great variance and mortall persecution, in somuch  
that sometime the true Church of Christ hath no  
greater enemies, then of their owne profession and  
company, as happened not onely in the time of  
Christ and his Apostles, but also from time to time  
almost continually: Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 11. but especial-  
ly in these later daies of the church under the per-  
secution of Antichrist and his retinue, as by the rea-  
ding of this volume moze manifestly hereafter may  
appeare.

At the first preaching of Christ, and coming of  
the Gospell, who should rather have knowne and  
received him, then the Pharisees and Scribes of that  
people, which had his Law: And yet who persecuted  
and rejected him more then they themselves? What  
followed? They in refusing Christ to be their King,  
and choosing rather to be subject unto Cesar, were  
by the said their owne Cesar at length destroyed;  
when as Christs subjects the same time escaped the  
danger. Whereby it is to be learned, what a dange-  
rous thing it is to refuse the Gospell of God, when  
it is so gently offered.

The like example of Gods wrathfull punishment  
is to be noted no lesse in the Romans also them-  
selves

The world.

The Kingdome  
of Christ in  
this world.

The visible  
church.  
The church of  
Christ divided  
in two sorts of  
people.

Euseb. lib. 8.  
cap. 11.

Gods punish-  
ment for re-  
fus-  
ing the Gos-  
pell.

Two things in  
this history  
chiefly to be  
noted.



Tiberius Caesar moveth the Senate to have Christ received

The vain cause by the Senate of Rome refused Christ.

Tertul. Apol. cap. 5. Euseb. lib. 2. cap. 3.

The Senate and city of Rome plagued for refusing of Christ.

Ex Sueton. 212. Tiberin.

Christ suffereth against.

Anno 34

Saint Paul converted.

Anno 35

Anno 39

Cesar Caligula.

Caligula commanded his image to be set up in the temple of Hierusalem.

The abomination of desolation standing in the holy place.

selfes. For when Tiberius Caesar, having received by letters from Pontius Pilate of the doings of Christ, of his miracles, resurrection and ascension into Heaven, and how he was received as God of many, was himselfe also moved with belæfe of the same, and did confer thereof with the whole Senate of Rome, to have Christ adored as God: they not agreeing therunto refused him, because that contrary to the law of the Romans he was consecrated (said they) for God before the Senate of Rome had so decreed and approved him, &c. Tertul. Apol. cap. 5. Thus the vain Senate following rather the law of man, then of God, and which were contented with the Emperour to raigne over them, and were not contented with the meeke King of glory, the Sonne of God to be their King; were after much like sort to the Jewes scourged and intrapped for their unwill refusing, by the same way which they themselves did preferre. For as they preferred the Emperour and rejected Christ: so the just permission of God did stirre up their owne Emperours against them in such sort, that both the Senators themselves were almost all deboured, and the whole City much horribly afflicted for the space almost of three hundred yeeres together. For first the same Tiberius, which for a great part of his raigne was a moderate and a tolerable Prince, afterward was to them a sharp and heavy Tyrant, who neither favoured his owne mother, nor spared his owne nephews, nor the Princes of the City, such as were his owne counsellors, of whom to the number of twenty he left not past two or three alive, and so cruell was he to the City, that as the story recordeth, Nullus à poena hominum cessabat dies, ne religiosus quidem ac sacer. Suetonius reporteth him to be so sterne of nature and tyrannicall, that in time of his reigne, very many were accused and condemned with their wives and children, maides al o first defouled, then put to death. In one day he recordeth twenty persons to be dravne to the place of execution. By whom also, though the just punishment of God, Pilate, under whom Christ was crucified, was apprehended and accused at Rome, deposed, then banished to the Towne of Lions, and at length did slay himselfe. Neither did Herod and Cataphas long escape, of whom more followeth hereafter. Agrippa also by him was cast into prison, albeit afterward he was restored. In the reigne of Tiberius, the Lord Jesus the Sonne of God, in the foure and thirtieth yeere of his age, which was the seventeenth of this Emperour, by the malice of the Jewes suffered his blessed passion for the conquering of sinne, death, and Satan the prince of this world, and rose againe the third day. After whose blessed passion and resurrection, this foresaid Tiberius Nero (otherwise called Tiberius Nero) lived six yeeres, during which time no persecution was yet stirring in Rome against the Christians, though the commandment of the Emperour.

In the raigne also of this Emperour, and the yeere which was the next after the passion of our Saviour, or somewhat more, Saint Paul was converted to the faith. After the death of Tiberius, when he had raigned three and twenty yeeres, succeeded C. Caesar Caligula, Claudius Nero, and Domitius Nero: which three were likewise such scourges to the senate and people of Rome, that the first not one to take other mens wives violently from them, but also defouled three of his owne sisters, and afterward banished them. So wicked he was, that he commanded himselfe to be worshipped as God, and temples to be erected in his name, and used to sit in the Temple among the gods, requiring his images to be set up in all temples, and also in the temple of Hierusalem, which caused great disturbance among the Jewes, and then began the abomination of desolation to be set up in the holy place, spoken of in the Gospell. His cruell condition, or else displeasure

was such towards the Romans, that he wished that all the people of Rome had but one necke, that he at his pleasure might destroy such a multitude. By this said Caligula, Herod the murderer of John Baptist, and condemner of Christ, was condemned to perpetuall banishment, where he died miserably. Cataphas also, which wickedly sat upon Christ, was the same time removed from the high priests room, and Jonathan set in his place. The raging fiercenesse of this Caligula incensed against the Romans had not thus ceased, had not he bene cut off by the hands of a tribune and other Gentlemen, which slew him in the fourth yeere of his raigne. After whose death were found in his closet two little libels, one called a sword, the other the dagger: in the which libels were contained the names of those Senators and noble men of Rome, whom he had purposed to put to death. Besides this sword and dagger, there was found also a coffer, wherein divers kinds of poison were kept in glasses and vessels for the purpose, to destroy a wonderfull number of people, which poisons, afterward being thowen into the sea, destroyed a great number of fish, Gotfr. Viterb.

But that which this Caligula had onely conceived, the same did the other two which came after, bring to passe; Claudius Nero, who raigned thirtie yeeres with no little cruelty, but especially the third of these Neroes called Domitius Nero, which succeeding after Claudius, raigned fourtane yeeres, with such fury & tyranny, that he slew the most part of the Senators, and destroyed the whole order of Knight-hood in Rome. So prodigious a monster of nature was he, more like a beast, yea rather a devill then a man, that he seemed to be bozne to the destruction of men. Such was his monstrous uncleannesse, that he abstained not from his owne mother, his naturall sister, nor from any degree of kindred. Such was his wretched cruelty, that he caused to be put to death his mother, his brother in law, his sister, his wife great with childe, all his instructors, Seneca and Lucan, with divers more of his owne kindred and consanguinity. Moreover, he commanded Rome to be set on fire in twelve places, and so continued it fire daies and seven nights in burning, while that he to see the example how Troy burned, sung the verses of Homer. And to avoid the infamy thereof, he laid the fault upon the Christian men, and caused them to be persecuted. And so continued this miserable Emperour in his reigne fourtane yeeres, till at last the Senat proclaiming him a public enemy unto mankind, condemned him to be dravne through the City, and to be whipped to death. For the feare wherof, he flying the hands of his enemies, in the night fled to a manor of his servants in the countrey, where he was forced to slay himself, complaining that he had then neither friend nor enemy left that would doe so much for him. In the later end of this Domitius Nero, Peter and Paul were put to death for the testimony and faith of Christ. Anno sixty nine.

Thus ye see, which is worthy to be marked, how the just scourge and heavy indignation of God from time to time ever followeth there, a how all things there goe to ruine, neither doth any thing well prosper, where Christ Jesus the Sonne of God is contemned and not received, as by these examples may appeare, both of Romans which not only were thus consumed and plagued by their owne Emperours, but also by civil warres, whereof three hapned in two yeeres at Rome, after the death of Nero, and other casualties (as in Sueton is testified) so that in the daies of Tiberius aforesaid, five thousand Romans were hurt and slaine at one time by the fall of a Theater. And also most especially by the destruction of the Jewes, which about this same time in the yeere threescore and thirtie, and forty yeeres after the passion of Christ, and the third yeere after the suffering of Saint Peter, and Paul, were destroyed

Herod miserably died in banishment. Cataphas deposed.

Anno 43

Ex Gotfr. Viterb. Part. 13.

Claudius Nero.

Anno 56

Domitius Nero.

The horrible wickednesse and cruelty of Nero.

Peter and Paul suffered for Christ.

Anno 69



Nespatian  
Emperour and  
Titus his son.  
The destruction  
of the Jewes.

froped by Titus and Nespatian his father (who succeeded after Nero in the Empire) to the number of eleven hundred thousand, besides them which Nespatian slue in subduing the countrey of Galile, over and beside them also which were sold and sent into Egypt and other Provinces to vile slavery, to the number of seventene thousand. Two thousand were brought with Titus in his triumph; of which, part he gave to be deuoured of the wild beasts, part other wife most cruelly were slaine. By whose case all Nations and Realmes may take example, what it is to reject the visitation of Gods verity being sent, and much more to persecute them which be sent of God for their salvation.

A note for all  
Realmes to  
marke.

The Romans  
for contemning  
Christ, punished  
by their owne  
Emperours.

And as this wrathfull vengeance of God thus hath bene shewed upon this rebellious people, both of the Jewes and of the Romans, for their contempt of Christ, whom God so punished by their own Emperours: so neither the Emperours themselves, for persecuting Christ in his members, escaped without their iust reward. For among so many Emperours which put so many christian martyrs to death, during the space of these first three hundred yeres, few or none of them escaped either not slaine themselves, or by some miserable end or other worthily re-benged.

Examples of  
the iust plague  
of God upon  
the Romane  
Emperours  
persecuting and  
reliking Christ  
till the time of  
Constantine.

First, of the poisoning of Liberius, and of the slaughter of the other three Percees after him, sufficiently is declared before. After Nero, Domitius Calba within seven moneths was slaine by Dtho. And so did Dtho afterward slay himselfe, being overcome by Vitellus. And was not Vitellus shortly after drayne through the City of Rome, and after he was tormented was throwne into Tiber: Titus a good Emperour is thought to be poisoned of Domitian his brother. The said Domitian, after he had bene a persecutor of the Christians, was slaine in his chamber, not without the consent of his wife. Likewise Commodus was murdered of Parcellus. The like end was of Pertinax and Iulianus.

Liberius.  
Caligula.  
Claudius.  
Domitius.  
Nero.  
Calba.  
Dtho.  
Vitellus.  
Tiber.  
Domitian.  
Commodus.  
Pertinax.  
Iulianus.  
Severus.  
Geta.  
Macrinus.  
Dacianus.  
Diadumenus.  
Helioababalus.  
Alexander.  
Severus.  
Hogoninus.  
Marinus.  
Valerianus.  
Gordianus.  
Decius.  
Gallus and  
Volusianus.  
Aemilianus.  
Atrianus.  
Gallienus.

Moreover, after that Severus was slaine here in England (and lieth at Yorke) did not his sonne Bassianus slay his brother Geta, and he after slaine of Partialis? Marcius with his sonne Diadumenus were both slaine of their owne souldiers. After whom Helioababalus, that monstrous bellipanch, was of his owne people slaine, and drayne through the City and cast into Tiber. Alexander Severus that worthy and learned Emperour, which said he would not see his servants doing nothing with the bowels of the Common wealth, although in life and vertues he was much unlike other Emperours, yet proved the like end, being slaine at Dents with his godly mother Mammea, by Maximinus, whom the Emperour before of a muletoe had aduanced to great dignities. The which Maximinus also after three yeres was slaine himselfe of his souldiers. What should I speake of Maximinus and Valbinus in like sort both slaine in Rome? Of Gordianus slaine by Philip: of Philip the first christened Emperour, slaine or rather martyred for the same cause: of wicked Decius drowned, and his sonne slaine the same time in battell; of Gallus and Volusianus his sonne, Emperours after Decius, both slaine by conspiracy of Aemilianus. who rose against them both in warre, and within three moneths after was slaine himselfe: Next to Aemilianus succeeded Valerianus and Galienus his sonne, of whom Valerianus (who was a persecutor of the Christians) was taken prisoner of the Persians, and there made a riding cole of Saporas their King, who used him for a steale to leape upon his horse. While his sonne Galienus sleeping at Rome, either would not, or could not once proffer to revenge his fathers ignominy. For after the taking of Valerian, so many Emperours rose up as were provinces in the Roman monarchy. At length Galienus also was killed by Aureolus which warred against him. It were too long here to speake of Aurelianus another perse-

Aurelianus.

cutor, slaine of his secretary; of Tacitus and Florentinus his brother, of whom the first reigned six moneths, and was slaine at Pontus; the other reigned two moneths, and was murdered at Tarsis: of Probus, who although a good civill Emperour, yet was he destroyed by his souldiers. After whom Carus the next Emperour was slaine by lightning. Next to Carus followed the impious and wicked persecutor Dioclesian, with his fellowes Maximian, Valerius, Maximinus, Valerianus, and Licinius, under whom all at one time (during the time of Dioclesian) the greatest and most grievous persecution was moved against the Christians ten yeres together. Of which, Dioclesian and Maximian deposed themselves from the Empire. Galerius the chiefe minister of the persecution, after his terrible persecutions, fell into a wonderfull sickness, having such a fore risen in the nether part of his belly, which consumed his privy members, and so did swarme with wormes, that being curable neither by surgery nor physike, he confessed that it happened for his cruelty towards the Christians, and so called in his Proclamations against them. Notwithstanding he not able to sustaine (as some say) the stinke of his fore slue himselfe. Maximinus in his warre, being tormented with paine in his guts there died. Valerianus was banquished by Constantine, and drowned in Tiber. Licinius likewise, being overcome by the said Constantine the great, was deposed from his Empire, and afterward slaine of his souldiers. But on the other side, after the time of Constantine, when as the faith of Christ was receiued into the imperiall seat, we read of no Emperour after the like sort destroyed or molested, except it were Iulianus or Valerius (which expelled one Zeno, and was afterward expelled himselfe) or Valens. Beside these we read of no Emperour to come to ruine and decay, as the others before mentioned. Ex lib. hist. tripart.

Tacitus.  
Florentinus.

Probus.

Carus.  
Dioclesianus.  
Maximianus.  
Valerius.  
Maximinus.  
Valerianus.  
Licinius.

And thus have we in briefe summe collected out of the Chronicles the unquiet and miserable state of the Emperours of Rome, untill the time of Christian Constantine, with the examples, no lesse terrible then manifest, of Gods severe iustice upon them, for their contemptuous refusing and persecuting the faith and Name of Christ their Lord.

Moreover, in much like sort and condition, if leasure of time or halfe of matter would suffer me a little to digresse unto more towne times, and to come more nere home, the like examples I could also infer of this our countrey of England, concerning the terrible plagues of God against the church and unthankfull refusing or abusing the benefit of his truth. First, we read how that God stirred up Gildas to preach to the old Britans, and to exhort them unto repentance and amendment of life, and afoze to warne them of plagues to come if they repented not. What availed it: Gildas was laughed to scorn, and taken for a false prophet, and a malicious preacher. The Britans with lusty courages, without faces, and unrepentant hearts went forth to sinne, and to offend the Lord their God. What followed? God sent in their enemies on every side and destroyed them, and gave the land to other Nations. Not many yeres past, God seeing idolatry, superstition, hypocrisie, and wicked libing used in this Realme, raised up that godly learned man John Wickliffe, to preach unto our fathers repentance, and to exhort them to amend their lives, to forsake their papistry and idolatry, their hypocrisie and superstition, and to walke in the feare of God. His exhortations were not regarded, he with his sermons was despised, his bookes and he himselfe after his death were burnt. What followed? They slue their right King, and set up three wrong Kings on a row, under whom all the noble blood was slaine up, and halfe the commons thereto, what in France, and with their owne sword in fight,

Wiltans.  
Gildas.

Wickliffe and  
his bookes con-  
demned, and be-  
burnt for an he-  
retike after his  
death.



ing among themselves for the crowne; and the Cities and Townes were decayed, and the land brought halfe to a wilderness, in respect of that it was before. Wherein plagues of Gods vengeance! Since that time even of late yeeres, God, once againe having pity of this realme of England, raised up his Prophets, namely William Tindall, Thomas Wincley, John Frith, Doctor Barnes, Jerome Barret, Anthony Person, with divers others, which both with their writings and sermons earnestly laboured to call us into repentance, that by this meanes the fierce wrath of God might be turned away from us. But how were they intreated? How were their painefull labours regarded? They themselves were condemned and burnt as hereticks, and their bones condemned and burnt as hereticall. The time shall come, saith Christ, that whosoever killeth you, will thinke that he doth God high good service. Whether any thing since that time hath chanced to this realme worthy the name of a plague, let the goodly wise Judge. If God hath deferred his punishment, or forgiven us these our wicked deeds, as I trust he hath, let us not therefore be proud and high minded, but most humbly thanke him for his tender mercies, and beware of the like ungodly enterprizes hereafter. Neither is it here any need to speake of these our lower and later times, which have bene in King Henries and King Edwards daies, seeing the memory thereof is yet fresh and cannot be forgotten. But let this passe, of this I am sure, that God yet once againe is come on visitation to this Church of England, yea and that more lovingly and beneficially then ever he did before. For in this visitation he hath redressed many abuses, and cleansed his Church of much ungodlinesse and superstition, and made it a glorious Church, if it be compared to the old forme and state. And now how gratefull receivers we be, with what heart, study, and reverence we embrace that which he hath given, that I referre either to them that see our fruits, or to the sequel, which peradventure will declare it. But this by the way of digression. Now to regresse againe to the state of the first former times. It remaineth, that as I have set forth the iustice of God upon these Romane persecutors: so now we declare their persecutions raised up against the people and servants of Christ, within the space of three hundred yeeres after Christ. Which persecutions in number commonly are counted to be tenne, besides their persecutions first moved by the Jewes in Hierusalem and other places against the Apostles. In the which, first Saint Stephan the deacon was put to death, with divers others moe, in the same rage of time either slain or cast into prison. At the doing whereof, Saul, the same time played the doughty Pharise, being not yet converted to the faith of Christ whereof the history is plaine in the Acts of the Apostles set forth at large by S. Luke.

After the martyrdom of this blessed Stephan, suffered next James the holy Apostle of Christ, and brother of John. Of which James mention is made in the Acts of the Apostles, the twelfth chapter. Where is declared, how that not long after the stoning of Stephan, King Herod stretched forth his hand, to take and afflict certaine of the congregation: among whom James was one, whom hee slew with the sword, &c. Of this James, Eusebius also inferreth mention, alleaging Clement, thus writing a memorabell story of him. This James (saith Clement) when hee was brought to the tribunall seate, he thit brought him (and was the cause of his trouble) seeing him to be condemned, and that hee should suffer death: as he went to the execution, hee being moved therewith in heart and conscience, confessed himselfe also of his owne accord to be a Christian. And so were they led forth together, where in the way he desired of James to forgive

him that he had done. After that James had a little paused with himselfe upon the matter, turning to him; Peace (saith he) be to thee brother, and kissed him, and both were beheaded together, in the yeere of our Lord thirty and five.

Dorotheus in his booke named Synopsi testifies, that Pricano one of the seven Deacons, with two thousand others, which believed in Christ, suffered also the same day, when as Stephan did suffer.

The said Dorotheus witnesseth also that Simon, another of the Deacons, Bishop afterward of Bosdrum in Arabia, was there burned. Parnenas also another of the Deacons suffered.

Thomas preached to the Parthians, Medes, and Persians, also to the Germans, Hyracenes, Bactrians, and Sagies. He suffered in Calamina, a city of Iuda, being slain with a dart.

Simon Zelotes preached at Mauritania, and in the countrey of Afrike, and in Bitania; he was likewise crucified.

Judas brother of James, called also Thaddeus, and Lebbeus, preached to the Edessens, and to all Mesopotamia: he was slain under Augarus, King of the Edessens in Berito.

Simon called Cananeus, which was brother to Jude above mentioned, and to James the younger, which all were the sonnes of Mary Cleophas, and of Alphaeus, was Bishop of Hierusalem after James, and was crucified in a city of Egypt in the time of Trajanus the Emperour, as Dorotheus recordeth. But Abdias writeth, that he with his brother Jude were both slain by a tumult of the people in Suaita a City of Parthia.

Marke the Evangelist, and first Bishop of Alexandria, preached the Gospell in Egypt, and there, dyed with ropes unto the fire, was burned, and afterward buried in a place called there Bucolus, under the raigine of Trajanus the Emperour.

Bartholomeus is said also to preach to the Indians, and to have converted the Gospell of Saint Matthew into their tongue, where hee continued a great space doing many miracles. At last in Albania a City of greater Armenia, after divers persecutions, he was beaten down with staves, then crucified, and after being excruciate, he was at length beheaded.

Of Andrew the Apostle and brother to Peter thus writeth Hierome in his booke De catalogo scriptorum ecclesie. Andrew the brother of Peter (in the time and reigne of Nespasianus, as our ancestors have reported) did preach in the fourescore yeere of our Lord Iesus Christ to the Scythians, Sogdians, to the Sarmans, and in a City which is called Angaria, where the Ethiopians doe now inhabite. Hee was buried in Patris a City of Achaia, being crucified of Cgeas the Governour of the Edessians. Whitherto writeth Hierome, although in the number of yeeres he seemeth a little to misse: for Nespasianus reached not to the fourescore yeere after Christ. But Bernard in his second Sermon, and Saint Cyprian in his booke De duplici Martyrio, doe make mention of the confession and Martyrdom of this blessed Apostle; whereof partly out of these, partly out of other credible writers we have collected after this manner: that, when as Andrew being conversant in a City of Achaia called Patris, through his diligent preaching had brought many to the faith of Christ: Cgeas the governour knowing this, resorted thither, to the intent he might constrain as many as did beleve Christ to be God, by the whole consent of the Senate, to doe sacrifice unto the idols, and so give divine honour unto them. Andrew thinking good at the beginning to resist the wicked counsell, and the doings of Cgeas, went unto him, saying to this effect unto him: that, It behoved him which was iudge of men, first to know his iudge which dwelleth in heaven, & then to worship him being known, and

Pricano one of the seven Deacons, with two thousand others martyred.

Ex Dorotheo in Synopsi. Simon a deacon martyred.

S. Thomas the Apostle suffered.

Simon Zelotes crucified.

Thaddeus the Apostle slain.

Simon Cananeus crucified.

Marke the Evangelist burned.

Bartholomeus the Apostle crucified and beheaded.

Ex Ioan. de monte regali.

Andrew the Apostle crucified for the gospell. Ex Hieronymo in catalogo scriptorum ecclesie. Ex Cypriano lib. de duplici martyrio, ex Bernardi de serm. 2. de sanct. Andrea.

The words of Andrew to the counsell.

John 16.

Gods benefits toward England.

Tribut for England.

S. Stephen the first martyr.

Saint James the Apostle, brother of John martyr.

Hist. eccle. lib. 2. cap. 9. ex Clemente (scilicet Hypotyposicon). A notable conversion of a wicked crucified and after a martyr.



and so in worshipping the true God, to rebuke his mind from false Gods and blind idols. These words spake Andzew to the Consull.

But he greatly therewith discontented, demanded of him whether he was the same Andzew that did overthrow the Temple of the gods, and persecuted men of that superstitious sect, which the Romans of late had commanded to be abolished and rejected. Andzew did plainly affirme, that the Princes of the Romans did not understand the truth, and that the Sonne of God, coming from Heaven into the world for mans sake, hath taught and declared how those idols, whom they so honoured as gods, were not only not gods, but also most cruell devils, enemies to mankind, teaching the people nothing else but that wherewith God is offended, and being offended, turneth away and regardeth them not: and so by the wicked service of the devil, they do fall headlong into all wickednesse, and after their departing, nothing remaineth unto them, but their evil deeds.

But the Proconsull esteeming these things to be as vaine, especially seeing the Jewes (as he said) had crucified Christ before, therefore charged and commanded Andzew not to teach and preach such things any more: or if hee did, that hee should be fastened to the crosse with all speed.

Andzew abiding in his former mind very constant, answered thus concerning the punishment which hee threatened: He would not have preached the honour and glory of the crosse, if hee had feared the death of the crosse. Whereupon sentence of condemnation was pronounced, that Andzew teaching and enterprizing a new sect, and taking away the religion of their gods, ought to be crucified. Andzew coming to the place, and seeing a farr off the crosse prepared, did change neither countenance nor colour, as the imbecillity of mostall men is wont to doe, neither did his blood shrink, neither did he faile in his speech, his body fainted not, neither was his mind molested, his understanding did not faile him, as it is the manner of men to doe, but out of the abundance of his heart his mouth did speake; and fervent charity did appeare in his words as kindled sparkes: hee said, O crosse most welcome and long looked for; with a willing minde joyfully and desirously I come to thee, being the scholler of him which did hang on thee: because I have bene alwayes thy lover, and have coveted to embrace thee. So being crucified, hee yielded up the ghost and fell on sleepe, the day before the kalends of December.

Matthew, otherwise named Levi, first of a publican made an Apostle, wrote his Gospell to the Jewes in the Hebrew tongue, as recordeth Eusebius, lib. 3. cap. 24. 39. lib. 5. cap. 8. cap. 10. Also Irenaeus, lib. 3. cap. 1. Item Hieronymus in catalogo scrip. Eccllesiast. Concerning the doings and decrements of this blessed Apostle and Evangelist, divers things be recorded by Julius Africanus, under the pretended name of Abdias, also of Vincentius, Veronius, and others, but in such sort, as by the contents may greatly be suspected, the matter not to lacke some crafty forgery, for the more establishment of later decretals, and Romish doctrine, as touching merits, consecration of Nunnes, the superstitious prescription of Lent fast, not onely in abstaining from all flesh meats, but also from all matrimoniall copulation betwene man and wife, during the said time of holy Lent. Item the strict prohibition not to taste any bodily sustenance, before receiving of the Lords Supper. In ordaining of Wasse, and that no Nunne must marry after the vow of her profession, with such other like.

Ioan, de Monte Regali, testifieth of Matthias, after hee had preached to the Jewes, at length hee was stoned and beheaded. Some others record that hee died in Ethiopia.

Philippus the holy Apostle, after hee had much laboured among the barbarous nations in preach-

ing the word of salvation to them, at length he suffered as the other Apostles did, in Hierapolis a City of Phrygia, being there crucified & stoned to death, where also he was buried, and his daughters also with him.

Of James the brother of the Lord thus we read in the story of Clement and Egesippus.

After that Iustus had sent the Apostle Paul to Rome after his appellation made at Cesarea, and that the Jewes by the means thereof had lost their hope of performing their malicious vow against him conceived, they fell upon James the brother of our Lord, who was Bishop at Jerusalem, against whom they being bent with like malice, brought him forth before them, and required him to deny before all the people the faith of Christ. But he, otherwise then they all looked for, freely and with a greater constancy before all the multitude confessed Iustus to be the Sonne of God, our Saviour, and our Lord. Whereupon, they not being able to abide the testimony of this man any longer, because he was thought to be the justest among them all, for the highnesse of divine wisdom, and godlinesse, which in living hee declared, they killed him, finding the more opportunity to accomplish their mischief, because the kingdome the same time was vacant. For Iustus being dead in Jewry, the administration of that province was destitute of a ruler, and a deputy. But after what manner James was killed, the words of Clement doe declare, which writeth that he was cast downe from the pinnacle of the Temple, & being smitten with the instrument of a fuller, was slaine: but Egesippus, which lived in the time next after the Apostles, describeth the cause diligently in his fifth commentary, after this manner as followeth.

James the brother of our Lord took in hand to governe the Church after the Apostles, being counted of all men from the time of our Lord to be a just and perfect man. Many and divers other Jameses there were beside him, but this was borne holy from his mothers wombe, hee drunke no Wine nor any strong drinke, neither did hee eat any living creature, the razor never came upon his head, he was not anointed with oyle, neither did hee use bath, to him onely was it lawfull to enter into the holy place, neither was he clothed with wollen cloth, but with silke, and he onely entered into the Temple, falling upon his knees, asking remission for the people, so that his knees by oft kneeling lost the sense of feeling, being benumbed and hardened like the knees of a camell. He was (for worshipping God and craving forgiveness for the people) called just, and for the excellency of his just life named Oblis, which (if you do interpret it) is the safeguard and justice of the people, as the Prophets declare of him: therefore when as many of the hereticks which were among the people asked him what manner of doer Iustus should be, he answered that hee was the Saviour. Whereof some doe beleve him to be Iustus Christ, but the aforesaid hereticks neither beleve the resurrection, neither that any shall come, which shall render unto every man according to his workes, but as many as beleve, they beleived for James his cause. Apoc. 13. Whereas many therefore of the Princes did beleve, there was a tumult made of the Scribes, Jewes, and Pharises, saying: It is dangerous lest that all the people doe looke for this Iustus, as for Christ. Therefore they gathered themselves together, and said to James: We beseech thee restrain the people, for they beleve in Iustus, as though hee were Christ: we pray thee persuade them all which come unto the feast of the Passover of Iustus; for we are all obedient unto thee, and all the people doe testifie of thee that thou art iust, neither that thou dost accept the person of any man, therefore persuade

Ex Irido, lib. 2  
pariter in Hierosol  
Jan.

Ex Clemente.  
Ex Egesippo in  
Commentario.

Apoc. 13.

the

The severity  
of Andzew  
gainst idola-  
try.

The constant  
faith of An-  
drew to the  
end.

The crosse here  
is not taken for  
the materiall  
crosse of wood:  
but for the man-  
ner of death up-  
on the crosse  
which death  
was to him  
welcome.

S. Matthew  
the Apostle  
slaine with a  
spear.

Euseb. lib. 3. cap.  
24. 39.  
Irenaeus lib. 3.  
cap. 1.  
Hier. in cata-  
logo scrip.

Matth. is the  
Apostle stoned  
and beheaded.

Philipp the Apo-  
stle crucified.



the people that they be not deceived in Jesus, and all the people and we will obey thee: therefore stand upon the pillar of the Temple, that thou mayest be seene from above, and that thy words may be perceived of all the people, for to this Passover all the tribes doe come with all the country. And thus the forenamed Scribes and Pharisees did set James upon the battlements of the Church, and they cryed unto him and said: Thou just man, whom all we ought to obey, because this people is led after Jesus, which is crucified, tell what is the doze of Jesus crucified. And he answered with a great voyce, What doe you aske me of Jesus the Sonne of Man, seeing that he sitteth on the right hand of God in Heaven, and shall come in the clouds of the skie: But when many were perswaded of this, they glorified God upon the witness of James, and said: Alanna in the highest to the sonne of David. Then the Scribes and the Pharisees said among themselves, We have done evill that we have caused such a testimony of Jesus, but let us goe up, and let us take him, that they, being compelled with feare, may deny that faith. And they cryed out, saying: O, O, this just man also is seduced, and they fulfilled that Scripture which is spoken of in Esay: Let us take away the just man, because he is not profitable for us, wherefore let them eate the fruits of their woorkes. Therefore they went up to throw downe the just man, and said among themselves: Let us stone this just man James, and they took him to smite him with stones, for he was not yet dead when he was cast downe. But he turning, fell downe upon his knees, saying: O Lord God, Father, I beseech thee to forgive them, for they know not what they doe.

Esay 5.

Luke 23.

But when they had smitten him with stones, one of the Priests of the children of Iechas, the sonne of Charobin, spake to them the testimony which is in Jeremie the Prophet: Leave off, what do ye? The just man prayeth for you. And one of those which were present took a fullers instrument, where-with they did use to beat and purge cloth, and smote the just man on his head, and so he finished his martyrdom, and they buried him in the same place, and his pillar abideth still by the Temple. He was a true testimony to the Jewes and the Gentiles. And shortly after, Trespasianus the Emperour destroying the land of Jewrie, brought them into captivity. These things being thus written at large of Cressippus, doe well agree to those which Clement did write of him. This James was so notable a man, that for his justice he was had in honour of all men, in so much that the wise men of the Jewes, shortly after his martyrdom, did impute the cause of the besieging of Jerusalem, and other calamities which hapned unto them, to no other cause, but unto the violence and injury done to this man. Also Iosephus hath not left this out of his history, where he speaketh of him after this manner: These things so chanced unto the Jewes for a vengeance, because of that just man James, which was the brother of Jesus, whom they called Christ, for the Jewes killed him, although he was a righteous man.

Ioseph. lib. 10.

The same Iosephus declareth his death in the same Booke and Chapter, saying: Cesar hearing of the death of Jesus, sent Albinus the Lieutenant into Iury: but Ananus the younger being Bishop, and of the sect of the Saduces, trusting that he had obtained a convenient time, seeing that Jesus was dead, and Albinus entred on his journey, he called a Councell, and calling many unto him, among whom was James, by name the brother of Jesus which is called Christ, he stoned them, accusing them as breakers of the Law.

Martyn.

Whereby it appeareth, that many other besides James also at the same time were martyred and put to death among the Jewes, for the faith of Christ.

## A description of the ten first Persecutions in the Primitive Church, with a lively portraiture of the variety of their torments.



These things being thus declared for the martyrdom of the Apostles, and the persecution of the Jewes: now let us (by the Grace of Christ our Lord) comprehend with like brevity, the persecutions raised by the Romanes against the Christians in the Primitive age of the Church during the space of three hundred yeeres, till the coming of godly Constantine, which persecutions are reckoned of Eusebius, and by the most part of Writers, to the number of ten most speciall.

Wherein marvellous it is to see and reade the numbers incredible of Christian innocents that were slaine and tormented, some one way, some another, as Ihabanus saith, and saith truly, Alii ferro perempti; Alii flammis exusti; alii sagris verberati; Alii vestibus perforari; Alii cruciati pabulo; Alii demersi pelagi periculo; Alii vivi decorati; Alii vinculis mancipati; Alii linguis privati; Alii lapidibus obruti; Alii ahigore siliati; Alii fame cruciati; Alii truncatis manibus, alique cæsis membris, spectaculum contumeliæ nudi propter nomen Domini portantes, &c. that is, Some slaine with sword; Some burnt with fire, Some with whips scourged, Some stabbed with forkes of iron; Some fastened to the crosse or gibbet; Some drowned in the Sea; Some their skins pluckt off; Some their tongues cut off; Some stoned to death; Some killed with cold; Some starved with hunger; Some their hands cut off, or otherwise dismembred, have bene so left naked to the open shame of the World, &c. Whereof Augustine also in his Booke De civit. 22. cap. 6. thus saith: Ligabantur, includebantur, cedebantur, torquebantur, urebantur, laniabantur, trucidabantur, multiplicabantur, non pugnantes pro salute, sed salutem contententes pro servatore. Whose kindes of punishments, although they were divers, yet the manner of constancy in all these martyrs was one. And yet notwithstanding the sharpness of these so many and sundry torments, and like crueltie of the tormentors, yet such was the number of these constant Saints that suffered, or rather such was the power of the Lord in his Saints, that as Hierome in his Epistle to Croma-tius and Heliodorus, saith; Nullus esset dies qui non ultra quinque millium numerum martyrum reperiri posset ascriptus, excepto die calendarum Ianuarii: that is, There is no day in the whole yeere, unto which the number of five thousand martyrs cannot be ascribed, except onely the first day of January.

The ten first persecutions of the Primitive Church.

The sundry torments of the holy martyrs in the Primitive Church.

Aug. de civit. lib. 22. cap. 6.

The number of holy martyrs in the primitive church.

### The first Persecution.

The first of these ten Persecutions was stirred up by Nero Domitius, the sixth Emperour before mentioned, about the yeere of our Lord three score and seven. The tyrannous rage of which Emperour was so fierce against the Christians (as Eusebius recordeth) Visque adeo ut videres repletas humanis corporibus civitates, jacentes mortuos simul cum parvulis senes, foeminarumque absque ulla sexus reverentia nudata in publico rejectaque starent cadavera: that is, In so much that a man might then see cities lie full of mens bodies, the old there lying together with the young, and the dead bodies of women cast out naked, without all reverence of that set in the open streets, &c. Likewise Dionysius writing of the said Nero, saith: that hee was the first which

1. The first Persecution.

Anno 67. Hist. Eccles. lib. 2. cap. 24. 25. 26.

Cressius lib. 7.



Oroginus lib. 7.

Peter thought  
to be Anti-  
christ.Saint Peter  
the Apostle  
crucified at  
Rome.Hieron. lib. de  
vitis illustribus.This report  
seemeth nei-  
ther to come  
of Hierome,  
nor to be true  
in Peter.Eusebius lib. 3.  
de excidio  
Hierosol. cap. 2.  
Abdias lib. 1.  
de vita patri.

which in Rome did raise up persecution against the Christians, and not onely in Rome, but also through all the Provinces thereof, thinking to abolish and to destroy the whole name of Christians in all places, &c. Whereunto accordeth moreover the testimony of Hierome upon Daniel, saying: that many there were of the Christians in those daies, which seeing the filthy abominations and intolerable cruelty of Nero, thought that he should be Antichrist, &c.

In this persecution, among many other Saints, the blessed Apostle Peter was condemned to death, and crucified, as some doe write, at Rome; and other some, and not without cause, doe doubt thereof: concerning whose life and history, because it is sufficiently described in the text of the Gospel, and in the acts of Saint Luke, Chap. 4. 5. 12. I need not here to make any great repetition thereof. As touching the cause and manner of his death, divers there be which make relation, as Hierome, Eusebius, Abdias, and others, although they doe not all precisely agree in the time. The words of Hierome be these: Simon Peter the sonne of Iona, of the Province of Galilee, and of the towne of Bethsaida, the brother of Andrew, &c. After hee had bene Bishop of the Church of Antioch, and had preached to the dispersion of them that believed, of the circumcision, in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithinia, in the second yeere of Claudius the Emperour (which was about the yeere of our Lord forty and foure) came to Rome to withstand Simon Magus, and there kept the Bishoply chaire the space of five and twenty yeeres, untill the last yeere of the aforesaid Nero, which was the fourteenth yeere of his reigne, of whom he was crucified, his head being downe, and his feet upward, himselfe so requiring, because hee was (hee said) unworthy to be crucified after the same forme and manner as the Lord was, &c. Eusebius prosecuting this matter something more at large, and Abdias also (if any authority is to be given to his booke, who following not onely the sense, but also the very forme of words of Eusebius in this history, seemeth to be extracted out of him, and of other authors) saith, that Simon Magus being then a great man with Nero, and his president and keeper of his life, was required upon a time to be present at the raising up of a certaine Noble young man in Rome of Perceus kindred lately departed: whereas Peter also was desired to come to the reviving of the said personage. But when Magus in the presence of Peter could not doe it, then Peter calling upon the name of the Lord Iesus, did raise him up, and restored him to his mother, whereby the estimation of Simon Magus began greatly to decay and to be detested in Rome. Not long after the said Magus threatened the Romans that he would leave the city, and in their sight fly away from them into heaven. So the day being appointed, Magus taking his wings in the mount Capitolinus, began to fly in the ayre: but Peter by the power of the Lord Iesus brought him downe with his wings headlong to the ground, by the which fall, his legs and joints were broken, and he thereupon died. Then Nero, sorrowing for the death of him, sought matter against Peter to put him to death. Which, when the people perceives, they intreated Peter with much adoe that hee would fly the city. Peter, though their importunity at length perswaded, prepared himselfe to obey. But coming to the gate, he saw the Lord Christ come to meete him, to whom he was shipping said: Lord, whither dost thou goe? To whom he answered and said, I am come againe to be crucified. By this Peter perceiving his suffering to be understood, returned backe into the city againe, and so was he crucified in manner as is before declared. And this out of Eusebius.

Eusebius moreover writing of the death not onely of Peter, but also of his wife, affirmeth, that

Peter seeing his wife going to her martyrdom (belike as hee was yet hanging upon the crosse) was greatly joyous and glad thereof, who crying unto her with a loud voyce, and calling her by her name, had her remember the Lord Iesus. Such was then (saith Eusebius) the blessed bond of marriage among the Saints of God. And thus much of Peter.

Paul the Apostle, which before was called Saul, after his great travell and unspeakable labours in promoting the Gospel of Christ, suffered also in this first persecution under Nero, and was beheaded. Of whom thus writeth Hieron in his booke, De viris illustribus. Paul, otherwise called Saul, one of the Apostles, yet out of the number of the twelve, was of the tribe of Benjamin, and of a towne of Jewry called Giscalis, which towne being taken of the Romans, hee with his parents, fled to Tharsus, a towne of Cilicia; afterward was sent up by his parents to Jerusalem, and there brought up in the knowledge of the Law, at the feet of Gamaliel, and was a doer at the death of Stephen. And when hee had received letters from the high Priest to persecute the Christians, by the way going to Damascus, hee was broken downe of the Lords glory, and of a Persecutor was made a Professor, an Apostle, a Martyr, a witness of the Gospel, and a vessel of election.

Among his other manifold labours and travells in spreading the Doctrine of Christ, hee was Sergius Paulus the proconsul of Cyprus, to the faith of Christ, whereupon hee took his name, as some suppose, turned from Saulus to Paulus. After hee had passed through divers places and countries in his laborious peregrinations, hee took to him Barnabas, and went up to Jerusalem to Peter, James, and John, where hee was ordained and sent out with Barnabas to preach unto the Gentiles.

And because it is in the Acts of the Apostles sufficiently comprehended, concerning the admirable conversion, and conversation of this most worthy Apostle, that which remaineth of the rest of his history, I will here adde, how the said Apostle Paul, the five and twentieth yeere after the passion of the Lord, in the second yeere of Nero, at what time Iustus ruled in Jewry, was sent up in bonds to Rome, where hee remaining in his free hostery two yeeres together, disputed daily against the Jewes, proving Christ to be come. And here is to be noted, that after his first answer, or purgation there made at Rome, the Emperour Nero, not yet fully confirmed in his Empire, and yet not bursting out into those mischiefs which histories report of him, hee was at that time by Nero discharged, and dismissed to preach the Gospel in the west partes, and about the coasts of Italy, as hee himselfe writing unto Timothy, afterward in his second apprehension, in his second Epistle witnesseth, saying: In my first purgation no man stood with me, but did all forsake me, the Lord lay it not to their charge: but the Lord stood with me, and did comfort me, that the preaching of his Word might procede by me, and that all the Gentiles might heare and be taught, and I was delivered out of the Lyons mouth, &c. In which place by the Lyon, hee plainly meaneth Nero. And afterwards likewise hee saith: I was delivered from the mouth of the Lyon, &c. And againe, The Lord hath delivered mee out from all evil workes, and hath saved mee into his heavenly Kingdome, &c. speaking this, because hee perceived then the time of his martyrdom to be neere at hand. For in the same Epistle before, hee saith: I am now offered up, and the time of my dissolution draweth on.

Thus then, this worthy preacher and messenger of the Lord, in the fourteenth yeere of Nero, and the same day in which Peter was crucified (although not in the same yeere, as some write, but in the next yeere following) was beheaded at Rome for the testimo-

Peter was  
put to death  
for Christ.  
His words of  
Peter to his  
wife, going  
to death.

Paul the  
Apostle.

Ex Hieronymo  
lib. de viris il-  
lustribus.

Saul brought  
up under Ga-  
maliel.  
Saul a perse-  
cutor.

Saul con-  
verted.

Saul  
turned to  
Paulus.

Paul sent to  
the Gentiles.

Acts 28.

2 Tim. 4.

Euseb. lib. 3. hist.  
Euseb. cap. 30.



The Epistles  
of S. Paul to  
7. Churches.

nie of Christ, and was buried in the way of Asia, the seven and thirtieth yeere after the passion of the Lord. He wrote nine Epistles to seven Churches, to the Romans one, to the Corinthians two, to the Galatians one, to the Ephesians one, to the Philippians one, to the Colossians one, to the Thessalonians two. Moreover he wrote to his Disciples, to Timothy two, to Titus one, to Philemon one.

The Epistle to  
the Hebrews.

The Epistle which beareth the title to the Hebrews, is not thought to be his, for the difference of the stile and phrase, but either judged to be written of Timothy, as Tertullian supposeth, or of S. Luke, as others thinke; or else of Clement afterward Bishop of Rome, who, as they say, was adorned with Paul, and compiling together his sayings and sentences, did phrase them in his stile and manner. Or else, as some doe judge, because Saint Paul wrote unto the Hebrews, for the odiousness of his name among that people, therefore he dissembled, and confessed not his name in the first entry of his salutation, contrary to his accustomed condition. And as he wrote to the Hebrews, he being an Hebrew, so he wrote in Hebrew, that is, his owne tongue, more eloquently. And that is thought to be the cause why it differeth from his other Epistles, and is after a more eloquent manner translated into the Greeke, than his other Epistles be. Some also reade the Epistle written to Laodicea, but that is exploded of all men. Thus much Hierome.

The Epistle to  
Laodicea.

Abdias d. vi.  
in lib. 2.

As touching the time and order of the death and martyrdom of Saint Paul, as Eusebius, Hierome, Marinus and other Authors doe but briefly passe it over: so Abdias (if his Booke be of any substantiall authority) speaking more largely of the same, doth say: that after the crucifying of Peter, and the ruine of Simon Magus, Paul yet remaining in free custody, was dismissed and delivered at that time from martyrdom by Gods permission, that all the Gentiles might be replenished with preaching of the Gospell by him.

Paul declared  
his doctrine to  
the Emperors.

The surname  
of Pauls do-  
ctrine.

And the same Abdias proceeding in his story, declareth moreover, that as Paul was thus occupied at Rome, hee was accused to the Emperors, not onely for teaching new doctrine, but also for stirring up sedition against the Empire. For this he being called before Nero, and demanded to shew the order and manner of his doctrine, there declared what his doctrine was, To teach all men peace and charity, how to love one another, how to prevent one another in honour; Rich men not to be puffed up in pride, nor to put their trust in their treasures, but in the living God; Meane men to be contented with food & rayment, and with their present state; Poore men to reioyce in their poverty with hope. Fathers to bring up their children in the feare of God; Children to obey their parents; Husbands to love their wives; Wives to be subiect to their husbands; Citizens and subiects to give their tribute unto Cesar, and to be subiect to their Magistrates; Masters to be courteous, not churlish to their servants; Servants to deale faithfully with their Masters: and this to be the sum of his teaching. Which his doctrine he received not of men, nor by men, but by Jesus Christ, and the Father of glory, which spake to him from heaven, the Lord Jesus saying to him, that he should goe and preach his Name, and that he would be with him, and would be the Spirit of life to all that believed in him, and that whosoever hee did or said, hee would iustifie it, &c. After that Paul had thus declared unto the Emperors, shortly after, sentence of death was pronounced against him, that hee should be beheaded. Unto whose execution then Nero sent two of his Equires, Ferrega and Varthemius, to bring him word of his death. They coming to Paul, instructing then the people, desired him to pray for them, that they might believe. Who told them that shortly after they should believe, and be baptized at his sepulchre (as Abdias writeth.) This done, the

Paul consi-  
dering.

Paul suff. cruc.

souldiers came and led him out of the City to the place of execution, where he, after his prayers made, gave his necke to the sword. Abdias reporteth, that as his head was stricken off, instead of blood issued out white milke, and that at laying downe his head, he signed himselfe with the signe of a crosse in his forehead: but this being found in no other history, Abdias seemeth either to adde of his owne, or else to borrow out of the legend, as hee doth many other things beside, whereof more shall be said (Christ willing) hereafter. Although the same miracle of milke flowing out of his necke, is referred also unto Ambrose, who in his sermon threescore and eight (if it be not counterfeited) seemeth to affirme the same. Of the time and yeere when the blessed Apostles did suffer, histories do not all agree. They that follow the common opinion, and the Popes decrees, say, that both Peter and Paul suffered both in one day, and in one yeere: which opinion seemeth to be taken out of Dionysius bishop of Corinth. Hierome in his booke De viris illust. affirmeth that they both suffered in one day, but he expelleth not the yeere. So doth Iddorus and Eusebius. Simon Metaphrastes bringeth in the opinion of some, which thinke that Paul suffered not with Peter, but after Peter. Hieronimus, in his Perissephano, noteth that they both were put to death upon the same day, but not in the same yeere, and saith that Paul followed Peter a yeere after.

A legend mis-  
raken.

The story of  
Abdias is  
picted.

Histories doe  
vary about the  
time of their  
martyrdoms.

If this be true  
Hieronimus  
recordeth of  
Paul to suffer  
under Nero,  
and the yeere  
after Peter.  
then it is false  
which Hierome  
before testifieth,  
Peter to suffer  
the last yeere  
of Nero.

Abdias, aboves mentioned, recordeth that Paul suffered two yeeres after Peter. Moreover, if it be true which Abdias saith, that after the crucifying of Peter, Paul remained in his faire custody at Rome, mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, which was as Hierome witnesseth, the third or fourth yeere of Nero, then must it be ten yeeres betwixt the martyrdom of Peter and of Paul, forasmuch as it is by all writers confessed, that Paul suffered the fourteenth yeere, which was the last yeere of Nero. And so Abdias seemeth neither to agree with other Authors, nor with himselfe. And thus much of the first persecution.

## The second Persecution.

The first Romane persecution beginning under Nero, as is aforesaid, ceased under Vespasianus, who gave some rest to the poore Christians. After whose raigne was moved, not long after, the second persecution, by the Emperors Domitian, brother of Titus. Of whom Eusebius and Dositius so write, that his first beginning mildly, afterward did so farre outrage in pride intolerable, that he commanded himselfe to be worshipped as God, and that images of gold and silver in his honour should be set up in Capitolio. The chiefest Nobles of the Senators, either upon envie, or for their gods, hee caused to be put to death, some openly, and some hee sent into banishment, there causing them to be staine privily.

The second  
Persecution.  
Anno  
69.

Ex Oroso, lib. 7

And as his tyranny was unmeasurable, so the intemperancy of his life was no lesse. He put to death all the nephewes of Iuda, called the Lords brother, and caused to be sought out and to be staine all that could be found of the stocke of David (as Vespasian also did before him) for feare, lest hee were yet to come of the house of David, which should enjoy the Kingdome. In the time of this persecutor, Simon, Bishop of Jerusalem, after other torments, was crucified to death, whom Iustus afterward succeeded in that Bishopricke.

The tyranny  
and intempe-  
rance of Do-  
mitian.

Simon Bi-  
shop of Jeru-  
salem cruci-  
fied.

John the E-  
vangelist.

In this persecution, John the Apostle and Evangelist, was eriled by the said Domitianus into Patmos. Of whom divers and sundry memorable acts be reported in sundry Chronicles. As first, how hee was put in a vessell of boiling oyle, by the Decemfull of Ephesus. The legend and Perionius say, it was done at Rome. Iddorus also writing of him,

and



And unspeakable  
love showed out  
to a wicked  
sinner.



baptized afresh with teares, onely his right hand being hid and covered. When the Apostle after that he had promised and firmly ascertained him that he should obtaine remission of our Saviour, and also prayed, falling downe upon his knees, and kissed his murdering right hand, which for shame hee durst not shew before, as now purged through repentance, brought him to the congregation. And when hee had prayed for him with continuall prayer and daily fastings, and had comforted and confirmed his mind with many sentences, went not from him (as the Author reporteth) before he had restored him to the congregation againe, and made him a great example and triall of regeneration, and a token of the visible resurrection.

An example of  
the godly to fly  
the company of  
the wicked.

Moreover, the aforesaid Irenaeus in lib. 3. cap. 3. and Eusebius lib. 3. cap. 28. and lib. 4. cap. 14. prosecuting the history of John, declare in these words, saying: that there were certaine which heard Polycarpus say, that John the Disciple of our Lord going into Ephesus to be washed, seeing Cerinthus within, he leaped out of the bath unwashed, because he feared the bath should have fallen, seeing that Cerinthus an enemy to the truth was within. Such feare had the Apostles (saith Irenaeus) that they would not communicate a word with them that adulterate the truth.

And so much as wee are here in hand with the story of John the blessed Evangelist, here cometh in matter and occasion not given by him, but taken of others, of a great doubt and difficulty, such as hath occupied all the cathelike, subtil, illuminate, and seraphicall Doctors of the Popes cathelike church, these five hundred yeeres. The difficulty is this: That for so much as auricular confession hath bene, and is yet received in the Popes catholike church for an holy and necessary sacrament, extending universally to all and singular creatures Christian: here then ariseth a question, Who was our Ladies confessor, or ghostly father? But that is decreed and confessed with full consent of all the catholikes to be Saint John. Whosoever denieth, or doubteth of this, is straightwaies *Ipso facto* an heretike. This then to determine, ariseth another question or doubt, that seeing our Lady was without all original sin, and also actual or mortall: what need then had shee of any confessor? What should she confesse unto him? for if she had confessed any sin, when shee had none; then had she made her selfe a liar, and so had sinned indeed. Here therefore (gentle reader) in this perplexity these our illuminate Doctors stand in need of thine ayde to helpe at a pinch. Magnus Albertus the great Divine, denieth not, but that shee indeed, although most pure, yet was confessed to her ghostly father, to keepe the obseruance of the Law, appointed for such as had that need, which shee had not. And therefore (saith hee) necessary it was that shee should confesse with mouth. But then here is to be asked, What did shee say in her confession, when shee had nothing to confesse? To this Albertus answereth againe, and telleth us plainly what shee said in her confession, which was this: That shee had received that great grace, not *Ex condigno*, that is, not of any dignity of her owne, but yet notwithstanding of congruity. And this was it (saith Albert) that shee said in her confession. Albert. cap. 74. super Evang. Missus est, &c.

A catholike  
question concerning  
auricular confession

Solution.

Another catholike  
question.

Solution.  
Albert. super  
Euang. i. i. i.  
Missus est.  
Another question  
on which the  
solution.

Al. m. bilien.  
cap. 17.

S. Thomas p. r.  
3. quest. 37.  
art. 5.

Moreover, to helpe this case out of all doubt, cometh in famous Thomas of Watring, and thus loseth the knot, much after like effect, saying: That as Christ, although hee did owe nothing to the Law, yet notwithstanding received circumcision, to give to others example of humility and obedience: in like manner would our Lady shew her selfe obedient to the obseruance of the Law, albeit there was no cause why shee had any need thereof. And thus hath thou (gentle Reader) this doubtfull question

moved and soluted, to the intent I would reueale to thee some part of the deepe Divinity of our catholike Pastors, that have ruled and governed the church in these their late Popish daies.

But breaking off this matter, I returne againe where we left, that is, to this aforesaid second persecution under Domitianus. In which persecution, besides these afore mentioned, and many other innumerable godly martyrs, suffering for the like testimony of the Lord Jesus, was Flavia the daughter of Flavius Clemens, one of the Roman Consuls, which Flavia, with many others was banished out of Rome, into the Isle Pontia, for the testimony of the Lord Jesus, by the Emperour Domitianus. Euseb. lib. 3.

Flavia the  
daughter of a  
Consul, ban-  
ished for the  
testimony of  
Christ.  
Ex Euseb. lib. 3.  
cap. 19.

This Domitianus feared the coming of Christ as Herod did, and therefore commanded them to be killed which were of the stocke of David in Jewry. There were remaining alive at that time certaine 20 of the Lords kindred, which were the Nephewes of Jude, that was called the Lords brother after the flesh. These, when the Liebetenant of Jewry had brought up to Domitian to be slaine, the Emperour demanded of them, whether they were of the stocke of David: Which when they had granted, he asked againe, what possessions, and what substance they had. They answered, that they both had no more betwene them in all, but nine and thirty acres of ground, and how they got their living, and sustained their families with the hard labours of their hands, shewing forth their hands unto the Emperour, being hard and rough, with labours, to witness that to be true which they had spoken. Then the Emperour inquiring of them concerning the Kingdome of Christ, what manner of Kingdome it was, how, and when it should appeare? They answered that his Kingdome was no worldly nor terrene thing, but an Heavely and Angelicall Kingdome, and that it should appeare in the consummation 40 and end of the world, what time hee coming in glory, should iudge the quicke and the dead, and render to every one according to his desertings. Domitian the Emperour hearing this (as the saying is) did not condemne them; but despising them as vile persons let them goe, and also staid the persecution then moved against the Christians. They, being thus discharged and dismissed, afterward had the government of Churches, being taken for Martyrs, and as of the Lords stocke, and so continued in good 50 peace till the time of Trajanus. Hæc Egesip. & Euseb. lib. 3. cap. 20.

The Emperour  
mailed them  
by for all that  
were of Da-  
vids stocke

David's stocke  
feared of the  
Emperour.

Two nephews  
of Jude the  
Lords brother  
persecuted.

The Kingdome  
of Christ not of  
this world.

By this story here recited, may appeare, what were the causes why the Emperours of the Roman Monarchy did so persecute the Christians: which causes were chiefly these: feare and hatred. First, feare, for that the Emperours and Senate of blinde ignorance, not knowing the manner of Christs Kingdome, feared and misdoubted lest the same would subvert their Emperie, (like as the Pope thinketh now that this Gospell will overthrow his kingdome of Hades) and therefore sought they all meanes possible, how, by death and all kinds of torments, utterly to extinguish the name and memory of the Christians. And thereupon seemeth to spring the old Law of the Roman Senate: Non debere demitti Christianos, qui semel ad tribunal venissent, nisi propositum mutent: that is, that the Christians should not be let goe, which were once brought to the iudgement seat, except they changed their purpose, &c. Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 21. Secondly, hatred, partly for that this world, of his owne naturall condition, hath ever hated and maliced the people of God, from the first beginning of the world. Partly againe, for that the Christians being of a contrary nature and religion, serving only the true living God, despised their false gods, spake against their idolatrous worshippings, and many times stopped the power of Satan, working in their idols: And

The cause  
why the Empe-  
rours & Senate  
of Rome did so  
rage against  
the Christians.

The Kingdome  
of Christ feared  
of the Romans.

Lex antiqua  
Romana contra  
Christianos.  
Ex Euseb. lib. 1.  
cap. 21.

The Kingdome  
of Christ based  
of Romane  
Princes.



And therefore Satan the prince of this world, stirred up the Roman princes and blind idolaters to beare the more hatred and spite against them.

Upon these causes, and such like, rose up these malicious slanders, false surmises, infamous lies, and slanderous accusations of the heathen idolaters against the Christian servants of God, which incited the princes of this world the more to persecute them: for what crimes soever malice could invent, or rash suspicion could minister, that was imputed to the Christians: as that they were a people incestuous, that in the night in their concourses, putting out their candles, they ran together in all filthy manner, that they killed their owne children, that they used to eate mans flesh, that they were seditious and rebellious, that they would not sweare by the fortune & prosperity of Cesar, that they would not adore the image of Cesar in the market place, that they were pernicious to the Empery of Rome. Briefly, whatsoever misshapen to the City or Provinces of Rome, either famine, pestilence, earthquake, war, wonders, unseasonableness of weather, or what other evils soever happened, it was imputed to the Christians, as Iustinus recoreth. Over and beside all these, a great occasion that stirred up the Emperours against the Christians, came by one Publius Valerianus the chiefe prelate of the idolatrous sacrifices and Hamertinus the chiefe governor of the City in the time of Trajanus: who partly with money, partly with sinister and pestilent counsell, partly with infamous accusations (as witnesseth Paule-  
rus) incensed the mind of the Emperour so much against Gods people.

Also among these other causes abovesaid, crept in some piece of covetousnesse withall (as in all other things it doth) in that the wicked promoters and accusers for lucre sake, to have the possessions of the Christians, were the more ready to accuse them to have the spoile of their goods.

Thus hath thou Christian reader first the causes declared of these persecutions: secondly, the cruell law of their condemnation: thirdly, now heare moze what was the forme of inquisition, which was as is witnessed in the second apology of Iustinus) to this effect: that they should sweare to declare the truth, whether they were in very darke Christians or not: and if they confessed, then by the law the sentence of death proceeded. Iust. apol. 2.

Neither yet were these tyrants and organs of Satan thus contented with death onely, to bereave the life from the body. The kinds of death were divers, and nolesse horrible than divers. Whatsoever the cruellnesse of mans invention could devise for the punishment of mans body, was practised against the Christians, as partly I have mentioned before, and more appeareth by the Epistle sent from the brethren of France, hereafter following. Crasty frames, outcries of enemies, imprisonment, stripes and scourgings, drawings, tearings, stonings, plates of Iron laid unto them burning hot, deepe dungeons, racks, strangling in prisons, the teeth of wild beasts, gridirons, gibbets and gallowses, tossing upon the hornes of Bulls: moreover, when they were thus killed, their bodies were laid in heapes, and dogs there left to keepe them, that no man might come to bury them, neither would any prayer obtaine them to be interred and buried. Ex epistola fratrum Viennensium ac Lugdunensium, &c.

And yet notwithstanding for all these continuall persecutions, and horrible punishments, the Church of the Christians daily increased, & deeply rooted in the doctrine of the Apostles, and of men apostolicall, and watered plentifully with the blood of Saints, as saith Niceph. lib. 3. Whereof let us heare the woorthy testimony of Iustinus Martyr in his Dialogue with Tryphus. And that none (saith he) can terrifie or remove us which beleeve in Jesus, by this

it daily appeareth: for when we areaine, crucified, cast to wild beasts, into the fire, or given to other toiments, yet we goe not from our confession: but contrary, the more cruelty and slaughter is wrought against us, the more they be that come to piety and faith by the Name of Jesus: no otherwise then if a man cut the vine tree, the better the branches grow. For the vine tree, planted by God and Christ our Saviour, is his people. Hec Iust.

To comprehend the names and number of all the martyrs that suffered in all these ten persecutions (which are unnumerable) as it is impossible, so it is hard in such a variety and diversity of matter to keepe such a perfect order and course of yeeres and times, that either some be not left out, or that every one be reduced into his right place, especially seeing the authors themselves, whom in this present work we follow, doe diversly disagree both in the times, in the names, and also in the kind of martyrdom of them that suffered. As for example, where the common reading and opinion of the Church and epistles decretall doe take Anaclethus to succeede after Clement, next before Euaristus: contrary, Eusebius lib. 3. & lib. 5. cap. 6. making no mention of Cletus but of Anaclethus, saith that Euaristus succeeded next to Clement. Likewise Rufinus and Epiphanius, speaking nothing of Anaclethus, make mention of Linus, and of Cletus, next before Clement, but say nothing of Anaclethus: whereby it may appeare that Cletus and Anaclethus were both one. Sabellicus Aenead. 7. lib. 2. speaketh of Linus and of Cletus, and saith that they were ordained helpers under Peter, while he laboured in his Apostleship abroad, and so saith also Marianus Scotus: contrary, Irenaeus lib. 3. contra haeres. speaketh of Anaclethus, making no mention of Cletus. Whereby it may appeare by the way, what credit is to be given to the decretall epistles, whom all the later histories of the Pope his church doe follow in this behalfe, &c. Moreover, where Antoninus, Cincintius, Jacobus in supplemento, Simonetta, Aloisius, with others, declare of Linus, Cletus, Clement, Anaclethus, Euaristus, Alexander, Bishops of Rome, that they died martyrs: Eusebius, in his ecclesiasticall history writing of them maketh thereof no mention.

And first as touching Clement (whom Marianus Scotus calleth the first bishop of Rome after Peter) they say that he was sent out into banishment of Trajanus, beyond Ponticus, with two thousand Christians, where he opened a well-spring to them which in the wilderness were condemned to the mines. Afterward being accused to the Emperour, he was throwne into the Sea with a millstone fastened about his necke, and not long after, his body was cast up and buried (as Platina saith) at the place where the well was made. Some say it was found first in the daies of Pope Nicholas the first: Falsicul. tempor. But forasmuch as I finde of his martyrdom no firme relation in the ancient authors, but onely in such new writers of later times, which are wont to paint out the lives & histories of good men, with fained additions of forged miracles, therefore I count the same of lesse credit, as I doe also certaine decretall epistles, untruly (as may seeme) ascribed and inscribed to his name. Eusebius in his third booke, writing of Clement, giveth no more of him, but thus: After he had governed the Church of Rome nine yeeres, the said Clement left the succession thereof to Euaristus.

Of which Euaristus next Bishop of Rome, thus we finde in Irenaeus, lib. 3. cap. 3. Peter and Paul (saith he) committed the charge of that Church to Linus: after whom came Anaclethus, then succeeded Clement, next to Clements followed Euaristus, after whom came Alexander, and then Sixtus the sixth Bishop of Rome after the Apostles: after Sixtus came Telephorus, then Piginus, then Pius, then Anicetus.

False accusations and slanders against the Christians. Ex apologia Iustin. Martyr.

The church increased by persecutions.

Dublin's Car. Hamertinus persecutors.

Disagreement in authors, touching the lives and times of martyrs. Linus bishop of Rome.

Cletus and Anaclethus both one.

Ex Iust. Mart. 2. Apol. 7. The forme of inquisition against the Christians in the 2d time.

The cruelties of tyrants in killing of Christians.

Ex epist. fratrum Viennensium & Lugdunensium, ad fratres per Asian & Phrygian scripta.

Clement a Bishop counted a martyr.

The lives of martyrs painted out with fained miracles.

Ex Nicephori. lib. 3. cap. 22.

Ex Iust. Mart. 7. in dialogo cum Trypho.



Anicetus. And when Soter took the place after him, then the twelfth bishop of Rome was Cleutherus. Thus after Clement followed (as is said) Quirinus in the second or third yeere of Trajanus, as saith Eusebius; or as Nicephorus saith, the fourth yeere of the said Emperour. But howsoever the count of yeeres standeth, little or nothing remaineth of the acts and monuments either of this, or of other Bishops of Rome in those daies. Whereby it may appeare that no great account was then made of Roman bishops in those daies, whose acts and deeds were then either so lightly reputed, or so slenderly committed to History. Notwithstanding, certaine decretall Epistles are remaining, or rather thrust upon us in their names, containing in their little substance of any doctrine, but altogether stuffed with lawes, injunctions, and statelie decrees, little to the purpose, and lesse labouring of the nature of that time then present. Amongst whom also are numbred the two Epistles of this Quirinus.

And when he had given these orders, and had made five Priests, two Deacons, and five Bishops for sundry places (saith the story) he suffered martyrdom. But what kind of death, for what cause he suffered, what constancy he shewed, what was the order or conversation of his life, is nothing touched, and seemeth therefore the more to be doubted that which our new histories doe say: because the old ancient writers have no remembrance thereof, which otherwise would not have passed such things over in silence, if they had bene true. Again, neither doe the authours fully agree in the time of his martyrdom, which Panderus witnesseth to be in the last yeere of Trajanus: but Platina thinketh rather that he suffered under Hadrianus. Fascicul. temporum referreth it to the third yeere of Hadrian: Volateranus to the beginning of the reigne of Hadrian. Contrary, Eusebius comming nere to the simple truth (as seemeth) doth affirme that Quirinus succeeded Clement in the third yeere of Trajanus, and so giving to him nine yeeres, it should follow thereby that Quirinus deceased the twelfth yeere of Trajanus.

After whom succeeded next Alexander in the government of that church, of whose time and death the like discrepance is among the writers. Paterius Scotus saith he was the fourth bishop from Peter: but that could not be. Some say he was the fifth, and some the seventh: but they likewise were deceived; for the most part all do grant Sixtus to be the fifth: Damasus affirmeth that he was in the reigne of Trajan. And how can that be? when the said Damasus affirmed before that Quirinus his predecessor suffered in the last yeere of Trajan, and then the Bishopricke stood at least a moneth voyd: except he meane that the said Alexander succeeded Quirinus in the last yeere of Trajanus. But then how can that stand with Bede and Paterius Scotus? which say that he suffered under Trajanus, or with the Frisingensis, which saith he suffered the fourth yeere of Hadrian, when he had ben bishop ten yeeres by the generall consent of most writers.

They which write of the deeds and doings of this blessed bishop, as Bergomensis Antoninus, Equilinus, and such as follow them, declare that he had converted a great part of the Senators to the faith of Christ, amongst whom was Hermes a great man in Rome, whose sonne being dead Alexander raised againe to life, and likewise restored sight to his maide being blind. Hadrian the Emperour then absent, hearing this, sent word to Aurelianus governour of Rome, to apprehend Alexander, with Cuentius and Theodulus, otherwise called Theodorus, as Platina saith, his two Deacons, and Hermes, and to commit them to ward with Quirinus the tribune: which being done, as their story recordeth, Alexander, inclosed in a divers prison from Hermes, notwithstanding, by the guiding of an angell through three doores with

three lockes a peece, was brought with candle light to the lodging of Hermes; and so returning to the prison againe cured the daughter of Quirinus his keeper, named Balbina, by reason whereof the said Quirinus, with his whole household, were all baptized, and suffered also for the faith of Christ.

Thus then (saith the story) about the second yeere of Hadrian, Aurelianus the ruler tooke Alexander the bishop, with Hermes, his wife, children, and his whole household, to the number of one thousand two hundred and fifty, and threw them in prison. And not long after the said Alexander, with Cuentius his deacon, and Hermes, and the rest were burned in a furnace. Theodulus another deacon of Alexander, seeing and rebuking the cruelty of the tyrant, suffered also the same martyrdom.

Quirinus also the same time (as saith Antoninus) having first his tongue cut out, then his hands and feet, afterward was beheaded and cast to the dogs:

Equilinus saith, that he was beheaded and cast into Tiber in the reigne of the Emperour Claudius: but that cannot be: albeit Platina maketh relation but onely of Alexander with his two deacons aforesaid, declaring moreover, that in the time of this bishop, Saphira of Antioch, and Sabina a Romaness suffered martyrdom.

Flozilegus, the authour of Flores historiarum, affirmeth that Alexander bishop of Rome was beheaded seven miles out of Rome (where he lieth buried) in the yeere one hundred and five; but that agreeth not with the Chronicles above recited. Eusebius recordeth of him no more, but that in the third yeere of Hadrian, he ended his life and office, after he had bene bishop ten yeeres.

Divers miracles are reported of this Alexander, in the canon legends, and lives of Saints, which as I deny not, but they may be true, so because I cannot avouch them by any grave testimony of ancient writers, therefore I dare not affirme them, but doe reserve them to the authours and patrons thereof, where they are found. Notwithstanding, whatsoever is to be thought of his miracles, this is to be affirmed and not doubted, but that he was a godly and vertuous bishop.

And as I say of his miracles, the like judgement also I have of the ordinances both of him and of Quirinus his predecessor, testified in the Popes decrees by Gratianus, as Dist. 93. cap. Diaconi, where is said that Quirinus divided divers titles in the City of Rome to the Priests, also ordained in every City seven deacons to associate and assist the bishop in his preaching, both for his defence, and for the witness of truth. Notwithstanding, if probable conjectures might stand against the authority of Gratianus and his decrees, here might be doubted whether this absolute ordination of Priests was first forbidden by Quirinus, and whether the intitulation of priests was first by him brought in or not: wherein an instance may be given to the contrary, that this intitulation seemeth to take his first beginning at the councill of Chalcedon, and of Pope Urban in the councill of Placentia. In the which councill of Chalcedon the words of the carten (making no mention of Quirinus at all) doe expressly forbid, that any ecclesiasticall person either Priest or Deacon should be ordained absolutely; otherwise the imposition of hands, without some proper title of the party ordained, to stand void and frustrate, &c. And likewise Urbanus in the councill of Placentia doth decree the same, alledging no name of Quirinus, but the statutes of former councils.

Moreover, in the time of Quirinus, the Church then being under terrible persecutions, was divided into no peculiar parishes or cures, whereby any title might rise, but was scattered rather in corners and deserts, where they could best hide themselves. And as the Church of Rome in those daies was not divided into several parishes or cures (as I suppose)

The decretall  
epistles.

Nauale, ge. 4.  
Platina.  
Volateran.  
Anthropo. lib. 22.  
Euseb. lib. 3.  
cap. 24.

Alexander,  
bishop of Rome  
and martyr.

Authours dis-  
agree.

Alexander.  
Cuentius.  
Theodulus.  
Hermes with  
his household.  
Quirinus with  
his household,  
martyrs.

Ex Platina in  
vita Alexandri.

Saphira and  
Sabina  
martyrs.  
Ex Flozilego.

The ordinan-  
ces of Quirinus.  
Dist. 93. cap.  
Diaconi.

Ex Dist. 90. cap.  
Nemine.

Ibidem, cap.  
Sanctorum.



so neither was then any such open or solemn preaching in churches, that the assistance or testimony of seven deacons either could abate among the multitude of the heathen, or else needed amongst the Christian secret congregations. Again, the constitution of seven deacons seemeth rather to spring out of the counsell of Procellare, long after Quirinus, where it was appointed that in every City, where it never be so small, there should be seven deacons after the rule. And this rule the said counsell taketh out of the booke of the Acts of the Apostles, making no word or mention of Quirinus at all, Dist. 93. But these (as is said) be but onely conjectures, not denying that which is commonly received, but only shewing what may be doubted in their epistles decretall.

Howe unlike it seemeth to be true that is recorded and reported of Alexander, whereof we read, De consecr. dist. 2. that he should be the first founder and finder of holy water mirt with salt, to purge and sanctifie them upon whom it is sprinkled. The words of the dist. be these: Aquam sale consperlam in populis benedicimus, ut ea cuncti aspersi sanctificentur & purificentur; quod omnibus sacerdotibus faciendum esse mandamus, &c. that is, The blessed water mirt with salt among the people, that all men being sprinkled therewith may be sanctified and purified; and this we command all Priests to doe, &c.

The opinion is also, but how true I have not to affirme, that by him first was ordained water to be mirt with wine in the chalice.

Item, that by him was brought in the piece of the Masse canon, beginning: Qui pridie, &c. And thus much of these foresaid bishops of Rome, martyred in the daies of Trajan and Hadrian.

### The third persecution.

Betweene the second Romane persecution and the third, was but one yeere, under the Emperour *Pertua*, after whom succeeded *Trajanus*: and after him followed the third persecution. So the second and the third are noted of some to be both one, having no more difference but one yeere betwixt them. This *Trajanus*, if we looke well upon his politike and civill governance, might seeme (in comparison of others) a right worthy and commendable Prince, much familiar with inferiours, and so behaving himselfe toward his subjects, as he himselfe would have the Prince to be to him, if he himselfe were a subject. Also he was noted to be a great observer of justice, in so much that when he ordained any pretor, giving to him the sword, he would bid him use the sword against his enemies in iust causes: and if he himselfe did otherwise then justice, to use then his power against him also. But for all these virtues, toward Christian religion he was impious and cruell, who caused the third persecution of the Church. In the which persecution *Pliny* the second, a man learned and famous, seeing the lamentable slaughter of Christians, and moved therewith to pity, wrote to *Trajanus* of the pitifull persecution: certifying him that there were many thousands of them daily put to death, of which none did any thing contrary to the Romane lawes worthy persecution: saving that they used to gather together in the morning before day, and sing hymnes to a certaine God whom they worshipped, called *Christ*. In all other their ordinances they were godly and honest. Whereby the persecution by commandment of the Emperour was greatly staid and diminished. The forme and copie of which epistle of *Pliny* I thought here not inconvenient to set downe, as followeth.

## The Epistle of *Pliny*, an Heathen Philosopher, to *Trajan* the Emperour.

IT is my property and manner (my Sovereigne) to make relation of all those things unto you wherein I doubt. For who can better, either correct my slacknesse, or instruct mine ignorance, then you? I was never yet present my selfe at the examination and execution of these Christians; and therefore what punishment is to be administred, and how farre, or how to proceed in such inquisitions, I am plaine ignorant, not able to resolve in the matter whether any difference is to be had in age and person, whether the yong and tender ought to be with like cruelty intreated as the elder and stronger, whether repentance may have any pardon, or whether it may profit him or not, to deny, which hath beene a Christian, whether the name onely of Christians without other offences, or whether the offences joyned with the name of a Christian ought to be punished. In the meane season, as touching such Christians as have beene presented unto me, I have kept this order. I have inquired the second and third time of them, whether they were Christians, menacing them with feare of punishment; and such as did persevere, I commanded to execution. For thus I thought, that whatsoever their profession was, yet their stubbornnesse and obstinacy ought to be punished. Whether they were also of the same madnesse; whom, because they were Citizens of Rome, I thought to send them backe againe to the City. Afterward, in further proceesse and handling of this matter, as the sect did further spread, so the more cases did thereof ensue.

There was a libell offered to me bearing no name, wherein were contained the names of many which denied themselves to be Christians, contented to doe sacrifice with Incense and Wine to the gods, and to your image (which image I for that purpose caused to be brought) and to blasphemie *Christ*: whereunto none such as were true Christians indeed could be compelled, and those I did discharge and let goe. Other some confessed that they had beene Christians, but afterward denied the same, &c. affirming unto me the whole summe of that sect or error to consist in this, that they were wont at certaine times appointed, to convent before day, and to sing certaine hymnes to one *Christ* their God, and to confederate among themselves, to abstaine from all theft, murder, and adultery, to keepe their faith and to defraud no man: which done, then to depart for that time, and afterward to resort againe to take meate in companies together both men and women one with another, and yet without any act of evill.

In the truth whereof to be further certified whether it were so or not, I caused two maidens to be laid on the racke, and with torments to be examined of the same. But finding no other thing in them, but onely lewd and immoderate superstition, I thought to surcease of further inquiry, till time that I might be further advertised in the matter from you; for so the matter seemed unto mee worthy and needfull of advisement, especially for the great number of those that were in danger of your statute. For very many there were of all ages and states, both men and women, which then were, and more are like hereafter to incur the same perill of condemnation. For that infection hath crept not onely in Cities, but villages also and Boroughs about, which seemeth that it may be staid and reformed. For as much as wee see in many places that the temples of our gods, which were wont to be desolate, begin now to be frequented, and that they bring Sacrifices from every part to be sold, which before very few were found willing to buy. Whereby it may easily be conjectured, what

The Epistle of *Pliny* to *Trajanus*.

The name of Christians in the primitive Church.

The testimony of the heathen, of the Christians.

Two maidens racked for *Christ*.

Ex dist. 93. cap. Diaconi.

The instituta-  
one of Alexan-  
der.  
Holy water  
first invented.  
De consecrat.  
Dist. 3.

The mixing of  
water with the  
wine in the  
chalice.

Qui pridie  
put in the masse  
canon.

The third per-  
secution of the  
Church.

{Anno}  
{100}

*Plinius* secur-  
tus,  
wrote to *Tra-*  
jan to stop the  
persecution.



multitudes of men may be amended, if space and time be given them, wherein they may be reclaimed.

### The Epistle of Trajanus to Plinie.

The answer of Trajan to Plinie's letter.

**T**He act and stature, my Secundus, concerning the causes of the Christians, which ye ought to follow, ye have rightly executed. For no such generall law can be enacted, wherein all speciall cases particularly can be comprehended. Let them not be sought for, but if they be brought and convicted, then let them suffer execution; so notwithstanding, that whosoever shall deny himselfe to be a Christian, and doe it unfaindly in open audience, and doe sacrifice to our gods, howsoever he hath beene suspected before, let him be released upon promise of amendment. Such libels as have no names, suffice not to any just crime or accusation; for that should give both an evill president, neither doth it agree with the example of our time.

Tertullian writing upon this letter of Trajanus above prefixed, thus saith: A sentence of a confused necessity. We would not have them to be sought for as men innocent, and yet can'th them to be punished as persons guilty. And thus the rage of that persecution ceased for a time, although notwithstanding many naugly disposed men and cruell officers there were, which upon false pretense to accomplish their wicked minds, ceased not to afflict the christians in divers provinces; and especially if any occasion were given never so little for the enemies to take hold of, or if any commotion were raised in the provinces abroad, by and by the fault was laid upon the Christians. As in Hierusalem after that the Emperour Trajanus had sent downe his commandement, that whosoever could be found of the stocke of David, he should be inquired out and put to death: Upon this Gessippus writing, saith, that certaine sedaries there were of the Jewish Nation, that accused Simeon the Bishop then of Hierusalem and some of Cleophas to come of the stocke of David, and that he was a Christian. Of the which his accusers it happened also (saith the said Gessippus) that certain of them likewise were apprehended and taken to be of the stocke of David, and so right justly were put to execution themselves which sought the destruction of others. As concerning Simeon the blessed bishop, the foresaid Gessippus thus writeth; that Simeon the Lords nephew, when he was accused to Attalus the procurator, by the malicious sect of the Jewes, to be of the line of David, and to be a Christian, was scourged, during the space of many daies together, being of age an hundred and twenty yeres. In which his martyrdome he endured so constant, that both the Consull and all the multitude did marvel to see him of that age so constantly to suffer, and so at last being crucified, finished his course in the Lord, for whom he suffered, as partly before also is recorded.

In this persecution of Trajanus above specified (which Trajanus next followed after Perba) besides the other afore mentioned, also suffered Phocas Bishop of Pontus, whom Trajanus, because he would not doe sacrifice to Sestimus, caused to be cast into a hot lime-kilne, and afterward to be put into a scalding bath, where the constant godly martyr, in the testimony of Christ, ended his life, or rather entered into life. Anton. Equil. Fascic. temporum.

In the same persecution suffered also Sulpitius and Serbilianus, two Romans; whose wives are said to be Euphrosina & Theodora, whom Sabina did convert to the faith of Christ, and after were also martyred. Of which Sabina Iacobus Philippus, author of the booke called Supplementum, reporteth that, in the mount of Aventine in Rome, she was

beheaded of Clepidus the governour, in the daies of Hadrian. Under whom also suffered Seraphia a virgin of Antioch, as Hermianus witnesseth.

The forenamed authors Antoninus and Equilius make mention moreover of Perens and Achilleus, who, in this persecution of Trajanus, had the crowne of martyrdome being put to death at Rome. Eusebius in his fourth booke, cap. 26. maketh mention of one Sagaris, who about the same time suffered martyrdome in Asia, Serulius Paulus being then proconsull in that province.

In this persecution, beside many others, suffered the blessed martyr of Christ Ignatius, who unto this day is had in famous reverence among very many. This Ignatius was appointed to the Bishopricke of Antioch next after Peter in succession. Some doe say, that he being sent from Syria to Rome, because he professed Christ, was given to the wilde beasts to be devoured. It is also said of him, that when he passed through Asia, being under the most strict custody of his guarders, he strengthened and confirmed the parishes through all the Cities as he went, both with his exhortations and preaching of the Word of God: and admonished them especially and before all other things, to beware and shun those heresies risen up and sprung newly among them, and that they should cleave and stick fast to the tradition of the Apostles; which he, for their better safeguard, being about to denounce or put in writing, thought it a thing very necessary to travell in. And thus when he came to Smyrna, where Polycarpus was, he wrote one epistle to the congregation of Ephesus, wherein he made mention of Onesimus their Pastor, and another he wrote to the congregation of Magnesia, being at Beandze; wherein also he forgetteth not Damas their Bishop. Also another he wrote to the congregation of Trallis, the governour of which City at that time he noteth to be one Polycarpus. Unto which congregation he made an exhortation, lest they refusing martyrdome, should lose the hope that they desired.

But it shall be very requisite that I alledge some what thereof to the declaration of this matter. He wrote therefore, as the words lie, in this sort. From Syria (saith he) even till I came to Rome, had I a battell with beasts, as well by sea as land, both day and night, being bound in the midst of ten cruell Libards (that is, the company or band of the souldiers) which, the more benefits that they received at my hands, became so much the worse unto me. But I, being exercised and now well acquainted with their injuries, am taught every day more and more: but hereby am I not yet justified. And would to God I were once come to the beasts, which are prepared for me, which also I with gaping mouthes were ready to come upon me, whom also I will provoke that they without delay may devour me, and forbear me nothing at all, as those whom before they have not touched or hurt for feare! And if they will not unless they be provoked, I will then enforce them against my selfe. Pardon me I pray you. How much beneficiall it is to me, I know. Now begin I to be a scholler: I force or esteeme no visible things, nor yet invisible things, so that I may get or obtaine Christ Jesus. Let the fire, the galloves, the devouring of wilde beasts, the breaking of bones, the pulling asunder of my members, the burning or pressing of my whole body, and the torments of the Devil or Hell if selfe come upon me, so that I may winne Christ Jesus.

And these things wrote he from the foresaid City unto the congregations which we have recited. And when he was even now judged to be throwne to the beasts, he spake, for the burning desire that he had to suffer, what time he heard the Lions roaring: I am the wheat or graine (saith he) of Christ, I shall be ground with the teeth of wilde Beasts, that I may be found pure bread. He suffered in the eleventh

Marcus, and Achilleus martyrs.

Sagaris martyr.

Ignatius martyr.

Anno 111 Ex Euseb. lib. 3. cap. 35, 36.

Ex Hier. in catalogo script. ecclies.

Onesimus Pastor at Ephesus.

The words of Ignatius. The true handling of Ignatius.

The notable constancy and burning zeale to Christ in this blessed martyr to be marked.

Ignatius devoured of wilde beasts.

The stocke of David feared and inquired for of the Roman emperours. Ex Gessippo. Simeon sonne of Mary Cleophas. A just punishment of God upon the malicious accusers of the christians.

The age of Simeon. The death and martyrdome of Simeon.

Phocas bishop of Pontus martyr.

Sulpitius. Serbilianus. Euphrosina. Theodora. Sabina martyr. Ex suppl. chr. Seraphia.



benth yere of Trajan the Emperour. Hæc Eusebius & Hieronym.

Besides this godly Ignatius, many thousands also were put to death in the same persecution, as appeareth by the letter of Plinius secundus above recited, written unto the Emperour. Hierome in his booke intituled *De viris illustribus* maketh mention of one Publius Bishop of Athens, who for the faith of Christ, the same time during this persecution, was put to death and martyred.

### Hadrian Emperour.

NEXT after this Trajan succeeded Hadrian the Emperour, under whom suffered Alexander the Bishop of Rome, with his two deacons Cuentius and Theodorus: also Hermes and Quirinus with their families, as late before was declared.

It is signified moreover in the histories, that in the time of this Hadrian, Zenon a noble man of Rome with some thousand two hundred and thre were slain for Christ. Henricus de Erfordia, and Bergomenis, lib. 8. make mention of ten thousand in the dates of this Hadrian to be crucified in the Mount Bararath, crowned with crownes of thorne, and thrust into the sides with sharpe darts, after the example of the Lords passion, whose Captaines (as Antoninus and Vincentius in spec. histo. declare) were Achaicus, Heliaides, Theodosius, and Carcerius, &c. Whether this story be the same with the other above of Zenon or not, it is doubted. As touching the miracles done, and the speaking of the Angell, I reserve the certainty thereof to Vincentius, and such other like authors, where more things seeme to be told then to be true.

There was one Cusfachius a Captaine, whom Trajanus in time past had sent out to war against the Barbarians. After he had by Gods grace valiantly subdued his enemies, and now was returning home with victorie: Hadrian for joy meeting him in his journey to bring him home with triumph, by the way first would doe sacrifice to Apollo for the victorie gotten, willing also Cusfachius to do the same with him. But when Cusfachius could by no means thereto be enforced, being brought to Rome, there with his wife and children he suffered martyrdom under the foresaid Adrian. It were a long proccesse here to recite all the miracles contained or rather suspected in this story of this Cusfachius concerning his conversion and death. How the crucifix appeared to him betwene the homes of an Hart. Of the saving of his wife from the shipmen. Of one of his sonnes saved from the Lion, the other saved from the Wolfe. Of their miraculous preservation from the wilde beasts, from the torments of fire mentioned in Bergomenis, Vincentius, and others. All which as I finde them in no ancient records, so I leave them to their authors, and compilers of the legends.

We read also of Faustinus and Jobita, citizens of the City of Bixia, which suffered martyrdom with like grievous torments. At the sight whereof one Calocerius, seeing their so great patience in so great torments, cried out with these words: Verè magnus Deus Christianorum: that is, Merely great is the God of Christians: Which words being heard, forthwith he was apprehended, and being brought to the place of their execution, was made partaker of their martyrdom. Ex Ant. Equilin.

The History of Nicophorus maketh mention of Anthia a godly woman, who committed her sonne Cleutherius to Anicetus Bishop of Rome, to be brought up in the doctrine of Christian faith, who afterwards being Bishop in Apulia was there beheaded with his foresaid mother Anthia. Onomast.

Iustus also & Bassus two brethren, with like martyrdom ended their lives in a City of Spaine, called Complutum, under the said Adrian the emperour.

Likewise Symphozilla the wife of Cefulus the martyr, with her seven children, is said about the same time to suffer: who first was much and often beaten and scourged, afterwards was hanged up by the haire of her head: at last having an huge stone fastened unto her, was thowne headlong into the river, and after that her seven children in like manner, with sundry and divers kinds of punishment diversly martyred by the tyrant.

10 The story of St. Hermannus, & Antoninus, and others, report of Sophia, with her three children also; also of Seraphia and Sabina, to suffer under the said Emperour, about the yere of our Lord, one hundred and thirty.

As concerning Alexander Bishop of Rome, with his two Deacons, also with Hermes, Quirinus, Saphira, and Sabina, some writers, as Bede, and Marianus Scotus record that they suffered under Trajanus. Others againe, as Otto, frisingensis with like more, report that they suffered in the fourth yere of this Emperour Adrian, but of these martyrs sufficiently hath bene said before.

While Adrian the Emperour was at Athens, he purposed to visit the country of Chusina, and so did: where he sacrificing to the Gentiles gods, after the manner of the Grecians, had given free leave and liberty, whoseever would, to persecute the christians. Whereupon Quadratus a man of no lesse excellent zeale, then of famous learning, being then Bishop of

30 Athens, and Disciple of the Apostles, or at least succeeding incontinent the age of the Apostles, and following after Publius (who a little before was martyred for the testimony of Christ) did offer up and exhibite unto Adrian the Emperour a learned and excellent apology in the defence of the Christian religion. Wherein he declared the Christians, without all iust cause or desert to be so cruelly inreated and persecuted, &c. The like also did Aristides another no lesse excellent philosopher in Athens, who for

40 his singular learning and eloquence being notified to the Emperour, and coming to his presence, there made before him an eloquent oration. Moreover, he did exhibite unto the said Emperour a memorable apologie for the Christians, so full of learning and eloquence, that as Hierome saith, it was a spectacle and adunation to men in his time, that loved to see wit and learning. Over and besides these, there was also another named Serenus Granius a man of great nobility, who likewise did write very pithy and grave letters to Adrian the Emperour, shewing and declaring therein that it was consonant with no right nor reason, for the blood of innocents to be given to the rage and fury of the people, and so to be condemned for no fault, only for the name and sect that they followed.

Thus the goodnesse of God being moved with the prayers and constant labour of these so excellent men, so turned the heart of the Emperour, that he being better informed concerning the order and profession of the Christians became more favourable unto them. And immediately upon the same directed his letters to Minutius Fundanus (as is partly before mentioned) proconsul of Asia, willing him from henceforth to exercise no more such extremity against the Christians, as to condemne any of them, having no other crime objected against them, but only their name. The copy of which his letter, because that Iustin in his apology doth alledge it: I thought therefore to expresse the same in his owne words, as followeth.

### The letter of Adrian the Emperour to Minutius Fundanus.

I Have received an Epistle written unto mee from Serenus Granius; our right worthy and welbeloved, whose office you doe now execute. Therefore I thinke it not good to leave this matter without

Symphozilla with her seven children martyred.

Sophia with her three children martyred.

Quadratus bishop of Athens offereth an apology of Christian doctrine.

Aristides, a philosopher of Athens, declineth before the Emperour the religion of Christ.

Serenus Granius a valiant of christian religion. Euseb. lib. 4. cap. 8.

The Emperour writeth for the christians.

Ex Hier. lib. De viris illust. Publius bishop of Athens martyr.

Zenon with 10000 martyrs slain for Christ. Ex Henr. de Erfordia & alius.

Achaicus, Heliaides, Theodosius, Carcerius, with ten thousand martyrs.

Cusfachius with his wife and children martyred for Christ.

Faustinus and Jobita, citizens of Bixia, martyred.

Cleutherius with his mother Anthia martyred. Ex Nicophoro & ex Onom.

Iustus and Bassus brethren and martyrs.



The letter of  
Adrian the  
Emperour to  
Furnanus the  
proconfull.

further adviſement and circumspection to paſſe, leſt our ſubjects be moleſted, and malicious ſycophants bold-  
ned and ſupported in their evil. Wherefore if the ſubjects of our Provinces doe bring forth any accuſa-  
tion before the Judge againſt the Chriſtians, and can  
prove the thing they object againſt them, let them doe  
the ſame, and no more, and otherwiſe for the name  
onely, not to impeach them, nor to cry out againſt them.  
For ſo, more convenient it is, that, if any man will be  
an accuſer, you take the accuſation quietly, and judge  
upon the ſame. Therefore, if any ſhall accuſe the  
Chriſtians, and complaine of them as malefactours, do-  
ing contrary to the law, then give you judgement ac-  
cording to the quality of the crime. But notwith-  
ſtanding whoſoever upon ſpite and maliciousneſſe ſhall  
commence or cavill againſt them, ſee you correct and  
punish that man for his unordinate and malicious deal-  
ing.

Reſpit from  
persecution.

Thus by the mercifull providence of God, ſome  
more quiet and reſt was given to the Church, al-  
though Hermannus thinketh theſe Aſcion daies did  
not very long continue, but that the Emperour  
changing his edict, began to renew againe perfec-  
ution of Gods people, albeit this ſoundeth not to be ſo  
by the words of Helito in his apology to Antoninus  
hereafter enſuing. In the meane time this is cer-  
taine, that in the daies of this Adrian, the Jewes re-  
belled againe and ſpoiled the countrey of Paleſtina.  
Against whom the Emperour ſent Julius Sebe-  
rus, who overthrew in Jewry fifty Caſtles, & burnt  
and deſtroyed nine hundred and foureſcore villages  
and townes, and ſlew of the Jewes fifty thouſand :  
with famine, ſickneſſe, ſword, and fire, Iuda was  
 almoſt deſolate. But at length Adrian the Empe-  
rour, which otherwiſe was named Aelius, repaired  
and enlarged the City againe of Jeruſalem, which  
was called after his name Aeliopolis, or Aelia Ca-  
pitolina, the inhabitation whereof he granted onely  
to the Gentiles, and to the Chriſtians, forbidding  
the Jewes utterly to enter into the City.

The ſecond  
deſtruction of  
the Jewes.

Jeruſalem re-  
edified and en-  
larged.  
Some wiſe  
chat the place  
where Chriſt  
was crucified,  
was taken into  
the wals.  
Jeruſalem cal-  
led by a new  
name Aeliopo-  
lis.

Antoninus Pi-  
us Emperour.

{ Anno }  
{ 140 }

After the death of Adrian who died by bleeding at  
the noſe, ſucceeded Antoninus Pius, about the yeere  
of our Lord, one hundred and forty, and reigned  
twenty and three yeeres, who for his clemency and  
modest behaviour, had the name of Pius, and is for  
the ſame in hiſtories commended. His ſaying was,  
that he had rather ſave one Citizen, then deſtroy a  
thouſand of his adverſaries. At the beginning of his  
raigne, ſuch was the ſtate of the Church, as Adrian  
his predeceſſor had left it, as in which, although there  
was no edict let forth to perſecute the Chriſtians,  
yet the tumultuous rage of the heathen multitude  
for the cauſes above ſpecified, did not ceaſe to diſqui-  
et and afflict the quiet people of God, imputing and  
aſcribing to the Chriſtians whatſoever miſfortune  
happened contrary unto their deſires : moreover in-  
vening againſt them all falſe crimes and conſume-  
lies whereof to accuſe them. By reaſon whereof,  
divers there were in ſundry places much moleſted,  
and ſome put to death: albeit, as it is to be ſuppoſed,  
not by the conſent of the Emperour, who of nature  
was ſo milde and gentle, that either he raiſed up no  
perſecution againſt the Chriſtians, or elſe he ſome-  
times ſaved the ſame being moved. As well may appeare  
by his letter ſent doſtore to the countries of Aſia, the  
tenor whereof here ſueth.

### The Epistle of Antoninus Pius to the Commons of Aſia.

The letter of  
Antoninus Pi-  
us to the com-  
mons of Aſia.

Emperour and Cæſar, Aurelius Antoninus Auguſtus,  
Armenicus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribune eleven  
times, Conſul thrice, unto the commons of Aſia greet-  
ing. I am very certaine that the gods have a care of  
this, that they which be ſuch, ſhall be knowne, and not  
be hid. For they doe puniſh them that will not worſhip

them more then you, which ſo fore vexe and trouble  
them, confirming thereby the opinion which they have  
conceived, and doe conceive of you, that is, to be wic-  
ked men. For this is their joy and deſire, that when  
they are accuſed, rather they covet to die for their God,  
then to live. Whereby they are victors, and doe over-  
come you, giving rather their lives, then to be obedi-  
ent to you, in doing that which you require of them.  
And here it ſhall not be inconvenient to adviſe you  
of the earthquakes, which have and doe happen among  
us, that when at the ſight of them you tremble and are  
afraid, then you may confer your caſe with them. For  
they upon a ſure confidence of their God, are bold and  
fearleſſe, much more then you : who in all the time  
of this your ignorance, both doe worſhip other gods,  
and neglect the religion of immortality, and ſuch  
Chriſtians as worſhip him, them you doe drive out,  
and perſecute them unto death. Of theſe and ſuch like  
matters many preſidents of our Provinces did write to  
our father of famous memory heretofore. To whom  
he directed his anſwere againe, willing them in no  
caſe to moleſt the Chriſtians, except they were found  
in ſome treſpaſſe prejudiciall againſt the Empire of  
Rome. And to mee alſo many there be, which write,  
ſignifying their minde in like manner. To whom I  
have answered againe, to the ſame effect and man-  
ner as my father did. Wherefore, if any hereafter  
ſhall offer any vexation or trouble, to ſuch, having  
no other cauſe, but onely for that they are ſuch, let  
him that is appeached, be releaſed and diſcharged  
free, yea although hee be found to be ſuch ( that is  
a Chriſtian ) and let the accuſer ſuſtaine the puniſh-  
ment, &c.

A notable ar-  
gument of the  
Emperour to  
prove the good  
conſcience of  
chriſtians, and  
the falſe conſe-  
quence of the hea-  
then.

We meaneth  
Adrian which  
adopted this  
Antoninus of  
his ſon in law  
to be his ſon  
and heire.  
A noble coſe-  
quence.

This goodly edict of the Emperour was procla-  
med at Ephelus, in the publike aſſembly of all Aſia,  
whereof Helito alſo biſhop of Sardis, who flouriſh-  
ed in the ſame time, maketh mention in his apo-  
logy written in defence of our doctrine to P. Anto-  
ninus Verus, as hereafter Chriſt willing ſhall ap-  
peare. By this meanes then the tempeſt of perfe-  
cution in thoſe daies began to be appeaſed, through  
the mercifull providence of God, which would not  
have his Church utterly to be overthrowne, though  
hardly yet to grow.

### The fourth persecution.

After the deceaſe of the ſoreſaid quiet and milde  
Prince Aurelius Antoninus Pius (who among  
all other Emperours of that time made the moſt  
quiet end) followed his ſonne P. Antoninus Ve-  
rus, with Lucius his brother, about the yeere of our  
Lord one hundred theſeſcore and two, a man of na-  
ture more ſterne and ſevere. And although in ſtudy  
of philoſophy, and in civill government no leſſe com-  
mendable : yet toward the Chriſtians ſharpe and  
ſierce, by whom was moved the fourth perſecution  
after Nero. In whoſe time a great number of  
them which truly profeſſed Chriſt, ſuffered moſt  
cruell torments and puniſhments, both in Aſia and  
France. In the number of whom was Polycarpus,  
the worthy biſhop of Smyrna, who in the great  
rage of this perſecution in Aſia, among many other  
moſt conſtant Saints was alſo martyred. Of whoſe  
end and martyrdom I thought it here not unperpe-  
dient to commit to hiſtory, ſo much as Eusebius de-  
clareth to be taken out of a certaine Letter or Epi-  
ſtle, written by them of his owne Church to the  
brethren of Pontus: the tenor of which Epiſtle here  
followeth.

P. Antoninus  
Verus Em-  
perour.  
{ Anno }  
{ 162 }

Polycarpus  
the 1 ſt ed  
martyr, Biſhop  
of Smyrna.

The congregation which is at Smyrna, to the con-  
gregation which is at Philomilium, and to all the  
congregations throughout Pontus, mercy to you,  
peace and the love of God our Father, and of our  
Lord Jeſus Chriſt, be multiplied. Amen. We have  
written unto you brethren of thoſe men which have  
ſuffered martyrdom, and of bleſſed Polycarpus,  
which

Ex Euseb. hiſt.  
Eccleſ. lib. 4.  
cap. 15.  
Hieron. in  
catalogo.



which hath ended and appeased this persecution, as it were, by the shedding of his owne blood. And in the same epistle before they enter into further matter of Polycarpus, they discourse of other martyrs, describing what patience they abode and shewed in suffering their torments: which was so great and admirable (saith the Epistle) that the lookers on were amazed, seeing & beholding how they were so scourged and whipped, that the inward beines and arteries appeared, yea, even so much that the very intrailles of their bodies, their bowels and members were scene, and after that, were set upon sharpe thels taken out of the Sea, edged and sharp, and certain nailes and thornes for the martyrs to go upon, which were sharpened and pointed, called Obelisci. Thus suffered they all kind of punishment and torment that might be devised: and lastly, were throwne unto the wilde beasts to be devoured. But especially in the aforesaid Epistle, mention is made of one Germanicus, how he most worthily persecuted and overcame, by the Grace of God, that feare of death which is ingrafted in the common nature of all men, whose notable patience and sufferance was so notable, that the whole multitude wondering at this beloved martyr of God, for this his so bold constancy, and also for the singular strength and vertue proceeding of the whole multitude of the Christians, began suddenly to cry with a loud voyce, saying: Destroy the wicked men, let Polycarpus be sought for. And whilst a great uprore and tumult began thus to be raised upon those cries, a certain Phrygian named Quintus, lately come out of Phrygia, seeing and abhorring the wilde beasts, and the fierce rage of them, of an over light mind betrayed his owne safety. For so the same letter of him doth report, that he, not reverently, but more malpertly than was requisite, together with others rushed into the judgement place, and so being taken, was made a manifest example to all the beholders, that no man ought rashly and unreverently with such boldnesse to thrust in himselfe, to entermeble in matters wherewith he hath not to doe.

But now we will increase to speake more of them, and returne to Polycarpus, of whom the aforesaid letter consequently declareth as followeth: How that in the beginning, when he heard of these things, was nothing at all afraid nor disquieted in mind, but purposed to have tarried still in the city, till being perswaded by the intreaty of them that were about him (which desired him instantly that he would convey himselfe away) hid himselfe in a grange or village not farre off from the city, and there abiding with a few more in his company, did nothing else (nighr no day) but abode in supplication, wherein he made his humble petition for the obtaining of peace unto all the congregations throughout the world, for that was his accustomed manner so to doe. And as he was thus making his prayers these daies before he was apprehended, in a vision by night he saw the bed set on fire under his head, and suddenly to be consumed. And when he awaked, he told by and by, and expounded unto them that were present his vision, and told them before what thing should come to passe, that is, how that in the fire he should lose his life for Christs cause. It is further mentioned, that when they were hard at hand, which so narrowly sought for him, that he was enforced for the affection and love of his brethren to fly into another village, to which place notwithstanding within a little while after the pursuers came, and when they had taken a couple of children that dwelt thereabouts, they so beat one of them with whips, that by the bewailing or confession of him they were brought unto the time where Polycarpus was. And they say that the pursuers making no great haste to enter, found him in the uppermost place of the house, from whence he might have escaped into other houses, if he would; but this he would not doe, saying: The

will of God be done. Furthermore, when he knew that they were come, as the said history sheweth, he came downe, and spake unto them with a cheerefull and pleasant countenance, so that it was a wonder to see those which a while agoe knew not the man, now beholding and viewing his comely age, and his grave and constant countenance, lamented that they had so much employed their labour, that to aged a man should be apprehended. To conclude, he commanded that straightway without any delay the table should be laid for them, and perswaded them that they would eat and drinke well, and required of them boldly, that he might have an houres respite to make his prayers. Which thing after it was granted, he arose and went to pray, so being replenished with the grace of God, that they which were present, and hearing the prayers that he made, were astonished at it, and now many of them were sorry that he was not and godly an aged man should be put to death.

After this, the aforesaid Epistle or Letter, professing the history, addeth more, as followeth: After he had made an end of his prayers, and had called to his remembrance all those things which ever happened unto him, and to the universall Catholique Church throughout all the world (whether they were small or great, glorious or else inglorious) and that the houre was now come, in which they ought to set forward, they set him upon an Asse, and brought him to the city upon a solemne feast day. And there met him Irenarchus Herodes, and his father Nicetes, which causing him to come up into the chariot where they sat, perswaded him, and said: What hurt I pray thee, shall come thereof to thee, if thou say (by the way of salutation) My Lord Cesar, and doe sacrifice, and thus to save thy selfe: But he at the beginning made them none answer, till that when they enforced him to speake, he said: I will not doe as ye counsell me I should. When as they saw he could not be perswaded, they gave him very rough language, and of purpose molested him, that in going downe the chariot from them, he might hurt or breake his legs. But he forcing very light of the matter, as though he had felt no hurt, went merrily and diligently forward, making haste unto the place appointed. And when there was such uprore in the place of execution, that he could not be heard but of very few, there came a voyce from heaven to Polycarpus, as he was going into the stage, or appointed place of judgement, saying: Be of good chere Polycarpus, and play the man. So man there was which saw him that spake, but very many of us heard his voyce. And when he was brought in, there was a great noise made by them which understood that Polycarpus was apprehended. The Proconsull asked him when he was come, whether his name was Polycarpus or not? And when he said, yea, it was, he gave him counsell to deny his name, and said unto him, Be good unto thy selfe, and labour thine old age: and many other such like words which they accustomed to speake: Swear, saith he, by the Emperors good fortune, looke upon this matter, say thou with us: Destroy these naughty men. When Polycarpus beholding with constant countenance the whole multitude which was in the place appointed, and giving a great sigh, looked up to Heaven, saying: Thou, thou it is that wilt destroy these wicked naughty men. And the Proconsull thus being earnestly in hand with him, said: Take thine oath, and I will discharge thee, desirous Christ. Polycarpus answered, I sweare, and sweares have I been his servant, yet in all his time hath he not so much as once hurt me: how then may I speake evill of my King and soveraigne Lord, which hath thus preferred me? When the Proconsull againe enforced him and said: Swear thou, I advise thee, by Cessars prosperity. Polycarpus replyeth: If thou requir'st of me this fond word of vaine boasting, seeming not to know (as thou sayest) who I am, I do thee to wit that

Polycarpus might cleape and would not.

Polycarpus saith to his prayes.

Polycarpus refused to doe sacrifice.

Polycarpus comforted by a voyce from heaven.

Polycarpus refused to change his name, and would not consent.

A faithfull servant of Christ his Lord.

Twelve martyrs in Asia.

The cruel and beastly handling of the Christian martyrs.

The singular patience and constancy of the Christians.

Germanicus a most constant martyr.

Quintus a Phrygian too hardy and bold.

Polycarpus flyeth persecution.

Polycarpus' prayer for the Church.

Polycarpus hath a vision of his burning.

Polycarpus pursued and taken.



Polycarpus  
ready to give  
a reason of his  
doctrine.

Polycarpus  
obedient to  
higher powers.

Polycarpus  
threatened with  
wilde beasts.

that I am a Christian: and if thou desire to know the doctrine of Christianity, appoint a day, and thou shalt hear. Perswade the people unto this, said the Proconsull. Truly, saith Polycarpus, I have thought it my part thus to say unto you, for so much as we are commanded to give unto the Governors and powers ordained of God, the honour meete and due to them, and not hurtfull unto us: but as for those, I doe iudge them unworthy to purge my selfe unto them. Whereupon the Proconsull stood up; I have, saith he, wilde beasts, to whom I will throw thee, unless thou take a better way. Whereunto Polycarpus answered: Let them come, we have determined with our selves, that we will not by repentance turne us from the better way to the worse, but rather convenient it is, that a man turne from things that be evil, unto that which is good and iust. Again, saith the Proconsull, I will faine thee with fire, if that thou set not by the wilde beasts, nor yet repent. Then said Polycarpus: Thou threatenest me with fire which shall burne for the space of an houre, and shall be within a little while after put out and extinguished; but thou knowest not the fire of the judgement that is to come, and of everlasting punishment, which is reserved for the wicked and ungodly. But why make you all these delays? Give mee what death soever bee list. These, and many other such like things being by him spoken, he was replenished with joy and boldnesse, and his countenance appeared so full of grace and favour, that not only he was not troubled with those things which the Proconsull spake unto him, but contrarily the proconsull himselfe began to be amazed, and sent for the cryer, which in the middle of the stage was commanded to cry three times: Polycarpus hath confessed himselfe to be a Christian: which words of the cryer were no sooner spoken, but all the whole multitude both of Gentiles and Jews inhabiting at Smyrna, with a vehement rage and loud voyce, cryed: This is that doctor or teacher of Asia, the father of the Christians, and the destroyer of our gods, which hath instructed a great number, that our gods are not to be worshipped: and after this they cryed unto Philip the Governour of Asia, and required him that he would let loose the Lyon to Polycarpus. To whom he made answer, that he might not so doe, because he had already his prey. When they cried againe all together with one voyce, that he would burn Polycarpus alive. For it was requisite that the vision, which he saw as concerning his pillow or bolster, should be fulfilled: which when he had seen burnt, as he was in his prayer, he turned himselfe unto the faithfull sort which were with him, saying by the way of prophesie, it will so come, that I shall be burned alive. And the Proconsull had no sooner spoken, but it was out of hand performed. For why? the multitude by and by brought out of their shops, workeshouses, and barnes, wood and other dry matter for that purpose, and especially the Jewes were most serviceable for that matter, after their wonted manner.

And thus the pile being laid, and when hee had now put off his garments and undone his girdle, and was about to pull off his shoes, which hee had not done before, for that all the faithfull sort among themselves strived (as it were) who should first touch his body at their farewell, because for the good conversation of his life, even from his younger age, he was had in great estimation of all men: Therefore straightway those instruments which are requisite to such a benefire, were brought unto him, and when they would have nailed him to the stake with iron hoores, hee said, let mee alone as I am, for hee that hath given mee strength to suffer and abide the fire, shall also give power, that without this your provision of nailes, I shall abide, and not stir in the midst of this fire or pile of wood. Which thing when they heard, they did not naile him, but bound him. Wherefore when his hands were bound

behind him, even as the chiefest ramme taken out of the flocke, hee was sacrificed as an acceptable burnt offering to God, saying: O Father of thy welbeloved and blessed Sonne Iesus Christ, by whom we have attained the knowledge of thee, the God of Angels and powers, and of every creature, and of all iust men which live before thee, I give thee thanks that thou hast vouchsafed to grant mee this day that I may have my part among the number of the martyrs in the cup of Christ, unto the resurrection of eternall life, both of body and soule, through the operation of thy holy Spirit; among whom I shall this day be received into thy fight for an acceptable sacrifice: & as thou hast prepared, and revealed the same before this time, so thou hast accomplished the same, O thou most true God, which canst not lie. Wherefore I in like case for all things praise thee, and blesse thee, and glorifie thee by our everlasting Bishop, Iesus Christ, to whom be glory evermore, Amen.

And as soone as hee had ended this word Amen, and finished his prayer, the tormentors began to kindle the fire, and as the flame flashed out vehemently, we, to whom it was given to discern the same, saw a marvellous matter; which were also to this purpose prelerbed, that we might shew the same to others. For the fire being made like unto a roose or vault of a house, and after the manner of a shipmans saile, filled with wind, compassed about the body of the martyr, as with a certaine wall, and hee, in the middle of the flame, not as flesh that burned, but as gold and silver when it is tried in the fire. And surely we smelt a savour so sweet, as if myrrhe or some other precious balme had given a sent. At the last, when those wicked perions saw that his body could not be consumed by fire, they commanded one of the tormentors to come unto him, and thrust him thorow with his sword. Which being done, so great a quantity of blood ranne out of his body, that the fire was quenched therewith, and the whole multitude marvelled that there was so much diversity between the infidels and the elect, of whom this Polycarpus was one, being a disciple of the Apostles and a propheticall instructor of our times, and Bishop of the Catholike Church of Smyrna: for what word soever he spake, both it was and shall be accomplished. But the subtil and envious adversary when he saw the worthinesse of his martyrdome, and that his conversation even from his younger yeeres could not be reproved, and that he was adorned with the crowne of martyrdome, and had now obtained that incomparable benefite, gave in charge that we should not take and divide his body, for feare lest the remnants of the dead corps should be taken away, and so worshipped of the people. Whereupon divers whispered Acceta the father of Herod, and his brother Dalces in the care, to admonish the proconsull, that in no case he should deliver his body, lest (saith he) they leave Christ and begin to worship him. And this spake they, because the Jewes had given them secret warning, and provoked them thereunto: who also watched us, that we should not take him out of the fire: not being ignorant how that we meant at no time to forsake Christ, which gave his life for the salvation of the whole world (as many I meane as are elected to salvation by him) neither yet that we could worship any other. For why? him we worship as the Sonne of God, but the martyrs doe we love as Disciples of the Lord (and that worthily) for their abundant love towards their King and master, of whom we also desire and wish to be companions, and to be made his Disciples. When therefore the Centurion saw and perceived the labour of the Jewes, the corps being laid abroad, they burnt the same, as was their manner to doe.

Thus good Polycarpus with twelve others that came from Philadelphia suffered martyrdome at Smyrna;

His prayer be-  
fore his death.

The thanksgiving of Poly-  
carpus.

A miracle  
shewed.

An example of  
much cruelty.

The Jewes re-  
nemies alwaies  
to the Christian  
ans.

Marke that he  
saith, we love  
them, and wor-  
ship them not.

These mar-  
tyrs put to  
death in  
Smyrna.

An example of  
brotherly love.

The willing  
minds of Poly-  
carpus to suf-  
fer.



Smyrna; which Polycarpus specially abode the rest is had in memory, so that hee in all places among the Gentiles is most famous. And this was the end of this worthy disciple of the Apostles, who's history the brethren of the congregation of Smyrna have written in this their epistle, as is above recited.

Ex Iren. lib. 3.  
cap. 3.  
Euseb. lib. cap. 14

Irenaeus in his third Booke against heresies, the third Chapter, and Eusebius in his fourth Booke and fourteenth Chapter of his Ecclesiasticall history, reporteth this worthy saying of Polycarpus: At this Polycarpus (saith hee) meeting at a certaine time Marcion the Heretike, who said to him; Dost thou not know mee: made answer; I know that thou art the first begotten of Satan. So little feare what evil might ensue thereof, had the Disciples of the Apostles, that they would not speake to them whom they knew to be the deparers of the verity, even as Paul saith: The Heretike, after the first and second admonition, shun and avoid, knowing, that he which is such a one, is perverbe or froward, and dammeth himselfe. This most holy confessor, and martyr of Christ, Polycarpus, suffered death in the fourth persecution after Nero, when Marcus Antoninus, and Lucius Aurelius Commodus reigned, in the yeere of our Lord, one hundred threescore and seven, as Vrsperg. affirmeth, in the yeere one hundred threescore and ten, as Eusebius witnesseth in his Chronicles, the seventh before the kalends of February.

Anno 2167.  
Germanicus.  
Ex Euseb. lib. 4.  
cap. 15.  
Hystor. Eccles.

Of Germanicus mention is made above in the story of Polycarpus, of whom writeth Eusebius, lib. 4. cap. 15. noting him to be a young man, and most constantly to persevere in the profession of Christ's doctrine; whom when the Praeconfull went to perswade to remember his age, and to favour himselfe, being in the flower of his age, hee would not be allured; but constantly and boldly, and of his owne accord incited and provoked the wilde beasts to come upon him, and to devour him, to be delivered more speedily out of this wretched life. Hae Euseb. an. 170.

The old age of Polycarpus.

Polycarpus was the scholar of John.

Irenaeus lib. 3.  
cap. 1.

The Epistle of Polycarpus to the Philippians.

Justification by Faith.

Ex Euseb. lib. 5.  
cap. 20.  
Irenaeus conversant with Polycarpus.

Thus have you heard out of the Epistle of the brethren of Smyrna, the whole order and life of Polycarpus: whereby it may appeare that he was a very aged man, who had served Christ fourescore and five yeeres since the first knowledge of him, and served also in the Ministry about the space of threescore and ten yeeres. This Polycarpus was the scholar and hearer of John the Evangelist, and was placed by the said John in Smyrna. Of him also Ignatius maketh mention in his Epistle which hee wrote in his journey to Rome, going toward his martyrdoms, and commendeth to him the government of his Church at Antioch, whereby it appeareth that Polycarpus was then in the Ministry. Likewise Irenaeus writeth of the said Polycarpus after this manner: He alwaies taught (saith he) those things which he learned of the Apostles (leaving them to the Church) and are onely true. Wherunto also all the Churches that be in Asia, and all they which succeeded after Polycarpus, to this day beare witness. And the same Irenaeus witnesseth also that the said Polycarpus wrote an Epistle to the Philippians, which whether it be the same that is now extant and read in the name of Polycarpus, it is doubted of some: notwithstanding in the said Epistle divers things are found very wholesome and Apostolike: as where he teacheth of Christ, of judgement, and of the resurrection. Also he writeth of faith very worthily, thus declaring, that by Grace we are saved, and not by works, but in the Will of God by Jesus Christ.

In Eusebius wee reade in like manner a part of an Epistle written by Irenaeus to Florentinus, wherein is declared, how that the said Irenaeus being yet young, was with Polycarpus in Asia: at what time he said and well remembered what Polycarpus did, and the place where hee late teaching, his whole order

of life and proportion of his body, with the sermons and words which he said to the people. And furthermore hee perfectly remembered, how that the said Polycarpus often times reported unto him those things which hee learned and heard them speake of the Lord his doings, power, and doctrine, who heard the word of life with their owne eares, all which were more constant and agreeable to the holy Scripture. This, with much more, hath Irenaeus concerning Polycarpus.

Polycarpus conversant with the Apostles.

Hierome also, writing of the same Polycarpus, hath, how hee was in great estimation throughout all Asia, so that hee was scholler to the Apostles, and to them which did see, and were conversant with Christ himselfe: wherby it is to be conjectured, his authority to be much, not only with them of his own Church, but with all other Churches about him.

The authority of Polycarpus (aunc charges of Asia.

Over and besides, it is witnessed by the said Irenaeus, that Polycarpus came to Rome in the time of Anicetus Bishop of Rome, about the yeere of our Lord one hundred fifty and seven in the raigne of Antoninus Pius, whose cause of his coming thither appeareth to be about the controvercie of Easter day: wherein the Asians and the Romans something disagreed among themselves. And therefore the said Polycarpus, in the behalfe of the brethren and Church of Asia, took his long journey thither, to come and conferre with Anicetus. Wherof writeth also Nicephorus lib. 4. declaring, that Polycarpus and Anicetus something varied in opinions and judgement about that matter, and that notwithstanding, yet both friendly communicated either with the other, in so much that Anicetus in his Church, gave place to Polycarpus to minister the Communion and Sacrament of the Lords supper for honour sake. Which may be a notable testimony now to us, that the doctrine concerning the free use and liberty of ceremonies, was at that time retained in the Church without any offence of stomacke, or breach of Christian peace in the Church.

Polycarpus came to Rome. Polycarpus conferred with Anicetus.

The East church and Rome church differed about Easter day.

Ex Niceph. li. 4. cap. 39.

Difference of ceremonies caused no breach of charity in the primitive church.

This Polycarpus (as is above mentioned) suffered his martyrdom even in his owne Church at Smyrna, where hee had laboured so many yeeres in planting of the Gospel of Christ, which was about the yeere of our Lord, an hundred threescore and ten, as Eusebius reckoneth in his Chronicle, and in the seventh yeere of Antoninus Verus his raigne, wherby it appeareth that Socrates in Historia tripartita was much deceived, saying, that Polycarpus suffered in the time of Gordianus.

Socrates deceived in his Tripartit. hist.

In this fourth persecution, besides Polycarpus and others mentioned before, we read also in Eusebius of divers others, who at the same time likewise did suffer at Smyrna.

Ex Euseb. lib. 4. cap. 17.

Over and besides, in the same persecution suffered moreover Petrosodorus a Minister, who was given to the fire, and so consumed. Another was worthy Dionius, which after much boldnesse of speech, with his apologies exhibited, and his sermons made to the people in the defence of Christian faith, and after much relieving and comfort of such as were in prisons, and otherwise discomfited, at last was put to cruell torments and afflictions, then given likewise to the fire, and so finished his blessed martyrdom.

Petrosodorus, Dionius.

After these also suffered Carpus, Vapilus, and Agathonica, a woman, who after their most constant and worthy confessions, were put to death at Pergamopolis in Asia, witnessing Eusebius, lib. 4. cap. 7.

Carpus, Vapilus, Agathonica, martyrs.

And as these suffered in Asia, so in Rome suffered Felicitas with her seven children, who under this Antoninus Verus sustained also the cruelty of this persecution. The names of whose children Bergomensis and other histories do thus recite: Fannarius, Felix, Philippus, Silvanus, Alexander, Titus, Martialis. Of whom her first and eldest sonne Fannarius, after hee was whipped and scourged with

Felicitas with her seven children. Fannarius, Felix, Philippus, Silvanus, Alexander, Titus, Martialis, martyrs.



with rods, was prest to death with leaden weights. Felix and Philip had their braines beaten out with mauls. Silbanus was cast downe headlong, and had his necke broken. Furthermore, Alexander, Vitalis, and Marcialis, were beheaded. Last of all Felicitas the mother (otherwise than the accustomed manner was for such as had borne children) was slaine with the sword, Ex Supplem.

In the rage of this fourth persecution, under the raigne of Antoninus Pius, suffered also good Justine, a man in Learning and Philosophy excellent, and a great defender of Christian religion, who first exhibited unto the Emperour, and to the Senate, a booke or apologie in the defence of the Christians, and afterward himselfe also died a martyr. Of whom in the history of Eusebius, lib. 4. cap. 16. it is thus recorded: that about what time, or a little before that Polycarpus with divers other Saints suffered martyrdom in Pergamopolis a city of Asia, this Justine (as is aforesaid) presented a booke in defence of our doctrine to the Emperour, to wit, unto Antoninus, and to the Senat. After which he was also crowned with like martyrdom unto those, whom he in his booke had defended, through the malicious meanes and crafty circumbention of Crescens.

This Crescens was a Philosopher, conforming his life and manners to the Cynicall sect, whom because this Justine had reposed in open audience, and had borne away the victory of the truth which he defended; hee therefore, as much as in him lay, did worke and procure unto him this crowne of martyrdom. And this did also Justine himselfe a Philosopher, no lesse famous by his profession, force and declare in his foresaid apologie, telling almost all those things beforehand which should happen unto him, by these words, saying: And I looke after this good turne, that I be slaine going by the way, either of some of those whome I have named, and to have my braines beaten out with a bat, or else of Crescens, whom I cannot call a Philosopher, but rather a vaine boaster. For it is not convenient to call him a Philosopher, which openly professeth things to him unknowne, and whereof he hath no skill, saying and reporting of us, that the Christians be ungodly and irreligious: and all to please and flatter them which are seduced by error.

For whether hee objecteth against us the doctrine of the Christians which he hath not read, yet is hee very malicious, and worse than the unlearned idiot, who for the most part use not to dispute, or iudge of things they know not, and to beare witness of the same. We put the case that hee had read it, yet understandeth hee not the maiesty of the matters therein contained: or, if peradventure hee understandeth them, and doth it for this purpose, that he would not be counted as one of them: then is hee so much the more wicked and malicious, and the bondslave of vile and beastly, both fame and feare. For this I testifie of him, giving you truly to understand, that for a truth, which I declare unto you, how that I have apposed him, and have put unto him many questions, whereby I know and perceive, that hee understandeth nothing. But if so be that this our disputation with him hath not come unto your eares, I am ready to communicate unto you againe those questions which I demanded of him, which things shall not be unfit for your Princely honour to heare. But if ye know and understand both what things I have examined him of, as also what answer hee hath made, it shall be apparant unto you, that hee is altogether ignorant of our doctrine and learning: or else if hee knoweth the same, hee dare not utter it for feare of his auditors; which thing, as I said before, is a proofe that hee is no Philosopher, but a slave to vaine glory, which maketh none account of that, which his owne Master Socrates had in so great estimation. And thus much of Justine, cut of Justine himselfe.

Now, to verifie that which Justine here of himselfe doth prophesie, that Crescens would and did procure his death: Tacianus (a man brought up of a childe in the institutions of the Gentiles, and obtained in the same not a little fame, and which also left behinde him many good monuments and commentaries) writeth in his booke against the Gentiles in this sort: And Justine (saith hee) that most excellent learned man, full well spake and uttered his mind, that the afore recited men were like unto the bees or liers by the high way side. And in the said Booke speaking after ward of certaine Philosophers, the said Tacianus inferreth thus: Crescens therefore (saith hee) when hee came first into that great City, passed all others in the vicious love of children, and was very much given to covetousnesse; and where he taught that men ought not to regard death, hee himselfe doth feare death, and hee did all his endeavour to oppresse Justine with death, as with the most greatestt evil that was, and all because that Justine, speaking truth, reprobed the philosophers to be men onely for the belly, and deceivers: and this was the cause of Justines martyrdom. Hierome in his Ecclesiasticall catalogue thus writeth: Justine, when in the city of Rome he had his disputations, and had reprobed Crescens the Cynike for a great blasphemer of the Christians, for a belligod, and a man fearing death, and also a follower of lust and lechery: at last by his endeavour and conspiracy was accused to be a Christian, and for Christ shed his blood in the yere of our Lord one hundred fifty and foure under Marcus Antoninus, as the Chronicles doe witness: Abbas Vrspergensis, and Eusebius in his Chronicle, in the thirtieth yere of the Emperour Antoninus.

Among these aboves recited, is also to be numbred Paredis, a blessed virgin, the daughter of a citizen of Rome, who in the time of Anicetus there Bishop, was so brought up in the doctrine of Christ, and so affected to his religion, that shee, with her sister Potentiana, bestowed all her patrimony upon the relieving of poore Christians, giving all her time to fasting and prayer, and to the burying of the bodies of the martyrs. And after she had made free all her family with her servants after the death of her sister, shee also departed, and was buried in peace.

Under the same Antoninus also suffered Ptolomeus and Lucius for the confession of Christ, in a city of Egypt, called Alexandria, whose history, because it is described in the Apology of Justine Martyr, I thought therefore so to set forth the same, as it is alleged in Eusebius, declaring in the manner and occasion thereof, Lib. 4. cap. 17. in words and effect as followeth, &c.

There was (saith he) a certaine woman married unto a husband, who was given much to lasciviousnesse, whereunto shee her selfe in times past was also addicted. But the afterward being instructed in the Christian religion, became chaste her selfe, and also perswaded her husband to live chaste; oftentimes telling him, that it was written in the Precepts of the Christians, that they should be punished eternally which lived not chaste and justly in this life. But he still continuing in his filthinesse, thereby caused his wife to estrange her selfe from his company. For why? the woman thought it not convenient to continue in her husbands company, which contemning the law of nature, sought otherwise to satisfie his filthy appetite. Therefore shee was purposed to be divorced from him. But her neighbours and kinsfolke provoked her, by promising him amendment, to keepe company againe with him, and so shee did. But he after this tooke his journey into Alexandria, and when it was shewed her, that there hee lived more licentious than at any time before, for that shee would not be counted partaker of his incestuous life, by coupling her selfe any longer with him, shee gave him a letter of divorce, and so departed from him.

Justinus Martyr.  
Ex Euseb. lib. 4. cap. 16.

Crescens a philosopher procured the death of Justine.

Crescens a railing Philosopher, and a malicious calteler.

A slave of fame and feare.

Crescens proved an unlearned Philosopher.

Tacianus commended.

The praise of Justine Martyr.

Ex cat. Hieron.

The death and martyrdom of Justine the noble Philosopher and Christian martyr.

Paredis, Potentiana, Christian virgins.

Ptolomeus, Lucius, martyrs.

Euseb. lib. 4. cap. 17.



him. When her husband, who ought rather to have rejoiced to have so honest and chaste a wife, which not onely would not commit any dishonest thing her selfe, but also could not abide any lewd or misordered behaviour in her husband, and that by this her separation she went about to reclaim him from his incest and wickednesse to better amendment of life: he, in recompence to his wife againe, accused her to be a Christian, which at that time was no lesse then death. Whereupon she, being in great perill and danger, delibered up unto the Emperour (as Iustinus in his apologie writing to the Emperour himselfe declareth) a supplication, desiring and craving of his Majesty, first, to grant her so much licence as to set her family in order, and that done, afterward to come againe and make answer to all that might or should be laid against her: whereunto the Emperour condescended. When her husband seeing that he could have no advantage against her, devised with himselfe, how he might bring Ptolomeus (which was her instructor in the faith of Christ) in trouble and accusation: using the means of a certaine Centurion, who was his very friend, whom he perswaded to examine Ptolomeus, whether he were a Christian or not. Ptolomeus (as one that loved the truth, and not thinking good to hide his profession) confessed no lesse then to the examiner, openly declaring that he had (as truth was) taught and professed the verity of Christian doctrine. For who so denieth himselfe to be that he is, either condemneth in denying the thing that he is, or maketh himselfe unworthy of that, the confession whereof he lieth, which thing is never found in a true and sincere Christian. Thus then he being brought before Urbicus the Judge, and by him condemned to suffer: one Lucius, being also a Christian, standing by, and seeing the wrong judgement, and hasty sentence of the Judge, said to Urbicus: What reason I pray you of equity is this, that this man who neither is adulterer, nor fornicator, nor homicide, nor fellow, neither hath committed any such crime, wherewith he may be charged, is thus condemned onely for his name and confession of a Christian: This condemnation, and this manner of judgments (of Urbicus) are neither seemly for the virtuous Emperour, nor to the Philosopher his son, nor yet for the estate of his Senate of Rome.

The boldnesse and Christian constancy of Lucius.

Lucius condemned and martyred.

The bold man also condemned and martyred.

A place of Gratianus suppressed.

Concordus marty.

Concordus spitteeth in the face of the idol.

Which word being heard, Urbicus making no further examination of the matter, said unto Lucius: He thinketh thou art also a Christian. And when Lucius had given him to understand that he was also a Christian, the Judge without further delay, commanded him to be had away to the place of execution. To whom he answered: I thank you with all my heart, that you release me from most wicked governors, and send me unto my god and most loving father, being also the King of all gods. And in like manner the third man also, coming unto him, and using the like liberty of speech, had also the like sentence of death and condemnation, and was crowned also with the same crowne of martyrdoms. And thus much out of the Apologie of Iustinus, by the which story it may appeare not to be true that Gratianus attributeth unto Viginus, Bishop of Rome, the deciding of causes matrimoniall, seeing that in Iustinus time (who was in the same age of Viginus) the divorcement of this woman in this history above touched, was not decided by any Ecclesiasticall Law, or brought before any Bishop, but was brought before an heathen Prince, and determined by the Law civil.

Henricus de Erfordia recordeth out of the martyrologie of Iuardus, of one Concordus a Minister of the city of Spolet, who in the raigne of this Antoninus Verus, because he would not sacrifice unto Jupiter, but did spit in the face of the idol, after divers and sundry punishments sustained, at last with the sword was beheaded. Vincentius in his tenth booke, chap. 108. recteth a long story of his acts and

life, whereof some part perhaps may seem tolerable. But this verily appeareth to be false and fabulous, concerning the water flowing besides his sepulchre in the forenamed city of Spolet, unto the which water was given (saith Vincentius) by the vertue of of him, for whose name he suffered, to restore sight to the blinde, to heale the sick, and to cast out devils, &c. Which kinde of vertue to open the eyes of the blinde, and to expell devils, neither doth God give to any creature of water, neither is it like that Concordus the blessed Martyr did or would require any such thing at the hands of God.

Iuardus, and Bede, Vincentius, and Henricus de Erfordia, with other Authors more, make relation of divers other martyrs that by sundry kinds of torments were put to death, under the aforesaid Antoninus Verus: the names of whom be Symmetrius, Florellus, Pontianus, Alexander, Caius, Epipodius, Victor, Corona, Marcellus, Valerianus. The cause of whose martyrdoms was the reprehending of idolatry, and because at the Emperours commandement they would not sacrifice to idols. Many sorts of punishments and miracles are told of them: but at length the end of them all is this, that they were beheaded. Whereby it may be the more suspected, the histories of these Writers not to be certaine or true, as well touching these as also other martyrs, as may appeare in Vincentius, in Petrus de Narabbus, and other Authors of like sort. In which Authors they which list to read more of their miracles there may find them.

A little before, mention was made of Symphorista, other wise named Symphorosa, wife of Cetus, with her seven sonnes. This Cetus or Cetus was a Minister or teacher (as witnesseth Martyrol. Adonis) in the city of Liber, which Cetus, with Cerealis, Amantius, and Primitivus, by the commandment of Adrian, were condemned to the fire, wherein they were martyred and put to death. The names moreover of the seven sonnes of this Symphorosa, I find to be Crescens, Julianus, Demetrius, Primitivus, Iustinus, Statteus, and Eugenius, whom the Chronicle of Ado declareth to be put to death at the commandment of Adrian, being fastened to seven stakes, and so racked up with a pulley, and at last were thrust thorow, Crescens in the necke, Julianus in the backe, Demetrius in the heart, Primitivus about the navill, Iustinus cut in every joint of his body, Statteus ruine thorow with speeres, Eugenius cut asunder from the brest to the lower parts, and then cast into a deepe pit, having the name by the idolatrous Priestes, entituled Ad septem Biothanatos. After the martyrdoms of whom also Symphorosa the mother did likewise suffer, as is before declared.

Under the said Antoninus Verus, and in the same persecution, which raged not in Rome and Asia onely, but in other countries also, suffered the glorious and most constant martyrs of Lions and Vienna, two cities in France, giving to Christ a glorious testimony, and to all Christian men a spectacle or example of singular constancy & fortitude in Christ our Saviour. The history of whom, because it is written and set forth by their own Churches, where they did suffer, mentioned in Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 2. I thought here to expresse the same in the forme and effect of their owne words, as there is to be seen. The title of which their Epistle written to the brethren of Asia and Phrygia thus begyndeth.

The story of Vincentius followed of untruth.

Ex Iuardo Vincentio, & Henrico de Erfordia. Symmetrius, Florellus, Pontianus, Alexander, Caius, Epipodius, Victor, Corona, Marcellus, Valerianus, martyres. Authors in the writing of miracles of martyrs suspected.

Setulus, Cerealis, Amantius, Primitivus, martyres. The seven sons of Symphorosa: Crescens, Julianus, Demetrius, Primitivus, Iustinus, Statteus, Eugenius, martyres.

The persecution in Lions and Vienna, two cities in France. Ex Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 2.

The



The Servants of Christ inhabiting  
The Cities of *Vienna* and *Lions*, to the brethren in *Asia* and *Phrygia*, having the same faith  
and hope of redemption with us : Peace, Grace,  
and Glory from God the Father, and from  
Jesus Christ our Lord.

A letter of the  
Brethren of  
France to the  
Brethren of  
Asia.

The greatness of this our tribulation, the furious rage of the Gentiles against us, and the torments with the blessed martyrs suffered, neither can we in words, nor yet in writing exactly, as they deserve, set forth. For the adversary with all his force, gave his endeavour to the working of such preparatives, as he himself liked, against his tyrannous coming, and in every place practised he and instructed his Ministers, how in most spitefull manner to set them against the servants of God : so that not only in our houses, shops and markets, we were restrained, but also were universally commanded, that none (so hardy) should be seen in any place. But God hath alwaies mercy in store, and took out of their hands such as were weak amongst them, and other some did he set up as firme and immovable pillars, which by sufferance were able to abide all violent force, and valiantly to withstand the enemy, enduring all their opprobrious punishment they could devise : to conclude, they fought this battell for that intent to come unto Christ, esteeming their great troubles but as light : thereby shewing that all that may be suffered in this present life, is not able to countervaile the great glory which shall be shewed upon us after this life. And first they patiently suffered whatsoever the multitude of franticke people running upon head did unto them, as railings, scourginges, drawings and halings, stinging of stones, imprisonings, and what other thing soever the rage of the multitude is wont to use and practise against their professed enemies. Then after ward they being led into the market place, and there judged of the Captaine and rest of the Potentates of the city, after their confession made openly before the multitude, were commanded againe to prison, until the returne of their chiefe Governour. After this they being brought before him, and he using all extremity that possibly he might against them : One Tertius Epagathus, one of the brethren, replenished with fervent zeale, both towards God & his brethren, (whose conversation, although he were a yong man, was counted as perfect as was the life of Zachary the Priest.) For he walked diligently in all the commandments and iustificacions of the Lord, and in all obedience towards his brethren blamelesse. He having within him the fervent zeale of love, and Spirit of God, could not suffer that wicked judgement which was given upon the Christians ; but being vehemently displeased, desired that the Judge would heare the excuse which he was minded to make in the behalfe of the Christians, in whom (saith he) is no impiety found. But the people cried againe to those that were assistants with the chiefe Justice, that it might not be so (for indeed, he was a Noble man borne) neither did the Justice grant him his lawfull request, but onely asked him, whether hee himselfe was a Christian or not ? And he immediately with a loud and bold voyce answered and said, I am a Christian. And thus was hee received into the fellowship of the martyrs, and called the Advocate of the Christians. And hee having the Spirit of God more plentifully in time, than had Zachary, the abundance thereof he declared in that he gave his life in the defence of his brethren, being a true Disciple of Christ, following the Lamb whersoever he goeth.

By this mans example, the rest of the martyrs were the more animated to martyrdomme, and made more joyous with all courage of minde to accom-

plish the same. Some other there were unready and not so well prepared, and as yet weak, not well able to beare the vehemency of so great a conflict : of whom ten there were in number that fainted, mistaking to us much heavinesse and lamentation. Who by their example caused the rest, which were not yet apprehended, to be lesse willing therunto. Then were we all for the variablenesse of confession not a little astonished : not that we feared the punishment intended against us, but rather as having respect to the end, and fearing lest any should fall. Every day there were apprehended such as were worthy to fulfill the number of them which were fallen : in so much that of two Churches, such as were chiefe, and which were the principall Governours of our Churches, were apprehended. With these also certaine of the Ethniks, being our men servants, were apprehended for to the Governour commanded, that all of us in generall without any respect should be taken) which servants being over come by Satan, and fearing the torments which they saw the saints to suffer, being also compelled thereunto by the meanes of the soldiers, fained against us that we kept the feastings of *Epheles*, & incest of *Medipus*, and many such other crimes, which are neither to be remembered, nor named of us, nor yet to be thought that ever any man would commit the like.

These things being now hunted abroad, every man began to shew cruelty against us, in so much that these which before for familiarity sake were more gentle towards us, now vehemently disdained us, & wared mad against us. And thus was now fulfilled that which was spoken by Christ, saying, The time will come, that whosoever killeth you, shall thinke that hee doth God great good service. Then suffered the martyrs of God such bitter persecution as is passing to be told : Satan still shooting at this mark, to make them to utter some blasphemy by all meanes possible. Marvellous therefore was the rage both of the people and Prince, especially against one Sanctus, which was Deacon of the Congregation of *Vienna*, and against *Paturne*, being but a little before baptized, but yet a worthy soldier of Christ, and also against *Attalus*, being borne in *Pergama*, which was the foundation and pillar of that Congregation, and also against *Blasidina* : by whom Christ sheweth those things, which the world esteemed vile and abied, to be glorious in Gods sight, for the very love which in heart and deed they bare unto him, not in outward face only. For when all we were afraid, and specially her mistresse in the flesh, who also was her selfe one of the number of the afore said martyrs, lest haply for the weaknesse of body she would not stand strong to her confession, the foresaid *Blasidina* was so replenished with strength and boldnesse, that they which had the tormenting of her by course, from morning to night, for very wearinesse gave over, and fell downe, and were themselves overcome, confessing that they could doe no more against her, and marvelled that yet she lived, having her body so torn and rent : and testified that any one of those torments alone, without any more, had bene enough to have plucked the life from her body. But that blessed woman, fighting this worthy battell, became stronger and stronger, and as often as she spake these words (I am a Christian, neither have we committed any evill) it was to her a marvellous comfort and beldening to abide the torments.

Sanctus also, another of the martyrs, who in the midst of his torments endured more paines than the nature of a man might away with, at what time the wicked supposed to have heard him utter some blasphemous words, for the greatnesse and intollerablenesse of his torments and paines that hee was in, abode notwithstanding in such constancy of minde, that neither he told them his name, nor what countrey man he was, nor in what city brought up,

The fainting  
of certaine  
weak Christians.

False bandes  
against the  
Christians.

The rage of the  
barbarians against  
the Christians.

Attalus Epagathus martyr.

The stoutnesse  
of a godly yong  
man.

The cruel handling  
and great  
patience of  
Blasidina.

Sanctus a  
martyr.

The notable  
constancy of  
Sanctus.



neither whether he was a free man or a servant: but unto every question that was asked him, he answered in the Latine tongue, I am a Christian, and this was all that he confessed both of his Name, City, Kindred, and all other things in the place of execution: neither yet could the Gentiles get any more of him: whereupon both the Governor and tormentors were the more vehemently bent against him. And when they had nothing to do to him withall, they clapped plates of brasie red hot to the most tenderest parts of his body, where with his body indeed being scorched, yet he never shunke for the matter, but was bold and constant in his confession, being strengthened and moistened with the fountaine of lively water, flowing out of Christs side. Truly his body was a sufficient witness what torments he suffered: for it was all done together and most pitifully wounded and scorched, so that it had thereby lost the proper shape of a man, in whose suffering Christ obtained unspeakable glory, for that he overcame his adversaries, and, to the instruction of others, declared that nothing else is terrible, or ought to be feared where the love of God is, and nothing grievous wherein the glory of Christ is manifested.

And when those wicked men began after a certain time againe to torment the martyr, and hoped well to bring it to passe, that either they should overcome him in causing him to recant, by reiterating his torments; now when his body was so sore and swollen, that he might not suffer a man to touch him with his hand, or else, that if he died under their hands, yet that thereby they should strike such feare into the hearts of the rest, as to cause them to deny Christ: they were not onely disappointed herein, but also contrary to the expectation of men, his body was in the later punishment and torments suppld and restored, and took the first shape and use of the members of the same, so that the same his second torment was by the grace of Christ (instead of punishment) a safe medicine.

Also Satan now thinking to have settled himselfe in the heart of one Hiblides, being one of them which had denied Christ, and thinking to have caused her, being a weak and feeble woman in faith, to have damned her soule, in blaspheming the name of God, brought her to the place of execution: enforcing to wett some wicked thing out of the mouth of the Christians. But he in the middle of her torments, returning to her selfe, and waked as if were out of her dead sleepe by that temporall paine, called to her remembrance the paines of Hell fire, and against all mens expectations rebeld the tormentors, saying: How should we Christians eate yong infants (as ye reported of us) for whom it is not lawfull to eate the blood of any beast? Upon that, so soone as he had confessed her selfe to be a Christian, he was martyred with the rest. Thus when Christ had ended those tyrannicall torments, by the patience and sufferance of our Saints, the diuell yet invented other engines and instruments. For when the Christians were cast into prison, they were shut up in darke and ugly dungeons, and were done by the feet in a racke or engine made for that purpose, even unto the fifth hole. And many other such punishments suffered they, which the furious spirit of Hell stirred up with diabolish fury, are wont to put men unto so that very many of them were strangled and killed in prisons, whom the Lord in this manner would have to enjoy everlasting life, and set forth his glory. And surely these good men were so pitifully tormented, that if they had had all the helps and medicines in the world, it was thought impossible for them to live, and to be restored. And thus they remaining in prison, destitute of all humane helpe, were so strengthened of the Lord, and both in body and mind confirmed that they comforted and stirred up the minds of the rest: the younger sort of them,

which were later apprehended, and put in prison, whose bodies had not yet felt the lash of the whip, were not able to endure the sharpnesse of their imprisonment, but died for the same.

The blessed Photinus, who was Deacon to the Bishop of Lyons, about fourescore and nine yeres old, and a very feeble or weak man, and could scarcely draw breath for the imbecillity of his body: yet was he of a lively courage and spirit, and for the great desire hee had of martyrdom, when hee was brought unto the judgement seate, although his body was feeble and weak, both because of his old age, and also through sickness, yet was his soule or life preserved to this purpose, that by the same Christ might triumph and be glorified. Hee, being by the soldiers brought to the place of judgement, many citizens and men of great ability following him, and the whole multitude crying upon him diversly, as though hee had bene Christ himselfe, gave a good testimony. For being demanded of the chiefe Ruler, what was the Christian mans God? he answered: If thou bee worthy to know thou shalt know. Hee, being with these words somewhat more touched, caused him to be very sore beaten. For those that stood next him, did him all the spite and displeasure that they could both with hand and foote, having no regard at all to his old age or white haire. And they which were further off, whatsoever came next to hand, they threw at him, and every man thought that hee did very wickedly restraints, that withheld his hand from doing the like. For by this meanes they thought that they did revenge the quarrell of their gods. Photinus now, even as it were gasping after life, was throwne into prison, and within two daies after died.

And here is the mighty providence of God, and the unspeakable mercy of Iesus Christ declared, which providence, being assured amongst a fraternity, it never destitute of the aide of Iesus Christ. For those which in their first persecution denied Christ, they also were put in prison, and made partakers of the others affliction. Neither yet did it any whit at all at that time helpe them that had denied Christ, but they which confessed him were imprisoned as Christians, neither was there any other crime objected against them; but the other sort taken like homicides and wicked doers, were laid hand on, and had double more punishment then the others had. These men were refreshed with the joy of martyrdom, the hope of Gods promises, the love towards Christ, and the spirit of God: the others, their consciences accused them, and that very sore, in so much that by their gate, their countenances betraied unto the rest their guilty consciences. For the Christians went forth having cheerefull countenances, very much adorned with glory and grace, in so much that the very bonds wherewith they were tied, set them out as men in seemely apparell, and like as Hiblides when they be decked in gorgeous and gay garments, and therewithall favoured as of the redolent sinell of Christ, so that it might be supposed them to be anointed with some sweet balme: whereas the others were doubtfull and sad, abject, ill favoured, filled with all shame, and furthermore rebeld of the Gentiles themselves, as wretches degenerate, having the crime of homicide, and destitute of the most precious, glorious, and lively calling of the Christian name. And truly by these sights the rest were confirmed, and, being apprehended, confessed Christ without any staggering, not having so much as the thought of any such diabolish mind of deniall.

And in the same Epistle of the foresaid brethren of France, writing to the brethren of Asia, it followeth in this manner: After these things done, the martyrdom of these holy Saints was divided diversly into divers kindes and formes, as the offering to God the Father a garland decked with divers sundry kindes of colours and flowers. For it so be-

Other martyrs  
died in prison.

Photinus a  
blessed martyr.

The rage of the  
people against  
Photinus.

The comfort of  
the godly stand-  
ing to their  
confession.

The deniers of  
their confession  
comforted, and  
notwithstanding  
punished.

The cruel  
torments of  
dancers.

miraculous  
working of  
God.

Hiblides an  
other martyr.

scale, and quin-  
m for anem.

Others mar-  
tyrs strangled  
in prison.



hobed the worthy champions of God, after they had suffered divers kinds of torments, and so worne a triumphant victory, to obtaine great reward of immortality.

Then Vaturus, Blandina, and Attalus were brought together to the common scaffold, there in the face of the people to be cast and deuoured of the beasts. And Vaturus, with Sanctus, being brought the second time to the scaffold, suffered againe all kinde of torments, as though hitherto they had suffered nothing at all: yea rather the aduersary being oftentimes put to the worst, they as striving for the crowne, suffered againe more scourginges, the tearing of wilde beasts, and what thing else foeber the franticke people on every side cryed for and willed. And aboue all the rest they brought an Iron chaire, in the which their bodies being set, were so fried and scorched, as on a gridiron fried on the coles, and filled with the savor of the frying all the people that stood by. And yet for all that the torments ceased not, but inared more fierce and mad against them, labouring to overcome the patience of the Saints. Notwithstanding all this, they could not get out of Sanctus mouth any other thing but the confession which at the beginning he declared. And thus these holy men, after they had long continued alibe in this their most horrible consist, at the length were flaine being made all that whole day a spectacle unto the world, in place and in stead of the games and fights which were wont to be exhibited to the people. And thus much concerning Vaturus add Sanctus.

Now concerning Blandina, she being fastened upon a stake was cast to the ravening beasts to be deuoured; which thing was not done without the determinate will of God: so this end, that while she seemed to hang as it were upon a crosse, by the feruentness of her prayer she might comfort the rest of the Saints, as beholding their Christ with their bodily eyes, which in that agony suffered for them all: and that all which beleue in him, suffer for the glory of Christ, might be assured to liue with him for ever. And when they saw that no beast would come nere her thus hanging, they toke her downe from the tree, and cast her againe into prison till another time, that she, having the victory of many battels might triumph over that ugly serpent the diuell, and that she being a weake and silly woman, and not regarded, armed with Christ the invincible conquerour, might encourage her brethren, and by the enduring of this battell might win a crowne of incorruptible glory.

Now to Attalus: who, being also required and called for of the people to punishment already prepared (for his conscience sake) commeth forth to the sight. For he being worthily exercised in the Christian profession, was alwaies a witness and a maintainer of our doctrine. Therefore when the presse of people was about the scaffold, and the table carried before him, wherein was written in the Romane tongue, This is Attalus the Christian: then the people were in a marvellous rage against him. But the Governour, understanding that he was a Roman, commanded him againe to prison, with the rest of his prison fellows: whereof he wrote to the Emperour, and waited for answer what his pleasure herein was. The prisoners were not idle in the meane season, nor unprofitable to their brethren, but by their patience the unspeakable mercy of Christ shined out. For those which were dead before were now revived by them that liued, & they which were Martyrs profited them which were none, and the Church did much reioyce, as receiving them againe alive, whom she had lost before as dead. For many of them, which before had denied, now by their deniall were refreshed and stirred up, and learned to be confessors. And now being revived and strengthened, and tasting the sweetnesse of him which desireth not the death of a sinner, but is mercifull to the peni-

tent, came of their owne accord to the judgement seate againe, that they might be examined of the Judge. And for that the Emperour had written backe againe to him, that all the confessors should be punished and the other let goe, and that the Sessions or Siles were now begun, which, for the multitude that had repaire thither out of every quarter, was marvellous great: he caused all the holy martyrs to be brought thither, that the multitude might behold them, and once againe examined them; and as many of them as he thought had the Romane freedom he beheaded, the residue he gave to the beasts to be deuoured. And truly Christ was much glorified by those which a little before had denied him, which againe, contrary to the expectation of the infidels, confessed him even unto the death. For they were examined apart from the rest, because of their delivery; which being found confessors, were ioined to the company of the martyrs, and had with them their part. But there were then some abroad which had no faith at all, neither yet so much as the feeling of the wedding garment, nor any cogitation at all of the feare of God, but blasphemed his waies by the lewd conversation of their life, even such as were the children of damnation. All the residue ioined themselves to the congregation: which when they were examined, one Alexander a Phrygian borne, and a Physician which had dwelt long in France, and knowne almost of all, for the love hee had to God, and boldnesse of speaking (neither was he void of the Apostolicall love) one Alexander, I say, standing somewhat nere to the barre, by signes and beekes perswaded such as were examined, to confesse Christ: so that by his countenance sometime reioycing, some other while sorrowing: he was deserted of the standers by. The people not taking in good part to see those which now recanted by and by againe to sticke to their first confession, they cried out against Alexander as one that was the cause of all this matter. And when he was informed by the Judge, and demanded what religion he was of? he answered: I am a Christian. He had no sooner spoken the word, but hee was judged to the beasts of them to be deuoured.

The next day following, Attalus of whom I made mention a little before, and Alexander, were brought forth together. For the Governour granting Attalus unto the people, he was baited againe of the beasts. When these men were brought to the scaffold, and had taken a taste of all the instruments that there were prepared for their execution, and had suffered the greatest agony they could put them to, they were also at the length flaine: of whom Alexander never gave so much as a sigh, nor held his peace, but from the bottom of his heart praised and praied to the Lord. But Attalus, when he was set in the iron chaire, and began to fry, and the frying labour of his burning body began to smell, he spake to the multitude in the Romane language: Behold (saith hee) this which you doe is to eate mans flesh; for we neither eate men, nor yet commit any other wickednesse. And being demanded what was the name of their God? Our God (saith he) hath no such name as men have. When said they, Now let us see where your God can helpe you, and take you out of our hands or not.

After this being the last day of the spectacle, Blandina againe, and one Ponticus, a child of fifteen yeres old was brought forth, and this was every day, to the intent that they seeing the punishment of their fellows might be compelled thereby to sweare by their idols. But because they constantly abode in their purpose, and defied their idols, the whole multitude was in a rage with them, neither sparing the age of the child, nor favouring the sex of the woman, but put them to all the punishment and paine they could devise, and oftentimes enforced them to sweare, and yet were not able to compell them

The pittefull  
handling of  
Gods people.

Vaturus and  
Sanctus mar-  
tyred.

Blandina  
brought forth  
againe.

Attalus com-  
men did to  
prison.

The deniers  
returning a-  
gaine to their  
confession.

Alexander the  
Phrygian  
martyred.

The worthy  
patience and  
constancy of  
Attalus.

Blandina and  
Ponticus a-  
gaine brought  
forth.



them thereunto. For Ponticus, being so animated of his sister, as the Ethniks standing by did see, after that he had suffered all torments and paines gave up the ghost. This blessed Blandina therefore being the last that suffered, after she had like a worthy mother given exhortations unto her children, and had sent them before as conquerors to their heavenly King, and had called to her remembrance all their battels and conflicts, so much rejoiced of her childrens death, and so hastened her owne, as though she had bene bidden to a byddall, and not in case to be throned to the wild beasts. After this her pittifull whipping, her delivery to the beasts, and her torments upon the gridiron, at the length she was put in a net, and throned to the wilde Bull, and when she had bene sufficiently gozed and wounded with the hornes of the same beatt, and felt nothing of all that chanced to her, for the great hope and consolation she had in Christ and heavenly things, was thusaine, inso much that the very heathen men themselves confessed that there was never woman put to death of them that suffered so much as this woman did. Neither yet was their furious cruelty thus allwaged against the Christians. For the cruell barbarous people, like wilde beasts, when they be moved, knew not when the time was to make an end, but invented new and sundry torments every day against our bodies. Neither yet did it content them when they had put the Christians to death, for that they wanted the sense of men: for which cause both the Magistrate and People were vered at the very hearts, that the Scripture might be fulfilled, which saith; He that is wicked, let him be wicked still, and he that is just, let him be more just. For those which in their Nations they strangled, they threw after to the dogs, setting keepers both day and night to watch them, that they should not be buried, and bringing forth the remnant of their bones and bodies, some halfe burned, some left of the wilde beasts, and some all to be mangled, also bringing forth heads of others which were cut off, and in like manner committed by them to the charge of the keepers to see them remaine unburied.

The Gentiles grinded and gnashed at the Christians with their teeth, seeking which way they might amplify their punishment: some other flouted and mocked them, extolling their idols, attributing unto them the cause of this cruelty and vengeance shewed to us. Such as were of the mother sort, and seemed to be moved with some pity, did hit us in the teeth, saying: Where is your God that you so much boast of? and what helpeth this your Religion for which you give your lives? These were the sundry passions and affects of the Gentiles, but the Christians in the meane while were in great heaviness, that they might not bury the bodies and reliques of the holy martyrs. Neither could the darke night serve them to that purpose, nor any intreaty nor waging them with money, which were appointed for watchmen: but they so narrowly looked unto the matter, as though they should have gotten great benefit and profit thereby.

Thus were the bodies of the martyrs made a wondering spectacle, and lay fire dates in the open streets; at the length they burned them, and threw their ashes into the River of Rhodes, so that there might appeare no remnant of them upon the earth. And this did they as though they had bene able to have pulled God out of his seat, and to have let the regeneration of the Saints, and taken from them the hope of the resurrection, whereof they being perswaded (said they) bring in this new and strange religion, and let this light by death and punishment.

Atque hæc ex epistola Viennensium, &c.

Among others that suffered under Antoninus, mention was made also of Iustinus, who (as it is said before) exhibited two apologies, concerning the defence of Christian doctrine, the one to the Se-

nate of Rome, and the other to Antoninus Pius the Emperour, concerning whose suffering, and the causes thereof is partly before declared: this Iustine was borne in Neapoli, in the countrey of Palestine, whose father was Idiscus Bachius, as he himselfe doth testifie, by whom in his youth he was let to school to learn, where in proceesse of time he became a famous and worthy Philosopher, of whose excellency many learned and notable men doe record. For

Iustine Bachius, Iustinus father.

first he being altogether inflamed and ravished with desire of knowledge, would in no wise be satisfied in his minde, before he had gotten instructors singularly scene in all kind of philosophy, whereupon he wisteth of himselfe in the beginning of his dialogue Cum Triphone thus, declaring that in the beginning he being desirous of that sect and society, applied himselfe to be the scholar to a certaine Stoike, and remaining with him a time, when he nothing profited in divine knowledge (whereof the Stoike had no skill, and affirmed the knowledge thereof not to be necessary) he forsooke him, and went to another of the sect of the Peripatetiks, a sharpe witted man, as hee thought; with whom after hee had bene a while, hee demanded of him a stipend for his teaching, for the better confirmation of their familiarity.

Iustine, desirous of philosophy.

Whereupon Iustine, accounting him as no Philosopher, left him, and departed. And yet not satisfied in mind, but desirous to heare of further learning in philosophy, adioyned himselfe to one that possessed the Pythagorean sect, a man of great fame, and one who made no small account of himselfe. Whom after he had followed a time, his master demanded of him whether he had any sight in Musike, Arithmetique, and Geometry, without the sight of which Science, hee said he could not be apt to receive the knowledge of vertue and felicity, unlesse before hee had used to apply his mind from sensible matters to the contemplation of things intelligible. And speaking much in the commendation of these Sciences, how profitable and necessary they were: after that Iustine had declared himselfe not to be scene therein, the Philosopher gave him over, which grieved Iustine not a little, and so much the more, because he thought his Master to have some knowledge in those Sciences. After this Iustine considering with himselfe what time was requisite to the learning of these Sciences, and thinking not to deferre any longer, thought best to resort to the sect of the Platonists for the great fame that came of them:

Iustine professeth all sects of philosophy.

wherefore he chose unto him a singular learned man of that sect, which lately was come to those parts, and so remaining with him seemed to profit not a little in contemplation of supernall things, and invisible formes, inso much that hee thought shortly to aspire to such sharpnesse of wit and wisdom, that out of hand he might atchieve to the comprehension and contemplation of God, which is the end of Plato his philosophy. And in this manner he bestowed his youth: but afterward hee growing to a ripper age, how and by what means the said Iustine came to the knowledge and profession of Christianity, it followeth likewise in his said first apology: where hee affirmeth of himself (as witneseth Eusebius in his fourth booke) that when hee did beheld the Christians in their torments and sufferings to be so constant in their profession, was therewith marvellously moved: after this manner reasoning with himselfe, that it was impossible for that kind of people to be subiect to any vice or carnality, which vices of their owne nature are not able to sustaine any sharp adversity, much lesse the bitterness of death. The sight whereof helped him not a little (being of his owne nature inclined to the searching of true knowledge and vertue) to begin thereby to love and embrace Christian religion, for so hee doth witnesse of himselfe in the end of the first apology: signifying there how it was his seeking and indeavour to attain to christianity: understanding how the Chi-

Iustine a Platonist.

The end of Plato his philosophy.

Ex Euseb. lib. 4. cap. 8.

Iustine beginneth to favour Christian religion.



Christians by malice of wicked persons were compelled to suffer wrong and torments, and to be evil spoken of. By sight whereof, as he saith himselfe, he became a Christian, though this occasion. For being thus afflicted in his mind, as is aforesaid, it came in his head for his more quietnesse to goe aside to some desert and solitary place void of concourse of people, unto a village or grange near to the sea side: whither as he approached, thinking there to be all alone, there meteth with him an old ancient father of a comely visage and gentle behaviour, who following him a little off, began to reason with him: where after long disputation, when the old man had declared unto him that there was no knowledge of truth amongst the Philosophers, which neither knew God, neither were aided by the Holy Ghost: and further had reasoned with him of the immortality of the soule, of the reward of the goodly and punishment of the wicked: then Iustine being confirmed with his reasons and arguments, yielded to him of his owne accord; and demanded of him by what means he might attaine to that true knowledge of God, whereof he had spoken: who then commended him to read and search the Prophets, adorning therewith prayer. But what after (saith Iustine) should I use for the instruction thereof, and who shall be able to helpe us if these Philosophers (as you say) lacke the truth, and are void of the same? To whom the old father answering, There have bene (said he) many yeeres before these Philosophers other more ancient then all these, which being accounted for Philosophers were iust and beloved of God: who spake by the spirit of God, foretelling and prophesying these things which we see now come to passe, and therefore they are called Prophets. These onely have knowen the truth, and revealed it to men, neither fearing nor passing for any: who were seduced with no opinions of mans invention, but onely spake and taught those things which they themselves both heard and saw, being inspired with the holy Spirit of God: whose writings and wordes yet to this day remaine, out of which the Reader may receive great profit and knowledge of things as concerning the first creation of the world and end of the same, with all other things necessary to be knowen of every true Philosopher which will give credit unto them. Neither in their teaching doe they use any demonstration, as being more certaine of themselves, then that they need any such demonstration to be made, forasmuch as the accomplishing and the end of things both past and now present, constraineth us of necessity to believe the wordes and doctrine which they taught: which men not onely therefore are to be beloved, but also for their miracles and wonders done, are worthy of credit: for that they both preached of God the Maker and Creator of all things, and also did prophesie before of Christ his Sonne to be sent of him; the which, the false prophets being seduced with false and wicked spirits, neither have done, nor doe, but onely take upon them to worke certaine prodigious wonders for men to gaze at, setting out thereby to the world false and unclean spirits. But then afoze all things, make thy prayer that the gate of light may be opened unto thee, for otherwise these things cannot be attained unto of every man, but onely of such to whom God and his Christ giveth understanding.

These things, with much more (which now leisure serveth not to prosecute) after the foresaid old father had declared unto him, he departed, exhorting him well to follow the things which he had spoken: & after that Iustine (as he himselfe witnesseth) saw him no more. Immediately after this, Iustine being all inflamed as with fire kindled in his breast, began to conceive a love and zeale towards the Prophets and all such as were favoured of Christ: And thus he, revolving in his mind more and more these wordes, found onely this philosophy among all other profes-

sions both sure and profitable, and so became he a philosopher, and in time by these meanes afterwards he was made a Christian and baptised. But where he received this holy Sacrament of Baptisme it is not read of, nor yet by what occasion he left his country and came to Rome. This onely we read in Hierome, that he was in Rome, and there used certaine exercises which he called Diatribas, disputing there with Crescens a Cynicall philosopher, as is before touched. But this is certaine, how that Iustine after he had received the profession of Christian Religion, became an earnest defender of the same, travelling and disputing against all the adberfaries thereof, fearing neither perill of life nor danger of death, whereby he might maintaine the doctrine of Christ against the malicious blasphemers, and also augment the number of Christian beleivers, as may appeare by his vehement disputations against the heathen philosophers: also moreover it well appeareth in that long disputation which he had with one Triphe at Ephesus, as also in his confutations of heretickes. Furthermore, his confids and apologies which with great courage and security he exhibited against the persecutors of the Christians, both to the Emperour and the Magistrates, yea and the whole Senate of Rome, doe testifie the same.

Of the which apologies, the first he wrote to the Senate of Rome, and after to Antoninus Pius the Emperour, as is before mentioned; where in the first writing with great liberty to the senate, he declared that of necessity he was compelled to write and utter his mind and conscience to them. For that in persecuting of the Christians they did neglect their duty, and highly offended God, and therefore need they had to be admonished. And further writing to Urbicus lieutenant of the city, said, that he put men to death and torments for no offence committed, but for the confession onely of the Name of Christ, which proceedings and judgements neither became the Emperour, nor his soune, nor the senate: defending moreover in the said apology, and purging the Christians of such crimes as falsely were laid and objected against them by the ethnicks.

And likewise in his second apology writing to Antoninus the Emperour, and his successors, with like gravity and free liberty declareth unto them how they had the name, commonly being reputed and taken as vertuous Philosophers, maintainers of justice, lovers of learning; but whether they were so, their acts declared. As for him, neither for flattery nor labour at their hands, he was constrained thus to write unto them, but onely to sue unto them, and desire a serious and righteous kind of dealing in their judgements and sentences (for it becommeth Princes to follow uprightness and piety in their judgements, not tyranny and violence) and also in plaine wordes chargeth as well the Emperour as the Senate with manifest wrong, for that they did not grant the Christians that which is not denied to all other malefactors, judging men to death not convicted, but onely for the hatred of the name. Other men which he appeached (said he) in judgement, are not condemned before they are convicted: but on us you take our name onely for the crime, when as indeed you ought to see iustice done upon our accusers. And againe (saith he) If a Christian being accused onely deny that name, him you release, being not able to charge him with any other offence: but if he stand to his name, onely for his confession you call him, where indeed it were your duty rather to examine their manner of life, what thing they confesse or deny, and according to their demerits to see justice done.

And in the same further he saith. Upon examine not the causes, but incensed with rash affections, as with the spur of fury, ye slay and murder them not convicted, without any respect of iustice. And further he addeth; Some peradventure will say, certaine of them

Iustine baptised.

Diatriba.

Iustine an earnest defender of Christ.

Two apologies of Iustine.

The summe of his apologies.

The second apology of Iustine.

The Lord take away this spirit of fury, condemning innocents before they be convicted.

Iustine goeth into a desert.

Iustine miraculously converted by an old man.

The vanity of the old philosophers reproved.

The doctrine of the prophets commended.

The utility of reading the prophets.

Prophets to be credited for two causes.



them have bene apprehended and taken in evill doings: as though (saith he) you used to enquire upon them being brought afore you, and not commonly to condemne them before due examination of their offence for the cause above mentioned. Where also in the end of the said apology after this manner he reprehendeth them: You doe degenerate (quoth he) from the goodnesse of your predecessors, whose example you follow not, for your father Adrian of famous memory caused to be proclaimed, that Christians accused before the Judge should not be condemned, unless they were found guilty of some notorious crime. I finde that all his vehement and grave apology standeth upon most strong and firme probations, denying that the Christians ought by conscience at the will and commandement of the Emperour and senate to doe sacrifice to the idols: for the which they being condemned, affirme that they suffer open wrong: affirming moreover that the true and only religion is the religion of the Christians, whose doctrine and conversation hath no fault. Iustinus although with these and such like persuasions he did not so prevaile with the Emperour, to cause him to love his religion and become a Christian (for that is not written) yet thus much he obtained, that Antoninus writing to his officers in Asia in the behalfe of the Christians, required and commanded them, that those Christians onely which were found guilty of any trespass should suffer, and such as were not convicted, should not therefore onely for the name be punished, because they were called Christians. By these it is apparant lyth what zeale and faith this Iustinus did strive against the persecutors, which as he said could kill onely, but could not hurt.

This Iustinus by the meanes and malice of Crescence the philosopher (as is before declared) suffered martyrdom under Marcus Antoninus Verus, a little after that Policarpus was martyred in Asia, as witnesseth Eusebius, lib. 4. Here is to be gathered how Epiphanius was deceived in the time of his death, saying, that he suffered under Rusticus the President, and Adrian the Emperour, being of thirty yeeres of age, which indeed agreeth neither with Eusebius, nor Hierome, nor Sunde, nor others more, which manifestly declare and testifie how he exhibited his apology unto Antoninus Pius which came after Adrian. Thus hast thou (good reader) the life of this learned and blessed martyr, although partly touched before, yet now more fully and amply discoursed for the better commendation of his excellent and notable vertues, of whose final end thus writeth Photius, saying, that he suffering for Christ died cheerfully and with honour.

Thus have ye heard the whole discourse of Iustinus and of the blessed Saints of France, Aetius, Zacharias, Sanctus, Maturus, Attalus, Blandina, Alexander, Alcibiades, with others, recorded and set forth by the writing of certaine Christian brethren of the same Church & place of France. In the which foresaid writing of theirs, moreover appeareth the great meeknesse and modest constancy of the said martyrs described in these words: Such followers were they of Christ (who when he was in the forme of God, thought it no robbery to be equal with God, being in the same glory with him) that they not once nor twice, but oft times suffered martyrdom: and taken againe from the beasts, and bearing wounds, tearings and skars in their bodies, yet neither would count themselves martyrs, neither would they suffer us to call them: but if any of us either by word or letter would call them martyrs, they did vehemently rebuke them, saying, that, The name of martyrdom was to be given to Christ the faithful and true martyr, the first borne of the dead, and the captaine of life: testifying moreover, that martyrdom belongeth to such, who by their martyrdom were already passed out of this life: and whom Christ by their worthy confession hath received

unto himselfe, and hath sealed up their martyrdom by their end finished: as for them which were not yet consummated, they (saith they) were not worthy the names of martyrs, but onely were humble and worthy confessors, desiring also their brethren with teares to pray without ceasing for their confirmation. Thus they performing indeed that which belongeth to true Martyrs, in resisting the heathen with much liberty and great patience, without all feare of man, being replenished with the feare of God, refused to be named of their brethren for martyrs. And after in the said writing it followeth more: They humbled themselves under the mighty hand of God, by which they were greatly exalted; then they tendered to all men a reason of their faith, they accused no man, they loosed all, they bound none, and for them which so evill did entreat them they prayed, following the example of Stephen the perfect Martyr, which said; Lord, impute not their sinne to them. And after againe: Neither did they proudly disdain against them which fell, but of such as they had they imparted to them that lacked, bearing toward them a motherly affection, shedding their plentifull teares for them to God the father, and prayed for their life and salvation, and as God gave it them, they also did communicate to their neighbours, & thus they as conquerours of all things departed to God. They loved peace, and leaving the same to us, they went to God, neither leaving any molestation to their mother, nor sedition or troubles to their brethren, but joy, peace, concord, and love to all.

Out of the same writing moreover concerning these martyrs of France afore mentioned, is recorded also another history not unworthy to be noted, taken out of the same booke of Eusebius, cap. 3. which history is this.

There was among these constant and blessed martyrs, one Alcibiades, as is above specified: which Alcibiades ever used a very strict diet, receiving for his food and sustenance nothing else but onely bread and water. When this Alcibiades now being cast into prison went about to accustom the same strictnesse of diet, after his usual manner, it was before revealed by God to Attalus aforementioned, one of the said company, being also the same time imprisoned after his first confict upon the scaffold, that Alcibiades did not well in that he refused to use and take the creatures of God, and also thereby ministered to other a pernicious occasion of offensive example. Whereupon Alcibiades being advertised, and reformed, began to take all things boldly and with giving thanks. Whereby may appeare to all scrupulous consciences, not onely a wholesome instruction of the Holy Ghost, but also here is to be noted how in those daies they were not destitute of the grace of God, but had the holy Spirit of God to be their instructor. Hec Euseb.

The foresaid martyrs of France at the same time commended Irenaeus, newly then made Minister, with their letters unto Cleutherius bishop of Rome, as witnesseth Euseb. in the tenth chapter of the said booke, which Irenaeus first was the hearer of Policarpus, then made minister (as is said) under these martyrs: and after their death made Bishop afterward of Lyons in France, and succeeded after Photius. Besides this Iustinus, there was also the same time in Asia, Claudius Apollinaris, or Apollinarius bishop of Hieropolis, and also Helito bishop of Sardis, an eloquent and learned man, much commended of Tertullian, who succeeding after the time of the Apostles, in the raigne of this Antoninus Verus, exhibited unto him learned and eloquent apologies in defence of Christs religion, like as Quadratus & Aristides above mentioned did unto the Emperour Adrian, whereby they moved him somewhat to stay the rage of his persecution. In like manner did this Apollinaris and Helito (stirred up by God)

The holy martyrs refused to be called martyrs.

Ex Euseb. lib. 5: cap. 3. Alcibiades. The strict fasting of Alcibiades corrected by the holy Ghost.

A lesson for scrupulous consciences.

Irenaeus newly made Minister, and commended to Tertullian.

Apollinaris and Helito exhibited apologies to the Emperour for the Christians.

Ex Euseb. lib. 4. p. 16. place of Epiphanius found ulry.

un. dignitate & letis pro christo perit.

The singular modesty of the helito martyr declared. Ex Euseb. lib. 5. p. 2.



Ex Euseb. lib. 4.  
cap. 26.  
The summe of  
the apology of  
Helito.

adventure to defend in writing the cause of the Christians unto this Antoninus. Of this Helito Eusebius in his fourth booke making mention, erreth certain places of his apology in these wordes, as followeth: Now, saith he, which was never scene before, the godly suffer persecution by occasion of certaine proclamations & edicts proclaimed throughout Asia: for villanous sycophants, robbers and spoylers of other mens goods, grounding themselves upon those proclamations, and taking occasion of them to robbe openly night and day, and spoile those which doe no harme. And it followeth after; which if it be done by your commandement, be it so, well done; for a good Prince will never command but good things, and so wee will be contented to sustaine the honour of this death. This onely wee most humbly beseech your Majesty, that calling before you & examining the authours of this tumult and contention, then your grace would justly judge whether we are worthy of cruell death or quiet life. And then if it be not your pleasure, and that it proceedeth not by your occasion (which indeed against your barbarous enemies were too bad) the more a great deale we are petitioners to your highnesse, that hereafter you will vouchsafe to heare us thus so bored & oppressed with these kind of villanous robberies. And verily our philosophy and doctrine did first among the barbarous take place, which doctrine first in the daies of Augustus your predecessor, when it did raigne and flourish, thereby your Empire became most famous and fortunate: and from that time more and more the state of the Romane Empire increased in honour, whereof you most happily were made successour, and so shall your sonne too. Honour therefore this philosophy which with your Empire sprang up, and came in with Augustus, which your progenitors above all other honored and most esteemed. And verily this is no small argument of a good beginning, that since our doctrine flourished in the empire, no misfortune or losse happened from Augustus time: but contrary, alwaies victory, good and honourable victories, as ever any man would wish: onely among all, and of all, Nero and Domitian, being kindled by others naughty and spitefull persons, rabillingly objected against our doctrine, of whom this sycophanticall slander of us by naughty custome first came and sprang up. But your goodly fathers, espying the ignorance of these, oftentimes by their writing corrected their temerarious attempts in that behalfe: among whom your grandfather Adrian with many others is read of, to have written to Fundane the Praconfull and Lieutenant of Asia: and your father, your owne father, I say, with whom you ruled in all things, wrote to the cities under his signet, as the Laerians, Thessalonitenses, Athenienses, and Grecians, rashly to innovate or alter nothing. Of your highnesse therefore, who in this case is of that set as your predecessors were, wee are of a more benigne and philosophicall mind, wee are in good hope to obtaine our petition and request.

Thus much out of the apology of Helito, who writing to Dnesimus, giveth to us this benefit, to know the true catalogue and the names of all the authentick books of the old testament, received in the ancient time of the Primitive Church. Concerning the number and names whereof, the said Helito in his letter to Dnesimus declareth; how that he returning into the parts where these things were done and preached, there he diligently inquired out the bookes appoyed of the old testament, the names whereof in order he subscribeth, and sendeth unto him as followeth: The five Bookes of Moses, Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numeri, Deuteronomi, Iesus Nave, The Judges, Ruth, Four bookes of Kings, Two bookes Paralipomenon, The Psalmes, Proverbs of Salomon, The booke of Wisedome, The Preacher, The Song of Songs, Iob, The Prophets, Esay, Hieremy, Twelve

The christians  
religion began  
with the Em-  
pire of Rome.

Christian reli-  
gion maketh  
common weale  
to flourish.

The bookes of  
the old Testa-  
ment authentick  
and received.

Prophets in one booke, Daniel, Ezechiel, Eldras. And thus much of this matter which I thought here to record, for that it is not unprofitable for these later times to understand, what in the first times was received and admitted as authentick, and what otherwise.

But from this little digression to returne to our matter omitted, that is, to the apologies of Apollonarius and Helito, in the story so it followeth; that whether it was by the occasion of these two apologies, or whether it was through the writing of Athanasius a philosopher, and a legat of the Christians, it is uncertaine: but this is certaine, that the persecution the same time was stayed. Some doe thinke, which most probably seemes to touch the truth, that the cause of staying this persecution did rise upon a wonderfull miracle of God shewed in the emperors campe by the Christians, the story whereof is this: At what time the two brethren Marcus Antoninus and Marcus Aurelius Commodus Emperors, joining together, warred against the Quades, Vandales, Sarmates, and Germans, in the expedition against them, their army by reason of the imminent assault of their enemies was coped and shut in with in the straits and hot dry places, where their Souldiers besides other difficulties of battell, being destitute of water five daies, were like to have perished, which did not a little discomfited them, and abated their courage; where, in this so great distresse and jeopardy, suddenly withdrawn from the army a legion of the Christian Souldiers for their succour, who falling prostrate upon the earth, by ardent prayer, by and by obtained of God double release: by means of whom, God gave certaine pleasant showers from the Clement, whereby as their Souldiers quenched their thirst, so were a great number of their enemies discomfited and put to flight by continuall lightnings which shewed out of the Aire. This miracle so pleased and wonne the Emperour, that ever after he wased gentler and gentler to the Christians, and directed his Letters to divers of his Rulers (as Tertullian in his apology witnesseth) commanding them therein to give thanks to the Christians, no lesse for his victory, then for the preservation of him and all his men. The copy of which Letter insueth.

Ex Euseb.  
lib. 10.

A miraculous  
raime obtained  
by the Christi-  
ans.

Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Emperour, to the Senate and people of Rome.

I Give you hereby to understand what I intend to doe, as also what successe I have had in my warres in Germany, and with how much difficulty I have vitailed my Campe, being compassed about with seventy and foure fierce Dragons, whom my Scouts descried to be within nine miles of us, and Pompeianus our Lieutenant hath viewed, as he signified unto us by his Letters. Wherefore I thought no lesse but to be overrunne and all my bands of so great multitude, as well my Vaward, Maineward, as Rereward, with all my Souldiers of Ephrata; in whose Host there were numbred of fighting men, nine hundred seventy and five thousand. But when I saw my selfe not able to encounter with the Enemy, I craved aide of our countrey gods: at whose hands I finding no comfort, and being driven of the Enemy unto an exigent, I caused to be sent for those men which we call Christians, who being mulstered were found a good indifferent number, with whom I was in further rage then I had good cause, as afterwards I had experience by their marvellous power; who forthwith did their indeavour, but without either weapon, munition, armour, or trumpets, as men abhorring such preparation and furniture, but onely satisfied in trust of their God, whom they carry about with them in their consciences. It is therefore to be credited, although wee call them wicked men, that they worship God in their hearts. For they fall-  
ling



ling prostrate upon the ground, prayed not onely for mee, but for the Host also which was with mee, beseeching their God for helpe in that our extremity of victuals and fresh water: for wee had bene now five daies without water, and were in our enemies Land, even in the midst of Germany; who thus falling upon their faces, made their prayer to a God unknowne of mee. And there fell amongst us from Heaven a most pleasant and cold shower, but amongst our enemies a great storme of haile mixt with lightning, so that immediately we perceived the invincible aid of the most mighty God to be with us: therefore wee gave those men leave to professe Christianity, lest, perhaps, by their prayer wee be punished with the like, and thereby I make my selfe the authour of such hurt as shall be received by the Christian profession. And if any shall apprehend one that is a Christian, onely for that cause, I will that hee being apprehended, without punishment may have leave to confesse the same, so that there be none other cause objected against him, more than that, he is a Christian; but let his accuser be burned alive. Neither will I that hee confessing and being found a Christian, shall be enforced to alter the same his opinion by the Governour of any of our Provinces, but left to his owne choyce. And this decree of mine I will to be ratified in the Senate house, and command the same publicly to be proclaimed and read in the Court of Trajanus: and that further from thence it may be sent into all our Provinces by the diligence of Veratius Governour of our City Polione. And further, wee give leave to all men to use and write out this our decree, taking the same out of our copie publicly in the common Hall set forth.

Thus the tempestuous rage of persecution against the Christians, began for a time to allwage, partly by the occasion hereof, partly also upon other causes incident, compelling the enemies to surcease their persecution, as great plagues and pestilence lying upon the countrey of Italy: likewise great warres, as well in the East parts, as also in Italy and France, terrible earthquakes, great floods, noisome swarmines of flies and vermin devouring their corne fields, &c. And thus much of things done under Antoninus Verus, which Antoninus in the beginning of his reigne, joyntly with him in the government of the Empire his brother Marcus Aurelius Commodus, who also was with him at the miraculous victory gotten by the Christians, as Eusebius cap. 5. lib. 1. recordeth. Contrary, Platina in vita Soteris, and the booke intitled Flores Historiarum, referre the same to the time of Antoninus Verus, and his sonne Lucius Antoninus Commodus, and not of Marcus Aurelius Commodus his brother. But howsoever the truth of veres doth stand, certaine it is, that after the death of Antoninus Verus, and of Aurelius Commodus, succeeded Lucius Antoninus Commodus, the son of Verus, who reigned thirty veres.

In the time of this Commodus, although he was an incommodious Prince to the Senators of Rome, yet notwithstanding there was some quietnesse universally through the whole Church of Christ from persecution, by what occasion it is not certaine. Some thinke, of whom is Euphilinus, that it came through Marcia the Emperors concubine, which favoured the Christians: but howsoever it came (saith Eusebius) the fury of the raging enemies was then somewhat mitigated, and peace was given by the grace of Christ unto the Church throughout the whole world: at what time, the wholesome doctrine of the Gospell allured and reduced the hearts of all sorts of people unto the true Religion of God, in so much that many, both rich and noble personages of Rome with their whole families and households, to their salvation, adjoynded themselves to the Church of Christ.

Among whom there was one Apollonius, a noble man, and a Senator of Rome, mentioned in Iulianus, lib. 5. cap. 21. who being maliciously accused unto the Senate, by one whom Hierome writeth to be the servant of the said Apollonius, and nameth him Seberus: but whose servant seber he was, the wretched man came some enough before the iudge, being condignly rewarded for that his malicious diligence: for by a law which the Emperour made, that no man upon paine of death, should falsly accuse the Christians, hee was put to execution, and had his legs broken forthwith by the sentence of Perennius the iudge, which being an heathen man, he pronounced against him: but the beloved Martyr of God, when the iudge, with much adoe had obtained of him to render an account, before the honourable Senate, of his faith, under whose defence and warrant of life he did the same, delivered unto them an eloquent apologie of the Christian belief: but the former warrant notwithstanding, hee by the decree of the Senate was beheaded, and so ended his life; for that there was an ancient law among them decreed, that none that professed Christ, and therefore arraigned, should be released without recantation, or altering his opinion.

This Commodus is said in stories to be so sure and stiddy handed in calling the darts, that in the open theater before the people, hee would encounter with the wilde beasts, and be sure to hit them in place where he appointed. Among divers other his vicious and wilde parts he was so farre surprised in pride and arrogancy, that hee would be called Hercules, and many times would shew himselfe to the people in the skin of a Lion, to be counted thereby the King of men, like as the Lion is of the beasts.

Upon a certaine time, being his birth-day, this Commodus calling the people of Rome together, in a great royaltie, having his Lyons skin upon him, made sacrifice to Hercules and Jupiter, causing it to be cryed through the city, that Hercules was the patron and defender of the city. There was the same time at Rome, Vincentius, Eusebius, Peregrinus, Potentianus, learned men, & instructors of the people, who, following the steps of the Apostles went about from place to place where the Gospell was not yet preached, converting the Gentiles to the faith of Christ. These, hearing the madnesse of the Emperour, and of the people, began to reprove their idolatrous blindness, teaching in Villages and Townes, all that heard them to believe upon the true and onely God, and to come away from such worshipping of devils, and to give honour to God alone which only is to be worshipped, willing them to repent and to be baptised, lest they perished with Commodus. With this their preaching they converted one Julius a Senator, and others, to the religion of Christ. The Emperour hearing thereof, caused them to be apprehended of Vitellus his captaine, and to be compelled to sacrifice unto Hercules: which when they stoutly refused, after divers grievous torments and great miracles by them done, at last they were pressed with leaden weights to death. Vincentius, lib. 10. cap. 119. & Chron. Henr. de Erfordia.

This Peregrinus above mentioned had ben sent before by Vissus, Bishop of Rome, into the parts of France, to supply there the room of a Bishop and teacher, by reason that for the continuall and horrible persecutions thereabout touched, those places were left desolate and destitute of Ministers and instructors, where after he had occupied himselfe with much fruit among the flock of Christ, and had stablished the congregation there, returning home againe to Rome, there he finished at last (as it is said) his martyrdom.

Now remaineth likewise to speake of Julius: which Julius being (as is afore described) a Senator of Rome, and now won by the preaching of these blessed men to the faith of Christ, did likewise invite them

Apollonius martyr.

Apollonius executed by his own servant.

Apollonius executed by an apostate of his faith to the Senate.

An old wicked law of the Romans.

The ridiculous pride of the Emperors.

Vincentius, Eusebius, Peregrinus, Potentianus, martyrs.

Julius a Senator converted to Christ.

Ex Vincent. lib. 10. cap. 119. Henr. de Erfordia.

Peregrinus sent to France and martyred at Rome.

Ex Platina in vita Sixti.

Antoninus Verus, P. Aurelius Commodus Emperors.

The difference between Eusebius and Platina.

Anno 175

Quietnesse given to the Church.



Julius with his family by prison and after martyr.

them and brought them home to his house, where being by them more fully instructed in Christian religion, he believed the Gospel. And sending for one Rustinus a Priest, was with all his family by him baptised, who not (as the common sort was wont to doe) kept close and secret his faith, but incensed with a marvellous and sincere zeale, openly professed the same, altogether wishing and praying to be given to him by God, not only to believe in Christ, but also to hazard his life for him. Which thing the Emperor hearing how that Julius had forsaken his old religion, and become a Christian, forthwith sent for him to come before him, unto whom he spake on this wise: O July, what madness hath possessed thee, that thus thou dost fall from the old and common religion of thy forefathers, who acknowledged and worshipped Jupiter and Hercules their gods, and now dost embrace a new and fond kind of religion of the Christians? At which time Julius, having good occasion to shew and open his faith, gave straightway account thereof to him, and affirmed that Hercules and Jupiter were false gods, and how the worshippers of them should perish with eternall damnation and punishments. Which the Emperor hearing how that he contemned and despised his gods, being then inflamed with a great wrath (as he was by nature very cholerick) committed him forthwith to Vitellus, the Master of the Souldiers, a very cruell and fierce man, to see Julius either to sacrifice to mighty Hercules, or refusing the same to slay him. Vitellus (as he was commanded) exhorted Julius to obey the Emperors commandment, and to worship his gods, alleging how that the whole Empire of Rome was not only constituted, but also preserved and maintained by them: which Julius denied utterly to doe, admonishing sharply in like manner Vitellus to acknowledge the true God, and obey his Commandements, lest he with his Master, should die some grievous death: whereat Vitellus being moved, caused Julius with rudels to be beaten unto death.

These things being thus briefly recited, touching such holy Martyrs as hitherto have suffered, now remaineth that we returne againe to the order of the Romane Bishops, such as followed next after Alexander, at whom we left, whose successor next was Ektus or Sixtus, the sixth Bishop counted after Peter, who governed that Ministry the space of ten yeeres, as Damasus and others doe write. Hieronymus maketh mention but of nine yeeres. Platina recordeth that he died a Martyr, and was buried at Vaticane. But Eusebius speaking of his decease, maketh no word or mention of any martyrdom. In the second tome of the Councils certaine Epistles be attributed to him, whereof Eusebius, Damasus, Hierome, and other old authors, as they make no relation, so seeme they to have no intelligence nor knowledge of any such matter. In these counterfeit Epistles, and in Platina it appeareth that Ektus was the first author of these ordinances. First, that the holy mysteries and holy vessels should be touched but onely of persons holy and consecrated, especially of no woman. Item, that the corporas cloth should be made of no other cloth but of fine linnen. Item, that such Bishops as were called up to the Apostolike See, returning home againe, should not be received at their returne, unless they brought with them letters from the Bishop of Rome saluting the people. Item, at the celebration he ordained to be sung this verse, Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus Deus Sabboth. Where moreover it is to be noted, that the said Platina, in the life of this Ektus, doth testifie that Peter ministered the celebration of the Communion onely with the Lords Prayer. These trifling ordinances of Ektus, who is so rude that seeth not, or may not easily conjecture to be falsely fathered of Ektus, or of any father of that time: first by the unisforme rudeness

and stile of all those decretall letters, nothing saving of that age, but rather of the later duncifull times that followed; also by the matter and argument in those letters contained, nothing agreeing with the state of those troublesome daies. Neither againe is it to be supposed, that any such recourse of Bishops was then to the Apostolick See of Rome, that it was not lawfull to returne without their letters: when as the persecution against the Christians was then so hot, in the daies of Adrian, that the Bishops of Rome themselves were more glad to fly out of the City, than other Bishops were to come to them unto Rome. And if Ektus added the Sanctus unto the masse canon, what piece then of the canon went before it, when they which put to the other patches came after Ektus? And if they came after Ektus that added the rest, why did they set their pieces before his, seeing they that began the first piece of the canon, came after him?

The same likewise is to be judged of the Epistles and ordinances of Telesphorus, who succeeded next unto Ektus, and being Bishop of that Congregation the terme of eleven yeeres, the first yeere of the raigne of Antoninus Pius, died a Martyr about the yeere of our Lord, one hundred thirty and eight. His Epistle, like unto the rest, containing in it no great matter of doctrine, hath these ordinances. First he commandeth all that were of the Clergy to fast and abstaine from flesh-eating seven weekes before Easter. That three masses should be said upon the nati-  
vity day of the Lord. That no lay man should accuse either Bishop or Priest. He ordained moreover, Gloria in excelsis, to be added to the masse, &c. But these things fall to be faigned upon him may easily be conjectured for as touching the seven weekes fast, neither doth it agree with the old Romane terme commonly received, calling it Quadragesima, that is, the forty daies fast: neither with the example of our Saviour, who fasted not seven weekes, but onely forty daies. Moreover, as concerning this forty daies fast, we read of the same in the Epistle of Irenaeus, which was long before Telesphorus: whereby it may appeare that this Telesphorus was not the first inventor thereof. And if it be true that is lately come out in the name of Abdias (but untruly as by many conjectures may be proved) there it is read, that in the daies of S. Matthew, this Lent fast of forty daies was observed long before Telesphorus: by these words that follow: In the

daies (said he) either of Lent, or in the time of other lawfull fastings, he that abstaineth not as well from eating meat as also from the mixture of bodies, doth incur in so doing, not only pollution, but also committeeth offence, which must be washed away with the tears of repentance. Again, Apollonius affirmeth, that Pontanus the hereticke was the first deviser and bringer in of these lawes of fasting into the Church, which before was used to be free, Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 18. But especially by Socrates, writer of the Ecclesiasticall story, who lived after the daies of Theodosius, it may be argued, that this seven weekes fast is falsely imputed to Telesphorus. For Socrates in his first Booke, speaking of this time, hath these words: Romani namque tres ante pascha septimanas praeter Sabbatum & Dominicam continuas jejunant, that is, The Romanes (saith he) doe fast three weekes continually before Easter, beside the Sabbath and the Sunday. And moreover, speaking of the divers and sundry fastings of Lent in sundry and divers Churches, he addeth these words: And because that no man can bring forth any Commandement written of this matter, it is therefore apparant, that the Apostles left this kinde of fast free to every mans will and judgement, lest any should be constrained by feare and necessity to doe that which is good, &c. With this of Socrates agree also the words of Sozomenus, living much about the same time, in his

Telesphorus Bishop of Rome and martyr.

The ordinances of Telesphorus.

Lent fast and the originall thereof granted.

Pontanus first brought in the laws of fasting.

Ex Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 18.

Ex Sozat. Eccl. Hist. lib. 5. c. 20.

Ektus Bishop of Rome.

The trifling ordinances of Ektus.

S. Peter celebrated the Lords Supper onely with the Lords Prayer. Platina in vita Sixti.

The ordinance of Ektus suspected.



Sozomeno,  
b. 7. cap. 19.

benth booke, where he thus writeth: The whole fast of Lent (saith he) some comprehend in five weekes, as doe the Illirians, and the West Churches, with all Libia, Egypt and Palestina: some in seven weekes, as at Constantinople, and the parts bordering to Phenicia: other some in three weekes, next before the day of Easter, and some againe in two weekes, &c. By the which it may be collected, that Telephorus never ordained any such fast of seven weekes: with otherwise neither would have bene neglected in Rome, and in the West Churches: neither againe would have ben unremined of these ancient Ecclesiasticall Writers, if any such thing had bene. The like is to be thought also of the rest, not only of his constitutions, but also of the other ancient Bishops and martyrs which followed after him, as of Viginius in the yeere of our Lord one hundred forty and two, who succeeding him and dying also a Martyr, as Volateranus, lib. 22. declarerh, is said, or rather failed to being in the oceanie, one godfather and godmother in baptisme, to ordaine the dedication of Churches: when as in his time so farre it was off, that any solemne Churches were standing in Rome, that unnethe the Christians could safely convent in their owne houses. Likewise the distinguishing the orders of Metropolitans, Bishops and other degrees, savoy nothing lesse than of that time.

After Viginius followed Pius, who, as Platina reporteth, was so precisely devout about the holy mysteries of the Lords Table, that if any one crum thereof did fall downe to the ground, he ordained that the Priest should doe penance forty daies: if any fell upon the supercaltar, he should doe penance three daies: if upon the linnen corporas cloth, four daies: if upon any other linnen cloth, nine daies. And if any drop of the blood (saith he) should chance to be spilled, wheresoever it fell, it should be licked up, if it were possible: if not, the place should be washed or pared, and so being washed or pared, should be burned and laid in the Westrey. All which toyes may seeme to a wise man more vaine and trifling, than to savoy of those pure and strict times of those holy martyrs. This Pius (as is reported) was much conversant with Hermes, called otherwise Pallas. Damascus saith he was his brother. But how is that like, that Hermes being the disciple of Paul, or one of the threescore disciples, could be the brother of this Pius? Of this Hermes, and of the revelations the foresaid Pius in his Epistle decrethall (if it be not forged) maketh mention, declaring that unto him appeared the Angell of God in the habit of a shepheard, commanding him that Easter day should be celebrated of all men upon no other day, but on a Sunday: whereupon, saith the Epistle, Pius the Bishop, by his authority Apostolicall decreed and commanded the same to be observed of all men.

Then succeeded Anicetus, Soter, and Cleutherius, about the yeere of our Lord one hundred and fourescore. This Cleutherius, at the request of Lucius, King of Britaine, sent to him Damianus and Jugalus, by whom the King was converted to Christs faith, and baptized about the yeere of our Lord one hundred threescore and nineteene. Naucleus, lib. Chron. Gen. 6. saith, it was in the yeere one hundred fifty and five, Henr. de Erfordia, saith, it was in the yeere one hundred threescore and nine, in the ninetenth yeere of Marcus the Emperour. Some say it was in the sixth yeere of Commodus, which should be about the yeere of our Lord one hundred fourescore and five. Timotheus in his Roy thine keth, that Cleutherius came himselfe: but that is not like. And as there is a variance among the Writers for the count of yeeres, so doth there rise a question among some, whether Cleutherius was the first that brought the faith from Rome into this land or not. Nicephorus lib. 4. cap. 4. saith that Simon

Zelotes came into Britaine. Some other allege out of Gildas de Victoria, Aurel. Ambrosi. that Joseph of Arimathey, after the dispersion of the Jewes, was sent by Philip the Apostle from France to Britaine, about the yeere of our Lord threescore and three, and here remained in this land all his time, and so with his fellowes, laid the first foundation of Christian faith among the Britaine people. Whereupon other Preachers and Teachers coming afterward confirmed the same, and increased it more. And therefore doth Petrus Cluniacensis call the Scotishmen, and so doth count them as more ancient Christians. For the confirmation hereof might be alleged the testimony of Drigen, of Tertullian, and the words also of the letter of Cleutherius, which import no lesse but that the faith of Christ was here in England among the Britaine people, before Cleutherius time, and before the King was converted: but hereof more shall be spoken hereafter (Christ willing) when after the tractation of these ten persecutions, we shall enter into the matter of our English stories.

About this time of Commodus afore mentioned, among divers other learned men and famous teachers whom God stirred up at that time (as he doth at all other times raise up some) in his Church, to confound the persecutors by learning and writing, as the martyrs to confirme the truth with their blood, was Serapion Bishop of Antioch, Celsippus a Writer of the Ecclesiasticall history from Christs passion to his time, as witnesseth Hierome and Eusebius lib. 4. cap. 8. & 22. which booke of his be not now remaining: and those that be remaining (which be five De excidio Hierosol.) be not mentioned, neither of Hierome, Celsippus, nor of Piltades, which also wrote his apology in defence of Christian Religion, as did Helio, Quadratus, and Aristides before mentioned. About the same time also wrote Heraclitus, who first began to write annotations and enarrations upon the new testament, and Epistles of the Apostles. Also Theophilus Bishop of Celarea, Dionysius Bishop of Corinth, a man famously learned, which wrote divers Epistles to divers Churches, and among others writeth, exhorting Penitus, a certain Bishop, Ne grave servandæ castitatis onus necessarij fratribus imponat, sed multorum sese imbecillitati attemperet, that is, That he would lay no yoke of chastity of any necessity upon his brethren, but that he would consider the infirmity of others, and beare with it. Euseb. lib. 4. cap. 23. Moreover, the said Dionysius in his Epistles writing of Dionysius Areopagita, declarerh of him how that he was first converted to the Christian faith by Saint Paul, according as in the Acts is recorded, and afterward was made the first bishop of Athens, but maketh there no mention of his booke De hierarchia. Whereby it may easily appeare, what is to be judged of that booke. Furthermore, by the Epistles of the said Dionysius of Corinth, this we have to understand, to be the use at that time in churches, to reade the letters and epistles, such as were sent by learned Bishops and teachers unto the congregations, as may appeare by these words of Dionysius, who writing to the church of the Romans, and to Soter saith: This day we celebrate the holy dominical day, in which we have read your epistle, which alwayes we will reade for our exhortation, like as we doe read also the Epistle of Clement sent to us before, &c. Eusebius ibid. Where also mention is made of keeping of Sunday holy, whereof we finde no mention made in ancient Authors, before his time, except onely in Justinus Martyr, who in his description declarerh two times most especially used for Christian men to congregate together: first, when any convert was to be baptized, the second was upon the Sunday, which was wont for two causes then to be halloved: first, because (saith he) upon that day God made the world: secondly, because that

De Gilda de  
victoria.  
Aurel. Ambrosi.  
Whether this  
land of Britain  
received the  
Gospel before  
King Lucius  
daies.

Serapion Bi  
shop of Antioch.  
Celsippus Ec  
clesiasticall  
Writer.

Piltades Ec  
clesiasticall  
writer.  
Heraclitus Ec  
clesiasticall  
writer.  
Theophilus  
Ecclesiasticall  
writer.  
Dionysius Co  
rinthius Ec  
clesiasticall  
writer.  
The yoke of  
chastity not to  
be laid upon  
the infirme  
brethren.

Ex Euseb. lib. 4.  
cap. 23.

The booke of  
Dionysius  
Areopagita  
De hierarchia  
suspected.

Celebration of  
the Sunday.

Concordance  
of Telephorus  
itselfe to him  
scribed.

Viginius Bi  
shop of Rome  
no martyr.

Volat. rano  
lib. 22.  
declarerh.  
One godfather  
and godmother  
in baptisme.

Dedication of  
Churches.  
Pius Bishop  
of Rome.  
The danger of  
letting the holy  
mysteries fall  
from the Lords  
Table.

The revelation  
of Hermes.  
The decretall  
Epistle of  
Pius.

Anicetus Bi  
shop of Rome  
and martyr.  
Soter Bishop.  
Cleutherius  
Bishop.  
England con  
verted to the  
faith of Christ.

Ex Niceph. lib. 4.  
cap. 4.



that Christ upon that day first shewed himselfe after his resurrection to his Disciples, &c.

Over and beside these aboves named, about the daies of Commodus, wrote also Clemens Alexandrinus, a man of notable and singular learning, whose Bookes, although for a great part be lost, yet certaine of them yet remaine, wherein is declared among other things, the order and number of the Bookes and Gospels of the new testament, &c.

The same time mozeover lived Pantenus, which was the first in Alexandria, that professed in open schoole to reade, of whom is thought first to proceed the order and manner among the Christians to read and possesse in Universities. This Pantenus for his excellency of learning, was sent by Demetrius, Bishop of Alexandria, to preach to the Indians, where hee found the Gospel of Saint Matthew written in Hebrew, left there by S. Bartholomew, which Booke afterward he brought with him from thence to the Library of Alexandria.

During all the raigne of Commodus, God granted rest and tranquillity, although not without some bloodshed of certaine holy Partys, as is aboves declared unto his Church. In the which time of tranquillity, the Christians having now some leasure from the foreine enemy, began to have a little contention among themselves about the ceremony of Easter: which contention albeit of long time before had bene stirring in the Church, as is before mentioned of Polycarpus and Anicetus: yet the variance and difference of that ceremony brought no breach of Christian concord & society among them: neither as yet did the matter exceed so farre, but that the bond of love, and Communion of brotherly life continued, although they differed in the ceremony of the day. For they of the West Church preserving the tradition of Paul and Peter, but indeed being the tradition of Hermes and of Idius, kept one day, which was upon the Sunday after the fourteenth day of the first moneth. The Church of Asia, following the ordinance of John the Apostle, observed another, as moze shall be declared (the Lord willing) when we come to the time of Victor Bishop of Rome. In the meane time, as concerning the fourth persecution, let this hitherto suffice.

### The fifth Persecution.

After the death of Commodus reigned Pertinax but few moneths, after whom succeeded Severus, under whom was raised the fifth persecution against the Christian Saints: who reigning the terme of eightene yeeres, the first ten yeeres of the same was very favourable and courteous to the Christians: afterward through sinister suggestions and malicious accusations of the malignant, was so incensed against them, that by proclamations hee commanded no Christians any moze to be suffered. Thus the rage of the Emperour being inflamed against them, great persecution was stirred up on every side, whereby an infinit number of martyrs were slain, as Eusebius in his sixth Booke recordeth, which was about the yeere of our Lord two hundred and five. The crimes and false accusations objected against the Christians, are partly touched before; as sedition and rebellion against the Emperour, sacrilege, murdering of infants, incestuous pollution, eating raw flesh, libidinous commixture, whereof certaine indeed, called then Enostici, were infamed. Item, it was objected against them for worshipping the head of an Asse: which whereof it should rise, I find no certaine cause, except it were, perhaps, by the Jewes. Also they were charged for worshipping the Sunne, for that peradventure before the Sunne did rise, they convented together, singing their morning hymnes unto the Lord, or else because they prayed toward the East: but specially for that they would not with

them worship their idolatrous gods, and were counted as enemies to all men, &c.

The Captaines and Presidents of this persecution under the Emperour were Hilerianus, Tigellinus, Claudius, Hermianus Ruler of Cappadocia, Cerialius, Capella, Trespionius, also Demetrius mentioned of Cyprian, and Aquila Judge of Alexandria, of whom Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 5. maketh relation.

The place where the force of this persecution most raged, were Africa, Alexandria, Cappadocia, and Carthage. The number of them that suffered in this persecution, by the report of the ecclesiasticall story, was innumerable. Of whom the first was Leonides the father of Digen, who was beheaded: with whom also Digen his sonne, being of the age then of severene yeeres, should have suffered (such a fervent desire hee had to be martyred for Christ) had not his mother privily in the night season conveyed away his clothes and his shirt. Whereupon

moze for shame to be seene, then for feare to die, hee was constrained to remaine at home: and when hee could doe nothing else, yet hee writeth to his father a letter with these words: Cave tibi, ne quid propter nos aliud quam Martyrii constantem faciendi propositum cogites, that is, Take heed to your selfe, that you turne not your thought and purpose for our sake, &c. Such a fervency had this Digen, being yet young, to the doctrine of Christs faith, by the operation of Gods Heavenly providence, and partly

also by the diligent education of his father, who brought him up from his youth most studiously in all good literature, but especially in the reading and exercise of holy Scripture, wherein hee had such inward and mysticall speculation, that many times he would make questions to his father of the meaning of this place or that place in the Scripture. In so much that his father divers times would uncover his breast being asleepe, and kisse it, giving thanks to God which had made him so happy a father of such a happy childe. After the death of his father, and all his goods confiscated to the Emperour, hee with his poore mother, and five brethren, were brought to such extreme poverty, that hee did sustaine both himselfe & them by teaching a schoole: till at length, being weary of the profession, he transferred his study onely to the knowledge and seeking of divine Scripture, and such other learning conducive to the same. So much hee profited both in the Hebrew and other tongues, that hee conferred the Hebrew Text with the translation of the threescore: and mozeover did conferre and find out the other translations which we call the common translation of Aquila, of Symmachus, and Theodotion. Also hee adjoynd to these aforesaid other foure translations, whereof moze is in the story of Eusebius expressed.

They that write of the life of Digen, testifie of him that hee was of wit quicke and sharpe, much patient of labour, a great traveller in the tongues, of a spare diet, of a strict life, a great faster; his teaching and his living were both one: his going was much barefoote: a strict observer of that saying of the Lord, bidding to have but one coat, &c. He is said to have written so much as seven notaries, and so many mases every day could pen. The number of his bookes, by the account of Hierome, came to seven thousand volumes, the copies whereof he used to sell for thre pence, or a little moze, for the sustentation of his living. But of him moze shall be touched hereafter. So zealous hee was in the cause of Christ, and of Christs martyrs, that hee nothing fearing his own perill, would assist and exhort them going to their death, and kisse them, in so much that hee was oft in jeopardy to be stoned of the multitude; and sometimes by the prohibition of Christian men had his house guarded about with Souldiers, for the safety of them which daily resorted to heare his readings. And many times hee was compelled to shift places and houses, for such as laid wait for him

Clemens A. Alexandrinus.

The Gospel of S. Matthew in Hebrew.

Difference about the ceremony of Easter.

Severus Emperour.  
Anno 195.  
The fifth persecution.

Ex Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 2.

Anno 205.

The false accusations against the Christians.

The Captaine and President of this persecution.  
Ex Tertul. ad Scapulam.

Leonides father of Digen martyr.

Digen kept from martyrdom by his mother.

Digen commended.  
Ex Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 3.

Ex Euseb. Antonino Simone, 13, 6.



him in all places: but great was the providence of God to preserve him in the midst of all this tempest of Severus. Among others which resorted unto him, and were his hearers, Plutarchus was one, and died a martyr: and with him Serenus his brother, who was burned. The third after these was Heraclides, the fourth Heron, who were both beheaded. The fifth was another Serenus, also beheaded, Rhais, and Potamiana who was tormented with pitch poured upon her, and martyred with her mother Marcella, who died also in the fire. This Potamiana was of a fresh and flourishing beauty, who, because she could not be removed from her profession, was committed to Basilides one of the Captains there in the army, to see the execution done. Basilides receiving her at the Judges hand, and leading her to the place, shewed her some compassion in repressing the rebukes and railings of the wicked adversaries: for the which Potamiana the virgin, to requite againe his kindnesse, bade him be of good comfort, saying, that she would pray the Lord to shew mercy upon him, and so went she to her martyrdom, which she both strongly and quietly did sustaine.

Not long after it happened that Basilides was required to give an oath in a matter concerning his fellow souldiers, which thing he denied to doe, plainly affirming that he was a Christian: for their oath then was wont to be by the idols and the Emperour. At the first he was thought dissemblingly to jest, but after, when he was heard constantly and in earnest, to confirme the same, he was had before the Judge, and so by him committed to Ward. The Christians marvelling thereat, as they came to him in the Prison, inquired of him the cause of that his sudden consideration. To whom he answered againe, and said, that Potamiana had prayed for him to the Lord, and so hee saw a crowne put upon his head: adding moreover, that it should not be long but hee should be received. Which things thus done, the next day following hee was had to the place of execution, and there beheaded. Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 5. Albeit the said Eusebius giveth this story of no credit, but onely of heare-say, as he there expresseth.

As others and many there were that suffered in the daies of this Severus, so some there were again, which through the protection of God his providence being put to great torments, yet escaped with life: of whom was one Alexander, who, for his constant confession and torments suffered, was made Bishop afterward of Hierusalem, together with Marcissus: who being then an old man of an hundred and threescore yeeres and thre, as saith Eusebius, was untied for his age to governe that function alone.

Of this Marcissus it is reported in the Ecclesiasticall history, that certaine miracles by him were wrought, very notable, if they be true. First of water by him turned into oyle, at the soleinne vigill of Easter, what time the congregation wanted oyle for their lamps. Another miracle is also told of him, which is this; There were thre evill disposed persons, who seeing the soundnesse and grave constancy of his vertuous life, and fearing their owne punishment, as a conscience that is guilty is alwaies fearefull, thought to prevent his accusations, in accusing him first, and laying an haynous crime unto his charge. And to make their accusation more probable before the people, they bound their accusation with a great oath, one wishing to be destroyed with fire, if hee said not true; the other to be consumed with a grievous sickness; the third to lose both his eyes if they did lie. Marcissus, although having his conscience cleare, yet not able being but one man to withstand their accusation, bound with such oaths, gave place, and removed himselfe from the multitude into a solitary desert by himselfe, where hee continued the space of many yeeres. In the meane time, to them which so willingly & wickedly

forswore themselves, this happened: The first, by casualty of one little small sparkle of fire, was burnt with his goods and all his family. The second was taken with a great sickness from the top to the toe, and devoured with the same. The third, hearing and seeing the punishment of the other, confessed his fault, but through great repentance poured out such teares, that hee lost both his eyes: and thus was their false perjury punished. Marcissus, after long absence returning home againe, was by this means both cleared of the fact, and received into his Bishopricke againe: to whom as is said, for impotency of his age, Alexander was joyned in execution of the function. Eusebius, Histor. Eccles. lib. 6. cap. 10. Of this Alexander is recorded in the said Ecclesiasticall History, that after his agonies and constancy of his confession shewed in the persecution of Severus, hee was admonished by a vision in the night season to make his journey up to Jerusalem and Valentinus (for that place remained free from this persecution) to see there the congregation and to pray. Thus he taking his journey, and drawing nere to the city, a vision with plaine words was given to certaine chiefe heads of Jerusalem to goe out of the gate of the city, there to receive the Bishop appointed to them of God. And so was Alexander met and received, and joyned partner with aged Marcissus, as is before expressed, in the city of Jerusalem, where he continued Bishop above forty yeeres, untill the persecution of Decius, and there erected a famous library, where Eusebius had his chiefe helpe in writing his Ecclesiasticall History. He wrote also divers Epistles to divers Churches, and licensed Digen openly to teach in his Church. At length, being very aged, he was brought from Jerusalem to Cesarea before the Judge under Decius, where after his constant confession the second time, hee was committed to prison, and there died.

Besides these that suffered in this persecution of Severus, read of Eusebius, Vincentius also, Lib. 11. cap. 6. ex Martyrologio, speaketh of one Andoclus, whom Polycarpus before had sent into France: which Andoclus, because hee spread there the doctrine of Christ, was apprehended of Severus, and first beaten with staves and bats, and after was beheaded.

To these above named, may also be added Asclepiades, who, although hee was not put to death in this persecution of Severus, yet constantly hee did abide the triall of his confession, and suffered much for the same, as Alexander before mentioned did. Wherefore, afterward hee was ordained Bishop of Antioch, where hee continued the space of severall yeeres, of whom Alexander writes unto the Church of Antioch out of prison, much rejoicing and giving thanks to God, to heare that he was their Bishop.

About the same time, during the raigne of Severus, died Irenaeus, Henr. de Erfordia, Abo, and other Martyr-writers doe hold, that hee was martyred with a great multitude of others more, for the confession and doctrine of Christ, about the fourth or fifth yeere of Severus. This Irenaeus, as he was a great writer, so was he greatly commended of Tertullian for his learning, whom hee calleth Omnia doctrinarum curiosissimum exploratorem, A great searcher of all kind of learning. He was first scholar and hearer of Polycarpus, from thence either was sent, or came to France, and there by Pothinus, and the rest of the martyrs, was instituted into the Ministry, and commended by their letter to Clement, as is before remonished. At length, after the martyrdom of Pothinus, hee was appointed Bishop of Lyons, where hee continued about the space of thre and twenty yeeres. In the time of this Irenaeus the state of the Church was much troubled, not onely for the outward persecution of the foraine enemy, but also for divers sects and errors then stirring, against which he diligently laboured, and

A terrible example of persecution.

Marcissus and Alexander together in one Bishopricke.

Alexander ordained Bishop of Jerusalem by Gods miracle. Ex Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 11.

The constancy and death of Alexander, Bishop.

Andoclus martyr.

Asclepiades Bishop of Antioch confessor.

Irenaeus Bishop of Lyons, and martyr.

Plutarchus, brother of Marcian, and Serenus his brother martyred. Heraclides, Heron, Rhais, Potamiana, Marcella, the mother of Digen martyr.

Basilides of a persecutor made a martyr.

Ex Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 5.

Alexander confessor and Bishop of Jerusalem.

The notable age of Marcissus, Bishop of Jerusalem.

A miracle of water turned into oyle. Ex Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 9.



and wrote much, although; but few bookes be now remaining. The nature of this man, well agreeing with his name, was such, that he ever loved peace, and sought to set agreement when any controvertise rose in the Church. And therefore, when the question of keeping the Easter day was renewed in the Church betweene Victor Bishop of Rome, and the Churches of Asia, and when Victor would have excommunicated them as schismatics, for disagreeing from him therein: Irenaeus, with other brethren of the French Church, sorry to see such a contention among brethren for such a trifle, contented themselves together in a common counsell, and directing their letter with their common consent subscribed, sent unto Victor, intreating him to stay his purpose, and not to proceed in excommunicating his brethren for that matter. Although they themselves agreed with him in observing the Sunday Easter as he did: yet with great reasons and arguments they exhorted him not to deale so rigorously with his other brethren, following the ancient custome of their country manner in that behalfe. And besides this, he wrote divers other letters abroad concerning the same contention, declaring the excommunication of Victor to be of no force.

Not long after Irenaeus followed also Tertullian about the time of this Severus and Antoninus Caelacalla his son, a man both in Greeke and Latine well expert, having great gifts in disputing, and in writing eloquent, as his bookes declare, and as the commendation of all learned men doth testifie no lesse. To whom Vincentius Arianus giveth such praise, that he calleth him the fountaine of all Latine writers: and of the eloquence of his stile he thus writeth, that with the force of his reasons, he saith, whom he could not perswade, them he compelled to consent unto him. How many words, so many sentences, and how many sentences, so many vicioues he had, &c.

Such men of doing and writing God raised up from time to time, as pillars & staves for his poore Church, as he did this Tertullian in these dangerous daies of persecution, for when the Christians were vexed with wrongs, and falsely accused of the Gentiles: Tertullian taking their cause in hand, defendeth them against the persecutors, and against their slanderous accusations. First, that they never minded any stirre or rebellion, either against the Empire or Emperors of Rome: for so much as the use of Christians was to pray for the state of their Emperors & Governours. And whereas they were accused falsely to be enemies to all mankind, how could that be (saith Tertullian to Scapula) seeing the proper office of the Christians is by their profession to pray for all men, to love their enemies, never requiting evil for evil, when as all other doe love but onely their friends, and scarcely them? As touching the horrible slander of murdering Infants, how can that be true in the Christians (saith he) whose order is to abstaine from all blood and strangled: in so much that it is not lawfull for them to touch the blood of any beast at their tables when they feed: from filthy copulation no more free than they, which are, and ever have bene, the greatest observers of chastity, of whom, such as may, live in perpetuall virginity all their life: such as cannot, contract matrimony, for aborning all whozedom and fornication. Neither can it be proved that the Christians doe worship the Sunne: which false surmise Tertullian declareth to rise hereof, for that the manner of the Christians was to pray toward the East. Much lesse was their any of them so mad as to worship an Ases head: whereof the occasion being taken onely of the Jewes, the slander thereof therefore hee proboeth to be falsely and wrongfully laid to the charge of the Christians.

And likewise against all other lies and slanders, objected of the heathen against the Christians, the

saith Tertullian purgeth the Christians, declaring them falsely to be belied, and wrongfully persecuted, not for any desert of theirs, but onely for the hatred of their name. And yet notwithstanding, by the same persecutions, hee proboeth in the same apology, the Religion of the Christians nothing to be impaired, but rather increased. The more (saith he) we are mowne downe of you, the more rise up. The blood of Christians is seed. For what man (saith he) in beholding the painfull torments, and the perfect patience of them, will not search and inquire what is the cause? And when hath found it out, who will not agree unto it? And when hee agreeth to it, who will not desire to suffer for it? Thus (saith he) this sect will never die, which the more it is cut downe, the more it groweth. For every man seeing and wondering at the sufferance of the Saints, is moved the more thereby to search the cause; in searching, hee findeth it, and finding hee followeth it. Tertullian, in eodem apolog.

Thus Tertullian, in this dangerous time of persecution, being stirred up of God, defended the innocency of the Christians against the blasphemy of the aduersaries; and moreover, for the instruction of the Church hee compiled many fruitfull works, whereof some are extant, some are not to be found. Notwithstanding the great learning and famous vertues of this worthy man, certaine errors and blemishes are noted in his doctrine, as were before both of Origen and Irenaeus, and likewise of them, were they never so excellent that followed them. Which errors all here in order to note and comprehend, were too long a matter for this story to prosecute. This by the way shall be sufficient to admonish the reader, never to looke for any such perfection of any man in this world, how singular so ever hee be (Christ only excepted) but some blemish or other joyneeth it selfe withall, whereof more, perchance, shall be said when we come to Cyprian.

And now, to returne againe to the order of Bishops of Rome intermitted: After Cleutherius afore mentioned, next in the Bishopricke of Rome succed Victor, who, as Platina saith, died quietly in the daies of Severus. But Damascus, Supplement lib. 8. and such as do follow the common Chronicles, affirme that hee died a Martyr, after hee had sitten ten (or as some say twelue) yeeres. This Victor was a great stirrer (as partly before is signified) in the controvertise and contention of Easter day, for the which hee would have proceeded in excommunication against the Churches of Asia, had not Irenaeus, then Bishop of Lyons, with the Council of other his brethren there assembled, repessed his intended violence. As touching that controvertise of Easter in those daies of the Primitive Church, the originall thereof was this, as Catechins, Socrates, Platina, and others record. First, certaine it is, that the Apostles, being onely intentiv and attendant to the doctrine of salvation, gave no heed nor regard to the observation of daies and times, neither bound the Church to any ceremonies and rites, except those things necessary mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, as strangled and blood, which was ordained then of the Holy Ghost, not without a most urgent and necessary cause, touched partly in the history before. For when the murdering and blood of infants was commonly objected by the heathen persecutors against the Christians, they had no other argument to helpe themselves, nor to refell the aduersary, but onely their owne law, by the which they were commanded to abstaine, not onely from all mens blood, but also from the blood of all common beasts. And therefore that law seemeth by the Holy Ghost to be given, and also to the same end continued in the Church, so long as the cause, that is, the persecutions of the heathen Gentiles continued. Besides these, we reade of no other ceremonies or rites, which the Apostles greatly regarded, but left

Tertullian  
ecclesiasticall  
Writer.

The apologie  
of Tertullian  
defending the  
Christians.

Tertullianus ad  
Scapulam.

The occasion  
hereof, belike  
came of the  
Jewes wor-  
shipping the  
law of an Asse  
in the story of  
Samson.

Tertul. in apolo-  
getico.

The errors and  
imperfections  
in learned men  
noted.

Victor Bishop  
of Rome.  
Victor repro-  
ved of some to  
be a martyr.

The cause dis-  
cussed why the  
Holy Ghost  
forbad blood  
and strangled  
in the Prima-  
tive Church.



such things free to the liberty of Christians, every man to use therein his owne discretion, for the using or not using thereof. Whereupon, as concerning all the ceremoniall obseruations of daies, times, places, meats, drinkes, vestures, and such others: of all these things neither was the diversity among men greatly noted, nor any uniformity greatly required. In so much that Irenæus writing to Victor of the tradition of daies, and of fastings, and of the diversity of these things then used among the primitive fathers, saith: Nihilominus omnes illi pacem inter se retinuerunt, & retinemus etiamnum, & c. Iunii dissonantia fidei concordiam commendat, &c. that is, notwithstanding all this variety, all they kept peace among themselves, and yet we keepe it still, and this difference of fasting among us commendeth more the concord of faith. And so long did the doctrine of Christian liberty remaine whole and sound in the Church till the time of Victor, which was about the yeare of our Lord two hundred; although the diversity of these usages began before also in the daies of Pius and Anicetus, about the yeare of Christ one hundred sixty and thre, to be misliked; yet restraint hereof was not so much urged before, as in the time of Victor. And yet neither did the violence of Victor take such place, but that the doctrine of Christian liberty was defended and maintained by means of Irenæus and others, and so continued in the Church till after the council of Nice. And thus much concerning the doctrine of Christian liberty, and of the differences of rites and ceremonies.

Now to returne to Victor againe, to shew what diversity there was in observing the day of Easter, and how it came, thus is the story, first, in the time of Pius and Anicetus in the yeare of Christ one hundred sixty and thre, the question of Easter day began first to be moved, at what time Pius, by the revelation of Hermes, decreed the obseruation of that day to be changed from the wonted manner of the fourteenth day of the moone in the first moneth unto the next Sunday after. After him came Anicetus, Sofer, and Cleutherius bishops of Rome, which also determined the same. Against these stood Helito bishop of Sardis, Polycarpus, and as some thinke, Egeppus, with other learned men of Asia. Which Polycarpus, being sent by the brethren of Asia, came to Rome as is aforesaid, to conferre with Anicetus in that matter: wherein when they could not agree after long debating, yet notwithstanding, they did both communicate together with reverence, and departed in peace. And so the celebration of Easter day remained adiaphoron, as a thing indifferent in the Church, till the time of Victor, who following after Anicetus and his fellows, and chiefly stirring in this matter, indourbed by all means and might to draw, or rather subdue the churches of Asia unto his opinion; thinking moreover to excommunicate all those bishops and churches of Asia, as heretikes and schismaticks, which disagreed from the Roman order: had not Irenæus otherwise restrained him from that doing, as is aforesaid, which was about the yeare of our Lord one hundred fourescore and eleven, in the reigne of Commodus. Thus then began the uniformity of keeping that holy day to be first required as a thing necessary, and all they accounted as heretikes and schismaticks, which dissented from the bishop and tradition of Rome.

With Victor stood Theophilus bishop of Cæsarea, Parcellus of Jerusalem, Irenæus of Lyons, Valmas of Pontus, Wanchillus of Corinth, the bishop of Afroena, and others more. All which descended to have the celebration of Easter upon the Sunday, because they would differ from the Jewes in all things as neere as they might, and partly, because the resurrection of the Lord fell on the same day.

On the contrary side, others bishops were in Asia,

of whom the principall was Polycrates bishop of Ephesus, who being assembled with a great multitude of bishops and brethren of those parts, by the common assent of the rest, wrote againe to Victor, and to the Church of Rome, declaring, that they had ever from the beginning obserbed that day, according to the rule of Scripture unchanged, neither adding nor altering any thing from the same: alledging moreover for them the examples of the Apostles and holy fathers their predecessors, as Philip the Apostle, with his three daughters at Hieropolis; Also John the Apostle, and Evangelist at Ephesus, Polycarpus at Smyrna, Thraseas at Cumenia bishop and martyr; likewise of Sagaris at Laodicea bishop and martyr, holy Papius, and Delito at Sardis. Beside these, bishops also of his owne kindred, and his owne ancestors, to the number of seven which all were bishops before him, and he the eighth now after them. All which obserbed (saith he) the solemnity of the same day, after the same wise and sort as we doe now.

Victor, being not a little moved herewith, by letters againe denounceth against them (more bold upon authority, then wise in his communion) violent excommunication, albeit by the wise handling of Irenæus, and other learned men, that matter was staid, & Victor otherwise perswaded. What the persuasions of Irenæus were, partly may appeare in Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 26. the summe whereof tendeth to this effect: That the variance and difference of ceremonies is no strange matter in the Church of Christ, when as this variety is not onely in the day of Easter, but also in the manner of fasting, and in divers other usages among the Christians. For some fast one day, some two daies, some others fast more. Others there be, which counting forty houres, both day and night, take that for a full daies fast. And thus so divers fashion of fasting in the Church of Christ began not onely in this our time, but was before among our forefathers. And yet notwithstanding, they with all this diversity were in unity among themselves, and so be we: neither doth this difference of ceremonies any thing hinder, but rather commendeth the concord of faith. And he bringeth forth the examples of the fathers, of Eleiphorus, Pius, Anicetus, Sofer, Cleutherius, and such others, who neither obserbed the same usage themselves, nor prescribed it to others, and yet notwithstanding kept Christian charity with such as came to communicate with them, not observing the same forme of things which they obserbed, as well appeared by Polycarpus and Anicetus, which although they agreed not in one uniforme custome of rites, yet refused not to communicate together, the one giving reverence unto the other. Thus the controverisie, being taken up betwixne Irenæus and Victor, remained free to the time of the Nicene council. Hæc ex Iren. Eusebius. And thus much concerning the controverisie of that matter, and concerning the doings of Victor.

After Victor succeeded in the See of Rome, Zephyrinus, in the daies of the foresaid Severus, about the yeare of our Lord two hundred and thre. To this Zephyrinus be ascribed two Epistles, in the first some of the councils. But as I have said before of the decretall epistles of other Roman bishops, so I say and verily suppose of this; that neither the countenance of the stile, nor the matter therein contained, nor the condition of the time doth otherwise give to thinke of these letters, but that they be verily ballad letters, not written by these fathers, nor in these times, but craftily and wickedly packt in by some, which, to set up the Primacy of Rome, have most pestilently abused the authority of these holy and ancient fathers, to deceive the simple Church. For who is so rude, but that in considering onely the state of those terrible times he may easily understand (except affection blinde him) besides a number

Polycrates  
bishop of  
Ephesus.

Bishops in  
those daies  
married.

Victor excom-  
municating the  
churches of  
Asia.

Irenæus to  
Victor.

Diversity com-  
mendeth the  
concord of  
faith.

Zephyrinus  
Bishop  
of Rome.

The epistle  
and ordinance  
of Zephyrinus,  
suspected to be  
counterfeited.

Euseb. lib. 5.  
c. 26.  
The doctrine  
of Christian  
liberty in out-  
ward usages.

Anno?  
200

Euseb. lib. 4.  
c. 26.

Polycarpus  
and Anicetus  
agreeing in  
communicate,  
y agreed in  
unity.

Uniformity in  
ceremonies not  
the required  
a thing ne-  
cessary.



of other probable conjectures to leade him, that the worse persecuted Bishops in that time would have bene glad to have any safe covert to put their heads in: so farre was it off, that they had any lust or desire then to seeke for any Primacy or Patriarchship, or to dispute all other Churches to appeale to the See of Rome, or to exempt all Priests from the accusation of any lay man; as in the first Epistle of Zephirinus is to be seene, written to the Bishops of Sicilia: and likewise the second Epistle of his to the Bishops of the Province of Egypt, containing no manner of doctrine, nor consolation necessary for that time, but onely certaine ritually decrees to no purpose, argueth no lesse, but the said Epistles neither to favour of that man, nor to take of that time.

Of like credit also seemeth the constitution of the patins of glasse, which Damascus saith that the same Zephirinus ordained to be carried before the Priest at the celebration of the Masse. Againe Platina writeth that hee ordained the administration of the Sacrament to be no more used in vessels of wood, or of glasse, or of any other metall, except onely silver, gold, and tinne, &c. But how these two testimonies of Damascus and Platina joine together, let the reader judge: especially seeing the same decree is referred to Urbanus, that came after him. Againe, what needed this decree of golden chalices to be established after ward in the councill of Liber and Vicens, if it had bene enacted before by Zephirinus? How long this Zephirinus sat, our writers doe vary. Eusebius saith, hee died in the reigne of Caracalla, and sat seventene yeres. Platina writeth that hee died under Severus, and sat eight yeres, and so saith also Pauculus. Damascus affirmeth that hee sat sixtene yeres and two moneths.

Patheus author of the Story intituled Flores historiarum, with other later Chronicles, maketh mention of Perpetua, and Felicitas, and Evocatus her brother, also of Saturninus and Satyrus brethren, and Secundulus, which in the persecution of this Severus gave over their lives to martyrdom for Christ, being throwne to wilde beasts, and devoured of the same in Carthage and in Africke; save that Saturninus brought againe from the beasts, was beheaded, and Secundulus died in prison about the yere of our Lord two hundred and two, as writeth Florilegus.

This Severus the persecutor reigned, as the most part of writers accord, the terme of eightene yeres, who about the later time of his reigne came with his army hither into Brittain, where after many conflicts had with the Brittaines, in the borders of the North, hee cast up a ditch with a mighty wall made of earth and turres, and strong stakes, to the length of one hundred thirty and two miles from the one side of the Sea to the other, beginning at Tine, and reaching to the Scottish Sea: which done, hee removed to Poxke, and there by the breaking in of the Northerne men and the Scots was besieged and slain, about the yere of our Lord two hundred and seutene, leaving behind him two sonnes, Bassianus and Geta. Which Bassianus, surnamed Caracalla, after hee had slaine his brother Geta here in Brittain, governed the Empire alone, the space of five yeres. After whose death, he being slaine also of his servants (as he had slaine his brother before) succeeded Maximus with his sonne Diadumenus, to be Emperour, who, after they had reigned one yere, were both slaine of their owne people.

After them folloined Marius Hellogabalus in the Empire, rather to be called a monster then a man, so prodigious was his life in all gluttony, filthinesse, and ribaudy. Such was his pompe, that in his lampes he used balme, and filled his fishponds with hote water. To let passe his sumptuous vestures which hee would not weare but onely of gold, and most costly silkes; his shoes glistering with preci-

ous stones finely ingraved, hee was never two daies served with one kind of meat: hee never wore one garment twice. And likewise for his fleshly wickednesse, some daies his company was served at meale with the braines of Mithridates, a strange fowle called Phenocoptery, another day with the tongues of Wopingais, and other sweet singing birds. Being nigh to the Sea, hee never used fish: in places farre distant from the Sea, all his house was served with most delicate fishes: at one supper hee was served with seven thousand fishes, and five thousand fowles. At his removing in his progresse, often there followed him five hundred chariots laden onely with bauds, common harlots, and ribauds. Hee sacrificed yong children, & preferred to the best advancements in the common weale most light personages, as bauds, minstrels, carters and such like: in one word, hee was an enemy to all honesty and good order. And when hee was foretold by his forcerers and astro-

10 mers, that he should die a violent death, he provided ropes of silke to hang himselfe, swordes of gold to kill himselfe, and strong poyson in Facinds and Emeralds to poyson himselfe, if needs hee must thereto be forced; moreover hee made an high tower, having the floor of boards covered with gold plate, bordered with precious stones, from the which tower hee would throw himselfe downe, if he should be pursued of his enemies. But notwithstanding all his provision, hee was slaine of the sculdiers, dhalven through the City, and cast into Tiber, after hee had reigned two yeres and eight moneths, as witnesseth Eutropius, others say foure yeres.

This Hellogabalus, having no issue, adopted to his sonne and heire Aurelius Alexander Severus, the sonne of Hammea, who entering his reigne the yere of our Lord one hundred twenty and foure, continued thirteene yeres, well commended for vertuous, wise, gentle, liberall, and to no man hurtfull. And as he was not unlearned himselfe, though the diligent education of Hammea his mother, so hee was a great favourer of men wise and learned. Neither did hee any thing in the Common weale, without the assistance of learned and sage counsellors. It is reported of him to beare such stomacks against corrupt Judges, that when hee chanced to meate with any of them, by the commotion of his mind hee would cast up choier, being so moved with them that hee could not speake, and was ready with his two fingers to put out their eyes. From his court hee dismissed all superfluous and unneedfull servants, saying, that hee was no good pupill, which fed idle servants with the bowels of his common weale.

Among his other good vertues, it appeareth also that hee was friendly and favourable unto the Christians, as by this act may be gathered: for when the Christians had occupied a certaine publike place in some good use, belike for the assembling and convening together of the congregation; the company of the cookes or tiplers made challenge of that place to belong unto them. The matter being brought before the Emperour, hee judged it more honest, the place to be continued to the worship of God, how so ever it were, then the dirty snubbing of cookes and scullians.

By this it may be understood, that in Rome no Christian Churches were erected unto this time, when as yet (notwithstanding this favour of the emperour) no publike house could quietly be obtained for the Christians. So that by the reason hercof may appeare the decretall epistle and ordinance of Pope Viginius, concerning the dedication of Churches above mentioned to be falsified. And likewise the ordinance of Pius his successor, concerning the Altar, or Supercaltare to be also false. For what Supercaltare was it like they had in the time of Viginius and Pius, when as at this time, which was long after, no publike place almost could be granted them

The first epistle of Zephirinus to the bishops of Sicilia.

Patins of glasse borne before the Bishop. The ordinances of Zephirinus of small credit.

Golden chalices. Concilium Tiburtinum, Ahenense.

Ex Florilego. Perpetua, Felicitas, Evocatus, Saturninus, Satyrus, Secundulus, martyrs.

Severus was reigned in Brittain.

A wall betwixt England builded one hundred thirty and two miles in length. Severus the persecutor slain at Poxke.

Anno 215. Bassianus Emperour. Maximus with his sonne Diadumenus Emperour.

Anno 219.

The monstrous life of Hellogabalus Emperour.

A prodigious belly-got.

Hellogabalus slaine of his sculdiers. Ex Eutropio.

Alexander Severus Emperour.

Anno 224.

Against corrupt Judges. The laying of Alexander to be noted and followed. Idle servants came up the bowels of the common weale.

A note worthy to be marked.



for the Christians to assemble together?

Of this Alexander Platina writeth, that as hee was a great hater of all boasters and flatterers, so hee was of such pudence, that no deceit could escape him, and bringing in a story of one Turinus, who had gotten craftily many great bribes and gifts, in making the people believe that he was of great authority with the Emperour, and that he could helpe them to have whatsoever they sued for. Whereof the Emperour being certified caused him in the open market to be fastened to a stake, and there killed with smoke, where the cryer stood thus crying to the people: Smoke hee sold, and with smoke hee is punished.

Hanneca, the mother of this Alexander above mentioned (whom Hierome calleth a devout and religious woman) hearing of the same and the excellent learning of Origen, being then at Alexandria, sent for him to Antioch, desirous to heare and see him: unto whom the foresaid Origen according to her request resorted, and after that he had there remained a space with the Emperour and his mother, returned againe to Alexandria.

And thus continued this good Emperour his raigne the space of thirtie yeeres; at length at a communion in Germany, with his mother Hanneca hee was stricken. After whom succeeded Maximinus, contrary to the mind of the Senate, onely appointed by the soldiers to be Emperour. During all this time betwixt Severus and this Maximinus, the Church of Christ, although it had not perfect peace, yet it had some meane tranquillity from persecution. Albeit some martyrs there were at this time that suffered, whereof Paulerus giveth this reason: For although (saith hee) Alexander, being perswaded through the intreating of his mother Hanneca, did favour the Christians: yet notwithstanding, there was no publike edict or proclamation provided for their safeguard. By reason whereof, divers there were which suffered martyrdom under Almachius and other Judges. In the number of whom, after some stories, was Calixtus Bishop of Rome, who succeeded next unto Zephirinus above mentioned; and after him Urbanus also, which both being Bishops of Rome, did both suffer, by the opinion of some writers, under Alexander Severus.

This Calixtus in his two decretall epistles, written to Benedictus, and to the Bishops of France, giveth these ordinances, that no actions or accusations against the Prelates or Teachers of the Church should be received, that no secret conspiracies should be made against bishops: Item, no man to communicate with persons excommunicate: also no bishop to excommunicate or to deale in anothers Diocese. And here hee expoundeth the diocese, or the parish of any Bishop or Minister to be his wife. The wife (saith the Apostle) is bound to the Law, as long as the husband liveth: when he is dead, she is free from the Law: so (saith Calixtus) the wife of a Bishop (which is his Church) so long as he liveth, is bound onely to him, neither ought to be judged or disposed by any other man, without his will and judgement: after his death shee is free from the Law, to marry to whom the will, so it be in the Lord, that is, Regulariter, regularly. In the end of the said his epistle decretall, he confuteth the error of them which hold, that they which are fallen are not to be received againe. Which heresie, after the time of Calixtus or Calistus, came in first by Novatus, in the daies of Cornelius. Moreover, in his said first epistle decretall is contained the fast of the four times, commonly called the Ember fast, whereof also Marius Scotus maketh mention. But Damasus, speaking of the same fast, saith, he ordained the fast but of three times, which was for the increase of corn, wine, and oyle.

By these hitherto premised, it is not hard for a quick reader to smell out the crafty juggling of that

person or persons whosoever they were, that falsely have ascribed these decretall institutions to those holy fathers. For first, what leisure had the Christians to lay in their accusations against their Bishops, when we never read or finde in any story any kind of variance in those daies among them, but all love, mutuall compassion, and hearty communion among the Saints? And as we reade of no variance among the people in those daies, nor of any fault or backbiting among the bishops, who for the most part then died all constant martyrs: so neither doe we read of any tribunall seate or consistory used or frequented then about any such matters. Again, if a man examine well the dangers of those busie daies, hee shall see the poore flocks of the Christians so occupied and pitiously oppressed by the cruell accusations of the heathen infidels, that though the cause did, yet the time would not serve them to commence any Law against their bishops. Secondly, as touching their conspiracy against bishops, what conspiracy either would they then practise against them, which alwaies gave their lives for their defence? Or how could they then conspire in any companies together, when never a true Christian man durst once put his head out of his doores? neither was there in the Church any Christian man in those perillous daies, except he were a true man indeed, such as was farre from all false conspiracies. And when as all the world almost in all places conspired against them: what time, what cause, or what heart, could ye, could they have to conspire against their instructors? Thirdly, concerning the confutation of that heresie, how standeth the confutation with the time of Calixtus, when Novatus the author of that heresie was after him in the time of Cornelius? Fourthly, if by the law of Calixtus, every Diocese be the proper wife of every bishop or minister, then how many Bishops wives, and parsons wives, had the adulterous Pope of Rome deflowered in these later daies of the Church, which so proudly & impudently hath intermeddled and taken his pleasure and his owne profit, in every diocese and parish almost through all Christendome, without all leave and licence of the good man, who hath bene in the meane time, and yet is compelled still, wheresoever the Popes holinesse somethem, vigilante sterere naso, & to give him leave unasked to doe what he list? Wherefore if this canon decretall be truly his, why is it not observed, so as it doth stand without exception? If it be not, why is it then falsely forged upon him, and the Church of Christ deceived? and certes, lamentable it is, that this falsifying of such trifling traditions, under the false pretence of antiquity, either was begun in the Church to deceive the people, or that it hath remained so long undetected. For, as I thinke, the Church of Christ will never be perfectly reformed, before these decretall Constitutions and Epistles, which have so long put on the vizard of antiquity, shall be fully detected, and appeare in their owne colour, wherein they were first painted.

And yet neither doe I say this, or thinke contrary, but that it may be, that bishops of Rome and of the same name have bene the true authours of these traditions. But here cometh in the error (as I credibly suppose) that when other later bishops of the like name have devised these ceremonial inventions, the vulgar opinion of men hath transferred them to the first primitive fathers, although being of another time, yet bearing the same name with the true inventors thereof. But of Calixtus enough: who, as Damasus saith, in the daies of this Alexander Severus died a martyr. Vincentius affirmeth that hee was tied to a great stone, and so out of a window was throwne into a ditch. Eusebius, speaking of his death, maketh no mention of his martyrdom, and saith hee sat five yeeres, Platina saith six yeeres, Sabellicus giveth him seven yeeres, and so doth Damasus.

Against the decretall epistles and constitutions.

Calixtus a martyr. Ex Vincen. in specul. hist. Ex Ansonino tit. 7. cap. 6.



Urbanus Bishop of Rome.  
Anno 227

Confirmation of children instituted.

Urbanus martyred.

Tiburtius, Valerianus, martyrs.

Cecilia martyr.  
Ex martyrologio Adonis.

The martyrdom of Cecilia.

After Calixtus followed Urbanus, about the yere of our Lord two hundred twenty and seven, who in his epistle decrethall (comming out of the same forge) which he wrote in common to all bishops, making no mention of the heaby persecutions of the church, nor ministering any exhortation of comfort or constancy to the brethren, onely giveth many strict precepts, for not transporting or alienating the goods of the Church, and to pay truly their offerings, which they bow: also to have all common among the Clergy. Moreover, about the end of his epistle he instituteth the confirmation of children after Baptisme (which the Papists be wont to take into the number of their seven Sacraments,) affirming and denouncing more then Scripture will beare, that the imposition of the bishops hand bringeth the holy Ghost, and that thereby men be made full Christians, &c. But of these decrethall epistles enough is said before, more may be considered of the discreet reader. Marianus Scotus, Sabellicus, Paucerus, and other late story writers doe hold, as is aforesaid, that hee died a martyr in the daies of Alexander Severus, after he had governed that seat foure yeres, as Damasus and Platina doe witness, as Marianus saith, eight yeres.

The same Damasus and Platina doe testifie of him, that hee by his preaching and holinesse of life converted divers Ethnikes to the faith. Among whom were Tiburtius, and Valerianus the husband of Cecilia, which both, being Noble men of Rome, remained constant in the faith unto the end and martyrdom. Of this Cecilia thus it is written in the martyrologie by Ado, that Cecilia the virgin, after shee had brought Valerian her husband espoused, and Tiburtius his brother to the knowledge and faith of Christ, and with her exhortations had made them constant unto Martyrdom; after the suffering of them shee was also apprehended by Almachius the Ruler, and brought to the idols to do sacrifice: which thing when shee abhorred to doe, she should be presented before the Judge to have the condemnation of death. In the meane time, the sergeants and officers which were about her, beholding her comely beauty, and the prudent behaviour in her conserlation, began with many persuasions of words to sollicite her mind to favour her selfe, and that so excellent beauty, and not to call her selfe away, &c. But she againe so replied to them with reasons and godly exhortations, that by the grace of Almighty God their hearts began to kindle, and at length to yield to that religion, which before they did persecute. Which thing shee perceiving desired of the Judge Almachius a little respite: which being granted, shee sendeth for Urbanus the bishop home to her house, to stablish and ground them in the faith of Christ: and so were they with divers others at the same time baptised both men and women, to the number (as the story saith) of foure hundred persons, among whom was one Gordianus a Noble man. This done, this blessed martyr was brought before the Judge, where shee was condemned; then after was brought to the house of the Judge, where shee was inclosed in a hot bath: but she remaining there a whole day and night without any hurt, as in a cold place, was brought out againe, and commandement given that in the bath shee should be beheaded. The executer is said to have foure strokes at her necke; and yet her head being cut off, shee (as the story giveth) lived thre daies after, and so died this holy Virgin Martyr, whose body in the night season Urbanus the bishop tooke and buried among the other bishops. Ado the compiler of this Martyrologe addeth that this was done in the time of Marcus Aurelius, and Commodus. But that cannot be, for so much as Urbanus by all Histories was long after those Emperours, and lived in the daies of this Alexander, as is abode declared. Antoninus, Bergomentis, Equilinus, with such other writers

set forth this history with many strange miracles wrought by the said Cecilia, in converting her husband Valerianus and his brother, in shewing them the Angell which was the keeper of her virginity, and of the Angell putting on Crownes upon their heads. But as touching these miracles, as I doe not dispute whether they be true or fabulous, so because they have no ground upon any ancient or grave authors, but are taken out of certaine new legends, I doe therefore referre them thither from whence they came.

Under the same Alexander divers other there be, whom Bergomentis mentioned to have suffered martyrdom, as one Agapetus of the age of fiftene yeres, who being apprehended and condemned at Venesse in Italy, because hee would not sacrifice to idols, was assailed with sundry torments: first with whips scourged, then hanged up by the faste, after having hot water poured upon him, at the last cast to the wilde beasts: with all which torments when he could not be hurt, finally, with sword was beheaded. The executer of these punishments (as by Henricus Erford may be gathered) was one Antiochus; who in the executing of the foresaid torments suddenly fell downe from his judicall seate, crying out, that all his inward bowels burned within him, and so gave up the breath. Henr. de Erfordia, lib. 6 cap. 29.

Also with the same Agapetus is martyred Calepodius a Minister of Rome, whose body first was drawn through the City of Rome, and after cast into Tiber. Bergo. Ibidem.

Then followeth Pamunachius a senator of Rome, with his wife and children, and others both men and women, to the number of forty and two.

Item, another noble senator of Rome named Simplicius, all which together in one day had their heads smitten off, and their heads after hanged up in divers gates of the City for a terrour of others, that none should professe the name of Christ.

Besides these suffered also Quirinus a noble man of Rome, who, with his mother Julia and a great number more, were put likewise to death.

Also Liberius and Valerianus citizens of Rome, and brethren, suffered (as Bergomentis saith) the same time, who, first being buried and broken with bats, after were beheaded.

Also Vincentius, Bergomentis, and Erfordien, make mention of Martina a Christian Virgin, which, after divers bitter punishments being constant in her faith, suffered in like manner by the sword.

Albeit as touching the time of these forenamed martyrs, as I finde them not in older writers: so doe I suppose them to suffer under Martinus or Decius, rather then under Alexander.

### The sixth persecution.

After the death of Alexander the Emperour, who with his mother Ammea (as is said) was murdered in Germany, followed Maximinus, chosen by the will of the souldiers, rather then by the authority of the senate, about the yere of our Lord, two hundred thirty and seven; who for the hatred hee had to the house of Alexander (as Eusebius recordeth) raised up the sixth persecution against the Christians, especially against the teachers and leaders of the Church, thinking thereby the sooner to vanquish the rest, if the Captaines of them were removed out of the way. Whereby I suppose the martyrdom of Urbanus the Bishop, and of the rest abode specified, to have happened rather under the tyranny of this Maximinus then under Alexander. In the time of this persecution Origen wrote his booke De Martyrio: which booke if it were extant would give us some knowledge, I doubt not, of such as in this persecution did suffer, which now lie in silence

Agapetus a blessed martyr.  
Ex Bergomense lib. 8.

A notable example of Gods just plague upon a persecutor.  
Ex Henr. Erfordien. lib. 6.

Calepodius martyr.

Pamunachius with his wife and children martyrs.  
Forty and two martyrs.  
Simplicius martyr.

Quirinus, Julia his mother, martyrs.

Liberius, Valerianus, brethren and martyrs.

Martina a virgin and martyr.

Maximinus Emperour and persecutor.  
The sixth persecution.  
Anno 237.

Origenes de martyrio.



unknowne, and no doubt but a great number they were, and more should have bene, had not the provident mercy of God shortned his daies and bidded his tyranny, for he reigned but thre yeres. After whom succeeded Gordianus in the yere of our Lord two hundred and forty, a man no lesse studious for the utility of the Common-wealth, then milde and gentle to the Christians. This Gordianus, after he had governed with much peace and tranquillity the Monarchy of Rome the space of five yeres, was slaine of Philip Emperour after him.

In the daies of these Emperours above recited was Pontianus bishop of Rome, who succeeded next after Urbanus above rehearsed, about the yere of our Lord two hundred thirty and five, in the twelfth yere of Alexander, as Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 28. noteth, declaring him to sit five yeres. Contrary Damalus and Platina write, that he was bishop nine yeres and a halfe, and that in the time of Alexander he with Philippus his Priest was banished into Sardinia, and there died. But it seemeth more credible that he was banished rather under Maximinus, and died in the beginning of the raigne of Gordianus. In his epistles decretall (which seeme likewise to be fained) he appeareth very debout, after the common example of other bishops, to uphold the dignity of Priests, and of clergy men, saying; that God hath them so familiar with him, that by them he accepteth the offerings and oblations of others, and forgiveth their sinnes, and reconcileth them unto him: al o, that they do make the body of the Lord with their owne mouth, & give it to others, &c: which doctrine how it standeth with the testament of God and glory of Christ, let the Reader use his owne judgement.

Other notable fathers also in the same time were raised up in the Church, as Philetus bishop of Antioch, which succeeded after Asclepiades above mentioned, in the yere of our Lord two hundred and twenty, and after him Zebennus bishop of the same place, in the yere of our Lord two hundred thirty and one.

To these also may be added Ammonius the school-master of Origen, as Sindas supposeth, also the kind-men of Porphyrie the great enemy of Christ: notwithstanding, this Ammonius indued with better grace as he left divers bookes in defence of Christs religion, so did he constantly persevere (as Eusebius reporteth) in the doctrine of Christ, which he had in the beginning received, who was about the daies of Alexander.

Julius Africanus also, about the time of Gordianus aforesaid, is numbred among the old and ancient writers, of whom Nicephorus writeth that he was the scholler of Origen, and a great writer of histories of that time.

Unto these Doctors and confessoys may be adjoyned the story of Patalius mentioned in the first booke of Eusebius. This Patalius had suffered persecution before like a constant confessor, and was seduced and perswaded by Asclepiodotus and Theodoros (which were the disciples of Theodorus) to take upon him to be bishop of their sect, promising to give him every moneth an hundred and fifty paces of silber: and so he joyning himselfe to them, was admonished by vision and revelation from the Lord; for such was the great mercy of God, and of our Lord Christ Jesus, that he would not have his martyrs, which had suffered so much for his name before, now to perish out of his Church: for the which cause (saith Eusebius) God by certaine visions did admonish him; but he not taking great heed thereunto, being blinded partly with lucre, partly with honour, was at length all the night long scourged of the angels, in so much that he being made thereby very soze, and earely on the morrow putting on sack-cloth, with much weeping and lamentation went to Zephirinus the bishop above mentioned, where he falling

downe before him and all the Christian congregati on, shewed them the stripes of his body, and prayed them for the mercies of Christ, that he might be received into their communion againe, from which he had sequestred himselfe before, and so was admitted according as he desired.

After the decease of Pontianus Bishop of Rome afoze mentioned, succeeded next in that place Anterius, of whom Iuardus writeth, that Pontianus departing away did substitute him in his roome: but Eusebius writeth that he succeeded immediately after him. Damalus saith, that because he caused the acts and deaths of the martyrs to be written, therefore he was put to martyrdom himselfe by Maximinus the judge. Concerning the time of this bishop our writers doe greatly erre. Eusebius and Iuardus Scotus affirme that he was bishop but one moneth; Sabellius saith that not to be so. Damalus assigneth to him twelve yeres and one moneth. 20 Volateranus, Bergomensis, and Henricus Erford give to him thre yeres and one moneth. Paucellus writeth that he fate one yere and one moneth. All which are so farre discrepant one from another, that which of them most agreeth with truth, it lieth in doubt. Next to this bishop was Fabianus, of whom more is to be said hereafter.

Of Hippolytus al o both Eusebius and Hieronymus maketh mention that he was a Bishop; but where, they make no relation. And so likewise doth Theodoretus witnesse him to be a bishop, and also a martyr, but naming no place. Gelarius contra Eutichen saith, he died a martyr, and that he was bishop of an head City in Arabia. Nicephorus writeth, that he was bishop of Ostia, a port towne nere to Rome. Certaine it is, he was a great writer, and left many woorks in the Church, which Eusebius and Hierome doe recte: by the supputation of Eusebius, he was about the yere of our Lord two hundred and thirty.

Prudentius in his Peristephanon, making mention of great heapes of martyrs buried by threescore together, speaketh also of Hippolytus, and saith that he was drawn with wilde Beestes through fields, dales and bulches, and describeth thereof a pittifull story.

After the Emperour Gordianus, the Empire fell to Philippus, who with Philip his son governed the space of seven yeres, in the yere of our Lord, two hundred forty and six. This Philippus with his son and all his family was christened and converted by Fabianus and Origen, who by letters exhorted him and Sebera his wife to be baptised, being the first of all the Emperours that brought in Christianity into the Imperiall seat. Holofceber Pomponius Letas reporteth him to be a dissimbling Prince, this is certaine, that for his Christianity he with his sonne was slaine of Decius one of his captaines, Sabellius Bergomensis, lib. 8. sheweth this hatred of Decius against Philippus to be conceived, for that the Emperour Philip both the father and the sonne had committed their treasures unto Fabianus then bishop of Rome.

### The seventh persecution.

Thus Philippus being slaine, after him Decius invaded the crowne about the yere of our Lord two hundred and fifty, by whom was moved a terrible persecution against the Christians, which Decius noth to be the seventh persecution. The first occasion of this hatred and persecution of this tyrant, conceived against the Christians, was chiefly (as is before touched) because of the treasures of the Emperour which were committed to Fabian the bishop.

This Fabian first being a married man (as Platina writeth) was made bishop of Rome after Anterius above mentioned by the miraculous appointment of God, which Eusebius doth thus describe in

Anterius Bishop of Rome

Antony's dlc ager.

Hippolytus bishop and martyr

Prudentius Peristepha.

Hippolytus Emperour.

Philippus the first Christian Emperour.

Decius Emper.

The seventh persecution. The cause and occasion of this persecution.

Fabianus Bishop of Rome.

Gordianus Emperour. Anno 240

Pontianus Bishop of Rome. Dth. 235. b. 2. wrote Damalus and Eusebius.

Pontianus banished.

This doctrine seemeth derogatory to Christ and blasphamous.

Ammonius a Christian writer.

Julius Africanus writer.

Patalius, confessor. Ex Euseb. lib. 5. ap. 28.

The Lord will not lose them which have done or suffered any thing for him.



Euseb. lib. 6.

The mirac-  
lous election  
of Fabianus.Fabianus  
martyr?The ordinan-  
ces of Fabia-  
nus retained.  
Oyle and  
Creame.  
Accusing of  
bishops.  
Appealing to  
the See apo-  
stolically.  
Marriage not  
within the  
fifth degree.False doctrine  
detected.

Origen.

Ex Euseb. lib. 6.  
cap. 39.  
The persecu-  
tions of Ori-  
gen.Ex Suida &  
Niceph. lib. 5.  
cap. 32.

his sixth book. When the brethren (saith he) were to-  
gether in the congregation about the election of their  
bishop, and had purposed among themselves upon  
the nomination of some noble and worthy personage  
of Rome, it chanced that Fabianus among others  
was there present, who of late before was newly  
come out of the country to inhabit in the city. This  
Fabian (as is said) thinking nothing lesse then of  
any such matter, there suddenly cometh a Dove  
flying from above, and sitteth upon his head, where-  
upon all the congregation being moved, with one  
mind and one voice to chuse him for their bishop,  
in the which function he remained the space of thir-  
teene yeeres, as Eusebius writeth; Damasus, Marti-  
anus, and Sabellus say foureteene yeeres unto the  
time of Decius: who, whether for that Philippus  
had committed to him his treasures, or whether for  
the hatred he bare to Philippus, in the beginning of  
his raigne caused him to be put to death, sending  
out moreover his proclamation into all quarters,  
that all which professed the name of Christ should  
be slaine.

So this Fabian be ascribed certaine ordinances,  
as of consecrating new oyle once every yeere, and  
burning the oyle of accusations against bishops, of  
appealing to the See apostolike, of not marrying  
within the fifth degree, of communicating thrice a  
yeere, of offering every Sunday, with such other things  
more in his thre epistles decretall: the which epi-  
stles, as by divers other evidences may be supposed  
to be untruly named upon him, giving no signifi-  
cation of any matter agreeing to that time: so doe I  
finde the most part of the third epistle word for word  
standing in the epistle of Sixtus the third, which fol-  
lowed almost two hundred yeeres after him, beside  
the unseemly doctrine also in the end of the said epi-  
stles contained, where hee contrary to the tenor of  
the Gospell applieth remission of sinnes (onely due  
to the blood of Christ) unto the offerings of bread  
and wine by men and women every Sunday in the  
Church.

So this Fabianus wrote Origen De orthodoxia  
sue fidei, that is, Of the righteousnesse of his faith:  
whereby is to be understood, that he continued to the  
time of Decius: some say also to the time of Gallus.  
Of this Origen partly mention is touched before,  
declaring how bold and fervent hee was in the daies  
of Severus, in assisting, comforting, exhorting and  
kissing the martyrs that were imprisoned and suffe-  
red for the Name of Christ, with such danger of his  
owne life, that had not bene the singular protection  
of God, hee had bene stoned to death many times  
of the heathen multitude. Such great concourse of  
men and women was daily at his house to be cate-  
chised and instructed in the Christian faith by him,  
that souldiers were hired of purpose to defend the  
place where he taught them. Again, such search  
sometime was set for him, that scarce any shifting  
of place or country could cover him. In whose labo-  
rious travels and affaires of the church, in teaching,  
writing, confuting, exhorting, and expounding, hee  
continued about the space of fifty two yeeres, unto  
the time of Decius and Gallus. Divers and great  
persecutions he sustained, but especially under De-  
cius, as testifieth Eusebius in his sixth booke, decla-  
ring that for the doctrine of Christ, hee sustained  
bands and torments in his body, rackings with  
bars of iron, dungeons, besides terrible threats of  
death and burning. All this he suffered in the perse-  
cution of Decius, as Eusebius recordeth of him,  
and maketh no relation of any further matter. But  
Suidas and Nicephorus following the same, saith  
further concerning him, that the said Origen, after  
divers and sundry other torments which he manful-  
ly and constantly suffered for Christ, at length was  
brought to an altar, where a foule filthy Chiope was  
appointed to be, and there this option or choice was  
offered unto him, whether hee would sacrifice to the

idols, or have his body polluted with that foule and  
ugly Chiope. When Origen (saith he) who with a  
philosophicall mind ever kept his chastity undefiled,  
much abhorring that filthy villany to be done to his  
body, condescended to their request: whereupon, the  
judge, putting incense in his hand, caused him to set  
it to the fire upon the altar: for the which impiety he  
afterward was excommunicated of the Church. Epi-  
phanus writeth that he being urged to sacrifice to  
idols, and taking the boughes in his hand, wherewith  
the heathen were wont to honour their gods, called  
upon the Christians to carry them in the honour of  
Christ. The which fact the Church of Alexandria  
mislaking removed him from their communion:  
whereupon Origen, driven away with shame and  
sorrow out of Alexandria, went into Iury, where  
being in Jerusalem among the congregation, and  
there requested of the Priests and Ministers (he be-  
ing also a Priest) to make some exhortation in the  
Church, he refused a great while to doe. At length by  
importunate petition being constrained thereunto,  
he rose up, and turning the book, as though he would  
have expounded some place of the Scripture, he only  
read the verse of the forty ninth Psalm; But God  
saith to the sinner, why dost thou preach my justifica-  
tions, and why dost thou take my testament in thy  
mouth: &c. Which verse being read, he shut the book,  
and sat downe weeping and wailing, the whole con-  
gregation also weeping and lamenting with him: 30  
Suid. Niceph. Where what became of Origen it is not  
found in history, but onely that Suidas addeth, hee  
died and was buried at Tyre. Eusebius affirmeth,  
that he departed under the Emperour Gallus, about  
the yeere of our Lord two hundred fifty and five, and  
the seventieth yeere of his age, in great misery (as  
appeareth) and poverty.

In this Origen divers blemishes of doctrine be  
noted, whereupon Hierome sometimes doth inveigh  
against him; albeit in some places againe hee doth  
extoll and commend him for his excellent learning,  
as in his apology against Rufin. and in his epistle to  
Dammachius and Decian, where he prayeth Ori-  
gen, although not for the perfection of his faith and  
doctrine, nor for an Apostle, yet for an excellent  
interpreter, for his wit, and for a philosopher: and yet  
in his prologue upon the homilies of Origen on Ge-  
nesis, he calleth him another master of the Church,  
after the Apostles. And in another preface up-  
on his questions upon Genesis, he writeth to him-  
selfe the knowledge of the Scriptures, which Ori-  
gen had, also with the envy of his name. Athanasius  
moreover calleth him singular and laborious, and  
writeth also his testimonies against the Arrians. So-  
crates, lib. 6. cap. 13.

After Origen, the congrue order of history requi-  
reth next to speake of Heraclas his usher: a man sin-  
gularly commended for his knowledge, not onely in  
philosophy, but also in such faculties as to a Chri-  
stian divine doe appertaine. This great forwardnesse  
of wit & learning when Origen perceived in him,  
he appointed him above all others to be his usher or  
under-teacher, to helpe in his schoule or university of  
Alexandria in the raigne of Antoninus Caracalla  
some of Severus. And after in the tenth yeere of  
Alexander, Origen departing unto Cesarea, he suc-  
ceeded in his roome to governe the schoule in Alex-  
andria. Further also in the time of Gordianus, after  
the decease of Menetrius bishop of Alexandria, this  
Heraclas succeeded to be bishop of the said City: Eu-  
sebius, lib. 6. cap. 29. In the which function he mini-  
stred the terme of sixteene yeeres, Eusebius, lib. 6. cap.  
35. Of this Heraclas writeth Origen himselfe, that  
he, although being Priest, yet ceased not to read over  
and peruse the bookes of the Gentiles, to the intent  
he might the better out of their owne bookes confute  
their error, &c.

After Heraclas succeeded Dionysius Alexandri-  
nus in the bishoprike of Alexandria, like as he suc-  
ceeded

The fall of  
Origen.Origen excom-  
municated.The repen-  
tance of Ori-  
gen.Blemishes ne-  
ted in Origen.Origen com-  
mended for his  
learning.Ex Socrat. lib. 6.  
cap. 13.Heraclas Bi-  
shop of Alexan-  
dia.Euseb. lib. 6.  
cap. 29.



ceived him in the schoole before: which Dionysius also writeth of the same Heraclas unto Philemon a Priest of Rome, thus saying: Hunc ego canonem & typum a beato Heracla papa nostro accepi, &c. that is, This canon and type I received of blessed Heraclas, our Pope, &c. This Heraclas was no martyr, which died three yeeres before Decius, about the yeere of our Lord, two hundred and fifty. After whom succeeded next in the same seat of Alexandria Dionysius Alexandrinus, who also suffered much under the tyranny of Decius, as hereafter shall be shewed (Christ willing) when we come to the time of Valerian.

Picaphorus in his first Booke, and others which write of this persecution under Decius declare the horrible violence thereof to be so great and so innumerable martyrs to suffer in the same, that he saith, it is as easie to number the sands of the Sea, as to recite the particular names of them whom this persecution did devour. In the which persecution the chiefest doers & tormentors under the Emperors appeare in the history of Vincentius to be these: Pontinus the under-consull, Secundianus, Merianus, and Marcellianus, &c. Although therefore it be hard here to infer all and singular persons in order that died in this persecution, yet such as remaine most notable in stories, I will briefly touch by the grace of him for whose cause they suffered.

In the former tractation of the first persecution, mention was made before of Alexander, Bishop of Jerusalem, and of his troubles suffered under Severus, and how afterward by the miracle of God he was appointed Bishop of Jerusalem, where he continued a very aged man, above the terme of forty yeeres Governor of that Church, till the time of the first yeere of Decius, at what time he being brought from Jerusalem to Cesarea into the judgement place, after a constant and evident confession of his faith made before the Judge, was committed unto prison, and there finished his life, as testifieth Dionysius Alexandrinus in the sixth Book of Eusebius. After whom succeeded in that seat Orsabanus the thirty and sixth Bishop of that city, after James the Apostle.

Mention was made also before of Asclepiades Bishop of Antioch, who succeeded after Serapion, and in the persecution of Severus did likewise persevere a constant confessor, and, as Vincentius testifieth in his eleventh booke, suffered martyrdom at last under this Decius. But this computation of Vincentius can in no wise agree with the truth of time; for so much as by probable writers, as Zonaras, Picaphorus, and others, the said Asclepiades after Serapion entered the Bishops seat of Antioch, in the yeere of our Lord, two hundred and fourtyeene, and late seven yeeres before the time of Gordianus, after whom succeeded Phileas, in the yeere of our Lord, two hundred twenty and one, governing the function twelve yeeres. And after him Zebinus followed in the yeere of our Lord, two hundred thirty and two, and so after him Babylas: which Babylas, if he died in this persecution of Decius, then could not Asclepiades also suffer in the same time, who died so long before him, as is declared.

Of this Babylas, Bishop of Antioch, Eusebius and Zonaras record, that under Decius he died in prison, as did Alexander, Bishop of Jerusalem above rehearsed.

We read in a certaine treatise of Chrysostome, intituled Contra Gentiles, a notable and long history of one Babylas a Martyr, who about these times was put to death for resisting a certaine Emperour, not suffering him to enter into the Temple of the Christians after a cruell murder committed, the story of which murder is this: there was a certaine Emperour, who upon conclusion of peace made with a certaine nation, had received for hostage or surety of peace the sons of the King being of young and

tender age, with conditions upon the same, that neither he should be molested of them, nor that they should ever be bereaved of him. Upon this the Kings sonne was delibered, not without great care and feare of the father, unto the Emperour, whom the cruell Emperour contrary to promise caused in short time without all just cause to be slaine. This fact so horrible being committed, the tyrant with all haste would enter into the Temple of the Christians, where Babylas being Bishop or Minister withstood him that he should not into that place approach. The Emperour therewith not a little incensed, in great rage had him forthwith to be laid in prison with as many irons as he could beare, and from thence shortly after to be brought forth to death and execution. Babylas, going constantly & boldly to his martyrdom, desired after his death to be buried with his irons and bands, and so he was. The story proceedeth moreover, and saith; that in continuance of time in the raigne of Constantinus, Gallus, then made the overseer of the East parts, caused his body to be translated into the suburbs of Antioch, called Daphnes, where was a Temple of Apollo, famous with devilish oracles & answers given by that idoll, or by the Idoll rather in that place. In the which Temple, after the bringing of the body of Babylas, the idoll ceased to give any more oracles, saying, that for the body of Babylas he could give no more answers, and complaining that that place was wont to be consecrated unto him, but now it was full of dead mens bodies. And thus the oracles there ceased for that time till the coming of Julianus; who inquiring out the cause why the oracles ceased, caused the bones of the holy Martyr to be removed againe from thence by the Christians, whom he then called Galileans. They coming in a great multitude, both men, maidens and children, to the tombe of Babylas, transported his bones according to the commandement of the Emperour, singing by the way as they went, the verse of the Psalm in words, as followeth: Confounded be all that worship images, and all that glory in idolls, &c. Which coming to the Emperours eare set him in great rage against the Christians, stirring up persecution against them. Albeit Zonaras declareth the cause something otherwise, saying, that so some as the body of him and other martyrs were removed away, incontinent the Temple of the idoll with the image in the night was consumed with fire: for the which cause (saith Zonaras) Julian stirred up with anger, persecuted the Christians, as shall be shewed (Christ willing) in his order and place hereafter.

And thus much of Babylas, which whether it was the same Babylas Bishop then of Antioch, or another of the same name, it appeareth not by Chrysostome, which neither maketh mention of the Emperours name, nor of the place where this Babylas was Bishop. Again, the stopping of the Emperour out of the Church importeth as much, as that Emperour to have bene a Christian: for otherwise, if he had come in as an heathen, & as a persecutor, it was not then the manner of Christian Bishops violently to withstand the Emperours, or to stop them out. Over and beside the testimony of Eusebius, Zonaras doth witness contrary in his sixth Booke, that this Babylas, which was then Bishop of Antioch after Zebinus, was not put to death by the tormentors, but died in prison: wherefore it is not impossible, but this Babylas, and this Emperour which Chrysostome speaketh of, may be another Babylas than that which suffered under Decius. Picaphorus in his fifth Booke maketh mention of another Babylas beside this that suffered under Decius, which was Bishop of Nicomedia.

In the forenamed City of Antioch, Vincentius, lib. 11. speaketh of forty virgins Martyrs, which suffered in this persecution of Decius.

In the countrey of Phrygia, and in the towne of Lampar,

Heraclas called Pope, yet no Bishop of Rome.

Anno 250.

Ex Niceph. lib. 1. cap. 29.

Persecutors.

Alexander Bishop of Jerusalem, martyr.

Ex Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 41.

Asclepiades Bishop of Antioch, martyr.

Ex specul. Vincent. lib. 11.

cap. 52.

A place of Vincentius mentioned.

Babylas Bishop of Antioch, martyr. Ex Chrysost. lib. contra Gentiles. The story of Babylas.

The body of Babylas lay, perch the oracles of idolls.

Ex Zonaras tom. 3.

Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 39.

Niceph. lib. 5. cap. 25. Babylas Bishop of Antioch, martyr.

Vincent. lib. 11. cap. 52. Forty virgins martyrs.



Peter of Phrygia martyr.

Andreas, Paulus, Nicomachus, Dionysia virgin, martyrs.

Partus of Babylon, Germanus, Theophilus, Celsus, Celsus, Polydorus, Aetius.

Olympiades, Germanus noble men.

Anatolia virgin, Ande, martyrs. Ex Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 40. 41. 42.

The Epistle of Dionysius Bishop of Alexandria to Fabius

A commotion of the people of Alexandria against the Christians.

Petra, martyr.

Quinta a faithful woman and martyr.

Patience and hope in affliction. The constancy of the martyrs of Alexandria.

Apollonia a blessed virgin and martyr.

Lampar, the same Vincentius also speaketh of one Peter which there was apprehended, and suffered bitter torments for Christs Name under Optimus the Proconsull: And in Troada likewise of other Martyrs that there suffered, whose names were, Andrew, Paul, Nicomachus, and Dionysia a virgin. Lib. 11. cap. 46.

Also in Babylon (saith he) divers Christian confessors were found of Decius, which were led away into Spaine, there to be executed: Lib. eodem, cap. 43.

In the countrey of Cappadocia at the city of Cesarea, in like manner of the said author is testified, that Germanus, Theophilus, Celsus, and Celsus suffered martyrdom for Christ. Eodem cap. 52. and in the same Booke mention is also made of Polydorus, Bishop of Babylon, cap. 89. and in Pamphilia of Pesto there Bishop that died Martyr, cap. 52.

At Perside, in the towne of Cardala, Olympiades and Germanus, in Cyprus also Anatolia virgin, and Andar gave their lives likewise to death for the testimony of Christs Name.

Eusebius moreover in his sixth Booke reciteth out of the Epistles of Dionysius Alexandrinus, divers that suffered diversly at Alexandria; the which places of Dionysius, as they be cited in Eusebius, I thought here good for the ancientness of the author, to insert and notice in his owne words, and in our language, as he wrote them to Fabius Bishop of Antioch, as followeth.

This persecution (saith he) began not with the proclamation set forth by the Emperour, but began a whole yere before, by the occasion and meanes of a wicked person, a South-sayer, and a follower of wicked arts: who, coming to our city here, stirred up the multitude of the heathen against us, and incited them to maintaine their owne old superstition and gentility of their countrey; whereby they being set agog, and obtaining full power to persecute their wicked purpose, so thought, and no lesse declared, all their piety and religion to consist only in the idolatrous worship of diuels, and in our destruction. And first dying upon a certaine Priest of ours, named

Petra, they apprehended him, and brought him forth to make him speak after their wicked blasphemy; which, when he would not doe, they laid upon him with staves & clubs, and with sharp reeds picked out his face and eyes, and afterward bringing him into the suburbs, there they stoned him to death. When they took a faithfull woman, called Quinta, and brought her to the temple of their idols, to compell her to worship with them: which when she refused to doe, and abhorred their idols, they bound her feet, and drew her through the whole street of the city upon the hard stones, and so dashing her against milstones, and scourging her with whips, brought her to the same place of the suburbs, as they did the other before, where she likewise ended her life. This done, in a great outrage, and with a multitude running together, they built into houses of the religious and godly Christians, spoiling, sackings and carrying away all that they could finde of any price. The rest of things, such as were of lesse value and of word, they brought into the open market and set them on fire. In the meane time the brethren voided aside, and withdrew themselves, taking patiently and no lesse joyfully the spoiling of their goods, then did they of whom Saint Paul doth testifie: neither doe I know any of them all (only excepted) apprehended of them, which rebelling from his profession denied the Lord yet to this present day.

Amongst the rest that there were taken, there was a certaine virgin well stricken in yeres, named Apollonia, whom they brought forth, and dashing all her teeth out of her jawes, made a great fire before the city, threatening to cast her into the same, unless she would blaspheme with them and deny Christ:

whereat she staying a little with her selfe, as one that would take a pause, suddenly leaped into the midst of the fire, and there was burned.

There was also one Scerapion, whom they took in his owne house, and after they had assailed him with sundry kindes of torments, and had broken almost all the joints of his body, they cast him downe from an upper loft, and so did he complete his martyrdom. Thus was there no way neither privy nor publicke, nor corner, nor alley left for us, neither by day nor by night to escape, all the people making an outcry against us, that unless we uttered words of blasphemy, we should be drawne to the fire and burned. And this outrageous tumult indured a certaine space, but at length, as the Lord would, the miserable wretches fel at dissention among themselves, which turned the cruelty they exercised against us, upon their owne heads. And so had we a little breathing time for a season, while the fury of the heathen people by this occasion allwaged.

Shortly then after this, word was brought unto us that the state of the Empire, which before was something favourable to us, was altered and changed against us, putting us in great feare. And consequently upon the same followed the edict of the Emperour so terrible and cruel, that according to the forewarning of the Lord, the elect (if it had been possible) might have been thereby subverted. Upon that edict such feare came over us all, that many there were, especially of the richer sort, of whom some for feare came running, some were led by the occasion of time, some were drawne by their neighbours being cited by name, to those unpure and idolatrous sacrifices. Other some came trembling and shaking, as men not which should doe sacrifice, but which should be sacrificed themselves, the multitude laughing them to scorne. Some againe came boldly to the altars, declaring themselves never to have bene of that profession, of whom it is said, that hardly they shall be saved. Of the residue, some followed one part, some another, some ran away, some were taken; of whom certaine continued to bands and torments constant; others againe after long imprisonment, before they should come before the Judge, renounced their faith. Some also, after they suffered torments, yet after revolted. But others being as strong as blessed, and valiant pillars of the Lords, fortified with constancy agreeing to their faith, were made faithfull martyrs of the kingdom of God.

Of whom the first was Julianus, a man diseased with the gout, and not able to goe, being carried of two men, of whom the one quickly denied, the other, Cronion, surnamed Eunus, with the foresaid Julianus the old man, confessing the Lord with a perfect faith, were laid upon Camels, and there scourged, at length cast into the fire, and with great constancy were so consumed.

As these aforesaid were going to their martyrdom, there was a certaine Souldier, who in their defence, took part against them that railed upon them. For the which cause the people crying out against him, he also was apprehended, and being constant in his profession, was forthwith beheaded.

Likewise one Pacar, a man borne in Arabia, being admonished and exhorted of the Judge to deny his faith, and not agreeing to his persuasions was burned alive.

After these suffered Epimachus, and one Alexander, who being long detained in prison and in bands, after innumerable paines and torments with razors and scourges, were also cast into the burning fire with foure other women with them, which all there ended their martyrdom.

Also Ammonacion, an holy virgin, whom the cruel judge had long and bitterly tormented, for that she promising the judge before, that for no punishment she would yield to his request, and constantly performing

Scerapion martyr.

The last punishment of God turning the cruelty of adulterers upon themselves.

Julianus martyr.

A certaine Souldier martyr.

Pacar a blessed martyr.

Epimachus, Alexander, with foure women, martyrs.

Ammonacion virgin, martyr.



performing the same, suffered likewise martyrdom with two other women, of whom there was an aged matron, named *Pericuta*, the other was called *Dionysia*, being a mother of many faire children, whom yet notwithstanding she loved not above the Lord. These, after they could not be overcome by any torments of the cruell Judge, but he rather ashamed and confounded to be overcome of silly women, at length being past feeling of all torments, were slain with the sword: first *Ammoniarion*, like a valiant Captaine, suffering before them.

*Veron*, *Ater* and *Isidorus*, Egyptians, and with them *Dioscorus* also a childe of fiftene yeeres, were crowned with the same corymbe of martyrdom. And first the Judge began with the childe, thinking him more easie to be won with words to intice him, than with torments to constrain him: but he persisted inmoveable, giving neither place to persuasions nor punishments. The rest, after he had grievously tormented them, being constant in their profession, hee committed to the fire. The Judge, greatly marvelling at *Dioscorus* for his wise answers and grave constancy, dismissed him, sparing (as hee said) his age to a longer respite: which *Dioscorus* is yet also with us at this present, waiting for a long tervall.

*Pemelson*, being also an Egyptian, first was accused for a companion of thieves, but being purged thereof before the Centurion, was then accused of Christianity, and for that cause being in bands, was brought to the President: who most unrighteously tormenting and scourging him double to all other thieves and fellows, at length among the thieves burned him to death, making him a blessed Martyr.

There were standing before the tribunall seat certaine of the warriors or knights, whose names were *Ammon*, *Zenon*, *Ptolomeus*, *Ingenuus*, and with them a certaine aged man called *Theophilus*: who standing by, at what time a certaine Christian man was before the Judge examined, and there seeing him for feare ready to decline and fall away, did burst almost for sorrow within themselves, making signes to him with their hands, and all gestures of their body, to be constant. This being noted of all the standers by, they were ready to lay hold upon them: but they, preventing the matter, pressed up of their own accord before to the bench of the Judge, professing themselves to be Christians. Insomuch that both the President with the benchers, were all astonished, the Christians, which were judged, more imboldened to suffer, & the Judges thereby terrified. This done, they departed away from the place, glad & rejoycing for the testimony that they had given of their faith. Many other besides, were in other cities and townes rent and torn alunder by the heathen, among whom one I will speake of for cause worthy of memory.

*Ischirion*, one that was in service with a certain noble man, was commanded of his Master to make sacrifice, who for not obeying, was therefore rebuked: after persisting in the same, was grievously threatened with sharp and menacing wordes. At last his Master, when he could not prebaile against him, taking a stake or pike in his hands, ran him thorow in the body and slue him.

What shall I speake of the multitude of them, which wandring in deserts and mountaines, were consumed with hunger, thirst, cold, sicknesse, thieves or wilde beasts, of whose blessed victory they which be alive are yet witnesses: In the number of whom, one I will speake of, among divers others, named *Cheremon*, Bishop of the city called *Philus*, an aged man: hee with his wife, flying to the mountaine of Arabia, never returned againe, nor ever could be scene after. And though they were sought for diligently by their brethren, yet neither they nor their bodies were found: many others there were, which flying to these mountaines of Arabia were taken of the barbarous Arabians: of whom some with

much money could scarce be ransomed, some were never heard of yet to this present day. Thus much out of the Epistles of *Dionysius* in *Lueib*, lib. 6. cap. 41, 42. &c.

Moreover, the foresaid *Dionysius* in another place writing to *Germanus*, of his owne dangers and of others, sustained in this persecution, and before this persecution of *Decius*, thus inferreth as followeth: I (saith hee) behold before the sight of God, I lie not, and hee knoweth, I lie not, hold that I having no regard of mine owne life, and not without the motion of God, did fly and avoid the danger of this persecution. Yea, and also before that this persecution of *Decius* did rage against us, *Sabinus* the same houre sent a farmer to seek me, at what time I remaining at home waited three daies for his coming. But hee searching narrowly for me by all waies, fields, floods, and corners, where hee thought I might best have hid my selfe, or have passed by, was stricken with such blindness, that hee could not find my house, thinking with himselfe nothing less than that I would abide at home in such and so dangerous persecution. Thus these three daies being past, upon the fourth day, the Lord God so willing and commanding me to fly, and also marvelously opening to me the way, I with my children and many other brethren went out together. And this not to come of my selfe, but to be the worke of Gods providence, the sequelle of those things declared, wherein afterward I was not unprofitable peradventure to some, &c.

Again, in another place shortly after, the foresaid *Dionysius* proceeding in the narration of himselfe, thus inferreth: When I coming to Jerusalem with them which were with me, was brought by souldiers unto *Napofiris*, where as *Timotheus* (by the providence of God) neither was present, nor yet taken. Who then returning home, found his house desert, and officers watching about the same, and us within taken, &c. And againe shortly after it followeth: And to see (saith he) the admirable disposing of God his works: as *Timotheus* was thus living with much haste and great feare, a certaine man, as hapned, a dweller nere by met him by the way, and asked whither he went so hastily: to whom *Timotheus* answering, declared all the matter simply as it was. Which done, the man proceedeth on his journey, whither he was purposed to goe, which was to a marriage, the manner of which marriage then was to sit up all the night long feasting & drinking. Thus, as he was come, sitting with the at the feast, he selleth his companions what was done, and what he heard by the way. This was no sooner told, but all they forthwith upon a heap, as stricken with a sudden fury, rushing out together made toward us as fast as they could, with such crying and noise as might seeme very terrible. At the first hearing whereof, the souldiers that had us in keeping being afraid, ran away, by reason whereof we were left alone, and found as we were living upon formes and benches. I then (the Lord knoweth) thinking with my selfe that they had bene thieves, which came to spoile and rob, being in my couch, lay still in my shirt only as I was, the rest of my garments lying by me I offered to them: they then willed me in all haste to rise and get away: whereby I then, perceiving the cause of their coming, cried unto them, desiring that they would suffer us so to doe: and if they would doe any benefit for me, for so much as I could escape the hands of them which would pursue me and carry me away, I prayed them that they would prevent them, and cut off my head before. And as I was crying thus unto them, casting my selfe grovelling upon the pavement, as my companions can testify, who were partakers of all these things, they burst forth violently, taking me by the hands and feet, and carried me out of the doores, and led me away. There followed me *Gaius*, *Faustus*, *Petrus*, *Paulus*

*Epist. lib. 6.*

*cap. 41, 42.*

The Epistle of *Dionysius* to *Germanus*. This *Germanus* was a Bishop in that time, which charged *Dionysius* for his fleeing persecution, against whom hee persecuted himselfe. God willed *Dionysius* to be in persecution.

\* Ergo, bishops then had wives and children.

The providence of God in preserving him.

The story of the deliverance of *Dionysius* and his fellows.

*Dionysius*, *Gaius*, *Faustus*, *Petrus*, *Paulus* delivered from the Centurion and the souldiers.

*lus*

*Pericuta*, *Dionysia*, *Isidorus*.

*Veron*, *Ater*, *Dioscorus*, *Isidorus*.

*Pemelson*, *Ammon*, *Zenon*, *Ptolomeus*, *Ingenuus*, *Theophilus*.

*Ammon*, *Zenon*, *Ptolomeus*, *Ingenuus*, *Theophilus*.

A notable example of a Christian courage in suffering.

*Ischirion*, *martyr*.

*Cheremon*, *martyr*. *Cheremon* a Bishop had a wife.



lus (who were witnesses of all the same) which brought me also out of the city, and so setting me up on a bare Asse, conveyed mee away. Thus much writeth Dionysius of himself, the example of whose Epistle is cited in the Ecclesiasticall story of Eusebius, lib. 6. cap. 40. also lib. 7. cap. 11.

Nicephorus in his first Booke, cap. 27. maketh mention of one named Chrsophorus, which also suffered in this persecution of Decius. Of which Chrsophorus, whether the fable riseth of that mighty Giant set up in Churches, wading through the seas with Christ on his shoulder, and a tree in his hand for a walking staffe, &c. it is uncertaine. Georgius Wicelius allegeth out of Ruggerus Fuldens, and mentioneth of one Chrsophorus, borne of the nation of Cananites, which suffered under Decius, being, as he saith, of twelve cubits high. But the rest of the history painted in Churches the said Wicelius denieth as fables of Centaurus, or other poeticall fictions.

Bergomenus in his eighth Booke maketh relation of divers martyrs under Decius, as Penitatus which suffered at Florence, of Agatha an holy virgin of Sicile, who is said to suffer divers and bitter torments under Quintilianus the Proconsull, with imprisonment, with beatings, with famine, with racking, rolled also upon sharp speis and hot coles, having moreover her breasts cut from her body, as Bergomenus and the martyrology of Ado record. In the which authors as I deny not but that the rest of the story may be true, so againe, concerning the miracles of the aged man appearing to her, and of the young man clothed in a silken beccure, with an hundred young men after him, and of the marble table with the inscription, Mentem sanctam, &c. I doubt.

Hard it is to recite all that suffered in this persecution, when as whole multitudes went into wildernesses and mountaines, wandring without succour or comfort, some starved with hunger and cold, some with sickness consumed, some deboured of beasts, some with barbarous thieves taken and carried away. Vincentius in his eleventh Booke, speaking of Asteptades, writeth also of forty virgins and martyrs, which by sundry kinds of torments were put to death about the same time, in the persecution of this tyrant.

Likewise in the said Vincentius mention is made of Triphon, a man of great holiness, and constant in his suffering, who being brought to the city of Nice, before the President Aquilus for his constant confession of Christs name, was afflicted with divers and grievous torments, and at length with the sword put to death.

At what time Decius had erected a temple in the midst of the city of Ephesus, compelling all that were in the city there to sacrifice to the idols: Seven Christians were found, whose names were Martinianus, Balchus, Martinianus, Dionysius, Joannes, Serapion, and Constantinus, who, refusing the idolatrous worship, were accused for the same unto the Emperour to be Christians. Which when they constantly professed & did not deny, notwithstanding, because they were soldiers, retaining to the Emperours service, respite was given them for a certaine space, to deliberate with themselves, till the returne againe of the Emperour, which then was going to war. In the mean space, the Emperour being departed, they taking counsell together, went & hid themselves in secret caves of the Mount Celus. The Emperour returning againe, after great inquisition made for them, hearing where they were, caused the mouth of the place where they were to be closed up with heaps of stones, that they, not able to get out, should be famished within. And thus were those good men martyred. The story (if it be true) goeth further, that they, between feare and sorrow, fell asleepe, in which sleepe they continued the space of certaine ages after, till the time of Theodosius the Emperour,

before they did awake, as reporteth Vincentius, Nicephorus, lib. 5. cap. 27. and partly also Henricus Erfordienf. But of their awaking, that I refer to them that list to beleve it. Certaine it is, that at the last day they shall awake indeed without any fable.

Hieronymus in the life of Paulus the heremite reciteth a story of a certaine souldier, whom when the pzetor could not otherwise with torments remove from his christianity, he devised another way, which was this: he commanded the souldier to be laid upon a soft bed in a pleasant garden among the flourishing lillies & red roses; which done, all others being removed away, and himselfe there left alone, a beautifull harlot came to him, who embraced him and with all other incitements of an harlot labored to provoke him to her naughtinesse. But the goodly souldier fearing God more then obeying flesh, bit off his owne tongue with his teeth, and spit it in the face of the harlot, as she was kissing him, and so got her the victory, by the constant grace of the Lord assisting him.

Another like example of singular chastity is written of the Virgin Theodoza, and another souldier, by Ambrosius, lib. 2. de Virginitas. At Antioch, this Theodoza refusing to doe sacrifice to the idols was condemned by the Judge to the steeles, and notwithstanding by the singular providence of God was well delivered. For as there was a great company of wanton young men ready at the doore to presse into the house where she was, one of the brethren named Didymus (as Ado saith) moved with faith and motion of God, putting on a souldiers habit, made himselfe one of the first that came in, who rounding her in the eare told her the cause and purpose of his coming, being a Christian as she was: his counsell was that she should put on the souldiers habite, & so slip away; and hee putting on her garments would there remaine to abide their force, and so did, where by the virgin escaped unknowne. Didymus left untill the rage and wondering of the people, being a man in stead of a woman, was presented unto the President, unto whom without delay hee uttered all the whole matter as it was done, professing him, so as hee was, to be a Christian, and thereupon was condemned to suffer. Theodoza understanding thereof, and thinking to excuse him by accusing her selfe, offered her selfe as the party guilty unto the Judge, claiming and requiring the condemnation to light upon her, the other as innocent to be discharged. But the cruell Judge (crueller than Dionysius, which spared Damon and Phthias) neither considering the vertue of the persons, nor the innocency of the cause, unjustly and inhumanely proceeded in execution against them both, who, first having their heads cut off, after were cast into the fire: Ambrosius, Ado. Although what time, or in what persecution these did suffer, in the authors of this narration it doth not appeare.

Agathon, a man of armes in the city of Alexandria, for rebuking certaine lewd persons scornfully deriding the dead bodies of the Christians, was cryed out of and railed on of the people, and afterward accused to the Judge, was condemned to lose his head. Erfordienfis.

The said Erfordienfis also maketh mention of Paulus, Andreas, whom the Proconsull of Troada gave to the people; who being scourged, and afterward draine out of the city, were frozen to death with the frost of the people. Henr. de Erford.

Among others that suffered under this wicked Decius, Bergomenus also maketh mention of one Iustinus a Priest of Rome, and of another Picostratus a Deacon. To these Vincentius also addeth Porcius a Priest of Rome, whom hee reporteth to be the convert of Philip the Emperour afore mentioned.

Of Abdon and Sennas we read also in the fore said Bergomenus and Vincentius, two noble men, who

Ex Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 40. lib. 7. cap. 11.

Ex Niceph. lib. 5. cap. 27. Chrsophorus martyr.

The fable of great Chrsophorus.

Penitatus, Agatha, martyrs. Ex Bergomenus. lib. 8. Ex Martyrologio Adonis.

Martyrs wandring in mountaines.

Forty virgins martyrs. Triphon martyr.

Martinianus, Balchus, Martinianus, Dionysius, Joannes, Serapion, Constantinus, seven martyrs.

The fable of the awaking of these seven martyrs.

Ex Vincent. Nicepho. Erfordienf.

A souldier martyr. Ex Hieron. in vita Pauli Eremitae.

A notable example of a chaste souldier biting off his tongue, and spitting it in the face of an harlot.

A like example of chastity between two Christians. Ex Ambros. lib. 2. de virgin.

Theodoza, Didymus, martyrs.

Agathon, martyr.

Paulus, Andreas, martyrs.

Iustinus, Picostratus, martyrs.

Abdon, Sennas, martyrs.



who, because they had buried the Christians, whom Decius had brought from Babylon to Corduba, and there put them to death, were thereto accused to Decius, and brought to Rome; where they, being commanded to sacrifice to dead idols, would not obey; and for the same were given to the wild beasts to be devoured: but when the wild beasts, more gentle than the men, would not touch them, they were at length with the sword beheaded. Bergom. Vincent. lib. 11. cap. 4. Albeit to mee it seemeth not impossible nor unlike, this Abdon and Sennas to be the same, whom in other storied we find, and before have mentioned to be Ammon and Zenon.

One Secundianus was accused to Valerian a captain of Decius, to be a Christian, which profession when he stoutly did maintaine, he was commanded to prison. By the way as the souldiers were leading him to the gaole, Merianus and Marcellianus seeing the matter cried to the souldiers, asking them whether they knew the innocent? At the which word, when they also confessed themselves to be Christians, they were likewise apprehended, and brought to a city named Centumcellas: where being willed to sacrifice, they did spit upon the idols, and so after sentence and judgement given, first they were beaten with wafers or trunchions, after that were hanged and tormented upon the gibbet, having fire set to their sides. Vincentius addeth moreover that some of the tormentors falling suddenly dead, other some being taken with wicked spirits, the Martyrs with the sword at length were beheaded. Vinc. lib. 11. ca. 51.

To prosecute in length of history the lives and sufferings of all them, which in this terrible persecution were martyred, if were too long, and almost infinite: briefly therefore to rehearse the names of such as we find alleged out of a certain briefe Treatise of Bede, intituled De Temporibus, cited by Henricus de Erford, it shall be at this time sufficient. Under Decius suffered Hippolytus and Concordia, Hiereneus and Abundus, Victoria a virgin, being noble Personages of Antioch, Bellias Bishop of the city of Apollonia, Leacus, Virilus, and Gallenianus. Maximo, Tryphon in the city of Egypt, called Tamas, Phileas Bishop, Philocomus, with many other in Perside, Philcronius Bishop of Babylon, Theophilus Bishop of Pamphilia, Nestor Bishop in Corduba, Parmenius Priest, with divers more. In the Province called Colonia, Circensis, Marianus and Jacobus. In Africa, Pemenianus, Felix, Rogatianus Priest, Felicissimus. At Rome: Jobinus, Basilus, also Rufina, and Serunda virgins, Tertullianus, Valerianus, Pemetius, Sempronianus and Olympius. In Spaine, Evaragon. At Verona, Zeno Bishop. At Cesarea, Marinus and Archemius. In the towne of Silaine, Prudentius Bishop, Theodosius, surnamed Gregorius Bishop of Pontus. Hac Beda.

Vincentius in his eleventh booke maketh mention, citing Ex Hugone, of certaine children suffering martyrdom under the same persecution, in a city of Tuscya, called Aretium, whose names I find not, except they be Pergentius and Laurentius mentioned in Equilinus lib. 5. cap. 80.

Now that I have recorded of them sufficiently, which under this tempest of Decius constantly gave their lives to Martyrdom for the testimony of Christ: it remaineth that a few words also be spoken of such as for feare or frailty in this persecution did shrink and slide from the truth of their confession. In the number of whom first cometh in the remembrance of Serapion an aged old man. Of whom writeth Dionysius Alexandrinus unto Fabius, declaring that this Serapion was an old man, which lived amongst them a sincere and upright life of long time, but at length fell. This Serapion off and many times desired to be received againe, but no man listened to him, for he had sacrificed before. After this, not long after, he fell into sickness,

where he remained three daies dumbe, and blemmed of all senses. The fourth day following, beginning a little to recover, he called to him his sisters some, and said, How long, how long (my some) doe ye hold mee here? Make haste, I pray you, that I were absolved. Call hither some of the Ministers to mee: and so, saying no more, held his peace as dumbe and speechlesse. The boy ran (it was then night) unto the Minister, who, at the same time being sicke, could not come with the messenger, but said: For so much as hee willed heretofore (as hee said) that such as lay a dying, if they covet to be received and reconciled, and especially if they required it earnestly, should be admitted, whereby with the better hope and confidence they may depart hence: therefore hee gave to the boy a little of the \* Eucharist, willing him to crumble it into the cup, and so to drop it into the mouth of the old man. With this the boy returned, bringing with him the holy Eucharist. As hee was now more at hand, before hee had entered in, Serapion the old man, speaking againe: Comfortest thou (said he) my son? The Priest, quoth the messenger, is sicke and cannot come, but doe as hee willeth you, and let mee goe. And the boy crumbled the Eucharist, and dropt it in softly into the mouth of the old man, who after he had tasted a little, immediately gave up the ghost, &c. Hac Dionysius ex Euseb.

In the city of Troad, as the Macedonians was grievously tormenting one Picomachus, hee cryed out that hee was no Christian, and so was let downe againe. And after, when he had sacrificed, hee was taken with sickness, and so he lay dead. With this done upon the ground, where hee, biting off his tongue with his teeth, so departed. Henr. de Erford.

Dionysius in his Epistles also writeth to Fabius, and lamenting the great terror of this persecution declareth, how that many worthy and notable Christians, for feare and horror of the great tyranny thereof, did shew themselves feeble and weak men. Of whom some for dread, some of their owne accord, others after great torments suffered, yet after revolted from the constancy of their profession. Also Saint Cyprian in his Treatise De Lapsis reciteth with great sorow, and testifieth how that a great number at the first threatening of the abbesse, neither being compelled nor throlone downe with any violence of the enemy, but of their voluntary weaknesse fell downe themselves. Neither (saith he) tarying while the Judge should put incense in their hands, but before any stroke stricken in the field turned their backs, and played the cowards; not only coming to their sacrifices, but preventing the same, and pretending to come without compulsion, bringing moreover their infants and children either put into their hands, or taking them with them of their owne accord, and exhorting moreover others to doe the like after their example.

Of this weaknesse and falling, the said author sheweth two causes, either love of their goods and patrimony, or feare of torments: and addeth moreover examples of the punishments of them which revolted: affirming that many of them were taken and vered with wicked spirits; and that one man among other, after his voluntary deniall, was suddenly stricken dumbe. Again, another after his abjuration, as hee should communicate with others, in stead of bread received ashes in his hand. Item, a certaine maiden being taken and vered with a spirit, did teare her owne tongue with her teeth, and tormented with paine in her belly and inward parts, so deceased.

Amongst others of this sort, S. Cyprian. lib. 2. cap. 8. maketh also mention of one Quaristus a Bishop in Africa, who leaving his charge, and making shipwrecke of his faith, went wandring about in other countries, forsaking his owne flocke. In like manner, hee maketh also mention of Nicotratas a Deacon, who forsaking his Deaconship, and taking

\* Note here the sacrament to be called the Eucharist, and not the body of Christ.

The holy Eucharist in time of great need, directed to be commended to a boy. The repetition and reconciliation of Serapion.

The goodness of God shewed to Serapion.

The terrible example of dying, sheweth us on Picomachus.

Dionysius ad Fabium.

Cyprianus Scriba de lapsis.

The weaknesse of Christians denying their faith.

Examples of God his punishment after deniall.

S. Cyprian. de lapsis.

Secundianus, Merianus, Marcellianus, martyres.

Ex Vincent. lib. 11. cap. 51.

Ex lib. Bede De Temporibus, citante Henrico de Erfordia. A briefe catalogue of divers which suffered under Decius. Ex Beda.

Chilperic mar. tyre. Ex Vincent. lib. 11. cap. 52.

Such as refused and fell in this persecution.

Ex Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 44.



the goods of the Church with him, fled away into other countries, &c. Albeit Bergomenus affirmeth that this Nicostatus the Deacon afterward died a Martyr. Thus then, although some did relent, yet a very great number (saith he) there was, whom neither feare could remove, nor paine could overthrow, to cause them to betray their confession, but they stood like glorious Martyrs unto the end. Cyprian.

Cyprian, lib. De mortalitate.

A notable voyce of God to a Priest of Carthage.

The occasion and rising up of Novatus heretic.

The same Cyprianus also, in another Booke De Mortalitate, reciteth a notable story of one of his owne colleagues and fellow Priests, who being oppressed with weakenesse, and greatly afraid with death drawing at hand, desired leave to depart, and to be discharged. As hee was thus intreating, and almost now dying, there appeared by him a young man, of an honourable and reverent Majesty, of a tall stature, and comely behaviour, so bright and cleare to behold, that scarce mans carnall eyes were able so to doe, which was now ready to depart this world. To whom this young man, speaking with a certaine indignation of mind and voyce, thus said: Pati timeris, exire non vultis, quid faciam vobis? To suffer ye dare not, to goe out ye will not, what would ye have mee to doe unto you?

Upon the occasion of these and such others, which were a great number, that fell and did renounce, as is aforesaid, in this persecution of Decius, rose up first the quarrell and heretic of Novatus, who in these daies made a great disturbance in the Church, holding this opinion, that they which once renounced the faith, and for feare of torments had offered incense to the idols, although they repented thereof, yet could not afterward be reconciled, nor admitted to the Church of Christ. This Novatus being first Priest under Cyprian at Carthage, afterward by stirring up discord and factions began to disturb the Bishopricke of Cyprian, to appoint there a Deacon called Felicissimus, against the Bishops mind or knowledge: also to allure and separate certaine of the brethren from the Bishop; all which Cyprian, lib. 2. Epist. 8. doth well declare. After this the said Novatus going to Rome, kept there the like strife with Cornelius (as the same Cornelius in Eusebius lib. 6. cap. 43. doth testifie) setting himselfe up as Bishop of Rome against Cornelius, which was the lawfull Bishop of Rome before. The which to bring to passe, hee used this practice. First hee allured to him, to be his adherents, three or foure good men and holy confessors, which had suffered before great torments for their confession, whose names were Marinus, Urbanus, Sidonius, and Celerinus. After this hee intised these simple Bishops about the coasts of Italy to repaire to Rome, under pretence to make an end of certaine controversies then in hand. This done, hee caused the same, whether by making them drunke, or by other crafty counsell, to lay their hands upon him, and to make him Bishop, and so they did. Wherefore the one of those three Bishops hardly was received to the Communion, by the great intercession of his people: the other two by discipline of the Church were displaced from their Bishopricks, and others possessed with their roomes. Thus then were there two Bishops together in one Church of Rome, Novatus and Cornelius, which was unseemly, and contrary to the discipline of the Church. And hereupon riseth the true cause and meaning of Saint Cyprian, writing in his Epistles so much of one Bishop, and of the unity to be kept in Ecclesiasticall regiment, as appeareth, Lib. 4. Epist. 2. de simplicit. oralar. Item lib. 3. Epist. 11. &c. And in like sort writeth also Cornelius himselfe of one Bishop, saying: Itaque vindex ille evan. eli ignoravit unum esse debere Episcopum in catholica ecclesia, &c. that is, He knew not that there ought to be one Bishop in a catholike Church, &c. This by the way, not out of the way I trust, I have touched briefly, to detect or refute the cabilling wrong of the Papists, which falsly apply these places

Gornellii Epist. ad Fabium. Ex Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 43.

The meaning of Cyprian oppressed, writing of one Bishop only to govern in a catholike Church falsly twisted of the Papists for the Papacy. Ex Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 43.

of Cyprian and Cornelius to maintaine the Popes supreme mastery alone, over the whole universall Church of Christ in all places, when their meaning is otherwise, how that every one catholike Church or Diocesse ought to have one Bishop over it, not that the whole world ought to be subject to the dominion of him only that is Bishop of Rome. Now to the story againe. Novatus being thus Bishop, took not a little upon him, going about by all meanes to defeat Cornelius, and to allure the people from him. Insomuch that (as in the foresaid Booke of Eusebius appeareth) when Novatus came to the distributing of the offerings, and should give every man his part, he compelled the simple persons every man to sweare, before they should receive of the benediction, and of the collects or oblations, holding both their hands in his, and holding them so long, speaking these words unto them (sweare to mee by the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, that thou wilt not leave mee and goe to Cornelius) till that they swearing unto him, in stead of Amen (to be said at the receiving of the bread) should answer, I will not returne to Cornelius, &c. Where note by the way, that the Latine Booke of Christofersons translation, in this place, craftily leaveth out the name of bread. This story being written in Eusebius, also contained in Nicephorus, although not in the same order of words, yet in effect drawne out of him, doth declare in plaine words in both the authours (who so will marke the same) that the Sacrament of the body of Christ is termed with the plaine name of bread, after the consecration.

\* Note here the Sacrament of the body to be called bread. Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 43.

Nic. pbs. lib. 6. cap. 3.

The Latine translation of Eusebius corrupted by Christoferson lib. 6. cap. 43.

Marinus, Urbanus, Sidonius, Celerinus, conf. above.

It followeth more in the story, that Marinus, Urbanus, Sidonius, and Celerinus, before mentioned, perceiving at length the crafty dissimulation and arrogancy of Novatus, left him, and with great repentance returned againe to the Church, and were reconciled to Cornelius, as they themselves writing to Cyprian, and Cyprian likewise writing to them an Epistle gratulatory doth declare: lib. 3. Epist. 3. and Cornelius also in his Epistle to Fabius witnesseth the same. In this Epistle the said Cornelius moreover writeth of one Holes a worthy Martyr, which once being also a follower of Novatus, after perceiving his wickednesse, forsooke him, and did excommunicate him. Of him Cyprian also maketh mention, and calleth him a blessed confessor. lib. 2. Epist. 4. Damasius in his pontificall faith, that he was apprehended with Marinus and Nicostatus above mentioned, and was put with them in prison, where he ended his life. And thus much of Novatus, against whom (as Eusebius testifieth) a Synod was holden at Rome of these four sundry Bishops in the time of Cornelius, and under the vaunts of Decius, in the year of our Lord, two hundred fifty and five; whereby it may be supposed that the heat of the persecution at that time was somewhat calmed.

Ex Cypri. lib. 3. Epist. 3.

Holes martyr.

A Synod at Rome.

{ Anno 255 }

After Fabianus (or as Zonaras calleth him Fabianus) next succeeded into the Bishopricke of Rome Cornelius, whom Cyprian noteth to be a worthy Bishop, and for his great vertue and maidenly continency much commendable, chosen to that room not so much by his owne consent, as by the full agreement, both of the Clergy men, and also of the people. Hierome addeth also that hee was a man of great eloquence: whereby it may appeare those two Epistles decretall, which goe in his name, not to be his, both for the rudenesse of the barbarous and grosse stile, and also for the matter therein contained, nothing tasting of that time, nor of that age, nor doings then of the Church. Whereof in the first he writeth to all Ministers & brethren of the Church, concerning the lifting up of the bodies and bones of Peter and Paul, De cathecumbis, and transposed to Vaticanum, at the instance of a certaine devout woman named Lucina, having no great arguments or cause to write thereof unto the Churches, but only that

Cornelius Bishop of Rome, and martyr.

Bishops were chosen then not without the voyce of the people.

A censure of the decretall Epistles of Cornelius.



that he in that letter doth desire them to pray unto the Lord, that through the intercession of those apostolicall Saints, their sins might be forgiven them, &c. In the second epistle written to Rufinus a bishop of the East Church, he decreeth and ordaineth that no oath ought to be required or extracted of any head or chiefe Bishop, for any cause, or by any power. Also that no cause of Priests or Ministers ought to be handled in any strange or foraine Court, without his precinct, except onely in the Court of Rome by appellation: whereby who seeth not the traine of our later bishops, going about craftily to advance the dignity of the Court of Rome, under and by the pretended title of Cornelius, and of ancient bishops? If Cornelius did write any Epistles to any indeed in those so turbulent times of persecution, no doubt but some signification thereof he would have touched in the said his letters, either in ministering consolation to his brethren, or in requiring consolation and prayers of others. Neither is there any doubt, but he would have given some touch also of the matter of Probatus, with whom he had so much to doe; as indeed he did: for so we finde it recorded both in Eusebius, and in Hierome, that he wrote unto Fabianus Bishop of Antioch, of the decrements of the councill of Rome, and another letter of the manner of the councill the third also of the cause of Probatus, and againe of the repentance of such as fell, whereof there is no word touched at all in these foresaid epistles decreetall.

What trouble this Cornelius had with Probatus, sufficiently is before signified. In this persecution of Decius, he demeaned himselfe very constantly and faithfully, which sustained great conflicts with the adversaries, as Saint Cyprian giveth witness, lib. 1. epist. 1. Hierome testifieth that he remained bishop after the death of Decius, to the time of Gallus, and so appeareth also by Saint Cyprian, which hath these words: Et tyrannum armis & bello postmodum victum, prior sacerdotio suo vicit. But Damasus and Sabellicus, his followers, affirme that he was both killed and also martyred under the tyrannous rainge of Decius. Of whom Sabellicus writeth this story, taken out (as it seemeth) of Damasus, and saith: that Cornelius by the Commandement of Decius, was banished to a towne called Centumcellas, bordering on Hetruria, from whence he sent his letters to Cyprian Bishop of Carthage, and Cyprian againe to him. This coming to the eares of Decius the Emperour, he sendeth for Cornelius, asking him, how he durst be so bold to shew such stubbornnesse, that he neither caring for the gods, nor fearing the displeasure of his Princes, durst against the Common wealth give and receive letters from others? To whom Cornelius answering againe, thus purged himselfe, declaring to the Emperour, that letters indeed he had written, and received againe concerning the praises and honouring of Christ, and the salvation of soules, but nothing as touching any matter of the Common wealth. And it followeth in the story: When Decius moved with anger commanded him to be beaten with plumbats (which, as saith Sabellicus, is a kinde of scourging) and so to be brought to the Temple of Mars: either there to doe sacrifice, or to suffer the extremity. But he rather willing to die, then to commit such iniquity, prepared himselfe to martyrdom, being sure that he should die. And so commending the charge of the Church unto Stephanus his archdeacon, was brought to the way of Appius, where he ended his life in faithfull martyrdom. Eusebius in one place saith that he sat two yeeres, in another place he saith that he sat three yeeres, and so doth Hieronimus Scotus, following also the diversity of the said Eusebius. Damasus giveth him onely two yeeres.

In this foresaid persecution of Decius, it seemeth by some writers also that Cyprian was banished;

but I suppose rather his banishment to be referred to the rainge of Gallus next Emperour after Decius, whereof more shall be said (Christ willing) in his place hereafter. In the meane time the said Cyprian in his second booke, epist. 5. & 6. maketh mention of two that suffered either in the time of this Decius, or much about the same time. Of whom one was Aurelius a worthy and valiant young man, who was twice in torments for his confession, which he never denied, but manfully and boldly withstood the adversary till he was banished, and also after: and therefore was commended of Cyprian to certaine brethren to have him for their Lector, as in the forenamed Epistle of Cyprian appeareth. The other was named Sappalicus, who in the day before he suffered, declaring to the prisonfull in the midst of his torments, and saying: Videbas cras agonem: that is, To morrow you shall see the running for a wager, &c. Was brought forth, according as he forespoke, to martyrdom, and there with no lesse constancy then patience did suffer.

And thus much of the tyranny of this wicked Decius against God his Saints. Now to touch also the power of God, his vengeance and punishment against him. Like as we see commonly a tempest that is vehement, not long to continue: so it happened with this tyrannicall tormentor, who reigning but two yeeres, as saith Eusebius, or three at most, as writeth Drosius, among the middle of the Barbarians with whom he did warre was there slaine with his sonne. Like as he had slaine Philippus and his sonne his predecessors before, so was he with his sonne slaine by the righteous judgement of God himselfe. Eusebius lib. 7. cap. 1. Plarin, Pomponius affirmerth that he warring against the Gothians, and being by them overcome, lest he should fall into their hands, ran into a whirliepit, where he was drowned, and his body never found after.

Neither did the just hand of God plague the Emperour onely, but also revenged as well the heathen Gentiles and persecutors of his word throughout all Provinces and Dominions of the Romane Monarchy, amongst whom the Lord, immediately after the death of Decius, sent such a plague & pestilence, lasting for the space of ten yeeres together, that horrible it is to heare, and almost incredible to beleve. Of this plague or pestilence testifieth Dionysius to Hieronimus a Bishop in Egypt: Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 21, 22. where he declareth the mortality of this plague to be so great in Alexandria where he was Bishop, that there was no house in the whole City free. And although the greatnesse of the plague touched also the Christians somewhat, yet it scourged the heathen idolaters much more: beside that the order of their behaviour in the one and in the other was much divers. For as the foresaid Dionysius doth record, the Christians through brotherly love and piety, did not refuse one to visite and comfort another: and to minister to him what need required, notwithstanding it was to them great danger: for divers there were who in closing up their eyes, in washing their bodies, and interring them in the ground were next themselves which followed them to their graves. Yet all this stayed not them from doing their duty, and shewing mercy one to another: whereas the Gentiles contrarily, being extremely visited by the hand of God, felt the plague, but considered not the striker, neither yet considered they their neighbour, but every man shifting for himself, neither cared one for another, but such as were infected, some they would cast out of the doores halfe dead to be devoured of dogges and wilde beasts, some they let die within their houses without all succour, some they suffered to lie unburied, so that no man durst come neere them: and yet notwithstanding for all their harding and shifting, the pestilence followed them whithersoever they went, and miserably consumed them. In so much that Dionysius

Aurelius martyr.

Sappalicus martyr.

The death and destruction of Decius.

Orosius lib. 4. cap. 14.

The first rage of God against persecutors.

The last punishment of God upon the heathen multitude for persecuting of his people.

The plague and hand of God.

The brotherly love and piety among the Christians shewed in the time of plague.

A terrible pestilence raging through all the Romane monarchy.

The constancy of Cornelius his martyr.

Cyprian lib. 1. epist. 1.

Cornelius answered for writing letters to Cyprian.

Plumbatae cadi.

Cornelius martyred.



bishop the same time of Alexandria, thus reporteth of his owne City, that such a mortality was then among them, that the said City of Alexandria had not in number so many of all together both old and young, as it was wont to containe before of the old men onely from the age of threescore to seventy, and as were found in time past commonly almost in that City. Pomponius Letus and other Latine writers also making mention of the said pestilence, declare how the beginning thereof first came (as they thinke) out of Ethiopia, and from the hot countries, and so invading and waisting first the South parts, from thence spread into the East, and so further running and increasing into all other quarters of the world, especially wheresoever the edicts of the Emperour went against the Christians, it followed after and consumed the most part of the inhabitants; wherby many places became desolate and void of all concourse, and so continued the terme of ten yeeres together.

Cyprianus lib. de mortalitate.

Gallus and Volusianus Emperours.

Arno 255

This pestiferous mortality (by the occasion wherof Cyprian toke the ground to write his book De mortalitate) began as is said, immediately after the death of Decius the persecutor, in the beginning of the raigne of Vibius Gallus, and Volusianus his sonne, who succeeded through treason next unto Decius, about the yeere of our Lord two hundred fifty and five, and continued their raigne but two yeeres.

This Gallus, although the first beginning of his raigne was something quiet, yet shortly after following the steps of Decius, by whom rather he should have taken better heed, set forth edicts in like manner for the persecution of Christians, albeit in this edict we finde no number of martyrs to have suffered, but onely all this persecution to rest onely in the exilement of Bishops or guides of the flocke. Of other sufferings or excommunications we doe not reade, for the terrible pestilence following immediately kept the barbarous heathen otherwise occupied. Unto this time of Gallus, rather then to the time of Decius, I referre the banishment of Cyprian, who was then Bishop of Carthage, of the which banishment he himselfe testified in divers of his epistles, declaring the cause thereof to rise upon a commotion or sedition among the people, out of the which he withdrew himselfe, lest the sedition should grow greater; notwithstanding the said Cyprian, though being absent, yet had no lesse care of his flocke, and of the whole Church, then if he had bene present with them, and therefore never ceased in his epistles continually to exhort and call upon them to be constant in their profession, and patient in their afflictions. Amongst divers others whom he doth comfort in his banishment, although he was in that case to be comforted himselfe, writing to certaine that were condemned to mining for metall, whose names were Demetrianus, Felix, Lucius, with other Bishops, Priests and Deacons, he declareth unto them; How it is no shame but a glory not to be feared, but to be rejoyced at, to suffer banishment or other paines for Christ; and confirming them in the same, or rather commending them, signifieth how worthily they doe shew themselves to be as valiant Captaines of vertue, provoking both by the confessions of their mouth, and by the suffering of their bodies, the hearts of the brethren to Christian martyrdom, whose example was and is a great confirmation to many, both maids and children to follow the like: as for punishment and suffering, it is (saith he) a thing not execrable to a Christian: for a Christian mans brest, whose hope doth wholly consist in the tree, dreadeth neither bat nor club: wounds and skars of the body be ornaments to a Christian man, such as bring no shame nor dishonesty to the party, but rather preferreth and freeth him with the Lord. And although in the Mines where the Metalls be digged there be no beds for Christian mens bodies to take their rest, yet

they have their rest in Christ: and though their weary bones lie upon the cold ground, yet it is no paine to lie with Christ. Their feete have bene fettered with bands and chaines, but happily he is bound of man, whom the Lord Christ doth lose: happily doth hee lie tied in the stockes, whose feete thereby are made swifter to runne to Heaven. Neither can any man tie a Christian so fast, but he runneth so much the faster for his garland of life. They have no garments to save them from cold, but hee that putteth on Christ is sufficiently coted. Doth bread lacke to their hungry bodies? But man liveth not onely by bread, but by every word proceeding from the mouth of God. Your deformity (saith he) shall be turned to honour, your mourning to joy, your paine to pleasure, and felicity infinite. And if this doe grieve you that ye cannot now imploy your sacrifices and oblations after your wonted manner, yet your daily sacrifice ceaseth not, which is a contrite and humble heart, as when you offer up daily your bodies a lively and a glorious sacrifice unto the Lord, which is the sacrifice that pleaseth God. And though your travell be great, yet is the reward greater, which is most certaine to follow: for God beholding and looking downe upon them that confesse his name, in their willing minde approveth them, in their striving helpeth them, in their victory crowneth them, rewarding that in us which hee hath performed, and crowning that which hee hath in us perfected. With these, and such like comfortable words he doth animate his brethren, admonishing them that they are now in a joyfull journey, hastning apace to the mansions of the Martyrs, there to enjoy after this darknesse a stable light and brightnesse greater then all their passions, according to the Apostles saying: These sufferings of this present time be nothing like comparable to the brightnesse of the glory that shall be revealed in us, &c.

S. Cyprianus testis et confirmatio Christiani Cyprianus lib. 3. Epist. ult.

The Childrens sacrifice

The first banishment of Cyprian.

The Bishops and Priests condemned to metall.

Demetrianus, Felix, Lucius.

Bishops condemned for the name of Christ.

That is, in the passion of him that died on the tree.

And after the like words of sweet comfort and consolation writing to Seagrinus and Rogatianus, which were in prison and bonds for the testimony of truth, Doth encourage them to continue steadfast and patient in the way wherein they have begunne to runne: for that they have the Lord with them their helper and defender, who promiseth to bee with us to the Worlds end; and therefore willet them to set before their eyes in their death immortality, in their paine everlasting glory, of the which it is written: Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his Saints. Item, although before men they suffered torments, yet their hope is full of immortality, and being vexed in small things, they shall be well requited in great matters: For the Lord hath tried them as gold in the fire. And writeth moreover, admonishing them that it is appointed from the beginning of the World, that righteousness here should suffer in secular conflicts; for so just Abel was slaine in the beginning of the World, and after him all just and good men, the Prophets also and the Apostles sent of the Lord himselfe; unto whom all the Lord first gave an example in himselfe, teaching that there is no coming to his Kingdome, but by that way which he entered himselfe, saying by these words: Hee that loveth his life in this World, shall lose it, &c. And againe, Feare ye not them that slay the body, but have no power to slay the soule. And Saint Paul likewise admonishing all them whosever covet to be partakers of the promises of the Lord, to follow the Lord, saith: If wee suffer together with him, wee shall reigne together, &c.

Cyprianus lib. 4. Epist. 1. Seagrinus, Rogatianus, martyrs.

Sapientia

Furthermore, as the same Cyprian doth encourage here the holy Martyrs which were in captivity to persist: so likewise writing to the Priests and Deacons which were free, hee exhorteth them to be serviceable and obsequious with all care and love, to cherish and embrace them that were in bonds. Cyprian, lib. 3. epist. 6. Wherby may appeare the fervent zeale and care of this good Bishop toward the Church

Cyprianus lib. 3. Epist. 6.



Church of Christ, although being now in exile in the time of this Emperour Gallus.

In the same time, and under the said Gallus reigning with his sonne Volusianus, was also Lucius bishop of Rome sent to banishment, who next succeeded after Cornelius in that Bishopricke, about the yeare of our Lord two hundred fifty and five. Albeit in this banishment he did not long continue; but returned home to his Church, as by the Epistle of Saint Cyprian, lib. 3. epist. 1. may appeare. As to all other Bishops of Rome in those primitive daies certaine decretall Epistles with severall ordinances be ascribed, bearing their names and titles, as hath bene before declared: So also hath Lucius one Epistle fathered upon him, in the which Epistle he writeth to the brethren of France and of Spaine appointeth such an order and forme of the Church as seemeth not to agree with the time then present: for so he declareth in that epistle, that a bishop in all places, whithersoever he goeth, should have two Priests with three Deacons waiting upon him to be witnesses of all his waies and doings. Which ordinance although I deny not but it may be and is convenient, yet I see not how that time of Lucius could serve then for a Bishop to carry such a pompe of Priests and Deacons about him, or to study for any such matter: for so much as bishops commonly in those daies were seldeome free to goe abroad, went they never so secret, but either were in houses close and secret, or in prison, or else in banishment. Moreover in the said Epistle how pompously writeth he to the Church of Rome? This holy and apostolicall Church of Rome (saith he) the mother of all Churches of Christ, by the grace of God omnipotent hath never bene proved to swarve out of the path of apostolicall tradition, neither hath ever fallen or bene depraved with hereticall innovations: but even as in the first beginning it received the rule of the apostolicall faith by his first instructors, the Princes of the Apostles, so it continueth ever immaculate and undefiled unto the end.

Unto this Lucius also is referred in the decrees of Gratian this constitution, that no Minister whatsoever after his ordination would at any time re-enter into the chamber of his owne wife in paine of losing his ministry in the Church, &c. Cusebius in his seventh booke making mention of the death of Lucius, and not of his martyrdom, saith that he sat but eight moneths: but Damasus in his martyrologe holdeth that he sat three yeeres, and was beheaded the second yeare of Valerian and Gallienus Emperours, and so both also Marius Scotus and Paucerus, with other that followe Damasus, as firme the same.

After him came Stephanus next bishop of Rome following Lucius, whom Damasus, Platina, and Sabellicus affirme to have sit seven yeeres and five moneths, and to die a martyr. Contrary Cusebius, and Molateranus holding with him, give him but two yeeres: which part commeth most nere to the truth, I leave to the Readers judgement. Of his two epistles decretall, and of his ordinances out of the same collected, I need not much to say for two respects; either for that concerning these decretall epistles suspiciously intitled to the names of the fathers of the primitive Church sufficiently hath been said before, or else because both the phrase barbarous and incongrue, and also the matter it selfe therein contained is such, that although no testimony came against it, yet it easily refelleth it selfe. As where in the second epistle he decreeth, That no bishop being expelled out of his seat, or deprived of his goods, ought to be accused of any, or is bound to answer for himselfe, before that by the Law regularly he be restored againe fully to his former state, and that the Primates and the synod, render unto him againe all such possessions and fruits as were taken from him before his accusation, as is agreeing both to the Lawes canon

and also secular. First here I would desire the reader a little to stay, and this to consider with himselfe, who be these here meant which either used or might be poile the bishops of their goods, and expulse them from their seats for such unreasonable causes, but onely Kings and Emperours, which at this time were not yet christened, nor used any such proceedings against these bishops, in such sort as either primates or synods could restore them againe to their places and possessions: againe, what private goods or possessions had Bishops then to be taken from them, when as Churches yet neither were indued with patrimonies nor possessions? And if any treasures were committed to the Church, it pertained not properly to the bishop, but went in generall to the subvention of the poore in the Church, as in the epistle of Cornelius to Fabian may appeare, alleged in Cusebius, lib. 6. cap. 43. where he speaking of his Church, and declaring how there ought to be but one Bishop in the same, inferreth mention of forty and six Priests, seven Deacons, with seven Subdeacons, forty two Acoluthes, of widowes and poore afflicted persons, to the number of fiftene hundred and above, found and nourished in the same by the mercifull benignity and providence of God: Cusebius, lib. 6. cap. 43. It followeth moze in the end of the said canon, Which thing is forbidden both by the Lawes ecclesiasticall, and also secular, &c. Now what lawes secular were in the time of Steven for bishops not to be charged with any accusation before they were restored againe to their state, let any reader marking well the state of the heathen lawes that then were, judge; and in judging I doubt not but this matter alone, though there were no other, will be enough to describe the untruth hereof.

Moreover, by divers other probable notes and arguments in the said second epistle of Stephanus it may be easily espied, this epistle to be fained and misauthorised, especially by the first canon of the said epistle, where he so solemnely entreateth of the difference betwene Primates, Metropolitans, & Archbishops: which distinction of degrees and titles, forbearing moze of ambition then of persecution, giveth me verily to suppose this epistle not to be written by this Stephan, but by some other man either of that name, or of some other time when the Church began to be settled in moze prosperity, and orders therein to be taken for every man to know his degree and limits of his authority, according as is specified by the first and seventh canon of the saide councill, decreeing of the same matter.

The like estimation may be conceived also of the seventh canon of the said epistle, where he willett & appointeth all causes judiciary to be decided and determined within the precinct of their owne proper Province, and not to pass over the bounds thereof, unlesse (saith he) the appeal be made to the apostolicall See of Rome, which laboureth in my nose rather of a smacke of Popery, then of the veine of Christi-anity, especially in these times, during this terrible persecution among the bishops of Christ. And thus much of the second decretall epistle of Stephanus, although of the first epistle also written to Hilarius, something may be said; as where he speaketh in the said epistle of holy vestments, and holy vessels, and other ornaments of the altar serving to divine worship, and therefore not to be touched nor handled of any man, saving of Priests alone. Concerning all which implements my opinion is this: I thinke the Church of Rome not to have bene in so good state then, that either Stephanus or Sirtus before him, being occupied about other moze earnest matters, and scarce able to hide their owne heads, had any mind or cogitation to study upon such unnecessary inventions serving in publike Churches: neither do I see how the heathen in those daies would have suffered these ornaments to be unconsumed, which would not suffer the Bishops themselves to live a

Lucius bishop  
of Rome banis-  
hed.

Anno?  
236

The epistle de-  
cretall of Luci-  
us bishop.  
The ordinan-  
ces of Lucius.

The pompous  
style of the  
Church of  
Rome.

Diff. 81. mi-  
nistri.  
Ministers re-  
trained from  
their owne  
wives.  
Cusebius and  
Damasus vary  
in time.  
Lucius bishop  
of Rome,  
martyr.

Stephanus  
bishop of Rome  
martyr.

The censure  
of the decretall  
epistles and  
ordinances of  
Stephanus.

No Bishop  
ought to be ac-  
cused, after he  
be expelled, be-  
fore he be resto-  
red againe.

The number of  
the poore found  
in Rome by the  
Church goods.

Primates, me-  
tropolitans,  
archbishops.

Lawfull to ap-  
peale to Rome.

Vestments  
and holy vessels  
serving for the  
altar.



mongst them, notwithstanding I Godeus and Polydorus judge the contrary. Betwene this Stephan and Cyprian bishop of Carthage was a great contention about rebaptizing of heretiks, whereof more hereafter (Christ willing) shall be said.

Besides these bishops above specified, divers other there were also sent into banishment under the forenamed Emperours Gallus and Volusianus, as appeareth by Dionysius writing to Hermianus on this wise: That Gallus not seeing the evil of Decius, nor foreseeing the occasion of his seduction and ruine, stumbled himselfe also at the same stone, leaving open before his eyes: for when at the first beginning his empire went prosperously forward, and all things went luckily with him, afterward he gave out holy men, which prayed for his peace and safeguard, & so with them rejected also the prayers which they made for him, &c. Euseb. li. 7. cap. 1. Otherwise of any bloodshed or any martyrs that in the time of this Emperour were put to death, we doe not read.

After the raigne of which Emperour Gallus and of his sonne Volusianus being expired (who raigned but two yeres) Emilianus, which slew them both by civil sedition, succeeded in their place, who raigned but three months, and was also slaine. Next to whom Valerianus and his sonne Valerian were advanced to the Empire.

About the changing of these Emperours the persecution which first began at Decius, and afterward slackened in the time of Gallus, was now extinguished for a time, partly for the great plague raigning in all places, partly by the change of the Emperours, although it was not very long. For Valerianus in the first entrance of the empire, for the space of three or foure yeres, was right courteous and gentle to the people of God, and well accepted of the Senate. Neither was there any of all the Emperours before him, no not of them which openly professed Christ, that shewed himselfe so loving and familiar toward the Christians as he did: in so much that (as Dionysius writing to Hermian doth testifie) all his inhole court was replenished with holy Saints & servants of Christ and goodly persons, so that his house might seeme to be made a Church of God. But by the malice of Satan, through wicked counsell, these quiet daies endured not very long. For in proceesse of time this Valerian being charmed or incensed by a certaine Egyptian, a chiefe ruler of the heathen synagogue of the Egyptians, a master of the charmers or inchanters, who indeed was troubled for that he could not doe his magicall feats for the Christians, was so farre infatuated and bewitched, that through the detestable provocations of that diabolish Egyptian, he was wholly turned unto abominable idols, and to execrable impiety, in sacrificing young infants, and quartering bodies, and dividing the intestines of children new borne; and so, proceeding in his fury, he moved the eight persecution against the Christians, whom the wicked Egyptian could not abide, as being the hinderers and destroyers of his magicall enchantings, about the yere of our Lord, two hundred fifty and nine.

### The eighth persecution.

In the which persecution the chiefe administrators & executors were Emilianus president of Egypt, Vaternus and Galerius Maximus, proconsuls in Africa. Bergomensis also maketh mention of Vaternus Vicegerent of Rome, and of Perennius. Vincentius speaketh also of Spicerius and Claudius presidents, &c.

What was the chiefe originall cause of this persecution partly is signified before, where mention was made of the wicked Egyptian: but as this was the outward and politicall cause, so S. Cyprian sheweth other causes more speciall and Ecclesiasticall in

his fourth booke, epist. 4. whose words be these: But we (saith he) must understand and confesse, that this turbulent oppression and calamity, which hath wasted for the most part all our whole company, and doth daily consume it, riseth chiefly of our owne wickednesse and sinnes, while we walke not in the way of the Lord, nor observe his precepts left unto us for our institution. The Lord observed the will of his Father in all points, but we observe not the will of the Lord, having all our minde and study set upon

lucre and possessions, given to pride, full of emulation and dissention, void of simplicity and faithfull dealing, renouncing this World in word onely, but nothing in deede, every man pleasing himselfe, and displeasing all others. And therefore are we thus scourged, and worthily: for what stripes and scourges doe we not deserve, when the confessors themselves (such as have bid the triall of their confession) and such as ought to be an example to the rest of well-doing, doe keepe no discipline? And therefore because some such

there be, proudly puffed up with this swelling and unmannerly bragging of their confession, these torments come, such as doe not easily send us to the Crowne, except by the mercy of God, some, being taken away by quicknesse of death, doe prevent the tediousnesse of punishment. These things doe wee suffer for our sinnes and defects, as by the Lords censure wee have bene forewarned, saying: If they shall forsake my Law and will not walke in my Judgements; if they shall prophane my institutions, and will not observe my precepts, I will visit their iniquities with the rod, and their transgressions with scourges. These rods and scourges (saith he) wee seele, which neither please God in our good deeds, nor repent in our evil deeds. Wherefore the said Cyprian adding this exhortation withall, exhorted them to pray and intreate from the bottome of their heart and whole mind, the mercy of God, which promisseth, saying: But yet my mercy I will not scatter from them, &c. Let us aske, and wee shall obtaine; and though (saith Cyprian) it be with

tarience, yet for so much as we have grievously offended, let us continue knocking, for to him that knocketh, it shall be opened, if our prayers, sighings and weepings knocke still at the doore with continuance, and if our prayers be joyned together with brotherly agreement, &c. Moreover, what vices were then principally raigning among the Christians, he further specifies in the said Epistle, which chiefly were division and dissention among the brethren. For when it was

spoken to them in a vision by these words, *Petite, et impetritis*, that is: Pray and ye shall obtaine: afterward it was required of the congregation there present, to direct their prayers for certaine persons assigned to them by name: but they could not agree and condescend altogether of the names and persons of them which they should pray for, but were dissident in their consent and petition: which thing (saith Cyprian) did greatly displease him that spake unto them: Pray, and ye shall obtaine, for that there was no uniform equality of voyce and heart, nor one simple and joynt concord among the brethren, whereof it is written in the sixty and seventh Psalm; God which maketh

to dwell in the house together men of one accord, &c. And so by the occasion hereof, he writeth unto them in the foresaid Epistle, and moveth them to prayer and mutuall agreement. For (saith hee) if it be promised in the Gospell to be granted whatsoever any two consenting together shall aske, what shall then the whole Church doe agreeing together? Or what if this unanimity were among the whole Fraternity? Which unanimity (saith Cyprian) if it had bene then amongst the brethren, *Non venissent fratribus hec mala, si in unum fraternitas fuisset animata*: that is, These evils had not happened to the brethren, if the brethren had joyned together in brotherly unanimity, &c.

After the causes thus declared of this and other

Bishops banished in the time of Gallus.

Gallus and Volusianus Emperours slaine. Emilianus Emperour three moneths. Valerianus and Valerian his sonne Emperours. Persecution ceased for a time. The good beginning of Valerian.

Ex Dionysio citante. Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 10. & Nicoph. lib. 6. cap. 10.

Wicked counsell what evil it doth.

The eighth persecution.

{Anno 259}

The chiefe executors of this persecution. The speciall causes of this persecution. Cyp. lib. 4. Epist. 4.

The sinnes of the Christian cause of persecution.

Discord and division among the brethren.

Psalm 67.



persecution, the said Saint Cyprian moreover in the forenamed epistle (worthy to be read of all men) describeth likewise a certaine vision, wherein was shewed unto him by the Lord before the persecution came, what should happen. The vision was this. There was a certaine aged father sitting, at whose right hand sat a yong man very sad and pensive, as one with an indignation forrowfull, holding his hand upon his brest, his countenance heavie and uncheerefull. On the left hand sat another person, having in his hand a Net, which hee threatned to lay to catch the people that stood about. And as he was marvelling that saw the sight thereof, it was said unto him: The yong man, whom thou seest sit on the right hand, is sad and sory that his precepts be not observed. But he on the left hand daunceth and is merry, for that occasion is given him to have power of the aged father to afflict men. And this vision was seene long before this tempest of persecution happened, wherein is declared the same that before is said; The sinnes of the people to be the cause why Satan, in this persecution and all others, hath had and hath still such power with his net of destruction to rage against the blood of Christian men, and all because (saith Cyprian) wee foreslacke our praying, or be not so vigilant therein as wee should: wherefore the Lord, because he loveth us, correcteth us; correcteth us to amend us, amendeth us to save us, &c. Cyprian.

Furthermore, the same Cyprian, and in the same epistle, writing of his owne revelation or message sent to him, thus saith: And to his least servant both sinfull and unworthy (meaning himselfe) God of his tender goodnesse hath toucht to direct this word: Tell him (saith he) that he be quiet and of good comfort: for peace will come, albeit a little stay there is for a while, for that some remaine yet to be proved and tryed, &c. And sheweth also in the same place of another revelation of his, wherein he was admonished to be spare in his feeding, and sober in his drinke, lest his mind, given to heavenly meditation, might be carried away with worldly allurements, or oppressed with too much surfeit of meats, and drincke, should be lesse apt or able to prayer and spirituall exercise.

Finally, in the later end of the foresaid epistle mention also followeth of other revelations or shewings: Wherein the Lord (saith Cyprian) doth vouchsafe to many of his servants to fore-shew to come the restoring of his Church, the stable quiet of our health and safeguard; after raine faire weather, after darknesse light, after stormy tempest peaceable calme, the fatherly helpe of his love, the wont and old glory of his divine Majesty, whereby both the blasphemy of the persecutor shall be repressed, and the repentance of such as have fallen be reformed, and the strong and stable confidence of them that stand shall rejoyce and glory. Thus much hath S. Cyprian, written of these things to the Clergy. lib. 4. epist. 4.

As touching now the crimes and accusations in this persecution laid to the charge of the Christians, this was the principall: first, because they refused to doe worship to their idols and to the Emperours; then for that they professed the Name of Christ: besides, all the calamities and evils that happened in the world, as warres, famine, and pestilence, were imputed onely to the Christians. Against all which quarrelling accusations Cyprian doth eloquently defend the Christians in his booke Contra Demetrianum: like as Tertullian had done before, writing Contra Scapulam. And first touching the objection, for not worshipping idols, he cleareth the Christians both in his booke Contra Demetrian, and also De vanitate idol. proving those idols to be no true gods, but images of certaine dead Kings, which neither could save themselves from death, nor such as worship them. The true God to be but one, and that by the

testimony of Sosthenes, Plato, and Trismegistus, the which God the Christians doe truly worship. And as concerning that the Christians were thought to be the cause of publique calamities, because they worshipped not the Gentiles idols, hee purgeth the Christians thereof, proving that if there be any defect in increase of things, it is not to be ascribed to them, but rather to the decrease of nature, languishing now towards her age and later end. Again, for that it hath bene so foresaid and prophesied, that towards the end of the World should come warres, famine, and pestilence. Moreover, if there be any cause thereof more proper then other, it is most like to be imputed to their vaine idolatry, and to the contempt of the true God. Also that such evils be increased by the wickednesse of the people, so that to speake in his owne words, *Famen majorem sicut rapacitas quam societas*, that is, Famine commeth more by avarice of men, then by drought of the aire, but especially the cause thereof to proceed of the cruell shedding of the innocent blood of the Christians, &c.

Thus with many other more probations doth Cyprian defend the Christians against the barbarous exclamations of the heathen gentiles. Of which Cyprian, for so much as he suffered in the time of this persecution, I mind (Christ willing) to recapitulate here in ample discourse the full summe, first of his life and bringing up, then of his death and martyrdom, as the worthinesse of that man deserveth to be remembred. Of this Cyprian therfore, otherwise named Statius, thus writeth Nicephorus, Pazianzenus, Jacobus de Voragine, Henricus de Cerfordia, Glolateranus, Hieronymus, and others: that he being an African, and borne in Carthage, first was an idolater & gentile, altogether given to the study and practice of the Magicall Arts; of whose parentage and education in letters from his youth no mention is made, but that hee was a worthy Rhetorician in Africa: of whose conversion and baptisme he himselfe in his first booke and second epistle, writeth a flourishing and eloquent History. Which his conversion unto the Christian faith, as Hieronymus affirmeth in his Commentary upon Jonas, was through the grace of God, and the meanes of Cecilius a Priest, whose name after he bare, and through the occasion of hearing the History of the Prophet Jonas. The same Hierome moreover testifieth how he immediately upon his conversion distributed among the poore all his substance, and after that, being ordained a Priest, was not long after constituted Bishop of the congregation of Carthage. But whether he succeeded Agrippinus of whom he often maketh mention (which also was the first author of rebaptisation) or some other bishop of Carthage, it remaineth uncertaine. But this is most true, hee himselfe shined in his office and dignity with such good gifts and vertues, that, as Pazianzenus writeth, hee had the government of the whole East Church, and Church of Spaine, and was called the bishop of the Christian men.

And to the further setting forth (to the praise of God) of his goodly vertues wherewith he was endued, appearing as well in his owne workes to them that list to peruse the same, as also described by other worthy writers: he was courteous and gentle, loving and full of patience, and therewithall sharpe and severe in his office, according as the cause required, as appeareth in his first booke and third epistle. Furthermore, he was most loving and kind toward his brethren, and toke much paines in helping and relieving the martyrs, as appeareth by his letters to the Elders and Deacons of his Bishopricke, that with all study and endeavour they should gently entertaine and shew pleasure unto the martyrs in his absence, as partly is touched before.

The third epistle of his first booke doth declare of what stomacke and goodly courage he was in executing

The country and education of Cyprian.

The conversion of Cyprian.

Cyprian made first priest, then bishop of Carthage.

The vertues of Cyprian's life described.

The care of Cyprian toward the afflicted brethren.



The modesty  
of Cyprian in  
confering  
with his fellow  
brethren.

ting his office, and handling his matters. Neither was he void of prudence and circumspection, but was adorned with marvellous modesty, whereby he attempted nothing upon his own head and judgement, but with the consent of his fellow bishops and other inferior ministers: and that chiefly (among others) doth the tenth epistle of his third booke witness. He was of a marvellous liberrall disposition towards the poore brethren of other Countries: for so often as he had cause of absence, he committed the care of those poore men to his fellow officers, and wrote unto them, that of their owne proper goods they would helpe their banished brethren to that which was necessary for them, as witnesseth the twenty and fourth epistle of his third booke. He recited among other gifts wherewith he was indowed, as touching the visions and heavenly admonitions of the persecutions that should follow, and of other matters touching the government of the Church in his first booke and third epistle, and fourth booke and fourth epistle, where he reciteth and expoundeth the some or manner of a certaine vision which we have before sufficiently expressed.

Actions concern-  
ing the troubles  
and peace  
of the Church,  
recited and ex-  
pounded by  
Cyprian.

Hee had moreover great skill in the foreknowledge of things that should chance, as may be gathered in the first epistle of his fourth booke. Also Augustine doth attribute unto him many worthy vertues, who watch much in setting forth his gifts of humility in his second booke of baptism, the fourth chapter, against the Donatists; and in his seventh booke and eleventh chapter, of his long sufferance and patience; also of his courtlesse and mekenesse: by which vertues he concealed nothing that he understood, but uttered the same modestly and patiently. Also that he kept the ecclesiasticall peace and concord with those that were of another opinion then he was of. Lastly, that he neither circumvented nor did prejudice any man, but followed that thing which seemed good in his judgement, it is manifest in S. Augustine his first booke, De baptismo contra Donatistas. Neither is this to be passed with silence, that Hierome writeth that he was very diligent in reading, especially the workes of Tertullian: for he saith that he saw a certaine old man whose name was Paulus, which told him he saw the notary of blessed Cyprian, being then an old man, when he himselfe was but a springall in the City of Rome, and told him that it was Cyprians wont, never to let one day passe without some reading of Tertullian, and that he was accustomed oftentimes to say unto him: Give me my master, meaning thereby Tertullian.

Cyprian nicke  
and patient

Cyprian a  
great reader of  
Tertullian.

Now a few wordes touching his exile and martyrdom. Of his epistles which he wrote backe to his congregation, leading his life in exile, mention is made above, wherein he sheweth the vertue becomming a faithfull pastor, in that he took no lesse care as well of his owne Church, as of other Bishops being absent, then he did being present. Wherein also he himselfe doth signifie that voluntarily he absented himselfe, lest he should doe more hurt then good to the congregation, by reason of his presence, as is likewise declared before. Thus from the desolate places of his banishment, wherein hee was oftentimes sought for, he writeth unto his brethren, as in his third booke and tenth epistle is manifest, which thing seemeth to be done in the raigne of Decius or Gallus. But after that he returned againe out of exile in the raigne of this Valerianus, he was also after that the second time banished of Paternus the Proconsull of Africa into the City of Tharshin, as the oration of Augustine touching Cyprian sheweth; or else, as Pontius the Deacon saith, into a City named Furabillitana, or Curabillitana. But when Paternus the Proconsull was dead, Galerius Maximus succeeded in the roome and office of Paternus, who finding Cyprian in a garden, caused him to be apprehended by his Sergeants, and to

The second ba-  
nishment of  
Cyprian.

The apprehen-  
sion of Cypri-  
an.

be brought before the idols to offer sacrifice. Which when he would not doe, then the proconsull breaking forth in these wordes, said: Long hast thou lived in a sacrilegious mind, and hast gathered together men of a wicked conspiracy, and hast shewed thy selfe an enemy to the gods of the Romans, and to their holy lawes: neither could the sacred Emperours Valerianus and Galienus reboke thee to the sect of their ceremonies. At length the wicked tyrant condemning him to have his head cut off, he patiently and willingly submitted his necke to the stroke of the sword, as Hieronymus affirmeth. And so this blessed martyr ended this present life in the Lord; Kiltus then being bishop of Rome; as Eusebius noteth, in the yeere of our Lord two hundred fifty and nine. Sabellicus saith that he was martyred in the raigne of Gallus and Volustanus, Lucius being bishop of Rome: but that seemeth not like.

The martyr-  
dom of Cy-  
prian.

{ Anno }  
{ 259 }

Now remaineth to speake something likewise of his workes and bookes left behind him, although all peradventure that he wrote do not remaine: whereof some are missing, some againe, in the library of his name and title, are not his: but such as he certainly is, by the stile and sense may soone be discerned, such is the eloquence of his phrase, and gravity of his sentence, bigg of wit, power in perswasion, so much differing from many others, as hee can lightly be imitated but of few. Of the which his bookes with us extant, as the flourishing eloquence is worthily commended, proceeding out of the scholl of rhetoricians, so is the authority thereof no lesse of reputation, not onely among us of this age of the Church, but also among the ancient Fathers. Whereof Saint Augustine speaking in his commendation, saith: Ego (inquit) literas Cypriani non ut canonicas habeo, sed eas ex canonicis considero: & quod in eis divinarum scripturarum authoritati congruit cum laude ejus accipio; quod autem non congruit, cum pace ejus respicio, &c. By which wordes it may appear that Augustine, although hee did not repute the bookes and writings of Cyprian to be equivalent with the holy Scripture, yet notwithstanding next after the holy Scriptures he had the same in exceeding great admiration.

The bookes of  
Cyprian.

The judg-  
ment of Augu-  
stine upon the  
bookes of Cy-  
prian.  
August. contra  
Cresconium.  
lib. 12. cap. 32.

Vincentius and Lazarus Celestinus reciting the names of divers bookes, bearing the title of Cyprian (more perchance then he truly his) doe collect out of them a certaine extract of his most pithy sentences, all which here to repeat were too tedious. To give a taste of the speciall, I thought it not impertinent. As where he speaking of the treasures of a rich man, exhorteth saying:

Sentences of  
Cyprian col-  
lected.

Ex Vincent.  
lib. 12. cap. 63.

Ne dormiat in thesauris tuis, quod pauperi prodesse potest.

Let it not sleepe in thy treasures, that may profit the poore.

Duo nunquam veterascunt in homine: cor semper novas cogitationes machinando: lingua, cordis vanas conceptiones proferendo.

Two things never waere old in man, the heart ever imagining new cogitations, the tongue ever uttering the vaine conceptions of the heart.

Quod aliquando de necessitate amittendum est, sponte pro divina remuneratione distribuendum est.

That which a man must needs forgoe of necessity, wisdome it is for a man to distribute so, that God may everlastingly reward him.

Disciplina est morum presentium ordinata correctio, & malorum praeceptorum regularis observatio.

Discipline is an ordinate amendment of manners present, and a regular observation of evils past.

Integritas ibi nulla esse potest, ubi, qui improbos damnant, desunt: & soli, qui damnantur, occurrunt.

There can be no integrity, whereas they which should condemne the wicked are ever wanting: and they only which are to be condemned, are ever present.

Avari



Avari ad hoc tantum possident quæ habent, ut ne alteri possidere liceat.

A covetous man only possesseth his goods for this, because another should not possess them.

Sericum & purpurum induit Christum induere non possunt.

Women, that advance themselves in putting on silkes and purple, cannot lightly put on Christ.

Fœminæ crines suos inficiunt malo prælagio : ea- 10 pillos enim sibi flammeos auspicari non metunt.

They which colour their locks with red and yellow, begin betime to prognosticate of what colour their haire shall be in hell.

Qui se pingunt in hoc seculo, aliter quam creavit Deus ; merentur, ne cum resurrectionis venerit dies, artifex creaturam suam non recognoscat.

They which lobe to paint themselves in this world other wise than God hath created them : let them 20 feare, lest when the day cometh of resurrection, the Creator will not know them.

Qui pauperi eleemosynam dat, Deo suavitatis odorem facit.

He that giveth an almes to the poore, sacrificeth to God an odor of sweet smell.

Contemenda est omnis injuria præsentium malorum, fiducia futurorum bonorum.

All injury of evils present, is to be neglected, for the good hope of good things to come.

Nihil prodest verbis proferre virtutem, & factis destruere. 30

To set out vertue in words, and to destroy the same in facts, is nothing worth.

Quo plures domi sunt tibi liberi, hoc plus tibi non recondendum, sed erogandum est, quia multorum jam delicta redimenda sunt, multorum purgandæ conscientie.

The more children and greater household thou hast at home, the more cause thou hast not to hoord 40 up, but to disperse abroad, for that many sins are to be redeemed, many consciences are to be purged.

Moreover, lest the Papists here should take an occasion by this text, grounded upon the text of Tob. cap. 4. Almes (saith he) delivereth from all sin and death : to build up the works of satisfaction, the said Cyprian, Lib. 4. Epist. 2. more plainly expoundeth both himselfe, and that place of Scripture, writing in these words : Quia scriptum est, Eleemosyna ab omni peccato & morte liberat : Tob. 4. Non utique ab ea morte, quam semel Christi sanguis extinxit, & a qua nos salutaris baptismi & redemptoris nostri gratia liberavit, sed ab illa quæ per delicta postmodum serpit, &c. that is, Almes doe deliver from all sin and from death, Tob. 4. Not from that (saith Cyprian) which the blood of Christ hath once extinguished, and from which the wholesome grace of our Baptisme, and of our Redeemer hath delivered us, but from that death which afterwards crepeth in by sin, &c. Cyprian, Lib. 4. Epist. 2. By which words it is apparant, that Cyprian meaneth this deliverance (which cometh by almes giving) from death and sin not to be expounded nor to be taken for death everlasting, from which onely the blood of Christ doth save us : but for temporall or transitory punishment, which is wont to be inflicted in this body of sin. Forso it is nothing repugnant, but that temporall vertues may have their temporall rewards in this life, and likewise sins committed, may have temporall punishments both in us and in our families, our eternall salvation standing evermore firme in Christ yet notwithstanding.

The foresaid Vincentius moreover speaking of another Booke of Cyprian (although the said Booke be not numbred in the Catalogue of his Wrokes) maketh mention of twelve abuses, or absurdities in the life of man, which in order be these :

1. Sapiens sine operibus. A wise man without good woorks.

2. Senex sine religione. An old man without religion.

3. Adolescens sine obedientia. A young man without obedience.

4. Dives sine elemosyna. A rich man without almes.

5. Fœmina sine pudicitia. A woman shamelesse.

6. Dominus sine virtute. A guide without vertue.

7. Christianus contentiosus. A Christian man contentious.

8. Pauper superbus. A poore man proud.

9. Rex iniquus. A King unrighteous.

10. Episcopus negligens. A Bishop negligent.

11. Plebs sine disciplina. People without discipline.

12. Populus sine lege. Subjects without Law.

As we have hitherto set forth the commendation of Cyprian this blessed martyr : so must we now take heede againe, that we doe not here incurre the old and common danger, which the Papists are commonly accustomed to run into, whose fault is alwaies almost to be immoderate and excessive in their proceedings, making too much almost of every thing. So in speaking of the holy Sacraments, they make more of them than doth the nature of Sacraments require, not using them, but abusing them, not referring or applying them, but adorning them, not taking them in their kind for things godly, as they are, but taking them for God himselfe, turning Religion into superstition, and the creature to the Creator, the things signifying to the things themselves signified, &c. To the Church likewise and ceremonies of the Church, to generall councils, to the blessed virgin Mary mother of Christ, to the Bishop of Rome, and to all other in like case, not contented to attribute that which is sufficient, they exceede moreover the bounds of judgement & verity, judging so of the Church, and generall Councils, as though they could never, or did never erre in any sort. That the blessed mother of Christ amongst all women, was blessed, and a virgin full of grace, the Scripture and truth doth give : but to say that she was borne without all originall sin, or to make of her an advocate, or mother of mercy, there they run further then truth will beare. The ceremonies were first ordained to serve but only for order sake, unto the which they have attributed so much at length, that they have set in them a great part of our religion, yea, and also salvation. And what thing is there else almost, wherein the Papists have not erred ?

Wherefore, to avoid this common error of the Papists, we must beware in commending the Doctors and Writers of the Church, and so commend them, that truth and consideration, goe with our commendation. For though this cannot be denied, but that holy Cyprian, and other blessed Martyrs were holy men ; yet notwithstanding they were men, that is, such as might have, and had their falls and faults ; men, I say, and not Angels, nor gods ; saved by God, not labours of men, nor patrons of grace. And though they were also men of excellent learning, and worthy doctors, yet with their learning they had their errors also annexed. And though their Wrokes be (as they ought to be) of great authority, yet ought they not to be equall with the Scriptures. And albeit they said well in most things, yet it is not therefore enough that what they said, it must stand for a truth. What preeminence of authority only belongeth to the Word of God, and not to the pen of man. For of men and doctors, be they never so famous, there is none that is void of his reprehension. In Origen (although in his time the admiration of his learning was singular) yet how many things be there, which the Church now holdeth not ? But examining him by Scriptures, where he said well, they admit him, where otherwise, they leave him. In Polycarpus, the Church hath corrected and altered that which he did hold in celebrating the Easter day after the Jewes. Neither can holy 50 60 70 and

Twelve abuses in the life of man noted out of Cyprian.

The learning of Cyprian tops not with his blameth.

The fault of Papists to make too much of every thing.

How farre the authority of the Doctors ought to extend.

The blemishes and errors of Doctors noted.

Origen.

Polycarpus.

The place of Scripture expounded. Eleemosyna ab omni peccato & morte liberat. Tob. 4. Ex Cyp. lib. 4. Epist. 2.



and blessed Ignatius be defended in all his sayings: as where he maketh the fasting upon the Sunday or the Sabbath day as great an offence, as to kill Christ himselfe: Ignat. Epist. ad Philip: contrary to this saying of Saint Paul, Let no man judge you in meat and drinke: also where the said Ignatius speaketh De Virginitate, and of other things more.

Ignatius,

Irenæus.

Irenæus did hold that man was not made perfect in the beginning. Hee seemeth also to defend fræ will in man, in those things also that be spirituall. Hee saith that Christ suffered after hee was fifty yeeres old, abusing this place of the Gospell, Quinquaginta annos nondum habes, &c. Tertullian (whom Saint

Tertullianus.

Cyprian never laid out of his hands almost) is noted to be a Chilliast: also to have bene of Pontanus sect. The same did hold also with Iustine, Cyprian, and others, that the Angels fell first for the concupiscence of women: Lib. de habitu mulierum. Hee defendeth fræ will of man after the corruption of nature, inclining also to the error of them, which defend the possibility of keeping Gods Law. Concerning marriage: Vnum matrimonium (inquit) novimus, sicut unum Deum: that is, Wee know (saith hee) one marriage, as we know one God; condemning the second marriage, Lib. de Monogam. Divers other things of like absurdity in him be noted.

Justinus.

Justinus also seemeth to have inclined unto the error of the Chilliasts, of the fall of certaine Angels by women, of fræ will of man, of possibility of keeping the Law, and such others. Neither was this our Cyprian, the great scholler of Tertullian, utterly exempt from the blot of them, who, contrary to the doctrine of the Church, did hold with rebaptizing of such as were before baptized of heretikes, whereof speaketh Saint Augustine, mistaking the same error of Cyprian, in these words contained in his second Booke Contra Cresconium. Cypriani, inquit, laudem ego consequi non valeo, ejus multis literis mea scripta non comparo, ejus ingenium diligo, ejus ore delector, ejus charitatem miro, ejus martyrium veneror: non accipio quod de baptizandis hæreticis & schismaticis sentit, &c. Upon the which matter there was a great contention betwene the said Cyprian, and Stephanus Bishop of Rome, as partly afore is noted. Of Augustine himselfe likewise, of Ambrose, Hierome, Chrysostome, the same may be said, that none of them all so clearly passed away, but their peculiar faults and errors went with them, whereof it were too long, and out of our purpose at this present to intreat. And thus much concerning the story of Cyprian the holy learned Martyr of Christ.

Contention betwene Cyprian and Stephanus Bishop of Rome

Cyprians divers of that name.

Diff. 10. Quoniam.

Gloss. ibid. A blind gloss challenging both the words to our Popes hands.

Albeit here is to be noted by the way, touching the life and story of Cyprian, that this Cyprian was not he whom the narration of Nazianzen speaketh of (as is above mentioned) who from Art magike was converted to be a Christian, which Cyprian was a citizen of Antioch, and afterward Bishop of the same city, and was martyred under Dioclesian: whereas this Cyprian was Bishop of Carthage, and died under Valerianus, as is said, &c. By the decrees of Gratian, dist. 10. quoniam, it appeareth moreover that there was also a third Cyprian in the time of Julianus the Emperour apostata, long after both these aforesaid: for so giveth the title prefixed before the said distinction, Cyprianus Iuliano imperatori: the distinction beginning: Quoniam idem mediator Dei & hominum, homo Christus Iesus, sic actibus propriis, & dignitatibus distinctis officia potestatis utriusque discernit, &c. Upon the which distinction the glosse commeth in with these words, saying: that the Popedom, and the seat imperiall, have both one beginning of one, that is, Christ: who was both Bishop, and King of kings. And that the said dignities be distinct, albeit the Pope notwithstanding hath both the swords in his hand, and may exercise them both sometime. And therefore although they be distinct, yet in exercise the one standeth lineally under the other, so that the imperiall dignitie is

subject under the Papall dignity, as the inferiour is subject under the superiour: that as there is one ruler over the whole World, which is God: so in the Church is one Monarch, that is the Pope, to whom the Lord hath committed the power and lawfull right, both of the heavenly and terrene dominion: Hæc glossa.

Thus much I thought here to note by the way, because this distinction is fathered upon Cyprian, which is false: for this Cyprian was not in the time of Julian, not by two hundred yeeres, and so likewise the other Cyprian, which died Martyr under Dioclesian. Of any Cyprian besides these two we reade not: neither is it credible, that, if there were any such Cyprian, hee would ever have written of any such matter, of the difference and mutuall need of Christian Emperours and Christian Popes; when as that Emperour being an apostata, neither regarded Christ, nor cared for any Pope.

A distinctione Gratian devised.

About this time, and under the same Emperour Valerianus suffered also Ektus, or Sirtus, the second of that name, Bishop of Rome, who, being accused of his adversaries to be a Christian, was brought with his six Deacons to the place of execution, where he with Demetrius and other his Deacons were beheaded and suffered martyrdom. Laurence in the same time, being also Deacon, followed after, complaining to Ektus (as one being grieved) that he might not also suffer with him, but to be secluded as the some from the father. To whom the Bishop answering againe, declared that within thre daies he should follow after. In the meane time he willed him to goe home, and to distribute his treasures, if hee had any, unto the poore. The Judge, belike hearing mention to be made of treasures to be given to the poore, and thinking that Laurence had great store of treasure in his custody, commanded him to bring the same unto him, according as in the discourse of his story here under written more fully may appeare. Which history, because it is set forth more at large in Prudentius, Ambrose, and other Writers, and containeth in it more things worthy to be noted of the reader; we have therefore with the more diligence here inserted the more ample description of the same, to the further admiration of his patience, and Gods his glory shewed in him.

Ektus the second Bishop of Rome martyr.

Six Deacons with Ektus martyrs.

Now then, as order requireth, let us enter the story of that most constant and courageous martyr of Christ S. Laurence, whose words and workes deserve to be as fresh and greene in Christian hearts, as is the flourishing Laurel tree. This thirty heart longing after the wafer of life, desirous to passe unto it through the strait dore of bitter death, when on a time hee saw his vigilant shepheard Ektus, led as an harmelesse Lambe of harmefull tyrants to his death, cryed out with open mouth and heart inbincible, saying: O deare father, Whither goest thou without the company of thy deare sonne? Whither hastnest thou, O reverend Priest, without thy Deacon? Never wast thou wont to offer sacrifice without thy Minister. What crime is there in me that offendeth thy fatherhood? Hast thou proved me unnatural? Now try, sweet father, whether thou hast chosen a faithfull Minister or not: Deniest thou unto him the fellowship of thy blood, to whom thou hast committed the distribution of the Lords blood? See that thy judgement be not misliked, whilst thy fortitude is liked and lauded. The abusing of the scholler is the disgracing of the Master. What? Have we not learned that worthy Masters have obtained most worthy fame by the worthy acts of their disciples and schollers: finally, Abraham sacrificed his only begotten Isaac: Moses Stephen prepared the way to preaching Peter: even so father declare thy manifold vertues by me thy sonne. Offer thou him that proffereth himselfe: grant that the body of thy scholler may be sacrificed, whose minde with good letters thou hast beautified. These words with teares

The story and martyrdom of Laurence. Ex Ambros. lib. 1. offic. cap. 41. Ex Prudentio. lib. perisepth.

The words of Laurence to Ektus.

Saint



Saint Laurence uttered, not because his Master should suffer, but for that he might not be suffered to taste of death's cup which he thirsted after.

When Iustus to his same shaped this answer: I forsake thee not, O my son: I give thee to wit, that a sharper conflict remaineth for thee. A feeble and weak old man am I, and therefore run the race of a lighter and easier death: but lusty and young thou art, and more lustily, yea more gloriously shalt thou triumph over this tyrant: the time approacheth, cease to weep and lament, three daies after thou shalt follow me: decent it is that this space of time come betwene the Priest and the Levite. It may not become thee, O sweet pupill, to triumph under the Master, lest it be said, he wanted an helper. Why crabelst thou to be partaker with me in my passion? I bequeath unto thee the whole inheritance. Why requirest thou to enjoy my presence? Let weak scholars go before, & the stronger come after, that those without master may get the victory, which have no need by master to be governed. So Helias left behind him his beloved Heliens. I yeld up into thy hands the succession of my virtues. Such was this contentment, not unmet for to godly a Priest, and so zealous a Minister, striving with themselves who should first suffer for the name of Christ Jesus.

In tragical histories we have it mentioned, that through joy and admiration people clapped their hands, when Pilades named himselfe Drestes; Drestes (as truth it was) affirmed himselfe to be Drestes: Pilades wishing to die for Drestes, Drestes not suffering Pilades to lose his life for his sake; but neither of them might escape death; for both these lovers were guilty of blood, the one committing the fact, the other consenting. But this our Laurence, the martyr most constant, was by no means enforced to make this proffer, saving only by his ardent zeale and fervent spirit, who thirsting after the cup of martyrdom, had it shortly after filled to the hard brim.

Now let us draw nere to the fire of martyred Laurence, that our cold hearts may be warmed thereby. The mercilesse tyrant, understanding this vertuous Levite, not onely to be a Minister of the Sacraments, but a distributer also of the Church riches (whereof mention is made before in the words of Iustus) promised to himselfe a double prey by the apprehension of one silly soule. First with the rake of avarice to scrape to himselfe the treasure of poore Christians; then with the fiery forke of tyranny so to tosse and turmoile them, that they should wear weary of their profession: with furious face and cruell countenance the greedy wolfe demanded where this Deacon Laurence had bestowed the substance of the Church: Who craving three daies respite, promised to declare where the treasure might be had. In the meane time, he caused a good number of poore Christians to be congregated. So when the day of his answer was come, the persecutor strictly charged him to stand to his promise. Then valiant Laurence, stretching out his armes over the poore, said: These are the precious treasure of the Church, these are the treasure indeed, in whom the faith of Christ reigneth, in whom Jesus Christ hath his mansion place. What more precious jewels can Christ have, than those in whom he hath promised to dwell? For so it is written, I was hungry and ye gave me to eat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me to drinke: I was harboresse, and ye lodged me. And againe, Look what ye have done to the least of these, the same have ye done to me. What greater riches can Christ our Master possesse, than the poore people, in whom he loveth to be seen? Wh, what tongue is able to expresse the fury and madness of the tyrants heart! Now he stamped, he feared, he raped, he feared as one out of his wits: his eyes like fire glowed, his mouth like a Woze fomed, his teeth like a hel-bound grinded. Now not a reasonable man, but a

roaring Lyon he might be called. Kindle the fire (he cryed) of wood make no spare. Hath this villaine deluded the Emperour: Away with him, away with him: whip him with scourges, jerke him with rods, buffet him with fists, braine him with clubs, Jetteth the traitor with the Emperour: Winch him with fiery tongs, gird him with burning plates, bring out the strongest chaines, and the fire forke, and the grated bed of iron: on the fire with it, bind the rebell hand and foot; and when the bed is fire hot, on with him: rost him, boyle him, tosse him, turne him: on paine of our high displeasure doe every man his office, O ye tormentors. The word was no sooner spoken, but all was done.

After many cruell handlings, this make lambe was laid. I will not say on his fiery bed of iron, but on his soft bed of Dolore. So mightily God wrought with his Martyr Laurence, so miraculously God tempered his element the fire; not a bed of consuming paine, but a pallet of nourishing rest was it unto Laurence. Not Laurence, but the Emperour might seeme to be tormented: the one broiling in the flesh, the other burning in the heart. When this triumphant Martyr had borne pressed dolour with fire-pikes for a great space, in the mighty Spirit of God he spake to the vanquished tyrant:

This fire is now roasted enough, turne up O tyrant great: As thy whether roasted or raw, thou thinkest the better meat.

O rare and unaccustomed patience! O faith invincible! that not only not burnest, but by means unpreakable dost recreate, refresh, stablish, and strengthen those that are burned, afflicted and troubled. And why so mightily comfortest thou the persecuted? Because through thee they believe in Gods promises infallible. By thee this glorious Martyr overcommeth his torments, vanquisheth this tyrant, confoundeth his enemies, confirmeth the Christians, sleepeth in peace, and rageth in glory. The God of might and mercy grant us grace, by the life of Laurence to learne in Christ to live, and by his death to learne for Christ to die, Amen.

Such is the wisdom and providence of God, that the blood of his deare Saints (like good seed) never falleth in vaine to the ground, but it bringeth some increase: so it pleased the Lord to worke at the martyrdom of this holy Laurence, that by the constant confession of this worthy and valiant Deacon, a certaine souldier of Rome being thereinwith compounded, and converted to the same faith, desired forthwith to be baptized of him: for the which he, being called for of the Judge, was scourged, and afterward beheaded. Henr. de Erford.

Under the same Valerianus, suffered also Dionysius Bishop of Alexandria much affliction and banishment, with certaine other brethren: of the which he writeth himselfe, and is alleged in the Ecclesiasticall story of Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 11. the words whereof tend to this effect. Dionysius with three of his Deacons, to wit, Marimus, Faustus & Cheremon, also with a certaine brother of Rome, came to Emilianus then president, who were declared unto them in circumstance of words, how he had signified unto them the clemency of his Lords and Emperours: who had granted them pardon of life, so that they would return to them, and worship the gods and keepers (as he called them) of their Empery, asking them what answer they would give him thereunto: trusting as he said that they would not shew themselves ingratefull to the clemency of them which so gently did exhort them. To this Dionysius answering, said: All men worship not all gods, but divers men divers gods: so as every one hath in himselfe a mynd or phantasie to worship. But we worship not many, nor divers gods, but only that one God, who is the Creator of all things, and hath committed to our Lords, Valerianus and Gaius, the government of their Empery, making to him our prayers incessantly for their prosperous health and continu-

Laurence tormented on the fiery gridiron.

The singular patience of Laurence in his paines.

The martyrdom and end of blessed Laurence.

A Roman souldier converted by Laurence, and martyred.

Dionysius Bishop of Alexandria, with his fellows banished.

Marimus, Faustus, Cheremon, a certaine Roman banished.

The exhortation of Dionysius before the Emperour.

The answer of Iustus to Laurence.

Some say that this tyrant was Decius the emperor, but that cannot be, except Gallienus. Some other say now was called by the name of Decius.

The true treasure of Christ to the Church.



The constant  
confession of  
Dionysius and  
his Deacons.

Dionysius be-  
lieved to Cr-  
ephzo.

Infidels con-  
verted by Dio-  
nysius in his  
banishment.  
Ex Dionysio  
contra Gerna-  
num.  
Ex Euseb. lib. 7.

Ex Dionysio ad  
Domitium &  
Dydimum.  
Euseb. ibid.

Martyrs of all  
sexes and ages.

ance. Then the President said: and what hurt is it,  
say that you may both worship your God, what god  
soever he be, and these our gods also: For you are  
commanded to worship such gods, as all men know  
to be gods. Dionysius answered, We worship  
none other, but as we have said. Emilianus the  
President said; I see you are ingratefull men, and  
consider not the benignity of the Emperour: where-  
fore you shall remain no longer in this city, but shall  
be sent out to the parts of Libya, unto a towne called  
Cephzo: for that place by the commandement of  
the emperour I have chosen for you. Neither shall it  
be lawfull for you to convent your assemblies, or  
to resort as ye are wont to your buriall places. And  
if any of you shall be found out of your places where-  
unto you are appointed, at your perill be it. And  
thinke not contrary, but ye shall be watched well  
enough. Depart therefore to the place, as is com-  
manded you. And it followeth more in the said  
Dionysius speaking of himselfe: And as for mee  
(saith he) although I was sicke, yet he urged me so  
strictly to depart, that he would not give me one  
daies respite. And how (saith he, writing to Ger-  
manus) could I congregate or not congregate any  
assemblies? And after a few lines it followeth: And  
yet neither am I altogether absent from the corpo-  
rall society of the Lords flocke, but I have collected  
them together, which were in the city, being absent,  
as though I had bene present; absent in body, yet  
present in spirit. And in the same Cephzo, a great  
congregation remained with mee, as well of thos  
brethren which followed me out of the city, as also  
of them which were remaining there out of Egypt.  
And there the Lord opened to mee the doore of his  
Mercy: although at the first entrance I was perse-  
cuted and stored among them, yet after ward a great  
number of them fell from their idols, and were con-  
verted unto the Lord. And so by us the Lord was  
preached to them which before were infidels: which  
Ministry after that we had accomplished there, the  
Lord removed us to another place. For Emilianus  
translated us from thence to more sharp and stricter  
places of Libya, and commanded us to meet all toge-  
ther at the city Marcota: thinking there to separate  
us severally into sundry villages, or thinking rather  
to take and prevent us by the way. After we were  
come thither, it was assigned to mee (saith Dionysius)  
to goe to Colluthion, which place I never  
heard of before: which was the more grieffe to mee;  
yet some solace it was to mee, that the brethren told  
me it was nere to a city named Marcotium. For  
as my being at Cephzo got mee the acquaintance of  
many brethren of Egypt, so my hope was, that the  
vicinity of that place (where I should be) to the city  
might procure the familiarity and concourse of cer-  
taine loving brethren, which would resort and as-  
semble with us, and so it came to passe, &c.

Moreover, the said Dionysius in his Epistle, Ad  
Domitium & Dydimum, making mention of them  
which were afflicted in this persecution of Valerian,  
recozeth in these words, saying: It were superfluo-  
us (saith he) here to recite the names peculiarly of  
all our brethren slain in this persecution, which both  
were many, and to me unknowne. But this is cer-  
taine, that there were men, women, young men,  
maidens, old wives, sculdiers, simple innocents,  
and of all sorts and ages of men. Of whom some  
with scourgings and fire, some with sword obtained  
victory, and got the crowne. Some continued a  
great time, and yet have bene reserved. In the  
which number am I reserved hitherto to some other  
opportune time knowne unto the Lord, which saith:  
In the time accepted I have heard thee, and in the  
day of salvation I have helped thee, &c. Now as  
concerning my selfe in what state I am, if thou de-  
sire to know first how I and Caius, and Faustus,  
Petrus and Paulus, being apprehended by the  
Centurion, were taken away by certaine of the

solone of Marcota, I have declared to you before.  
Now I and Caius, and Petrus alone are left here  
included in a west place of Libya, distant the space  
of thre daies journey from Marcotium, &c. And  
in pocolle further he addeth: In the city (saith he)  
were certaine which privily visit the brethren: of  
Priests, Martinus, Dioscorus, Demetrius and An-  
cistrus. For they which were more notable in the  
world, Faustinus and Aquila, doe wander abroad in  
Egypt. Of the Deacons besides them whom sick-  
nesse hath consumed, Faustus, Cusebins, and Che-  
renion are yet alive. Cusebins hath God raised and  
stirred up to minister to the confessors lying in  
bands, and to bury the bodies of the blessed martyrs,  
not without great perill. Neither doth the president  
cease yet to this day, cruelly murdering such as be  
brought before him, tearing some with tormentes,  
imprisoning and keeping some in custody, comman-  
ding that no man should come to them, enquiring  
also who resorted unto them. Yet notwithstanding  
God with charēfulness and daily resort of the bre-  
thren doth comfort the afflicted. Hec Dionysius.

Concerning these Deacons above recited, here is  
to be noted, that Cusebins after ward was made  
Bishop of Laodicea in Syria. Martinus the Priest  
aforesaid, had the ministracion of the Church of  
Alexandria after Dionysius. Faustus long after  
continued in great age, unto the later persecution,  
where he being a very old man at length was be-  
headed, and died a martyr.

As touching Dionysius himselfe, thus the stories  
report, that he surviving all these troubles and per-  
secutions, by the providence of God, continued after  
the death of Valerian unto the twelfth yeere of the  
raigne of Gallienus, which was about the yeare of  
our Lord, two hundred thre score and eight; and so  
departed in peace in great age, after that he had go-  
vernēd the Church of Alexandria the space of seven-  
tē yeeres, and before that had taught the Schoole  
of the said City of Alexandria the terme of sixtē  
yeeres, after whom succeeded Martinus, as is above  
specified. And thus much touching the full story of  
Dionysius Alexandrinus, and of other also, martyrs  
and confessors of Alexandria.

In Cesarea Palestine suffered also the same  
time Priscus, Malchus and Alexander, the which  
thre dwelling in the countrey, and good men, seeing  
the valiant courage of the Christians, so boldly to  
venture, and constantly to stand, and patiently to suf-  
fer in this persecution, as men being grieved with  
themselves, began to repent and accuse their so great  
suggishnesse, and cowardly negligence, to see others  
so zealous and valiant, and themselves so cold and  
faint-hearted in labouring for the crowne of Chri-  
stian martyrdom: and first consulting & agreeing  
with themselves, they came to Cesarea, and there  
stepping to the Judge, declared themselves what  
they were, and obtained the end they came for, being  
given to the wilde beasts. After which manner also  
and in the same city of Cesarea, a certaine woman  
whose name Cusebins expresseth not, who had bene  
before of the sect of Marcion, was brought before the  
President, and likewise obtained the same martyr-  
dome, Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 12.

Neither was the city of Carthage all this while  
free from the stroke of this persecution, if credit  
should be given to the speculative glasse of Vincen-  
tius, who citing it out of Hugo, recozeth of thre  
hundred martyrs, of which thre hundred martyrs,  
the story saith thus, that the President setting before  
them coales and incense to doe sacrifice by a lime  
kilne, which was there nere at hand, offered unto  
them this condition, either to let incense to the  
coales for sacrifice to Jupiter, or else to goe into the  
fornace of lime: whereupon they all together with  
a generall motion, suddenly rushed into the kilne,  
and there with the dusky smoke of the lime were  
smothered. Vincent. Erford.

Commenda-  
tion of Cusebins  
the Deacon.

Cusebins the  
Deacon made  
Bishop of La-  
odicea.  
Martinus Bi-  
shop of Alexan-  
dria.  
Faustus long  
lived, and  
last a martyr.

The end and  
death of Dio-  
nysius.

Priscus,  
Malchus,  
Alexander,  
a woman,  
martyrs.

Euseb. lib. 7.  
cap. 12.

Three hundred  
martyrs in  
Carthage.  
Ex specul. Vin-  
cent. lib. 12.  
cap. 83.



In Africa also, in the City of Tabarba, the said Vincentius out of the Martyrology inferreth mention of three constant virgins, *Parima*, *Donatilla*, and *Secunda*: who, in the persecution of this Valerian and Gallienus, first had given for their drink vinegar and gall, then with scourges were tried, after that upon the gibbet were tormented, and rubbed with lime, then were scorched upon the fiery gridiron, at last were cast to the wilde beasts; who, being not touched of them, finally with the sword were beheaded, Vincent. Erford.

In Simela, a City in Italy, under the Alps, one Pontius being there apprehended, by the commandment of Claudius the President, was hanged first upon the racke, then was cast to the wilde beasts, of whom he being nothing hurt, was after committed to the fire; and finally, not touched therewith (if the story of Vincentius be true) was beheaded by the rivers side, and his body throwne into the flood; where immediately the same houre, the foresaid Claudius, with his assistant Anabius, were taken with wicked spirits, by whom they were so miserably tormented, that they bit off their tongues, and died.

Zenon, Bishop of Verona, is said also in the same persecution to sustaine martyrdom.

Moreover, in the same City of Alexandria aforesaid, Bergomenis in his eighth Booke, writing of the story of Valerianus Emperor, maketh mention of Philippus, Bishop of the said See of Alexandria, who (as he saith) was under the said Valerian beheaded. But that is not to be found in any approved story, nor standeth it with the truth of time that any such Philp was then Bishop of Alexandria, or any other, except only Dionysius. After whom next succeeded Marinius, who remained eightene yeeres, and after him Theonas, &c. So that, by the ancient records of old writers, it appeareth not that Philippus, or any other of that name was Bishop of Alexandria, during this time signified by Bergomenis.

Although in some other later writers, as Equilinus, Antoninus, and Bergomenis, I finde a certaine history of one Philippus, president of Alexandria about the same time of Valerian and Gallienus, elected by the Emperour and senate of Rome to governe those quarters, where he was at length converted to the Christian faith, and after made Bishop of Alexandria (as they say) of Alexandria: but that not to be so, the testimony of ancient writers doth manifest. The history of this Philippus, witnessed in our later chronicles, is this: Philippus being promoted to the Presidentship of Alexandria came downe with his wife Claudia, and his two sonnes, Abitus, and Sergius, and with his daughter named Eugenia, of the which Eugenia a long history full of strange and prodigious miracles is written of Antoninus and others, whereof many things I will cut off, and briefly touch the effect of the story, leaving to the judgement of the reader the credit of mine authorities, as he shall see cause.

This Eugenia daughter of Philippus, being of singular beauty, and diligently brought up by her parents in the study of Science and learning, was by occasion of hearing Christians reduced and brought up to christianity, with two other Eunuchs her schoole-fellows, called Prochus, and Diacynthus: with whom she taking counsell, upon occasion (whether to avoid the danger of persecution, or refusing to marry with a pagan) unknowne to her parents and friends did flee away: and because the more boldly she might resort to heare the readings of Helenus then an aged Bishop, and of others, she changed her selfe into mans apparell, and named her selfe Eugenius, under the which name she was at length admitted unto a certaine Monastery, or a society of Christians in the suburbs of Alexandria (although I hardly beleve that any Monastery of Christians was then in the suburbs of Alexandria permitted) where also at the last, for her excel-

lency of learning and vertue, she was made head of the place.

Here by the way I omit the miracles of the foresaid Helenus, Bishop (as the story saith) of Hierapolis, how he carried burning coals in his lap, and how he adventured himselfe to goe in the burning fire, to resell wicked Zereas a pagan, remaining in the same unburned. Here also I omit the carefull search of her parents for her, and of the answer of the Virginitie againe unto them, that she was taken up to Heaben among the goddesses. I omit moreover the miracles done by the said Eugenia, in healing the diseases and sicknesses of such as came to her, &c. The story proceedeth thus: Among others which were by this Eugenius cured and restored, there was a certaine matron of Alexandria, named Helancia; who, after she had used the help and acquaintance of Eugenius, supposing her to be a man, fell into an inordinate love of her, seeking by all meanes how to accomplish the lust of her concupiscence. In so much that in her daily visiting of her, at length she began secretly to breake her mind, and to intice her to her lewdnesse. Eugenius contrarily exhorted her to vertue and honesty, shewing her the miseries of this life, and the perill of that folly. Helancia seeing that by no means she could be allured, nor by force drabne to her desire, and fearing moreover, that she in detesting of her, would bring her to shame, beginneth first to make an outcry of Eugenius, declaring how that she went about corruptly to deflowre her; and so presented her accusation before Philippus the President, as well against Eugenius, as also against the rest of that company. This matter being heard, and the woman well knowne, the crime began to seeme suspicious, and so much the more, because it was objected against the Christians. By reason whereof Eugenius with her fellow Christians was not only in great hatred, but also in danger of present death and destruction. Then Eugenius purging her selfe and her honesty, although with sufficient probation, yet notwithstanding, perceiving that whatsoever she said could take no place, and seeing no time now to dissemble any longer, for the danger as well of her owne selfe, as specially of her Brethren which troubled her more: she desired of the Judge place and time to make manifest to him the truth, and so shewed her selfe what she was, and how she was his daughter, the other to be Prochus and Diacynthus, the two Eunuchs, her schoole-fellows, uttering moreover to him and to her brethren, the cause of her departing from them. At the narration whereof, Philippus her Father, and her two Brethren comming to the knowledge of her, conceived no little joy, in receiving their Eugenia againe, whom they thought had bene lost. So lesse gladnesse was among the people, to see the evidence of the matter so plainly to try out the truth of the one, and the falsenesse of the other. Whereat the malignant accuser was with double shame confounded, first for her dishonestly falsely cloaked, secondly for the untruth of her accusation openly detected. Bergomenis addeth moreover, that the said accuser was stricken presently with lightning. Thus Eugenia trying her honesty to her parents and friends, was not only received of them againe, but also by the grace of the Lord working with her, in the space of time did win them to Christ. Whereby Philippus the Father of her by nature, now by grace was begotten of his owne daughter to a more perfect life; and whom once he thought to have bene lost, not only he found againe, but also with her found his owne soule, and his owne life, which before he had lost indeed. This Philippus (saith the story) was made afterward Bishop of Alexandria, and there suffered martyrdom. Concerning whose martyrdom I deny not but it may be true; but that he was Bishop of Alexandria, that cannot be admitted, as is

Helenus Bishop of Hierapolis.

Eugenia accused of Helancia.

Eugenia knowne of her parents.

False accusation convicted.

Philippus by his daughter converted unto Christ.

Philippus martyr.

Parima, Donatilla, Secunda, virgins, martyrs.

Pontius martyr.

Ex Vincent. lib. 12. cap. 77. Ex Bergomen. lib. 8. Erford. lib. 6. cap. 17.

Zenon martyr.

Bergomenis reproved.

Ex Antonin. part. 1. cap. 6.

The story of Philippus and Eugenia.

Eugenia, Prochus, Diacynthus, converted.

Eugenia leading her parents, changed her selfe into mans apparell.



before sufficiently proved out of Eusebius and other ancient historians.

Likewise it is said, that Eugenia, after the martyrdom of her Father, returning to Rome with Prothius and Hyacinthus, by occasion of converting Basilissa (who should have been married to a Pagan husband, and was then beheaded) to the Christian faith, was assailed with sundry kinds of death: first being tied to a great stone and cast into Tiber, where she was carried up from drowning, then put in the hot baths, which were extinguished, and she preferred: afterward by famishment in prison, where they say she was fed at the hand of our Saviour: all which legendary miracles I leave to the reader to judge of them as shall seeme good unto him. At last the story saith, she was with the sword beheaded. Antonin. Bergom. Ado.

Basilissa,  
Eugenia,  
martyrs.

Corrections in  
the story above  
touched.  
Euseb. lib. 7.  
cap. 5.

Helenus Bishop  
of Carthus.

Anno 262.

Victor, Ulfidius,  
Claudius, Claudius,  
Basilissa, Eugenia,  
martyrs.

Fructuosus  
Bishop of Tarra-  
conca in  
Spain, with  
his two Dea-  
cons, Angu-  
lus, Eulogius,  
martyrs.  
Ex Pruden-  
Periseph.

Fructuosus  
and his Dea-  
cons strength-  
ned in the fire.

The favour of  
God toward  
his martyrs  
openly decla-  
red.

And because in this present history mention was made of Helenus, whom Antoninus with his fellows noteth to be the Bishop of Hieropolis, here is to be understood and observed by the way, that as Philippus in the foresaid history is falsely said to be Bishop of Alexandria, so likewise untrue it is, that Helenus was Bishop of Hieropolis. For by Eusebius it appeareth, lib. 7. cap. 5. alleging the words of Dionysius, that he was Bishop of Tarsus, in Cilicia, and had there oversight of that Church from the time of our Lord God, two hundred fifty and four, to the year of our redemption two hundred seventy and four.

The sixth year of Valerianus and Galienus were read in the history of Hierfordensis, cited out of Iulardus, of Victor and Ulfidius, who lying in prison the space of three years with Claudianus and Basilissa his wife, are said to have sustained great torments and martyrdom for the testimony and name of Christ, Ex Iulardo.

Aurelius Prudentius, in his Booke intituled Peristephanon, inferreth mention of Fructuosus Bishop of Tarraconca in Spain, who, with his two Deacons, Angulus and Eulogius, suffered also martyrdom, being burned after six daies imprisonment under the foresaid Emperors in this persecution. The cause of their punishment was for the profession of Christ's name: their judge and condemnor was Emilianus; their imprisonment endured six daies; the kind of death ministered unto them was fire; wherein they being all together cast with their armes bound behind them; their hands (as Prudentius writeth) were dissolved, their hands untouch- ed with the fire, and their bodies remaining whole. The charge of this judge unto the Bishop was this, that he should worship the gods whom the Emperors Galienus worshipped. To whom Fructuosus the Bishop answering: Say (saith he) I worship no dunte god of stocks and blocks, whom Galienus doth worship, but I worship the Lord and Father of Galienus, the Father and Creator of all times, and his only Son sent downe to us, of whose flocke I am here the Pastor and Shepheard. At this word Emilianus answering againe: Say (saith he) say not thou art, but say thou wast. And forthwith com- manded them to be committed to the fire, where (as is said) their hands and manacles being loosed by the fire, they lifted up their hands to heaven, pray- ing the living God, to the great admiration of them that stood by, praying also that the element, which seemed to fly from them, might worke his full force upon them, and speedily dispatch them; which was after their request obtained. In the meane space, as they were in the fire, there was a certaine souldier in the house of Emilianus, who did see the heavens above to open, and these foresaid martyrs to enter in- to the same, which souldier likewise shewed the sight the same time unto the daughter of Emilianus the President, who, beholding the same sight with the souldier, was a present witness of the blessedness of them whom her cruell father had condemned.

As this goodly bishop was preparing to his death (saith Prudentius) the brethren approaching to him brought him drinke, desiring him with much wee- ping to receive and drinke with them, but that he refused to doe, requiring them moreover to refrain their teares. With like readinesse the brethren also were diligent about him to plucke off his shoes and hose, as he was addresseing himselfe to the fire: but neither would he suffer any servants helpe in that wherein he was no lesse willing then able to helpe himselfe. And thus this blessed and fruitfull Bishop Fructuosus, with his two Deacons Angulus and Eulogius, being brought to the fire, witnessed the constant confession of the Name of Christ with the shedding of their blood. Aurel. Prudentius, Ado, Equilinus.

The modesty  
of Fructuosus.

And thus farre continued wicked Valerian in his tyranny against the Saints of Christ. But as all the tyrants before, and oppressors of the Christians had their deserved reward at the just hand of God, which rendereth to every man according to his workes: so this cruell Valerian, after he had reigned with his sonne Galienus the terme of fire or seven yeeres, & about two yeeres had afflicted the Church of Christ, felt the just stroke of his hand, whose indig- nation before he had provoked, whereof we have to witnesse Eutropius, Pollio, Sabellicus, Volaterra- nus: for making his expedition against the Persians, whether by the fraud and treason of some about him, or whether by his owne rashnesse, it is doubtfull: but this is certaine, that he fell into the hands of his enemies, being about the age of fourescore yeeres; where he led his wretched age in a more wretched captivity. In so much that Sapor the King of the Persians used him (and well worthy) not for his riding soole, but for his riding blocke: for when- soever the King should light upon his horse openly in the sight of the people, Valerian, Emperour Quondam, was brought forth in stead of a blocke for the King to tread upon his backe in going to his horsebacke. And so continued this blockish butcher, by Emperors with shame and sport enough unto his finall end, as witnesseth Letus and Aurelius Victor.

The notable  
plague of God  
against Valerian the perse-  
cutor.

Gods punish-  
ment to be no-  
ted.

Albeit Eusebius, in a certaine Sermon to the congregation, declareth a more cruell handling of him, affirming that he was slain, writing in these words: Sed & tu Valeriane, quoniam eandem homi- cidiorum scitiam erga subditos Dei exercuisti, justum Dei iudicium declarasti, dum captivus ac vincus una cum ipsa purpura ac reliquo imperatorio ornatu ab- ductus ac tandem a Sapore Persarum rege exorari iussus saleque conditus, perpetuum infelicitatis tue trophaum crexisti, &c. that is, And thou Valerian, for so much as thou hast exercised the same cru- delity in murthering of the subiects of God, there- fore hast proved unto us the righteous judgement of God, in that thy selfe hast bene bound in chaines, and carried away for a captive slave with thy gorgeous purple, and thy imperiall attyre, and at length also, being commanded of Sapor, King of the Persians to be slain and powdered with salt, hast set up unto all men a perpetuall mo- nument of thine owne wretchednesse, &c. Euseb.

Ex Euseb. in  
sermone ad  
conventum  
Sanctorum.  
Valerian the  
persecuting  
Emperour  
consist of the  
Persians.

The like severity of God his terrible judgement is also to be noted in Claudius his President and Minister of his persecutions. Of which Claudius Henricus de Erfordia thus writeth, that he was pos- sessed and bereed of the Diabell, in such sort, that he biting off his owne tongue in many small pieces, so ended his life. Erford.

The punish-  
ment of God  
upon Claudi-  
us, President  
of the Empe-  
re.

Neither did Galienus the sonne of Valerian, af- ter the captivity of his Father, utterly escape the righteous hand of God: for beside the miserable captivity of his Father, whom he could not rescue, such portents strange and out of the course of na- ture, such earth-quakes did happen; also such fu- nults, commotions and rebellions did follow, that

Galienus pla-  
gued for his  
persecution.

Trebellio



Trebellio doth reckon up to the number of thirty together, which in sundry places all at one time troke upon them to be tyrants and Emperours over the Monarchy of Rome, by the means whereof hee was not able to succour his father, though he would. Notwithstanding the said Galienus, being (as is thought) terrified by the example of his father, did remove, at least did moderate the persecution stirred up by the edicts of Valerian his father, directing forth his imperiall proclamation, the tenor whereof proceedeth after this effect, as is to be seen in Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 13. Emperour and Caesar, Publius Licinius, Galienus, Pius, Fortunatus, Augustus, unto Dionysius, to Pinna, and to Demetrian, and to all other the like Bishops. The bountifull benignity of my gift I have willed and commanded to be proclaimed through the whole world, to the intent that such, which are detained in banishment for discipline sake, may safely returne home againe from whence they came; and for the same cause I have here sent to you the example of my rescript for you to peruse and to enjoy; so that no man be so hardy to vex or molest you; and this, which you may now lawfully enjoy, hath bene long since by me granted. And therefore for your more warrant in the same, I have committed the exemplar hereof to the custody of Aurelianus Cirenus my chiefe steward, where you may fetch the copy to see at your pleasure.

This mandate abovesaid did Galienus send to Dionysius Alexandrinus, and other bishops, as is premised. Another rescript also the said Emperour sent to other Christian bishops, permitting to them full liberty to receive againe their wonted places where they were wont to associate together, called of them Cemeteria.

By this it may appeare that some peace was granted then under this Galienus to the Church of Christ: albeit not so, but that some there were which suffered, of whom was one Maritus mentioned in Eusebius, lib. 7. This Maritus, being a warrior and a noble man in Cesarea, stood for the dignity of a certain order, which by all order of course was next to fall upon him by right, had not the envious ambition of him, that should follow next after him, supplanted him both of office and life: for hee accused him to be a Christian, and therefore said that he was not to be admitted unto their offices, which was against their religion. Whereupon Achatz, then being Judge, examined him of his faith; who finding him to be a Christian indeed, and constantly to stand to his profession, gave him three houres to deliberate and advise with himselfe. There was the same time in Cesarea a bishop named Theoctechus, otherwise called Theodotus, who perceiving him to stand in doubtfull deliberation and perplexity in himselfe, took him by the hand and brought him into the house or Church of the Christians, laying before him a sword (which he had under his cloke for the same purpose) and a booke of the new testament, and so willed him to take his free choyce which of them both he would preferre. The souldier immediately without delay ran to the booke of the gospel, taking that before the sword. And thus, he being animated by the Bishop, presented himselfe boldly before the judge, by whose sentence he was beheaded, and died a martyr. Eusebius ibidem.

Whose body being dead, one Asyrus a noble Senator of Rome, and a man very wealthy among the chiefe of that order (who in the same time was there present at his martyrdom) took up and bare upon his owne shoulders, wrapping it in a rich and sumptuous weed, and so honourably committed it to the buriall. Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 16.

Of which Asyrus the said author writeth moze over this story: How that in the foresaid City of Cesarea, the Gentiles used thereof an ancient custome to offer up a certaine sacrifice by a fountaine side, the which sacrifice by the working of the devill

was wont suddenly to burst out of their eyes, to the great admiration of the inhabitants by. Asyrus seeing this, and pittying the miserable error of the simple people, lifting up his eyes to heaven, made his prayer to Almighty God in the name of Christ, that the people might not be seduced of the devill any longer: by the vertue of whose prayer the sacrifice was sene to swim in the water of the fountaine; and so the strange wonder of that sight was taken away, and no such matter could be there wrought any moze. Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 17.

And because mention is made here of Cesarea, there followeth in the next chapter of the same author a strange miracle if it be true, which hee there reporteth; how that out of the same City was the woman which in the Gospel came to our Saviour, and was healed of her bloody issue, her house being in the City of Cesarea. Before the doore thereof was set up a certaine pillar of stone, and upon the pillar an image was made of brasse, of a woman meekely kneeling on her knees, and holding up her hands as one that had some sute. Against the which there was another image also of a man proportioned of the same mettall, cunningly engraven in a short seemely vesture, and stretching forth his hand to the woman. At the foot of which pillar grew up a certaine herbe of a strange kind, but of a moze strange operation, which growing up to the hem of his vesture, and once touching the same, is said to have such vertue, that it was able to cure all manner of diseases. This picture of the man (they say) represented the image of Christ. The history is written in Eusebius as is said; the credit whereof I refer to the reader, whether he will thinke it true or false. If he thinke it false, yet I have shewed him mine author: if hee thinke it true, then must hee thinke withall that this miraculous operation of the herbe proceeded neither by the vertue of the picture, nor by the prayer of the other, being both dumbe pictures, and engraven no doubt at that time by the hand of infidels; but to be wrought by some secret permission of God his wife, dome, either to reduce the infidels at that time to the beliefe of the story, or to admonish the Christians to consider with themselves what strength and health was to be looked for onely of Christ and no other advocate: seeing the dumbe picture, engraven in brasse, gave his efficacy to a poore herbe to cure so many diseases. This picture (saith Eusebius) remained also to his time, which was under Constantinus the great.

As touching the line and order of the Romane bishops hitherto intermitted; after the martyrdom of Sixtus abovespecified, the government of that Church was committed next to one Dionysius, about the yere of our Lord two hundred sixty and six: who continued in the same space of nine yeres, as Eusebius saith; as Damascus recordeth, but only five yeres and two moneths. Of his detestall epistles, because sufficient hath bene said before concerning that matter, I omit to speake. After whom succeeded Jelix in the first yere of Probus the Emperour, about the yere of our Lord two hundred and eighty, who governed that Church five yeres, and died, as Platina saith, a martyr. After him followed Eutychianus, and then Gaius, both martyrs, as the histories of some doe record.

About the time of these bishops lived Theodorus bishop of Neocesarea, who is otherwise called Theogorius Magnus, whom also Stephenus for his miracles calleth *θεογονος*.

Thus Galienus the foresaid Emperour reigned, as is declared, with his father Valerian seven yeres, after whose captivity he ruled the Monarchy alone about nine yeres, with some peace and quietnesse granted to the Church.

The daies of this Galienus being expired, followed Claudius a quiet Emperour, as most stories doe record. Although Vincentius affirmeth that hee

The works of  
Satan being  
pointed by the  
prayer of Asyrus.

Euseb. lib. 7.  
cap. 17.

A miracle noted in  
Euseb. lib. 7.  
cap. 18.

A miraculous  
operation of an  
herbe, touching  
the hem of  
Christs picture  
to heal diseases.

As vertue to be  
ascribed to pictures.

Dionysius bishop of Rome.

Anno 266

Felix bishop of Rome and martyr.  
Eutychianus bishop of Rome and martyr.  
Gaius bishop of Rome and martyr.

Claudius Emperour.

was

Peace granted  
to the church.

Euseb. lib. 7.  
cap. 13.

Another grant  
of Galienus unto  
the Christian  
bishops.

Anno 263

Maritus mar-  
tyr.  
Euseb. lib. 7.  
cap. 14.

Theoctechus  
bishop of Ce-  
sarea.

Maritus an-  
nated by the  
bishop to die.

Euseb. ibid.

Asyrus a rich  
senator and  
confessor.

Euseb. lib. 7.  
cap. 16.



{Anno? 272}

Quintilianus  
Emperour.

was a mober of persecution against the Christians, and maketh mention of two hundred sixty and two martyrs, which in his time did suffer, but because no such record remaineth to be found in Eusebius, who would not have omitted some memoriall thereof, if it had bene true, therefore I referre the same to the free judgement of the reader, to finde such credit as it may. This Claudius reigned but two yeres, after whom came Quintilianus his brother, next Emperour, and a quiet Prince, who continued but onely seventene daies, and had to his successor Aurelianus; under whom Dioclesius in his seventh booke doth number the ninth persecution against the Christians.

The ninth persecution.

The ninth persecution.  
Aurelianus  
Emperour.

Hitherto from the captivity of Valerian, the Church of Christ was in some quietnes till the death of Quintilianus, as hath bene declared, after whom Aurelianus the next successor possessed the Crowne; who in the first beginning of his raigne (after the common manner of all Princes) shewed himselfe a Prince moderate and discret, much worthy of commendation, if his good beginning had continued in a constant course agreeing to the same. Of nature he was severe, and rigorous in correcting, dissolute in manners; inso much as it was said of him in a vulgar proverbe, that he was a good Physician, saying that he gave to bitter medicines. This Emperour being sicke, never sent for Physician, but cured himselfe with abstinence; and as his beginning was not unfruitfull to the Common wealth, so neither was he any great disturber of the Christians, whom he did not onely tollerate in their religion, but also in their counsels, and they being the same time assembled at Antioch, he seemed not to be against them. Notwithstanding in continuance of time, through sinister motion and instigation of certain about him, (as commonly such are never absent in all places from the eares of Princes) his nature, somewhat inclinable to severity, was altered to a plaine tyranny; which tyranny first he shewed, beginning with the death of his owne sisters sonne, as witnesseth Eutropius. After that he proceeded either to move, or at least to purpose persecution against the Christians; albeit that wicked purpose of the Emperour the mercifull working of God his hand did soon overthrow. For as the edict or proclamation should have bene denounced for the persecuting of the Christians, and the Emperour now ready to subscribe the edict with his hand, the mighty stroke of the hand of the Lord suddenly from above did stop his purpose, binding, (as a man might say) the Emperours hands behind him, declaring (as Eusebius saith) to all men, how there is no power to worke any violence against the servants of God, unless his permission doe suffer them, and give them leade. Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 30. Eutropius and Eupiscus affirme, that as the said Aurelianus was purposing to raise persecution against us, he was suddenly terrified with lightning, and so stopped from his wicked tyranny. Not long after, about the fift or sixt yere of his raigne, he was slaine betwene Bisance and Hieraclea, in the yere of our Lord two hundred seventy and eight. Thus Aurelianus rather intended then moved persecution. Neither is there any more then this found concerning this persecution in ancient histories and records of the Church: wherefore I marvell the more that Vincentius, collecting out of the martyrologies, hath comprehended such a great catalogue of so many martyrs, which in France and in Italy (saith he) suffered death and torments under this Emperour Aurelianus; whereunto Dioclesius also seemeth to agree in numbering this to be the ninth persecution under the said Aurelian.

A proverbe:  
A good physician,  
but he giveth too bitter  
medicines.  
Abstinence the  
best physick.

The counsell  
of Antioch.

The good beginning  
of Aurelianus.  
The Emperour  
altered by wicked  
counsell.

A notable example  
of Gods  
hand stopping  
persecution.

Ex Euseb. lib. 7.  
cap. 30.  
No power as  
against the people  
of God, except  
God give  
leade.  
The death of  
Aurelianus.

{Anno? 276}

Ex Eutropio.  
Tacitus Emperour.

but sixe moneths; him succeeded his brother Flozianus, who reigned but threescore daies; and after him followed Marcus Aurelius, surnamed Probus. Of whom more hereafter (God willing) shall appeare.

In the meane time, within the compasse of these Emperours falleth in a story recorded of Eusebius, and not unworthy here to be noted, whereby to understand the faithfull diligence of good Ministers, what god it may doe in a Common wealth.

Mention is made before of Eusebius the Deacon of Dionysius, whom God stirred up to visite and comfort the Saints that were in prison and bands, and to bury the bodies of the blessed martyrs departed, not without great perill of his owne life, who after was made bishop (as is said) of Laodicea. But before he came to Laodicea to be Bishop there, it chanced, the said Eusebius remaining as yet at Alexandria, the City to be besieged of the Romans, Peruchius being their Captaine. In which siege halfe of the city did hold with the Romans, the other halfe withstood them. In that part which went with the Romane Captaine was Eusebius, being also in great labour with the Captaine for his worthy fidelity and service shewed: with the other halfe that resisted the Romans was Anatholius governour or moderator then of the schoule of Alexandria, who also was Bishop, after the said Eusebius, of Laodicea. This Anatholius, perceiving the Citizens to be in miserable distresse of famine & destruction, by reason of penury and lacke of sustenance, sendeth to Eusebius being then with the Romans, and certifieth him of the lamentable penury and perill of the City, intruding him moreover what to doe in the matter: Eusebius, understanding the case, repaireth to the Captaine, desiring of him so much favour, that so many as would flee out of the City from their enemies, might be licensed to escape and freely to passe; which was to him estones granted. As Eusebius was thus labouring with the captaine; on the other side Anatholius for his part laboured with the citizens, moving them to assemble together, and persuading them to give themselves over, in yielding to the force and might of the Romans. But when the citizens could not abide the hearing thereof; Pet (said Anatholius) with this I trust you will be contented, if I shall counsell you in this miserable lacke of things to advoid out of your city all such superfluities and unnecessary impediments unto you, as old women, yong children, aged men, with such other as be feeble and impotent, and not to suffer them here to perishe with famine, whose presence can doe no stead to you if they die, and lesse if they live, for spending the victuals which otherwise might serve them that be more able to defend the City. The senate hearing this sentence, and understanding moreover the grant of the Captaine promising them their safety, were well consenting thereunto. When Anatholius, having a speciall care to them that belonged to the Church of Christ, calleth them together with the rest of the multitude, & persuading them what they should doe, and what had bene obtained for them, caused them to voyde the City, and not onely them, but also a great number of other more; who persuaded by him under that pretence, changing themselves in womens apparell, or feyning some impotency, so escaped out of the City. At whose coming out, Eusebius on the other side was ready to receive them, and refreshed their hungry and pined bodies, whereby not onely they, but the whole City of Alexandria was preserved from destruction. Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 32.

Flozianus  
Emperour.

Eusebius Deacon of Alexandria.  
Anatholius rector of the University of Alexandria.

The plenty of  
Anatholius  
and Eusebius  
to their country.

By this little history of Eusebius and Anatholius, described in the seventh booke of Eusebius, cap. 32. and briefly here set forth to thee (gentle reader) thou mayest partly understand the practise of the prelates, what it was in those daies in the Church, which was then onely employed in saving of life, and discouraging

Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 32.  
The Prelate of Rome are cleane contrary to these good Prelates.



couring the Common weales wherein they lived, as by these two goodly persons Eusebius and Anatholius may well appeare. Unto the which practise if we compare the practise of our later Prelates of the Church of Rome, I suppose no little difference will appeare.

The next Emperour to Florianus (as is said) was Marcus Aurelius Probus, a Prince both wise and vertuous, and no lesse valiant in martiall affaires, then fortunate in the successe of the same. During his time we read of no persecution greatly stirring in the Church, but much quietnesse, as well in matters of religion, as also in the Common weale. In so much that, after his great and many victories, such peace infused, that his saying was, there needed no more souldiers seeing there were no more enemies to the Common wealth to fight against. It was his saying also, that his souldiers need not to spend coine and victuall, except they laboured to serve the common wealth. And for the same cause he caused his souldiers to be set a work about certaine mountaines in Smyrna and in Bessia to be planted with vines, and not so much as in winter suffered them to be at rest; therefore by them at length he was slaine, after he had reigned the space of sixe yeeres and foure moneths, in the yeere of our Lord two hundred eighty and foure: Eutrop.

Carus, with his two sonnes Carinus and Numerianus, succeeded next after Probus in the Empire; the raigne of which Emperours continued in all but thre yeeres. Of the which thre first Carus, warring against the Persians, was slaine with lightning. Of Numerianus his sonne, being with his father in his wars against the Persians, we find much commendation in Eutropius, Apollonius, and other writers, which testified him to be a valiant warrior, and an eloquent orator, as appeared by his declamations and writings sent to the senate; thirdly, to be an excellent Poet. This Numerianus, sorrowing and lamenting for the death of his father, through immoderate weeping fell into a great sorenesse of his eyes, by reason whereof he keeping close was slaine not long after of his father in law, named Aper; who, traytorously aspiring to the Empire, dissembled his death with a false excuse to the people asking for him, saying, for the paine of his eyes he kept in from the wind and weather, till at length by the stinck of his body being carried about, his death was uttered.

In the life of this Emperour Carus aforesaid, written by Eutropius in the later edition set forth, by Frobenius, I finde (which in other editions of Eutropius doth not appeare) that Numerianus, the sonne of this Carus, was he that slue Wabylas the holy martyr, whose history before we have comprehended. But that seemeth not to be like, both by the narration of Chrysostome, and also for that Hieronymus declaring the same historie, and in the same words as it is in Eutropius, saith that it was Cyillus whom Numerianus killed, the story whereof is this: That time Carus the Emperour, in his journey going toward the Persians, remained at Antioch, Numerianus his sonne would enter into the Church of the Christians, to view & behold their mysteries. But Cyillus their bishop would in no wise suffer him to enter into the Church, saying, that it was not lawfull for him to see the mysteries of God, who was polluted with sacrifices of idols. Numerianus full of indignation at the hearing of these words, not suffering that repulse at the hands of Cyillus, in his fury did slay the goodly martyer. And therefore truly (as it seemed) was he himselfe slaine afterward by the hands of Aper.

Thus Carus with his sonne Numerianus being slaine in the East parts, as is declared, Carinus the other sonne reigned alone in Italy; where he overcame Sabinus striving for the Empire, and reigned there with much wickednes, till the returning home

of the army againe from the Persians, who then set up Dioclesian to be Emperour, by whom the foresaid Carinus for the wickednesse of his life, being forsaken of his host, was overcome, and at length slaine with the hand of the tribune, whose wife before he had deflowred. Thus Carus with his two sonnes, Numerianus & Carinus, ended their lives, whose raigne continued not above thre yeeres.

All this meane space we read of no great persecution stirring in the Church of Christ, but it was in meane quiet state and tranquillity, unto the nineteenth yeere of the raigne of Dioclesian: so that in counting the time from the later end of Valerian unto this aforesaid yeere of Dioclesian, the peace of the Church, which God gave to his people, seemeth to continue above foure and sixty yeeres. During the which time of peace and tranquillity, the Church of the Lord did mightily increase and flourish, so that the more bodies it lost by persecution, the more honour and reverence it won daily among the Gentiles in all quarters, both Greeks and barbarous: inso much that (as Eusebius in his seventh booke describeth) amongst the Emperours themselves, divers there were which not onely bare singular god will and favour to them of our profession, but also did commit unto them offices and regiments over countries and Nations, so well were they affected to our doctrine, that they privileged the same with liberty and indemnity. What needeth to speake of them which not onely lived under the Emperours in liberty, but also were familiar in the court with the Princes themselves, intertained with great honour and speciall favour beyond the other servants of the court? As was Dorotheus, with his wife, children, and whole family, highly accepted and advanced in the Palace of the Emperour; also Gorgonius in like manner with divers others more, who, for their doctrine and learning which they professed, were with their princes in great estimation. In like reverence also were the bishops of Cities and Dioceses with the presidents and rulers where they lived: who not onely suffered them to live in peace, but also had them in great price and regard, so long as they kept themselves upright, & continued in Gods favour. Who is able to number at that time the mighty and innumerable multitudes and congregations assembling together in every City, and the notable concourses of such as daily flocked to the common oratories to pray? For the which cause they, being not able to be contained in their old houses, had large and great Churches, newly builded on the foundation, for them to frequent together. In such increasement (saith Eusebius) by processe of time did the Church of Christ grow and throve up daily more and more, profiting and spreading through all quarters, which neither envie of men could inringe, nor any devil could inchant, neither the crafty policy of mans wit could supplant, so long as the protection of Gods heavenly arme went with his people, keeping them in good order, according to the rule of Christs an life.

But as commonly the nature of all men, being of it selfe unruly and untoward, alwaies seeketh and desireth prosperity, and yet can never well use prosperity; alwaies would have peace, and yet having peace alwaies abuseth the same: so here likewise it hapned with these men, which through this so great liberty and prosperity of life began to degenerate and languish into idlenesse and delicacie, and one to worke spite and contumely against another, striving and contending amongst themselves, for every occasion, with railing words after most despitefull manner; bishops against bishops, and people against people, moving hatred and sedition one against another, besides also cursed hypocrisie and simulation with all extremity increasing more and more. By reason whereof the iudgement of God after his wonted manner (whilst yet the

Carinus was overcome slaine. Aduitero punitus.

{ Anno }  
{ 289 }

The peace of the Church from Valerian to the tenth persecution lasted foure and forty yeeres. Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 1.

Dorotheus, Gorgonius, & Christians of great reputation in the Emperours court.

The peaceable state of the Church described.

Corruption through much peace and prosperity crept in to the Church.

Hatred and dissention among the Churchmen.

Marcus Aurelius Probus Emperour.

Peace in the Church.

The saying of Marcus Aurelius.

Souldiers sought up in idleness can do no labour. Marcus Aurelius saith.

{ Anno }  
{ 284 }

Carus with his two sonnes Carinus and Numerianus Emperours. Carus Emperour slaine with lightning.

Correction of a certaine place of Eutropius. Ex editione Frobeniana.

Cyillus testified the Emperour.

Cyillus bishop of Antioch martyred.

Ex Chron. Hieronym.



congregation began to multiply ) began by a little and a little to visit our men with persecution, falling first upon our brethren, which were abroad in war: fare, but when that toucht the other nothing or very little, neither did they take to appeale Gods wrath and call for his mercy: but wickedly thinking with our selves, that God neither regarded nor would visit our transgressions, we heaped our iniquities daily more and more one upon another; and they which seemed to be our pastors, refusing the rule of piety, were inflamed with mutuall contentions one against another. And thus whilst they were given onely to the study of contentions, threatnings, emulations, mutuall hatred and discord, every man seeking his owne ambition, and persecuting one another after the manner of tyzanny: then, then, I say, the Lord according to the voice of Jeremy toke away the beauty of the daughter of Sion, and the glory of Israel fell downe from heauen, neither did he remember the footstole of his seate in the day of his wrath. And the Lord overturned all the comely ornaments of Israel, and destroyed all her gorgeous buildings, and according to the saying of the psalme, subverted and extinguished the testament of his servant, and prophaned his sanctuary in destruction of his Churches, and in laying waste the buildings thereof, so that all passengers spoiling the multitude of the people, they were made an obloquie to all the dwellers about. For he exalted the strength of his enemies, and turned away the helpe of his friends from her, nor aided her in the battell, but ceased from the purging of her and her seat. He strooke downe to the ground, and diminished her dates, and over all this powred upon her confusion. All these things were fulfilled upon us, when we saw the Temples rased from the toppe to the ground, and the sacred Scriptures to be burnt in the open market place, and the Pastors of the Church to hide themselves some here, some there; some other, taken prisoners with great shame, were mocked of their enemies, when also according to the saying of the Prophet in another place, Contempt was powred out upon the Princes, and they caused to goe out of the way, and not to keepe the straight path.

### The tenth persecution.

Reason whereof (the wrath of God being kindled against his Church) ensued the tenth and last persecution against the Christians, so horrible and grievous, that it maketh the pen almost to tremble to write upon it; so tedious that never was any persecution before or since comparable to it for the time it continued, lasting the space of ten yeeres together. This persecution although it passed through the hands of divers tyrants and workers more then one or two, yet principally it beareth the name of Dioclesian, who was Emperour, as is above noted, next after Carus and Numerianus. This Dioclesian, ever having an ambitious mind, aspired greatly to be Emperour. To whom Diua his concubine said, that first he should kill a wilde boze before he should be Emperour. He, taking effect at these words, used much with hands to kill wild Bozes: but seeing no successe to come thereof, he used this proverbe, Ego apros occido, alius pulpamento fruitur, that is, I kill the Bozes, but others doe eat the flesh. At length the said Dioclesian being nominated to be Emperour, and seeing Aper (who had killed Numerianus the Emperour) standing thereby, sware to the soldiers that Numerianus was wrongfully killed, and forthwith running upon Aper with his sword due him; Vopisc. After this he being established in the Empire, and seeing on every side divers and sundry commotions rising up against him, which he was not well able himselfe to sustaine, in the first beginning of his raigne he chose for his colleague Maximianus surnamed Periculus, father of Maxentius,

Which two Emperours, because of divers warres that rose in many Provinces, chose to them two or three noble men, Galerius and Constantius, whom they called Celsars. Of whom Galerius was sent into the East parts against the Persians. Constantius was sent over to Britaine to this our countrey of England to recover the tribute, where he tooke to wife Helena the daughter of King Coll, which was a maiden excelling in beauty, and no lesse famously brought up in the study of learning, of whom was borne Constantinus the great.

All this while hitherto no persecution was yet stirred of these soute Princes against the Church of Christ, but quietly & moderately they governed the Common wealth; wherefore accordingly God prospered their doings and affaires, and gave them great victories, Dioclesian in Egypt, Maximian in Aegyptie and in France, Galerius in Persia, Constantius in England and in France also. By reason of which victories, Dioclesian and Maximian putt up in pride obtained a solemne triumph at Rome, after which triumph Dioclesian gave commandement that he should be worshipped as God, saying, that he was brother to the Sunne and Moone, and adorning his shoes with gold and precious stones, commanded the people to kisse his feet.

And not long after by the judgement of God, for certaine enormities used in the Church, above touched, began the great and grievous persecution of the Christians, moved by the outrageous cruelty of Dioclesian, which was about the ninetenth yeere of his raigne, who in the moneth of March, when the feast of Easter was ne at hand, commanded all the Churches of the Christians to be spoiled and cast to the earth, & the books of holy Scripture to be burned.

Thus most violent edicts and proclamations were set forth, for the overthrowing, as is said, of the Christians temples throughout all the Romane Empire. Neither did they wait in the officers any cruel execution of the same proclamations. For their temples were defaced even when they celebrated the feast of Easter: Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 2. And this was the first edict given out by Dioclesian. The next proclamation that came forth, was for the burning of the books of the holy Scripture; which thing was done in the open market place as before: then next unto that were edicts given forth for the displacing of such as were magistrates, and that with great ignominy, and all other whose ever bare any office, imprisoning such as were of the common sort, if they would not abjure Christianity, and subscribe to the heathen religion: Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 3. & Nicephorus lib. 7. cap. 4. Zonaras also in his second tome. And these were the beginning of the Christians evils.

It was not long after but that new edicts were sent forth, nothing for their cruelty inferior to the first: for the calling of the elders and Bishops into prison, and then constraining them, with sundry kinds of punishments, to offer unto their idols. By reason whereof ensued a great persecution amongst the governours of the Church, amongst whom many stood manfully, passing through many exceeding bitter torments, neither were overcome therewith, being tormented and examined divers of them diversly, some scourged all their bodies over with whips and scourges, some with racks and railings of the flesh intolerable were cruciated, some one way, some another way put to death. Some againe violently were dravne to the unpare sacrifice, and as though they had sacrificed, when indeed they did not, were let goe. Other some neither coming at all to their altars, nor touching any peece of their sacrifices, yet were borne in hand of them that stood by, that they had sacrificed, and so suffering that false infamation of their enemies quietly went away. Other, as dead men, were caried and cast away being but halfe dead. Some they cast downe upon the pavement, and trailing them a great space

Galerius, Constantius, Galerius, and Dioclesian and Maximian.

Helena daughter of Coll, married to Constantius.

Dioclesian.

Cruelty for lawfully.

{Anno} {308}

Persecution against the Christians.

Christian temples destroyed. Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 2.

Books of the scriptures burned.

Christian Magistrates displaced.

Christian subjects imprisoned. Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 4. Nicephorus lib. 7. cap. 4. Zonaras tom. 2.

Bishops and Elders constrained with torments to sacrifice.

Christians persecuting one another.

The wrath of God toward his people.

The tenth persecution.

Dioclesian Emperour. Euseb. lib. 8.

Aper surnamed Numerianus.

{Anno} {290}

Maximianus Emperour, fellow Emperour with Dioclesian.



by the legs, made the people believe that they had sacrificed. Furthermore, other there were which stoutly withstood them, affirming with a loud voice that they had done no such sacrifice. Of whom some said they were Christians, and gloried in the profession of that name: some cried, saying, that neither they had nor would ever be partakers of that idolatry: and those, being buffeted on the face and mouth with the hands of the soldiers, were made to hold their peace, and so thrust out with violence. And if the saints did some never so little to doe what the enemies would have them, they were made much of: albeit all this purpose of the adversary did nothing prevaile against the holy & constant servants of Christ. Notwithstanding, of the weake sort innumerable there were, which for feare and infirmity fell and gave over, even at the first brunt.

At the first coming downe of these edicts into Picomedia, there chanced a deed to be done much worthy of memory, of a Christian, being a noble man borne; which moved by the zeale of God, after the proclamation made at Picomedia was set up, by and by came and tooke downe the same, and openly tare and rent it in pieces, not fearing the presence of the two Emperours, then being in the City. For which act he was put to a most bitter death, which death he with great faith and constancy endured even to the last gaspe. Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 3. & 5.

After this the furious rage of the malignant Emperours, being let loose against the saints of Christ, proceeded more and more, making haddocke of Gods people throughout all quarters of the world. First, Dioclesian (which had purposed with himselfe to subvert the whole Christian religion) executed his tyranny in the east, & Maximianus in the west. But wily Dioclesian began very subtilly, for he put the matter first in practice in his owne campe, among whom the Marshall of the field (as Euseb. lib. 8. ca. 4. affirmeth) put the Christian soldiers to this choise, whether they would obey the Emperours commandment in that manner of sacrifice hee commanded, and so both to keep their offices, and lead their bands, or else to lay away from them their armour & weapons. Whereunto the Christian men courageously answered, that they were not onely ready to lay away their armour and weapons, but also to suffer death, if it should with tyranny be enforced upon them, rather then they would obey the wicked decrees and commandments of the Emperour.

Where might a man have scene very many which were desirous to live a simple and pious life, and which regarded no estimation and honour in comparison of true piety and godlinesse. And this was no more but a subtil and wily flattery in the beginning, to offer them to be at their owne liberty, whether they would willingly abjure their profession or not; as also this was another, that in the beginning of the persecution, there were but a few tormented with punishment, but afterward by little and little he began more manifestly to burst out into persecution. It can hardly be expressed with words what number of martyrs and what blood was shed throughout all cities and regions for the name of Christ. Eusebius in his eight booke and seventh chapter saith, that hee himselfe knew the worthy martyrs that were in Palestine. But in Tyre of Phenicia he declareth, in the same, a marvellous martyrdome made; where certaine Christians being given to most cruell wild beasts were preserved without hurt of them, to the great admiration of the beholders; and those Lyons, Bears, and Libards (kept hungry for that purpose) had no desire to devour them: which notwithstanding most vehemently raged against those by whom they were brought into the stage, who, standing as they thought without danger of them, were first devoured. But the Christian martyrs, because they could not be hurt of the beasts, being slaine with the sword, were afterward throwne into the sea. At that

time was martyred the bishop of Sidon. But Sylvanus the bishop of Cayensis with nine and thirty others were slaine in the mettall mines of Phenicia. Pamphilus the elder of Cesarea, being the glory of that congregation, died a most worthy martyr; whose both life and most commendable martyrdom. Eusebius oftentimes declareth in his eight booke and thirtieth chapter, in so much that he hath written the same in a booke by it selfe. In Syria all the chiefe teachers of the congregation were first committed to prison, as a most heavy and cruell spectacle to behold; as also the Bishops, Elders, and Deacons, which all were esteemed as men-killers, and perpetrators of most wicked facts: Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 6. After that we read of another, whose name was Tirannion, which was made meate for the fishes of the Sea, and of Zenobius which was a very good physician, which also was slaine with brickbats in the same place: Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 13.

Furthermore hee maketh mention in the same place of others which were not tormented to death, but every day terrified and feared without ceasing: of some others that were brought to the sacrifices and commanded to doe sacrifice, which would rather thrust their right hand into the fire, then touch the prophane or wicked sacrifice; also of some others, that, before they were apprehended, would cast downe themselves from steep places, lest that being taken they should commit any thing against their profession. Also of two virgins very faire and proper, with their mother also which had studiously brought them up, even from their infancy in all godlinesse, being long sought for, and at the last found, and strictly kept by their keepers: who, whilst they made their excuse to do that which nature required, threw themselves downe headlong into a river: also of other two young maidens being sisters and of a worshipfull stocke, imbued with many goodly vertues, which were cast of the persecutors into the Sea: and these things were done at Antioch, as Eusebius in his eight booke and thirtieth chapter affirmeth. But Sylvanus the bishop of Emisa, the notable martyr together with certaine others, was throwne to the wilde beasts: Eusebius lib. 8. cap. 13.

Divers & sundry torments were the Christians in Mesopotamia molested with; where they were hanged up by the feete, and their heads downwards, and with the smoke of a small fire strangled; and also in Cappadocia, where the martyrs had their legs broken: Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 11.

Henricus de Erfordia maketh mention of the martyrs of Tharsus in Cilicia, as Tharatus, Probus, and Andronicus: but yet the martyrs in the region of Pontus suffered farre more passing and sharper torments, whereof I will hereafter make mention, Eusebius ibid. So outrageous was the beginning of the persecution which the Emperour made in Picomedia in Bithinia, as before is said, that he restrained not from the slaughter of the children of Emperours, neither yet from the slaughter of the most chiefe Princes of his Court, whom a little before hee made as much of, as if they had bene his owne children. Such another was Peter, which among divers and sundry torments (among whom he being naked was lifted up, his whole body being so beaten with whips and some, that a man might see the bare bones; and after they had mingled vinegar and salt together, they powdered it upon the most tender parts of his body, and lastly roasted him at a soft fire, as a man would roast flesh to eat) as a victorious martyr ended his life. Dozothheus and Gorgonius, being in a great authority and office under the Emperour, after divers torments were strangled with a halter: both which being of the privy chamber to him, when they saw and beheld the grieuous punishment of Peter their household companion, wherefore (say they) the Emperour, doe

Pamphilus  
bishop of Ce-  
sarea martyr.  
Euseb. lib. 8.  
cap. 12.

Martyrs of  
Syria.  
Euseb. lib. 8.  
cap. 6.

Tirannion  
martyr.  
Zenobius a  
physician mar-  
tyr.

Two virgins  
with their mo-  
ther, martyrs.

Two other  
maidens, sisters  
martyrs.

Sylvanus bi-  
shop of Emisa,  
martyr.

Martyrs of  
Mesopotamia.  
Euseb. lib. 8. ca.  
12.

Martyrs of  
Cappadocia.

Martyrs of;  
Tharatus,  
Probus,  
Andronicus,  
martyrs.  
Martyrs of  
Pontus.

Martyrs of  
Picomedia.  
Persecution  
in Picomedia  
preceding.

Peter a most  
valiant and  
constant mar-  
tyr.

Dozothheus,  
Gorgonius,  
martyrs.

The noble con-  
stance and con-  
stancy of a chris-  
tian martyr.

Euseb. lib. 8.  
p. 3. 4.

Persecution  
first beginning  
in the Empe-  
rours campe.

Euseb. lib. 8.  
p. 4.

A notable resis-  
tance and faith  
of soldiers.

Euseb. lib. 8.  
p. 7.

Martyrs of  
Tyre in Phen-  
icia.



you punish in Peter that opinion which is in all us? Why is this accounted in him an offence, that we all confesse: We are of that faith, religion, and judgment that he is of. Therefore he commanded them to be brought forth, and almost with like paines to be tormented as Peter was, and afterwards hanged: Euseb. Ruffin. lib. 8. cap. 6. After whom Anthimus the bishop of Picomedia, after he had made a notable confession, bringing with him a great company of martyrs, was beheaded. These men being thus dispatched, the Emperour vainely thought that he might cause the rest to doe what ever him listed. To this end came Lucianus the elder of the congregation of Antioch, and was martyred, after he had made his apology before the Emperour, Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 13.

Anthimus bishop of Picomedia with a great multitude of martyrs beheaded.

Lucianus the Elder of Antioch martyred.

Serena wife of Dioclesian Emperour martyred. Niceph. lib. 7. cap. 14. Eulampius, Agape, Irene, Chionia, and Anastasia, who, under Alypius chiefe Officer, were bound hand and foot to a post and burnt: Vincent. lib. 12. cap. 66. and also Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 6. mentioneth such another like matter full of horror and griefe. There assembled together in their temple many Christian men to celebrate the memory of the nativity of Christ, of every age and sort some. There Maximianus, thinking to have bene given a very fit occasion to execute his tyranny upon the poore Christians, sent thither such as should burne the temple, the doores being shut and closed round about, thither come they with fire, but first they commanded the cryer with a loud voyce to cry, that whosoever would have life should come out of the temple, and doe sacrifice upon the next altar of Jupiter they came to: and unlesse they would doe this they should all be burnt with the temple. When one, stepping up in the temple, answered in the name of all the rest with great courage and boldnesse of mind, that they were all Christians, and believed that Christ was their onely God and king, and that they would doe sacrifice to him, with his father, and the holy Ghost, and that they were now all ready to offer unto him. With these words the fire was kindled and compassed about the temple, & there were burnt of men, women, and children certaine thousands. There were also in Arabia very many martyrs slain with ares, as Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 12. There was in Egypt a City, unto which the Emperour sent his edicts that they should doe sacrifice to the gods, and worship idols; all which citizens, the major himselfe, the quæstor, and chiefe Captaine confessed that they were all Christians. The City upon this was besieged and set on fire, and all the people: Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 11. In Belitina a region of Armenia, the bishops and elders were cast in prison: Euseb. eodem cap. 6. In Arabiace a region nere adjoining to Armenia Custratius was martyred, as Nicophorus declareth, lib. 7. cap. 14. This Custratius was that counter-man borne, and very skilfull in the Græke tongue, executing by the Emperours commandement the Sheriffes office at Licia in the east, which also did execution there upon the Christians, & was a scribe of great estimation, called Ordinis ducalis. This man, beholding the marvellous constancy of the martyrs, thirsted with the desire of martyrdom, so that he had privily learned the Christian religion. Therefore he, not abiding for other accusers, detected himselfe, and worthily professed that he was a Christian, openly execrating the madnesse and vanity of the wicked ethnicks. He therefore being carried away was tied up, being first most bitterly beaten. After that he was parched with fire being put unto his bowels, and then basted with salt and vinegar, and lastly so scorched and bemangled with the

Twenty three hundred martyrs burnt together in one church, Martyrs of Arabia. Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 12.

Martyrs in a certaine city of Phrygia burnt with the whole city. Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 11. 6. Martyrs of Belitina in Armenia. Custratius of a persecutor made a martyr. Ex Niceph. lib. 7. cap. 14.

shards of sharpe and cutting shels, that his whole body seemed to be all one continuall wound; howbeit, by Gods great goodnesse, afterward it was restored to the first integrity. After this he was carried away to Sebastia, where with his companion Diocles he was burnt. At that time also suffered Eugenius, Aurentius, Hardarius: Niceph. lib. 7. cap. 14. And in no lesse wise raged this persecution throughout all Egypt, where Eusebius in his eighth Booke and thirtieth chapter maketh mention of Deleus and Pilus martyrs and bishops in Egypt. But at Alexandria especially were declared most notable confidants of Christian and true constant martyrs that suffered: which Phileas the bishop of Thumitan describeth, as after (God willing) shall be declared. In this persecution of Alexandria, the principall that then suffered was Peter the Bishop of Alexandria, with the elders of the same, most worthy martyrs: as Faustus, Didus, and Ammonius, also Phileas, Helichius, Pachimus, and Theodorius; which all were bishops of the congregations within Egypt, and besides them many other both famous and singular men. The whole legion of Christian souldiers, which lay at Thebes in Egypt, under the Christian captaine Hauritius, when they would not obey the Emperours commandement touching the worshipping of images, were tithed to death once, and then againe: and at last, through the exhortation of Hauritius, died all together like constant martyrs: Vincentius in speculo, lib. 13. cap. 2. Likewise at Antino divers Christian souldiers, notwithstanding they were seriously disswaded, suffered death together, among whom were Ascla, Philemon, and Apollonius, ibidem cap. 50. And also in the other parts of Africa and Mauritania was great persecution, as Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 6. Also in Sammunt, of which place Chironicon maketh mention, and Sicilia, where were 79. martyrs slain for the profession of Christ: Henr. de Erfordia.

Now let us come unto Europe. Nicophorus in his seventh booke and fourteenth chapter saith, that at Nicopolis in Thracia the martyrs were in most miserable and pittifull wise handled, where Ilias had the execution thereof. In Chalcedon suffered Euphemus under Pliscus the Proconsull: Vincent. lib. 12. cap. 77.

Henricus de Erfordia saith, that at Rome, Johannes and Crispus, being Priests, had the execution of martyrs. And at Boecia, Agricola, and Vitalis: Vincent. lib. 12. cap. 49. And at Aquileia the Emperour commanded every man to kill the Christians: Vincent. lib. eodem cap. 58. And among those martyrs he maketh mention of Felices and Fortunatus. Reginus also writeth that in other places of Italy the persecution became great, as at Florentia, Pergamus, Paples, Campania, Beneventus, at Venusa in Apulia, and in Thulcia; Henricus de Erfordia saith also at Verona. In France doubtlesse Bedonarius appointed to that office played the cruell helbound, of whose great cruelty against the Christians many histories are full. At Mediolanus suffered Victor. And at Gallia, Maximianus set forth his decree, that either they should all doe sacrifice unto the gods of the Gentiles, or else be all slain with divers kinds of torments: Therefore many martyrs there died for the glory of Christ: Antoninus & Vincent. lib. 12. cap. 2. In Beluacus suffered Lucian.

Vincentius and Reginus write of many places in Spaine, where was great persecution, as at Cacerita, where suffered Eulalia, of whom more followeth hereafter, & Auda, where also suffered Vincentius, Sabina, & Chistina. At Toletum suffered Eucadia the virgin; at Cesarea Augusta, where were put to death eighteene, beside a great number of other martyrs which suffered under Decianus the governour, which assisted with persecution all the coasts of Spaine, as saith Vincent. lib. 13. cap. 123, 124.

Niceph. lib. 7.

cap. 14.

Diocles martyr. Eugenius, Aurentius, Hardarius, Deleus, Pilus, bishops and martyrs in Egypt.

Petrus bishop of Alexandria. Sanctus, Didus, Ammonius, Phileas, Helichius, Pachimus, Theodorius, bishops and martyrs. The Christian souldiers and martyrs of Thebes.

The Christian souldiers and bishops in Antino Ascla, Philemon, Apollonius, martyrs.

Seventy nine martyrs.

The persecution in Europe. Euphemus.

Persecution France.

Victor martyr.

Lucianus martyr.

The persecution in Spaine.

Eulalia, Ad Vincentius, Sabina, Chistina, Lucat martyrs.



128. 130. 134. The foresaid Medonarus made such persecution at Trebers nare the river of Hossella, that the blood of the Christian men that were slain ran like small brookes, and coloured great and maine rivers. Neither yet did this suffice him, but from thence he sent certaine horsemen with his letters, commanding them to ride into every place, and charge all such as had taken and apprehended any Christians, that they should immediately put them to death. Vincent. lib. 13. cap. 136.

Also Henricus de Erfordia and Reginus make mention of great persecution to be at Colonia, where Agrippina and Augusta were martyred, as also in the Province of Libetia.

Weda also saith, that this persecution reached even unto the Brittaines, in his Booke, De ratione temporum. And the Chronicle of Martinus, and the History of time doe declare, that all the Christians in Britanny were utterly destroyed: furthermore, that the kindes of death and punishment were so great

and horrible, as no mans tongue is able to expresse. In the beginning, when the Emperour by his filthy and unchristlike rather dallied than shewed his rigour, he threatened them with bands and imprisonment: but within a while, when he began to worke the matter in god earnest, he devised innumerable

sorts of torments and punishments, as whippings and scourges, rackings, horrible scrapings, sword, fire and shipbotes, wherein a great number being put were sunke and drowned in the bottom of the Sea: Euseb. lib. 8. c. 6. & 7. Also hanging them upon crosses, binding them to the bodies of dead trees, with

their heads downward, hanging them by the middles upon gallows, till they died for hunger, throwing them alive to such kinde of wilde beasts as would devour them; as Lions, Beares, Libards and wild Bulls: Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 8. pricking and thrusting them in with bodkins and talens of beasts till they were almost dead; lifting them up on high with

their heads downward, even as in Thebaide they did unto the women being naked and unclothed, one of their feet tied and lifted on high, and so hanging downe with their bodies, which thing to see was very pitifull, with other devised sorts of punishments most tragicall, or rather tyrannicall and pitifull to

describe: as first, the binding of them to trees, and to the boughs thereof: the pulling and tearing asunder of their members and joynts, being tied to the boughes and armes of trees: Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 9. the mangling of them with axes, the choking of them with smoke by small and soft fires, the dismembred of their hands, eares and feete, with other joynts:

as the holy Martyrs of Alexandria suffered the scorching and boiling of them with coales, not unto death, but every day renewed. With such kind of torments the Martyrs at Antioch were afflicted. But in Pontus, other horrible punishments, and

fearfull to be heard, did the Martyrs of Christ suffer: of which, some had their fingers ends under the nayles thrust in with sharp bodkins; some all to besprinkled with boiling lead, having their most necessary members cut from them; some other suffering most filthy, intolerable, and undurable torments and paines in their bowels and privie members: Eusebius eodem cap. 12.

To conclude, how great the outrage of the persecution which rained in Alexandria was, and with how many and sundry kinds of new devised punishments the martyrs were afflicted, Whiles the Bishop of the Thumians, a man singularly well learned, hath described in his Epistle to the Thumians, the copy whereof Eusebius hath in his eighth Booke and tenth chapter, out of the which we meane here briefly to recite somewhat. Because (saith he) every

man might torment the holy martyrs as they lifted themselves, some beat them with cudgels, some with rods, some with whips, some with thongs, and some with cords, and this example of beating was in sun-

drie wise executed, and with much crueltie. For some of them, having their hands bound behinde their backs, were lifted up upon timber logs, and with certaine instruments their members and joynts were stretched forth, whereupon their whole bodies hanging were subject to the will of the tormentors, who were commanded to afflict them with all manner of torments, and not on their sides onely (like as homicides were) but upon their bellies, thighs and legs

they scratched them with the talens and clawes of wilde beasts. Some others were seene to hang by one hand upon the engine, whereby they might feeble the more grievous pulling out of the rest of their joynts and members. Some others were in such sort bound unto pillars with their faces turned to the wall, having

no stay under their feete, and were violently weighed downe with the poise of their bodies, that by reason of their strict binding, they being drawne out might be more grievously tormented. And this suffered they, not onely during the time of their examination, and while the Sheriffe had to doe with them, but also the whole day long. And whilst the

Judge went thus from one to another, hee by his authoritie, appointed certaine officers to attend upon those hee left, that they might not be let downe, untill either through the intolerableness of the paine, or by the extremitie of cold, they being neere the point of death should be let downe; and so were they haled upon the ground. And further they were

commanded that they should shew not so much as one sparke of mercie or compassion upon us, but so extremely and furiously did they deale with us, as though our soules and bodies should have died together. And therefore yet another torment our

adversaries devised, to augment our former plagues. After that they had most lamentably beaten them, they devised moreover a new kinde of racke, wherein they lying upright were stretched by both the feete above the fourth stop or hole with sharpe

shells or shares strowed under them, after a strange kinde of engine to us here unknowne. Other some were cast downe upon the pavement, where they were oppressed so thicke, and so grievously with torments, that it is not almost to be thought what afflictions they suffered.

Thus they lying in paines and torments, some died therewith, not a little shaming and confounding their enemies by their singular patience. Some halfe dead and halfe alive were thrust into prison, where shortly after by paines and wounds of their bodies they ended their bitter life. Some againe, being cured of their wounds by their indurance in prison, were more confirmed, who being put to the choyce

whether they would come to their cursed sacrifice, and enjoy their wicked libertie, or else sustaine the sentence of death, did willingly and without delay abide the extremitie, remembering with themselves what is written in the Scriptures. He that sacrificeth (saith he) to strange gods, shall be exterminated, &c. Item, Thou shalt have no strange gods beside me, &c.

Thus much wrote Whiles to the Congregation where he was Bishop, before he received the sentence of death, being yet in bands; and in the same he exhorted his brethren constantly to persist after his death, in the truth of Christ professed. Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 10.

Sabellicus in his seventh Ennead. and eighth Booke, saith that that Christened man, which fore and pulled downe the wicked edict of the Emperour in Bicomedia, being stript and beaten that the bones appeared, and after washed in salt and vinegar, was then slain with this cruel kind of torment. But Platina writeth that Dozothens and Gorgonius exhorted him to die so constantly.

But as all their torments were for their horrible, nesse marvellous and notable, and therewithall so studiously devised, and no lesse grievous and sharp: so notwithstanding, therewith were these Martyrs

neither

Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 10.

Strange kinds of torments.

Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 10. Ex Sabellico, lib. 7. cap. 9.

An holy martyr of Bicomedia, commented.

Eightene  
in  
Spain.  
Medonarus a  
notable tyrant.  
The blood of  
the Christians  
made rivers.

Agrippina,  
Augusta,  
The persecuti  
on of Britanny  
England.  
De ratione  
temporum.

Dioclesianus  
did but daily in  
the beginning  
of the persecu  
tion.

Sundry sorts  
of torments de  
vised against  
the Christians.  
Euseb. lib. 8.  
cap. 6, 7, 8.

The women of  
Thebaide mar  
tyrs.

Euseb. lib. 8.  
cap. 9.  
The persecuti  
on in Antioch.

Persecution  
in Pontus.

Persecution in  
Alexandria.

The contents  
of the Epistle of  
Whiles sent to  
his congrega  
tion.



neither dismayd nor overcome, but rather thereby confirmed and strengthened; so merrily and joyfully sustained they whatsoever was put unto them. Eusebius saith, that he himselfe beheld and saw the huge and great persecution that was done in Thebes; in so much that the very swords of the hangmen and persecutors being blunt with the great and often slaughter, they themselves for wearinesse laid downe to rest them, and others were faine to take their places. And yet all this notwithstanding the murdered Christians shewed their marvellous readinesse, willingness and divine fortitude, which they were indued with; with stout courage, joy, and smiling, receiving the sentence of death pronounced upon them, and sung even unto the last gaspe, Hymnes and Psalmes to God. So did also the Martyrs of Alexandria, as witnesseth Whiles above mentioned. The holy Martyrs (saith hee) keeping Christ in their minds, being led with the love of better rewards, sustained not onely at one time whatsoever labour and devised punishments they had to lay upon them: but now also the second time have done the same, and have borne all the menaces of the cruell souldiers, not onely in words wherewith they threatened them, but also whatsoever in deed and worke they could devise to their destruction, and that with most manly stomacks, excluding all feare, with the perfection of their unspeakable love towards Christ, whose great strength and fortitude cannot by words be expressed. And Sulpitius saith in the second Booke of his sacred history, that then the Christians with more greedy desire, pressed and sought for Martyrdom, than now they doe desire Bishopricks.

Although some there were also, as I have said, that with feare and threatenings, and by their owne infirmities were overcome and went backe: Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 4. among whom Socrates nameth Hiletius, lib. 1. cap. 6. and Athanasius in his second Apologie, nameth the Bishop of Nicus, a city in little Egypt, whom Peter the Bishop of Alexandria excommunicated, for that in this persecution he sacrificed unto the Gentiles gods. Of the fall of Marcelinus, the Bishop of Rome, I will speake afterwards; for he being perswaded by others, and specially of the Emperour Dioclesian himselfe, did sacrifice, whereupon he was excommunicated; but afterwards he repenting the same, was againe received into the congregation, and made Martyr, as Platina, and the compiler of the Booke of the generall counells affirme. The number of the Martyrs increased daily, sometimes ten, sometimes twenty were slaine at once: some whyles thirty, and oftentimes threescore, and other whyles a hundred in one day, men, women, and children, by divers kinds of death: Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 9. Also Damascus, Beda, Dositius, Honorius, and others doe witness, that there were slaine in this persecution by the names of martyrs, within the space of thirty daies, seventen thousand persons, besides another great number and multitude that were condemned to the mettall mines and quarries with like cruelty.

At Alexandria with Peter the Bishop, of whom I have made mention before, were slaine with axes thre hundred and above, as Sabellicus declareth, Cereon was beheaded at Colonia Agrippina, with thre hundred of his fellowes, as saith Henricus de Erfordia. Mauritius the Captaine of Christian Religion, with his fellowes, six thousand six hundred sixty and six. Victor in the city of Troy, now called Eanthus, with his fellowes thre hundred and threescore were slaine, as saith Otto Phrisingenis, lib. 2. cap. 45. Reginus reciteth the names of many other martyrs, to the number of one hundred and twenty. And for so much as mention here hath been made of Mauritius & Victor, the particular description of the same history I thought here to insert, taken out of Ado, and other story Writers, as ensueth.

Mauritius came out of Syria into France and Italy, being Captaine of the band of the Theban souldiers, to the number of six thousand six hundred and threescore, being sent for of Maximianus, to goe against the rebellious Bagaudes; but rather, as it should seme, by the reason of the tyrant, which thought he might better in these quarters use his tyranny upon the Christians, than in the East part. These Thebanes, with Mauritius the Captaine, after that they had entred into Rome, were there of Marcellus the blessed Bishop, confirmed in the faith, promising by oath, that they would rather be slaine of their enemies, than forsake that faith which they had received; who followed the Emperors host through the Alpes even into France. At that time the Cesareans were incamped not farre from the towne called Ottobor, where Maximianus offered sacrifice to his diuels, and called all the souldiers both of the East and West to the same, strictly charging them by the altars of his gods, that they would fight against those rebels the Bagaudes, and persecute the Christian enemies of the Emperors gods: which his commandement was shewed to the Theban host, which were also incamped about the river of Rode, and in a place that was named Agawne, but to Ottobor they would in no wise come, for that every man did certainly appoint and perswade with themselves, rather in that place to die, than either to sacrifice to the gods, or beare armour against the Christians. Which thing indeed, very stoutly and valiantly they affirmed, upon their oath before taken to Maximianus, when he sent for them. Wherewith the tyrant, being wrathfull and all moved, commanded every tenth man of that whole band to be put to the sword, wherto stridingly and with great rejoicing they committed their necks. To which notable thing and great force of faith, Mauritius himselfe was a great encourager, who by and by with a most grave oration, exhorted and animated his souldiers both to fortitude and constancy. Which, being againe called of the Emperour, answered in this wise, saying: We are, O Emperour, your souldiers, but yet also, to speake freely, the servants of God. We owe to thee service of warre, to him innocency: of thee we receive for our travell, wages: of him the beginning of life. But in this we may in no wise obey thee, O Emperour, to deny God our author and Lord, and not onely ours, but your Lord likewise, will yee, nill yee. If we be not so extremely enforced that we offend him, doubtlesse, as wee have hitherto before, we will yet obey you: but otherwise we will rather obey him than you. We offer here our hands against any other enemies: but to defile our hands with the blood of innocents, that wee may not doe. These right hands of ours have skill to fight against the wicked and true enemies: but to spoyle and murder the godly and citizens, they have no skill at all. We have in remembrance how we tooke armour in hand, for the defence of the citizens, and not against them. We fought alwaies for justice sake, piety, and for the health of innocents. These have beene alwaies the rewards of our perils and travell. Wee have sought in the quarrell of faith, which in no wise we can keepe to you, if we doe not shew the same to our God. We first sware upon the sacraments of our God, then afterward to the King: and doe you thinke the second will availle us, if we breake the first? By us you would plague the Christians, to doe which feate wee are onely commanded by you. Wee are here ready to confesse God the author of all things, and believe in his Sonne Iesus Christ our Lord. We see before our eyes our fellowes, and partakers of our labours and travells, to be put to the sword, and wee sprinkled with their blood: of which our most blessed companions and brethren the end and death we have not bewailed nor mourned, but rather have beene glad, and have rejoyced thereat, for that they have beene counted worthy to suffer for the Lord their God.

The history of Mauritius captaine of the Theban souldiers.

Every tenth man in the legion slaine.

The oration of the souldiers to the Emperour.

Eusebius a beholder and a witness of their suffering.

The swords blane, and the hangmen wearied with slaughter.

The marvellous constancy of the martyrs of God in persecution and at the time of death.

Martyrdom more desired in the old time then bishopricks be now.

Christians that denied in this persecution. Plectus revolteth from the faith and is excommunicated. Marcellinus the Bishop revolteth & cometh againe to the faith, and is martyred.

A hundred martyrs in one day. Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 9.

Seventene thousand martyrs in one month.

Three hundred slaine at one time in Alexandria. Cereon martyred.

Mauritius with 666. martyrs.

Victor with 260. martyrs slaine.



God. The extreme necessity of death cannot move us against your Majesty, neither yet any desperation, O Emperor, which is wont in ventrous affaires to doe much, shall arme us against you. Behold here wee cast downe our weapons, and resist not, for that wee had rather to be killed, than kill, and guilelesse to die, than guilty to live. Whatsoever more yee will command, appoint and enjoine us, wee are here ready to suffer, yea, both fire and sword, and whatsoever other torments. Wee confesse our selves to be Christians, wee cannot persecute Christians, nor will doe sacrifice to your divellish idols.

With which their answer, the King being also gether incensed and moved, commanded the second time the tenth man of them that were left to be in like case murdered. That cruelty also being accomplished, at length, when the Christian souldiers would in no wise condescend unto his mind, he set upon them with his whole host, both foot-men and also horse-men, and charged them to kill them all. Who with all force set upon them; they making no resistance, but throwing downe their armes, yielded their lives to the persecutors, and offered to them their naked bodies.

At this time was not of that band, nor yet then any souldier; but being an old souldier, was dismissed for his age. At which time he, coming suddenly upon them as they were banqueting and making merry with the spoiles of the holy Martyrs, was bidden to sit downe with them: who first asking the cause of that their so great rejoicing and understanding the truth thereof, detested the guests, and refused to eat with them. And then being demanded of them whether happily he were a Christian or no: openly confessed and denied not but that he was a Christian, and ever would be. And thereupon they rushing upon him, killed him, and made him partner of the like martyrdom and honour.

Weda in his history writeth, that this persecution, being under Dioclesian, endured unto the seventh yeare of Constantinus. And Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 6. saith, that it lasted untill the tenth yeare of Constantinus. It was not yet one yeare from the day in which Dioclesian and Maximian, joining themselves together, began their persecution, when that they saw the number of the Christians rather to increase than to diminish, notwithstanding all the cruelty that ever they could shew, and now were out of all hope for the utter rooting out of them. Which thing was the cause of their first enterprise: and having now even their fill of blood, and loathing, as it were, the shedding thereof, they ceased at the last of their owne accord to put any more Christians to death. But yet of a great multitude they did thrust out their right eyes, and maimed their left legs at the ham with a searing iron, condemning them to the mines of metals, not so much for the use of their labour, as for the desire of afflicting them. And this was the commencement and release of the cruelty of those Princes, which said that it was not meet that the cities should be defiled with the blood of citizens, and to make the Emperors highnesse to be distained with the name of cruelty, but to shew his princely beneficence and liberallitie to all men, Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 10.

When Dioclesian and Maximian had reigned together Emperors one and twentie yeares (Piscophorus saith two and twentie yeares) at length Dioclesian put himselfe from his imperiall dignitie at Nicomedia, and lived at Salona; Maximian at Mediolanum; and led both of them a private life in the three hundred and ninth yeare after Christ. This strange and marvellous alteration gave occasion (and so it came to passe) that within short space after, there were in the Romane commonwealth many Emperors at one time.

In the beginning of this persecution, you heard how Dioclesian being made Emperour toke to him

Maximinian. Also how these two, governing as Emperors together, chose out other two Césars under them, to wit, Galerius Maximinus, and Constantius the father of Constantine the great. Thus then Dioclesian reigning with Maximian, in the nineteenth yeare of his raigne beganne his furious persecution against the Christians, whose raigne after the same continued not long. For so it pleased God to put such a snaffle in the tyrants mouth, that within two yeares after, he caused both him and Maximian (for what cause he knoweth) to give over their Imperiall function, and so to remaine not as Emperors any more, but as private persons. So that they being now displaced and dispossessed, the Imperiall dominion, remained with Constantius and Galerius Maximinus, which two divided the whole Monarchy between them: so that Maximinus should governe the East countries, and Constantius the west parts. But Constantius as a modest Prince, only contented with the Imperiall title, refused Italy and Aphyrike, contenting himselfe only with France, Spaine and Britaine. Wherefore Galerius Maximinus chose to him his two sons, Maximinus & Severus. Likewise Constantius toke Constantinus his son César under him. In the meane time while Maximinus with his two Césars were in Asia, the Romane souldiers set up for their Emperour Maxentius the son of Maximian, who had before deposed himselfe. Against whom Maximinus the Emperour of the East sent his sonne Severus, which Severus was slaine in the same voyage of Maxentius, in whose place then Maximinus toke Licinius. And these were the Emperors and Césars, which succeeding after Dioclesian and Maximian, persecuted the rest of that persecution, which Dioclesian and Maximian before began, during neare the space of seven or eight yeares, which was to the yeare of our Lord three hundred and eightene: save onely that Constantius with his sonne Constantinus was no great doer therein, but rather a maintainer & a supporter of the Christians. Which Constantius, surnamed Cloius for his palenesse, was the sonne of Eutropius, a man of great nobility of the Romane nation, as Iustus affirmeth. He came of the line of Eneas and Claudia the daughter of Claudius Augustus. This man had not the desire of great and mighty dominions, and therefore parted he the Empire with Galerius, and would rule but in France, Britaine and Spaine, refusing the other kingdomes for the troublesome and difficult government of the same. Otherwise he was a Prince, as Eutropius maketh description of him, very excellent, civill, meake, gentle, liberall, and desirous to doe good unto those that had any private authority under him. And as Cyrus once said, that he got treasure enough, when he made his friends rich: Even so it is said that Constantius would of tentatives say, that it were better that his subjects had treasure, than he to have it in his treasure house.

Also he was by nature sufficed with a little, in so much that he used to eate and drinke in earthen vessels (which thing was counted in Agathocles the Sicilian a great commendation) and if at any time cause required to garnish his table, he would send for plate and other furniture to his friends. To these vertues he added yet a more worthy ornament, that is, devotion, love, and affection towards the Word of God, as Eusebius in his eighth Booke and thirtieth chapter affirmeth: after which vertues ensued great peace and tranquillity in all his Provinces. By which word he being guided, neither led by any wars contrary to piety and Christian religion, neither aided he any other that did the same, neither destroyed he the Churches, but commanded that the Christians should be preferred and defended, and kept them safe from all contumelious injuries. And when that in the other jurisdictions of the Empire the congregations were molested with persecution,

The names of the Emperors. Dioclesian and Maximian Emperors deposed. Galerius, Maximinus, Constantius, Emperors.

Maximinus, Severus, Constantius, Césars.

Maxentius Emperour, Licinius César.

§ Anno ? 318. §

§ The commencement of Constantius.

§ Happy Constantius.

Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 13. Constantius gracious to the Christians.

Maximian and his confederate.

He constant Maximian and his confederate.

The number of the Christians increased for all his persecution.

Dioclesian and Maximian were tired with persecution, and gave up their kingdom.

Euseb. lib. 8. p. 10.

§ Anno 309. §



Sozomenus,  
lib. 1. cap. 6.

persecution, as Sozomenus declareth in his first Booke and sixth chapter, hee onely gave licence unto the Christians to live after their accustomed manner. This wonderfull act of his following, besides others, doth shew that hee was a sincere worshipper, and of the Christian Religion.

Constantinus  
probeth who  
were true Chri-  
stians in his  
court, and who  
were not.

Ex Euseb. de vi-  
ta Constant. l. 1.  
Ex Sozomeno.  
lib. 1. cap. 6.

Faile Christi-  
ans discerned  
from true.

Those which bare the chiefe offices amongst the Ethnikes drave out of the Emperors court all the godly Christians: whereupon this ensued, that the Emperors themselves, at the last, were destitute of help, when such were driven away, which dwelling in their courts, and living a godly life, powred out their prayers unto God for the prosperous estate and health both of the Empire and Emperoz. Constantinus therefore, minding at a certaine time to try what sincere and good Christians hee had yet in his Court, called together all his officers and servants in the same, satining himselfe to chuse out such as would doe sacrifice to diuels, and that those onely should dwell there and keepe their offices, and that those which would refuse to doe the same, should be thrust out and banished the court. At this appointment, all the courtiers divided themselves into companies: the Emperoz marked which were the constantest and godliest from the rest. And when some said they would willingly doe sacrifice, other some openly and boldly denied to doe the same; then the Emperoz sharply rebuked those which were so ready to do sacrifice, and judged them as false traitors unto God, accounting them unworthy to be in his court, which were such traitors to God; and forthwith commanded that they only should be banished the same. But greatly hee commended them which refused to doe sacrifice, and confessed God, affirming that they onely were worthy to be about a Prince; forthwith commanding that thenceforth they should be the trusty Counsellors and defenders both of his Person and Kingdome; saying thus much more, that they only were worthy to be in office, whom hee might make account of as his assured friends, and that he meant to have them in more estimation, then the substance hee had in his treasury. Eusebius maketh mention hereof in his first Booke of the life of Constantinus, and also Sozomenus in his first Booke and sixth Chapter.

Euseb. lib. de vi-  
ta Constant.

Marcellinus an  
enemy to the  
Christians.

With this Constantinus was joynd (as hath bene aforesaid) Galerius Marcellinus, a man, as Eutropius affirmeth, very civil and a passing good scouldier: further more, a favourer of wife and learned men, of a quiet disposition, not rigorous, but in his drunkenness, whereof hee would some after repent him, as Macrobius writeth; whether hee meaneth Marcellinus the father, or Marcellinus his sonne, it is uncertaine. But Eusebius far otherwise describeth the conditions of him in his eighth Booke & first chapter. For he saith hee was of a tyrannicall disposition; the fearefullest man that might be, and curious in all magicall superstition; in so much that without the divinations and answers of diuels hee durst doe nothing at all; and therefore hee gave great offices and dignities to inchanters. Furthermore, that hee was an erector and extortioner of the citizens, liberall to those that were flatterers, given to surfeiting and riot, a great drinker of wine, and in his furious drunkenness most like a mad man, a rabaud, and adulterer, which came to no city, but hee ravished virgins, and defiled mens wives. To conclude, hee was so great an idolater, that hee built up Temples in every city, and repaired those that were fallen in great decay: and hee chose out the most worth of his politicall Magistrates to be the idols Priests, and devised that they should execute that their office with great authority and dignity, and also with warlike poynte. But unto Christian piety and religion, hee was most incensable, and in the East Churches exercised cruell persecution, and used as executioners of the same, Venerius, Quintianus, and Theotechnus, beside others.

The wicked-  
nesse of Mar-  
cellinus descri-  
bet.

Notwithstanding hee was at length reboked from his cruelty by the iust judgement and punishment of God. For hee was suddenly bered with a fatall disease most filthy and desperate, which disease to describe was very strange, taking the first beginning in his flesh outwardly, from thence it proceeded more and more to the inward parts of his body. For in the privie members of his body, there happened unto him a sudden putrefaction, and after in the bottome of the same a botchy corrupt bile, with a fistula consuming and eating up his intrals, out of the which came swarming forth an innumerable multitude of lice, with such a pestiferous stink, that no man could abide him; and so much more, for that all the grossenesse of his body by abundance of meat before hee fell sicke, was turned also into fat; which fat now putrified and stinking, was so ugly and horrible, that none that came to him could abide the sight thereof. By reason whereof, the Physicians which had him in cure, not able to abide the intolerable stink, some of them were commanded to be slaine. Other some, because they could not heale him, being so swollen and past hope of cure, were also cruelly put to death. At length, being put in remembrance that his disease was sent of God, he began to forethinke the wickednesse that hee had done against the Saints of God, and so comming againe to himselfe, first confesseth to God all his offences, then calling them unto him which were about him, forthwith commanded all men to cease from the persecutions of the Christians: requiring moreover that they should set up his Emperiall proclamations, for the restoring and reedifying of their Temples, and that they would obtaine this of the Christians in their assemblies (which without all feare and doubt they might be bold to make) that they would devoutly pray to their God for the Emperoz. Then forthwith was the persecution stayed, and the Emperiall proclamations in every city were set up, containing the retraction or countermand of those things which against the Christians were before decreed, the copy whereof ensueth.

A terrible  
plague sent by  
God to Mar-  
cellinus.

Marcellinus  
killeth his phy-  
sicians.

Marcellinus his  
countermand in  
the behalfe of  
the Christians.

Amongst other things, which for the benefit and commoditie of the commonweale were established, were commanded to reforme all things according to the ancient Lawes and publike Discipline of the Romans, and also to use this policy, that the Christians, which had forsaken the religion of their forefathers, should be brought againe to the right way. For such phantasticall singularity was amongst them, that those things which their elders had received and allowed, they rejected and disallowed, devising every man such Lawes as they thought good, and observed the same, assembling in divers places great multitudes of people.

Therefore, when our foresaid decree was proclaimed, many there were that felt the penalty thereof, and many being troubled therefore, suffered many kinds of death. And because wee see yet that there be many which persevere in the same, which neither give due worship unto the celestiall gods; neither receive the God of the Christians, wee having respect to our accustomed benignity, wherewith wee are wont to shew favour unto all men, thinke good in this cause also to extend our clemency, that the Christians may be againe tolerated, and appoint them places where againe they may meete together, so that they doe nothing contrary to publike order and discipline. By another Epistle wee meane to prescribe unto the Iudges, what shall be convenient for them to doe. Wherefore according as this our bountifull clemency deserveth, let them make intercession to God for our health, commonweale, and for themselves; that in all places the state of the commonweale may be preserved, and that they themselves may be able safely to live within their bounds. Euseb. lib. 8. cap. ult.

Euseb. lib. 8.  
cap. ult.

But one of his inferior officers, whose name was also



also Maximinus was not well pleased when this countermand was published throughout all Asia, and the Provinces where he had to doe. Yet he being qualified by this example, that it was not convenient for him to repugne the pleasure of those Princes which had the chiefe authority, as Constantinus and Maximinus, set forth of himselfe no edict touching the same; but commanded his officers in the presence of others, that they should somewhat stay from the persecution of the Christians: of which commandment of the inferior Maximinus, each of them gave intelligence unto their fellows by their letters. But Sabinius, which then amongst them all had the chiefeest office and dignity, to the satisfactions of every countrey wrote by his letters the Emperors pleasure in this wise.

The Majesty of our most gracious and soveraigne Lords the Emperors hath lately decreed with speciall diligence and devotion, to induce all men to an uniforme life, so that they, which seemed to dissent from the Romane custome by a strange manner of living, should exhibit to the immortall gods their due and proper worship: but the wilfull and obstinate mind of divers so much and so continually resisted the same, that by no lawfull means they might be revoked from their purpose, neither made afraid by any terror or punishment. Because therefore it so came to passe, that by this means many put themselves in perill and jeopardy: the Majesty of our soveraigne Lords the Emperours, according to their noble piety, considering that it was farre from the meaning of their Princely majesties that such things should be, whereby so many men and much people should be destroyed, gave mee in charge, that with diligence I should write unto you, that, if any of the Christians from henceforth fortune to be taken in the exercise of their religion, in no wise yee molest the same, neither for that cause you doe judge any man worthy of punishment; for that in all this time it hath evidently appeared, that by no means they might be allured from such wilfulness. It is therefore requisite that your wisdome write unto the questors, captaines, and constables of every City and village, that they may know it not to be lawfull for them, or any of them, to doe contrary to the prescript of this commandment, neither that they presume to attempt the same.

*Euseb. lib. 9. cap. 1.*

The Governours therefore of every Province, supposing this to be the determinate pleasure (and not fained) of the Emperour, did first advertise thereof the rusticall and pagan multitude: after that they released and set at liberty all such prisoners as were condemned to the mestall mines, and to perpetuall imprisonment for their faith, thinking thereby (where indeed they were deceived) that the doing thereof would please the Emperour. This therefore seemed to them as unlooked for, and as light to travellers in a darke night. They gather themselves together in every city, they call their synods and counsels, and much marvel at the sudden change and alteration. The infidels themselves extoll the onely and true God of the Christians. The Christians receive againe all their former liberties; and such as fell away before in the time of persecution repent themselves, and after penance done, they returned againe to the congregation. Now the Christians rejoiced in every city, praising God with hymnes and Psalmes: Eusebius ibidem. This was a marvelous sudden alteration of the Church, from a most unhappy state into a better: but scarce suffered Maximinus the tyrant the same few months unviolated to continue. For whatsoever seemed to make for the subversion of the same peace (yet scarcely hatched) that did he onely meditate. And first of all hee tooke from the Christians all liberty and leave for them to assemble and congregate in Churchyards under a certaine colour. After that he sent certaine miscreants unto the Athenians, to sol-

licit them against the Christians, and to provoke them to aske of him, as a recompence and great reward, that he would not suffer any Christian to inhabit in their country: and amongst them was one Theotecnus, a most wicked miscreant, and inchanter, and a most deadly enemy against the Christians. He first made the way whereby the Christians were put out of credit and accused to the Emperour; to which fraud also hee erected a certaine idoll of Jupiter to be worshipped of the inchanters and conjurers, and mingled the same worship with ceremonies, full of deceiverable witchcraft. Lastly, he caused the same idoll to give this sound out of his mouth, that is: Jupiter commandeth the Christians to be banished out of the city and suburbs of the same, as enemies unto him. And the same sentence did the rest of the Governours of the Provinces publish against the Christians, and thus at length persecution began to kindle against them. Maximinus appointed and instituted high Priests and Bishops in every city to offer sacrifice unto idols, and inveigled all those that were in great offices under him, that they should not only cease to pleasure them and to doe for them, but also that they should wish new devised accusations against them, at their pleasure, put as many to death as by any means they might. They also did counterfeite certain practises of Pilate against our Saviour Christ full of blasphemy, and sent the same into all the Empire of Maximinus by their letters, commanding that the same should be published and set up in every city and suburbs of the same, and that they should be delivered to the school-masters, to cause their scholars to learne by rote the same.

After that, one named Præfectus castrorum, whom the Romanes doe call capitaine, allured certaine light women, partly by feare, and partly by punishment, dwelling at Damascus in Phenicia, and taken out of the court wherein they were accused, that they should openly say in writing, that they were once Christians, and that they knew what wicked and lascivious acts the Christians were wont to execute amongst themselves upon the Sundayes, and what other things they thought good to make moze of their owne head, to the slander of the Christians. The capitaine sheweth unto the Emperour their words, as though it had bene so indeed: and the Emperour by and by commanded the same to be published throughout every city. Furthermore, they did hang up in the midst of every city (which was never done before) the Emperours edicts against the Christians, graven in tables of brass. And the children in the scholes with great noise and clapping of hands, did every day resound the contumelious blasphemies of Pilate unto Jesus, and what other things soever were devised of the Magistrates, after a most despitefull manner. Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7. And this is the copy of the edict, which Maximinus caused to be fastened to pillars, fraught with all arrogant and insolent hate against God and Christ.

The weak and imbecill rebellion of mans minde (all obscurity and blindness of ignorance set apart, which hitherto hath wrapped the mindes of impious and miserable men in the pernicious darknesse of ignorance) is now at the length able to discern, that the same is governed, as also corroborated by the providence of the immortall gods, the lovers of vertue: which thing, how acceptable it is to us, how pleasant and gratefull, and how much proofe the same hath declared of your well disposed willing mindes, is incredible to be told: although this was not unknowne before, with what diligence and devotion yee served the immortall gods, whose wonderful and constant faith is not knowne by bare and naked words, but by your worthy and notable deedes. Wherefore worthily is your City called the habitation and seat of the immortall gods, and by many examples

The devilish practise of Theotecnus.

The false practises of the written against Christ and his Religion.

A devised accusation against the Christians by harlots.

Maximinus red countermand graven in brass.

Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 3.

The copie of the countermand made against the Christians.

Sabinus in the name of the Christians published the edict.

Euseb. lib. 9. cap. 1.

Persecution ceased for a me.

The infidels knowledge of God of the Christians.

One alteration upon another.



Wicked blas-  
phemy.

The woakes of  
the living God  
falsely imputed  
to dead stocks  
and idole.

Horrible blas-  
phemy.

The like argu-  
ment of wea-  
ther and come,  
and plenty,  
made the un-  
faithfull Jewes,  
and also make  
now our faith-  
less Papist.

Euseb. lib. 9.  
cap. 7.

Persecution re-  
minded.

examples it appeareth that the same flourisheth, and prospereth by the presence of the celestiall gods. For behold, your City not regarding your private busi-  
nesses, nor esteeming that which should have bene for the speciall commodity thereof, when it percei-  
ved that cursed vanity to beginne againe to creepe, and as a fire negligently quenched, when the dead brands thereof beganne to kindle and make a great flame: by and by without delay yee having recourse unto our piety, as unto the metropolitane of all di-  
vine worship and religion, craved remedy and helpe; which wholesome minde, for your pieties sake, it is most manifest that the gods have indueed you with. Therefore hee, even that most mighty Iupiter, I say, which preserveth your most famous city, to that intent hee might deliver and make free your countrey gods, your wives and children, your household gods and houses, from all detestable corruption, hath inspired you with this wholesome and willing minde, shewing and declaring how worthy, notable, and healthfull a thing it is, to worship and to sacrifice to the immortall gods. For who is so void of reason and understanding, that knoweth not that this thing happeneth unto us by the careful study of the goodness of our gods, that the ground denieth not to give her timely increase, nor maketh frustrate the husbandmans hope, nor that wicked warre dare shew her face upon the earth, nor that the corruption of the aire is now cause of pestilence, neither that the Sea swelleth with immoderate windes, neither that sudden stormes are cause of hurtfull tempest: to conclude, that the ground, which is as the nurse and mother of all things, is not swallowed up of her deep chaps and gapings, by terrible earthquake; neither that the hills, made leuell with the earth, are not with gaping chifts devoured; all which evils, and greater than these, before this time to have happened, every man knoweth. And all these mischiefs came upon us for the pernicious errors sake of the extreme folly of those wicked men the Christians, when filthinesse it selfe (as I may call it) so occupied their mindes and over-ran the world. Let them behold the fields now all about full of corne, and overflowne, as it were, with cares of corne. Let them view the pleasant medowes clothed with flowers, and moistened with showers from Heaven, and also the pleasant and temperate weather. Therefore let all men joyce, that by your piety, sacrifices and worshipping, the majesty of the most sterne god of battell, Mars, is appeased, and that therefore wee enjoy pleasant and firme peace. And how many soever have left that blinde error and straying of the Christians unfainedly, and be of a better mind, let them specialy joyce, as men delivered out of a sudden great tempest, and from a grievous disease, and have afterward obtained a delectable and pleasant life. For doubtlesse if they had remained in that execrable vanity, farre off had they bene chased from your city and suburbs of the same (according to your desire) that your city by that meanes, according to your commendable diligence, cleansed from all impurity and impiety, may offer sacrifices according to the meaning of the same, with due reverence of the immortall gods. And that you may perceive in how good part your supplication was unto us (yea unasked and undesired) wee are most willing and ready to further your honest endeavours, and grant unto you for your devotion, whatsoever yee aske of our magnificence. And that this thing may be accomplished, forthwith aske and have. And this thing with all speed endeavour you to obtaine, which shall be a perpetuall testimony of piety exhibited of your city to the immortall gods, and shall be a president to your children and posterity, and withall you shall obtaine of us, for this your willing desire of reformation, condigne and worthy rewards.

Thus came it to passe that at the length persecu-  
tion was as great as ever it was, and the Magi-

strates of every Province were very disdainfull against the Christians, which condemned some to death, and some to exile. Among whom they con-  
demned three Christians at Emisa in Phenicia, with whom Sylvanus the Bishop, a very old man, being forty yeeres in the Ecclesiasticall function, was condemned to death. At Nicomedia Lucianus the elder of Antioch, brought thither, after he had ex-  
hibited to the Emperor his apology concerning the doctrine of the Christians, was cast in prison, and after put to death. In Amasea a city of Cappado-  
cia, Binges, the Lieutenant of Maximinus, had at that time the executing of that persecution. At Alexandria, Petrus a most worthy Bishop, was be-  
headed, with whom many other Egyptian Bishops also died: Eusebius lib. 9. cap. 7. Niceph. lib. 7. cap. 44. *Euseb. lib. 9. cap. 7. Niceph. lib. 7. cap. 44.*  
Maurinus the Bishop of Scetianus, having a hand mill tied about his necke, was throwne headlong from the bridge into the flood, and there a long while floated above the water, and when he opened his mouth to speake to the lookers on, that they should not be dismayd with that his punishment, was with much ado drowned: Chron. Euseb. At Rome died Marcellus the Bishop, as faith Platina, also The-  
motheus the elder, with many other Bishops and Priests were martyred. To conclude, many in sun-  
dry places every where were martyred, whose names the Booke intituled Fasciculus temporum de-  
clareth, as Victorianus, Symphorianus, Callistus with his wife, Callulus, Celsarius, Demas, Robi-  
lis, Dozothens, Gorgonius, Petrus, and other innumerable martyrs, Crispinus, Bonifacius, Juliana, Cosmas, Damianus, Basilinus, with seven others. *Ex fasciculo temporum.*  
Dorothea, Theophilus, Theodotia, Vitalis, Agri-  
cola, Acha, Philemon, Hirenus, Januarius, Fe-  
stus, Desiderius, Gregorius, Spoletanus, Agapes, Chionia, Hirenia, Theodora, and two hundred threescore and ten other Martyrs. Florentius, Pzi-  
nus and Felicianus, Vitus and Modestus, Cres-  
centia, Albinius, Rogatianus, Donatianus, Pan-  
cratius, Catharina, Margareta, Lucia the virgin, and Antheus the King, with many thousand mar-  
tyrs more. Simplicius, Faustinus, Beatrix, Pan-  
thaleon, Georgius, Iustus, Leocandia, Anthonia, and other more (to an infinite number) suffered martyrdom in this persecution, whose names God hath written in the Book of Life. Also Felix, Victo-  
rius with his parents, Lucia the widow, Cemenianus, with threescore and nineteene others. Sabinius, A-  
nastasia, Chrylogonus, Felix and Audactus, Abria-  
nus, Patholia, Eugenia, Agnes also, when she was but thirteene yeeres old, was martyred. Eusebius in his eighth booke & fiftieth chapter, rehearseth these kindes of torments and punishments, that is to say, fire, wilde beasts, the sword, crucifyings, the bot-  
tome of the Sea, the cutting and burning of mem-  
bers, the thrusting out of eyes, dismembing of the whole body, hunger, imprisonment, and whatsoever other cruelty the Magistrates could devise. All which notwithstanding, the godly ones, rather than that they would doe sacrifice, as they were bid, man-  
fully endured. Neither were the women any thing at all behind them. For they, being enticed to the filthy use of their bodies, rather suffered banish-  
ment, or willingly killed themselves. Neither yet could the Christians live safely in the wilderness, but were fetched even from thence to death and tor-  
ments, in so much that this was a more grievous persecution under Maximinus the tyrant, than was the former cruell persecution under Marrianus the Prince: Euseb. lib. 9. cap. 6. *Euseb. lib. 9. cap. 6. 10.*

And for so much as yee have heard the cruell edict of Maximinus proclaimed against the Christians, graven in baste, which he thought perpetually should indure to the abolishing of Christ and his religion: now marke againe the great handy woakes of God, which immediatly fell upon the same, check-  
ing the proud presumption of the tyrant, proving all

Sylvanus Bi-  
shop, Lucianus  
elder, Petrus  
Bishop, Quir-  
nus Bishop,  
Marcellus Bi-  
shop, Timothe-  
us elder, mar-  
tyrs.  
The persecu-  
tion of Marti-  
nus the younger.

Euseb. lib. 9.  
cap. 7.  
Niceph. lib. 7.  
cap. 44.

Ex fasciculo  
temporum.

Cosmas, Da-  
nians, Doro-  
thea, with other  
martyrs.  
Two hundred  
threescore and  
ten martyrs.

Cemenianus,  
with threescore  
and nineteene  
martyrs.

Severall kindes  
of torments.  
Euseb. lib. 8.  
cap. 15.

Euseb. lib. 9.  
cap. 6. 10.  
The woakes of  
God against the  
tyrants edict.



all to be false and contrary that in the brazen proclamation was contained. For where the foresaid edict boasted so much of the prosperity and plenty of all things in the same time of this persecution of the christians, suddenly befell such unseasonable drought, with famine & pestilence among the people, besides also the warres with the Armenians, that all was found untrue that he had bragged so much of before. By reason of which famine & pestilence the people were greatly consumed, insomuch that one measure of wheate was sold for two thousand and five hundred pieces of money of Athens coine, by reason whereof innumerable died in the Cities, but many more in the country and villages, so that most part of the husband men and countrey men died up with the famine and pestilence. Divers there were which bringing out their best treasure, were glad to give it for any kind of sustenance, were it never so little. Others selling away their possessions, fell by reason thereof to extreame poverty and beggary. Certaine eating grasse, & feeding on other unwholesome herbs, were faine to releefe themselves with such food as did hurt and poison their bodies. Also a number of women in the Cities, being brought to extreame misery and penury, were constrained to depart the City, and fall to begging throzow the country. Some others were weake and faint (as images without breath) wandering up and downe, and not able to stand for feeblenesse, fell downe in the middle of the streets, and holding up their hands most pittifull, cried for some scraps or fragments of bread to be given them, and being at the last gaspe, ready to give up the ghost, and not able to utter any other words, yet cried out that they were hungry. Of the richer sort divers there were, who being weary with the number of beggers and askers, after they had bestowed largely upon them, became hard hearted, fearing lest they should fall into the same misery themselves, as they which begged. By reason whereof, the market-place, streets, lanes, and alleys lay full of dead and naked bodies, being cast out and unburied, to the pittifull and grieuous beholding of them that saw them, wherefore many were eaten of dogs, for which cause they that lived fell to the killing of dogs, lest they running mad, should fall upon them, and kill them.

In like manner the pestilence scattering through all houses and ages of men, did no lesse consume them, especially those which through plenty of victualls escaped famine. Wherefore the rich Princes and Presidents, - and other innumerable of the Magistrates, being the more apt to receive the infection, by reason of their plenty, were quickly dispatched, and turned up their heeles. Thus the miserable multitude being consumed with famine and with pestilence, all places were full of mourning, neither was there any thing else sene, but wailing and weeping in every corner. So that death, what for famine and pestilence, in short time brake up and consumed whole households, two or three dead bodies being boyn out together from one house to one funerall.

These were the rewards of the vaine bragges of Maximinus and his edicts, which he did publish in all townes and citties against us, when it was evident to all men, how diligent and charitable the Christians were to them all in this their miserable extremity. For they onely in all this time of distresse, shewing compassion upon them, travelled every day, some in curing the sicke, and some in burying the dead, which otherwise of their owne sort were forsaken. Other some of the Christians calling and gathering the multitude together, which were in jeopardy of famine, distributed bread unto them, where by they ministred occasion to all men to glorifie the God of the Christians, and so confesse them to be the true worshippers of God, as appeared by their workes. By the meanes and reason hereof, the great God and defender of the Christians, who before had

shewed his anger and indignation against all men, for their wrongfull afflicting of us, opened againe unto us the comfortable light of his providence, so that by meanes thereof peace fell unto us, as light unto them that sit in darkness, to the great admiration of all men, which easily perceiue God himselfe to be a perpetuall director of our doings, who many times challeneth his people with calamities for a time to exercise them, but after sufficient correction againe sheweth himselfe mercifull and labourable to them which with trust call upon him.

By the narration of these things heretofore promised, taken out of the Booke of Eusebius, like as it is manifest to see, so it is wonderfull to marke and note, how those counsels and rages of the Gentiles atchieved against Christ and his Christians, when they seemed most sure against them, were most against themselves. And where by they thought most to confound the Church and religion of Christ, the same turned most to their owne confusion, and to the profit and praise of the Christians (God of his marvellous wisdom to ordering and disposing the end of things.) For where the brazen edict of the Emperour promised temperate weather, God sent drought: where it promised plenty, God immediately sent upon them famine and penury: where it promised health, God strooke them even upon the same, with grieuous pestilence, and with other more calamities, in such sort that the most reliefe they had, was chiefly by the Christians, to the great praise both of them, and to the honour of our God.

Thus most plainly and evidently was then verified the true promise of Christ to his Church, affirming and assuring us, that the gates of Hell shall not prevaile against his Church builded upon his faith: as sufficiently may appeare by these ten persecutions aboue specified and described. Wherein as no man can deny, but that Satan and his malignant world have assayed the uttermost of their power and might to overthrow the Church of Jesus: so must all men needs grant, that read these stories, that when Satan and the gates of hell have done their worst, yet have they not prevailed against this mount of Sion, nor ever shall. For else what was here to be thought, where so many Emperours and tyrants together, Dioclesian, Maximinian, Galerius, Maximinus, Severus, Valerianus, Valerianus, with their Captaines and officers, were let loose, like so many Lyons, upon a scattered and unarmed flocke of sheepe, intending nothing else but the utter subversion of all Christianity, and especially also when lawes were set up in baste against the Christians, as a thing perpetually to stand: what was here to be looked for, but a final desolation of the name and religion of Christians? But what followed, partly ye have heard, partly moze is to be marked, as in the story followeth.

I shewed before how Valerianus, and the some of Maximinian, was set up at Rome by the pretorian souldiers to be Emperour. Whereunto the Senat, although they were not consenting, yet for feare they were not resisting. Maximinian his father, who had before deprived himselfe with Dioclesian, hearing of this tooke heart againe to him, to resume his dignity, and so laboured to perswade Dioclesian also to doe the same: but when he could not move him thereunto, he repairth to Rome, thinking to wrest the Empire out of his sonnes hands. But when the souldiers would not suffer that, of a crafty purpose he sleeth to Constantinus in France, under pretence to complaine of Valerianus his sonne, but in very deed to kill Constantinus. Notwithstanding that conspiracy being detected by Fausta the daughter of Maximinian, whom Constantinus had married, so was Constantinus thzough the grace of God preserved, and Maximinian retired backe. In the which his sleight by the way he was apprehended, and so put to death. And this is the end of Maximinian.

The wise dome and policy of man overthzowne in his owne turne. Qui comprehendit sapientiam in astutia.

The promise of Christ verified. Math. 6. The gates of hell shall not prevaile against the church builded upon the faith of Christ.

The death and end of Maximinian.



The wicked-  
ness of Valen-  
tius described.

Euseb. lib. 8.  
cap. 14.

A shamefull act  
of incontinence.

A Christian  
marion flayeth  
her selfe to re-  
ward the lust of  
Valerianus.

A monster in  
the likeness  
of an Emperour.

A likely pat-  
tern of an  
hypocrite.

Euseb. lib. 8.  
cap. 15.

The Romans  
send to Con-  
stantine for  
succour.

Now let us returne to Valerianus againe, who all this while reigned at Rome with tyranny and wickednesse intollerable, much like to another Pharaoh or Nero. For he slew the most part of his noble men, and took from them their goods. And sometime in his rage he would destroy great multitudes of the people of Rome by his souldiers, as Eusebius declarereth, lib. 8. cap. 14. Also he left no mischievous nor lascivious act unattempted, but was the utter enemy of all womanly chastity, which used to send the honest wives, whom he had adulterated, with shame and dishonour unto their husbands (being worthy senators) after that he had ravished them. He abstained from no adulterous act, but was inflamed with the unquenchable lust of bestowing of women. Let us declare that he being at a time farre in love with a noble and chaste gentlewoman of Rome, sent unto her such courtiers of his, as were meete for that purpose, whom also he had in greater estimation then any others, and with such was wont to consult about matters for the Common weale. These first fell upon her husband & murdered him within his owne house: then when they could by no means neither with feare of the tyrant, or with threatening of death pull her away from him: at length she being a Christian desired leave of them to goe into her chamber, and after her prayers she would accomplish that which they requested. And when she had gotten into her chamber, under this pretence, they killed her selfe. But the courtiers when they saw that the woman tarried so long, they being displeased therewith, brake open the doores, and found her there lying dead. When returned they and declared this matter to the Emperour, who was so far past shame, that in stead of repentance he was the more set on fire in attempting the like.

He was also much addit to the art magicall, which to execute, he was more fit then for the imperiall dignity. Also sometime he would rip women when they were in labour, and would search the place where the infant lay, being borne a little before. Often he would invoke Devils in a secret manner, and by the answers of them he sought to breake the waies, which he knew Constantinus and Licinius prepared against him. And to the end he might the rather perpetrate his mischievous and wicked attempts, which in his ungracious mind he had conceived, according to his purpose, in the beginning of his reigne he fained himselfe to be a favourer of the Christians. In which thing doing, thinking to make the people of Rome his friends, he commanded that they should cease from persecuting of the Christians. And he himselfe in the meane season abstained from no contumelious vexation of them, till that he began at the last to shew himselfe an open persecutor of them: at which time as Zonaras writeth he most cruelly raged against the Christians thereabouts, beryng them with all manner of injuries. Which thing he in no lesse wise did, then Valerianus, as Eusebius in his eight booke & fifteenth chapter seemeth to affirme. And Platina declarereth in the life of Marcellus the bishop, that he banished a certaine noble woman of Rome, because she gave her goods to the Church.

Thus by the grievous tyranny and unspeakable wickednesse of this Valerianus, the citizens and senators of Rome, being much grieved and oppressed, sent their complaints with letters unto Constantinus, with much lute and most hearty petitions, desiring him to helpe and release their country and city of Rome: who hearing and understanding their miserable and pitifull state, and grieved therewith not a little, first sendeth by letters to Valerianus, desiring and exhorting him to refrain his corrupt doings, and great cruelty. But when no letters nor exhortations would prevaile, at the length pitying the wofull case of the Romanes, gathered together his power and army in Britaine and France, there-

with to repress the violent rage of that tyrant: thus Constantinus sufficiently appointed with strength of men, but especially with strength of God, entered his journey comming towards Italy, which was about the last yeere of the persecution, three hundred and eightene. Valerianus understanding of the coming of Constantinus, and trusting more to his devilish art of magike, then to the good will of his subjects, which he little deserved, durst not shew himselfe out of the City, nor encounter with him in the open field, but with many garrisons laid in waite for him by the way, in sundry straits as he should come. With whom Constantinus had divers skirmishes, and by the power of the Lord did ever vanquish them and put them to flight. Notwithstanding Constantinus yet was in no great comfort, but in great care and dread in his mind (approaching now nere unto Rome) for the magicall charmes and sorceries of Valerianus, wherewith he had vanquished before Severus sent by Galerius against him, as hath been declared, which made also Constantinus the more afraid. Wherefore being in great doubt and perplexity in himselfe, and revolving many things in his mind, what helpe he might have against the operations of his charming, which used to cut women great with child, to take his devilish charmes by the intrals of the infants, with such other like feats of devilishnesse which he practised: these things (I say) Constantinus doubting and revolving in his mind, in his journey drawing toward the City, and casting up his eyes many times to Heaven, in the south part, about the going downe of the Sunne, saw a great brightnesse in Heaven, appearing in the similitude of a crosse, with certaine starres of equal bignesse, giving this inscription like Latine letters, IN HOC VINCE, that is, In this overcome. Eusebius de vita Constant. lib. 2. Niceph. lib. 7. cap. 29. Eutrop. lib. 11. Sozom. lib. 1. cap. 3. Vrspergensis, Chronic. Paul. Diacon. lib. 11. This miraculous vision to be true, for the more credit, Eusebius Pamphilus in his first booke De vita Constantini, doth witness moreover, that he had heard the said Constantinus himselfe oftentimes report, and also to sweare this to be true and certaine, which he did see with his owne eyes in Heaven, and also his souldiers about him. At the sight whereof when he was greatly astonished, and consulting with his men upon the meaning thereof, behold in the night season in his sleep Christ appeared to him with the signe of the same crosse, which he had seene before, bidding him to make the figuration thereof, and to carry it in his waies before him, and so should he have the victory.

Wherein is to be noted (good reader) that this signe of the crosse, and these letters added withall, In hoc vince, was given to him of God, not to induce any superstitious worship or opinion of the crosse, as though the crosse it selfe had any such power or strength in it, to obtaine victory: but onely to beare the meaning of another thing, that is, to be an admonition to him, to seeke and aspire to the knowledge and faith of him, which was crucified upon the crosse for the salvation of him, and of all the world, and so to set forth the glory of his name, as afterward it came to passe. This by the way. Now to the matter.

The next day following after this nights vision, Constantinus caused a crosse after the same figuration to be made of gold and precious stone, and so to be borne before him in stead of his standard: and so with much hope of victory and great confidence, as one armed from Heaven, speedeth himselfe toward his enemy. Against whom Valerianus being constrained perforce to issue out of the City, sendeth all his power to joyne with him in the field beyond the river of Tyber, where Valerianus craftily breaking downe the bridge called Pons Milvius, caused another deceitfull bridge to be made of boates and whirries,

Anno  
318.

Valerianus  
feared for his  
magicke and  
sorcery.

A miracle of a  
crosse appear-  
ing to Con-  
stantinus in  
Heaven.

In hoc vince.  
Euseb. lib. 2.  
Niceph. lib. 7.  
cap. 29.

Eusebius de vita Constant. lib. 2. Niceph. lib. 7. cap. 29. Eutrop. lib. 11. Sozom. lib. 1. cap. 3.

Vrspergens. Chronic. Paul. Diacon. lib. 11.

This vision reported and testified by Constantine himselfe to be true.

An admonition concerning the materiall crosse not to be worshipped, but to be a means to bring Constantine to the faith of him which was crucified.

Constantinus with his army approacheth toward Rome.



whitries, being joyned together, and covered over with boards and planks in manner of a bridge, thinking therewith to take Constantine as in a trap. But here it came to passe, which in the seventh Psalm is written: He digged a pit, and fell therein himselfe; let his working returne upon his owne head, and his unrighteousnesse upon his owne pate.

Which here in this Perentius was rightly verified. For after the two hosts did meet, he being not able to sustaine the force of Constantine fighting under the crosse of Christ against him, was put to such a flight, and driven to such an exigent, that in retiring backe, for haste thinking to get the City, upon the same bridge which hee did lay for Constantine, was overturned by the fall of his horse into the bottome of the flood, and there with the weight of his armour, hee with a great part of his beaten men were drowned. Representing unto us the like example of Pharaos and his host drowned in the red Sea, who not unaptly seemeth to beare a propheticall figuration of this Perentius. For as the children of Israel were in long thralldome and persecution in Egypt under tyrants there, till the drowning of this Pharaos their last persecutor: so was this Perentius and Maximinus and Licinius the last persecutors in the Romane Monarchy of the Christians, whom this Constantine, fighting under the crosse of Christ did vanquish and set the Christians at liberty, who before had bin persecuted now three hundred yeeres in Rome, as hath bene hitherto in this history declared.

Wherefore as the Israelites with their Moses at the drowning of their Pharaos, sung gloriously unto the Lord, who miraculously had cast downe the horse and horsemen into the Sea: so no lesse rejoycing and exceeding gladnesse was here, to see the glorious hand of the Lord Christ fighting with his people, and vanquishing his enemies and persecutors.

In histories we read of many victories and great conquests gotten: yet we never read, nor ever shall, of any victory so wholesome, so commodious, so opportune to mankind as this was, which made an end of so much bloodshed, and obtained so much liberty and life to the posterity of so many generations. For albeit that some persecution was yet stirring in the East countries by Maximinus and Licinius, as shall be declared: yet in Rome and in all the West parts, no Party died after this heavenly victory gotten. And also in the East parts the said Constantine with the said crosse borne before him, consequently upon the same so vanquished the tyrants, and so established the peace of the Church, that for the space of a full thousand yeeres after that, we read of no set persecution against the Christians, unto the time of John Wickliffe, when the bishops of Rome began with fire to persecute the true members of Christ, as in further processe of this history (Christ granting) shall appeare. So happy, so glorious (as I said) was this victory of Constantine, surnamed the great. For the joy and gladnesse whereof, the Citizens who had sent for him before, with exceeding triumph brought him into the City of Rome, where hee with the crosse was most honourably received and celebrated the space of seven daies together, having moreover in the market-place, his image set up, holding in his right hand the signe of the crosse, with this inscription: Hoc salutari signo, veraci fortitudinis indicio civitatem nostram jugo tyranni ereptam liberavi: that is, With this wholesome signe, the true token of fortitude, I have rescued and delivered our City from the yoke of the tyrant, Euseb.

lib. 9. cap. 9.

By this heavenly victory of Constantine, and by the death of Perentius no little tranquillity came unto the Church of Christ. Although notwithstanding in the East Churches the storme of this tenth persecution was not yet altogether quieted, but that some taile thereof in those parts, remained for the

space of two or three yeeres. But of this we mind to speake (Christ willing) hereafter. In the meane season to returne againe to the West parts here in Europe, where Constantine then had most to doe, great tranquillity followed, and long continued in the Church without any open laughter for a thousand yeeres together (to the time of John Wickliffe and Waldenses, as is before touched) by the means of the goodly beginning of good Constantine, who with his fellow Licinius, being now established in their dominion, eiesones set forth their generall proclamation or edict, not constraining therein any man to any religion, but giving liberty to all men, both for the Christians to persist in their profession without any danger, and for other men freely to adjoyne with them, whoseever pleased. Which thing was very well taken and highly allowed of the Romans, and all wise men. The copie of the edict or constitution here ensueth.

### The copy of the Emperiall constitution of Constantinus and Licinius, for the establishing of the free worshipping of God, after the Christian religion.

Not long agoe wee weighing with our selves, that the liberty and freedome of religion ought not in any case to be prohibited, but that free leave ought to be given to every man to doe therein according to his will and mind, we have given Commandement to all men to qualifie matters of religion as they themselves thought good, and that also the Christians should keep the opinions and faith of their Religion: but because that many and sundry opinions by the same our first licence spring and increase through such liberty granted, we thought good manifestly to adde thereunto, and make plaine such things whereby perchance some of them in time to come, may from such their observance be let or hindered. When therefore by prosperous successe, I Constantinus Augustus, and I Licinius Augustus came to Mediolanum, and there sate in council upon such things as served for the utility and profit of the Common-weale, these things amongst others wee thought would be beneficiall to all men, yea and before all other things we purposed to establish those things wherein the true reverence and worship of God is comprehended; that is, to give unto the Christians free choice to follow what Religion they thinke good, and whereby the same sincerity and celestiall grace, which is in every place received, may also be imbraced and accepted of all our loving Subjects. According therefore unto this our pleasure upon good advisement and sound judgement, wee have decreed, that no man so hardly be denied to choose and follow the Christian observance or Religion: but that this liberty be given to every man, that hee may apply his minde to what Religion he thinketh meete himselfe, whereby God may performe upon us all his accustomed care and goodnesse. To the intent therefore you might know that this is our pleasure, we thought it necessary this to write unto you, whereby all such errors and opinions being removed, which in our former letters (being sent unto you in the behalfe of the Christians) are contained, and which seeme very undiscreet and contrary to our clemency, may be made frustrate and annihilate. Now therefore firmly and freely wee will and command, that every man have a free liberty to observe the Christian religion, and that without any grieffe or molestation hee may be suffered to doe the same. These things have wee thought good to signifie unto you by as plaine words as wee may, that we have given to the Christians free and absolute power to keepe and use their religion. And for so much as this liberty is absolutely given of us unto them, to use

Note well these thousand yeeres and then read the twentieth chapter of the Apocalyp. Perentius was bound up for a thousand yeeres, &c.

The copy of the Emperiall constitution of Constantinus and Licinius. Euseb. lib. 10. cap. 5.

Psalm. 7. Perentius taken in his owne trap.

Perentius beaten in the field.

Perentius drowned by his owne bridge.

Pharaos a figure of Perentius the last persecutor in Rome.

Pharaos and Perentius compared.

Exod. 15. The figure of the old testament verified in the new.

The glorious and victorious of Christ.

Persecution in the west ceased in a thousand yeeres till the time of Wickliffe.

Euseb. lib. 9. p. 9.



and exercise their former observance, if any be disposed, it is manifest that the same helpeth much to establish the publique tranquillity of our time, every man to have licence and liberty to use and choose what kind of worshipping he list himselfe. And this is done of us, onely for the intent, that wee would have no man to be enforced to one religion more then another. And this thing also amongst others wee have provided for the Christians, that they may have againe the possession of such places, in which heretofore they have been accustomed to make their assemblies: so that if any have bought or purchased the same either of us, or of any other: the same places without either money or other recompence, forthwith and without delay wee will be restored againe unto the said Christians. And if any man have obtained the same by gift from us, and shall require any recompence to be made to them in that behalfe, then let the Christians repaire to the President (being the Judge appointed for that place) that consideration may be had of those men by our benignity: all which things wee will and command, that you see to be given and restored freely, and with diligence unto the society of the Christians, all delay set apart. And because the Christians themselves are understood to have had not onely those places wherein they were accustomed to resort together, but certaine other peculiar places also, not being private to any one man, but belonging to the right of their Congregation and society: you shall see also all those to be restored unto the Christians, that is to say, to every fellowship and company of them: according to the decree, whereof wee have made mention, all delay set apart. Provided that the order wee have taken in the meane time be observed, that if any (taking no recompence) shall restore the same lands and possessions, they shall not mistrust, but be sure to be saved harmelesse by us. In all these things it shall be your part to employ your diligence in the behalfe of the foresaid company of the Christians, whereby this our commandement may speedily be accomplished, and also in this case by our clemency the common and publique peace may be preserved. For undoubtedly by this meanes, as before wee have said, the good will and favour of God towards us (whereof in many cases wee have had good experience) shall alwaies continue with us. And to the intent that this our constitution may be notified to all men, it shall be requisite that the copy of these our letters be set up in all places, that men may read and know the same, lest any should be ignorant thereof.

The consideration of Gods works in defending his Christians.

The Kings of the earth have risen, and persecutes together against the Lord and against his Christ. Psalm. 2.

No counsell standeth against God.

By these histories I doubt not (good reader) but thou dost right well consider and behold with thy selfe the marvellous working of Gods mighty power: to see so many Emperours at one time conspired and confederate together against the Lord and Christ his anointed, whose names before we have recited, as Dioclesian, Maximian, Galerius, Maxentius, Maximinus, Severus, Licinius, who having the subjection of the whole world under their dominion, did bend and extend their whole might and devices, to extirpate the name of Christ, and of all Christians. Wherein if the power of man could have prevailed, what could they not doe? or what could they doe more then they did? If policy or devices could have served, what policy was there lacking? If torments or paines of death could have helped, what cruelty of torment by man could be intended, which was not attempted? If lawes, edicts, proclamations, written not onely in tables, but ingraven in brass, could have stood, all this was practised against the weake Christians. And yet notwithstanding, to see how no counsell can stand against the Lord, note here how all these be gone, and yet Christ and his Church doth stand. First, of the taking away of Maximian you have heard, also of the death of Severus, of the drowning murtherer of

Maxentius enough hath bene said. What a terrible plague was upon Galerius, consuming his privy members with lice, hath bene also described. How Dioclesian the quondam being at Salona, hearing of the proceedings of Constantinus, and this edict, either for sorrow died, or as some say, did poison himselfe. Onely Maxentius now in the East parts remained alive, who bare a deadly hatred against the Christians, and no lesse expressed the same with mostall persecution, to whom Constantine and Licinius caused this constitution of theirs to be delivered. At the sight whereof, although he was somewhat appalled, and defeated of his purpose: yet so much as he saw himselfe too weake to resist the authority of Constantinus and Licinius the superior Princes: hee dissimble his counterfeited piety, as though hee himselfe had tendered the quiet of the Christians: directing downe a certaine decree in the behalfe of the Christians, wherein he pretended to write to Sabinius afore mentioned, first repeating unto him the former decree of Dioclesian and Maximian in few words, with the commandement therein contained touching the persecution against the Christians. After that, he reciteth the decree which hee himselfe made against them, when he came first to the Imperiall dignity in the East part joyned with Constantinus. Then the countermand of another decree of his againe, for the rescuing of the Christians, with such fained and pretended causes, as is in the same to be seene. After that, he declareth how he comming to Nicomedia, at the suite and supplication of the Citizens (which he also fained, as may appear before) he applying to their sute, reboked that his former edict, and granted them that no Christian should dwell within their City or territories. Upon which Sabinius also had given forth his letters, rehearsing withall the generall countermand sent forth by him, for the persecution againe of the Christians. Last of all now he sendeth downe againe another surcountermand, with the causes therein contained, touching the safety of the Christians, and tranquillity of them: commanding Sabinius to publish the same. Which edict of his is at large set forth of Eusebius lib. 9. cap. 9. But this surcountermand be then dissimble, as hee had done in the other before. Howbeit shortly after, he making warres, and fighting a battell with Licinius, wherein he lost the victory, comming home againe, tooke great indignation against the Priests and Prophets of his Gods, whom before that time hee had great regard unto, and honoured: upon whose answers he trusting, and depending upon their enchantments, began his warre against Licinius. But after that he perceived himselfe to be deceived by them, as by wicked enchanters and deceivers, and such as had betrayed his safety and person, he killed and put them to death. And he shortly after, oppressed with a certaine disease, glorified the God of the Christians, and made a most absolute law for the safety and preservation of them, with franchise and liberty: the copy whereof ensueth.

Imperator Caesar, Gaius, Valerius, Maximinus, Germanicus, Pius, Fortunatus, Augustus. It is necessary that wee alwaies carefully provide and see unto the benefit and commodity of such as be our subjects, and to exhibite such things unto them, whereby they may best obtaine the same. But wee suppose that there are none of you so ignorant, but know and understand what things make best for the profit and commodity of the Common weale, and best please every mans disposition. But it is meete and convenient that every man have recourse to that which they have seene done before their eyes, and that all sorts of men consider the same, and beare it in their minds. When therefore, and that before this time, it came to our knowledge, upon the occasion that Dioclesianus, and Maximianus, our progenitors

The destruction of the cruel Emperours.

Dioclesian died for sorrow.

The effect of the Decree which Maximinus made against his will, or surcountermand for feare of C. and L. in the behalfe of the Christians.

Ex. Ench. lib. 9. cap. 9.

The surcountermand of Maximinus dissolved.

The unfained repentance and small decree of Maximinus for the Christians.



tors of famous memory, commanded the assemblies and meetings of the Christians to bee cut off, there were many of them spoiled and robbed of our officials: which thing wee also perceive is now put in practice against our Subjects, that they in like case may be spoiled of their goods and substance, which thing chiefly to prevent is our onely endeavour. By our letters sent to the Governours of every Province the yeere past, wee ordained that if any man were disposed to leane unto the Christian Religion, hee might without any injury done unto him accomplish his desire, neither to be of any man either let or molested, and that hee might without any feare or suspicion, doe whatsoever hee therein thought good. But now also wee understand that there be certaine Iudges which have neglected our commandement, and have put our Subjects in doubt, whether that hath beene our pleasure or not; which thing they did, that such men might be the better advised, how they entered into such Religion: wherein they followed their owne phantasie.

To the intent therefore that after this, all suspicion, doubt, and feare may bee taken away: wee have thought good to publish this our edict, whereby it may be made manifest to every man, that it shall bee lawfull for all such as will follow that religion, by the benefit of this our grant and Letters patents, to use what religion they like best. And also hereby we grant to them licence to build them Oratories or Temples. And furthermore, that this our grant may more amply extend unto them, wee vouchsafe to appoint and ordaine, that whatsoever lands and substance before belonging and appertaining to the Christians, and by the commandement of our predecessor were transferred to our revenue and Exchequer, or else be in the possession of any City, by meanes of the franchises of the same, or else otherwise sold or given to any man: all and every parcell thereof we command shall be restored unto the proper use of the Christians againe, whereby they may all have in this matter more experience of our godly devotion and providence. Euseb. lib. 9. cap. 10.

Marinus then being conquered of Licinius, and also plagued with an incurable disease in the guts sent by the hand of God, was compelled by torments and adversity to confesse the true God, whom before hee regarded not, and to write this edict in the favour of those Christians, whom before hee did persecute. Thus the Lord doth make many times his enemies, be they never so sterne and stout, at length to stope, and mangle their hearts to confesse him, as this Marinus here did, who not long after, by the vehemency of his disease ended his life. Whereby no more tyrants now were left alive, to trouble the Church, but onely Licinius. Of which Licinius and of his persecutions stirred up in the East parts, against the Saints of God, now remaineth in order of story to prosecute.

This Licinius being a Dane borne, and made first Cesar by Galerius, as is above specified, was afterward joyned with Constantinus in government of the Empire, and in setting forth the edicts, which before we have described: although it seemeth all this to be done of him with a dissembling mind. For so is he in all histories described, to be a man passing all others in desire of unsatiabie riches, given to lechery, hasty, Subbozne, and furious. To learning he was such an enemy, that he named the same a popson and a common pestilence, and especially the knowledge of the lawes. He thought no vice worse became a Prince then learning, because hee himselfe was unlearned. Eutropius, Lælius, Ignatius, Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 13.

There was betwene him and Constantinus in the beginning great familiarity, and such agreement, that Constantinus gave unto him his sister Constantia in Marriage, as Aurelius Victor writeth. Neither would any man have thought him

to have beene of any other religion then Constantinus was of, he seemed in all things so well to agree with him. Whereupon he made a decree with Constantinus in the behalfe of the Christians, as wee have shewed: Euseb. lib. 9. cap. 9. And such was Licinius in the beginning: but after arming himselfe with tyranny, began to conspire against the person of Constantinus, of whom hee had received so great benefits: neither favourable to the law of nature, nor mindfull of his oathes, his blood, nor promises. But when he considered that in his conspiracies hee nothing prebaild, for that he saw Constantinus was preferred and safely defended of God: and partly being puffed up with the victorie against Maximinus, he began vehemently to hate him, and not onely to reject the Christian religion, but also deadly to hate the same. He said he would become an enemy unto the Christians, for that in their assemblies and meetings they prayed not for him, but for Constantinus.

Therefore first by little and little and that secretly hee went about to wrong and hurt the Christians, and banished them his Court, which never were by any meanes prejudiciall to his kingdom. Then he commanded that all those should be deprived which were Knights of the honourable order, unless they would doe sacrifice to Idols: Euseb. lib. 10. cap. 8. The same persecution afterward stretched he from his Court, into all his Provinces, which with most wicked and devised lawes he set forth. First, that for no cause the Bishops should in any matter communicate together: neither that any man should come at the Churches next unto them, or to call any assemblies, and consult for the necessary matters and utility of the Church.

After, that the men and women together should not come in companies to pray, nor that the women should come in those places where they used to preach and read the Word of God, neither that they should be after that instructed any more of the bishops, but should chuse out such women amongst them as should instruct them. The third most cruell and wickedest of all was, that none should helpe and succour those that were cast in prison, nor should bestow any almes or charity upon them, though they should die for hunger: and they which shewed any compassion upon those that were condemned to death, should be as greatly punished, as they to whom they shewed the same should be: Eusebius libro primo de vita Constantini. These were the most horrible constitutions of Licinius, which went beyond and passed the bounds of nature.

After this he used violence against the Bishops, but yet not openly, for feare of Constantinus, but privately and by conspiracy: by which meanes hee slew those that were the worthiest men amongst the Doctors and Prelates. And about Amasea and other Cities of Pontus, hee rased the Churches even with the ground. Otherwise hee shut up, that no man should come after their accustomed manner to pray and worship God: and therefore, as we said before, his conscience accusing him, all this hee did, for that hee suspected they prayed for Constantinus, and not at all for him. And from this place in the East parts to the Libians, which bordered upon the Egyptians, the Christians durst not assemble and come together for the displeasure of Licinius, which hee had conceived against them. Sozomenus lib. 1. cap. 2.

Furthermore the flattering officers that were under him, thinking by this meanes to please him, slew and made out of the way many Bishops, and without any cause put them to death, as though they had been homicides and hainous offenders: and such rigorositie used they towards some of them, that they cut their bodies into gobbets and small pierces in manner of a Butcher, and after that they threw them into the Sea to fede the fishes. Euseb. lib. 10. cap. 8. What shall we speake of the exiles and confiscations of god and vertuous men? For hee took

Euseb. lib. 9. cap. 7. Licinius' an apostata.

The countaine of apostasie.

Knights of the order deprived for not doing sacrifice. Euseb. lib. 10. cap. 8.

A strict charge against the receiving of the imprisoned Christians. Euseb. lib. 1. de vita Constant.

Secret persecution for feare of Constantinus.

Sozomenus, lib. 1. cap. 2.

Euseb. lib. 10. cap. 8.



The violent  
wrongs of  
Licinius.

Euseb. lib. 1. de  
vita Const.  
The Christi-  
ans flee into  
the wilderness.  
The persecuti-  
on renewed.  
Theodosius.  
Another Theo-  
dorus bishop of  
Cyprus.  
A man of  
Perga.  
Nicholaus Bi-  
shop of Myra.  
Gregorius Bi-  
shop of Arme-  
nia.  
Paulus Bishop  
of Paphlagonia.  
With forty other  
martyrs.  
Forty good  
men and their  
wives martyrs.  
Amones with  
forty wives of  
forty men mar-  
tyrs.  
The wicked  
purpose of Li-  
cinius had be-  
come pre-  
sented by God  
and slain by  
Constantinus.

Licinius over-  
come in battell  
by Constanti-  
nus.

The end and  
death of the  
tyrants which  
were the au-  
thors of this  
tenth persecu-  
tion.

by violence every mans substance, and cared not by what means he came by the same: but threatened them with death, unless they would forgo the same. He banished those which had committed none evil at all. He commanded that both gentlemen and men of honour should be made out of the way: neither yet herewith content, but gave their daughters that were unmarried to varlets and wicked ones to be deflowered. And Licinius himselfe (although that by reason of his years his body was spent) yet shamefully did he vitiate many women, mens wives and maids. Euseb. lib. 1. de vita Constantini. Which cruell outrage of him caused many godly men of their owne accord to forsake their houses: and it was also sene, that the woods, fields, desert places and mountaines were faine to be the habitations and resting places of the poore and miserable Christians. Euseb. lib. 10. cap. 14. Of those worthy men and famous martyrs, which in this persecution found the way to Heaven, Nicephorus lib. 7. cap. 10. first speaketh of Theodosius, who first being hanged upon the crosse, had nailes thrust into his arm-pits, and after that, his head stricken off. Also of another Theodosius being the bishop of Myra: the third was a man of Perga; Basilus also the Bishop of Amaseus, Nicholaus the Bishop of Myra, Gregorius of Armenia the great; after that Paul of Paphlagonia, which by the impious commandment of Licinius, had both his hands cut off with a searing iron. Besides these were in the City of Sebastia forty worthy men, and Christian souldiers in the vehement cold time of winter fowled and drowned in a horse-pond. When Licinius as yet, of whom we spoke before, Agricolaus executing the Sheriffes office under Licinius in the East parts, were alive, and were in great estimation, for indenting of new and strange torments against the Christians. The wives of those forty good men were carried to Hieraclea a City in Thracia, and there, with a certaine Deacon whose name was Amones, were (after innumerable torments by them most constantly indured) slain with the sword. These things writeth Nicephorus. Also Sozomenus in his ninth booke and second chapter maketh mention of the same martyrs. And Basilus in a certaine oration seemeth to increase of their history, saying that in the circumstances be somewhat variety. And surely Licinius was determined, for that the first face of this persecution fell out according to his desire, to have overrunne all the Christians: to which thing neither counsell, nor good will, nor yet opportunity perchance wanted; unless God had brought Constantinus into those parts where he governed: where, in the warres which he himselfe began (knowing right well that Constantinus had intelligence of his conspiracy and treason) joining battell with him, hee was overcome.

Divers battels betwaine them were fought, the first fought in Hungary, where Licinius was overthrowne: then he fled into Macedonia, and repairing his army, was againe discomfited. Finally, being vanquished both by sea and land, hee lastly at Nicomedia yielded him'selfe to Constantine, & was commanded to live a private life in Thessalia, where at length he was slain by the souldiers.

Thus have ye heard the end and conclusion of all the seven tyrants which were the authors and workers of this tenth and last persecution against the true people of God. The chiefe captaine and inventor of which persecution was first Dioclesian, who died at Salena as some say, by his owne poison, in the year of our Lord three hundred and nineteene. The next was Maximian, who (as is said) was hanged of Constantine at Basilica, about the year of our Lord three hundred and ten. Then died Galerius, plagued with an horrible disease sent of God. Severus was slain by Maximian, father of Maxentius the wicked tyrant, who was overcome

and vanquished of Constantine, in the year of our Lord three hundred and eightene. Maximian the first tyrant tarried not long after, who being overcome by Licinius, died about the year of our Lord three hundred and twenty. Lastly, how this Licinius was overcome by Constantine and slain, in the year of our Lord three hundred twenty and foure, is before declared. Only Constantius, the father of Constantine being a good and a godly Emperour, died in the third year of the persecution, in the year of our Lord three hundred and ten, and was buried at Pozke. After whom succeeded after his godly father Constantinus, as a second Moses sent & set up of God to deliver his people out of this so miserable captivity, into liberty most joyfull.

Now remaineth after the end of these persecutions thus described, to gather up the names and stories of certaine particular Martyrs, which now are to be set forth worthy of speciall memory, for their singular constancy and fortitude, shewed in their sufferings and cruell torments. The names of all which that suffered in this foresaid tenth persecution, being in number infinite, in vertue most excellent, it is impossible here to comprehend: but the most notable, and in most approved authors expelsed, we thought here to insert, for the more edification of other Christians, which may and ought to look upon their examples, first beginning with Albanus, the first martyr that ever in England suffered death for the name of Christ.

At what time Dioclesian and Maximian the pagan Emperours had directed out their letters with all severity for the persecuting of the Christians; Alban being then an infidell, received into his house a certaine clerke, flying from the persecutors hands, whom when Alban beheld, continually both day and night to persevere in watching and prayer, suddenly by the great mercy of God, he began to imitate the example of his faith and vertuous life: whereupon by little and little he being instructed by his wholesome exhortation, and leaving the blindness of his idolatry, became at length a perfect Christian. And when the forenamed clerke had lodged with him a certaine time, it was informed the wicked Prince, that this good man and confessor of Christ (not yet condemned to death) was harbored in Albans house, or very nere unto him. Whereupon immediately he gave in charge to the souldiers, to make more diligent inquisition of the matter. Who as soon as they came to the house of Alban the martyr, he by and by putting on the apparrell wherewith his guest and master was apparelled (that is, a garment at that time used, named caracalla) offered himselfe in the stead of the other to the souldiers: who binding him, brought him forthwith to the Judge. It fortuned that at that instant when blessed Alban was brought unto the Judge, they found the same Judge at the Altars offering sacrifice unto Idols, who as soon as he saw Alban, was straight wayes in a great rage, for that he would presume of his owne voluntary will, to offer himselfe to perill, and give himselfe a prisoner to the souldiers, for safeguard of his guest whom he harboured; and commanded him to be brought before the images of the Idols whom he worshipped, saying: For that thou haddest rather hide and convey away a rebell, then to deliver him to the officers, and that (as a contemner of our gods) he should not suffer punishment and merit of his blasphemy: looke what punishment he should have had, thou for him shalt suffer the same, if I perceiue thee any whit to revolt from our manner of worshipping. But blessed Alban, who of his owne accord had bewayed to the persecutors that he was a Christian, feared not at all the menaces of the Prince, but being armed with the spirituall armor, openly pronounced that he would not obey his commandment. Then said the Judge; Of what flocke or kindred art thou come? Alban answered, What

A briefe story  
of the most n-  
oble martyr;  
that suffered  
this tenth pe-  
secution.

Albanus mar-  
tyr.

Fruit of ho-  
sality to be  
noted.

Albanus first  
converted, and  
by what occa-  
sion.

Albanus offer-  
red himselfe  
to death for  
another.

The words of  
the Judge to  
Alban.



The constancy  
and zeale of  
Alban.

is that to you, of what stocke so eber I came of, if you desire to heare the verity of my Religion, I doe p̄ce to wit that I am a Christian, and apply my selfe altogether to that calling. When said the Judge, I would know thy name, and see thou tell mee the same without delay. When said he, my parents named mee Alban, and I worship and honour the true and living God, which hath created all the world. When said the Judge, fraught with fury, If thou wilt inuoy the felicity of this present life, doe sacrifice (and that out of hand) to these mighty gods: 10 Alban replieth: These sacrifices which ye offer unto diuels, can neither help them that offer the same, neither yet can they accomplish the desires and prayers of their supplicants: but rather shall they, whatsoeuer they be, that offer sacrifice to these idols, receiue for their meed euerlasting paines of Hell fire. The Judge when he heard these words, was passing angry, and commanded the tormentors to whip this holy confessor of God, in deabouring to overcome the constancy of his heart with stripes, which had prebaid nothing with words. And when he was cruelly beaten, yet suffered he the same patiently, nay, rather joyfully for the Lords sake. When when the Judge said that he would not with 20 tormentors be overcome, nor be reduced from the worship of Christian Religion, he commanded him to be beheaded.

The suffering  
and martyr-  
dome of Alban.

Superfluous  
miracles in  
his story with-  
ten be Beda  
omitted.

The rest that followeth of this story in the narration of Beda, as of dyping up the river, as Alban went to the place of his execution; then of making a well spring in the top of the hill, and of the falling out of the eyes of him that did behead him (with such other prodigious miracles mentioned in his story) because they same more legend like then truth-like: againe, because I see no great profit nor necessity in the relation thereof, I leaue them to the free iudgement of the reader, to thinke of them as cause shall moue him.

The legend of  
S. Alban dis-  
posed.

The like estimation I haue of the long story, wherein is written at large, a fabulous discourse of all the doings and miracles of S. Alban, taken out of the library of S. Albans, compiled (as there is said) by a certaine pagan, who (as he saith) afterward went to Rome, there to be baptized. But because in the beginning of prologue of the Booke, the said writer maketh mention of the ruinous walls of the towne of Merolamium, containing the story of Albanus, and of his bitter punishments: which walls were then falling downe for age, at the writing of the said Booke, as he saith: thereby it seemeth this story to be written a great while after the martyrdom of Alban, either by a Britaine, or by an English man. If he were a Britaine, how then did the Latine translation take it out of the English tongue, as in the prologue he himselfe doth testify? If he were an English man, how then did he goe up to Rome for baptisme, being a Pagan, when he might haue bene baptized among the Christian Britaines more nere at home?

But among all other evidences and declarations sufficient to disprove this legendary story of Saint Alban, nothing maketh more against it, than the very story it selfe: as where he bringeth in the head of the holy Martyr to speake unto the people after it was smitten off from the body. Also where he bringeth in the Angels going up, and coming downe in a pillar of fire, and singing all the night long. Item, in the river which he saith S. Alban made dry, such as were drowned in the same before in the bottome were found alive. With other such like 70 monish miracles and grosse fables, wherewith these Abby-monks were wont in times past to deceive the Church of God, and to beguile the whole world for their owne advantage. Notwithstanding this I write not to any derogation of the blessed and faithfull martyr of God, who was the first that I euer find in this Realme, to suffer martyrdom

S. Alban the  
first martyr in  
his Realme of  
England.

for the testimony of Christ. And worthy no doubt of conuigne condemnation, especially of us here in this Land: whole Christian faith in the Lord, and charity towards his neighbour, I pray God all we may follow. As also I wish moreouer, that the stories both of him, and of all other Christian martyrs might haue been deliuered to us simple as they were, without the admixture of all these heere-like additions of monish miracles, wherewith they were wont to paint out the glory of such Saints to the most, by whose offerings they were accustomed to receive most advantage.

The stories of  
the Saints com-  
piled with  
lies.

As touching the name of the Clerke mentioned in this story, whom Alban receiued into his house, I finde in the English stories to be Amphibalus, although the Latine authoys name him not, who the same time flying into Wales, was also fetcht from thence againe to the same towne of Merolamium, otherwise called Merlancaster, where hee was martyzed, having his belly opened, and made to run about a stake, while all his bowels were drowne out, then thrust in with swords and daggers: and at last was stoned to death, as the foresaid legend declareth.

Amphibalus  
martyred.  
I. Kings History.

The martyr-  
dome of Am-  
phibalus.

Moreouer the same time with Alban suffered also two citizens of the aforesaid city of Merlancaster, whose names were Aaron & Julius: beside others, wherof a great number the same time no doubt, did suffer, although our Chronicles of their names doe 30 make no rehearfall.

The time of martyrdom of this blessed Alban and the other, seemeth to be about the second or third yeere of this tenth persecution, under the tyranny of Dioclesian, and Maximilianus Hercules, bearing then the rule in England, about the yeere of our Lord three hundred and one, before the coming of Constantius to his government. Where, by the way is to be noted, that this Realme of Britaine being so christned before, yet neuer was touched with any other of the nine persecutions, before this tenth persecution of Dioclesian and Maximilian. In which persecution our stories and polychronicon doe record, that all Christianity almost in the whole Island was destroyed, the Churches subverted, all Books of the Scripture burned, many of the faithfull, both men and women were slaine: amongst whom the first and chiefe ring-leader (as hath been said) was Albanus. And thus much touching the martyrs of Britaine. Now from Eng- 50 land to returne againe unto other countries, where this persecution did more vehemently rage: we will adde hereunto (the Lord willing) the stories of others, although not of all that suffered in this persecution, (which were impossible) but of certaine most principall, whose singular constancy in their strong torments are chiefly renowned in later histories: beginning first with Romanus the notable and admirable souldier and true servant of Christ, whose history set forth in Prudentius, doth thus proceed: so lamentably by him described, that it will be hard for any man almost with dry cheekes to 60 heare it.

Persecution in  
this Realme of  
Britaine.

Pitiless Galerius with his grand captaine Ariepiades violently invaded the city of Antioch, intending by force of armes to dibe all Christians to renounce utterly their pure religion. The Christians as God would, were at that time congregated together, to whom Romanus hastily ran, declaring that the wolves were at hand which would devour the Christian flock: but feare not, said he, neither let this imminent perill disturbe you my brethren. Brought was it to passe, by the great grace of God looking in Romanus, that old men and matrons, fathers and mothers, young men and maidens were all of one will & mind, most ready to shed their blood in defence of their Christian profession. A Lord was brought unto the captaine, that the band of armed souldiers was not able to weeld the Masse of faith out 70

The lamenta-  
ble story of Ro-  
manus marty.

The exhorta-  
tion of Roma-  
nus to the  
Christians.



of the hand of the armed congregation, and all by reason that one Romanus to mightily did incourage them, that they sticke not to offer their naked throats, wishing gloriously to die for the Name of their Christ. Seeke out that rebell, (quoth the captaine) and bring him to me that he may answer for the whole sect. Apprehended he was, and bound as a thape appointed to the slaughter-house, was presented to the Emperoz, who with wrathfull countenance beholding him, said: What? Art thou the author of this sedition? Art thou the cause why so many shall lose their lives? By the gods I sweare thou shalt smart for it, and first in thy flesh shalt thou suffer the paines, wherunto thou hast incouraged the hearts of thy fellowes. Romanus answered; Thy sentence, O Emperoz, I joyfully embrace, I refuse not to be sacrificed for my brethren, and that by as cruell means as thou maist invent: and where as thy souldiers were repelled from the Christian congregation, that so hapned, because it lay not in idolaters and worshippers of diuels, to enter into the holy house of God, and to pollute the place of true prayer. Then Asclepiades wholly inflamed with this stout answer, commanded him to be trusted up, and his bowels drawne out. The executioners themselves more pitifull in heart than the captaine, said: Not so, Sir, this man is of noble parentage, unlawfull it is to put a noble man to so unnoble a death. Scurge him then with whips (quoth the captaine) with knaps of lead at the ends. In stead of teares, sighes and groanes, Romanus sung Psalmes all the time of his whipping, requiring them not to favour him for nobility sake; Not the blood of my progenitors (said he) but Christian profession maketh mee noble. Then with great power of spirit he inuaded against the captaine, laughing to scorne the false gods of the heathen, with the idolatrous worshipping of them, affirming the God of the Christians to be the true God that created Heauen and Earth, before whose iudiciall seat all nations shall appeare. But the wholesome words of the Martyr were as oyle to the fire of the captaines fury. The more the Martyr spake, the madder was he, in so much that he commanded the Martyrs sides to be lanced with knives, untill the bones appeared white againe. Sorry am I, O captaine (quoth the Martyr) not for that my flesh shall be thus cut and mangled, but for thy cause am I sorrowfull, who being corrupted with damnable errors, seducest others. The second time he preached at large the living God, and the Lord Iesus Christ his welbelovéd Sonne, eternall life through faith in his blood, expelling therewith the abomination of idolatry, with a vehement exhortation to worship and adore the living God. At these wordes Asclepiades commanded the tormentors to strike Romanus on the mouth, that his teeth being stricken out, his pronounciation at leastwise might be impaired. The commandement was obeyed, his face buffeted, his eye-lids torne with their nailes, his cheekes scotched with knives, the skin of his beard was plucked by little and little from the flesh; finally, his samy face was wholly defaced. The make Martyr said: I thanke thee, O captaine, that thou hast opened unto mee many mouthes, whereby I may preach my Lord and Saviour Christ. I seeke how many wounds I have, so many mouthes I have landing and praising God. The captaine astonished with this singular constancy, commanded them to cease from the tortures. He threatneth cruell fire, he rebyleth the noble martyr, he blasphemeth God, saying: Thy crucified Christ is but a yesterdaies God, the gods of the Gentiles are of most antiquity.

Here againe Romanus taking good occasion, made a long oration of the eternity of Christ, of his humane nature, of the death and satisfaction of Christ for all mankind. Which done, he said: Give mee a child (O captaine) but seven yeeres of age,

which age is free from malice and other vices, wherewith ripper age is commonly infected, and thou shalt heare what he will say. His request was granted. A pretty boy was called out of the multitude, and set before him. Tell mee my babe (quoth the Martyr) whether thou thinke it reason that wee worship one Christ, and in Christ one father, or else that wee worship infinit gods? Unto whom the babe answered: That certainly, whatsoever it be that men affirme to be God, must needs be one: which with one, is one and the same: and in as much as this one is Christ, of necessity Christ must be the true God: for that there be many gods, we children cannot believe. The captaine hereat cleane amazed, said: Thou young villaine and traitor, where, and of whom learnedst thou this lesson? Of my mother (quoth the child) with whose milke I sucked in this lesson, that I must believe in Christ. The mother was called, and shee gladly appeared. The captaine commanded the child to be hoisted up, and scourged. The pitifull beholders of this pitifull act, could not temper themselves from feares: the joyfull and glad mother alone, stood by with dry cheakes: yea, she rebuked her sweet babe for craving a draught of cold water, she charged him to thirst after the cup that the infants of Bethleem once drank of, forgetting their mothers milke and paps: she willed him to remember little Isaac, who beholding the sword wherewith, and the altar whereon he should be sacrificed, willingly offered his tender necke to the dint of his fathers sword. Whilest this counsell was in giving, the butcherly torzor pluckt the skin from the crowne of his head haire and all. The mother cryed, Suffer my child, anon thou shalt passe to him that will adorne thy naked head with a crowne of eternall glory. The mother counselleth, the child is counselled: the mother incourageth, the babe is incouraged, and received the stripes with smiling countenance. The captaine perceiving the child invincible, and himselfe vanquished, committeth the silly soule, the blessed babe, the child uncherished, to the stinking prison, commanding the tormentors of Romanus to be renewed and increased, as chiefe author of this evil.

Thus was Romanus brought forth againe to new stripes, the punishments to be renewed and received upon his old sores, in so much as the bare bones appeared, the flesh all toone away: wherein no pity was shewed, but the raging tyrant puffing out of his blasphemous mouth, like a mad man these wordes, cryed out to the tormentors, saying:

Where is (quoth the captaine) Where is your might? What? are yee not able one body to spill? Scant may it, so weake is it, stand upright: And yet in spite of us, shall it live still?

The griph with talen, the dog with his tooth, Could soone, yee dastards, this corps rent and teare: He scorneth our gods in all that he doth, Cut, pricke, and pounce him, no longer forbear.

Yea, no longer could the tyrant forbear, but needs he must draw nether to the sentence of death. Is it painfull to thee (saith he) to tarry so long alive? A flaming fire, doubt thou not, shall be prepared for thee by and by, wherein thou and that boy thy fellow of rebellion shall be consumed into ashes. Romanus and the babe were led to the place of execution. As they laid hands on Romanus, he looked backe, saying: I appeale from this thy tyranny, O Iudge uniuert, unto the righteous throne of Christ that up-right Iudge: not because I feare thy cruell tormentes and mercilesse handlings, but that thy iudgements may be knowne to be cruell and bloody. Now when they were come to the place, the tormentor required the child of the mother, for he had taken it up in her armes: and the only kissing it, belovéd

The Christian boldness of Romanus.

The noble patience of Romanus in his suffering.

The preaching of Romanus to the captaine.

Antiquity alleged of the pagans.

The confession of a child against idolatry.

A child martyred for the testimony of Christ.

An example of vertuous education.

A godly mother of a godly child.

The cruell words of the tyrant.



The Christian  
habe beheaded  
or confelling of  
Christ.

red the babe; farewell, she said, my sweete child.  
And as the hangman applyed his sword to the babes  
necke, she sang on this manner:

Take obser-  
uance of the  
gion.

All laud and praise with heart and voyce,  
O Lord we yeeld to thee:  
To whom the death of all thy Saints,  
We know most deare to be.

The free quene  
habe with calne  
our shou d  
uerne Roma-  
us.

Romanus spee-  
ch after his  
inquiri was  
lucked out.

Romanus after  
ing torments  
raunged in  
ilfon.  
Prudent, in  
ymnis de coro-  
is martyrum.

The story of  
Gordius a cen-  
urion marty.

Gordius of his  
tunc accozd ut-  
ered himselfe  
to be a Chri-  
stian.

Gordius  
ought to  
amination.  
His confession  
of Gordius.

The innocents head being cut off, the mother  
wrapped it up in her garment, and laid it to her  
breast. On the other side a mighty fire was made,  
whereinto Romanus was cast, who said, that he  
should not burne: wherewith a great storme arose  
(if it be true) and quenched the fire. The capitaine  
gave in commendement that his tongue should be  
cut out. But was it plucked by the hard roots and  
cut off: nevertheless he spake, saying: He that  
speaketh Christ, shall never want a tongue; thinke  
not that the voyce that uttereth Christ, hath neede  
of the tongue to be the Minister. The capitaine at  
this, halke out of his wif, bare in hand that the hang-  
man deceived the sight of the people by some subtil  
sleight and crafty conbepance. Not so (quoth the  
hangman) if you suspect my deed, open his mouth,  
and diligently search the roots of his tongue. The  
capitaine at length being confounded with the forti-  
tude and courage of the Martyr, straitly comman-  
deth him to be brought backe into the prison, and  
there to be strangled. Here his sorrowfull life and  
paines being ended, he now inioyneth quiet rest in  
the Lord, with perpetuall hope of his miserable bod-  
y to be reffozed againe, with his soule, into a better  
life: where no tyrant shall have any power: Pru-  
denius in hymnis de coronis Martyrum.

Gordius was a citizen of Cesare, a worthy soul-  
dier, and capitaine of an hundred men. He in the  
time of extreme persecution, refusing any longer to  
execute his charge, did chose of his owne accord  
willing exile, and lived in the desert many yeeres a  
religious & solitary life. But upon a certaine day,  
when a solemne feast of Mars was celebrated in the  
city of Cesare, and much people were assembled in  
the theatre to behold the games: he left the desert,  
and got him up into the chiefe place of the theatre,  
and with a loud voyce uttered this saying of the  
Apostle: Behold, I am found of them which sought  
me not, and to those which asked not for me have I  
openly appeared. By which words he let it to be un-  
derstood, that of his owne accord he came unto those  
games. At this noife, the multitude little regarding  
the sights, looked about to see who it was that made  
such exclamacion. As soon as it was knowne to  
be Gordius, and that the cryer had commanded si-  
lence, he was brought unto the Sheriffe, who at that  
instant was present, and ordained the games. When  
he was asked the question who he was, from  
whence, and for what occasion he came thither, he  
telleth the truth of every thing as it was; I am  
come, saith he, to publish, that I set nothing by your  
decrees against the Christian Religion, but that I  
professe Iesus Christ to be my hope and safety; and  
when I understood with what cruelty he handled  
other men, I tooke this as a fit time to accomplish  
my desire. The Sheriffe with these words was  
greatly moved, and rebenteth all his displeasure up-  
on poore Gordius, commanding the executioners for  
Christ his cause. The Sheriffe being more offended with  
his boldnesse, commanded him to feele as many kind  
of torments as there were. With all which, Gor-  
dius notwithstanding, could not be mastered or  
overcome: but lifting up his eyes unto Heaven,  
singeth this saying out of the Psalmes: The Lord

is my helper, I will not feare the thing that man  
can do to me: and also this saying, I will feare none  
evill, because thou Lord art with me.

After this, he against himselfe provoketh the ex-  
tremity of the tormentors, and blameth them if they  
favour him any thing at all. When the Sheriffe saw  
that hereby he could win but little, he goeth about  
by gentleness and inticing words, to turn the stout  
and baliant mind of Gordius. He promisseth to him  
great and large offers if he will deny Christ: as to  
make him a Capitaine of as many men as any other  
is, to give him riches, treasure, and what other thing  
soever he desireth. But in vaine (as the proverbe  
is) pipeth the minstrell to him that hath no cares to  
heare, - for he deriding the foolish madnesse of the  
Magistrate saith, that it lieth not in him to place  
any in authority, which be worthy to have a place  
in Heaven. The Magistrate with these words  
thoroughly angered and bered, prepared himselfe to  
his condemnation. When after that he had con-  
demned, he caused to be had out of the City to be  
burnt. There run out of the City great multitudes  
by heaps to see him put to execution, some take him  
in their armes, and lovingly kisse him, perswading  
him to take a better way, and save himselfe, and that  
with weeping teares. To whom Gordius answer-  
eth, I pray you for me, but rather for the  
enemies of God which alwayes make war against  
the Christians: wepe I say, for them which prepare  
for us a fire, purchasing hell fire for themselves in  
the day of vengeance: and cease off further, I pray  
you, to molest and disquiet my settled mind. Truly  
(saith he) I am ready for the name of Christ, to suf-  
fer and endure a thousand deaths if need were. Some  
other came unto him, which perswaded him to deny  
Christ with his mouth, and to keepe his conscience  
to himselfe. By tongue (saith he) which by the good-  
nesse of God I have, cannot be brought to deny the  
author and giver of the same: for with the heart we  
believe unto righteousness, and with the tongue we  
confesse unto salvation. Many more such like words  
he spake: but especially uttering to them such mat-  
ter, whereby he might perswade the beholders to  
death, and to the desire of martyrdom. After all  
which, with a merry and glad countenance, never  
changing so much as his colour, he willingly gave  
himselfe to be burnt. Basilus in sermone in Gordium  
militum Caesariensem.

Not much unlike to the story of Gordius is the  
story also of Penas an Egyptian, who being like-  
wise a souldier by his profession, in this persecution  
of Dioclesian forsooke all, and went into the desert;  
where a long time he gave himselfe to abstinence,  
watching and meditation of the Scriptures. At  
length returning againe to the City Cortis, where in  
the open Theatre, as the people were occupied upon  
their spectacles or pastimes, he with a loud voyce  
openly proclaimed himselfe to be a Christian, and  
upon the same was brought to Pyrrhus the Presi-  
dent: of whom he being demanded of his faith, made  
this answer: Convenient it is that I should (saith  
he) confesse God, in whom is light and no darke-  
nesse, for much as Paul doth teach that with heart  
we believe to righteousness, with mouth confession  
is given to salvation. After this the innocent Mar-  
tyr was most painefully pinched and cruciat with  
sundry punishments. In all which notwithstanding  
he declared a constant heart, and faith invincible,  
having these words in his mouth being in the mid-  
dell of his torments: There is nothing in my mind  
that can be compared to the Kingdom of Heaven;  
neither is all the world, if it were weighed in bal-  
ance, able to be conferred with the price of one soule,  
and said, who is able to separate us from the love of  
Iesus Christ our Lord: shall affliction or anguish?  
And moreover (said he) I have thus learned of  
my Lord and my King, not to feare them which  
kill the body and have no power to kill the soule,

The bold con-  
fancy and con-  
ragious spirit  
of Gordius.

Gordius ac-  
compted with  
false promises,  
and good gifts.

Gordius con-  
demned to be  
burnt.

The answer of  
Gordius to his  
seducers.

A subtil kind  
of dissuaders.

None ought to  
deny Christ  
with his mouth,  
and confesse  
him with his  
heart.

The marty-  
dome of Gor-  
dius.

Ex Basil. in ser-  
in Gordium mi-  
litem Caesari-  
ensem.

Penas marty.  
Ex Simeon, Me-  
saphr. tom. 9.

The confession  
of Penas.

The words of  
Penas in his  
torments.  
All the world  
is not to be  
weighed with  
one soule saved.

but



The prayer of  
St. Denas at his  
death.

St. Denas mar-  
tyred.

Simon Meta-  
phr. tom. 5.

The story of  
forty martyrs.

Torments  
drought out  
so terrible the  
Christians.

The courage-  
ous boldness  
and Christian  
confession of  
these forty  
martyrs.

Martyrdom  
and death for  
Christ, prefer-  
red before life  
and riches of  
this world.

The martyrs  
in a cold pond  
all a shivering  
night.

The martyrs  
taken out of the  
pond were cast  
into the fire.

but to feare him rather, who hath power to destroy both body and soule in hell fire. To make the story short, after manifold torments borne of him, and suffered, when the last sentence of death was upon him pronounced, which was to be beheaded, Denas, being then had to the place of execution, said: I give thee thanks my Lord God, which hast so accepted me to be found a partaker of thy precious death, and hast not given mee to be deboured of my fierce enemies, but hast made me to remaine constant in thy pure faith unto this my latter end. And so this blessed soldier fighting valiantly under the banner of Christ, lost his head, and won his soule. Simeon Metaphr. tom. 5. In the which author there followeth a long narration of the miracles of this holy man, which here for brevity I doe omit.

Basilius in a certaine sermon of forty Martyrs rehearseth this story not unworthy to be noted. There came (saith he) into a certain place of which place he maketh no mention) the Emperors marshall or officer, with the edict which the Emperour had set out against the Christians, that whosoever confessed Christ, should suffer many torments suffer death. And first they did prybly suborne certaine, which should detect and accuse the Christians whom they had found out, or had laid wait for. Upon this the sword, the gibbet, the wheele, and the whips were brought forth: at the terrible sight whereof, the hearts of all the beholders did shake and tremble. Some for feare did flie, some did stand in doubt what to doe: certaine were so terrified at the beholding of these engines & tormenting instruments, that they denied their faith. Some others began the game, and for a time did abide the conflict and agony of martyrdom, but banquished at length, by the insufferable paine of their torments, made shipwracke of their consciences, and lost the glory of their confession. Among others, forty there were at that time, young gentlemen, all soldiers, which after the Marshall had shewed the Emperours edict, and required of all men the obedience of the same, freely and boldly of their owne accord confessed themselves to be Christians, and declared to him their names. The Marshall somewhat amazed at this their boldnesse of speech, standeth in doubt what was best to doe. Yet forthwith he goeth about to twin them with faire words, adverting them to consider their youth, neither that they should change a sweet and pleasant life, for a cruell and untimely death: after that hee promyseth them money, and honourable offices in the Emperours name. But they little esteeming all these things, brake forth into a long and bold oration, affirming that they did neither desire life, dignity, nor money, but onely the celestiall kingdome of Christ, saying further, that they are ready for the love and faith they have in God, to endure the affliction of the wheele, the crosse and the fire. The rude Marshall being herewith offended, devised a new kind of punishment. Hee tyed out in the middle of the city a certaine great pond, which lay full upon the cold northerne wind, for it was in the winter time, wherein he caused them to be put all that night: but they being merry, and comforting one another, received this their appointed punishment, and said, as they were putting off their cloths: We put off (said they) now not our clothes, but we put off the old man, corrupt with the deceit of concupiscence: we give thee thanks O Lord that with this our apparel we may also put off by thy grace, the filthy man: for by meanes of the serpent, we once put him on, and by the meanes of Jesus Christ we now put him off. When they had thus said, they were brought naked into the place where they left most belement cold: in so much that all the parts of their bodies were stark and stiffe therewith. Alas as it was day, they yet having breath, were brought into the fire, wherein they were consumed, and their ashes throwne into the flood. By chance there was one of

the company more libely, and not so nere dead as the rest, of whom the executioners taking pity, said unto his mother standing by, that they would save his life. But she, with her owne hands taking her sonne, brought him to the pile of wood, where the residue of his fellowes (crooked for cold) did lie ready to be burnt, and admonished him to accomplish the blessed journey hee had taken in hand with his companions, Basil.

10 A like story of forty Martyrs, which were married men, we reade of in Nicephorus & Sozom. l. 9. c. 2. which were killed likewise in a lake or pond at Sebastia, a towne of Armenia, under Licinius; if the story be not the same with this: Niceph. Sozom.

In this fellowship and company of martyrs cannot be left out and forgot the story of Cyrenus. This Cyrenus was a Physitian borne in Alexandria, which flying into Egypt, in the persecution of Dioclesian, and Maximian, led a solitary life in Arabia, being much spoken of for his learning and miracles, unto whose company after a certaine time did Joannes borne in the city of Ctesia, beyond the river Euphrates, joine himselfe, leaving the soldiers life which before that time he had exercised. But whilst as yet the same persecution raged in a city in Egypt called Canope, there was cast into prison for the confession of their faith, a certaine goodly Christian woman, called Athanasia, and her three daughters, Theodote, Theodota, and Eudoria: with whom Cyrenus was well acquainted. At whose intimacies he much fearing, accompanied with his brother John, came and visited them for their better confirmation: At which time Licinius was chiefe captaine and Lieutenant of Egypt, of whose wickednesse and cruelty, especially against women and maidens, Athanasius maketh mention in his apologies, and in his Epistle to those that leade a solitary life. This Cyrenus therefore and Joannes, being accused and apprehended of the heathen men, as by whose persuasions the maidens and daughters of Athanasia contumeliously despised the gods and the Emperours religion, and could by no meanes be brought to doe sacrifice, were after the publication of their constant confession put to death by the sword: Athanasia also and her three daughters being condemned to death. This history writeth Simeon Metaphrastes.

Sebastian being borne in the part of France called Gallia Narbonensis, was a Christian, and was 50 a lieutenant generall of the barward of Dioclesian the Emperour, who also incouraged many martyrs of Christ by his exhortations unto constancy, and kept them in the faith. He being therefore accused to the Emperour, was commanded to be apprehended, and that he should be brought into the open field, where of his owne soldiers hee was thrust through the body with innumerable arrowes, and after that his body was throwne into a lakes or sinke. Ambrosius maketh mention of this Sebastian the martyr in his Commentary upon the hundred and eighteenth Psalm; and Simeon Metaphrastes amongst other martyrs that suffered with Sebastian numbreth also these following: Nicollstratus with Zoe his wife, Tranquillinus with Marcia his wife, Traquilinus, Claudius, Castor, Albertus, Castellus, Marcus, and Marcellinus, with others more.

Basilius in another sermon also maketh mention of one Barlaam, being a noble and famous martyr, which abode all the torments of the executioners even to the point of death: which thing when the tormentors saw, they brought him and laid him upon the altar, where they did use to offer sacrifices to their idols, and put fire and frankincense into his right hand, wherein hee had yet some strength, thinking that the same his right hand, by the heate and force of the fire, would have scattered the burning incense upon the altar, and so have sacrificed. But of that their hope, the pestiferous tormentors were

A good mother caring more for the soule than for the body of her sonne.  
Ex Basil. in serm. de 40. martyribus.

Another story of forty martyrs, red in a cold pond at Sebastia.

Cyrenus, Joannes.

Athanasia with her three daughters, Theodote, Theodota, Eudoria, martyrs. The loving care of one Christian toward another.

Cyrenus to doe others good, lost his life.

The story of Sebastian martyr. A worthy example of a captaine to be followed. Marcus, Nicollstratus with Zoe his wife, Tranquillinus with Marcia his wife, Traquilinus, Claudius, Castor, Albertus, Castellus, martyrs.

Barlaam.

What desire the heathen had to have some means to allure the Christians to offer sacrifice.



were disappointed: for the flame eat round about his hand, and the same endured as though it had bene covered with hot embers, when as Barlaam recited out of the Psalmes this saying: Blessed is the Lord my God, which teacheth my hands to fight.

To this narration of Basilus, touching the martyrdom of Barlaam, we will annex consequently another story of Ambrose. He making a certaine exhortation to certaine virgins, in the same oration commendeth the martyrdomes of Agricola and Tatian, who suffered also in the same persecution under Dioclesian and Maximian (as they affirme) at Bononie. This Tatian was servant to Agricola, who both together between themselves had made a compad to give their lives with other martyrs for the name of Christ. Whereupon Tatian being sent before of his Master, to offer himselfe to martyrdom, fell first into the hands of persecutors, who laboured about him by all means to canse him to deny Christ. Which when he would in no case doe, but stoutly persistered in the confession of his faith, they began to exercise him with all kind of torments, so unmercifully, that there was no whole skin left on all his body. So Tatian in the midst of the agony and painfull torments, after he had in a short prayer commended himselfe to God, gave up his life. After him, the tormentors set upon Agricola his Master, whose vertuous manners and gentle conditions, because they were singularly well liked and known to the enemies, his suffering therefore was the longer deferred. But Agricola not abiding the long delay and driving off, and provoking moreover the adders to quicker speed, at length was fastened unto the crosse, and so finished his martyrdom, which he so long desired. Ambros. in exhortatione ad virgines.

So leste worthy of commemoration is the lamentable martyrdom of Vincentius, whose history here followeth. This Vincentius was a Spaniard, and a Levite most goodly and vertuous, who at this time suffered martyrdom at Valence under Dacianus the President, as we may gather by Vincentius in his hymne. Bergomensis in his supplement reciteth these words concerning his martyrdom, out of a certaine sermon of S. Augustin: Our heart conceiveth not a vain & fruitlesse fight (as it were in beholding of lamentable tragedies) but certainly a great fight and marvellous, and there with singular pleasure received it, when the painfull passion of victorious Vincentius was read unto us. Is there any so heavy hearted, that will not be moved in the contemplation of this inmoveable martyr, so manly, or rather so godly, fighting against the craft and subtilty of that serpent, against the tyranny of Dacianus, against the horrors of death, and by the mighty spirit of his God conquering all? Let us in few words rehearse the degrees of his torments, though the pains thereof in many words cannot be expressed. First, Dacianus caused the martyr to be laid upon the torture, and all the joints of his body to be dissembled and racked out, until they crackt again. This being done in most extreme & cruell manner, all the members of his painfull and pitifull body were grievously indented with deadly wounds. Thirdly (that his dolours & griefes might be augmented) they miserably bared his flesh with iron combs sharply filed. And to the end the tormentors might vomit out all their vengeance on the make and mild martyrs flesh, the tormentors themselves also were vilely scourged at the Presidents commandment. And lest his passion through want of pains might seem imperfect or else too easie, they laid his body being all out of joint, on a grate of iron, which when they had opened with iron hookes, they seared it with fiery plates, with hot burning salt sprinkling the same. Last of all into a vile dungeon was this mighty martyr dravone, the floor whereof first was thick spread with the sharpest shels that might be gotten, his feet then being fast locked in the stocks, there was he left alone without

all worldly comfort: but the Lord his God was with him, the holy spirit of God (whose office is to comfort the godly afflicted) fulfilled his heart with joy and gladnesse. Hast thou prepared a terrible racke (O cruell tyrant, O debouring I von) for the martyrs bed? The Lord shall make that bed soft and sweet unto him. Rackest thou his bones and joints all asunder? His bones, his joints, his haire are all numbred. Tormentest thou his flesh with mortall wounds? The Lord shall powere abundantly into all his sores of his oyle of gladnesse. Thy scraping combs, thy sharp flesh hooks, thine hot searing irons, thy parched salt, thy stinking poison, thy cutting shels, thy pinching stocks shall turne to this patient martyr to the best. All together shall worke contrary to thine expectation, great plenty of joy shall hee reap into the barne of his soule, out of this nighty harvest of paines that thou hast brought him into. Pea, thou shalt prove him Vincentius in deed: that is, a vanquisher, a triumpher, a conqueror, subduing the madnes, by his meeknesse, thy tyranny by his patience, thy manifold means of tortures by the manifold graces of God, wherewith hee is plentifully enriched.

In this catalogue or company of such holy martyrs, as suffered in this foresaid tenth persecution, many more and almost innumerable there be expressed in authors, beside them whom we have hitherto comprehended, as Philozomus, a man of noble birth and great possessions in Alexandria, who being persuaded by his friends to favour himselfe, to respect his wife, to consider his children and family, did not onely respect the counsels of them, but also neglected the threats and counsels of the Judge, to keepe the confession of Christ inviolate unto the death, and losing of his head: Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 9. Niceph. lib. 7. cap. 9. of whom Eusebius beareth witness that hee was there present himselfe.

Of like estate and dignity was also Procopius in Palestine, who after his conversion brake his images of silver and gold, and distributed the same to the poore, and after all kind of torments, of racking, of cording, of searing his flesh, of gozing and stabbing in, of fiering, at length had his head also smitten off, as witnesseth Niceph. lib. 8. cap. 15.

To this may be joyned also Georgius a young man of Cappadocia, who stoutly inveighing against the impious idolatry of the Emperors, was apprehended and cast into prison, then torne with hooked irons, burnt with hot lime, stretched with rods, after that his hands and feet with other members of his body being cut off, at last with a sword had his head cut off, Niceph. ibid.

With these aforesaid, adde also Sergius and Bacchus, Panthaleon a Physician in Picomedia, mentioned in Supplem. lib. 8. Theodoros of the city of Amasia in Hellespont, mentioned of Vincentius. lib. 3. Faustus a martyr of Egypt, mentioned of Niceph. lib. 8. cap. 5. Gereon, with three hundred and eighteen fellow martyrs, which suffered about Colout: Petr. de nat. lib. 9. cap. 49. Hermogenes the President of Athens, who being converted by the constancy of one Peneas, and Eucraphus in their torments, suffered also for the like faith. Item, Samonas, Curias and Abitus, mentioned in Simeon Metaphrastes. Hieron also, with certaine of his confelloes, under Maximian, mentioned in Metaphrastes. Iudas and Domnas, who suffered with many other martyrs above mentioned at Picomedia, as recordeth Metaphrastes. Caelasius, Maximinus, the Emperors officers, whom Fausta the virgin in her torments converted. Also Thirus, Lucius, Callinicius, Apollonius, Philemon, Atilas, Lucius, with Arrianus, President of Thebaide, Cyprianus like wife, a citizen of Antioch, who after hee had continued a long time a filthy magician or sozcerer, at length was converted and made a Deacon, then a Priest, & at last the Bishop of Antioch, Vincent. l. 12.

The comfort of the Lord upon his saints.

Philozomus martyr.

Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 9.

The confession and martyrdom of Philozomus.

Procopius martyr.

The comments and constancy of Procopius to death. Niceph. lib. 7. cap. 15.

Georgius martyr, the summe of Georgious.

Sergius, Bacchus, Panthaleon, Theodoros, Faustus, Gereon with 18. fellows.

Hermogenes, Peneas a man of Athens, Eucraphus, Samonas, Surtas, Abibus, Hieron with his fellows, Iudas, Domnas.

Caelasius, Maximinus, Thirus, Lucius, &c. as in the Text.



cap. 120. of whom partly we touched somewhat before. This Cyprian with Justina a virgin suffered among the martyrs. Item Glicerius at Picomedia, Felix a Minister, Fortunatus, Achilleus, Deacons in the city of Valent. Arthemius of Rome, Cirtius Deacon to Marcellus the Bishop, Carpophorus Priest at Thulcia, with Abundus his Deacon. Item Clandius Sirinus, Antoninus which suffered with Marcellinus the Bishop: Sabel. Enead. 1.8. Cusatus in the city of Barcinona. Felix bishop of A pulia, with Adauctus & Januarius his priest, Fortunatus & Septimus his readers: who suffered in the city Vennina under Dioclesian: Bergom. lib. 8.

If were too long a travell or trouble to recite all and singular names of them particularly, whom this persecution of Dioclesian did consume. The number of whom being almost infinit, is not to be collected or expressed. One story yet remaineth not to be forgotten of Cassianus, whose pitifull story being described of Prudentius we have here inserted, rendering metre for metre, as followeth.

The lamentable story of Cassianus martyr.  
Ex Aurel. Prudent. lib. periseph.

**T**hrough Forum, as in Italy, I passed once to Rome, into a Church by chance came I, and stood fast by a tombe. Which Church sometime a place had beene, where causes great in law Were scand and tried, and judgement given, to keep brute men in awe. This place Sylla Cornelius, first built, he rais'd the frame; And call'd the same Forum; and thus that city tooke the name. In prayer fervent as I stood, casting mine eye aside, A picture in full piteous mood (imbrude) by chance I spide: A thousand wounded marks full bad, all mangled rent and torne; The skin appear'd as though it had been jagged and prickt with thorne. A scull of pictured boyes did band, about that loathsome sight, That with their sharpened gads in hand, his members thus had dight. These gads were but their pens, wherewith their tables written were, And such as schollers often sit, unto the schooles doe beare. Whom thou seest here thus pictur'd fit, and firmly dost behold, No fable is, I doe thee wit, unaskt a Prelate told That walkt thereby: but doth declare, the history of one, Which written, would good record beare, what faith was long agone, A skilfull schoolemaster this was, that here sometime did teach: The Bishop once of Brixia was, and Christ full plaine did preach. He knew well how to comprehend, long talke in a few lines: And it at length how to amend, by order and by times. His sharp precepts and his sterne looks, his beardless boyes did feare: When hate in heart (yet for their books) full deadly they did beare. The child that learns, I doe wee, terms aye his tutor cruell: No discipline in youth seems sweet, count this a common rule. Behold the raging time now here, oppressing to the faith, Doth persecute Gods children deare, and all that Christ bewraith. This trusty teacher of the swarme, profest the living God: The chief good thing they count their harm, perhaps he shakes his rod. What rebell (askt the President) is he I heare so loud? Unto our youth an instrument, they say, and low they bowd. Goe, bring the caitiffe forth, he bids, and make no long delay: Let him be set the boyes amids: they doe as he doth say. Let him be given unto them all, and let them have their will, To do to him what spight they shall, so that they will him kill. Even as they list let them him fray, and him deride so long, Till wearinesse provokes their play, no longer to prolong. Let them, I say, then uncontroll'd, both prick and scorch his skin: To bathe their hands let them be hold, in the hot blood of him. The schollers hereat make great game, it pleaseth them full well: That they may kill and quench the flame, they thought to them a hell. They bind his hands behind his backe, and naked they him strip: In bodkin wise at him they nacke, they laugh to see him skip. The private hate that each one hath in heart, it now appears: They powre it forth in gawdy wrath, they wreak them of their teares. Some cast great stones, some other breake their tables on his face: Lo, here thy Latin and thy Greek (oh barren boyes of grace) The blood runs downe his cheeks, and doth imbrue the boxen leams: Where notes by the were made (though loth) & well proponed theams. Some whet, some sharp their pensels points serving to write withall: Some other gage his flesh and joynts, as with a pointed nall. Sometime they prick, sometime they rent, this worthy Martyrs flesh: And thus by turnes they doe torment this confessor afresh. Now all with one consent on him their bloody hands they lay: To see the blood from him to him drop downe they make a play. More painfull was the pricking pang, of children oft and thicke,

Then of the bigger boyes that stang and neere the heart did sticke. For by the feeble strokes of th'one, death was denied his will: Of smart that made him wo begon, he had the better skill. The deeper strokes the great ones gave, and neerer toucht the quicke, The welcomer he thought the same, whom longing death made sicke. God make you strong, he saith, I pray, God give you might at will: And what you want in yeeres I lay, let cruelty fulfill. But whil't the hangman breatheth still, and me with you doth match, That weakly work, yet want no will, my life for to dispatch; (gaine, 10 My griefes wax great: what gron'st thou now? said some of them a In schoole, advised well art thou, whom there thou putt to paine? Behold we pray, and now make good, as many thousand stripes: As when with weeping eyes we stood, in danger of thy gripes. Art thou now angry at thy band, that alwaies criedit write, write, And never wouldst that our right hand shouldst rest in quiet plite? We had forgot our playing times, thou churle deniedst us of: We now but pricke and point our lines, and thus they grin and scoffe. Correct good Sir, your viewed verse, if ought amisse there bee: Now use thy power and then rehearse, that have not marked thee. Christ pitying this groaning man, with torments torne and tired, Commands his heart to breake even then, and life that was then hired, He yeelds againe to him that gave, and thus he makes exchange: Immortall for mortall to have, that in such paine did range. This is, saith he, that this picture, thou so beholdest, oh guest, Of Cassianus martyr pure, doth preach I do protest. If thou prudence have ought in store, in piety to deale, In hope of just reward therefore, now shew thy loving zeale. I could not but consent, I weepe, his tombe I doe embrace: Home I returne, and after sleepe, this pitifull preface

Cassianus martyr.

30 I write as a memoriall, for ever to indure, Of Cassianus schoolemaster, all others to allure To constancy under the crosse, of their profession: Accounting gaine what ever losse for Christ they take upon.

No lesse admirable then wonderfull was the constancy also of women and maidens, who in the same persecution gave their bodies to the torments, and their lives for the testimony of Christ, with no lesse boldnes of spirit, then did the men themselves above specified, to who how much more inferior they were 40 of bodily strength, so much more worthy of praise they be, for their constant standing. Of whom some examples here we mind (Christ willing) to infer, such as in our stories & chronicles seem most notable, first beginning with Eulalia, whose story we have taken out of the foresaid Prudentius, as followeth.

In the west part of Spaine, called Portugall, is a city great and populous, named Emerita, wherein dwelt, and was brought up a virgin, borne of noble parentage, whose name was Eulalia, which Emerita although for the situation thereof, was both 50 rich and famous, yet more adorned and famous was the renowne thereof, by the martyrdome, blood, and sepulchre of this blessed virgin Eulalia. Twelve yeeres of age was she, and not much above, when she refused great and honorable offers in marriage, as one not skilfull, nor yet delighting in courtly dalliance, neither yet taking pleasure in purple and gorgeous apparell, or else in pretious balmes, or costly ornaments and jewels: but forsaking and despising all these and such like pompous allurements, then shewed she her selfe most busie in preparing her journey to her hoped inheritance, and heavenly patronage. Which Eulalia, as she was modest and discreet in behaviour, sage and sober in conditions, so was she also witty and sharpe in answering her enemies. But when the furious rage of persecution inforced her to join her selfe amongst Gods children in the household of faith, and when the Christians were commanded to offer incense & sacrifice to diuels 70 or dead gods: then began the blessed spirit of Eulalia to kindle, and being of a prompt & ready wit, thought forthwith (as a couragious Captaine) to give a charge upon this so great and disorderd a battell: and so she silly woman, poisoning out the bowels of her innocent heart before God, more provoketh thereby the force and rage of her enemies against her. But the godly care of her parents, fearing lest the willing mind of this damosell, so ready to die for Christ

Eulalia martyr.

Ex Aurel. Prudentio, lib. periseph.

The chaste and continent behaviour of Eulalia.

Eulalia giveth the order, denying to sacrifice to diuels.



Culalia kept  
secret by her  
parents.

Chulls cause, might make her guilty of her owne death, hid her and kept her close at their house in the Countrey, being a great way out of the City. She yet misliking that quiet life, as also detesting to make such delay, softly slealeth out of the doores (no man knowing thereof) in the night; and in great haste leaping the common way, openeth the hedge gaps, and with weary fete (God knoweth) passed through the thorny and briary places, accompanied yet with spirituall guard: and although darke and dreadfull was the silent night, yet had she with her, the Lord and guider of light. As as the children of Israel coming out of Egypt, had by the mighty power of God, a cloudy pillar for their guide in the day, and a flame of fire in the night, so had this godly virgin, travelling in this darke night, when shee flying and forsaking the place where all filthie idolatry abounded, and hastened her heavenly journey, was not oppressed with the dreadfull darknesse of the night: but yet the before the day appeared in this her speedy journey, with her selfe considered and mused on a thousand matters and more.

Culalia discov-  
ereth the hea-  
ven Judge.

The godly con-  
fession of Cu-  
lalia.

In the morning betime, with a bold courage shee goeth unto the tribunall or Iudgement-seat, and in the midst of them all with a loud voice crying out, said: I pray you what a shame is it for you thus rashly and without addeition to destroy and kill mens soules, and to throw their bodies alive against the rocks and cause them to deny the omnipotent God? Could you know (O you unfortunate) what I am? Behold, I am one of the Christians, an enemy to your devilish sacrifices, I spurne your idols under my fete, I confesse God omnipotent with my heart and mouth. I tis, Apollo, and Venus, what are they? Maximinus himselfe, what is he? The one a thing of nought, for that they be the works of mens hands; the other but a castaway, because hee worshippeth the same worke. Therefore frivolous are they both, and both not worthy to be set by: Maximinus is a Lord of substance, and yet he himselfe falleth downe before a stone, and dobeth the honour of his dignity unto those that are much inferiour to his vassals. Why then both hee oppresse so tyrannically, more worthy stomakes and courages then himselfe? Hee must needs be a good guide and an upright Judge, which feedeth upon innocent blood, and breathing in the bodies of godly men, doth rent and teare their bowels, and that more is, hath his delight in destroying and subverting the faith.

Culalia assured  
with false per-  
suasions.

Soe to therefore thou hang-man, burne, cut and mangle thou these earthly members. It is an easie matter to breake a brittle substance, but the inward mind shalt thou not hurt for any thing thou canst doe. The pretor then or Iudge, with these words of hers, set in a great rage, saith; Hang-man take her and pull her out by the haire of her head, and torment her to the uttermost, let her feele the powder of our countrey gods, and let her know what the imperiall government of a Prince is. But yet, O thou sturdy girl, saine would I have thee (if it were possible) before thou die, to reboke this thy wickednes. Behold what pleasures thou maist enjoy by the honourable house thou camest of, thy fallen house and progeny followeth thee to death with lamentable teares, and the heavy nobility of thy kindred maketh dolefull lamentation for thee. What meanest thou? Wilt thou kill thy selfe to yong a flower, and so nere these honourable marriages and great dowries thou maist enjoy: Doth not the glittering and golden pompe of the bride-bed move thee? Doth not the reverend piety of thine ancestors picke thee? What hom is it not, but that this thy rashnesse and weaknes grieveeth? Behold here the furniture ready prepared for thy terrible death: Either shalt thou be beheaded with this sword, or else with these wilde beasts shalt thou be pulled in peeces, or else thou being cast into the fierie flames, shalt be (although lamentably bewailed of thy friends and kinsfolks) consumed to ashes.

What great matter is it for thee I pray thee, to escape all this? If thou wilt but take and put with thy fingers a little salt and incense into the censers, thou shalt be delivered from all these punishments. To this Culalia made no answer, but being in a great fury, she spitte in the tyrants face, she throweth downe the idols, and spurneth abroad with her fete the heape of incense prepared to the censers. Then without further delay the hangmen with both their strengths took her, and puld one joint from another, and with the talons of wild beasts scotched her sides to the hard bones: she all this while singing and praying God in this wise; Behold, O Lord, I will not forget thee: what a pleasure is it for them, O Christ, that remember thy triumphant victories, to attaine unto these high dignities, and still calleth up on that holy name, all stained and imbued with her owne blood. This sang she with a bold stomacke, neither lamentingly nor yet weepingly, but being glad and merry abandoning from her mind all heavynesse and grieve, when as out of a warm fountaine her mangled members with fresh blood bathed her white and faire skin. When proceed they to the last and finall torment, which was not onely the gozing and wounding of her mangled body with the iron grate and hurle, and terrible harrowing of her flesh, but burned on every side with flaming torches her tormented breasts and sides: her haire hanging about her shoulders in two parts divided (where with her shamefaced chastity and virginity was covered) reached downe to the ground. But when the cracking flame flew about her face, kindled by her haire, and reacheth the crowne of her head: then shee desiring swift death, opened her mouth and swallowed the flame, and so rested she in peace.

Culalia sing-  
geth, and pray-  
eth God in her  
torments.

Culalia putt in  
the fire.  
The end and  
martyrdom of  
Culalia.

Ex Pruden.

When said Prudentius & Ade, also Quilinus adde mozeover, writing of a white dove issuing out of her mouth at her departing, & of the fire quenched about her body, also of her body covered miraculously with snow, with other things more, whereof let every reader use his owne judgement.

As yet have heard now the Christian life, and constant death of Culalia, much worthy of praise and commendation: so no lesse commendation is worthy to be given to blessed Agnes, that constant damosell and martyr of God, who as she was in home of honourable parents begotten, so lieth there as honourably intombed and buried. Which Agnes for her unpotted and undesiled virginity, deserved no lesse praise, and commendation then for her willing death and martyrdom. Some writers make of her a long discourse, more in my judgement then necessary, reciting divers and sundry strange miracles by her done in the proceffe of her history; which partly for tediousnesse, partly for the doubtfullnesse of the author (whom some father upon Ambrose and partly for the strangenes and incredibility thereof I omit, being satisfied with that which Prudentius briefly writeth of her, as followeth: She was (saith he) yong and not marriageable, when first shee being dedicated to Christ, boldly resisted the wicked edicts of the Emperour; least that through idolatry shee might have denied and forsaken the holy faith; but yet first probed by divers and sundry policies to induce her to the same (as now with the flattering and inticing words of the Judge, now with the threatnings of the flaming executioner) she stood notwithstanding stedfast in all contagious strength: and willingly offered her body to hard and painefull torments, not refusing (as she said) to suffer what soever it should be, yea though it were death it selfe.

Agnes marty.

Strange and  
unnecessary  
miracles omit-  
ted.

Ex Pruden. lib.  
de corona.

Agnes constant  
in the confes-  
sion of her faith.

When said the cruell tyrant: If to suffer paine and torment be so easie a matter and lightly regarded of thee, and that thou accountest the life nothing worth, yet the shame of thy dedicated or vowed virginity is a thing more regarded I know, and esteemed of thee. Wherefore this is determined, that unless thou wilt make obedience to the altar of  
Spinerva,



Agnes threat-  
ned to the bro-  
ther-house.  
Agnes hold  
upon the helpe  
of Christ.

Minerba, and aske forgiveness of her for thy arro-  
gancy, thou shalt be sent to be abandoned to the com-  
mon steines of brother-house. Agnes the virgin with  
more spirit then vehemency inbeigheth against both  
Minerba and her virginity: the youth in skils flock  
and run together, and crave that they may have Ag-  
nes their lubiduous prey. Then, saith Agnes, Christ  
is not forgetfull of those that be his, that he will suf-  
fer violently to be taken from them their golden  
and pure chastity, neither will he leave them to de-  
stitute of helpe: he is alwaies at hand and ready to  
fight for such as are shamefast and chaste virgins,  
neither suffereth hee his gifts of holy integrity or  
chastity to be polluted. Thou shalt, saith she, wil-  
lingly bathe thy sword in my blood if thou wilt, but  
thou shalt not defile my body with filthy lust for any  
thing thou canst doe. She had no sooner spoken these  
wordes, but he commanded that she should be set na-  
ked at the corner of some streete (which place at that  
time, such as were strumpets commonly used) the  
greater part of the multitude both forrowling and  
shaming to see to shamelesse a sight, went their  
waies, some turning their heads, some hiding their  
faces. But one amongst the rest, with uncircumci-  
sed eyes beholding the damsell, and that in such op-  
probrious wise; beheld a flame of fire like unto a  
flash of lightning falleth upon him, and striketh his  
eyes out of his head; whereupon hee for dead falling  
unto the ground, spaueth in the kennell-durt;  
whose companions taking him up, and carrying him  
away, betrayed him as a dead man: but the virgin  
for this her miraculous delivery from the danger  
and shame of that place, singeth praises to God and  
Christ.

The inconti-  
nent eyes of a  
young man,  
beholding Ag-  
nes, stricken  
out.

The young man  
restored againe  
to his health by  
the prayer of  
Agnes.

Where he (saith Prudentius) that report, how  
that she being desired to pray unto Christ for the  
party, that a little before with fire from Heaven for  
his incontinency was stricken, was restored by  
her prayer both unto his perfect health and sight.  
But blessed Agnes after that she had climbed this  
her first graile and step unto the heavenly pallace,  
forthwith began to climbe another: for fury ingen-  
driug now the mortall wrath of her bloody enemy,  
wringing his hands be crieth out, saying: I am un-  
done, When the executioner draw out thy sword,  
and do thine office that the Emperour hath appoin-  
ted thee. And when Agnes saw a sturdy and cruell  
fellow (to behold) stand behind her, or approaching  
nere to her with a naked sword in his hand: I am  
now gladder, saith she, and reioyce, that such a one  
as thou being a stout, fierce, strong, and sturdy sou-  
dier art come, then one more feeble, weake, and faint  
should come, or else any other young man sweetly  
unbained, and wearing gay apparrell that might  
destroy me with funerall shame. This, even this,  
is he, I now confesse, that I doe love. I will make  
haste to meete him, and will no longer protract my  
longing desire. I will willingly receive into my  
paps the length of his sword, and into my brest will  
draw the force thereof even unto the hilts, that thus  
I being married unto Christ my spouse, may sur-  
mount and escape all the darkenesse of this world,  
that reacheth even unto the skies. Eternall Go-  
vernour, vouchsafe to open the gates of Heaven  
once shut up against all the inhabitants of the earth  
and receive (oh Christ) my soule that seeketh thee.  
Thus speaking and kneeling upon her knees she  
prayeth unto Christ above in Heaven, that her  
necke might be the readier for the sword, now  
hanging over the same. The executioner then  
with his bloody hand finished her hope, and at one  
stroke cutteth off her head, and by such short and  
swift death doth hee prevent her of the paine  
thereof.

Agnes distress-  
ed of martyr-dome.

The prayer of  
Agnes.

Agnes behea-  
red.

The history of  
Katharine  
martyr.  
All things be  
not true and  
probable that  
be written of  
Saints lives.

of a subtil practise have so mangle-mangled their  
stories and lives, that almost nothing remaineth in  
them simple and uncorrupt, as in the usuall poetries  
wont to be read for daily service is manifest and e-  
vident to be seene; wherein few legends there be  
able to abide the touch of history, if they were truly  
tryed. This I write upon the occasion specially of  
good Katharine, whom now I have in hand, In  
whom although I nothing doubt, but in her life  
was great holinesse, in her knowledge excellency,  
in her death constancy: yet that all things be true  
that be storied of her, neither dare I affirme, neither  
am I bound so to thinke: so many strange fictions  
of her be fained diversly of divers writers, whereof  
some seeme incredible, some also impudent. As  
where Petrus de natalibus writing of her conversion  
declareth, how that Katharine sleeping before a cer-  
taine picture or table of the crucifix, Christ with his  
mother Mary appeared unto her: and when Mary  
had offered her unto Christ to be his wife, hee first  
refused her for her blacknesse. The next time she  
being baptised, Mary appearing againe, offered her  
to marry with Christ, who then being liked, was  
espoused to him and married, having a golden ring  
the same time put on her finger in her sleep, &c. Ber-  
gomenis writeth thus, that because she in the sight  
of the people openly resisted the Emperour Varen-  
tius to his face, and rebuked him for his cruelty,  
therefore she was commanded and committed upon  
the same to prison, which seemeth hitherto not much  
to digresse from truth. It followeth moreover, that  
the same night an Angell came to her, comfort-  
ing and exhorting her to be strong and constant unto the  
martyrdome, for that she was a maid accepted in  
the sight of God, and that the Lord would be with  
her for whose honour shee did fight, and that hee  
would give her a month and twisedome which her  
enemies should not withstand: with many other  
things more which I here omit. As this also I omit  
concerning the fifty philosophers, whom she in dis-  
putation confuted, and converted unto our religion,  
and dyed martyrs for the same. Item of the con-  
verting of Porphyrius kinsman to Varentius, and  
Faustina the Emperours wife. At length (saith the  
story) after shee proved the racke, and the foure  
sharpe cutting whokes, having at last her head cut  
off with the sword, so she finished her martyrdome,  
about the yere of our Lord (as Antoninus affir-  
meth) three hundred and ten. Simeon Metaphra-  
stes, writing of her, discourseth the same more at  
large, to whom they may resort which covet more  
therein to be satisfied.

Petrus de nata-  
libus, lib. 10.

Katharine resi-  
steth the Em-  
perour openly  
to his face.

Katharine com-  
mitted to prison  
and comforted  
by an angell.

The torments  
and end of Ka-  
tharine.

The history of  
Julitta martyr.  
Ex Basil. in ser.

Julitta violent-  
ly spoiled of  
her goods.

Julitta once  
abused.

Among the woorkes of Basil a certaine oration is  
erant concerning Julitta the martyr, who came to  
her martyrdome (as he witnesseth) by this occasion.  
A certaine abaricious and greedy person of great  
authority, and (as it may appeare) the Emperour  
his Deputy, or other like officer (who abused the de-  
crees and lawes of the Emperour against the Chri-  
stians, to his owne lucre and gaine) violently tooke  
from this Julitta all her goods; lands, chattels, and  
servants, contrary to all equity and right. Shee  
made her pitifull complaint to the Judges: a day  
was appointed when the cause should be heard. The  
spoiled woman, and the spoliing extortioner stood  
forth together; the woman lamentably declareth  
her cause, the man frowningly beholdeth her face.  
When shee had proved that of god right the gods  
were her owne, and that wrongfully hee had dealt  
with her: the wicked and bloodthirsty wretch prefer-  
ring vile worldly substance, before the precious sub-  
stance of a Christian body, affirmed her action to be  
of no force, for that she was an outlaw in not obser-  
ving the Emperours gods, since her Christian faith  
hath bene first abused. His allegation was allowed  
as good and reasonable. Whereupon Incense & fire  
were prepared for her to worship the gods, which  
unlesse shee would doe, neither the Emperours pro-  
secution.



fection, nor lawes, nor judgement, nor life should they enjoy in that Common weale. When this handmaid of the Lord heard these words, she said: Farewell life, welcome death; farewell riches, welcome poverty. All that I have, if it were a thousand times more, would I rather lose, then to speake one wicked and blasphemous word against God my Creator. I yield thee thanks most hearty, O my God, for this gift of grace, that I can contemne and despise this frail and transitory world, esteeming Christian profession above all treasures. Henceforth when any question was demanded, her answer was: I am the servant of Jesus Christ. Her kindred and acquaintance flocking to her, advertised her to change her mind. But that vehemently she refused, with detestation of their idolatry. Forthwith the Judge with the sharpe sword of sentence, not onely cutteth off all her goods and possessions, but judgeth her also to the fire most cruelly. The joyfull Martyr imbraceth the sentence as a thing most sweete and delectable. She addresseth herselfe to the flames, in countenance, gesture and wordes, declaring the joy of her heart, coupled with singular constancy. To the women beholding her, sententially she spake: Sticke not, O sisters, to labour and travell after true piety and godlinesse. Case to accuse the fragility of feminine nature. What are we created of the same matter that men are? Yea, after Gods image and similitude are we made, as lively as they. Not flesh onely God used in the creation of the woman, in signe and token of her infirmity and weaknesse, but bone of bones is she, in token that shee must be strong in the true and living God, all false gods forsaken; constant in faith, all infidelity renounced; patient in adversity, all worldly ease refused. Ware weare (my deare sisters) of your lives led in darknesse, and be in love with my Christ, my God, my redeemer, my comforter, which is the true light of the world. Perswade your selves, or rather the spirit of the living God perswade you, that there is a world to come, wherein the worshippers of idols and devils shall be tormented perpetually, the servants of the high God shall be crowned eternally. With these wordes she imbraced the fire and sweetly slept in the Lord.

There have bene mozeover beside these above recited, divers goodly women and faithfull martyrs, as Barbara a noble woman in Thulcia, who after miserable prisonment, sharpe colds, and burning flames put to her sides, was at last beheaded. Also Fausta the virgin which suffered under Maximinus, by whom Eusebius a ruler of the Emperours palace, and Maximinus the president were both converted, and also suffered martyrdom as witnesseth Betaphraites. Item, Juliana a virgin of singular beauty in Picomedia, who after divers agonies suffered likewise under Maximinus. Item, Anastasia a maid of Thesalonica, who under the said Maximinus suffered: Metaph. ibid. Justina which suffered with Cyprianus bishop of Antioch, not to omit also Tecla; although most writers doe record that shee suffered under Nero. Platina in vita Caii maketh also mention of Lucia and Agatha. All which holy maidens and virgins glorified the Lord Christ with their constant martyrdom, in this tenth and last persecution of Dioclesian.

During the time of which persecution, these Bishops of Rome succeeded one after another, Caius who succeeded next after Nifus before mentioned, Marcellinus, Marcellus (of whom Eusebius in his story maketh no mention) Eusebius, and then Hilarius: all which died martyrs in the tempest of this persecution. First, Marcellinus after the martyrdom of Caius, was ordained Bishop: he being brought by Dioclesian to the idols, first yielded to their idolatry, and was sene to sacrifice: wherefore being excommunicated by the Christians, he fell in

to such repentance, that he returned againe to Dioclesian, where he standing to his former confession, and publickly condemning the idolatry of the heathen, recovered the crowne of martyrdom, suffering with Claudius, Cyrianus, and Antoninus.

Marcellus likewise was urged of Parentius to renounce his bishopricke and religion, and to sacrifice with them to idols: which when he constantly refused, was beaten with cudgels, and so expelled the City. Then he entering into the house of Lucina a widow, assembled there the congregation; which when it came to the eares of Parentius the tyrant, he turned the house of Lucina into a stable, and made Marcellus the keeper of the beasts; who with the stinke thereof and miserable handling, was put to death. Eusebius late bishop of Rome, as Euseb. in Chro. saith, seven moneths, Marcellus scotus saith eight moneths; Damasus affirmeth sixe yeeres. Sabellicus alleadgeth certaine authors that say, that he was slaine by Maximianus, but correcteth that himselfe, affirming that Maximianus died before him.

Hilarius by the testimony of Platina, and others that follow him sixe yeeres and seven moneths, and suffered under Maximianus. But that seemeth not to be true, as both Sabellicus doth rightly note, affirming that the same cannot stand by the supputation of time: for so much as the said Galerius Maximianus reigned but two yeeres, and died before Hilarius. Also Eusebius manifestly expretheth the example of a letter of Constantine written to this Hilarius bishop of Rome, plainly convicting that to be false which Platina affirmeth.

In the booke collected of generall counells, among the decretall epistles, there is a long tradition about the judgement and condemnation of Marcellinus: whereof the masters and patrons of popery in these our daies take great hold to prove the supremacy of the Pope to be above all generall counells, and that he ought not to be subject to the condemnation of any person or persons, for that there is written; Nemo unquam judicavit pontificem, nec presul sacerdotem suum, quoniam prima sedes non judicabitur a quoquam, &c. Although this sentence of Hilarius seemeth apparently to be patched in rather by some Helidibandus then by Hilarius, both for that it hangeth with little order of sense upon that which goeth before; and againe, because that Prima sedes here mentioned, was not yet ordained nor attributed to the See of Rome before the counsell of Nice, where the order and placing of bishops was first established. But to let this sentence passe, yet notwithstanding the circumstance and proceeding of this judgement, if it be rightly weighed, maketh very little to the purpose of these men.

Neither is it true that the bishops of this counsell of Sinuesse, did not condemne Marcellinus, for the words of the counsell be plaine; Subscriperunt igitur in ejus damnationem & damnaverunt eum extra civitatem, that is, They subscribed therefore to his condemnation, and condemned him to be expelled out of the City. Mozeover by the said counsell were brought in the forty two witnesses against Marcellinus. In the said counsell, the verdict of the same witnesses was demanded, and also received. Furthermore, Quirinus one of the bishops there openly protested, that he would not depart the counsell, before the malice of the bishops was revealed: What doth all this declare, but that the bishop of Rome was called there, and did appeare before the judgement seate of the counsell, and there stood subject to their sentence and authority, by the which he was expelled out of the City? As for the words of the counsell, whereupon our papists stand so much,

Non enim nostro, sed tuo ipsius judicio condemnaberis, &c. Item, Tuo ore judica causam tuam, &c. These words import not here the authority of the Roman bishop to be above the counsell, neither doe

Julia stands to the confliction of her faith. A Christian boole of a true martyr.

The answer of Julia.

Julia condemned to the fire.

The words and exhortations of Julia to women about her.

Barbara, Fausta, Eusebius, Maximinus, Hilarius, Anas, Tecla, mar- tyrs.

Caius, Marcellinus, Marcellus, Eusebius, Hilarius, bishops of Rome and martyrs. Marcellinus denieth and repenteth. Ex lib. Concilio. & Platina.

Euseb. in Chron.

Authors dissent. Ex Sabel. Emend. lib. 8.

Sabel. ibid.

A place of Platina confuted.

The order and proceeding described in judgement against the Bishop of Rome.

An objection of the papists answered.

The bishop of Rome cited up and appears before the council.



they declare what the councell could not do, but what they would and wished rather to be done, that is, that he should rather acknowledge his crime before God and them, with a voluntary yielding of his heart, then that the confession of such an hainous fact should be extorted from him through their condemnation, for that they saw to be expedient for his soules health; otherwise their condemnation should serbe him to small purpose; and so it came to passe. For he being urged of them to condemne himselfe, sodid; prostrating himself and weeping befoze them. Whereupon immediately they proceeded to the sentence against him, condemning and pronouncing him to be expelled the City. Now whether by this may be gathered that the Bishop of Rome ought not to be cited, accused and condemned by any person or persons, let the indifferent reader judge simply.

As touching the decretall epistles, which be intuled under the names of these foresaid bishops, who so well additeth them, and with judgement will examine the stile, the time, the argument, the hanging together of the matter, and the constitutions in them contained (little serving to any purpose, and nothing serving for those troublesome daies then present) may easily discern them, either in no part to be theirs, or much of the same to be clouted and patched by the doings of others, which lived in other times, especially seeing all the constitutions in them for the most part tend to the setting up, & to exalt the See of Rome above all other bishops and churches, and to reduce all causes and appeals to the said See of Rome. So the epistle of Cyprian beginning with the commendation of the authority of his See endeth after the same tenor, willing and commanding all difficult questions in all Provinces whatsoever emerging, to be referred to the See apostolicall. Moreover the greatest part of the said epistle from this place (*Quicumque illi sunt, ita obsecrati, &c.*) to the end of this period, *Quoniam sicut ait B. apostolus, magnum est pietatis, &c.* is contained in the epistle of Leo, unto Leo the Emperour: and so rightly agreeth in all points with the stile of Leo, that evident it is the same to be borrowed out of Leo, and to be patched into the epistle of Cyprian out of Leo.

Likewise the epistle of Marcellinus, to get more authority with the reader, is admired with a great part of Pauls epistle to the Ephesians, word for word. And how it is like that Marcellinus, which died in the twentieth year of Dioclesian, could write of consubstantiality of the divine persons, when that controverfie and terme of consubstantiality was not heard of in the Church before the Nicen councell, which was twenty three yeeres after him? But especially the two epistles of Marcellus bewray themselves, so that for the confuting thereof needeth no other probation more then onely the reading of the same. Such a glorious stile of ambition therein doth appeare, as if it is easie to be understood, not to proceed either from such an humble martyr, or to labour any thing of the misery of such a time. His words of his first epistle written unto the brethren of Antioch, and alleaged in the Popes decrees by Gratianus are these:

We desire you brethren, that you doe not teach nor conceive any other thing but as yee have received of the blessed Apostle Saint Peter, and of other Apostles and Fathers. For of him ye were first of all instructed, wherefore you must not forsake your owne father and follow others. For he is the head of the whole Church, to whom the Lord said: Thou art Peter, and upon this Rocke I will build my Church, &c. Whose seate was first with you in Antioch, which afterward by the commandement of the Lord, was translated from thence to Rome, of the which Church of Rome I am this day placed (by the grace of God) to be the governour. From the which Church of Rome, neither ought you

to separate your selves, seeing to the same Church all manner of causes Ecclesiasticall, being of any importance (Gods grace so disposing) are commanded to be referred: by the same to be ordered regularly, from whence they tooke their first beginning, &c. And followeth consequently upon the same, And if your Church of Antioch, which was once the first, will now yeeld her selfe unto the See of Rome, there is no other Church else that will not subject it selfe to our Dominion: to whom all other Bishops whatsoever, as they must needs doe (according to the decrees of the Apostles and of their successors) ought to flie, as to have their head, and must appeale to the same; there to have their redresse and their protection, from whence they tooke their first instruction and consecration, &c.

Whether this be like matter to proceed from the spirit of Marcellus that blessed martyr in those so dreadfull daies, I say no more, but onely desire the (gentle reader) to judge.

In his second Epistle moreover, the said Marcellus writing to Marcellinus the bloody tyrant, first reprehendeth him for his cruelty, sharply admonishing him how and what to doe: to learne and seeke the true religion of God, to maintaine his Church, to honour and reverence the Priests of God, and especially exhorteth him to charity, and that he would cease from persecution, &c. All this is possible and like to be true. But now marke (good reader) what blanced stuffe here followed withall: as where he alleaging the statutes and sanctions of his predecessor, declareth and discusseth that no Bishop nor Minister ought to be persecuted or deprived of his goods. And if they be, then ought they to have their possessions and places againe restored by the law, befoze they were bound by the law to answer to their accusations laid in against them: and so after that, in convenient time, to be called to a councell; the which councell notwithstanding without the authority of the holy See, cannot proceed regularly, albeit it remaine in his power to assemble certaine bishops together. Neither can he regularly condemne any bishop, appealing to this his apostolicall See, befoze the sentence definitive doe proceed from the foresaid See, &c. And it followeth after; And therefore (saith he) let no bishop of what crime soever he be attached, come to his accusation or be heard, but in his owne ordinary synod at his convenient time: the regular and apostolicall authority being joyned withall. Moreover in the said epistle writing unto Marcellinus, he decreth that no lay men, or any suspected Bishop ought to accuse Prelates of the Church; So that if they be either Lay-men, or men of evill conversation, or proved manifest enemies or incensed with any hatred, their accusations against any Bishops ought not to stand. With other such matters more, concerning the disposition of judicial Court. Which matter, if Pope Gregory the seventh had written unto Henry the third Emperour, or if Pope Alexander the third had written to the Emperour Frederickus the first: it might have stood with some reason and opportunity of time. But now for Marcellus to write the decrees in such persecution of the Church, to Marcellinus the heathen and most cruell Emperour, how unlike it is to be true, and how it served then to purpose, the reader may some discern. And yet these be the epistles and constitutions decretall, whereby (under the pretended title of the fathers) all Churches of late time, and all ecclesiasticall causes have bene, and yet are in this realm of England to this day governed, directed and disposed.

The like discussion and examination I might also make of the other epistles that follow of Celsinus and Giltiades, which all tend to the same scope, that no Prelate or Bishop ought to come to his answer (or Ad litem contestatam, as the words of their writing

The church of Rome lured to the church of Antioch to yeeld unto her.

The second epistle of Marcellus written to Marcellinus.

The epistle of Marcellus to Marcellinus.

The church of England governed by the Popes canon law without sufficient ground of antiquity. The epistles decretall of Celsinus and Giltiades.

The Bishop of Rome condemned by the councill.

The decretall epistles and constitutions of these bishops of Rome examined.

The chief scope of the constitutions decretall, to magnifie the Church of Rome.

The epistle of Cyprian.

A great part of the epistle of Cyprian, taken out of the epistle of Leo, to Leo the Emperour.

The epistle of Marcellinus.

The epistles decretall of Marcellus.

24. q. 1. Romanus vos fratres.

In what chapter or seate of all the Bible both the Lord remannd the See of Peter to be translated from Antioch to Rome?



ting doe fearme it ) before they be orderly and fully restozed againe to their possession. Who moreoever in the said their epistles still harpe upon this key of the scripture, Tu es Petrus, & super hanc petram ædificabo ecclesiam meam. Declaring moreoever that this priviledge of iudging all men and to be iudged of no man, but only to be left to the iudgement of the Lord, was given to this foresaid holy See of Rome, from tyme of the Apostles, and chiefly left with Peter the holy key-bearer : so that although the election of the Apostles was equall, yet this was chiefly granted to S. Peter, to have preheminance above the rest.

Concluding in the end hereby, Quod semper majores causas, sicut sunt episcoporum, & potiorum curæ negotiorum, ad unam beati principis apostolorum Petri sedem confluent; that is, That alwaies all greater causes, as be the matters of bishops, and such other cares of weighty importance, should be brought to the See of Saint Peter, the blessed Prince of the Apostles, &c. These be the words of Hilarius and Eusebius, whereby it may partly be smelled of him that hath any nose, what was the meaning of them which forged these writings and letters upon these ancient holy martyrs.

This I cannot but marvell at, in the third epistle of Eusebius the bishop of Rome, that whereas Hieronimus his late predecessor before, in his owne time and remembrance did fall so horribly, and was condemned for the same justly to be expelled the City by the counsell of three hundred bishops: yet notwithstanding the foresaid Eusebius in his third epistle alleaging that place of Tu es Petrus, bringeth in for a proove of the same, and saith, Quia in sede apostolica extra maculam semper est catholica servata religio, &c. that is, For in the apostolicall See alwaies the catholike religion hath bene preserved without any spot or blemish.

But howsoever the forgers of these decrefall epistles have forgotten themselves, most certaine it is, that these holy bishops, unto whom they were and are ascribed, lived perfect good men and died blessed martyrs. Of whom this Hilarius was the last among all the Bishops of Rome here in the West church of Europe, that ever was in danger of persecution to be martyred, yet to this present day.

And thus have ye heard the stories and names of such blessed Saints, which suffered in the time of persecution, from the nineteenth yere of Dioclesian to the seventh and last yere of Valerianus, described with the deaths also and plagues upon these tormentors and cruell tyrants, which were the Captaines of the same persecution. And here cometh in (blessed be Christ) the end of these persecutions here in these West Churches of Europe, so farre as the dominion of blessed Constantinus did chiefly extend.

Yet notwithstanding in Asia all persecution as yet ceased not for the space of foure yeres, as above is mentioned by the meanes of wicked Licinius, under whom divers there were holy and constant martyrs, that suffered grievous torments: as Hermilus a Deacon, and Stratonicus a keeper of the prison, both which after their punishments sustained, were strangled in the flood Ilster. Metast. Also Theodosius the Captaine, who being sent for of Licinius, because he would not come, and because he brake his gods in pieces, and gave them to the proze, therefore was fastened to the crosse, and after being pierced with sharpe pickes or bodkins in the secret parts of his body, was at last beheaded. Adde to these also Miles, who being first a souldier was afterward made bishop of a certaine City in Persia: where he seeing himselfe could doe no good to convert them, after many tribulations and great afflictions among them, cursed the City and departed. Which City shortly after by Saporos King of Persia was destroyed.

In the same countrey of Persia, about this time

suffered under Saporos the King (as recordeth Simeon Metasthenes) divers valiant & constant martyrs, as Acindimus, Degastus, Anemoditus, Cephephorus, also Simeon archbishop of Seleucia, with Ctesiphon another Bishop in Persia, with other ministers and religious men of that region, to the number of one hundred twenty eight. Of this Simeon and Ctesiphon thus writeth Sozomen lib. 2. That the idolatrous magicians in Persia, taking counsell together against the Christians, accused Simeon & Ctesiphon to Saporos the King, for that they were gratefull and accepted unto the Roman Emperour, and bewaied to him such things as were done in the land of Persia. Whereupon Saporos, being moved toke great displeasure against the Christians, oppressing them with taxes and tributes unto their utter impoverishing, killing all their Priests with the sword: after that calleth for Simeon the Archbishop, who there before the King declared himselfe a worthy and a valiant Captaine of Christs church.

For when Saporos had commanded him to be led to suffer torments, he neither shunke for any feare, nor shewed any great humble sute of submission for any pardon: whereat the King partly marvelling, partly offended, asked why he did not kneele downe as he was wont before to doe? Simeon to this answered: for that, saith he, before this time I was not brought unto you in bonds to betray the true God, as I am now; and so long I refused not to accomplish that which the order and custome of the realme of me required; but now it is not lawfull for me so to doe, for now I come to stand in defence of our religion and true doctrine. When Simeon thus had answered, the King persisting in his purpose, offereth to him the choice either to worship with him after his manner (promising to him many great gifts, if he would so doe) or if he would not, threateneth to him and to all the other Christians within his land, destruction. But Simeon, neither allured with his promises, nor terrified with his threatnings, continued constant in his doctrine professed, so as neither he could be induced to idolatrous worship, nor yet to betray the truth of his religion. For the which cause he was committed into bonds, and there commanded to be kept, to the Kings pleasure further knowne.

It befell in the way as he was going to the prison, there was sitting at the Kings gate a certaine Eunuch, an old tutor or schoolmaster of the Kings, named Abazares, who had bene once a Christian, and afterward falling from his profession, fell with the heathenish multitude to their idolatry. This Abazares sitting at the doore of the Kings palace, and seeing Simeon passing by led to the prison, rose up and revered the bishop. Simeon againe with sharp words (as the time would suffer) rebuked him, and in great anger cried out against him, which being once a Christian, would so cowardly revolt from his profession, and to returne againe to the heathenish idolatry. At the hearing of these words the eunuch forthwith bursting out into teares, laying away his courtly appparell, which was sumptuous and costly, and putting upon him a blacke and mourning weed, steth before the court gates weeping and bewailing, thus saying with himselfe: What is me, with what hope, with what face shall I looke hereafter for my God, which have denied my God, when as this Simeon my familiar acquaintance, thus passing by me, so much disdaineth me, that he refuseth with one gentle word to salute me?

These words being brought to the eares of the King (as such tale-carriers never lacke in Princes courts) procured against him no little indignation. Whereupon Saporos the King sending for him, first with gentle words and courtly promises began to speake him faire, asking him what cause he had so to mourne, and whether there was any thing in his house, which was denied him, or which he had not at his

Persecution in Persia. Acindimus, Degastus, Anemoditus, Cephephorus, Simeon archbishop, Ctesiphon bishop, martyrs. 128 martyrs in Persia. The story of Simeon archbishop of Seleucia. Ex Sozom. lib. 2. cap. 8, 9, 10.

The worthy answer of Simeon unto the King.

The constancy of Simeon.

The fall of Abazares.

The fruit of ecclesiasticall discipline and chastisement.

The repentance of Abazares.

Ex epist. decreal. Minutales.

A place of the third epistle recetall of Eusebius sound untreur.

Hilarius the last bishop of Rome in danger of persecution.

The end of these persecutions in all the west churches.

The persecution under Licinius. Hermilus, Stratonicus, Theodosius Captaine, martyrs.

Miles martyr. The Kings of Persia were commonly called by the name of Saporos.



The answer of  
Alshazares to  
the King.

his owne will and asking: Whereunto Alshazares answering againe said: that there was nothing in that earthly house, which was to him lacking, or whereunto his desire stood. Hea would God (said he) King, any other grief or calamity in all the world, whatsoeuer it were, had happened to me rather then this, for the which I do most iustly mourne & sorrow! For this sorroweth me, that I am this day alive, who should rather have died long since, and that I see this sunne, which against my heart and mind, for your pleasure dissemblingly I appeared to worship; for which cause double wise I am worthy of death. First, for that I have denied Christ; secondly, because I did dissemble with you. And incontinent upon these words, swearing by him that made both Heaven and Earth, affirmed most certainly, that although he had played the foole before, he would never be so mad againe, as in stead of the Creator and Maker of all things to worship the creatures which he had made and cheated. Saporos the King being 20

Alshazares the  
Kings tutor  
condemned to  
be beheaded.

The message of  
Alshazares to  
the King.

afforded at the so sudden alteration of this man, and doubting with himselfe whether to be angry with those enchanters or with him; whether to intreate him with gentleness or with rigor: at length in this mood commanded the said Alshazares his old ancient servant, and first tutor and bringer up of his youth, to be had away, and to be beheaded. As he was going to the place of execution, he desired of the executioners a little to stay, while he might send a message unto the King, which was this (sent in by 30

The cause so  
openly cried, why  
Alshazares  
was beheaded.

The end and  
martyrdome of  
Alshazares.

The martyrs  
dome of Simeon  
archbishop.

certaine of the Kings most trusty eunuches) desiring him, that for all the old and faithfull service hee had done to his father, and to him, he would now requite him with this one office againe, to cause to be cried openly by a publicke crier in these words following: That Alshazares was beheaded, not for any treachery or crime committed against the King or the Realme, but onely for that he was a Christian, and would not at the Kings pleasure deny his God. And so according unto his request, it was performed and granted. For this cause did Alshazares so much desire the cause of his death to be published: because that as his thinking backe from Christ, was a great occasion to many Christians to see the like; so now the same, hearing that Alshazares died for no other cause but onely for the religion of Christ, should learne likewise by his example to be fervent and constant in that which they professe. And thus this blessed Eunuch did consummate his martyrdome. Of the which his said martyrdome, Simeon being in prison hearing, was very joyfull, and gave God thanks: who in the next day following, being brought forth before the King, and constantly refusing to condescend unto the Kings request, to worship visible creatures, was likewise by the commandement of the King beheaded, with a great number more, which the same day also did suffer, to the number (as is said) of an hundred and more; all which were put to death before Simeon, hee standing by and exhorting them with comfortable words: admonishing them to stand firme and steadfast in the Lord; preaching and teaching them concerning death, resurrection, and true piety; and proved by the Scriptures that to be true which hee had said, declaring moreover that to be true life indeed, so to die, and that to be death indeed, to deny or betray God for feare of punishment: and added further, that there was no man alive, but needs once must die: For so much as to all men is appointed necessarily here to have an end. But those things, which after this life follow hereafter, to be eternall, which neither shall come to all men after one sort. But as the condition and trade of life in divers men doth differ, and is not in all men like: so the time shall come, when all men in a moment shall render and receive according to their doings in this present life immortall rewards: such as have here done well, of life and glory; such as have done contrary, of per-

petuall punishment. As touching therefore our well-doing, here is no doubt but of all other our holy actions and vertuous deeds, there is no higher or greater deed, then if a man here lose his life for his Lord God. With these words of comfortable exhortation, the holy Martyrs being prepared, willingly yielded up their lives to death. After whom at last followed Simeon, with two other Diacels or Ministers of his Church: Abedecalaas and Ananias, which also with him were partakers of the same martyrdome.

Abedecalaas,  
Ananias, mar-  
tyrs.  
The story of  
Dulices, mar-  
tyr.

At the suffering of those above mentioned, it happened that Dulices one of the Kings officers, and overseer of his artificers, was there present, who seeing Ananias being an aged old father, somewhat to shake and tremble at the sight of them that suffered: A father (said he) a little moment shut thine eyes, and be strong, and shortly thou shalt see the sight of God. Upon these words thus spoken, Dulices immediately was apprehended and brought unto the King, who there confessing himselfe constantly to be a Christian, and for that he was very bold and hardy before the King in the cause of Christs faith, was extremely and most cruelly handled in the execution of his martyrdome. For in the upper part of his necke they made a hole to thrust in their hand, and pluckt out his tongue out of his mouth, and so he was put to death. At the which time also the daughter of Dulices, a godly virgin, by the malicious accusation of the wicked, was apprehended and put to death.

The free spee  
and boldness  
of Dulices.

The cruel  
martyrdome  
of Dulices.  
The daughter  
of Dulices  
martyr.

The next yeere following, upon the same day, when the Christians did celebrate the remembrance of the Lords passion, which we call good Friday before Easter (as witnesseth the said Sozomenus) Saporos the King directed out a cruell and sharpe edict throughout all his land, condemning to death all them, who soeuer confessed themselves to be Christians. By reason whereof an innumerable multitude of Christians, through the wicked procuring of the malignant magicians, suffered the same time by the sword, both in City & in Towne: some being sought for, some offering themselves willingly, least they should scape by their silence to deny Christ. Thus all the Christians, that could be found, without pity were slaine, and divers also of the Kings owne court and household. Amongst whom was also Azades an eunuch, one whom the King did intirely love and favour; which Azades after that the King understood to be put to death, being greatly moved with the sorrow thereof, commanded after that no Christians to be slaine, but them onely which were the doctors and teachers of Christian religion.

A cruell edict  
of Saporos  
against the  
Christians.

Innumerable  
martyrs in  
Persia.

Azades a net  
courier, mar-  
tyr.

The promise  
of God to save  
the Christian

In the same time it happened that the Quene fell into a certaine disease: upon the occasion whereof, the cruell Jewes, with the wicked magicians, falsly and maliciously accused Trabula, the sister of Simeon the martyr, a godly virgin, with another sister also of hers, that they had brought many charmes to hurt the Quene, for the revenging of the death of Simeon. This accusation being received and believed, innocent Trabula, with the others were condemned, and with a saw cut in funder by the middle, whose quarters were then hanged upon stakes, the Quene going betweene them, thinking thereby to be delivered of her sickness. This Trabula was a maid of a right comely beauty and very amiable, to whom one of the magicians cast great love, much desiring and labouring by gifts and rewards sent into the prison to win her to his pleasure, promising that if she would apply to his request, she should be delivered and set at liberty. But the utterly refusing to consent unto him, or rather rebuking him for his incontinent attempt, did chuse rather to die, then to betray either the religion of her mind, or the virginity of her body. Sozom.

Trabula with  
her sister mar-  
tyrs.

Trabula the  
sister of Si-  
mon.  
False accusa-  
on rashly be-  
lieved.

Trabula and  
her sister slaine  
in funder.  
The blind  
charme of the  
wicked quene.  
Example of  
maidenly chas-  
tity in Tra-  
bula.

Now for so much as the King had commanded that no Christians should be put to death, but onely such

Ex Ecclesi.  
Sozom. lib. 2.  
cap. 12.

such



such as were the teachers and leaders of the flocke : the magicians and archmagicians left no diligence untied to let forward the matter. Whereby great affliction and persecution was amongst the Bishops and teachers of the Church, which in all places went to slaughter, especially in the countrey of Diobeno; for that part of Persia above all other, was most Christian. Where Aceminas the Bishop with a great number of his flocke and Clergie were apprehended and taken: upon the apprehension of whom, the magicians, to satisfy the Kings commandment, dismissed all the rest, onely departing them of their living and goods. Only Aceminas the Bishop they retained, with whom one Jacobus a Minister, or Parast of his Church was also joynd: not of any compulsion, but onely as himselfe so desired and obtained of those magicians that he might follow him, and be coupled in the same bonds to serve the aged Bishop, and to reliefe (so much as he might) his calamities, and heale his wounds. For he had bene sore scourged before of the magicians, after they had apprehended him, and brought him to worship the Sunne: which thing, because he would not doe, they cast him into prison againe, where this Jacobus was waiting upon him. At the same time likewise Athalasis a Priest or Minister, also Azadanes & Abdielus Deacons, were imprisoned, and miserably scourged for the testimony of the Lord Iesus. After this the Archmagus, spying his time, complaineth unto the King of them, having authority and commission given him (unless they would worship the Sunne) to punish them as he pleased. This commandment received of the King, the Master Magus doth declare to them in prison. But they answered againe plainly, that they would never be either betrayers of Christ, or worshippers of the Sun; whereupon without mercy they were put to bitter torments; where Aceminas strongly persisting in the confession of Christ, incurred to death. The other being no lesse rent and wounded with scourges, yet continued marvellously alive; and because they would in no case turne from their constant sentence, were turned againe into prison. Of whom Athalasis in the time of his whipping, was so valiant and ract with pulling, that both his armes being loosed out of the joints, hanged downe from his body: which he so carried about without use of any hand to feed himselfe, but as he was fed of others.

Miserable, and almost innumerable were the slaughters under the reigne of this Saporos, of Bishops, Ministers, Deacons, religious men, holy virgins, and other Ecclesiasticall persons, such as did then cleave to the Doctrine of Christ, and suffered for the same. The names of the Bishops besides the other multitude taken in the persecution, are recited in Sozom. lib. 2. and in Niceph. lib. 8. cap. 37. in this order following: Barbasimes, Paulus, Gaddiabes, Sabbinus, Mareas, Mocius, Iohannes, Hormidas, Papas, Iacobus, Romas, Maares, Agas, Boches, Abdas, Abdielus, Agdelas, Sabores, Isaac, Daulas, Bior also with Maureanda his fellow Bishop, and the rest of his Churches under him, to the number of two hundred and fifty persons, which were the same time apprehended of the Persians, &c. Briefly, to comprehend the whole multitude of them that suffered in that persecution, the manner of their apprehension, the cruelnesse of their torments, how, and where they suffered, and in what places, it is not possible for any history to discharge. Neither are the Persians themselves (as Sozomenus recordeth) able to recite them. In summe, the multitude and number of them, whom they are able to recite by name, cometh to the summe of sixe thousand men and women.

The number of the martyrs that suffered in Persia were 16. thousand.

with himselfe, how to helpe the matter, which indeed was very hard for him to doe. It so befell the same time, that certaine Ambassadors were then at Rome from Saporos King of Persia, to whom Constantinus did easily grant and consent, satisfying all their requests and demands: thinking thereby to obtaine the more friendship at the Kings hands, that at his request hee would be good to the Christians; and sendeth the same by his messengers, beginning thus:

*Divinam fidem servans veritatis lucem secutor. Veritatis luce doctus divinam fidem cognosco. Per cunctas, quibus illa res agendus confirmat, sanctissimam religionem cognitam reddo. Et hunc me calum doctorem cognitionis sancti Dei habere confiteor, &c.*

*Eusebius, De vita Constantini, lib. 4.* The contents whereof, briefly doe tend to this effect. Declaring unto him how he should stand much beholden to him, if at his request hee would shew some quiet and rest to the Christians, in whose religion there was nothing which he could justly blame. For so much as in their sacrifices they use to kill nothing, nor to shed blood, but onely to offer up unbloody Sacrifices, to make their prayers unto God; who delighteth not in bloodshedding, but onely in the soule that loveth vertue, and followeth such doctrine and knowledge, which is agreeing unto true piety. And therefore such men as doe lead him, and learne so to beleve and to worship God, are more to be commended. Moreover, he assureth him to finde God more mercifull unto him, if he would embrace the godly piety and truth of the Christians. And for example thereof, bringeth in the stories of Galienus and Valerianus, who so long as they were favourers of the Christians, did prosper and flourish. But as soone as they moved any persecution against them, it happened to them as it did to all other Emperours before them, that all went backward with them: as especially might appeare by Valerianus, who after hee had raged so cruelly against the Christians, was eftsoones overcome of the Persians; the revenging hand of God falling upon him, where hee led ever a miserable life, in wretched captivity. Further also for the more evidence of the same, he inferreth the examples of those Emperours and tyrants in his time, whom he vanquished and subdued onely by his faith in Christ, for the which faith God was his helper, and gave him the victory in many battels, and triumph over great tyrants; whereby he hath so enlarged the Dominion of the Romane Monarchy, from the West ocean unto the uttermost parts well-neere of all the East. To the doing and working whereof, he neither called to him the helpe of any charmer, or divination of southsayer, nor used the killing of any sacrifice; but onely the following of the crosse, and prayer made to Almighty God, without any other bloody sacrifice, was the armour wherewith he overcame, &c. And in the end of the Epistle addeth these words. What joy (saith he) what gladnesse would it be to my heart, to heare the state also of the Persians to flourish, as I wish it to doe, by embracing this sort of men, the Christians, I mean? So that both you with them, and they with you in long prosperity may enjoy much felicity together as your hearts would desire, and in so doing no doubt ye shall. For so shall you have God, which is the Author and Creator of all this universall world, to be mercifull and gracious to you. These men therefore I commend unto you upon your Kingly honour; and upon your clemency and piety, wherewith you are indued, I commit them unto you, desiring you to embrace and receive them according to your humanity and benignity, agreeing and convenient to your estate: who in so doing shall now both procure to your selfe grace through your faith, and also shall declare to mee a great pleasure and benefit worthy of thanks.

Constantinus the Emperour writeth to the King of Persia in the behalfe of the afflicted Christians.

The copy and effect of the Epistle of Constantine to Saporos.



The generall  
care of godly  
Constantinus  
for all Christi-  
ans in all  
places.

This example wrote Constantinus to King Sa-  
pores: such care had this godly Prince for them  
that believed in Christ, not onely in his owne Ho-  
marchie, but also in all places of the world: neither  
is it to be doubted, but this intercession of the Em-  
peror, did something mitigate the heat of the Per-  
sians persecution, although thereof wee reade no  
certaine thing in our histories.

Other foreign  
persecutions  
in Persia.  
Andas Bishop,  
martyr.  
The story of  
Hormisdas,  
martyr.  
Ex Theodor.  
lib. 5. cap. 20. 1  
The faithfull  
constancy of  
Hormisdas,  
Hormisdas be-  
lieved the countrie of  
Persia.

Of other troubles and persecutions wee reade,  
which hapned afterward in the said countrie of  
Persia, under Abgerdes the King, but these fol-  
lowed long after about the time of the Emperour  
Theodosius. At which time suffered Andas their  
Bishop, and Hormisdas, a great noble mans sonne,  
and of great reputation among the Persians, whom  
when the King understood to be a Christian, and to  
deny to turne from his religion, condemned him to  
keepe his Elephants naked. In proceesse of time, the  
King looking out, and seeing him all swarted and  
tanned in the Sun, commanded him to have a shirt  
put on, and to be brought before him: whom then  
the King asked, if he would deny Christ. Hormisdas  
hearing this, tore off his shirt from his body and cast  
it from him, saying: If ye thinke that I will deny  
my faith to Christ for a shirt, have here your gift  
againe, &c. And so was upon that expelled the  
countrie: Theodor. lib. 5.

Suenes  
martyr.

Another there was that same time, named Suenes,  
which had under him an hundred servants. The  
King taking displeasure with him for that he would  
not alter from his religion & godly truth, asked who  
was the worst of all his servants, and him the King  
made ruler of all the rest, and coupling him with his  
Wasters wife, brought also Suenes under his subje-  
ction, thinking thereby to subdue also the faith of  
Suenes: but it was builded upon a sure foundation.

The constancy  
of Suenes.

Of Benjamin the Deacon, thus writeth the said  
Theodor in his first Booke, that after two yeeres  
of his imprisonment, at the request of the Romaine  
Legate he was delivered: who after ward contrary  
to the Kings commandement preached and taught  
the Gospell of Christ, and was most miserably ex-  
carnificate, having twenty sharpe prickes of reeds  
thrust under his nailes; but when hee did laugh at  
that, then in his priby payd he had a sharpe reed thrust  
in with horrible paine. After that a certaine long  
scalke ragged and thorny, being thrust into his body  
by the nether part, was forced into him: with the  
horriblenesse of the paine whereof, the valiant and  
invincible souldier of the Lord gave over his life.  
Theod. lib. 2. And thus much concerning the martyrs  
and persecutions among the Persians, although  
these persecutions belong not to this time, which  
came (as it is said) long after the daies of Constan-  
tinus, about the yeare of our Lord, 425.

The story of  
Benjamin,  
Deacon and  
martyr.

Benjamin  
tormented.  
The martyr-  
dome of Ben-  
jamin.

The martyrs  
under Julianus  
apostata.  
Emilianus,  
Domitius,  
martyrs.

Like wise under Julian the wicked Apostata, cer-  
taine there were which constantly suffered martyr-  
dome by the heathen idolaters: as Emilianus who  
was burned in Thracia, and Domitius which was  
slaine in his cave. Theodosius also for singing of a  
Psalme at the removing of the body of Babilas  
(whereof mention is made before) being appren-  
ded, was so examined with exquisite torments, and  
so cruelly excruciate from morning almost to noone,  
that hardly he escaped with life. Altho being asked  
afterward of his friends, how hee could abide so  
sharpe torments, said, that at the first beginning he  
felt some paine, but after ward there stood by him a  
young man, who as he was sweating, wiped away  
his sweat, and refreshed him with cold wafer oft-  
times: wherewith he was so delighted, that when  
he was let downe from the engine, it grieved him  
more than before: Ruff. 5. cap. 26. Theod. lib. 3. cap. 11.  
Sozom. lib. 5. cap. 10.

The story of  
Theodosius  
martyr.  
Ruff. lib. 5. c. 26.  
Theod. lib. 3. c. 11.  
Sozom. lib. 5. c. 10.  
A miracle to  
be noted.

Artemius  
martyr.

Artemius also, the Captaine of the Egyptian  
souldiers, the same time lost his head for his religi-  
on indeed: although other causes were pretended  
against him: Theodor. Niceph. lib. 10. cap. 11.

Add unto these moreover Eusebius and Pella-  
bus, two brethren, with Pelloz also, who for their  
Christianity were dragged through the streets and  
murdered of the idolatrous people of Gaza: Sozom.  
lib. eod. cap. 11.

But especially the cruelty of the Aethiopsians, a  
people of Syria, excelled against the Christian vir-  
gins, whom they set out naked before the multitude  
to be scozned: after that being shaven, they covered  
them with will and drasse wont to be given to their  
hogs, and so caused their bowels and flesh to be de-  
voured of the hungry swine. This rage and fury of  
the wicked Aethiopsians, Sozomenus supposeth to  
come of this, because that Constantinus before had  
broken them from their countrie manner of setting  
forth and exposing their virgins filthily to whom so-  
ever lusted, and destroyed the temple of Venus in  
Heliopolis, restraining the people there from their  
filthinesse and vile whoredome. Sozom. lib. 5. cap. 10.

Of the lamentable story, or rather tragedy of  
Marcus Aethiopsius their Bishop, thus writeth the  
said Sozomenus, and also Theodoretus in his third  
Booke in these words as follow.

This tragedie (saith he) of Marcus Aethiopsius,  
doth require the eloquence and worthinesse of Eschi-  
lus and Sophocles, which may, as the matter de-  
serveth, set forth and beautifie his great afflictions.  
This man, at the commandement of Constanti-  
nus, pulled downe a certaine temple dedicated to  
idols, and in stead thereof built up a Church where  
the Christians might congregate. The Aethiopsians  
remembering the little good will that Julianus bare  
unto him, accused him as a traytor and enemy to  
him. At the first, according as the Scripture teach-  
eth, he prepared himselfe to flie: but when he per-  
ceived that there were certaine of his kinsmen or  
friends apprehended in his stead, returning againe of  
his own accord, he offered himselfe to those that thr-  
sted for his blood. Altho when they had gotten, as  
men neither pitying his old age and worn yeeres,  
nor abashed at his vertuous conversation, being a  
man so adorned both with doctrine and manners,  
first stript him naked, and pitifully beat him: then  
within a while after, they cast him into a foule filthy  
sink, and from thence being brought, they caused  
boys to thrust him in with sharpened sticks made for  
the nonce to provoke his paine the more. Lastly, they  
put him in a basket, and being anointed with honey  
and broth, they hung him abroad in the heat of the  
Sun, as meat for wasps and flies to feed upon. And  
all this extremity they shewed unto him, for that  
they would inforce him to doe one of these things;  
that is, either to build up againe the temple which  
he had destroyed, or else to give so much money as  
should pay for the building of the same: but when as  
he purposed with himselfe to suffer and abide their  
grievous torments, so refused he to doe that they de-  
manded of him. At length they taking him to be  
but a poore man, and not able to pay such a summe  
of money, promised to for give him the one halfe, so  
that hee would be contented to pay the other halfe.  
But hee hanging in the basket wounded piti-  
fully with the sharpened sticks of boyes and children, and  
all to be bitten with wasps and flies, did not onely  
conceale his paine and griefe, but also berided those  
wicked ones, and called them base, low, and ferrene  
people, and he himselfe to be exalted and set on high.  
At length they demanding of him but a small sum-  
of money, he answered thus: It is as great wicked-  
nesse to conferre one halfe penny in case of impiety,  
as if a man should bestow the whole. Thus they  
being not able to prevaile against him, let him  
downe, and leaving him, went their way, so that  
every man might learne at his mouth the example  
of true piety and faithfulness.

Although the tradition of these aforesaid stories  
and persecutions of Persia, above premised, doe  
stray somewhat out of the order and course of time  
and

Eusebius, Pel-  
labus, bre-  
thren, Bishop  
martyr.  
Euphebius,  
with other m-  
of Celarea,  
martyrs.

Wretched cr-  
city against t-  
Christian vir-  
gins of Aethi-  
opia.

The people  
mad to be  
plucked from  
their old cu-  
stomes, thou-  
gh it be much to  
wicked.

The story of  
Marcus  
Aethiopsius.

The true con-  
science of Ma-  
rcus Aethiopsius.

Great cruelty  
shewed.

Cobertousness  
the cause of  
cruelty.

A notable  
saying.



and place, as which came neither in the time of Constantine, nor be pertinent to the Monarchy of Rome: yet because in this present history we are in hand with the holy Martyrs and Saints of Christ; for so much as these also gave such a faithfull testimony of the Lord Jesus with their blood, I thought therefore not to passe them over without some testimony in this our Catalogue of holy Martyrs. And here an end of these persecutions of the Primitive Church.

It may peradventure be marvelled of some, reading the history of these so terrible persecutions as above specified, why God the Almighty director of all things, would suffer his owne people and faithfull servants, believing in his owne and onely begotten sonne Jesus, so cruelly to be handled, so wrongfully to be bereaved, so extremely to be tormented and put to death, and that the space of so many yeeres together, as in these foresaid persecutions may appeare. To the which admiration I have nothing to answer, but to say with the words of Hierome, Non debemus super hac rerum iniquitate perturbari, videntes, &c. We ought not to be moved with this iniquity of things, to see the wicked to prebail against the body: for so much as in the beginning of the world we see Abel the just to be killed of wicked Cain, and afterward Jacob being thrust out, Esau to raigne in his fathers house: in like case the Egyptians with wicked and vile afflicted the sonnes of Israel: yea, and the Lord himselfe, was he not crucified of the Jewes, Barabas the thiefe being let goe? Time would not suffice me to recite and reckon up how the godly in this world goe to wracke, the wicked flourishing and prebailing: Hiero. Briefly, howsoever the cause hereof proceedeth, whether for our sinnes here in this life, or how else soever: yet this is to us, and may be to all men a sufficient stay, that we are sure these afflictions and persecutions of God his people in this world, not to come by any chance or blinde fortune, but by the provident appointment and forewarning of God. For so in the old Law, by the affliction of the children of Israel, he hath prefigured these persecutions of his Christians. So by the words of Christs own mouth in the Gospel he did forewarne his Church of these troubles to come. Again, neither did he suffer these so great afflictions to fall upon his servants, before that he had premonished them sufficiently by special revelation in the Apocalyps of John his servant; in the which Apocalyps he declared unto his Church before, not only what troubles were coming at hand towards them; where and by whom they should come, but also in plaine number, if the words of the prophesie be well understood, assigneth the true time, how long the said persecutions should continue, and when they should cease. For as there is no doubt, but by the beast with seven heads, bearing the whore of Babylon, drunken with the blood of Saints, is signified the city of Rome: so in my judgement the power of making of forty two moneths (in the thirteenth of the Apocalyps) is to be expounded, taking every moneth for a Sabbath of yeeres, that is, reckoning a moneth for seven yeeres, so that forty and two such Sabbaths of yeeres being gathered together, make up the yeeres just, between the time of Christs death to the last yeere of the persecution of Persecutus, when Constantinus fighting under the banner of Christ, overcame him, and made an end of all persecution within the Monarchy of Rome. The number of which yeeres by plaine computation, come to two hundred ninety four, to the which two hundred ninety and four yeeres, if we adde the other six yeeres, under the persecution of Licinius in Asia then it fill up full the three hundred yeeres. And so long continued the persecution of Christs people under the heathen tyrants and Emperors of the Monarchy of Rome, according to the number of the forty two moneths which the beast had power to make, specified in the thirteenth of the Apocalyps. For the best

ter explication whereof, because the matter being of no small importance, greatly appertaineth to the publicke utility of the Church; and lest any should misdoubt me herein, to follow any private interpretation of mine owne: I thought good to communicate to the reader, that which hath bene imparted unto me, in the opening of these mysticall numbers in the foresaid Booke of Revelation contained, by occasion as followeth.

As I was in hand with these histories, and there considered the exceeding rage of these persecutions, the intollerable torments of the blessed Saints, so cruelly rackt, rent, torne, and pluckt in pieces with all kind of tortures, paines and punishments that could be devised, more bitter than any death it selfe: I could not without great sorrow & passion of mind, behold their sorrowfull afflictions, or write of their bloody passions. Wherein much like it hapned to me as did to Titus Libius: who waiting of the warres of Carthage, was so moved in the writing thereof, Ac si in parte aliqua laboris ac periculi ipse pariter fuisset. Further, I proceed in the story; and the hotter the persecutions grew, the more my grief with them and for them increased: not onely pitying their woefull case, but also almost reasoning with God, thus thinking like a foole with my selfe, why God of his goodnesse would suffer his children and servants so vehemently to be cruciated and afflicted? If most fall things were governed by heavenly providence (as must needs be granted) why did the wicked to rage and flourish, and the godly goe so to wracke? If sins deserbed punishment, yet neither were they sinners alone, and why was their death above all other so sharp and bitter? At least why would the Lord suffer the vehemency of these so horrible persecutions to indure so long time against his chiefe Church, shewing unto them no certaine determined end of their tribulations, whereunto they knowing the appointed determination of Almighty God, with more consolation might indure out the same? As the Israelites in the captivity of Babylon had seventy yeeres limited unto them: and under Pharaoh they were promised a deliverance out. Also under the Syrian tyrants threescore & two weekes were abridged unto them. Only in these persecutions I could find no end determined, nor limitation set for their deliverance. Whereupon much marvelled with my selfe, I searched the Booke of Revelation, to see whether any thing there, might be found; where although I well perceived the beast there described to signifie the Empire of Rome, which had power to overcome the Saints; yet concerning the time and continuance of these persecutions under the beast, I found nothing to satisfie my doubt. For albeit I reade there of forty two moneths, of a time, times, and halfe a time, of one thousand two hundred and threescore daies; yet all this by computation coming but to three yeeres and a halfe, came nothing neere the long continuance of these persecutions, which lasted three hundred yeeres. Thus being bereaved and turmoiled in spirit, about the reckoning of these numbers and yeeres: it so hapned upon a Sunday in the morning I lying in my bed, and musing about these numbers, suddenly it was answered to my mind, as with a maiesty, thus inwardly saying with in me: Thou foole, count these months by Sabbaths, as the weekes of Daniel are counted by Sabbaths. The Lord I take to witnesse, thus it was. Whereupon thus being admonished, I began to reckon the forty two moneths by Sabbaths: first of moneths, that would not serve: then by Sabbaths of yeeres, wherein I began to see some probable understanding. Yet not satisfied herewith, to have the matter more sure, I repaired to certaine Merchants of mine acquaintance, of whom one is depicted a true faithfull servant of the Lord, the other two be yet alive, and witnesses hercof. To whom the number of these foresaid forty two moneths being

propounded,

From in  
24. cap. 1.

The wicked in  
the world doe  
not flourish  
and prebail.

Persecution  
in which by  
chance.  
Persecution of  
Gods people  
figured and  
renewed of  
God.

The Church  
warned of  
what by spe-  
cial revelation  
in the Apo-  
calyps.  
The beast in  
the Apocalyps  
propounded.

Two and forty  
moneths in the  
Apoc. 13. ex-  
pounded.

The beast had  
power to make  
42. moneths.

The persecu-  
tion time of the  
Primitive  
Church under  
the beast,  
lasted 300.  
yeeres.

The Israelites  
300. yeeres.



propounded and examined by Sabbaths of yeeres, the whole summe was found to surmount unto two hundred ninety and foure yeeres, containing the full and just time of these foresaid persecutions, neither more nor lesse.

Now this one claspe being opened, the other numbers, that follow are plaine and manifest to the intelligent reader to be understood. For where mention is made of three yeeres and a halfe, of one time, two times and halfe a time, also of one thousand two hundred and threescore dates, all these come to one reckoning and signifie forty and two moneths, by which moneths, as is said, is signified the whole time of these primitiue persecutions, as here in order may appeare.

### The mysticall numbers in the Apocalyps opened.

1.  
One thousand  
two hundred  
and sixty.  
Revel. 11. 12.

2.  
Three daies  
and a halfe.  
Revel. 11.

3.  
A time, times,  
and halfe a  
time.  
Revel. 12.

4.  
Forty two  
moneths or  
three yeeres  
and a halfe.  
Revel. 11.

First, where mention is made, Apocalyps, chapter eleven, that the two Prophets shall prophesie 1260. daies; and also that the woman flying into the desert, shall there be fed 1260. daies: who knoweth not that 1260. daies make three yeeres and a halfe? that is, moneths—

Secondly, where we reade, chap. 11. the bodies of the two foresaid Prophets shall lie in the streets of the great city unburied the space of three daies and a halfe, and after the said three daies and a halfe they shall revive againe, &c. let the houres of these three daies and a halfe, (which be 42) be reckoned every day for a Sabbath of yeeres, or else every day for a moneth, and they come to moneths—

Thirdly, whereas in the same Booke is expressed that the woman had two wings given her to flye unto the desert for a time, times and halfe a time: give for one time one yeere, or one day: for two times, two yeeres, or two daies; for halfe a time, halfe a yeere, or halfe a day; and so it is manifest, that these three yeeres and a halfe, mount to moneths—

Fourthly, account these forty two moneths foresaid (which the beast had power to make, Apoc. 11.) by Sabbath of yeeres, that is, seven yeeres for a moneth, or every moneth for seven yeeres, and it amounteth to the summe of yeeres—

And so have ye the full yeeres, daies, times, and moneths of these foresaid persecutions under the beast, neither shorter nor longer, reckoning from the death of John Baptist under Herod the Romane King, to the end of Perentius, and of Licinius, the two last great persecutors, the one in the West, the other in the East: who were both banquished by godly Constantinus. And so peace was given to the Church, albeit not in such ample wise, but that divers tumults and troubles afterward ensued, yet they lasted not long: and the chiefe brunt, to speake of these Roman persecutions which the Holy Ghost especially considered above all other in this his Revelation thus ended in the time of Constantinus. When was the great Dragon the Diuell, to wit, the fierce rage and power of his malicious persecuting, tied short for a thousand yeeres after this, so that he could not prevaile in any such sort, but that the power and glory of the Gospell by little and little increasing and spreading with great joy and liberty, so prevailed that at length it got the upper hand and replenished the whole earth, rightly verifing there in the water of Ezechiel, which issuing out of the right side of the Altar, the further it ran, the deeper it grew, till at length it replenished the whole Ocean sea, and healed all the fishes therein. No other wise the course of the Gospell proceeding of small and hard beginnings, kept still his streame: the more it was stopped, the swifter it ran; by blood it seeded, by death it quickened, by cutting it multiplied, through violence it sprung: till at last out of thral-

dome and oppression so brast forth into perfect liberty, and flourished in all prosperitie: had it so been that the Christians wisely and moderately could have used this liberty, and not abused the same, forgetting their former estate to their olone pride, pompe, and worldly ease, as it came afterward to passe: whereof more is to be sene and said (the Lord willing) in place and time convenient.

And thus much touching the propheticall numbers in the Apocalyps. Wherein is to be noted and magnified, the eternal wisdom and high providence of Almighty God, so disposing and governing his Church, that no aduersity or perturbation happeneth at any time to it, which his provident wisdom doth not foresee before, and preordaine; neither doth he preordaine or determine any thing, which he doth not most truly performe, both foreseeing the beginning of such persecutions, and limiting the end thereof, how long to continue, and when to cease.

In much like sort we reade in the Bookes of Genesis, how the stocke of Israel was four hundred yeeres in the land of Egypt. During the space of which four hundred yeeres, after the death of Joseph (who beareth a plaine figure of Christ) they were hardly intreated, and cruelly afflicted of the Egyptians, about the space of three hundred yeeres, reckoning from after the death of Joseph, to their deliverance out of the bondage of Egypt: semblably as these Christians, after Christs time suffered the like bondage under the Romane tyrants.

Thus much by the way I thought to insinuate, lest any should muse or take any offence in himselfe to see or reade of the Church so long and so many yeeres, to be under so miserable and extreme afflictions: wherein neither chance nor fortune, nor disposition of man, hath had any place, but only the foresaid counsell and determination of the Lord so governed and disposed the same: who not only did suffer them to fall, and foresaw those persecutions before they fell, but also appointed the times and yeeres how long they should last, and when they should have an end, as by the foresaid forty two moneths in the thirteenth and eleventh chapters of Saint Johns Apocalyps hath bene declared. Which moneths, containing two hundred ninety and foure yeeres, if they be rightly gathered, make the full time betwene the first yeere of the persecution of Christ under the Jewes and Herod, till the last yeere of persecution under Licinius; which was from the nativity of Christ, in the yeere of our Lord three hundred twenty and foure: from the first persecution of Christ, in the yeere of our Lord, two hundred ninety and foure, as is aforesaid. After the which yeere according to the preordained counsell of God, when his severity had bene sufficiently declared upon his olone house, it pleased him to shew mercy againe, and to bind up Satan the old serpent, according to the twentieth chapter of the Revelation, for the space of a thousand yeeres, that is, from this time of Licinius, to the time of John Wickliffe, and John Husse.

During all which time, albeit certaine conflicts and tumults have bene among Christian Bishops themselves in the Church: yet no universall murdering persecution was stirring before the preaching of John Wickliffe, of Husse, and such others, as in the further processe of this history (Christ willing and aiding us) shall more appeare hereafter.

Thus having at large discoursed these horrible persecutions past, and heaby afflictions of Christian martyrs: now by the grace of God, coming out of this red sea of bloody persecution, leading Pharaoh and his host behynde: let us sing gloriously to the worthy name of our God, who through the blood of the Lamb after long and tedious afflictions, at length hath visited his people with comfort, hath tied up Satan short, hath sent his meeke Poses (gentle Constantine I meane) by whom it hath so pleased the Lord to worke deliverance to his captives

The persecuted  
Africans bearing a figure of  
the persecuted  
Church of  
Christ.

From the first  
persecution of  
the Primitive  
Church to the  
last persecution  
two hundred  
ninety & foure  
yeeres.  
Universall persecution  
ceased for one thousand  
yeeres in  
the Church:  
Apoc. 10.

From the time  
of Licinius to  
Wickliffe one  
thousand  
yeeres.

Satan bound  
up for a thousand  
yeeres.

The time of  
Satan's binding  
opened.



tive people, to set his servants at liberty, to turne their mourning into joy, to magnifie the Church of his Sonne, to destroy the idols of all the world, to grant life and liberty (and would God also not so much riches) unto them which before were the abjects of all the world, and all by the meanes of goodly Constantinus, the make and most Christian Emperour, of whose divine victories, against so many tyrants and Emperours, persecutors of Christs people, and lastly, against Licinius, in the yeere of our Lord, three hundred twenty and foure, of whose other noble acts and prowesses, of whose blessed vertues and his happy birth and progeny, part we have comprehended before, part now remaineth (Christ willing) to be declared.

This Constantine was the son of Constantius the Emperour, a good and vertuous child of a good and vertuous father; borne in Britany (as saith Eutropius) whose mother was named Helena, daughter indeed of King Coilus: although Ambrosius in his funerall oration of the death of Theodosius saith, he was an inhoblers daughter. He was a most bountifull and gracious Prince, having a desire to nourish learning and good arts, and did oftentimes use to reade, write, and study himselfe. He had marvellous good successe and prosperous atchieving of all things he tooke in hand, which then was (and truly) supposed to proceed of this, for that hee was so great a favourer of the Christian faith. Which faith when hee had once embraced, hee did ever after most devoutly and religiously reverence, and commanded by especiall commission and proclamation, that every man should professe the same Religion throughout all the Romane Monarchie. The worshipping of idols, (whereunto hee was addid by the allurements of faulta his wife, in so much that hee did sacrifice to them) after the discomfiture of Maxentius in battell, hee utterly abjured: but his baptism hee deferred even unto his old age, because hee had determined a journey into Persia, and thought in Jordan to have been baptized, Euseb. lib. 4. De vita Constantini.

As touching his naturall disposition and wit, hee was very eloquent, a good Philosopher, and in disputation sharpe and ingenious. Hee was accustomed to say, that an Emperour ought to refuse no labour for the utility of the common-weale; yea, and to adventure the mangling of his body for the remedy thereof, but if otherwise it may be holpen, to cherish the same. This doe Aurelius, Macrobius, Domitianus Aetius, and Ignatius write of him. And Aelianus Lampridius saith, writing upon the life of Hellogabalus; that Constantinus was wont to say, that an Emperour was given by the determinate purpose of God, that hee to whom it was given, should so imploy his diligence, as he might be thought worthy of the same at the hands of the giver; which same saying also Augustine noteth in his third Booke against Cresconius, Epist. 49. and 50.

He first entered into the Empire by the mercifullnesse of God, minding after long waives of dolefull persecution to restore unto his Church peace and tranquillity, in the yeere of our Lord three hundred and eleven, as Eusebius accounteth in his chronicle. His reigne continued, as Eutropius affirmeth, thirty yeeres, Aetius saith thirty and two yeeres, lacking twomoneths. Great peace and tranquillity insoyed the Church under the reigne of this good Emperour, which tooke great paine and travell for the preferbation thereof. First, yea, and that before hee had subdued Licinius, hee set forth many edicts for the restitution of the goods of the Church, for the reboking of the Christians out of exile, for taking away the dissention of the Doctors out of the Church, for the setting of them free from publike charges, and such like, even as the copy of his constitutions here under declareth, which Eusebius in his tenth Booke and fifth Chapter repeateth in this wise.

### The Copy of an Epistle of Constantinus, Euseb. lib. 10. sent to his Subjects inhabiting in the East. cap. 5.

VICTOR Constantinus Maximus Augustus, to our loving Subjects inhabiting throughout the East parts, sendeth greeding. The thing it selfe, which in the sure and most firme law of nature is contained, doth give unto all men (even as God hath ordained the same) sufficient perceivance and understanding, both of such things as man ought to fore-see, as also what things presently he ought to meditate. Neither is there any thing therein to be doubted of such as have their minds directed to the scope or marke of perfect understanding: so that the perfect comprehending of sound reason, and the perceivance thereof be compared with the knowledge of God, being the true and perfect vertue. Wherefore let no wise man be troubled, although he sees divers men of divers dispositions: for wisdom which springeth of vertue, cannot abide or acquaint her selfe with fond idiots, unless that (on the other side) the malice of perverse filthinesse prolong her daies, and cause the same idiocy to survive. Wherefore assuredly the crowne and price of vertue lieth open unto all men, and the most mighty God ordereth the judgement of the same. I undoubtedly (as manifestly as possible is) will endeavour my selfe to testifie and confesse unto you all the hope which is in me. I thinke verily that the Emperours which before this time have lately bene, even for their tyranny had the Empire taken from them: and my father onely exercising and using all meekenesse and lenity in his affaires, calling upon God the Father with great devotion and humility, hath bene exalted to the same: and all the rest, as men wanting their wits, and in comparison as savage beasts, rather did give themselves to like cruelty, than to any lenity and gentlenesse towards their subjects: in which tyranny every one for his time being nuzzelled, utterly subverted the true and unfallible doctrine; and so great malice was there kindled in their breasts, that when all things were in peaceable tranquillity, they made and raised most cruell and bloody intestine or civill warres. It is credibly informed us, that in those daies Apollo gave answers, but not by any mans mouth, but out of a certaine cave and darke place (saying) that hee was much disquieted by those that were the just men and livers upon the earth; so that hee could or would not for them declare the truth of such things as others demanded. And hereby it came to passe, that such false divinations were given from the golden tables in Apollos Temple. And this thing did his propheticall Priest complaine of, when hee tooke up againe the haire of his head, that other had contemptuously cast downe; and said, that the neglecting of his divination was the cause of so many evils amongst men. But let us see what was the end hereof. Wee now boldly, and without all feare, invoke and worship the omnipotent God. When I was a childe, I heard, that he which then was chiefe Emperour of Rome, unhappy, yea, most unhappy man, being seduced and brought into error by his flatterers, curiously inquired who were those just men upon the earth that Apollo meant? And one of his Priests which was neere about him, made answer that they were the Christians. This answer unto him being as delectable as honey unto the mouth, drew the sword (given unto him to be a revenger of evil doers and malefactors) against the professors of the irreprehensible sanctimony and religion; and straightway hee gave forth a commission (to bloody homicides, as I may well call them) and gave commandement to all the Iudges that they should endeavour themselves with all the cunning they had, to the devising of more grievous and sharper punishments against the poore Christians. Then, then I say, a man might have seene how greatly the honest professors

The law of nature made perfect, compared with the law of God.

Liberality the nurse of ignorance, and ignorance the enemy to truth.

Tyranny destroyed the Empire.

Bloody tyrants make civil wars.

Apollo gave answer out of a cave in the ground, that he was disquieted by the Christians.

The sword given to be avenged upon malefactors.

Dologia.

The good qualities of Constantinus.

The cause of his prosperity and success.

Constantine sometimes by the lines of his life was an atheist.

Euseb. lib. 4. de vita Constantini.

The common saying of Constantinus.

Augustine contra Crescon. Epist. 4. 50.

The reigne of Constantinus.

The effect of one of his constitutions.



A great commendation of the Christians.

The earth bewailed the martyrs deaths.

The authors of all mischiefes punished.

Apollo's lying Oracles the cause of so many martyrs deaths.

Constantinus Prayer.

Constantinus faith confirmed by the miracles of the cross.

The clemency of a good Emperour.

A good iudgement.

professours of that Religion were molested with cruelty, and daily suffered no small injuries and contumelies, and that also they suffered and sustained the same with such temperance, as though they had had no injuries at all done unto them. Which temperance and patience of theirs was the cause why the furious citizens were the more mad and raging against them. What fires, what tortures, what kind of torments were there, but they without respect either of age or sexe were enforced to feeble them?

Then did the earth, without doubt, her selfe bewaile her children, and the round world which containeth all things, being sprinkled and imbrued with their blood, made dolefull lamentation for them, and the day it selfe provoked to mourne, was made amazed for them. But what is this to purpose? Now the very barbarous nations rejoyce for their sakes which received and harboured them, when they were afraid and fled from us, keeping them, as it were, in most loving and amiable captivity: and they saved not only their lives, but also were a defence for their Religion. And now also the Romane Nation remembreth and hath before their eyes this blame and spot, which the Christians that were of that time worthily gave unto them, when they by them were banished (as unfit members of their common-wealth) amongst the barbarous people. What needeth to make further rehearfall of the mourning lamentation, which the heathen people themselves throughout all the world made for the pitifull murther and slaughter of them?

After this it came to passe, that they which were authors of all these mischiefes died also, and were committed for their reward to the most filthy and horrible dungeon of hell. They being so intangled with intestine and civill warres, left alive neither name nor kinsmen of their owne, which thing undoubtedly had not chanced unlesse the wicked divinations of Apollo's Oracles had deceived and bewitched them. To thee therefore now I pray: Oh most mighty God, that thou wilt vouchsafe to be mercifull, and pardon all the East parts and inhabitants of the same, being oppressed with calamity: and that by mee thy servant thou wilt of thy goodnesse helpe and relieve the same. And these things rashly crave I not at thy hands, O Lord, most mighty and holiest God of all. For I being perswaded by the onely Oracles, have both begun and also finished wholesome and profitable things: and further, by the bearing and shewing of thine ensigne, have overcome a mighty and strong host; and when any necessity of the common-weale (to my charge committed) requireth thereunto (following those signes and tokens of thy vertues) I boldly goe forth and fight against mine enemies: and for this cause have I sacrificed my soule unto thee, purified and cleansed both with thy love and feare. Yea truly, thy Name doe I sincerely love, and thy Power doe I reverence, which by many tokens and wonders hast shewed and confirmed thereby my believe and faith. Therefore will I doe my endeavour, and bend my selfe thereunto, that I may re-edifie thy most holy house, which those wicked and ungodly Emperours have with so great ruine laid waste; thy people doe I desire to bring and stabliah in firme peace and tranquillity, and that for the publike utility of all the inhabitants of the earth. Those which yet erre, and are out of the way, enjoy the benefit of peace and quietnesse, with and amongst the number of the faithfull sort: for I trust the restitution of the like society and participation may be a meanes to bring them also that erre into the perfect way of verity. Let no man therefore be grievous one unto another, but what every man thinketh best, that let him doe: for such as are wise, ought thoroughly to be perswaded, that they onely meane to live holily, and as they should doe, whom the Spirit of God moveth to take their delight and recreation in reading his holy will; and if others wilfully will goe out of the way, clea-

ving to the synagogues of false doctrine, they may at their owne perill. As for us, wee have the most worthy House or Congregation of Gods verities, which he according to his owne goodnesse and nature hath given us. And this also we wish unto them, that with like participation and common consent, they may feeble with us the same delectation of minde. For this our Religion is neither new, nor newly invented, but it is as old as we believe the creation of the world to be, and which God hath commanded to be celebrated with such worship as both seemed and pleased him: but all living men are liars, and are deceived with divers and sundry illusions. Thou, O God, for Christ thy Sonnes sake, suffer not this wickednesse againe to root: thou hast set up a cleare burning light, that thereby as many as thou hast chosen may come unto thee, these thy miracles approve the same. It is thy power that keepeth us in innocency and fidelity. The Sunne and the Moone runne their appointed course. Neither yet in ranging-wife wander the starres to what place of the world they list themselves. The daies, yeeres, moneths, and times keepe their appointed turnes. The earth abideth firme and unmoveable at thy Word: and the wind at the time (by thee directed) stormeth and bloweth. The streaming watry floods ebbe in time according as they flow. The raging Sea abideth within her bounded limits: and for that the ocean Sea stretcheth out her selfe in equall length and breadth with the whole earth, this must needs be wrought with some marvellous workemanship of thine owne hand. Which thing, unlesse it were at thy will made and disposed: without all doubt so great difference and partition betweene, would ere this time have brought utter ruine, and destruction both to the life of man, and to all that belongeth to man beside. Which for that they have such great and huge conflicts amongst themselves, as also the invisable spirits have; wee give thee thanks, O Lord most mighty, God of all gods, that all mankind hath not bene destroyed thereby. Surely even as greatly as thy benigntie and gentlenesse is manifested by divers and sundry benefits bestowed upon us, so much also is the same set forth and declared in the discipline of thy eternall Word, to those that be heavenly wise, and apply themselves to the attainment of sincere and true vertue. But if any such there be that little regard, or have but small respect unto the consideration thereof, let them not blame or lay a fault in others that doe the same: for that physicke whereby health is obtained, is manifestly offered unto all men. Now therefore let no man goe about to subvert that, which experience it selfe doth shew (of necessity) to be pure and good. Let us therefore altogether use the participation of this benefit bestowed upon us, that is to say, the benefit of peace and tranquillity, setting apart all controversy. And let no man hurt or be prejudiciall to his fellow for that thing wherein hee thinketh himselfe to have done well. If by that, which any man knoweth and hath experience of, hee thinketh he may profit his neighbour, let him doe the same; if not, let him give over and remit it till another time: for there is a great diversity betwixt the willing and voluntary embracing of Religion, and that when a man is thereunto enforced and coacted. Of these things have I made a more large discourse, than indeede the scope of mediocrity requireth; especially because I would not have my faith (touching the verity) to be hid; for that I heare there be some which complaine that the old accustomed haunting of their temples, and that the power of such darknesse is cut off and taken away. Which thing surely I would take in better part, were it not that the violent rebellion of flagitious error were so fixed in many mens hearts, whereby they thirst after the utter subversion of the Common-weale and Empire.

The Religion from the beginning of the world.

The Prayer of Constantine was fulfilled.

Each thing in their creation preacht the wisdome and true God.

The earth stated up by the power of God.

Who they be that Constantine account wise indeede.

Experience triall of the truth.

Constantine neither for feare disliked his faith, neither chooseth policy before Gods glory.

Such



Such was the goodnesse of this Emperour Constantine, or rather such was the providence of Almighty God toward his Church in stirring him up, that all his care and study of mind was set upon nothing else, but onely how to benefit and enlarge the commodities of the same. Neither was it to him enough to delber the Church and people of God from outward vexation of forren tyrants and persecutors, so lesse beneficiall was his goodly care also in quieting the inward dissensions and disturbance within the Church, among the Christian bishops themselves; according as we read of Moses the deliverer of the Israelites, in agreeing the brethren together when he saw them at variance: Exod. 2. So lesse also did his vigilant study extend in erecting, restoring, and enriching the Churches of God in all Cities, and in providing for the ministers of the same. And therefore writing to Anilinus his chiefe Captaine, declareth his will and mind to him in letters concerning the goods which did appertaine to the Churches of the Christians, that he should procure vigilantly for the same: that all such goods, houses, and gardens, belonging before to the right of Churches, should againe be restored in all speedy wise, and that he therein might be certified with speed, &c.

Moreover, he writeth to the said Anilinus in another letter, signifieth unto him in this effect: that for so much as the contempt of God his reverend religion, is and hath bene ever the greatest decay to the name and people of Rome, as contrarily the maintaining and reverencing the same hath ever brought prosperitie to all Common weales: therefore hee in consideration thereof hath taken that order, and giveth to him in charge, that through that Province where he hath to do, which was in Africa where Cecilianus was Bishop, hee should there see and provide that all such Ministers and Clerkes, whose vocation was to serve in the Church, should be freed and exempted from all publique duties and burthens, whereby they being so privileged, and all impediments removed which should hinder their divine ministracion, thereby the common utility of the people might the better flourish, &c.

Furthermore the said Constantine in another letter writing to Hilarius bishop of Rome, and to Marcius, declareth in his letters to them how Cecilianus Bishop of Carthage hath bene accused unto him by divers of his colleagues and fellow bishops. Wherefore his will is, that the said Cecilianus with ten bishops his accusers, with ten other his defendants should repaire up to him at Rome: where in the present assistance of the foresaid Hilarius, Rheticus, Paternus, Marcius, and of other their fellow colleagues, the cause of Cecilianus might be heard and rightly examined, so that all schisme and division might be cut off from among them, where in the fervent desire of Constantine to peace and unity may well appeare.

Upon the like cause and argument also, he writeth to Chrestus bishop of Syracusa: being so desirous to nourish peace and concord in the church, that hee offereth to him, with his under ministers and three servants, his free carriage to come up to him unto the counsell of other bishops, for the agreeing of certaine matters belonging to the church.

He writeth also another letter to the foresaid Cecilianus bishop of Carthage.

To the Provinces likewise of Palestina and those parts about he directeth his edict in the behalfe of the Christians, for the releasing of such as were in captivity, and for the restoring againe of them which had sustained any losse in the former persecution before, & for the refreshing of such as heretofore had bene oppressed with any ignominy or molestation for their confession sake; declaring in the said edict how that this whole body, life and soule, and whatsoever is in him, hee oweth to God and to the service of him, &c.

Moreover another letter he writeth to Eusebius, for the edifying of new Christian Churches, and restoring of them which had bene wasted before by forren enemies. And after he had collected the Synod of Nice for the study of peace and unity of the Church, he writeth upon the same to Alexander and Arrius. In which his letters he most lamentably uttered the great griefe of his heart, to see and heare of their contention and division, whereby the peace and common harmony of the Church was broken, the Synod provoked and resisted, the holy people of the Lord divided into parts and tumults, contrary to the office of good and circumspet men, whose duty were rather to nourish concord and to seeke tranquillity. And though in some small points and light trifles they did disagree from others; yet the example of philosophers might teach them, who although in some part of a sentence or piece of a question, some might dissent from others, yet in the unity of their profession they did all joyne as fellows together. In like case were it their duty in such fruitlesse questions (or rather pieces of questions) to keep them in the conceptions of their minds in silence unto themselves, and not to bring them forth into publique Synods, to breake therefore from the communion of the reverend Council: declaring moreover in the said epistle, the first origine and occasion of this their contentious dissention to rise upon vaine and trifling termes, vile causes and light questions, and peeres rather of questions; about such matters as neither are to be moved, nor to be answered unto being moved; more curious to be searched, and perillous to be expessed, then necessary to be enquired, Magisque puerilibus ineptiis, quam sacerdotum ac cordatorum virorum prudentia convenientia; as hee there doth terme them. Wherefore by all manner of meanes hee doth labour them, doth intreat them, and perswade them, not onely with reasons, but also with teares and sighing sobes, that they would restore peace againe unto the Church, and quietnesse to the rest of his life (which otherwise would not be sweet unto him) and they would returne againe to the communion of the reverend Council, who in so doing should open his way and purposed journey into the East parts: which otherwise hearing of their discord and dissention, would be sorry to see with his eyes that which grieved him now to heare with his eares: with much more in the same epistle contained, but this is the effect of the whole: Eusebius, de vita Constant. lib. 2. Thus much I thought summarily to comprehend, whereby the divine disposition and singular gentle nature of this mecke and religious Constantine might more notoriously appeare to all Princes, for them to learne by his example what zeale and care they ought to beare toward the Church of Christ, and how gently to governe, and how to be beneficiall to the same.

Many other edicts and epistles written to other places and parties, be expessed at large in the second booke of Eusebius, De vita Constantini; wherein the zealous care and Princely beneficence of this noble Emperour toward the Church of Christ may appeare: whereof in a briefe recapitulation such specialties we have collected as here followeth, and is to be seene in Sozo. lib. 1. cap. 8.9.

First, he commanded all them to be set free, who soever for the confession of Christ had bene condemned to banishment, or to the mines of metall, or to any publique or private labour to them inflicted. Such as were put to any infamy or shame among the multitude, he willed them to be discharged from all such blemish of ignominy. Souldiers which before were deprived either of their place, or put out of their wages, were put to their liberty either to serve againe in their place, or quietly to live at home. Whatsoever honour, place, or dignity had

The letter of Constantine to Eusebius.

The Council of Nice.

The effect of the letter of Constantine to Alexander and Arrius. Ex Ensch. de vita Constant. li. 2.

Constantine see forth a spectacle to all Princes to follow.

A briefe recapitulation of such benefits as were wrought by Constantine upon Christians Churches.



beene taken away from any man, should be restored to them againe. The goods and possessions of them that had suffered death for Christ, howsoever they were alienated, should returne to their heires or next of kin, or for lacke of them should be given to the Church. Hee commanded moreover that onely Christians should beare office; the other he charged and restrained, that neither they should sacrifice nor exercise any more divinations and ceremonies of the Gentiles, nor set up any images, nor keep any feasts of the heathen idolaters. He corrected moreover and abolished all such unlatowfull manners and dishonest usages in the Cities as might be hurtfull any waies to the Church; as the custome that the Egyptians had in the slaying of *Apilus*, at what time the people used to runne together like brute beasts, both men and women, and with all kind of filthynesse and sodomitry to pollute their Cities in celebrating the increase of that river. This abomination Constantine extinguished, causing that wicked order called *Androgynie*, to be killed: by reason whereof the river afterward (through the benefit of God) yielded more increase in his flowing, to the greater fertility of the ground, then it did before.

Where wickednesse is punished, there goodnesse followeth.

Among the Romans was an old law, that such as were barren, having no fruite of children, should be amerced of halfe their goods. Also, that such as being above the yeeres of twenty and five unmarried, should not be numbred in the same privileges with them that were married, neither should be heires to them, to whom notwithstanding they were next in kinne. These lawes, because they seemed unreasonable (to punish the defect of nature, or gift of virginity by mans law) hee abrogated and took away. Another order was among the Romans, that they which made their wills being sicke, had certaine prescribed and conceived wordes appointed to them to use, which unlesse they followed, their wills stood in no effect. This law also Constantine repealed, permitting to every man in making his testament to use what wordes or what witnesses he would. Likewise among the Romans hee restrained and took away the cruell and bloody spectacles and fights, where men were wont with swordes one to kill an other. Of the barbarous and filthy fashion of the *Aethiops* in *Phenicia*, I have mentioned before, where they used to expose and set forth their virgins to open fornication before they should be married: which custome also Constantine removed away. Where no Churches were, there he commanded new to be made; where any were decayed, he commanded them to be repaired; where any were too little, he caused them to be enlarged, giving to the same, great gifts and revenues, not onely of such tributes and tares comming to him from certaine sundry Cities, which he transferred unto the Churches, but also out of his owne treasures. When any Bishops required any counsell to be had, hee satisfied their petitions: and what in their counsels and synods they established, being godly and honest, hee was ready to confirme the same.

The armour of his souldiers, which were newly come from gentility, hee garnished with the armes of the crosse, whereby they might learne the sooner to forget their old superstitious idolatry. Moreover, like a worthy Emperour hee prescribed a certaine forme of prayer, in stead of a Catechisme for every man to have, and to learne how to pray and to invoke God. The which forme of prayer is recited in the fourth booke of *Eusebius De vita Constantini*, in wordes as followeth.

*Euseb. lib. 4. de vita Constant.*  
The forme of prayer appointed of Constantine for his souldiers.

Te solum novimus Deum, te regem cognoscimus, te adiutorem invocamus, abs te victorias referimus, per te victorias inimicorum constituimus, tibi presentium bonorum gratiam acceptam ferimus, & per te futura quoque speramus, tibi supplices sumus omnes: impe-

ratores nostrum Constantinum, ac pientissimos ejus filios, in longissima vita incolumes nobis ac victores custodire supplices oramus, per Christum Dominum nostrum: Amen. In English:

We acknowledge thee onely to be our God, we confesse thee to be our King, we invoke and call upon thee our onely helper, by thee we obtaine our victories, by thee we vanquish and subdue our enemies, to thee we attribute whatsoever present commodities we enjoy, and by thee we hope for good things to come: unto thee we direct all our suits and petitions, most humbly beseeching thee to conferre Constantine our Emperour and his noble children in long life to continue, and to give them victory over all their enemies, through Christ our Lord: Amen.

The souldiers prayer.

In his owne palace he set up an house peculiar for prayer and doctrine, using also to pray and sing with his people. Also in his warres he went not without his tabernacle appointed for the same. The Sunday he commanded to be kept holy of all men, and free from all judiciary causes, from markets, marts, faires, and all other manuell labours, onely husbandry excepted: especially charging that no images or monuments of idolatry should be set up.

The Sunday appointed to be kept holy.

Then of the cleargy and of the ministry in all places he induced with speciall privileges and immunities, so that if any were brought before the civill Magistrate, and lifted to appeale to the sentence of his bishop, it should be lawfull for him so to doe, and that the sentence of the Bishop should stand in as great force as if the magistrate or the Emperour himselfe had pronounced it.

Liberties and privileges granted to the clergie.

But here is to be observed and noted by the way, that the clerks and ministers then newly creeping out of persecution, were in those daies neither in number so great, nor in order of life of the like disposition to these in our daies now living.

So lesse care and provision the said Constantine also had for the maintenance of schooles pertaining to the Church, and to the nourishing of good arts and liberrall sciences, especially of divinity: not onely with stipends and subsidies furnishing them, but also with large privileges and exemptions defending the same, as by the wordes of his owne law is to be seene and read as followeth: *Medicos, grammaticos, & alios professores literarum, & doctores legum, cum uxoribus & liberis, &c.* In English: Physicians, grammarians, and other professors of liberrall arts, & doctors of the law, with their wives and children, & all other their possessions which they have in cities, we command to be freed from all civill charges and functions, neither to receive foren strangers in Provinces, nor to be burthened with any publike administration, nor to be cited up to civill judgement, nor to be drawne out or oppressed with any injury. And if any shall vex them, hee shall incurre such punishment as the judge at his discretion shall award him. Their stipends moreover and salaries we command truly to be paid them, whereby they may more freely instruct others in arts and sciences, &c.

The provision and liberality of Constantine in maintaining schooles.

The privileges granted by Constantine Universities and Schooles.

Over and besides this, so farre did his godly zeale and princely care & provision extend to the Church of Christ, that he commanded and provided Bookes and volumes of the Scripture, diligently and plainly to be written and copied out, to remaine in publicke Churches to the use of posterity. Whereupon writing to *Eusebius* bishop of *Scythopolis* in a speciall letter (recorded in the fourth booke of *Euseb. De vita Constant.*) he willeth him with all diligence to procure fifty volumes of parchment well bound and compacted, wherein hee should cause to be written out of the Scripture in a faire legible hand, such things as he thought necessary and profitable for the instruction of the Church, and alloweth him for that businesse two publique Ministers: he also willeth concerning the same to the Generall of his Army,

The provision of Constantine to have the Scripture in churches.

Ex Euseb. lib. 4. de vita Constant.



to support and further him with such necessities, as thereunto should appertain, &c.

In brewing, perusing, and writing this story, and in considering the Christian zeale of this Emperour, I with that either this our printing and plenty of bookes had bene in his daies, or that this heroicall heart toward Christian religion, as was in this so excellent monarch, might something appeare in inferior Princes reigning in these our printing daies, &c.

The liberall hand of this Emperour bozne to doe all men good, was no lesse also open and ready toward the needy poverty of such, which either by losse of parents or other occasions were not able to helpe themselves: to whom he commanded and provided due subvention both of coine and payment to be ministered out of his owne coffers, to the necessary reliefe of the poore men, women, children, orphans, and widowes. Euseb. de vita Constant. lib. 4.

Finally, among all the other monuments of his singular clemency and munificence, this is not to be pretermitted: that through all the empire of Rome and Provinces belonging to the same, not onely he diminished such taxes, revenues and imposts, as publickly were coming to him, but also clearely remitted and released to the contributores the fourth part of the same.

This present place would require something to be said of the donation of Constantine, whereupon as upon their chiefest Anchor-hold, the Bishops of Rome doe ground their supreme Dominion and right, over all the politicall government of the west parts, and the spirituall government of all the other Seas and parts of the world. Which donation to be falsely feigned and forged, and not to proceed from Constantine, many arguments might here be inferred, if leisure from other matters would suffer me.

First, for that no ancient history, nor yet Doctors, maketh any mention thereof.

Naucerus reporteth it to be affirmed in the history of Hieronymus. But in the old copies of Hieronymus no such thing is to be found.

Gratianus the compiler of the decrees, reciteth that decree, not upon any ancient authority, but only under the title of Palesa.

Gelasius is said to give some testimony thereof, in Dist. 15. Sancta Romana. But that clause of the said distinction touching that matter in the old ancient bookes is not extant.

Who Physingenis, who was about the time of Gratian, after he hath declared the opinion of the favourers of the papacy, affirming this donation to be given of Constantine to Silvester the Pope, induceth consequently the opinion of them that favour the Empire, affirming the contrary.

How doth this agree, that Constantine did yield up to Silvester all the politicall dominion over the west, when as the said Constantine at his death, dividing the empire to his three sonnes, gave the west part of the empire to one, the east part to the second, the middle part to the third?

How is it like that Theodosius after them, being a just and a religious Prince, would or could have occupied the City of Rome, if it had not bene his right, but had belonged to the Pope, and so did many other Emperours after him?

The phrase & stile of Constantine in his other edicts and letters above specified, doth nothing agree.

Seeing the papists themselves confesse that the decree of this donation was written in Græke, how agreeth that with truth, when as both it was written not to the Grecians, but to the Romans, and also Constantine himselfe for lacke of the Græke tongue, was faine to use the Latine tongue in the Councell of Nice?

The contents of this donation (whosoever was

the forger thereof) doth bewray it selfe: for if it be true which there is confessed, that he was baptised at Rome of Silvester, and the fourth day after his baptism this patrimony was given (which was before his battell against Maximinus or Licinius, in the yere of our Lord three hundred and seventene, as Nicephorus recordeth) how then accordeth this with that which followeth in the donation, for him to have jurisdiction given over the other four principall Seas of Antioch, Alexandria, Constantinople, and Hierusalem: when as the City of Constantinople was not yet begun before the death of Maximinus or Licinius, and was not finished before the eight and twentieth yere of the raigne of Constantine in the yere of our Lord three hundred thirty and nine: or if it be true, as Hierome counteth, it was finished the three and twentieth yere of his reign, which was the yere of our Lord three hundred thirty and four, long after this donation by their owne account.

Furthermore, where in the said constitution it is said that Constantine was baptised at Rome of Silvester; and thereby was purged of leprosie: the fable thereof agreeth not with the truth of History, for so much as Eusebius, lib. 4. de vita Constantini, Hieronymus in Chron. Ruffin. lib. 2. cap. 11. Socrates, lib. 1. cap. 39. Theod. lib. 1. cap. 31. Sozomenus, lib. 2. cap. 34. doe all together consent that he was baptised not at Rome, but at Nicomedia; and that moreover, as by their testimony doth appeare, not of Silvester but of Eusebius bishop of Nicomedia, not before his battell against Maximinus or Licinius, but in the thirty and one yere of his raigne, a little before his death.

Again, whereas Constantine in this donation appointed him to have the principality over the other four Patriarchall Seas, that maketh Constantine contrary to himselfe; who in the councell of Nice afterward agreed with other Bishops, that all the four Patriarchall Seas should have equall jurisdiction, every one over his owne Territory and Precinct.

In summe, briefly to conclude: who so desireth more abundantly to be satisfied touching this matter, let him read the bookes of Basilii Patavinus, intitled Defensor pacis, in the yere of our Lord 1324. of Laurentius Vallæ, anno 1440. of Antoninus Archbishop of Florence, who in his history plainly denieth the tenor of this donation to be found in the old bookes of the decrees. Of Cusanus Cardinalis lib. 3. cap. 2. writing to the councell of Basil, an. 1460. of Aeneas Silvius in dialogo: of Hier. Paulus Castellanus, an. 1496. of Raphael Colatranus, an. 1500. of Lutherus, an. 1537, &c. All which, by many and evident probations, dispute and prove this donation taken out of a booke, De gestis Silvestri, and translated (as they saie) by one Bartholomeus Picernus out of Græke into Latine; not to proceed from Constantinus, but to be a thing untruly presented, or rather a fable imagined, or else to be the deed of Hipinus or Charles, or some such other, if it were ever the deed of any.

And thus hast thou (beloved reader) briefly collected the narration of the noble acts and heavenly virtues of this most famous Emperour Constantine the great: a singular spectacle for all christian Princes to behold and imitate, and worthy of perpetuall memory in all congregations of Christian Saints: whose fervent zeale and piety in generall, to all congregations and to all the servants of Christ, was notable, but especially the affection and reverence of his heart toward them was admirable, which had suffered any thing for the confession of Christ in the persecutions before; they had he principally in price and veneration, in so much that he embraced and kissed their wounds and stripes, and their eyes, being put out. And if any such bishops or any other Ministers brought to him any complaints one against

II.

12.

13.

Commendation of Constantine the Emperour.

Constantine kissed the wounds of them that were crucified for Christ.



Constantine burneth the bill of complaints and breaketh strife among the Bishops. Note, that the oration *Ad conventum sanctorum*, is wrongly ascribed to Eusebius, which indeed is the oration of Constantine.

gainst another (as many times they did) he would take their bills of complaint and burne them before their faces: so studious and zealous was his mind to have them agree, whose discord was to him more griefe then it was to themselves. All the vertuous acts and memorable doings of this divine and renowned Emperour to comprehend or commit to history, it were the matter alone of a great volume: wherefore contented with these above premised, because nothing of him can be said enough, I cease to discourse of him any further.

One thing yet remaineth not to be omitted, wherein (as by the way of a note) I thought good to admonish the learned reader, such as love to be conversant in reading of ancient authors; that in the ecclesiasticall history of Eusebius, where in the latter end of the booke is added a certaine oration, *Ad conventum sanctorum*, under the name of Eusebius Pamphilus, here is to be understood, that the said oration is wrongfully intituled upon the name of Eusebius, which in very truth is the oration of Constantine himselfe. For the probation whereof, beside the stile and matter therein contained, and translation heroicall libely declaring the religious beine of Constantine) I allege the very testimony of Eusebius himselfe in his fourth booke *De vita Constantini*,

where he in expresse words not onely declareth that Constantine wrote such an oration intituled *Ad conventum sanctorum*, but also promiseth in the end of his booke, to annere the same: declaring moreover what difficulty the interpreters had to translate the same from the Romanes speech, to their Grecian tongue: Euseb. *de vita Constantini*, lib. 4. pag. 211.

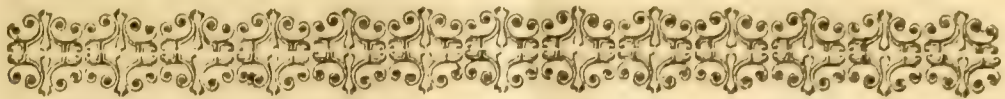
And here an end of these lamentable and dolefull persecutions of the Primitive Church, during the space of three hundred yeeres from the passion of our Saviour Christ, till the coming of this Constantine, by whom as by the elect instrument of God, it hath so pleased his Almighty Majesty, by his determinate purpose, to give rest after long trouble to his Church, according to that Saint Cyprian declareth before to be revealed of God unto his Church: that after darkenesse and stormy tempest, should come peaceable, calme, and stable quietnesse to his Church, meaning this time of Constantine now present. At which time it so pleased the Almighty, that the murthering malice of Satan should at length be refrained, and himselfe tied up for a thousand yeeres, through his great mercy in Christ, to whom therefore be thanks and praise now and forever. Amen.

Satan bound up for a thousand yeeres.

The end of the first Booke.







# THE SECOND BOOKE

Containing the next three hundred yeeres following, with such things specially touched as have happened in *England*, from the time of King *Lucius* to *Gregorius*, and so after to the time of King *Egbert*.

**B** these persecutions hitherto in the booke before precedent thou mayest understand (Christian reader) how the fury of Satan and rage of men, have done what they could to extinguish the Name and Religion of Christ: for what thing did lacke that either death could doe, or torments could worke, or the gates of hell could devile, all was to the uttermost attempted. And yet all the fury and malice of satan, all the wisdom of the world and strength of men, doing, devising, practising what they could; notwithstanding the religion of Christ (as thou seest) hath had the upper hand: which thing I wish thee greatly (gentle reader) wisely to note and diligently to ponder in considering these former histories. And because thou canst not consider them, nor profit by them, unless thou doe first read and peruse them: let me crave therefore thus much at thine hands, to turne & read over the said histories of those persecutions aboves described, especially aboves all the other histories of this present volume, for thy especiall edification, which I trust thou shalt finde not unworthy the reading.

Now because the tying up of satan giveth to the Church some rest, and to mee some leisure to address my selfe to the handling of other stories, I mind therefore Christ willing in this present booke, leaving a while the tractation of these generall affaires pertaining to the universall Church, to prosecute such domestickall histories, as more neerely concerne this our countrey of England and Scotland done here at home, beginning first with King *Lucius*, with whom the faith first began here in this realme, as the sentence of some writers doth hold. And for so much as here may rise, yea and doth rise a great controverisie in these our popish daies, concerning the first origine and planting of the faith in this our realme, it shall not be greatly out of our purpose somewhat to stay and say of this question; whether the Church of England first received the faith from Rome or not? The which although I grant so to be, yet being so granted, it little abaileth the purpose of them which would so have it. For be it that England first received the Christian faith and religion from Rome, both in the time of *Cleutherius* their bishop 180. yeeres after Christ, and also in the time of *Augustine* whom *Gregory* sent hither 600. yeeres after Christ, yet their purpose followeth not thereby, that we must therefore fetch our religion from thence still, as from the chief welhead and fountaine of all godlinesse. And yet as they are not able to prove the second, so neither have I any cause to grant the first: that is, That our Christian faith was first derived from Rome, which I may prove by sixe or seven good confederall reasons. Whereof the first I take of the testimony of *Silvas* our countryman, who in his history affirmeth plain-

ly, that Britaine received the Gospel in the time of *Liberius* the Emperour, under whom Christ suffered: *Lib. de victoria Aurelii Ambrosii*. And faith moreover, that *Ioseph* of Arimathea, after dispersion of the Jewes, was sent of *Philip* the Apostle from France to Britaine, about the yeere of our Lord 63, and here remained in this land all his time: and so with his fellowes laid the first foundation of Christian faith among the Britaine people, whereupon other preachers and teachers coming afterwaies, confirmed the same and increased it.

The second reason is out of *Tertullian*, who living nere about, or rather somewhat before the time of this *Cleutherius*, in his booke *Contra Iudeos*, manifestly importeth the same; where the said *Tertullian* testifying how the Gospel was dispersed abroad by the sound of the Apostles: and there reckoning up the *Hebes*, *Persians*, *Parthians*, and dwellers in *Mesopotamia*, *Jewry*, *Cappadocia*, *Pontus*, *Asia*, *Phrygia*, *Cypri*, *Pamphilia*, with many more, at length cometh to the coast of the *Moors*, and all the borders of *Spain*, with divers Nations of France: and there amongst all other reciteth also the parts of Britaine, which the *Romans* could never attaine to, and reporteth the same how to be subject to Christ: as also reckoneth up the places of *Sarmatia*, of the *Danes*, the *Germans*, the *Scythians*, with many other Provinces and Isles to him unknowne: in all which places (saith he) reigneth the name of Christ, which now beginneth to be common. This hath *Tertullian*. Note here how among other divers belabring Nations, he mentioneth also the wildest places of Britaine to be of the same number: and these in his time were christened, who was in the same *Cleutherius* time, as is aboves said. Then was not *Hope* *Cleutherius* the first which sent the Christian faith into this realme; but the gospel was here received before his time either by *Ioseph* of Arimathea, as some chronicles record, or by some of the Apostles or of their schollers, which had been here preaching Christ before *Cleutherius* wrote to *Lucius*.

My third probation I deduct out of *Origen*, *Hom. 4. in Ezechielem*, whose words bee these: *Ex Origen. hom. 4. in Ezech.* Britanniam in Christianam consentire religionem. Whereby it appeareth that the faith of Christ was sparred here in England before the daies of *Cleutherius*.

For my fourth probation I take the testimony of *Iseda*, where he affirmeth, that in his time, and almost a thousand yeeres after Christ here in Britaine, Easter was kept after the manner of the east Church, in the full of the Moone, what day in the weeke so ever it fell on, and not on the Sunday, as we doe now. Whereby it is to be collected, that the first preachers in this land have come out from the east part of the world, where it was so used, rather then from Rome.

2.  
Ex Tertul. contra Iudeos.

3.  
Ex Origen. hom. 4. in Ezech.

4.  
Ex Beda.

petition to  
be reader diffi-  
culty to read  
the former  
booke of the ten  
editions.

The first plant-  
ing of Christi-  
an faith in  
England.

Question.

Whether Chris-  
tian religion  
in this realme  
came first from  
Rome.

Answer.

1.  
Silvas.



5. Fifthly, I may allege the words of Nicephorus, *Ex Nicoph. lib. lib. 2. cap. 40.* where he saith, that Simon Zelotes did spread the Gospell of Christ to the West ocean, and brought the same unto the Isles of Brittain.

6. Sixthly, may be here added also the words of Petrus Cluniacensis, who writing to Bernard, affirmeth that the Scots in his time did celebrate their Easter, not after the Romane manner, but after the Grækes, &c. And as the said Brittaines were not under the Roman order in the time of this Abbot of Cluniacke: so neither were they nor would be under the Roman Legat, in the time of Gregory, nor would admit any primacy of the bishop of Rome to be above them.

For the seventh argument moreover I may make my probation by the plaine words of Cleutherius; by whose epistle written to King Lucius we may understand, that Lucius had received the faith of Christ in this land, before the King sent to Cleutherius for the Romane lawes: for so the expresse words of the letter doe manifestly purport, as hereafter followeth to be seene. By all which conjectures it may stand probably to be thought, that the Brittaines were taught first by the Grecians of the east church, rather then by the Romans.

Veradventure Cleutherius might helpe something either to convert the King, or else to increase the faith then newly sprung among the people, but that he precisely was the first, that cannot be proved. But grant he were, as indeed the most part of our English histories confesse, neither will I greatly stick with them therein: yet what have they got thereby when they have cast all their gaine: in few words to conclude this matter, if it be that the Christian faith and religion was first derived from Rome to this our Nation by Cleutherius, then let them but grant to us the same faith and religion which then was taught at Rome, and from thence derived hither by the said Cleutherius, and we will desire no more: for then neither was any universall Pope above all Churches and counsels, which came not in before Bonifacius time, which was 400. yeeres after: neither any name of use of the masse, the parts whereof how & by whom they were compiled, hereafter in this booke following appeareth to be seene.

Neither any sacrifice propitiatory for the scolding of purgatory was then offered upon hallowed altars, but only the communion frequented at Christian tables, where oblations and gifts were offered as well of the people as of the Priests to God, because they should appeare neither empty nor unkind before the Lord, as we may understand by the time of Cyprian. Neither was then any transubstantiation heard of, which was not brought in before a thousand yeeres after. Neither were then any images of Saints departed set up in Churches: yea a great number of the Saints worshipped in this our time were not as yet borne, nor the Churches wherein they were worshipped were yet set up, but came in long after, especially in the time of Irene and Constantine the Emperour. Likewise neither reliques nor peregrinations were then in use. Priests marriage was then as lawfull (and no lesse received) as now: neither was it condemned before the daies of Hildebrand, almost a thousand yeeres after that. Their service was then in the vulgar tongue, as witnesseth Hierome: the Sacrament ministered in both kinds as well to Lay men as to Priests, the witnesseth whereof is Cyprian. Secular and temporall men which would not then communicate at Easter, Whitsontide, and Christemmas, were not then counted for catholikes, the Popes owne distinction can testifie. In funerals, Priests then stoked not together, selling trentals and diriges for sweeping of purgatory: but only a funeral concion was used, with Psalmes of praises and songs of their worshipps, and Alleluia sounding on high, which did shake the guilted sealings of the Temple, as wit-

nesseth Nazianzen, Ambrose, with Hierome, &c.

In the Supper of the Lord and at Baptisme no such ceremonies were used, as now of late have been intruded: in so much that as in this story is shewed hereafter, both Augustine and Paulinus baptised then in rivers, not in hallowed founts, as witnesseth Fabianus. The postures of Sarum, of Poike, of Bangor, with mattens and evensong of the day; againe, neither the orders and religions of Monks, 10 and Friars were not yet dreamed of, to the space almost of a thousand yeeres after, &c. So that, as I said, if the papists would needs derive the faith and religion of this Realme from Rome, then let them set us and leave us there where they had us: that is, let them suffer us to stand content with that faith and religion, which then was taught and brought from Rome by Cleutherius (as now we differ nothing from the same) and we will desire no better. And if they will not, then let the wise reader judge 20 where the fault is, in us or them, which neither themselves will persist in the antiquity of the Romish religion which they so much brag of, neither will they permit us to do so.

And thus much by the way to satisfie the foresaid objection, whereby we may have now a more ready passage into the order & course of the history. Being therefore granted unto them which they so earnestly stick upon, that the Christian faith and religion of this realme was brought from Rome, first by Cleutherius, then afterward by Augustine: thus write the chronicles of that matter.

About the time and yeere of the Lord, 180. King Lucius sonne of Colus, which builded Colchester, King of the Britains, who then were the inhabitants and possessors of this land (which now we English men call England) hearing of the miracles and wonders done by the Christians at that time in divers places (as Bonimetensis writeth) directed his letters to Cleutherius bishop of Rome, to receive of him the Christian faith: although about the computation of the yeere and time, great difference there is in authors when this should be. Paulerus saith, it was an. 156. but that cannot be, for so much as Cleutherius was not yet Bishop by the space of twenty yeeres after that Henricus de Erfordia saith, it was an. 169. in the ninetenth yeere of Celerus Emperour: but that agreeth not with approved histories, which all consent that Celerus reigned not ninetene yeeres: and if he had, yet that yeere commeth not to the yeere of our Lord, 169. but to the yeere, 181. Some others say, that Cleutherius was made Bishop in the first yeere of Commodus, which was the yeere of our Lord, 180. but that seemeth to goe too farre: but let the authors agree as they can. Let us 50 returne to Cleutherius the good bishop, who hearing the request of this King, and glad to see the godly towardnesse of his well disposed mind, sendeth him certaine teachers and preachers called Jnagatius, or by some Jaganus, and Damianus, or Dimianus, which converted first the King and people of Britaine, and baptised them with the Baptisme and Sacrament of Christs faith. The temples of idolatry and all other monuments of gentility they subverted, converting the people from their divers and many gods, to serve one living God. Thus true religion with sincere faith increasing, superstition decayed, with all other rites of idolatry. There were then in Britaine 28. head Priests which they called 60 flamines, & thre Archpriests among them, which were called Archflamines, having the oversight of their manners, and as Judges over the rest. These 28. flamines they turned to 28. Bishops, and the thre archflamines to thre archbishops, having then their seats in thre principall Cities of the realme: that is, in London, in Poike, and in Glamoigan, 70 Videlicet in urbe legionum, by Wales. Thus the Countreies of the whole Realme being divided every one under his owne Bishop, and all things

Fabianus, cap. 119 & 120.

Cleutherius bishop of Rome  
Augustine 2.

The faith of Christ brought into this realme. Lucius first christened of the Brittaines. *Ex Monum. antiq. & alia.*

Jaganus. Damianus.

Eight and twenty bishops within this realme. Thre Archbishops.

What difference between the late church of Rome and the old church of Rome, and in what matters.

De consecrat. cap. 2.



settled in a good order; the foresaid King Lucius sent againe to the said Cleutherius for the Romane Lawes, thereby likewise to be governed, as in Religion now they were framed accordingly: unto whom Cleutherius againe writeth after the tenor of these words insuing.

The Epistle of Eleutherius, Bishop of Rome, sent to King Lucius.

**A**Nno 169. A passime Christi scripti Deminus Eleutherius Papa Lucio regi Britannia, ad conversionem regis et provinciarum regni Britannia, and so forth as followeth in English.

Yee require of us the Romane Lawes, and the Emperors to be sent over to you, which you may practise and put in ure within your Realme. The Roman Lawes and the Emperors we may ever reprove, but the Law of God we may not. Yee have received of late through Gods mercy in the Realme of Britanny, the Law and Faith of Christ; yee have with you within the Realme, both the parts of the Scriptures. Out of them by Gods grace, with the Councell of your Realme take yee a Law, and by that Law (through Gods sufferance) rule your kingdome of Britaine. For you be Gods Vicar in your kingdome, according to the saying of the psalme; *Deus iudicabit tuum regi da, &c.* that is, O God give thy judgement to the King, and thy righteousness to the Kings son, &c. He said not, the judgement and righteousness of the Emperour, but thy judgement and justice: that is to say, of God. The Kings sons be the Christian people and folke of the Realme, which be under your government, and live and continue in peace within your kingdome, as the Gospell saith: Like as the henne gathereth her chickens under her wings, so doth the King his people. The people and folke of the Realme of Britaine be yours; whom if they be divided, ye ought to gather in concord and peace, to call them to the Faith and Law of Christ, and to the holy Church, to cherish and maintaine them, to rule and governe them, and to defend them alwaies from such as would doe them wrong, from malicious men and enemies, A King hath his name of ruling, and not of having a Realme. You shall be a King while you rule well: but if you doe otherwise, the name of a King shall not remaine with you, and you shall lose it, which God forbid. The Almighty God grant you so to rule the Realme of Britaine, that you may raigne with him for ever, whole Vicar you be in the Realme.

After this manner (as you have heard) was the Christian faith either first brought in, or else confirmed in this Realme of Britaine by the sending of Cleutherius not with any crosse or procession, but onely at the simple preaching of Magan, and Damian, through whose Ministry this Realme and Island of Britaine was first reduced to the faith and Law of the Lord, according as was prophesied by Esay, as well of that as other Islands moze, where he saith, chap. 42. We shall not faint nor give over, till he hath set judgement in earth, and Islands shall wait for his Law, &c. The faith thus received of the Britaines, continued among them and flourished the space of 216. yeeres, till the coming of the Saxons, who then were Pagans; whereof more followeth hereafter to be said, the Lord Christ assisting thereunto. In the meane time something to speake of this space before, which was betwixt the time of Lucius, and the first coming in of the Saxons: First, it is to be understood, that all this while as yet, the Emperors of Rome had not received the faith, what time the Kings of Britaine and the Subjects thereof were converted now, as is said, to Christ: for the which cause much trouble and perturbation was sought against them, not onely here in Britaine, but through all parts of Christen-

dome by the heathen infidels. In so much that in the persecution onely of Dioclesian and Maximian, raigning both together within one moneth, 17000. martyrs are numbered to have suffered for the name of Christ, as hath bene hitherto in the Booke before sufficiently discoursed.

Thus therefore, although the foresaid Lucius, the Britaine King, through the mercifull providence of God was then christened, and the Gospell received thereof, as well of the Religion as of the Common wealth, could not be quiet, for that the Emperors and Nobles of Rome were infidels, and enemies to the same; but especially for this cause, if so happening that Lucius the Christian King died without issue. For thereby such trouble and variance fell among the Britaines (as it happeneth in all other Realmes, and namely in this our Realme of England, whensoever succession lacketh) that not only they brought upon them the idolatrous Romances, and at length the Saxons, but also intorped themselves in such misery and desolation, as yet to this day amongst them remaineth. Such a thing it is, where a Prince or a King is in a kingdome, there to lacke succession, as especially in this case may appeare. For after the death of Lucius, when the Barons and Nobles of the Land could not accord within themselves upon succession of the Crowne, the Romans stept in and got the Crowne into their owne hands, whereupon followed great misery and ruine to the Realme. For sometimes the idolatrous Romans, sometimes the Britaines raigned and ruled as violence and victory would serve; one King murdering another, till at length the Saxons came and deprived them both, as in processe hereafter followeth to be seene.

In the meane season, touching the story of King Lucius, here is to be reposed the fable of some writers falsly faining of him, that he should after his baptism received, put off all his kingly honour, forsake the Land, and be made a Preacher; who after long travell in preaching & teaching, in France, in Germany, in Augusta, and in Suebia, at length was made Doctor and Rector of the Church of Aurea, where (as this fable saith) he suffered martyrdom. But this phantasie of whomsoever it first did spring, disagreeeth from all our English stories, who with a full consent, doe for the most part, concord in this: that the said Lucius, after he had founded many Churches, and given great riches and liberties to the same, deceased with great tranquillity in his owne Land, and was buried at Glocester the fourteenth yeare after his baptism, as the Booke of Flores historiarum doth count, which was the yeare of our Lord, as he saith, 101. and reckoneth his conversion to be in the yeare 87. In some I find his deceale to be the fourth, and in some the tenth yeare after his baptism, and some hold that he raigned all the space of seventy and seven yeeres. And thus much concerning King Lucius.

Now, to proceed in order of the story, briefly to touch the state of the foresaid Land of Britaine, betwixt the time of King Lucius, and the entring of the Saxons, who were the Kings thereof, and in what order they succeeded, or rather invaded one after another, this Catalogue here under writen will specifie.

70	Kings of Britaine from the time of Lucius, till the coming of the Saxons.	Lucius,	a Britaine.
		Severus,	a Romane.
		Bassianus,	a Roman by the father
		Cerausus,	a Britaine.
		Alectus,	a Romane.
		Asclepiodotus,	a Britaine.
		Coilus,	a Britaine.
70		Constantius,	a Romane.
		Constantinus,	a Britaine by the mother, named Helena,

Ex Beda. Polychronicon Monasteriensis.

Henr. Hunting. 4b. 1.

What incommodity cometh by lacke of succession.

The deceale of King Lucius. Ex 2. lxxijgo.



An. Dom. 390.  
secund. Feb.  
Bed. An. 433.  
Feb. An. 443.  
Anno 448.  
Anno 464.

Octavius,  
Maximianus,

Gratianus,  
Constantius,

Constans,

Vortigernus,

Vortimerus,  
Vortigernus,

na, who being the  
daughter of Coel,  
& married to Con-  
stantius, father of  
Constantinus, is  
said to make the  
walls first of Lon-  
don, also of Col-  
chester, much a-  
bout the yeere of  
our Lord, 305. and  
borne in Britaine.  
a Celtician.

a Romane borne, but  
his mother a Bri-  
taine.

a Romane.  
a Britaine by the  
mother.

a Romane by the fa-  
ther  
a Celtician or Bri-  
taine.

a Britaine.  
again.

By this table may appeare a lamentable face of a  
Common wealth so miserably rent and divided into  
two sorts of people, differing not so much in country  
as in religion : for when the Romans reigned, they  
were governed by the infidels ; when the Britaines  
ruled, they were governed by christians. Thus what  
quietnesse was or could be in the Church in so un-  
quiet and doubtfull daies, may easily be considered.

Albeit notwithstanding all these foresaid heathen  
rulers of the Romanes which here governed, yet  
(God be praised) we reade of no persecution during  
all these ten persecutions aboue mentioned, that  
touched the Christian Britaines, before the last per-  
secution only of Dioclesian and Maximianus Her-  
culeus, which here then exercised much cruelty.  
This persecution, as it was the last among the Ro-  
man christians, so it was the first of many and di-  
vers that followed after in this Church & Realme  
of England ; whereof wee will hereafter entreat  
(Christ willing) as order of the matter shall leade  
us. In the mean time, this rage of Dioclesian as  
it was universally through all the Churches in the  
world fierce and vehement, so in this Realme of Bri-  
taine also it was so sore, that as all our English chro-  
nicles doe testifie and record, all Christianity almost  
in the whole land was destroyed, churches were sub-  
verted, all Bookes of the Scriptures burned, many  
of the faithfull, both men and women, were slaine.  
Among whom the first and chiefeest was Albanus,  
then Julius, Aaron, and Amphibalus, of whom suf-  
ficiently hath bene said before. What were the  
others, or how many they were that suffered beside,  
I know make no rehearfall. And thus much thereof.

Now as concerning the government of these  
aboue named Kings of Britaine, although I have  
little or nothing to note which greatly appertaineth  
to the matter of this Ecclesiasticall history, yet this  
is not to be past over. First how in the order of  
these Kings cometh Constantinus the great and  
worthy Emperour, who was not onely a Britaine  
borne by his mother Helena, being King Coilus  
daughter, but also by the help of the Britaines ar-  
my (under the power of God) which the said Con-  
stantine took with him out of Britaine to Rome,  
obtained with great victory peace and tranquillity  
to the whole universall Church of Christ, having  
three legions with him out of this Realme of cho-  
sen and able souldiers, whereby the strength of the  
Land was not a little impaired and endangered, as  
afterwarde in this story followeth.

After him likewise Maximian, following his  
steps, took with him also (as stories record) all the

power and strength which was left, and whatsoever  
he could make of able and fighting men to subdue  
France: besides the garrisons which he had out with  
him before, sending for more to the number of an  
hundred thousand souldiers at once to be sent to him  
out of Britaine into France. At which time also  
Conanus his partner, being then in France, sent  
over for virgins from Britaine, to the number of  
eleven thousand : who with Ursula, the Prince Di-  
onets daughter being shipped over, many perished  
in the Sea, some were taken of the infidels march-  
ing upon the borders : with whom, because they  
would not be polluted, all were destroyed, being  
miserably dispersed (some one way, some another)  
so that none elaped.

Thus were Britaine being left naked and desti-  
tute on every side, as a maimed body without  
might or strength, was left open to his enemies,  
not able to succour it selfe without helpe of forren  
friends : to whom they were then constrained to flee,  
especially to the Romanes, to whom the Britaines  
sent this word or message : Etio ter consili genitus  
Britannorum. Repellunt nos Barbari ad mare : repellit  
nos mare ad Barbaros. Hinc oriuntur duo funerum  
genera, quia aut jugulamur, aut submergimur. But  
the Romanes then began to forsake them, whereby  
they were in never danger to be oppressed by Gua-  
nus and Helga, had not Gwerelinus the Arch-  
bishop of London made over to lesser Britaine, and  
obtaining there help, had brought Constantinus the  
Kings brother to rescue his countrey against the  
infidels. This Constantinus was brother to Al-  
doenus, King of little Britaine, and father to Con-  
stance, Aurelius Ambrosius, and Uter, who after  
reigned Kings in Britaine.

Thus by the means of the good Archbishop and  
Constantinus, the state of the Religion and Realme  
of Britaine was in some meane quiet and safety,  
during the time of the said Constantine, and of the  
good Archbishop. But as the Realme of Britaine  
almost from the beginning was never without civil  
war, at length came wicked Vortigern : who cruel-  
ly causing Constance his Wyne to be murdered,  
ambitiously invaded the crowne : who then fearing  
the other two brethren of Constance, which were  
Aurelius and Uter, being then in little Britaine,  
did send over for the aid of the Saxons being then in-  
fidels, and not onely that, but also married with an  
infidell, the daughter of Hengist called Rowen.  
Whereupon the said Vortigern not long after by  
the said Hengist and the Saxons was with like tre-  
chery dispossessed of his Kingdome, and the people of  
Britaine driven out of their countrey, after that  
the Saxons had slaine of their chiefe nobles and ba-  
rons at one meeting (joining together subtilty with  
cruelty) to the number of two hundred seventy and  
one : some stories say foure hundred and sixty. This  
wicked act of Saxons was done at Almesbury, or  
at a place called Stonehenge. By the monument  
of which stones there hanging, it seemeth that the  
noble Britaines there were buried.

This fabulous story of the Welchmen, of bring-  
ing these stones from Ireland by Herlin, I passe  
over. Some stories record that they were slaine  
being bid to a banquet. Others say that it was  
done at a falk or assembly, where the Saxons came  
with pryvy knives contrary to promise made ; with  
the which knives they giving a pryvy watchword in  
their Saxon speech, Neme your sexes, slew the Bri-  
taines unarmed. And thus farre concerning the  
history of the Britaines. As this great plague could  
not come to the Britaines without Gods permis-  
sion, so Gildas sheweth in his Chronicle the cause  
thereof writing thus : Quod Britones propter ava-  
ritiam & rapinam principum, propter iniquitatem &  
injustitiam iudicum, propter desidiam predicationis  
Episcoporum, propter luxuriam & malos mores popu-  
li, patriam perdidit, &c.

A Description

Britaine shot  
ten of souldiers,  
Artila with  
eleven thousand  
virgins.

Gwerelinus  
Archbishop of  
London.

Ex chronico  
Monumens.  
Constantinus,  
Constance,  
Aurelius Ambro-  
sius, Uter, Pao-  
dragon.

The Saxons  
sent for to Bri-  
taine.  
King Constantine  
slaine by Gwer-  
genn.  
Hengist and  
his followers cap-  
taines of the  
Saxons.

A wicked mar-  
ther of the  
Saxons.

The Britaines  
never touched  
with any perse-  
cution before  
the time of Di-  
oclesian.

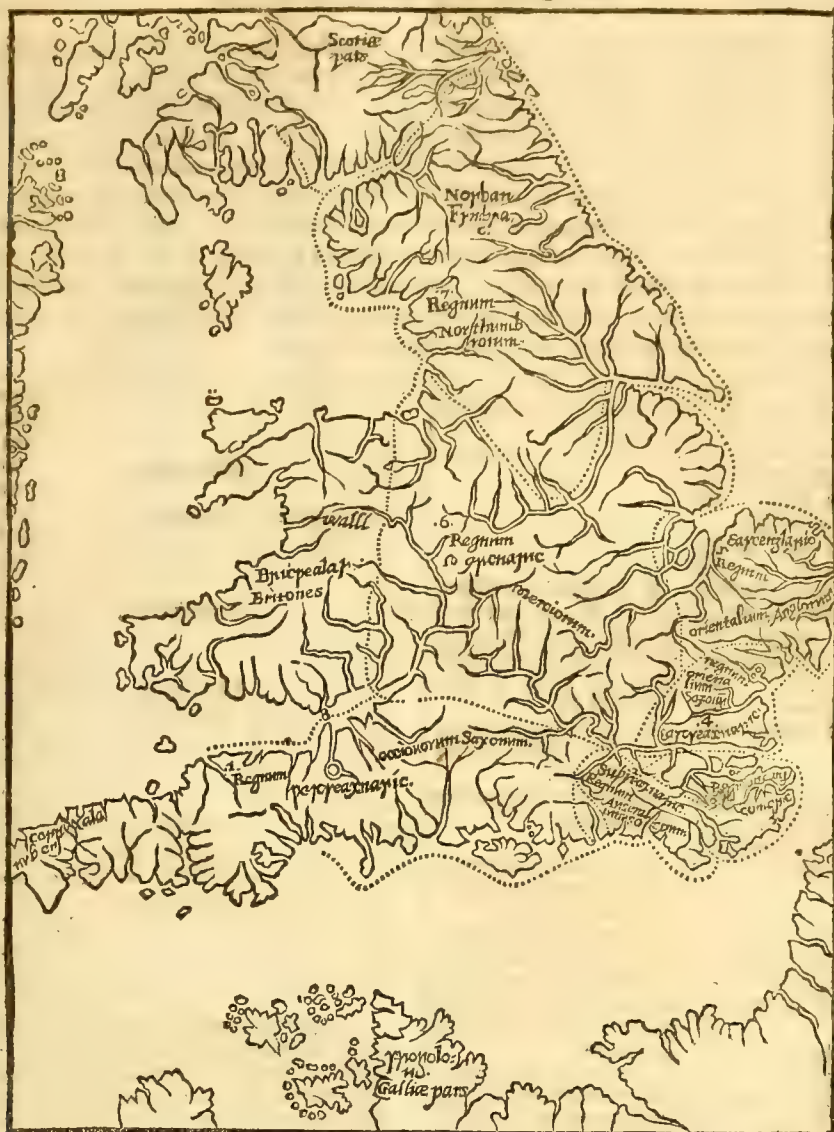
Constantine  
the great borne  
and bred in  
Britaine.

The cause how  
this Realme of  
Britaine was  
first weakened.



A Description of England, as it was divided in the Saxons time into seven kingdomes.

Heptarchia Angliae Saxonica.



Heptarchia Angliae Saxonica.

The entring and raigning of the Saxons in the Realme of England.

neclius and  
ter, sons to  
onstantinus.

This was the conning in first of the Angles or Saxons into this Realme, being yet unchristened and infidels, which was about the yere of our Lord, as William Halmesbury testifieth, foure hundred sixty and nine, the captaines of whom were Hengist and Horsa. Although the said Hengist and Saxons at their first conning, for all their subtilt working and cruell attempt, had no quiet settling in Britaine, but were driven out divers times by the valiantnesse of Aurelius Ambrosius, and his brother Uter above mentioned, who raigned after that among the Britaines: yet notwithstanding they were not so driven out, but that they returned againe, and at length possessed all, dividing the Britaines (such as remained) into Cambria, which we call now Wales, Hengist (as some Chronicles record) raigned thre and forty yeres, and died in Kent. Galfridus in suo Britannico, saith, that hee was taken in warre by Aurelius Ambrosius, and beheaded at Coningsburgh, after hee had raigned nine and thirty yeres.

After the death of Hengist, his sonne Msea raigned foure and twenty yeres, leaving his son Mda, to whose raigne with his son Zimenicus, hussories

doe attribute thre and fifty yeres, who also were slaine by Uter Pendragon, Polychronicon, lib. 5. cap. 4.

Ex Polychron.  
lib. 5. cap. 4.

The Saxons, after they were settled in the possession of England, distributed the Realme among themselves first in seven parts, every part to have his king, that is: the first to be the King of Kent; the second to be King of Sussex and Southrie, holding his palace at Cicester; the third king was of Wessex; the fourth king of Essex; the fifth king was of the East Angles, that is, of Cambridgeshire, Dorset, and Suffolke; the sixth king of Mercia, or Herecia, and in his kingdome were contained the countreies of Lincoln, Leicesters, Huntingdon, Northampton, Oxford, Derby, Warwick, &c. the seventh king had all the countreies beyond Humber, and was called King of Northumberland.

Seven Kings  
raing in Eng-  
land.

Of the seven kingdomes, although they continued not long, but at length ioynd all in one, coming all into the possession & subiection of the West Saxons; yet for the space they continued (which was with continuall trouble and warres among themselves) this is the race and order of them, as in this Table particularly followeth to be seen.

A Table

Ex Galfrido in  
suo Britannico.



## A Table describing the seven Kingdomes of the Saxons, raigning here in England.

**I**N the time of Vortiger above mentioned, beganne the raigne of the Saxons in this Land, the which comming out of three sorts of the Germane people (to wit) the Saxons, the Iutes and Angles, replenished the Land, of them called now Anglia. Of whom first Hengistus raigned in Kent, which countrey of Kent he had obtained by Rowen his daughter, of King Vortiger, which was about the yeere of our Lord (as some doe count) 476, or (as I find) in the computation of our English Tables 456. in some 463. After Hengist came in Otha, with Eofa, or Iffe his kinsman: who afterward succeeded the said Hengist in Kent. Not long after came in another company of the Saxons, with Elle their Captaine, which planted themselves in Southsax. And after them againe another garrison of the Saxons, with Cerdice their Captaine, which did occupy the West part of the Land, called by them Westsaxon. And so likewise the other multitude of the Saxons after them, which as yet being unchristened and infidels, divided the whole Land among themselves into seven kingdomes, as in this Table followeth.

### (456) The Kings of Kent, with the yeeres how long they raigned.

The Kings of Kent.	Hengistus slaine. 31	
	Eofa, or Iffe. 24	
	Otha, or Otha. 26	
	Emmericus, or Emmericus. 26	
	Ethelbertus, the first of the Saxon Kings that received the faith by Augustine, An. reg. 35. 56	This Ethelbert first of all the Saxons, received the faith, and subdued all the other six Kingdomes, except onely the King of Northumberland.
	Edbaldus. 24	
	Ercombertus. 24	Ercombert commanded Kent first to be fasted in his dominion.
The Kings of Kent.	Egbertus, or Edbrieth, slaine. 9	Egbert killed two sons of his Uncle.
	Lotharias slaine. 12	
	Edrichus. 6	Unto the time of Edrich all the bishops of Canterbury were Italians.
	Edredus. 7	Some chronicles do place these two, Edredus and Edithardus, after Edrich, and give to them seven yeeres, some againe doe omit them.
	Edithardus. 33	
	Egbert, or Egbert. 23	Betweene the raigne of Alric and Guthred, some stories do insert the reign of Egbert, which reigned two yeeres.
	Ethelbert. 11	
	Alricus. 34	
	Egbertus, surnamed Bren. 2	
	Guthredus. 18	
	Waldredus, expelled. 18	

In the raige of this Waldred, the kingdom of Kent was translated to Egbertus, otherwise called Egbert, k. of Westsaxons, who subduing the foresaid Waldred, in the yeere 832. gave the said kingdom to Athelstan his younger son. After whose decease it came to Ethelwolfe the elder son of Egbert, and so was united to the Westsaxons, who then began to be the Monarch of the whole land. This kingdom began nere about the yeere of our Lord, 456. and continued 342. yeeres, and had fiftene Kings.

### (478) The Kings of Southsax, with the yeeres of their raigne.

Southsax, now called Suffex.	Elle, or Alle. 31	Of this Cissa came Cisseler, which hee builded, and where he raigned.
	Cissa. 31	
	Pancanleus, or Pancanleodus. 2	This Pethanleod sameth by some old stories to be a Brittain, and the chief marshall of King Alar, whom North the Saxon slew.
	North. 2	This North a Saxon

### The Kings of Suffex.

Ethelwolfe.	
Medwallus.	
Condebertus.	
Ethelredus, or Ethereus.	
Adelwold, or Ethelwaldus slaine.	
Adelrich, or Here.	
thunus, slaine.	5
Adunus.	15

came in at the haven, which now is called of him Northmouth.

Because I find but little mention of these two, I thinke it rather like to be the same Ethelwold or Ethelwaldus, which after followeth.

Of Condebertus and Ethelred I find no mention but in one table onely, supposing therefore that the true names of these were Ercombertus and Egbertus which were Kings of Kent the same time, and peradventure, might then rule in Suffex.

This Adelwold was the first King of Suffex christened, and as Fabian saith, the fourth k. of the Southsaxons; as others say the seventh, so uncertain be the histories of this kingdom.

This kingdom endured the shortest season of all others, and soonest passed into other kingdomes, in the daies (as some write) of Iue King of Westsax, and so endured not above an hundred and twelue yeeres under seven, or at most eleven Kings, beginning first in the yeere of the Lord 478. and about the thirtieth yeere of the first coming of the Saxons.

### (522) The principall kingdom of the West-saxons, and of their raignes.

The Kings of Westfax.	Cerdicus, or Cerdicus. 17	This kingdom contained Sumersetschire, Barchire, Dorsetshire, Devonshire, Cornwal, &c.
	Henricus. 26	
	Chelungus. 30, 33	
	lib. cycl.	
	Celricus, or Ceolfricus. 5	
	Celwinus, or Ceolwinus. 14	
	Kingilfus and Daicelinus. 32	This Kingilfus was first King christened in that Province, converted by Birinus, after map Donke.
	Kingwalkins. 31	
	Sorbarga. 1	
	Celwinus, Alctwinus, or Elctwinus. 2	
	Centwinus dyed at Rome. 7	
	Cedwallus. 3	Cedwalla went to Rome and there was christened and died.



Ina, or Ius. 35  
 Eadardus, or Athelardus. 14  
 Cuthredus, or Cuthbert. 16  
 Sigebertus, or Sigeharus, flaine. 1  
 Minulfus, or Minelofus, flaine. 31  
 Withricus. 13

Egbertus, or Egbrichtus, otherweise Athelbertus, or Athelbich, &c. 37

Ina also went to Rome, and was made monke.

Sigebert for his pride and cruelty was depose of his people. And as he had killed befoze one of his faithful counsell, giving him wholsome counsel: so after was he flaine of the same counsellors with heards, as he hid himselfe in a wood.

This Egbert was first expelled by Withricus, who after returned againe and raigning, was much derided and scorned with mocking rimes (for a coward) of Bernulfus B. of Mercia. At length the said Egbert subdued him first, then all the rest, to his Kingdome: causing the whole land to be called no more Britaine, but Anglia. Concerning the other kings after him in that lordship hereafter followeth.

10

10

30

The Kings of Northumberland.

Eadricus Bernicia, flaine.

Osualdus, of Northumberland, flaine.

Oswinus, Northumberland. 28

Oswinus raigned together with Oswin in Deira, flaine. 7

Egfridus Northumberland, flaine. 15

Alfredus, Northumberland, flaine. 20

Alfredus, Northumberland, flaine. 11

Kenredus, North. 2

Osricus, North. 20

Celulfus Northumb. made a monk. 9

Egbertus or Eadbertus, Northumberland, monk. 22

Osulfus, Northumberland, flaine. 1

Hollo, or Ethelwold Northumb. 11

In some Chronicles five yeres.

they rebelled from the christian faith, and were both flaine miserably by Cedwalla a Britaine, which then raigned in Northumberland, and in Mercia.

This Osualdus, called S. Osuald, fought with Cedwalla, and Benda with a small army, & by strength of prayer vanquished them in the field. He sent for Aidanus into Scotland to preach in his countrey, and as he preached in Scotland, the king expounded in English. He was a great giver of almes to the poore. Of his other acts more appeareth hereafter.

This Oswin fighting against Benda, bowled to make his daughter Elfred a nun, giving with her twelve lordships, to build twelve monasteries, five in Bernicia, five in Deira.

The same Oswin, in the beginning of his raigne took one Oswin the son of Edwin to be his partner over the countrey of Deira. Afterward causing him to be killed, took to him another called Eadwald, the sonne of Osuald. Of this Oswin more followeth hereafter to be declared.

This Egfrid married Ethelgida, who being twelve yeres married to him, could after by no meanes be allured to lie with him, but obtaining of him licence, was made nun, and then abbess of Ely. She made but one meale a day, & never wore linen. At last the same Egfrid, fighting against the Scots, was flaine in the field by a traine of Scots, slaying themselves to fly.

Of this Alfride Beda in his history testifieth, that he was exactly and perfectly scene in the holy scriptures, and recovered much that his predecessors had lost before: Bed. lib. 4. ca. 24. Some say he raigned not eight yeres.

Alfred began his raigne, being but eight yeres old, and raigned the space of ten yeres.

Some affirme that Osricus raigned but eleven yeres.

This Celulf, after he had raigned eight yeres, was made a monk. To him Beda wrote his booke.

Hollo by the subtil traine of Alfredus was made away, which Alfredus also

Alfredus,

This Egbert subdued all the other seven Kingdomes, and began the monarchy of all the Saxons, which after by Alaric was perfected, as hereafter followeth (the Lord willing) to be declared. This Kingdome of the Westsaxons began the yere of grace 522. and as it subdued all the others, so it did the longest continue, till about the coming of William Conquerour, which is about the time of 554 yeres.

# 547) The Kings of Northumberland, with the yeres of their raigne.

Northumberland.

Ida. 12 This Ida of his wife had six children, Adda, Elricus, Dimerus, Theobodus; of concubines other six.

After Ida the Kingdome of Northumberland was divided into two provinces, Deira and Bernicia.

Alle or Elle, Deirorum. 30 This Alle was the son of

Adda, Bernicorum. 7 Alle, and raigned in Deira.

Some Chronicles set under Adda, to raigne in Bernicia, these Kings, Clappa or Clappa, Theomulfus, or Husa, or Theodwalnus, Frithulfus, Theodoricus.

Alricus, or Alfricus Deirorum. 5 This Alfricus, was the sonne of Ida, and raigned five yeres.

Ethelfridus Bernicorum. 60 This Ethelfridus was he that slew the Monkes of Bangor, to the number of 2200, which came to pray for the good successe of the Brittaines; and by his wife Accan, the daughter of Elle, he had seven sons, Eadfridus, Osualdus, Oswinus, Osacus, Osmundus, Osca, Flor. Histor.

Edwinus Northumberland, flaine. 17 This Edwinus was the first of the Northumberland kings, which was converted and christened by Paulinus Bishop of London.

Osricus Deirorum, flaine. These two are put out of the race of Kings, because

40

50

60

70



Alfredus, Northum.	10	himselfe, after he had raigned ten yeres, was expelled by his owne people. In some Chronicles this Alfredus raigned but eight yeres.
Ethelbertus, or Edelredus, Northumberland,	5	expelled.
Alfwoldus, Northumberland, slaine.	11	
Alfredus.		
Ethelbertus, or Adelwaldus North. slaine.	16	

¶ After this Ethelbert, the kingdome of Northumberland ceased the space of five and twenty yeres, till Egbertus King of the Westsaxons subdued also them, as he did the other Saxons to his Dominion. After the which Egbert King of the Westsaxons succeeded in Northumberland his sonne.

Ethelwulfus. Ethelbaldus. } Kings of Westsaxons, rainging  
Ethelbertus. Ethelredus. } in Northumberland. 20

In the time of this Ethelredus, there were two under-kings in Northumberland, Ella and Osbriht, whom the Danes overcame, and raigned in their place, whose names were these :

Erbertus. Gurthed. } Danes.  
Richi. Guthrid. }  
Egbert.

¶ After the raigne of these foresaid Danes, the kingdome of Northumberland came into the hands of the Westsaxons, in the time of Athelstan, and his brother Edmund. It began first in the yere 547. and so endured 409. yeres. It contained Northshire, Nottinghamshire, Darbyshire, the Bishopricke of Durham, Copeland and others.

### (551) The Kings of Mercia, Merceland. Mercia.

Gyda, or Creedda.		
Wibba.	35	
Coelus.	20	
Penda, slaine.	10	
	30	Penda slew in battel Edwin and Oswald kings of Northumberland. Also Sigebert, Coake & Anna, kings of the East Angles. Also he drove out Kenwalda, king of Westsaxons.
Peda, or Meda, slaine by his wife.		Under Peda and Wilfridus Christi faith was received in these parts, they being converted by Finianus, Bishop. The same Peda raigned in a part of Mercia, with his brother Wilfridus, who were both the sonnes of Penda.
Wilfridus.	29	This Wilfridus by his wife Ermeburg, had three daughters, Milburg, Hilgith, and Hilgith, holy virgins.
Adelredus, or Ethelred, made a Monk.	30. or 19.	This Adelredus, or Ethelredus, was Sonke of Bardene, whose sisters were Kinedrid, and Kinfith, holy virgins.
Kenredus made also Monk at Rome.	5	In the time of this Celotred was Guthlake, otherwise called S. Guthlake, the popish heremit of Crowland.
Colredus, or Keleredus.		

The Kings of Mercia.

Ethelbaldus, slaine. 41  
Under Ethelbaldus died Peda. Ethelbald gave that all Churches should be free from all exactions and publike charges.

Bernredus. 1 This Bernred for his pride and stoutnesse toward his people, was by them deposed, and the same yere by the iust judgement of God burned: Histor. Carient.

Offa. 39 Offa causing or consenting to the death of good Ethelbert, King of the East Angles, peaceably coming to marry his daughter, for repentance caused the patience first to be given to Rome, and there did his penance.

Kenelme murdered. Ceolwulfus expelled 1. or 3. This Kenelme being of seven yeres of age, was wickedly slaine, after he had raigned six months.

Bernulfus slaine. 3 This Ludocanus, after the second yere of his raigne, here insert Hilefred, was slaine of Egbert, King of the Westsaxons, Wilastus, or Wilthlacus beheaded. 12 by whom the rest of the Saxons were also subdued.

¶ This Wilthlacus, in the beginning of his raigne, was banquished by Egfrid, King of Westsax, to whom he became tributary with his successors here following.

Berthulfe. 12 Celustus. 1 Some writers say that these kings  
Buthredus. 20 Elfredus. 1 were subdued by the Danes.

¶ After this Elfrid, the kingdome of the Mercians was translated unto the Westsaxons, in the later time of King Alfred, or in the beginning of Edwardus Senior, and so was adjoined to the Westsaxons, beginning in the yere 561. It endured for the space of 250. yeres, till about the later end of Aluretus, by whom it was joyned to the kingdome of Westsaxons. This kingdome stretched out to Huntingdonshire, Hertfordshire, Gloucestershire, Worcester, Warwick, Litchfield, Coventry, Cheshire, Darbyshire, Staffordshire, Shrewsbury, Oxford, Buckingham, Dorchester, Lincoln, Leicester, &c.

### (561) The Kings of the East Saxons, East Sax.

Erchwinus.	35	
Sledda.	17	
Sebertus, or Sigebertus.	14	This Sebertus, nephew to Ethelbert King of Kent, among these kings was first christened by Pelitus, which made the Church of Pauls.
Serredus and Sewardus, brethren, slaine.		Serred, and Seward, and Sigebert expelled Pelitus the Bishop, because he would not minister to them the sacramentall bread, they being not baptised.
Sigebertus Parvus.	23	This Sigebertus Parvus with his brother Sebertus were slaine of King Gillus and Swiftelinus his brother, by the iust judgement of God: for they revolted againe from their faith, and expelled Pelitus Bishop of London.
Segebertus Bonus, or Sibertus, slaine.		This Segebertus Bonus or Sibertus, much resorting to Almie King of Northumberland, by his perswasion was brought to Christian baptisme, baptised of Finianus, Bishop, to whom also was sent Cedde with other Ministers to preach and to batise in his
Swiftelinus.	14	Sigbertus

The Kings of the East Saxons.



Sigherius, some of  
Sigebertus Par-  
bus.  
Sebbi some of Se-  
wardus, which was  
made a monke.  
Sigehardus, & Sue-  
fridus, byethzen. 8  
Ossa. 5  
Scleredus, oz Colre-  
dus, laine. 38  
Swithredus.

countrey. At last hee was  
laine of his men about  
him, using too much to spare  
his enemies, and to forgive  
their injuries that repen-  
ted. Flor.

This Sigherius & Sebbi  
first fell to idolatry, then  
through the meanes of  
Wolferus king of Mercia  
were reduced, and at last  
Sebbi became a monke.

Ossa after he had raigned  
a while became a monk at  
Rome.

Beorna.

Ethelredus laine. 5

26

Ossa king of Mercia, to  
marry with Aithid his  
daughter, by the sinister sus-  
pition of Ossa, and wicked  
counsell of Kineswina his  
wife, was cruelly put to  
death in the house of Ossa.  
For the which cause Ossa  
afterward repenting went  
to Rome, where hee made  
himselfe a monke.

Ethelbrius laine. 5

After this full murther of Ethelbert, the  
kingdome of Eastangles, during the time of cer-  
taine yeeres, was in great trouble and desolation,  
under others kings and tyrants; sometime the  
king of Westsar; sometime of Kent, oz of Mercia,  
having dominion over them, till the coming of  
S. Edmund, which was the last king there ruling  
under the Westsaxons.

S. Edmund, mar- }  
tyred. 16 }

After the death of Saint Edmund, being laine  
of the infidell Danes, the kingdome remained with  
the Danes fifty yeeres, till at length Edward king  
of the Westsaxons expelled the Danes, and joyned  
to his kingdome. It began about the yeere of our  
Lord 561, and continued nere about 377. yeeres,  
scabian numbreth but twelve kings, but in others  
I finde more.

The metropolitan See of this province of East-  
angles was first at a towne called Dunmoke, oz  
Dunwich, which in times past hath been a famous  
and populous towne, with a Major and foure Wal-  
liffes, and also divers parish Churches & Hospitals,  
wherunto greatly priviledges by divers kings have  
been granted: which towne is now fallen into ru-  
ine and decay, and more then halfe consumed by the  
eating in of the Sea, as also greatly impoverished  
by losse of the haven, which heretofore hath flouri-  
shed with divers tall ships belonging to the same,  
(the inhabitants thereof being not able of them-  
selves to repaire it without the helpe of other good  
people) where the first bishop was Felix, a Bur-  
gundian, who late there fourtane yeeres. After this,  
unto the time of Egebert king of Westsar, this  
Province was ever ruled by two bishops, whereof  
the one had his See at Dunmoke, now called  
Dunwich; the other at Hemham where twelve  
late one after another. From thence it was tran-  
slated to Thetford, where late thre bishops. At last  
by bishop Werbert it was removed to Norwich,  
where he erected a monastery of monkes.

This Dun-  
wich lieth upon  
the Sea side  
in Suffolke.

And thus standeth the order and race of the  
Saxon kings, rainging together with the Britains  
in this Realme. Now followeth the description of  
the Britaine kings, rainging with the Saxons in  
like manner.

Although the miserable Britaines thus were be-  
reaved of their land, by the cruel subtilty of the Sax-  
ons; yet were they not so driven out oz expelled, but  
that a certaine kingdome remained among them  
in some part of the land, namely about Cornewall,  
and the parts of Cambria, which is divided in two  
parts; Southwales called Demetia, and North-  
wales called Menecdoctia. The said Britaines more  
over, through the valiant acts of their kings, some-  
times raigned also in other countries, displacing the  
Saxons, and recovering againe their owne, some-  
times more, sometimes lesse, till the time of Care-  
cius, when as the Britaines being depoyed by Co-  
mundus (whose helpe they themselves sent for out  
of Ireland against Carecius their wicked king ut-  
terly lost their land and kingdome: being thence dri-  
ven utterly into Wales and Cornwall, in the yeeres  
of our Lord 570. What the order of these kings  
was, what were their acts, their names and times  
when

This Swithredus was subdued unto Egebert king of West-  
saxons, albeit London remained under the Mercians to the time  
that they also were subdued to the Westsaxons. This kingdome  
began in the yeere 561, and so continued till the time of Egeber-  
tus. Some stories say it continued to the time of Edward son of  
Alfredus, about the coming of the Danes, & contained under it  
the Lordship of Middlesex & London. The metropolitan See of  
this province of Essex was London, where the famous church of  
S. Paul was builded by Ethelbert king of Kent, and Sigebert  
king of Essex, whom Ethelbert had lately before turned to  
Christs faith: whereof the first Bishop was Hellitus, the second  
Bishop was Cedrus, the third came in by simony, whose name  
was Wline; Malmesb. de vitis pont. After him was Erkenwal-  
dus, of whom writeth Beda, that hee being diseased in his legges  
that hee could not goe nor ride, yet would be carried about in a  
litter to preach in his diocesse, &c. Although William Palmel,  
bury writing of the bishops of London, in his booke De vitis pont.  
saith that Mauricius, first the kings Chancellour, then Bishop  
there, did first begin this so large and famous building of the  
Church of S. Paul in London: which worke after him Richard  
his succellour did prosecute, bestowing all the rents of his Bi-  
shoprike upon the same, and yet was scarcely scene. Yet herein  
may be answered peradventure, that the Church builded before  
by king Ethelbert & king Sigebert, might be overthowne by  
the Danes, and afterward was reedified by these Bishops above  
mentioned.

(561)  
East-  
angles.

# The Kings of Eastangles, with the yeeres of their raigne.

Uffa, oz Uffa. 30  
Titulus, oz Titila. 13  
Redwaldus. 12

Of this Uffa the people  
of Northfolke were then  
called Uskins.

Redwaldus first was con-  
verted in Kent; afterward  
through the wicked per-  
suasions of his wife and  
other, hee joyned idolatry  
with christianity.

Egfrwaldus, oz Eopp-  
waldus, laine. 38

Notwithstanding his son  
Egfrwaldus, through the  
meanes of Edwin king  
of Northumberland, was  
brought to the perfect faith  
of Christ, and therein faith-  
fully did continue.

Sigebertus oz Sib-  
rect first a monke,  
laine. 3

This Sigebert made  
himselfe a monke, and af-  
terward brought out to  
fight against Wenda with  
a white sticke in his hand,  
was laine in the field.

Egri-  
nus, laine. 3

The daughters of Anna  
were Serburga, Ethelber-  
ta, and Saint Ethelbreda.

Anna, laine. 3

This Ethelredus for his  
holinesse and godly vertues  
is counted for a Saint: hee  
innocently coming to

Adelher, oz Adeler-  
dus, laine. 2

Adelwoldus, oz C-

Adulphus. 25

Elfwoldus. 12

The Kings  
of the East-  
angles.



When they reigned, in this brieft table under written is exprest. Wherein first is to be p<sup>r</sup>emonished, that Constantinus secundus had three children, to wit Constant which was made a monk in Winchester, and after made a King: the second was Aurelius Ambrosius: the third was Uter Pendragon. This being premised, we will now enter the description of our table, beginning with Hoxtiger.

A Table declaring the Kings of Britaine which I 0  
reigned together with the Saxons, after their  
comming into their land.

Kings of  
Britaine  
which here  
reigned in  
the time  
of the  
Saxons.

Hoxtiger.  
Hoxtiner.  
Hoxtiger againe.  
Aurelius Ambrosius  
Uter Pendragon.  
Arthur.

Constantinus;  
Aurelius.  
Conarus.  
Hoxtiperius.  
Halgo.  
Carecius.

Here is to be understood that these Britaine Kings above mentioned did not so raigne here in this land, from the time of Hoxtiger, that they had the full government ober all the whole Realme, but onely ober parcels or parts, such as by force of armes they could either hold or winne from the Saxons: which comming in daily and growing upon them, did so replenish the land with multitudes of them, that the Britaines at length were neither able to hold that which they had, nor to recover that which they lost: leading example to all ages and countries, what it is, first to let in forein Nations into their dominion, but especially what it is for Princes to joyne in marriage with infidels: as this Hoxtiger did with Hingiffs daughter, which was the mother of all this mischief: giving to the Saxons not onely strength, but also occasion and courage to attempt that which they did. Neither was this considered before of the Britaine Lords and Nobility: who worthily being therewith offended, justly deposed their King, and enthroned Hoxtiner his sonne in his roome. By the which Hoxtiner, being a puissant Prince, the Saxons were then repulged and driven againe into Germany, where they stayed a while till the death of Hoxtiner, whom Kowen daughter of Hengist caused traitorously to be poisoned. When Hoxtiger being restored againe to his Kingdome, through the entreaty of Kowen his wife, sent into Germany againe for Hengist, who eftsones making his returne, came in with a navy of three hundred ships well appointed. The Nobles of Britaine hearing this prepared themselves on the contrary side in all forcable wise to put them off. But Hengist through Kowen his daughter so laboured the King, excusing himselfe, and saying that he brought not the multitude to worke any violence either against him or against his country, but onely thinking that Hoxtiner had yet bene alive, whom he minded to impugne for the Kinges sake, and to take his part. And now for so much as he heareth of the death of Hoxtiner his enemy: he therefore committeth both himselfe and his people to his disposition, to appoint how few or how many of them he would to remaine within his land: the rest should returne. And if it so pleased the King to appoint day and place where they might meete and talke together of the matter, both he and his would stand to such order as the King with his Councell should appoint. With these faire words the King and his Nobles well contented did assigne to them both day and place, which was in the towne of Ambry, where he meant to talke with them: adding this condition withall, that each part should come without any manner of weapon. Hengist, shewing himselfe well agreed thereto, gave privy intelligence of his doo, that each man should carry with him secretly in his hose a long knife, with their watchword also given unto them when they should draw their knives: wherewith every Saxon should (and so did) kill the

Britaine, with whom he talked, as is above declared. The Britaine Lords being slaine, the Saxons tooke Hoxtiger the King and bound him: for whose ransom they required to be delivered to them the Cities of London, Pothe, Lincoln, Winchester, with other the most strongest holds within the land: which being to them granted, they begin to make spoyle and haboake of the Britaine Nation, destroying the Citizens, plucking downe Churches, killing up the Priests, burning the books of the holy Scripture, leaving nothing undone that tyranny could worke, which was about the yere of our Lord 462. The king seeing this miserable slaughter of the people fled into Wales.

This while Aurelius Ambrosius, and Uter Pendragon, brethren to King Constant above mentioned, whom Hoxtiger wickedly caused to be killed, were in little Britaine. To whom the Britaines sent word desiring their aid in helping their country. Aurelius, understanding the woefull state of the realme, spæbeth him over to satisfie their desire, and to rescue what in him was their necessity. Who, at his first comming eftsones being crowned for their King, seeketh out wicked Hoxtiger, the cause of all this trouble and murder of King Constant his brother. And finding him in Wales in a strong tower, wherein he had immured himselfe, setteth him and his cattle on fire. That done he moved his power against the Saxons with whom, and with Cle captaine of the Southsaxons (who then was newly come over) he had divers conflicts.

Our English old Chronicles make record that Hoxtiner the brother of Hengist was slaine before in the time of Hoxtiner. The same also do record that this Hengist, was taken prisoner in the field, fighting against Aurelius Ambrosius: who then consulting with his Nobles and Barons what was to be done with him, the bishop of Glocester called Eldadus, standing up, gave this counsell, saying: that if all men would deliver him, yet he with his owne hands would cut him in pieces: alleaging the example of Samuel against Agag King of the Amalechites, taken by King Saul in the field, whom the said Samuel caused to be cut in pieces. Even so (saith he) doe you to this Agag here: that as he hath made many a woman widowed, and without children, so his mother may be made this day of him likewise. And so was Hengist taken out of their City by Eldad Consul or Major of Glocester, and there was beheaded, if truth or credit be to be given to these our old Britaine stories: wherof I have nothing certainly to pronounce, but that I may suspect the truth thereof, which was about the yere of our Lord 480. Henr. Hunting. Galfr. cum aliis.

A certaine ancient written history I have in Latine, compiled in the fourteenth yere of King Richard the second, and by him caused to be written as the title declareth: which because it beareth no name of the author, I call it by the name of him of whom I borrowed this booke, with many other likewise without name, Historia Cariana. This history recordeth that Hengist died in Kent the two and thirtieth yere of his raigne: which if it be true, then is it false that he was taken at Cuninburgh, and slaine in the north. This Aurelius Ambrosius before mentioned, is thought of Polydozus Virgilinus citing the authority of Bede, to defend of the stocke of the Romans: which as it is not impossible to be true, so this is certaine by the full accord of all our old written stories, that both the said Aurelius and his brother Uter Pendragon, being the sonnes of Constantinus, brother to Andonens King of little Britaine, were nursed and brought up in England in their tender age, and instructed by Guitelinus Archbishop of London, and after the murder of Constant their elder brother, were conveyed from hence to little Britaine: whereby it is manifest that they were borne in this land, and though their father were

The King ransomed.  
The Saxons enter possession of the Land.  
The Christian Britaines persecuted of the infidell Saxons.

Anno 462.

Aurelius Ambrosius returneth into Britaine.

Aurelius crowned King of Britaine.

Hoxtiger burned in his tower.

Hoxtiner slaine. Hengist taken in the field.

The counsell of Eldadus Bishop of Glocester.

Hengist beheaded.

Anno 480.

Ex Henr. Huntingdonensi, Galfrido, & chronico quodam Cariensi.

The uncertainty of our old Britaine stories.

Ex historia Cariana.

Aurelius Ambrosius King.

Example what it is to let in strange Nations.

Marriage with infidels what destruction it worketh.

The second returne of Hengist into Britaine.

The dissimbling words of the Saxons to deceive the Britaine.

Some young laces, the watchword. All the nobility of the Britaines destroyed in one day.



ture a Romane, as Polydorus pretendeth, yet like it is that they were Britaines bozne, and had a Britaine to their mother.

After the death of Aurelius, who (as the story saith) was poisoned by the crafty meanes of Valentinus sonne of Mortiger (suborning one, under the weed of a monk, to play the Whysittian and so to poison him) next succeeded his brother Aler surnamed Penbrazgon, about the yere of our Lord 497, who fighting against Mda and Cola, took them and brought them to London there to be kept: but they breaking out of prison returned into Germany for more aide. In this meane time, daily recourse was of Sarons, with great companies coming out of Sarony: with whom the Britaines had diuers and sundry conflicts, sometimes winning, sometimes losing. Not long after Mda and Cola, renewing their power in Germany, in all most speedy haste did returne againe, and ioyne with the other Sarons against the Britaines. Here began the state of miserable Britaine more and more to decay, while the idolatrous Sarons preailed in number and strength against the Christian Britaines: oppressing the people, throwing downe Churches and Monasteries, murdering the Prelates, sparing neither age nor person, but waiking Christianity almost through the whole realme. To these miseries it fell moreover, that Aler their king was sicke and could not come out: notwithstanding being grieved with the lamentable destruction of his people, he caused his bed to be brought into the campe, where God gave him victory, Mda and Cola there being slaine. After this victory in short space Aler died of poison (as is said) put into a fontaine of water, whereof the king was wont to drinke, about the yere of our Lord, 516. Flor. Hist.

About which time and yere came in Stuph and Mlagarius two Nephewes of Certhice King of Westsaxons, with their companies, so violently upon the Britaines, that they of the West part of the realme were not able to resist them. Then the mercifull providence of almighty God raised up for them King Arthur, the sonne of Aler: who was then crowned after him and victoriously reigned. To this Arthur the old Britaine histories doe ascribe twelve great victories against the heathen Sarons: whose notorious and famous conquests mentioned in the Britaine stories, I leaue as I finde them; referring them to the credit of their authors in whom they are found. Notwithstanding, as I doe not thinke contrary, but God by the foresaid Arthur gave to the Britaines some stay and quietnesse during his life, and certaine of his successores: so touching certaine of his great victories and conquests, not onely over this land, but also over all Europe, I iudge them more fabulous, then that any credit should be given unto them; and more worthy to be joyned with the Aliads of Homer, then to have place in any ecclesiasticall history. After Arthur next king of the Britaines was Constantinus the third. After him Aurelius Conanus. Then Mortiporius; after whom followed Balgo, noted in stories to be a Sodomite. And after him the last King of the Britaines was Caracius, all given to civill warre, execrable to God and man. Who being chased out by the Britaines themselves, the land fell to possession of the Sarons, about the yere of our Lord 568, by whom all the clergy and the Christian ministers of the Britaines were then utterly driven out: in so much that Theonius archbishop of London, and Thadeosus archbishop of Porke, seeing their Churches all waisted, and parishes dispersed with their carriages and monuments, left their Saxes in Britaine, and fled into Cambria, which we now call Wales. Touching which matter, and touching also the cause of this desolation and ruine of the Britaines kingdome, the first fontaine and ozigen thereof partly before is declared; where was shewed in the time of Constantinus

Magnus and Maximian, how these Noble Princes with other mo,atchiebing their venturous affaires in other Countreies, toke with them great multitudes and armies out of Britaine: through the occasion whereof the land was greatly impaired and deprived of the most chiefe and principall Nobles being carried away to serbe in fozen warres. Which was no small cause, why the realme of Britaine being so waisted) was the lesse able to helpe it selfe against their enemies. Although this was not the chiefe occasion, but other causes there were greater, wherefore God by his iust iudgement suffered this plague and overthow to fall upon that people; as here out of an old author, and partly out of Gildas I have found it, so I thought to annex it in his owne words, first in Latine, then afterwarde Englishing the same for the more credit of that which shall be alleaged, in tenor as followeth.

Ex historia quadam Carnonj.

10 Nobiliores totius regni pradiatos duces sequuti fuerunt, & ignobiles remanebant, qui cum vicem nobilium obtinere coepissent, extulerunt se ultra quod dignitas expetebat. Et ob affluentiam divitiarum superbi coeperunt tali & tante fornicationi indulgere, qualis nec inter gentes audita est. Et, ut Gildas historicus testatur, non solum hoc vitium, sed omnia quae humanae naturae accidere solent, & praecipue quod totius boni evertit statum, odium veritatis, amor mendacii, susceptio mali pro bono, veneratio nequitiae pro benignitate, exceptatio sathanae pro angelo lucis: ungebantur reges, non propter dominium, sed qui ceteris crudeliores essent. Si quis vero eorum mitior, & veritati aliquatenus propior videretur, in hunc quasi Britanniae subverforem omnia odia telaeque torquebantur. Omnia quae Deo placebant & displicebant aequali lance inter eos pendebantur. Et non solum hoc secularis viri, sed & ipse grex domini, ejusque pastores sine discretione faciebant. Non igitur admirandum est degeneres tales patriam illam amittere, quam praedicto modo maculabant.

The causes of the destruction of the Britains declared.

40 In English thus: The Nobles of this realme, following the Princes and Captaines abobe named: by reason thereof the vulgar and rascall sort remained behind at home. Who, when they had gotten the roimes and places of the Nobles, they advanced themselves abobe that their dignity required. And through their abundance of riches, they surprised with pride, began to fall into such and so great fornication, as was never heard of even among the Gentiles. And as Gildas the historiographer witnesseth, not into vice onely, but also into all manner of wickednesse, whereto mans nature is inclined: and especially into that which is the overthrow of all good estates, the hatred of the truth, love of lies, imbracing of evil instead of goodnesse, regarding of mischief in stead of vertue, receiving of the Devill in stead of an Angell of light. They annointed kings, not such as could well rule a Common wealthe, but those which exceeded all other in cruelty. And if any might be perceived to be somewhat more humble or meake, or to be more inclined to favour the truth then the residue, him did every one hate and backbite as the overthrower and destroyer of Britaine. All things whether they pleased or displeased God, they regarded alike. And not secular men onely did this, but also the congregation of the Lord and their bishops and teachers without any difference at all. Therefore it is not to be marvelled, that such people so degenerating and going out of kinde should lose that countrey, which they had after this manner defiled.

In English thus.

70 And thus much hitherto concerning the history of the Britaines, till (by the grace of Christ) the order of time shall bring us hereafter to the treatise of Cedwalla and Calwalladus. Now remaineth it, in returning againe to the matter of the Sarons, to discourse particularly, that which before in the table abobe we have summarily comprehended.

Anno 497. The death of Penbrazgon King.

Remember the words of Gildas 633. hist. Carle.

The Christian Britaines persecuted by the heathen Sarons.

Anno 516.

King Arthur.

The tales of King Arthur.

Constantinus the third, Aurelius Conanus, Mortiporius, Balgo, Caracius kings of Britaine.

The archbishop of London and archbishop of Porke flee to Wales.



In this order and race of the Saxon Kings above specified, which had thus thrust out the Brittaines, and now divided their land in seven kingdomes; as there were many naughty and wicked kings (whose pernicious examples, being all set on warre and bloodshed, are greatly to be detested and eschewed of all true goodly Princes, so some there were againe (although but few) very sincere and good. But none almost from the first to the last, which was not either slaine in warre, or murdered in peace, or else constrained to make himselfe a monke. Such was the rage then and the tyranny of that time. Whether we should impute it to the corruption of mans nature, or to the just judgement of Gods hand, so disposing the matter, that as they had violently and falsely dispossessed the Brittaines of their right: so they most miserably were not onely bereaved of the Danes, and conquered at last by the Romans: but also more cruelly devoured themselves, one warring still against another, till they were never able to helpe themselves, nor yet to resist others. Of them which are noted for good among these Saxon kings, the first and principall is Ethelbertus, or Ethelbert the first King in Kent above specified: who by the meanes of Austen, and partly through his wife named Bertha, first received and preferred the Christian faith in all this land of the English Saxons, whereof moze folloiweth hereafter to be said (the Lord so permitting) as place and opportunity shall require. The next place I give to Oswaldus of Northumberland, who not onely did his endeavor in furthering the faith of Christ amongst his people; but also being King, disdained not himselfe to stand up, and interpet to his nobles and subiects the preaching of Aidanas, preaching Christ to them in his scottish language. In the same commendation also like as in the same line, cometh his uncle Edwin King of Northumberland, a good prince, and the first receiver of Christs faith in that land, by the meanes of his wife, and Paulinus bishop. Adde to these also Sigebert, first christened King of the East Angles; and Sebert, first christened King of Essex: of whom the one was a great furtherer of religion, and setter up of scholles: the other, which is Sebert or Serpicht, was Paphie to Ethelbert of Kent, under whom he ruled in Essex. By the which Ethelbert, in the time of the said Sebert, the Church of Pauls was builded at London, and Christian faith much enlarged, &c. Of the same name there was also another Ethelbert King of the East Angles, a good Prince: who by the advice of his counsell perswaded to marriage (though against his will) went peaceably to King Offa for dispensage of Athelred his daughter: where the good King meaning innocently, through the sinister and devilish counsell of King Offa his wife, was secretly beheaded and made away. Whereupon Offa, through repentance thereof, made the first Peter pence to be given to S. Peters Church in Rome.

In the catalogue of these good Kings is also to be numbered Kenelmus King of the Mercians, and Edmundus King of the East Angles: of the which two, the first was falsely and abominably circumvented and beheaded, by the meanes of his cruell sister and his tutor, as he was in his hunting at Corsecafle. The other which is called King Edmund the martyr, was slaine at Bury, or (as some write) at the castle of Halesdon by the Danes: upon what occasion, histories doe vary. The author of Flores historiarum faith, it was by reason of one Lothbroke a Dane: who being of the kings blood, and being with his hawke on the sea side in a little boate, was driven by the force of the weather into the coast of Northfolke, where he being presented to King Edmund was retained in the court with great labour: till at length one Bericke the kings falconer, envying and despising him for his great dexterity in that faculty, privily did murder him in a word. This being at

last spied, as murder lightly will come out, Beric k was set in Lothbrokes boate alone, without all tackling, to be committed unto the sea: and, as it chanced was driven into Denmarke, who there being scene in Lothbrokes boate was strictly examined of the party. He then to excuse himselfe, falsely said he was slaine by the commandment of the king. Upon the occasion whereof Inguar and Hubba, sonnes to the said Lothbroke, gathering an army of Danes, invaded first Northumberland: after that bursting into Northfolke on overy side, sent this message to King Edmund after this tenor: Signifying that King Inguar the victorious Prince (dead both by sea and land) as he had subiected divers other lands under him, to arriving now to the coasts of Northfolke, where he intendeth to winter, chargeth and commandeth him to divide with him his old treasures, and his fathers riches, and so to rule under him: which if he would not doe, but would contemne his power so strongly furnished with such an army, he should be judged as unworthy both of Kingdoms and life, &c. The King hearing this message, not a little astonished thereat, calling his Councell about him, consulted with them, especially with one of his bishops being then his secretary, what was best to be done: who fearing the Kings life, exhorted him by word and divers examples to agree to the message. At this the King a while holding his peace, at length thereto made answer againe in these wordes, saying: Goe (saith he) tell your Lord and let him know that Edmundus the christened King, for the love of this temporall life, will not subiect himselfe to a pagan Duke, unlesse before he become a Christian, &c. The messenger taking his answer was not so soone out of the gates, as Inguar meeting him, and bidding him to be short in declaring his answer, caused all the Kings garrison to be set round about. Some say that the King flying to Thetford there pitcht a field with the Danes; but the Danes prebailing, the good King from thence did flie to the castle of Halesdon above mentioned: where he being pursued of the Danes was there taken, and at length being bound to a stake, there, of the raging Danes was shot to death. And thus much for the good kings.

Now as concerning those Kings which made themselves monkes, which in number be seven or eight, although the example be rare and strange, and much commended of the chroniclers of that time: yet I cannot rashly assent to their commendation, albeit the case thereof is no matter of our bishop. First in altering their estate from Kings to monkes, if they did it to finde more ease, and lesse trouble thereby, I see not how that excuse standeth with the office of a good man, to change his publike vocation for respect of private commodity. If feare of jeopardy and danger did drive them therunto, what praise or commendation deserbe they in so doing: let the monish bishops judge what they list. We seemeth so much praise as they deserbe in prohibiting their owne safety, so much they deserbe againe to be discommended in forsaking the Common wealth. If they did it (as most like it is) for holiness sake, thinking in that kind of life to serve and please God better, or to merit more toward their salvation then in the estate of a king, therein they were far deceived: not knowing that the salvation which cometh of God, is to be measured and esteemed, not by mans merits, or by any perfection of life, or by difference of any vocation, more of one then another, but onely by the free grace of the Gospell, which freely justifieth all them that faithfully beleve in Christ Jesus. But here will be said againe peradventure, in the solitary life of monkery be fewer occasions of evils then in Kings courts: wherefore that life serveth more to holiness, and is more to be preferred then the other. To this I answer: To avoid the occasions of evill is good where strength lacketh to resist, but other wise, where

This Bertha being a Christian was married unto Ethelbert upon the condition that he should be suffered to enjoy her religion.

Ethelbertus King of Kent. Oswaldus King of Northumberland. Edwinus King of Northumberland. Sigebertus of the East Angles. Sebert or Serpicht of Essex. The first building of the Church of Pauls in London.

Ethelbert King of the East Angles.

Peter pence how they first came up to be paid to Rome.

Kenelmus King of the Mercians. S. Edmund King of the East Angles.

The message of Inguar to King Edmund.

The martyrdom of King Edmund in Northfolke.

A question. Whether King which made themselves monkes did well in so doing or not?

Answer. The vocation being given to carry, but to resist occasions of evill it is a good mans part.

Duty



duty and charge bindeth to carry; there to avoyd the occasions of evil, where rather they are to be resisted, rather declareth a weaknesse of the man then deserveth any praise. As it is truly said of Tully: Out of Asia (saith he) to live a good life, is no gods mercy; but in Asia where so great occasions of evils abound, there to live a good man, that is praise worthy. With the like reason I may inferre, if a man be called to be a King, there not to change the vocation for avoyding of occasions, but rather to resist occasions, and to keepe his vocation, declareth a good and perfect man. But of these by-matters hitherto sufficient.

These things now thus premised, concerning the order and raigne of Kings, as is above specified: consequently it remaineth to enter the tractation of such things, as in the time & raigne of the foresaid Kings happened in the Church: first putting the reader againe in mind of the former persecutions within the realme, partly before touched in the time of the Britaine Kings, which specially were three or foure before the coming of Austine into England.

1. The first was under Dioclesian, and that not onely in England, but generally throughout all the Romane Monarchy, as is above specified. In this persecution Albanus, Julius, Aaron, with a great number more of other good Christian Britains were martyred for Christs name.

2. The second persecution or destruction of Christian faith, was by the invading of Snabius and Helga, whereof the first was captain of the Huns, the other of the Picts. These two tyrants, after the cruell slaughter of Ursula, and other 11000. noble virgins, made their roade into Britaine, hearing the same to be destitute of the strength of men. At what time they made miserable murder of Christs saints spoiling and wasting Churches, without mercy either of women or children, sparing none.

3. The third persecution came by Hengist, and the Sarons; who likewise destroyed and wasted the Christian congregations within the land, like raging wolves flying upon the sheepe, and spilling the blood of Christians; till Aurelius Ambrosius came, and restored againe the Churches destroyed.

4. The fourth destruction of the Christian faith and religion was by Gurmundus a pagan King of the Africans: who joyning in league with the Sarons, brought much grievance to the Christians of the Land. In so much that Theonius bishop of London, and Thadoceus bishop of Exeter, with the rest of the people so many as were left, having no place wherin to remaine with safety, did flye some to Cornwall, and some to the mountaines of Wales about the pare of our Lord 550. and this persecution remained to the time of Ethelbert King of Kent, in the year 589.

In the raigne of this Ethelbert, which was then the fifth King of Kent, the faith of Christ was first received of the Sarons or English men, by the means of Gregory Bishop of Rome, in manner and order as here followeth, out of old histories collected and recorded.

First then to fornye the order of our history together: the Christian faith first received of King Lucius, indured in Britaine till this time, nere upon the season of 400. yeeres and so: when by Gurmundus Africanus (as is said) fighting with the Sarons against the Britains, it was nere extinct in all the land, during the space of about forty foure yeeres. So that the first springing of Christs Gospell in this Land, was in the year of our Lord 180. The coming of the Sarons was in the year 449. or 469. The coming of Austine was in the year 596. From the first entering in of the Sarons to their compleate conquest, and the driving out of the Britaines (which was about the later time of Cadwalader) were 240. yeeres. In summe, from Christ to Lucius were 180. yeeres. The continuance of the

Gospell from Lucius to the entering of the Sarons, was 302. yeeres. The decay of the same to the entering of Austine, was 143. yeeres; which being added together make from Lucius to Austine 445. yeeres: from Christ to Austine they make 598. yeeres. In this year then 598. Austine being sent from Gregory came into England: the occasion whereupon Gregory sent him hither was this.

In the daies of Pelagius bishop of Rome, Gregory chancing to see certaine children in the market place of Rome (brought thither to be sold out of England) being faire and beautifull of visage, demanded out of what countrey they were? And understanding they were heathenish out of England, lamented the case of the land, being so beautifull and angelicall, so to be subiect under the Prince of darkness. And asking moreover out of what Province they were? It was answered, out of Deira, a part of Northsaron; whereof, as it is to be thought, that which wee now call Derham taketh his name. Then he alluding to the name of Deira, These people (saith he) are to be delivered De Deira, which is, from Gods wrath. Whereupon understanding the Kings name of that Province to be Alle (above mentioned) alluding likewise to his name: Where (saith he) ought Alleluja to be sung to the living God. Whereupon he being moved and desirous to go and helpe the conversion of that countrey, was not permitted of Pelagius the Romans for that time to accomplish his desire. But afterward, being bishop himself next after Pelagius, he sent thither the foresaid Austine with other preachers nere about to the number of forty. But by the way; how it happened I cannot say: As Austine with his company were passing in their journey, such a sudden feare entered into their hearts that (as Antoninus saith) they returned all. Others write that Austine was sent backe to Gregory againe, to release them of that voyage so dangerous and uncertaine, amongst such a barbarous people, whose language they neither knew, nor were able to resist their rudenesse. Then Gregory, with pithy persuasions confirming and comforting him, sent him againe with letters both to the bishop of Arelatensis, willing him to helpe and aid the said Austine, and his company, in all whatsoever his need required. Also other letters he directed to the foresaid Austine, unto his fellowes, exhorting them to goe forward boldly to the Lords worke: as by the tenor of the said epistle here following may appeare.

Gregorius servus servorum Dei, servus Domini nostri. Quia melius fuerat bona non incipere, quam ab his que credita sunt cogitatione retrosum redire, &c. In English: Gregory the servant of Gods servants, to the servants of the Lord. Forasmuch as it is better not to take good things in hand, then after they be begun to thinke to revolt backe from the same againe: therefore now you may not nor cannot (deere children) but with all fervent study and labour must needs goe forward in that good businesse, which through the help of God you have well begun. Neither let the labour of your journey, nor the slanderous tongues of men appall you, but that with all instance and fervency yee proceed and accomplish the thing which the Lord hath ordained you to take in hand: knowing that your great travell shall be recompensed with reward of greater glory hereafter to come. Therefore as we send here Austine to you againe, whom also we have ordained to be your Governour; so doe you humbly obey him in all things, knowing that it shall be profitable so for your soules, whatsoever at his admonition yee shall doe. Almighty God with his grace defend you, and grant mee to see in the eternall countrey the fruit of your labour; that although I cannot labour as I would with you, yet I may be found partaker of your retribution, for that my will is good to labour in the same fellowship with you together. The Lord

Four persecutions in Britaine before the coming of Austine into England.

The persecutions of Dioclesian about the year of our Lord 210.

The persecution of Snabius and Helga.

The persecution of Hengist in Britaine.

The fourth destruction of Christian faith in Britaine by Gurmundus in the year 595. This Gurmundus, as some stories record, leaving his kingdom at home to his brother, said he would possess no kingdom, but which he should winne with his sword.

King Lucius died 418. yeeres before the coming of Austine.

The computation of times concerning the continuance and decay of Christs gospell betweene the Britaines and the Sarons.

{Anno}  
{598}

Bea. Polychronicon. lib. 1. ca. 8. Malmesburien-sis de regib. Henr Hunting-ton lib. 3. Fabianus part. 5. cap. 119. Liber bibliothecae Tornalenfis.

Derham in Northumbria land.

Episcopus Arelatensis.

Ex Henr. Huntingmen. lib. 3. The epistle of Gregory to them which went to preach in England.



The bishop of Rome collecteth the Emperour his word.

Austin and his company cometh to England.

Ethelbert king of Kent.

What goodnesse cometh to have a good and godly wife.

The Kings answer to Austin.

The King staileth upon old customs.

The Letyng of Austin.

Miracles wrought by God for the conversion of the lant.

God keepe you safe, most deare and welbeloved children. Dated the tenth before the kalends of August, in the raigne of our soveraigne Lord Mauricius most vertuous Emperour, the fouseteenth of his Empire.

Thus they emboldened and comforted through the good words of Gregory, sped forth their journey till they came at length to the Ile of Thenet, lying upon the east side of Kent. Nere to the which landing place was then the Manor or Pallace of the King, not farre from Sandwich (eastward from Canterbury) which the inhabitants of the Ile then called Richborough: whereof some part of the ruinous walles is yet to be seene. The King then raigning in Kent, was Ethelbert, as above appeareth, the first King of that Province: who at that time had married a wife a Frenchwoman being christened, named Bertha, whom he had received of her parents upon this condition, that he should permit her with her bishop committed unto her, called Leobardus, to enjoy the freedom of her faith and religion: by the meanes whereof he was more flexible, and sooner induced to embrace the preaching and doctrine of Christ. Thus Austin being arrived sent forth certayne messengers and interprefers to the King: signifying that such a one was come from Rome, bringing with him glad tidings to him and all his people of life and salvation eternally to raigne in Heaven, with the only true and living God for ever, if he would so willingly hearken to the same, as he was gladly come to preach and teach it unto him.

The King who had heard of this religion before by meanes of his wife, within a few daies after cometh to the place where Austin was, to speake with him: but that should be without the house, after the manner of his law. Austin against his coming as stoies affirme, erected up a banner of the Crucifix (such was then the grosse of that time) and preached to him the Word of God. The King answering againe saith in effect as followeth: The words be very faire that you preach and promise: neverthelesse, because it is to me uncouth and new, I cannot soone start away from my countrey law wherewith I have bene so long inured, and assent to you. Albeit, yet notwithstanding for that ye are come (as yet say) so far for my sake, ye shall not be molested by mee, but shall be right well intreated, having all things to you ministered necessary for your suppotation. Besides this, neither doe we debarre you, but grant you free leave to preach to our people and subjects, to convert whom ye may to the faith of your religion.

When they had received this comfort of the King, they went with procession to the City of Dorobernia, or Canterbury, singing Alleluiah with the Letyng, which then by Gregory had bene used at Rome in the time of the great plague raigning then at Rome mentioned in old stoies. The words of the Letyng were these: Deprecamur te Domine in omni misericordia tua, ut auferatur furor tuus & ira tua a civitate ista, & de domo sancta tua, quoniam peccavimus, Alleluia: that is, We beseech thee, O Lord, in all thy mercies, that thy fury and anger may cease from this City, and from thy holy house, for we have sinned, Alleluiah. Thus they entering into the City of Dorobernia, the head City of all that dominion at that time, where the King had given them a mansion for their abode: there they continued preaching and baptizing such as they had converted in the east side of the City in the old Church of Saint Martine (where the Quene was wont to resort) unto the time that the King was converted himselfe to Christ. At length, when the King had well considered the honest conversation of their life, and moved with the miracles wrought through Gods hand by them, he heard them more gladly: and lastly by their wholesome exhortations and example of godly life, he was by them converted and christened in the

yeare above specified 586. and the five and thirtieth yeare of his raigne. After the King was thus converted, innumerable other daies came in and were adjoyned to the Church of Christ, whom the King did specially embrace, but compelled none; for so he had learned, that the faith and service of Christ ought to be voluntary and not coerced. Then he gave to Austin a place for the Bishops See at Christs Church in Dorobernia, and builded the Abbey of S. Peter and Paul in the east side of the said City, where after Austin and all the Kings of Kent were buried, and that place is now called S. Austine.

Austin made archbishop.

In this while Austin sailed into France unto the Bishop Arelatenfis, called Ethereus, by him to be consecrated Archbishop by the commandement of Gregory, and so was. Also the said Austine sent to Rome Laurentius one of his company, to declare to Gregory how they had sped, and what they had done in England, sending withall to have the counsel and advice of Gregory concerning nine or ten questions, whereof some are partly touched before.

The tenor of his questions or interrogations, with the answers of Gregory to the same, here follow in English briefly translated.

The questions of Austin an Archbishop of Canterbury, sent to Gregory with the answer againe of Gregory to the same.

The first interrogation.

MY first question (reverend father) is concerning Bishops, how they ought to behave themselves toward their clerks; or of such oblations, as the faithfull offer upon the altar, what portions or dividends ought to be made thereof?

Ex decreto Gregorii primi. lib. concil. tom. 2. The first interrogation.

The answer.

How a Bishop ought to behave himselfe in the congregation, the holy Scripture testifieth, which I doubt not but you know right well, especially in the Epistles of S. Paul to Timothy: wherein he laboureth to informe the said Timothy how to behave his conversation in the house of the Lord. The manner is of the See apostolike to warne and charge all such as be ordained Bishops, of all their stipend, or that which is given to make foure partitions. One to the bishop for hospitality and receiving commens in: another to the clergy: the third to the poore: the fourth to the repairing of the churches. But because your brotherhood instructed with rules of Donatistie discipline, cannot live separated from your Clerks about you, therefore in the English Church (which now through the providence of God is brought to the faith of Christ) you must observe this institution concerning your conversation, which was in the first fathers in the beginning of the Primitive Church: among whom there was not one, which counted any thing to be his owne proper of all that he did possesse: but all was common among them.

The answer.

Distribution of the Church goods.

The second interrogation.

I desire to know and to be instructed, whether clerks that cannot containe, may marry: and if they do marry, whether then they ought to returne to the secular state againe or no?

The second interrogation.

The answer.

If there be any clerks out of holy orders, which cannot containe, let them have their wives, and take their stipends or wages without. For we read it so written of the foresaid fathers, that they divided to every person according as their worke was. Therefore as concerning the stipend of such, it must be provided and thought upon. And they must be also holden under ecclesiasticall discipline, to live a godly conversation, to employ themselves in singing Psalmes, and to refrain their tongue, heart, and body (by the grace of God) from all things unlawfully and unlawfull. As for the vulgar and

The answer.

The gloss upon the 12. q. 1. Parag. Si qui. saith that this now holdeth not, and altogether the Extra. De cler. comming ca. 10. & c.



whereby note how the Popes Decrees be repugnant to themselves. Luke 11.

and common sort which live after the common condition of men, to describe what partitions to make, what hospitality to keepe, or what workes of mercy to exhibite, to such I have nothing to say, but to give (as our Master teacheth) in all our deeds of mercy of that which aboundeth: Of that (saith he) which aboundeth or is overplus, give almes, and behold all things be cleane unto you.

The third Interrogation.

Seeing there is but one faith, how happeneth it then the ceremonies and customes of Churches to be so divers: as in the Church of Rome there is one custome and manner of masse, and the French Church hath another?

The Answer.

The custome of the Church of Rome, what it is you know, wherein you remember that you have bene brought up from your youth: but rather it pleaseth me better, that whether it be in the Church of Rome, or any French Church, where ye find any thing that seemeth better to the service and pleasing of God, that ye chuse the same, and so inferre and bring into the English Church (which is yet new in the faith) the best and pickest things chosen out of many Churches: for things are not to be beloved for the place sake, but the place is to be beloved for the things that be good: wherefore such things as be good, goodly, and religious, those chuse out of all Churches, and induce to your people, that they may take root in the minds of English men.

The fourth Interrogation.

I pray you, what punishment judge you for him that shall steale or pilfer any thing out of the Church?

The Answer.

This your brotherhood may some discern by the person of a thiefe, how it ought to be corrected. For some there be, that having sufficient to live upon, yet do steale. Others there be which steale of more necessity. Wherefore considering the quality and difference of the crime, necessary it is, that some be corrected by losse of goods, some by stripes, some others more sharply, and some more easie: yea, and when that per correction is to be executed, yet that must be done with charity, and with no fury: for in punishing offenders, this is the cause and end wherefore they are punished, because they should be saved, and not perishe in hell fire. And so ought discipline to procede in correcting the faithfull, as doe good fathers in punishing their children, whom both they chasten for their evill, and yet being chastened, they looke to have them their heires, and thinke to leave them all they have, notwithstanding they correct them sometimes in anger. Wherefore this charity must be kept in mind: and in the correction there is a measure to be had, so that the mind never doe any thing without the rule of reason. We adde moreover, with what recompence of measure those things ought to be required againe, which be stolen out of Churches? But God forbid that the Church should ever require againe, with increase, that which is lost in outward things, and to seeke her gaine by indamaging others.

The fifth Interrogation.

Item, Whether two brethren may marry two sisters, being farre off from any part of kindred?

The Answer.

This in no part of Scripture is forbidden, but it may well and lawfully be done.

The sixth Interrogation.

Item, To what degree of kindred may the matrimony of the faithfull extend with their kindred, or whether it is lawfull to marry with the stepmother and her kinsfolkes?

The Answer.

A certaine terrene law amongst the old Romans doth permit, that either brother or sister, or the sonne and daughter of two brethren may marry together. But by the experience we learne, that the issue of

such marriage doth never thrive, nor come forward. Also the holy law of God forbiddeth to reveale the turpitude of thy blood or kindred. Wherefore necessarily it is, that in the third or fourth degree the faithfull may lawfully marry: for in the second being an unlawfull they must needs refraine. To be coupled with the stepmother is utterly abominable, for it is written in the law: Thou shalt not reveale the turpitude of thy father. For so much then as it is so written in the law: And they shall be two in one flesh: the some then that presumeth to reveale the turpitude of his stepmother, which is one flesh with his father, what doth he then but reveale the turpitude of his owne father? Likewise it was forbidden & unlawfull to marry with the kinswoman, which by her first marriage was made one flesh with thy brother: for the which cause John the Baptist also lost his head, and was crowned a martyr. Who, though he died not for the confession of Christ, yet for so much as Christ saith, I am the truth: there, for in that John Baptist was slain for the truth, it may be said his blood was shed for Christ.

In what degree of kindred a man may marry.

By this rule the marriage of King Henry with Anne Catharine Dowager was unlawfull.

The seventh Interrogation.

Item, whether such as be coupled together in filchy and unlawfull matrimony ought to be separated, and denied the partaking of the holy Communion?

The seventh Interrogation.

The Answer.

Because there be many of the Nation of English men, which being yet in their infidelity were so joined and coupled in such execrable marriage: the same comming now to faith, are to be admonished hereafter to abstaine from the like, and that they know the same to be a grievous sin: that they dread the dreadfull judgement of God, lest for their carnall delectation they incur the torments of eternall punishment. And yet notwithstanding they are not to be secluded therefore from the participation of Christs body and blood: lest we should seeme to revenge those things in them, which they before their baptism through ignorance did commit. For in this time the holy Church doth correct some faults more severely: some faults she suffereth againe through man's infirmity and weaknesse; some wittingly and willingly she doth wink at and dissemble; that many times the evill, which she doth detest, through bearing and dissembling she may stop and bridle. All they therefore which are come to the faith, must be admonished that they commit no such offence. Which thing if they doe, they are to be deprived of the Communion of the Lords body and blood. For like as in them that fall through ignorance, their default in this case is tollerable: so in them againe it is strongly to be infused, which knowing they doe nought, yet feare not to commit.

The Answer.

A discreet saying of Gregorie to be noted.

The eighth Interrogation.

Item, in this I desire to be satisfied, after what manner I should deale or doe with the Bishops of France, and of Britaine?

The eighth Interrogation.

The Answer.

As touching the bishops in France, I give you no authority or power over them. For the bishops of Aralas, or Aleance hath by the old time of our predecessors received the pall, whom now we ought not to deprive of his authority. Wherefore when your brotherhood shall goe unto the Province of France, what soever ye shall have there to do with the bishop of Aleance, so do, that he lose nothing of that which he hath found and obtained of the ancient ordinance of our foreelders. But as concerning the bishops of Britaine, we commit them all to your brotherhood, that the ignorant may be taught, the infirme by persuasion may be confirmed, the wilfull by authority may be corrected.

The Answer.

Quest. 25. cap. 20. in Galliarum.

The ninth Interrogation.

Whether a woman being great with childe, ought to be baptised; or after shee hath children, after how long time shee ought to enter into the Church? Or else,

The ninth Interrogation.



else, that which she hath brought forth, lest it should be prevented with death, after how many daies it ought to receive baptism? Or after how long time after her child-birth is it lawfull for her husband to resort to her? Or else, if she be in her monethly course, after the disease of women, whether then she may enter into the Church, and receive the Sacrament of the holy Communion? Or else her husband after the lying with his wife, before he be washed with water, whether is it lawfull for him to enter the Church, and to draw unto the myserie of the holy Communion? All which things must be declared and opened to the rude multitude of English men.

The Answer.

The Answer.

The childing or bearing woman, why may she not be baptised, seeing that the fruitfulness of the flesh is no fault before the eyes of Almighty God? For our first parents in paradise, after they had transgressed, lost their immortality by the just judgement of God, which they had taken before. Then because Almighty God would not mankind utterly to perish, because of his fall (although hee lost now his immortality for his trespass) yet of his benigne pity, left notwithstanding to him the fruit and generation of issue. Wherefore the issue and generation of mans nature, which is conferred by the gift of Almighty God, how can it be debarred from the grace of holy Baptisme?

The churching of women.

As concerning the churching of women, after they have travelled, where ye demand after how many daies they ought to goe to the Church, this you have learned in the old law, that for a man-child thirty three daies, after a woman-child sixty and six daies be appointed her to keepe in: albeit this you must take to be understood in a myserie. For if she should the houre after her travell enter into the Church to give thanks, she committed therein no sin: for why? the lust and pleasure of the flesh, and not the travell and paine of the flesh is sin. In the conjunction of the flesh is pleasure, but in the travell and bringing forth of the child is paine & groaning: as unto the mother of all it is said: In sorrow thou shalt travell. Wherefore if we forbid the woman after her labour to enter into the Church, then what doe we else but count the same punishment given unto her for sin? Wherefore for the woman after her labour to be baptised, either that which she hath travelled forth (if present necessity of death doth so require) yea, in the selfe same houre, either she that hath brought forth, either that which is borne in the same houre when it is borne, to be baptised we doe not forbid.

He speaketh here after the custome of the time.

Mothers that nurse not their owne children reprehended.

Moreover, for the man to company with his wife: that he must not, before the child that is borne be wained. But now there is a lewd and naughty custome risen in the condition of married folks, that mothers doe continue to nurse their owne children which they have borne, but set them to other women out to nurse, which seemeth only to come of the cause of incontinency: for while they will not containe themselves, therefore they put from them their children to nurse, &c.

As concerning the women in their menstruous course, whether they ought to enter the Church? To this I answer: She ought not to be forbid. For the superfluity of nature in her ought not to be imputed for any fault, neither is it just that she should be deprived of her access to the church, for that which she suffered against her will. And if the woman did well, presuming in touching the Lords coat in the time of her bloody issue: why then may not that be granted unto all women infirmed by the fault of nature, which is commended in one person done in her infirmity? Wherefore to receive the myserie of the holy Communion, it is not forbidden them. Albeit if she dare not so far presume in her great infirmity, she is to be pitied, but if she doe receive, she is not to be judged: for it is a point of a good minde in

some manner to acknowledge her sins there, where is no sinne: because many times that is done without fault, which commeth of fault. As when we be hungry, we eat without fault, notwithstanding it commeth by the fault of our first father to us that we are hungry, &c.

Where ye ask, if a man after the company with his wife may resort to the Church, or to the holy Communion, before he be purged with water? The law given to the old people, commanded that a man (after the company with his wife) both should be purified with water, and also should carry the Sun-set before he came to the congregation. Which seemeth to be understood spiritually: for then most true it is, that the man companieth with the woman, when his mind through delectation is joynd to unlawfull concupiscence in his heart and cogitation. At that time, before the said fire of concupiscence shall be removed, let the person thinke himselfe unworthy the entrance to the congregation, through the viciousness of his filthy will. But of this matter sundry nations have every one their sundry customes: some one way, and some another. The ancient manner of the Romanes from our forefathers, hath bene, that in such case, first they purge themselves with water, then for a little they abstaine reverently, and so resort to the Church, &c.

After many of other words debated of this matter, thus he inferreth. But if any person not for voluptuousness of the flesh, but for procreation of children doe company with his wife, that man concerning either the coming to the Church, or the receiving the mysteries of the Lords body and blood, is to be left to his owne judgement: for hee ought not to be forbid of us to come, which when he lieth in the fire, will not burne, &c.

There is another question also to these adjoyned, with his answer likewise to the same, concerning pollutions in the night: but I thought these at this present to our English eares sufficient.

To returne now to the story againe: Gregory after hee had sent these resolutions to the questions of Austin, sendeth moreover to the Church of England more counsellors, and helpers, as Pelitus, Iustus, Paulinus, and Kuffianus, with Bookes and such other implements as hee thought necessary for the English Church. Hee sendeth moreover to the foresaid Austin a pall with letters, wherein he setteth an order betwixen the two Metropolitane Sees, the one to be at London, the other to be at Yorke. Notwithstanding, hee granteth to the said Austin during his life, to be the only chiefe Archbishop of all the land: and after his time, then to returne to the two foresaid Sees of London and Yorke, as is in the same letter contained, the tenor whereof here followeth in his owne words, as insueth.

The copy of the Epistle of Gregory, sent to Austin into England.

Reverendissimo & sanctissimo fratri Augustino coepiscopo, Gregorius servus servorum Dei. Cum certum sit, pro omnipotente Deo laborantibus ineffabilia aeterni regis premia reservari, nobis tamen eis necesse est bonorum beneficencia tribuere, ut in spiritualis operis studio ex remuneratione valeant multiplicius insudare, &c. As followeth here in English.

To the reverend and vertuous brother Augustine, his fellow bishop, Gregorius the servant of the servants of God. Although it be most certaine, that unspeakable rewards of the heavenly King be laid up for all such as labour in the Word of the Almighty God: yet it shall be requisite for us to reward the same also with our benefits, to the end they may be more encouraged, to goe forward in the study of their spirituall worke. And for so much now, as the

new



new Church of Englishmen is brought to the grace of Almighty God, through his mighty helpe, and your travell, therefore wee have granted to you the use of the pall, onely to be used at the solemnity of your masse: so that it shall be lawfull for you to ordaine twelve Bishops, such as shall be subject to your Province or Dition. So that hereafter alwaies the Bishop of the City of London shall be ordained and consecrated by his owne proper Synod: and so to receive the pall of honour from the holy and Apostolike See, wherein I here (by the permission of God) doe serve. And as touching the City of Yorke, wee will send also a Bishop thither, whom you may thinke meete to ordaine. So that if that City with other places bordering thereby, shall receive the Word of God, he shall have power likewise to ordaine twelve Bishops, and have the honour of a Metropolitan: to whom also, if God spare mee life, I intend by the favour of God, to send a pall: this provided, that notwithstanding hee shall be subject to your brotherly appointment. But after your decease, the same Metropolitan, so to be over the Bishops whom hee ordereth, that hee be in no wise subject to the Metropolitan of London after you. And hereafter, betwixt these two Metropolitans of London and Yorke, let there be had such distinction of honour, that he shall have the priority, which shall in time first be ordained. With common counsell, and affection of heart, let them goe both together, disposing with one accord such things as be to be done for the zeale of Christ. Let them forethinke and deliberate together prudently, and what they deliberate wisely, let them accomplish concordly, nor jarring nor swarving one from the other. But as for your part, you shall be indued with authority, not onely over those Bishops that you constitute, and over the other constituted by the Bishop of Yorke; but also you shall have all other Priests of whole Britaine, subject unto our Lord Iesus Christ: to the end that through your preaching and holinesse of life, they may learne both to believe rightly, and to live purely, and so in directing their life, both by the rule of true faith and vertuous manners, they may attaine, when God shall call them, the fruition and kingdom of Heaven. God preserve you in health, reverend brother. The tenth before the kalends of Iuly, in the raigne of our soveraigne Lord Mauricius most vertuous Emperour.

Besides this, the said Gregory sendeth also another letter to Hellitus concerning his judgement, what is to be done with the idolatrous temples andphanes of the English men newly converted, which phanes he thinketh not best to plucke downe, but to convert the use thereof, and so let them stand. And likewise of their sacrifices and killing of oxen, hols the same ought to be ordered, and how to be altered, disputing by the occasions thereof, of the sacrifices of the old Egyptians, permitted of God unto the Israelites, the end and use thereof being altered, &c.

He sendeth also another letter to the foresaid Austin, wherein he warneth him not to be proud or puff up for the miracles wrought of God by him, in converting the people of England, but rather to feare and tremble, lest so much as he were puff up by the outward worke of miracles, so much he should fall inwardly through the vaine glory of his heart: and therefore wisely exhorteth him to repress the swelling glory of heart, with the remembrance of his sins rather against God, whereby he rather hath cause to lament, then to rejoyce for the other. Not all the elect of God (saith he) worke miracles, and yet have they their names written in the Booke of life. And therefore he should not count so much of those miracles done, but rather rejoyce with the Disciples of Christ, and labour to have his name written in the Booke of life, where all the elect of God be contained, neither is there any end of that

resorging. And whatsoever miracles it hath pleased God by him to have bene done, he should remember they were not done for him, but for their conversion, whose salvation God sought thereby, &c.

Item, he directed another Epistle to King Ethelbert, as is expressed at large in the Chronicle of Henry Huntington, lib. 3. in the which Epistle, first he praiseth God, then commendeth the goodnesse of the King, by whom it pleased God so to worke such goodnesse of the people. Secondly, exhorteth him to persist and continue in the godly profession of Christs faith, and to be fervent and zealous in the same; in converting the multitude; in destroying the temples and worke of idolatry, in ruling and governing the people in all holinesse and godly conversation, after the godly example of the Emperour Constantinus the great. Lastly, comforting him with the promises of life and reward to come, with the Lord that reigneth and liveth for ever; premonishing him besides, of the terrors and distresses that shall happen (though not in his daies) yet before the terrible day of Gods judgement. Therefore he willet him alwaies to be solicitous for his soule, and suspectfull of the houre of his death, and watchfull of the judgement, that he may be alwaies prepared for the same, when that judgement shall come. In the end he desireth him to accept such presents and gifts which he thought good to send unto him from Rome, &c.

Austin thus receiving his pall from Gregory, as is abovesaid, and now of a Monk being made an Archbishop, after hee had baptised a great part of Kent; hee afterward made two Archbishops of Metropolitans, by the commandement of Gregory, as witnesseth Polychron. one at London, another at Yorke.

Hellitus, of whom mention is made before, was sent specially to the Castellans in the Province of Essex, where after hee was made Bishop of London, under St. zebert, King of Essex: which St. zebert, together with his uncle Ethelbert first builded the Church and Minister of S. Paul in London, and appointed it to Hellitus for the Bishops See. Austin (associate with this Hellitus and Justus through the helpe of Ethelbert) assembled and gathered together the Bishops and Doctors of Britaine in a place, which taking the name of the said Austin, was called Austins Oke. In this assembly he charged the said Bishops, that they should preach with him the Word of God to the Englishmen, and also that they should among themselves reforme certayne rites and usages in their Church, specially for keeping of their Castertide, baptising after the manner of Rome, and such other like. To these the Scots and Britaines would not agree, refusing to leave the custome which they so long time had continued, without the consent of them all which used the same. Here the stories both of Beda, Cestrensis in Polychron. Huntingtonensis, Tornalensis, Fabianus, and others more, write of a certaine miracle wrought upon a blind Englishman; whom when the Britaines could not help, Austin kneeling downe, and praying, restored the blind man to sight before them all, for a confirmation (as these authors say) of his opinion in keeping of Easter. But concerning the credit of this miracle, that I leave to the authors of whom I had it.

Then Austin gathered another Synod, to the which came seven Bishops of Britaine, with the wisest men of that famous Abby of Bangor. But first they took counsell of a certain wise & holy man amongst them what to doe; and whether they should be obedient to Austin or not. And hee said: If he be the servant of God, agree unto him. But how shall we know that, said they? To whom he answered againe: If hee be meke and humble of heart, by that know that hee is the servant of God. To this they said againe: And how shall we know him to be humble

A letter of Gregory to King Ethelbert.

Anno 600.

Polychron. lib. 5. cap. 9. Fabian. part 5. cap. 119. Archbishops of London and of Yorke made by Austin. Hellitus Bishop of London.

The Britaines and Scots used not the rites of Rome.

Abby of Bangor. Ex libro Tornalensis, Fabianus, & alii.

Gregory called the Emperour his Lord. A letter of Gregory to Hellitus.

A letter of Gregory to Austin.



humble and meeke of heart? By this (quoth hē) Seeing you are the greater number, if hē at your comming into your Synod rise up, and courteously receive you, receive him to be an humble and a meeke man. But if he shall contemne and despise you (being as yet are) the greater part, despise you him againe. Thus the Britaine Bishops entring into the councill, Austīn after the Romish manner keeping his chaire would not remobe. Whereat they being not a little offended, after some heat of words, in disdain and great displeasure departed thence. To whom then Austīn spake, and said, that if they would not take peace with their brethren, they should receive war with their enemies: and if they disdained to preach with them the way of life to the English nation, they should suffer by their hands the revenge of death. Which not long after so came to passe by the meanes of Ethelfride, King of Northumberland: who being yet a Pagan, and stirred with a fierce fury against the Britaines, came with a great army against the city of Chester, where Broccmaille the Confull of that city, a friend and helper of the Britaines side, was ready with his force to receive him. There was at the same time at Bangor in Wales an exceeding great Monastery, where in was such a number of Monks, as Galfridus with other authors, doe testifie, that if the whole company were divided into seven parts, in every of the seven parts were contained not so few as 300. Monks; which all did live by the sweat of their browes, and labour of their owne hands, having one for their ruler, named Dīno. Out of this Monastery came the Monks of Chester, to pray for the good successe of Broccmaille, fighting for them against the Saxons. Three daies they continued in fasting and prayer. When Ethelfride the foresaid King, seeing them so intentive to their prayers, demanded the cause of their comming thither in such a company, and when he perceived it was to pray for their Confull: Then (saith hē) although they beare no weapon, yet they fight against us, and with their prayers and preachings they persecute us. Whereupon after that Broccmaille being overcome, did flie away, the King commanded his men to turne their weapons against the silly unarmed Monks, of whom hē slue the same time, or rather martyred, eleven hundred, onely fifty persons of that number did fly and escape away with Broccmaille: the rest were all slain. The authors that write of this lamentable murder, declare and say how the forespeaking of Austīn was here verified upon the Britaines; which because they would not joyne peace with their friends, hē said should be destroyed of their enemies. Of both these parties, the reader may judge what he pleasech: I cannot see but both together were to be blamed. And as I cannot but accuse the one, so I cannot defend the other. First Austīn in this matter can in no wise be excused: who being a Monk before, and therefore a scholler and professor of humility, shewed so little humility in this assembly, to seven Bishops and an Archbishop, comming at his commandement to the councill, that he thought some once to stirre at their comming in. Much lesse would his pharisaicall solemnity have girded himselfe, and washed his brethren feet after their travell, as Christ our great Master did to his Disciples: living his Lordship was so high, or rather so heavy, or rather so proud, that he could not find in his heart to give them a little moving of his body, to declare a brotherly and a humble heart. Again, the Britaines were as much or more to blame, who so much neglected their spirituall duty, in revenging their temporall injury, that they denied to joyne their helping labour, to turne the idolatrous Saxons to the way of life and salvation, in which respect all private cases ought to give place, and to be forgotten. For the which cause, although lamentable to us, yet no great marvel in them, if the strokes of Gods punishment did

light upon them, according to the words of Austīn, as his before declared. But especially the cruell king in this fact was most of all to blame so furiously to fly upon them which had neither weapon to resist him, nor yet any will to harme him. And so likewise the same or like happened to himselfe afterward. For so was hē also slain in the field by Christian Edwin, who succeeded him, as hē had slain the Christians before, which was about the 10 yere of our Lord, 610. But to returne to Austīn againe, who by report of authors was departed before this cruelty was done; after hē had baptised and christened ten thousand Saxons or Angles in the West river, that is called Swale, beside York on a Christmas day, perceiving his end to draw nere, hē ordained a successor named Laurentius to rule after him the Archbishop See of Doro-bornia. Where note by the way, (Christian reader) that whereas Austīn baptised them in rivers, it followeth, there was then no use of fonts. Again, if it be true that Fabian saith, hē baptised ten thousand in one day; the rite then of baptising at home was not so ceremoniall, neither had so many trinkets at that time, as it hath had since: or else it could not be that he could baptise so many in one day.

In the meane season, about this time departed Gregory, Bishop of Rome, of whom it is said, that of the number of all the first Bishops before him in the Primitive time, he was the basest; of all them that came after him he was the best. About which time also died in Wales, David, Archbishop first of Bair-leon, who then translated the See from thence to Henevia, and therefore is called David of Wales. Not long after this also deceased the foresaid Austīn in England, after he had sit there fiftene or sixtene yeres: by the which count we may note it, not to be true that Henry Huntington and others doe witness, that Austīn was dead before that battell of Ethelfride against the Monks of Bangor. For if it be true that Polychronicon testifieth of this murder, to be done about the yere of our Lord, 609, and the comming of Austīn first into the Realme to be An. 596, then Austīn induring sixtene yeres could not be dead at this battell. Moreover Galfridus Monumetensis declareth concerning the same battell, that Ethelbert the King of Kent, being (as is said) converted by Austīn to Christs faith: after he saw the Britaines to disdain and deny their subjection unto Austīn, neither would assist him with preaching to the English nation: therefore stirred up he the foresaid Ethelfride to warre against the Britaines: But that seemeth rather suspicious then true, that he, being a Christian King, either could so much prebaille with a Pagan idolater, or else would attempt so farre to commit such a cruell deede: But of uncertaine things I have nothing certainly to say, lesse to judge.

About this present time abode prestred, which is An. 610. I read in the story of Isidorus Cestrinensis, the writer of Polychronicon, of John the Patriarch of Alexandria, whom for his rare example of hospitality and bountifullnesse to the poore, I thought no lesse worthy to have place amongst good men, then I see the same now to be followed of few. This John (being before belike a hard and sparing man) as he was at his prayer, upon a time (it is said) there appeared to him a comely virgin, having on her head a garland of olive leaves, which named her selfe Dercy, saying to him, and promising, that if hē would take her to wife, hē should prosper well. This, whether it were true or not, or else invented for a morality; I would with this flourishing damsell to be married to more then to this John, that she should not live so long a virgin as now she doth, because no man will marry her. But to returne to this Patriarch, who after that day (as the story recordeth) was so mercifull and so beneficiall, especially to the poore and needy, that he counted them as

Ethelfride  
King of North-  
umberland.

Broccmaille con-  
full of Chester.

The Monaster-  
y of Bangor.  
Galfridus Mo-  
numetensis,  
Polychron. lib. 5.  
cap. 10.  
Liber bibliote-  
ce Tornalensis.  
Guil. Ma'mesbu-  
riensis, lib. 5. de  
reg.  
Fabian. part. 5.  
cap. 109. 120.

A pitifull  
slaughter of  
unarmed  
Monks of  
Bangor.

Ethelbert Ar-  
chbishop of the Brit-  
tains in this  
case were more  
to blame.

Laurentius  
Archbishop af-  
ter Austīn.

Baptising in  
rivers, not in  
fonts.  
Baptising as  
among the old  
Romans was  
not used with  
so many cere-  
monies as  
since.

Anno  
604.

S. David in  
Wales, other-  
wise called  
Dewi.

Computation  
of time exam-  
ined.

Galfrid. Monu-  
metensis.

Anno  
610.

Poly. lib. 5. ca. 10.  
A story of  
John patriarch  
of Alexandria.

Dercy may  
live a maiden  
for no man will  
marry her.  
This John  
was so bounti-  
full in giving,  
that he said to  
scribe in a man-  
ner with the  
Lord, wheth-  
er the Lord should  
give more, or he  
should distrust  
but more of  
that which was  
given.



his matters, and himselfe as a servant and steward unto them: This Patriarch was wont commonly twice a weeke to sit at his doore all the day long, to take up matters, and to set unity where was any variance. One day it happened, as hee was sitting all the day before his gate, and saw no man come, hee lamented, that all that day hee had done no good: to whom his Deacon standing by, answered againe, that hee had moze cause to rejoyce, seeing hee had brought the city in that order and in such peace, that there needed no reconcilment amongst them. Another time as the said John the Patriarch was at service, and reading the Gospell in the Church, the people (as their used manner is) went out of the Church to talke and jangle: hee perceiving that, went out likewise, and sat amongst them; whereat they marvelled to see him doe so. My children (said hee) where the flocke is, there ought the Shepheard to be: wherefore either come you in, that I may also come in with you; or else if you tarry out, I will likewise tarry out together with you, &c.

As touching the acts and doeds of Gregoꝝy, above mentioned, how hee withstood the ambitious pride of John Patriarch of Constantinople, which would be the universall Biſſhop, and only chiefe Biſhop of all others, declaring him to be no lesse than the forerunner of Antichrist, that would take that name upon him: how, and with what reasons hee answered againe the letters of the Emperoz Mauricius in that behalfe, sufficient relation is made thereof in the first entry and beginning of this Booke. This Gregoꝝy among many other things induced into the Church (the specialities whereof hereafter shall follow, Christ willing, more at large) first began and brought in this title among the Romane Biſhops, to be called, Servus Servorum Dei: putting them in remembrance thereby, both of their humbleness, and also of their duty in the Church of Christ. Moreover, as concerning his act for the sole life of Biſſhes first begun, and then broken againe: also concerning the order of Gregoꝝies masse booke to be received in all Churches: hereof who so lusteth to reade more, shall find the same in other places hereafter, namely, when wee come to the time of Pops Adrian the first.

After the death of Gregoꝝy above mentioned, first came Sabinianus, who, as hee was a malicious detractor of Gregoꝝy, and of his works, so hee continued not long, scarce the space of two yeres. After whom succeeded next Bonifacius the third, which albeit hee reigned but one yere, yet in that one yere hee did more hurt than Gregoꝝy with so great labors, and in so many yeres, could do good before. For that which Gregoꝝy kept out, hee brought in, obtaining of Phocas the wicked Emperoz for him and his successors after him, that the See of Rome above all other Churches should have the preeminence, and that the Biſhop of Rome should be the universall head of all Churches of Christ in Christendome: alleging for him this frivolous reason, that Saint Peter had and left to his successors in Rome the keyes of binding and loosing, &c. And thus began first Rome to take an head above all other Churches by the means of Bonifacius the third, who, as hee lacked no boldness nor ambition to seeke it, so neither lacked hee an Emperoz fit and meete to give such a gift. This Emperors name was Phocas, a man of such wickedness and ambition (most like to his owne Biſhop Bonifacius) that to aspire to the Empire, hee murdered his owne Father, the Emperoz Mauricius and his children. Thus Phocas coming up to be Emperoz, after his detestable villany done, thinking to stablish his Empire with friendship and favour of his people, and especially with the Biſhop of Rome, quickly descended to all his petitions, and so granted him (as it is said) to be that hee would, the universall and head Biſhop over all Christian Churches. But

as blood commonly requireth blood againe, so it came to passe on the said Phocas. For as hee had cruelly slaine the Lord and Emperoz Mauricius before, so hee in like manner (of Heraclius the Emperoz succeeding him) had his hands and feet cut off, and so was cast into the Sea. And thus wicked Phocas, which gave the first supremacy to Rome, lost his owne. But Rome would not so soon lose his supremacy once given, as the giver lost his life: for ever since, from that day it hath holden, defended, and maintained the same still, and yet doth to this present day, by all force and policy possible. And thus much concerning Bonifacius, whom by the toobes of Gregoꝝy, we may well call the runner before Antichrist. For as Gregoꝝy brought in their stile, Servus Servorum Dei; this Bonifacius brought into their heads first, Volumus ac mandamus, Statuimus, ac precipimus. That is: Wee will and command, We enjoyne and charge you, &c.

Hention was made a little before of Ethelbert King of Kent, and also of Ethelfrid, King of Northsaxon or Northumbria. This Ethelbert having under his subjection all the other Saxon Kings unto Humber, after hee had first received himselfe, and caused to be received of others, the Christian faith by the preaching of Austine confirmed afterwards in the same faith, amongst other costly deeds, with the helpe of Sigebert King of Essex his nephew then reigning under him, began the foundation of Pauls Church within the city of London, and ordained it for the Biſhops See of London. For the Archbishops See which before time had bene at London, was by Austine and this Ethelbert at the prayer of the citizens of Dorobernia translated to the said city: Malmesburiensis lib. de pontific. Wherefore such authors as say that Pauls was builded by Sigebert, say not amisse: which Sigebert was the King of Essex, in which Province standeth the city of London. This Ethelbert also founded the Church of Saint Andrew in the city of Dornbees in Kent, now called Rochester, of one Hof, distant from Dorobernia foure and twenty miles. Of this city Iustus was Biſhop, ordained before by Austine. Moreover the forenamed Ethelbert stirred up a dweller or citizen of London, to make a Chappell or Church of Saint Peter in the West end of London, then called Whome, now the towne of Westminster, which Church or Chappell was after by Edward the Confessor enlarged or newly builded: lastly, of Henry the third it was newly againe re-edified and made as it is now a large Monastery, &c. After these Christian and worthy acts, this Ethelbert when hee had reigned the course of fifty and six yeres, changed this mortal life about the yere of our Lord, 616. Whom some stories say to be slaine in a fight betwene him and Ethelfride, King of Northsaxons.

In the meane time the foresaid Ethelfride King of Northumberland, after the cruell murder of the Punks of Wango, escaped not long unto his hire: for after hee had reigned foure and twenty yeres hee was slaine in the field of Edwin, who succeeded in Northumberland after him.

This Edwin being the sonne not of Ethelfride (as Galfridus Monumetensis saith) but rather of Alla (as Giraldus Cambrensis seemeth to witness more truly) was first a Pagan or Idolater; afterward by Paulinus was christened, and the first christened King in Northumberland. The occasion of which his calling or conversion, as is in sundry stories contained, was this.

Edwin being yet a Pagan, married the daughter of Ethelbert King of Kent, called Edelburge a Christian woman, otherwise called Mace. But before this marriage, Edwin being yet young, Ethelfride the King conceiving envy against him, persecuted him so sore, that hee was forced to fly to Hildwaldus, King of Eastangles, and in the table of the Kings

Blood revenge.  
sed with blood.

Volumus ac  
mandamus:  
Statuimus ac  
precipimus.  
brought in by  
Bonifacius the  
third.

Fabian. cap. 120.

Ethelbert and  
Sigebert built  
the Church of  
Pauls. The Archbishops  
See was translated  
from London to Dorobernia.  
Malmesburiensis  
lib. de pontific.  
H. Hunting.  
lib. 3.

This Edwarde  
was the third  
of that name  
before the  
conquest.  
The monastery  
of Westminster.  
Anno  
616.

Blood revenge.  
sed with blood.

Edwin first  
christened King  
in Northumberland.  
Giraldus  
Cambrensis.

The order and  
manner of the  
conversion of  
Edwin to the  
faith of Christ.

The trouble of  
Edwin.

The acts of  
Gregoꝝy the  
first.

Therupon the  
Romane Biſhops  
use in their stile,  
servus servorum  
Dei.

Sabinianus Biſhop  
of Rome.

Bonifacius the  
third Biſhop of  
Rome.

How Rome began  
first to take an  
head above  
other churches.

Phocas traitor  
and murderer of  
his Emperoz.



Kings is expressed. The which Ædwaldus what for feare, what with bribes being corrupted of Ethelfride, at length privily had intended to have betrayed Edwin. But as Gods Will was, Edwin having warning thereof by a secret friend of his, was moved to flee, and to save himselfe, being promised also of his friends to be safely conveyed away, if he would thereto agree. To whom Edwin said, Whether shall I flee, that have so long borne the hands of mine enemies, through all Provinces of the Realme? And if I must needs be slaine, I had rather he should doe it, than another unworthy person. Thus he remaining by himselfe alone and solitary, sitting in a great study, there appeared unto him suddenly a certaine stranger to him unknowne, and said, I know well the cause of thy thought and heaviness. What wouldst thou give him that should deliver thee out of this feare, and should reconcile King Ædwald to thee againe? I would give him (said Edwin) all that I ever could make. And he said againe: And what if I make thee a mightier King than was any of thy progenitors? He answered againe as before. Whereover (saith he) And what if he shew thee a better kind and way of life, then ever was shewed to any of thine ancestors before thee? wilt thou obey him and doe after his counsell? Yea, (said Edwin) promising most firmly with all his heart so to doe. When he laying his hand upon his head: When (said he) this token happeneth unto thee, then remember this time of thy tribulation, and the promise which thou hast made, and the word which now I say unto thee. And with that he vanished out of his sight suddenly. After this so done, as Edwin was sitting alone by himselfe pensive and sad, his foresaid friend, which moved him before to flee, cometh to him, bidding him be of good chere: For the heart (said he) of King Ædwaldus, which had before intended thy destruction, is now altered through the counsell of the Quene, and is fully bent to keepe his promise with you, whatsoever shall fall thereupon. To make the story short, Ædwaldus the King (although Fabian, following Henry Huntington, saith it was Edwin) with all convenient speede assembled an host, wherewith he suddenly coming upon Ethelfride, gave battell unto him about the borders of Mercia, where Ethelfride, King of Northumberland, with Keiner Ædwaldus sonne, was slaine in the field. By reason wherof Edwin (his enemies now being destroyed) was quietly placed in the possession of Northumberland. All this while yet Edwin remained in his old Paganisme, albeit his Quene (as is above declared) King Ethelberts daughter, a Christian woman, with Paulinus the Bishop, ceased not to stirre and perswade the King to Christian faith. But he taking counsell with his Nobles and Counsellors upon the matter, was hard to be won. When the Lord, who disposeth all things after his purpose to bring all good things to passe, sent another trouble upon him, by means thereof to call him: for by affliction God useth commonly to call them whom he will save, or by whom he will worke salvation unto others. So his divine wisdom thinketh good to make them first to know themselves before they come to know him, or to teach him to others. So it was with Paul (who was stricken downe before he was lifted up) with Constantinus, Edwinus, and many more. How long was Joseph in prison before he bare rule? How hardly escaped this our Quene now being (Quene Elizabeth) by whom notwithstanding it hath pleased God to restore this his Gospell now preached amongst us? In what conflicts and agonies inwardly in his spirit was St. Luther, before he came to preach the justification of Christ openly? And so be all they most commonly, which come to any lively feeling or sensible working of Christ the Lord.

But to returne to Edwin again. The occasion

of his trouble was this. Mercellinus with Kingillus his brother, Kings of Mercians (as above is mentioned in the table of the Saxon Kings) conspiring the death of Edwin, now King of Northumberland, upon envy and malice sent upon an Easter day, a swordman, named Emner, privily to slay the said Edwin. This swordman cut throat, came to a city beside the water of Darwent in Derbshire, there to wait his time: and lastly found the King smally accompanied, and intended to have run the King thorow with a sword inbenomed. But one Lilla, the Kings trusty servant, disgarnished of a shield or other weapon to defend his Master, flart betwene the King and the sword, and was stricken thorow the body and died, and the King was wounded with the same stroke. And after wee wounded also the third, which was a knight, and so was taken, and confessed by whom he was sent to worke that treason. The other knight that was secondly wounded, died, and the King lay after long sickne ere he were healed.

After this, about Whitsontide, the King being scantly whole of his wound, assembled his host, intending to make war against the King of Mercians, promising to Christ to be christened if he would give him the victory over his enemies: and in token thereof caused his daughter, bozne of Edelburge the same Easter day when he was wounded, named Cuffed, to be baptised, with twelve others of his family, of Paulinus. Thus Edwin proceeded to the battell against Mercelline and Kingillus with Iarnwoldus and other enemies, who in the same battell being all banquished and put to flight, Edwin through the power of Christ returneth home victorious. But for all this victory and other things given to him of God, as he was in wealth with the world, he forgot his promise made, and had little minde thereof, save only that he by the preaching of Paulinus forsooke his maumetry: and for his excuse said, that he might not clearly deny his old law, which his forefathers had kept so long, and suddenly be christened without authority and good advice of his counsell.

About the same season Pope Boniface the fifth sent also to the said Edwin letters exhortatory, with sundry presents from Rome to him, and to Edelburge the Quene: but neither would that prevaile. Then Paulinus seeing the King so hard to be converted, polured out his prayers unto God for his conversion; who the same time had revealed to him by the holy Ghost, the oracle above mentioned, which was shewed to the King when he was with Ædwaldus, King of the Eastangles. Whereupon Paulinus coming after to the King on a certaine day, and laying his hand upon the Kings head, asked him if he knew that token. The King hearing this, and remembering well the token, was ready to fall downe at his feet. But Paulinus not suffering that, did lift him up againe, saying unto him: Behold, O King, you have vanquished your enemies, you have obtained your kingdome; now performe the third thing which you promised, that is, to receive the faith of Christ, and to be obedient to him. Whereupon the King conferring with his Council and his Nobles, was baptised of Paulinus at York, with many of his other subjects with him. In so much that Coife, the chiefe of the Prelates of his old maumetry, armed himselfe with his idolatrous Bishops, and bestrode good horses, which before by their old law they might not doe, nor ride but only a mare: and so destroyed all the altars of the maumetry, and their temple of Idols, which was at Gomundham, not farre from York. And this was in the eleventh yeare of his raigne.

From that time forth, during the life of Edwin, which was the terme of six yeare more, Paulinus christened continually in the rivers of Owerne and Swala, in both provinces of Deira, & in Bernicia, all

Another danger of Edwin.

Ann o? 627.

Polychron. lib. cap. 12. Henr. Hunt. lib. 3.

Fabianus part. 5. A part of a letter to him.

Edwin forgot his promise to Christ. Prosperity forgetful. Old customes in matters of Religion not to be followed but only trust Old custome receiveth Edwin to be christened.

A miracle of God in the conversion of King Edwin.

The part of a godly Bishop exemplified in Paulinus.

Edwin baptised. He was baptised in St. Peters Church York, which first caused to be made of wood, which after by St. Guald was destroyed of stone.

Ann o? 628.

Note Paulinus christened in rivers.

The marvels Edwin calling of Edwin.

Edwin miraculously delivered.

M. Malmesburyensis, lib. de reg.

This Quene was Ethelburge, daughter to King Ethelbert the christened King of Kent.

God calleth commonly by affliction and trouble.



using the said rivers for his fonts, and preached in the shire of Lincoln, where he builded also a church of stone at Lincoln.

In this time was to great peace in the kingdome of Edwine after his conversion, that a woman laden with gold might have gone from the one side of the sea to the other, and no man molest her. Hozeover by the high way sides, though all his kingdome be caused by every well or spring to be chained a dish or boll of brasse, to take up water for the refreshing of such as went by the way, which bolles of brasse there remained safe, that no man touched them during all the life of the said Edwine. Such was then the tender care and study of Christian Princes for the refreshing of their subjects. But that was then the brasse world which now is growne to iron and lead, called Aetas ferrea, or rather Plumbea.

This Edwine who first brought in the faith, in the North parts continuing after his baptism five yeeres, at length was slaine in battell by Edwalla king of the Brittaines, and by wicked Penda king of the Mercians, with his sonne Offricus also, in the field called Hatfield.

This Paulinus was the first archbishop of Poike, and as hee was of Justus archbishop of Canterbury ordained archbishop of the see of Poike, so he againe after the decease of Justus, ordained Honorius to be archbishop of Canterbury.

Paulinus after the death of godly Edwine, seeing unmercifull Edwalla or Edwallon with his Brittaines, and wicked Penda with the idolatrous Mercians, to spoyle the land in such sort, as they made no spare neither of age, nor sexe, nor religion, was compelled to fly with Edelburge the Queen and Cuffed her daughter by water into Kent, where the said archbishop Paulinus remained bishop of Rochester the space of nineteene yeeres. And so the Church of Northumberland lacked a bishop for the space of thirty yeeres after. Notwithstanding he left there one James his Deacon, a god man, who continued there baptising and preaching in the North parts, till that peace being recovered, and the number of the faithfull increasing, the Church came againe to his stay. Hunting. lib. 2.

By meanes of this Edwine, Crpwaldus King of the East Angles, sonne to Redwaldus above mentioned, was reduced to Christs faith.

After the decease of Edwine and his sonne Offricus, both slaine in battell, reigned Offricus and Cusfridus, the one in Deira, the other in Bernicia. Offricus was the sonne of Offricus which was brother to Ethelfride. Cusfridus was the eldest sonne of Ethelfride: for Ethelfride had three sons, to wit, Cusfridus, Oswaldus, and Offricus. These two kings of Deira and Bernicia, Offricus, and Cusfride, being first christened in Scotland, after being kings, returned to their idolatry; and so in the yeere following were slaine one after the other by the force said Edwalla and wicked Penda, as is in the table above exprest.

After whom succeeded in Northumberland the second sonne of Ethelfride named Oswaldus, having rule on both the provinces, as well Deira, as Bernicia. Whereof when the foresaid Edwalla (or Edwallon) the Britaine King had understanding, who before had made havock of the Saxons, and thought to have rooted them utterly out of England, he kept King Penda with a mighty host of the Brittaines, thinking to slay also Oswald as hee had before slaine his brother Cusfride, and king Edwine before them. But Oswald, when hee was warned of the great strength of this Edwall and Penda, made his prayers to God, and besought him meekely of helpe to withstand his enemy, for the salvation of his people. Thus after Oswald had prayed for the saving of his people, the two hosts met in a field named Denesbury, some say Hedenfield, where was fought a strong battell. But finally, the army and power of

Penda and Edwall, which were farre exceeding the number of Oswalds host, was chased, and most part slaine of Oswaldus: after hee reigned over the Britains two and twenty yeeres, leading after him a sonne, whom Cusfridus called Cadwaladus the last King of the Brittaines.

Of this Oswald much praise and commendation is written in authors for his fervent zeale in Christs religion, and mercifull pity towards the poore, with other great vertues more. As touching the miracles of S. Oswald, what it pleased the people of that time to report of him, I have not here to affirme. This I finde in Storics certaine, that he being well and virtuously disposed to the setting forth of Christs faith and doctrine, sent into Scotland for a certaine bishop there called Aidanus, which was a famous preacher. The King at what time he was in Scotland banished, had learned the Scotch tongue perfectly: wherefore as this Aidanus preached in his Scotch tongue to the Saxons, the king himselfe interpreting that which he had said, disdained not to preach and expound the same unto his nobles and subjects in the English tongue.

Howsoever, towards the poore and needy his pity and tenderneesse was such, being notwithstanding of so high and princely calling, that upon a time being then Easter day, he sitting with the said Aidanus at meat, & served after the manner of kings in silver: there cometh to him one of the seruitors, bringing him word that there was a great multitude of poore people sitting in the street, which desired some almes of the king. He hearing this, commandeth not onely the meate prepared for his table to be carried unto them, but also taking a silver platter which stood before him, brake it in pieces and sent it amongst them and so relieved his poore subjects not onely with the meate of his table: but with his dishes also. Aidanus the bishop, seeing this and marvelling thereat, taketh him by the hand, wishing and praying in this wise: This hand (saith he) I pray God may continue and never putrifie. What the Storics say more concerning this hand of Oswald, I intend not to meddle further then simple, true, and doe probability will beare me out. In those daies, and partly by the meanes of the said Oswald, Kingmillus king of the Westsaxons was converted to Christs faith; especially through the gooly labour of Werinus, which was sent by pope Honorius to preach in England, and was then made bishop of Dorchester. To whom Duicelinus, brother of Kingmillus, after hee had also received baptism of the said Werinus, gave to him the said City to make there his see. And as Guido witnesseth, the said Duicelinus gave after to the bishop of Winchester seven miles compass of land to build there the bishops see, the which was accomplished and finished by Kenwalchus his sonne.

Of this Werinus, Malmesbury, Polychronicon, with divers other writers do report a thing strange and miraculous: which if it be a fable, as no doubt it is, I cannot but marvell that so many authors so constantly agree in reporting and affirming the same: the matter is this. This Werinus being sent as is said, by Honorius to preach in England, promised him to travel to the uttermost borders thereof, and there to preach the Gospel, where the name of Christ was never heard. Thus he setting forward in his journey, passeth through France, and so to the Sea side; where he found a passage ready, and the winde served to faire, that hee was called upon in such haste, that he had no leisure to remember himselfe to take all things with him which he had to carry. At length he was on the sea sailing, and almost in the middle course of his passage, hee remembered himselfe of a certaine relike left behind him for haste, which Honorius had given him at his comming out. Malmesburienfis calleth it Corporalia, Historia Iornalensis calleth it Pallulam super quam

Penda beaten in the field.

The commendation of king Oswald.

King Oswald disdained not to expound and preach the Gospel to his people.

The goodnesse and charity of Oswald towards the poore.

Historia Iornalensis. Polychronicon. lib. 5. cap. 12.

Kingmillus king of the Westsaxons, converted to Christs faith.

Ex Polychronicon. lib. 5. cap. 13. Fabian. part. 5. Lands given to Winchester.

Malmesburienfis. lib. de pontificibus Angli. Cestrensis lib. 5. Hist. Iornalensis.

corpus

What true fruit of a good Prince may do in a realm. Great peace and truth among the people in the daies of Edwine.

Anno 634.

Archbishop of Canterbury and Poike, the order of the other.

Ex Flor. hist.

James a godly Deacon. A Deacon then baptize.

Crpwaldus otherwise named Crpwaldus King of East Angles converted to the faith of Christ.

Edwald King of Northumberland.

Anno 636.

Cusfridus, Malmesburienfis. Polychronicon. Historia Iornalensis. Fabian.

Strengthened of prayer vehemently arm.



corpus Christi consecraret, which we call a corporas or such a like thing, and what else inclosed within it I cannot tell. Here Berinus in great sorrow could not tell what to doe: if he should have spoken to the heathen Mariners to turne their course backe againe, they would have mocked him, and it had bene in vaine. Wherefore as the stories write, he boldly leppeth into the Sea, and walking on foot backe againe, taketh with him that which was left behind, and so returneth to his company againe, having not one thred of his garments wet. Of his miracle, whether I should call it a fable rather, let the reader judge as he thinketh; because it is not written in the Scripture, we are not bound to believe it. But if it were true, it is then thought to be wrought of God, not for any holinesse in the man or in the corporas, but a speciall gift for the conversion of the heathen, for whose salvation God suffereth oft many wonders to be done. This Berinus, being received in the ship againe with a great admiration of the mariners, who were therewith converted and baptised, was dribe at last by the weather to the coast of the Westsaxons, where Kingiullus and his brother Quicelinus above mentioned did raigne. Which two kings the same time by the preaching of Berinus were converted and made Christian men, with the people of the country, being before rude and barbarous. It happened the same time when the foresaid kings should be christened, that Oswalduus (mentioned a little before) King of Northumberland, was then present, and the same day married Kingiullus his daughter, and also was godfather to the King.

Thus Oswalduus after he had reigned nine yeres in such holinesse and perfectnesse of life, as is above specified, was slaine at length in the field called Harfield by wicked Wenda, king of the Mercians: which Wenda at length after all his tyranny was overcome and slaine by Oswy brother to Oswalduus next king after Oswalduus of Northumberland notwithstanding he had thrice the people which Oswy had. This Wenda being a pagan had thre sons, Wulfgerus, Wleda, & Egfridus. To this second son Wleda, Oswy had before time married his daughter by consent of Wenda his father: the which Wleda by help of Oswy was made king of Southmercia, the which Lordship is severed from Northmercia by the river of Trent. The same Wleda moreover, at what time he married the daughter of Oswy, promised to him that he would become a Christian man: which thing he performed after the death of Wenda his father; but afterward within thre yeres of his raigne, hee was by reason of his wife slaine. And after him the kingdom fell to Wulfgerus the other brother; who being wedded to Ermenilda daughter of Ercombert king of Kent, was shortly after christened: so that he is counted the first christened king of Mercia. This Wulfgerus conquered Kentwalcus king of Kent, and got the Ile of Wight, which after he gave to Sigbert king of the Eastangles, upon condition he would be christened. And thus the Eastangles which before had expelled Pelitus their bishop, as is declared, recovered againe the Christian faith under Sigbert their king, who by the meanes of the foresaid Wulfgerus was reduced and baptised by Justinus the bishop.

But to returne againe to Oswy, from whom we have a little digressed, of whom we shewed before how hee succeeded after Oswalduus in the Province of Bernicia, to whom also was joynd Mwine his cousin over the province of Deira, and there, with his fellow Mwine reigned the space of seven yeres. This Mwine was gentle and liberall to his people, and no lesse devout toward God: who upon a time had given to Aidanus the bishop above mentioned, a princely horse with the trappers, and all that appertained thereto, because hee should not so much travell on foot, but sometimes ease himselfe withall.

Thus Aidanus the Scottish bishop as he was riding upon his princely horse, by the way meteth him a certain poore man asking and craving his charity. Aidanus having nothing else to give him, lighted downe and giveth to him his horse trapped and garnished as he was. The king understanding this, and not contented therewith, as he was entering to dinner with the said Aidanus: What meant you father bishop (said he) to give away my horse I gave you, unto the begger? Had not I other horses in my stable that might have served him well enough, but you must give away that which of purpose was pickt out for you amongst the chiefest? To whom the bishop made answer againe, saying, or rather rebuking the king: What be these words (said the king faith he) that you speake? Why set you more price by an horse, which is but the sole of an horse, then you doe by him which is the sonne of Mary, yea which is the sonne of God? He said but this, when the king forth with ungerding his word from about him (as hee was then newly come in from hunting) falleth downe at the feete of the bishop, desiring him to forgive him that, and he would never after speak word to him for any treasure hee should afterward give away of his. The bishop seeing the king so meekely affected, he then taking him up, and chearing him againe with words, began shortly after to weep and to be very heaby. His minister asking the cause thereof, Aidanus answered in his Scottish language, saying to him: I wepe (saith he) for that this king cannot live long. This people is not worthy to have such a Prince as he is to raigne amongst them. And so as Aidanus said it came to passe. For not long after Mwine the king of Bernicia disdaining at him, when Mwine either was not able or not willing to joyne with him in battell, caused him traitorously to be slaine. And so Mwine with his sonne Egfride reigned in Northumberland alone.

In the time, and also in the house of this Oswy king of Northumberland, was a certaine man named Benedict, who was the bringer up of Weda from his youth, & toke him to his institution when he was but seven yeres old, and so taught him during his life. This Benedict or Benedet, descending of a noble stocke and rich kin, and in good favour with Oswy, forsooke service, house, and all his kindred to serve Christ, and went to Rome (where he had bene in his life time five times) and brought from thence bookes into monasteries, with other things which he thought then to serve for devotion. This Benedict, surnamed Bishop, was the first that brought in the art and use of glasing into this land; for before that, glasse windowes were not known either in Churches or in houses.

In the raigne of the foresaid Oswy and Egfride his sonne, was Botolphus Abbat, which builded in the East part of Lincolne an Abbey. Also Aidanus, Justinus, and Colmanus, with thre Scottish bishops of Northumberland holy men, held with the Britaines against the Romish order for the keeping of Easter day. Moreover Cuthbertus, Jarmanus, Cedda, and Wilfridus lived the same time: whom as I judge to be bishops of holy conversation, so I thought it sufficient here onely to name them. As touching their miracles wherefore they were made saints in the Popes kalender, seeing they are not written in the Gospell, nor in my Creed, but in certaine old Chronicles of that age, so they are no matter of my faith: notwithstanding as touching their conversation, this I read, and also doe credit, that the Clergy both of Britaine and England at that time plied nothing that was worldly, but gave themselves to preaching and teaching the Word of our Saviour, and followed the life that they preached by giving of good example. And over that, as our histories accord, they were so voyd of covetousnesse, that they received no possessions or territories which were forced upon them.

H. Hunting. de historia Anglorum, lib. 9. Example of true almes.

A perfect example of humilitie in a Prince.

Mwine traitorously murdered.

Anno 651.

Benedict or Benedet, the bringer up of Weda.

The use of glasing first brought into this realme.

Botolphus, Aidanus, Justinus, Colmanus, Cuthbertus, Jarmanus, Cedda, Wilfridus.

O quam multa! Beda lib. 4. ca. 5. Hunting. Polychron. Iornaldus, Fabia.

About

Hunting. lib. 3. Berinus was king on the sea, with life and all.

Oswalduus god-father and son in law to Kingiullus, and all in one day.

King Oswalduus slaine in the field.

Anno 643.

Wenda king of Mercians slaine. Oswy king of Northumberland.

The conversion of the Mercians to the faith of Christ. Wulfgerus first christened king of Mercia.

The Eastangles reduced to the Christian faith.

Oswy and Mwine fellow kings in Northumberland.

Note the worthy liberality in the king, and no less in the bishop.



Anno  
664

About this season or not much before, under the reign of Oswy and Wine kings of Northumberland, another Synod or Council was holden against the Britains and the Scottish bishops, for the right observing of Easter at Sternehalt. At what time Agilbertus bishop of Meltharons came to Northumberland, to institute Wilfride Abbat of Ripon, where this question for Easter day began to be moved: for Colman, then bishop of Northumberland, followed not the custom of Rome nor of the Saxons, but followed the Britains and the Scottish bishops his predecessors in the same See before. Thus on the one side was Colman the archbishop of York, and Wida the abbess of Sternehalt, which alleadged for them the doings and examples of their predecessors, both goodly and reverend bishops, as Aidanus, Finan, Archbishops of that See of York before them, and divers more, who had used alwaies to celebrate the Easter from the fourteenth day of the first month, till the eight and twentieth of the same. And specially for that S. John the Evangelist at Ephesus kept and observed that day, &c. On the other side was Agilbert bishop of the Meltharons, James the deacon of Paulinus above mentioned, Wilfride Abbat of Ripon, and King Alfride Oswies sonne, with his Quene, holding on the same side. The full contents of which disputation here followeth, according as in the story of Wida at large is described, with their reasons and arguments on both sides as ensueeth, &c.

The question of Easter and of having, and other ecclesiasticall matters being moved, it was determined that in the Abbey which is called Sternehalt, of the which Wida a devout woman was abbess, a convocation should be had, and this question there determined. To the which place came both the Kings the father and the sonne, bishop Colman with his clergy of Scotland, Agilbert with Agathon and Wilfride Priests. James and Roman were on their sides; Wida the abbess with her company was on the Scottish part, and the reverend bishop Cedda was appointed moderator for both parties in that parliament. King Oswie began first with an oration, declaring that it was necessary for such as served one God, to live in one uniforme order, and that such as looked for one Kingdom in heaven should not differ in celebration of the heavenly Sacraments, but should rather take for the true tradition, and follow the same. This said, he commanded his bishop Colman to declare what the rite and custom was in this behalfe that he used, and from whence it had the originall. Then Colman, obeying his Princes commandement, said: The Easter which I observe, I received of my ancestors that sent me hither a bishop, the which all our forefathers being men of God did celebrate in like manner: and lest it should be condemned or despised of any man, it is manifestly apparant to be the very same which the holy Evangelist S. John (a disciple especially beloved of the Lord) did accustomedly use in all Churches and Congregations where he had authority. When Colman had spoken many things to this effect, the King commanded Agilbert to declare his opinion in this behalfe, and to shew the order that he then used, from whence it came, and by what authority he observed the same. Agilbert requested the King that his scholar Wilfride a priest might speake for him, in as much as they both with the rest of his Clergy were of one opinion herein, and that the said Wilfride could utter his mind better and more plainly in the English tongue then he himselfe could. Then Wilfride at the Kings commandement began on this sort and said: The Easter which we keepe, we have same at Rome, where as the holy Apostles Peter and Paul did live and teach, did suffer and were buried. The same also is used in Italy and in France: the which countries we have travelled for learning, and have noted it to be

celebrated of them all. In Asia also and in Afrique, in Egypt and in Greece, and finally in all the world, the same manner of Easter is observed that we use, save onely by these here present with their accomplices, the Picts and the Britains: with the which two (and yet not altogether agreeing) they contend and strive foolishly in this order against the universal world. To whom Colman replied, saying: I marvel you will call this order foolish, that so great an Apostle as was worthy to lie in the Lords lap, did use, whom all the world doth well know to have lived most wisely. And Wilfride answered, God forbid that I should reprove S. John of folly who kept the rites of Moses law according to the letter (the Church being yet Jewish in many points) and the Apostles not as yet able to abdicat all the observations of the law before ordained. As for example, they could not reject images invented of the devil, the which all men that believe on Christ ought of necessity to forsake and detest, lest they should be an offence to those Jewes that were amongst the Gentiles. For this cause did S. Paul circumcise Timothy, for this cause did he sacrifice in the temple, and did have his head with Aquila and Priscilla at Corinth: all which things were done to none other purpose then to eschew the offence of the Jewes. Hereupon also said James to Paul, Thou seest brother how many thousand Jewes doe believe, and all these be zealous (notwithstanding) of the law. Yet seeing the gospel is so manifestly preached in the world, it is not lawfull for the faithfull to be circumcised, neither to offer sacrifice of carnall things to God. Wherefore John according to the custom of the Law, the fourteenth day of the first moneth at evening, did begin the celebration of the feast of Easter, nothing respecting whether it were celebrated in the Sabbath or in any other feriall day. But Peter when he preached at Rome, remembring that the Lord did arise from death on the first day after the Sabbath, giving thereby an hope to the world of the resurrection, thought good to institute Easter on that day, and not after the use and precepts of the law (that was) the fourteenth day of the first moneth: even so John looking for the Mone at night, if it did arise, and the next day after were Sunday, which then was called the Sabbath, then did he celebrate the Easter of the Lord in the evening, like as we use to doe even at this day. But if Sunday were not the next day after the fourteenth day, but fell on the sixteenth day, or seventeenth, or on any other day unto the one and twentieth, he carried alwaies for it, and did begin the holy solemnity of Easter on the evening next before the Sabbath. And so it came to passe, that Easter was alwaies kept on the Sunday, and was not celebrated but from the fifteenth day unto the one and twentieth: neither doth this tradition of the Apostle breake the law, but fulfill the same. In the which it is to be noted, that Easter was instituted from the fourteenth day of the first moneth at evening, unto the one and twentieth day of the same moneth at evening; the which manner all S. Johns successors in Asia after his death did follow, and the Catholike Church throughout the whole world. And that this is the true Easter, and only of all Christians to be observed, it was not newly decreed, but confirmed by the Council of Nice, as appeareth by the ecclesiasticall history. Whereupon it is manifest that you (Colman) doe neither follow the example of S. John, as yet thinke, nor of S. Peter, whose tradition you doe willingly resist, nor of the Church, nor yet of the Gospel, in the celebration of Easter. For S. John observing Easter according to the precepts of the law, kept it not on the first day after the Sabbath; but you precisely keep it only on the first day after the Sabbath. Peter did celebrate Easter from the fifteenth day of the Mone to the one and twentieth day, but you keepe Easter from the fourteenth unto the twentieth day.

Antibalce  
alleadged.

Colman againe  
speaketh.

Wilfride repli-  
eth.

Why Paul  
circumcised  
Timothy.

Example of  
Peter alleadged,  
but no proove  
thereof.

Peter and  
John did not  
agree in the  
celebrating of  
Easter.

In the council  
of Nice no such  
matter appears  
replied.

Contention  
about Easter  
day.

Ex Be. l. i. c. 2.  
cap. 23.

A disputation  
betweene the  
Roman bishops  
and the Scottish  
bishops for the  
day of Easter  
and other cere-  
monies.

The King de-  
termineth.

Colman spea-  
keth.

Wilfride repli-  
eth.



so that you begin Easter oftentimes the thirtieth day at night, of which manner neither the law nor the Gospell maketh any mention. But the Lord in the fourteenth day either did eat the old pascheover at night, or else did celebrate the Sacraments of the new testament in the remembrance of his death and passion. You doe also utterly reject from the celebration of Easter the one and twentieth day, the which the law hath chiefly willed to be observed: and therefore as I said, in the keeping of Easter, you neither agree with S. John, nor with Peter, nor with the law, nor yet with the Gospell. Then

Colman againe answered to these things, saying: Did then Anatholius a godly man and one much commended in the foresaid ecclesiasticall story against the law and the gospell, who wroteth that the Easter was to be kept from the fourteenth day unto the twentieth? Or shall we thinke that Columba our reverend father and his successors, being men of God, who observed the Easter after this manner, did against the holy Scripture? Whereas some of them were men of such goodlinesse and vertue, as was declared by their wonderfull miracles. And I hereby (nothing doubting of their holinesse) do endeavour to follow their life, order and discipline. Then said Wilfride: It is certaine that Anatholius was both a godly man, and worthy of great commendation: but what have you to doe with him seeing you observe not his order? For he following the true rule in keeping his Easter, observeth the circle of nineteene yeeres: the which either you know not, or if you doe, you condemne the common order observed in the universall Church of Christ. And moreover, the said Anatholius doth so count the fourteenth day in the observation of Easter, as he confesseth the same to be the fiftieth day at night after the manner of the Egyptians, and likewise noteth the twentieth day to be in the feast of Easter, the one and twentieth in the evening: the which distinction that you know not, by this may appeare, for that you keepe the Easter on the thirtieth day before the full Moone. Or otherwise I can answer you touching your father Columba and his successors, whose order you say you follow, moved thereto by their miracles, on this wise: that the Lord will answere to many that shall say in the day of judgement, that in his name they have prophesied and cast out Devils, and have done many miracles, &c. that he never knew them. But God forbid that I should say so of your fathers, because it is much better to believe well of those we know not, then ill. Whereupon I deny not but they were the servants of God, and holy men, which loved the Lord of a good intent, though of a rude simplicity: and I thinke that the order which they used in the Easter, did not much hurt them, so long as they had none amongst them that could teach them the right observation of the same for them to follow. For I thinke, if the truth had bene declared unto them, they would as well have received it in this matter as they did in others. But you and your fellowes, if you refuse the order of the apostolicall See, or rather, of the universall Church, which is confirmed by the holy Scripture; without all doubt you doe finne. And though your forefathers were holy men, what is their feinesse, being but a corner of an Island, to be preferred before the universall Church of Jesus Christ dispersed throughout the whole world? And if Columba your father (and ours also being of Christ Jesus) were mighty in miracles, is he therefore to be preferred before the Prince of the holy Apostles? To whom the Lord said, Thou art Peter, and upon this rocke will I build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevaile against it, and I will give thee the keyes of the kingdome of heaben.

Wilfride having thus ended his argument, the king said to Colman: Is it true that the Lord spake these things to S. Peter? And Colman answered,

Yea. Then said the king: Can you declare any thing that the Lord gave to Colman: Colman answered, No. Then quoth the king, Do both of you agree and consent in this matter without any controversie, that these words were principally spoken to Peter, and that the Lord gave him the keyes of the kingdome of Heaben? And they both answered, Yea. Then concluded the king on this wise: For so much as S. Peter is the doore-keeper of heaben, I will not gainsay him: but in that I am able, I will obey his orders in every point, lest when I come to the gates of heaben, he shut them against me.

Upon this simple and rude reason of the king, the multitude easily consented, and with them also Cedda was contented to give over: onely Colman the Scot, being then archbishop of Dork, in displeasure lest the Realme, and departed into Scotland, carrying with him the bones of Aidanus. Bed. lib. 3. cap. 25. And thus much concerning this matter of Easter.

After the decease of Oswy, Egfride his sonne was king after him in Northumberland fiftene yeeres. By this Egfride Cuthbert was promoted to the bishopricke of the Isle of Farne: and Wilfride which before had bene archbishop of Dork, was displaced through the means of Theodore archbishop of Canterbury, and Cedda possessed that See. Wilfride, when he was put out, went to Rome and complained of him to Agathon the bishop, and was well allowed in some things. But the king and Theodorus had there such prodors and friends, that he returned without speeding of his cause. Wherefore he returned into the Southsaxons, and builded an Abbey in Hildesheim, and preached unto the Southsaxons fiftene yeeres. The king of the Southsaxons at that time was Ethelwold, to whom was declared a little before that Wolferus king of the Mercians gave the Isle of Wight upon condition that he would be christened, and so was baptised by Werinus: the said Wolferus being his godfather, and sonne in law, both in one day. Wherefore Wolferus now being licensed by Ethelwold the king, preached unto his Nobles and people of Southsax, and converted them to Christ. In the time of whose baptising, the rains which before they lacked three yeeres together, was given them plentifully, whereby their great famine ended, and the Countrey was made fruitful, which before was dried up with barrennesse: in so much that (as in some stories it is said) the people perished with famine, would goe forty together upon the Rocks by the Sea side, and taking hands together would throw themselves downe to the Sea. Moreover, where they lacked before the art of fishing, the foresaid Wilfride taught them how with nets to fish.

And thus by processe have we discoursed from time to time how and by what means the idolatrous people were indued to the true faith of Christ: of whom the Southsaxons with the Isle of Wight were the last.

After Egfride, who was slain in the straits of Scotland, next succeeded Alfride his brother, and reigned some to Oswy, and reigned eightene or nineteene yeeres in Northumberland. This Alfride restored againe the foresaid Wilfride to the See of Dork, whom his brother had before expelled; and put in Cedda. Postwithstanding the same king Wilfride within five yeeres after, expelled the said Wilfride againe, and so went he to Rome. But at length by Dricke his successor was placed againe the archbishop of Dork, and Cedda was ordained by Theodorus bishop of Mercia. The which province of Mercia, the said Theodorus archbishop of Canterbury by the authority of the Synod holden at Hatfield, did after divide into five bishopricks: that is, one to Chelker, the second to Worcester, the third to Lichfield, the fourth to Cederna in Lindsey, the fifth to Dorchester, which was after translated to Lincoln.

The king concluded it.

Mobile mutatur semper cum principe regius.

Egfride or Ethelwold of Northumberland.

Malmsburien. Hunting. Feb. cap. 135. Wilfride Arch. bishop of Dork.

Southsaxons converted to Christian faith.

H. Hunting. lib. 3.

The Isle of Wight last converted to Christ.

Alfride king of Northumberland.

Wilfride restored againe to the See of Dork.

Mercia divided into five bishopricks.

Here

Colman againe answered.

Wilfride replied.

The authority of men is not to be sticked unto for their doing of miracles.

The example of them that follow not for lack of teaching, excuseth not them which being taught will not follow.

See lit. Suffragia ecclesie non numeranda sunt, sed ponderanda. Aug.



The wicked  
sect of Mahu-  
met.  
Apoc. 13.

{Anno}  
{666.}

Ex Polychron.  
Ex Giraldus  
Cambrensi.  
Ex Stephano  
Cantuariensi.

Theodorius  
archbishop of  
Canturbury.

Guli. Mahme-  
dianensis, lib. 1.  
de gestis pontif.  
Anglorum.

Pere about this time in the pere of our Lord 666, the detestable sect of Mahumet began to take strength and place. Although Polychronicon differ- ring a little in yeeres, accounteth the beginning of this sect somewhat before, but the most diligent searchers of them which write now, refer it to this yeere which well agreeth with the number of that beast, signified in the Apocalypse, x. 666. Of this Mahumet came the Kingdome of Agarens (whom he after named Saracens) to whom he gave sundry lawes, patched of many sects and religions together: he taught them to pray ever to the south, and as we keepe the Sunday, so they keepe the Friday, which they call the day of Venus. He permitted them to have as many wives as they were able to maintaine; to have as many concubines as they list; to abstaine from the use of Wine, except on certaine solenne dayes in the yeere; to have and worship onely one God omnipotent, saying that Moses and the Prophets were great men, but Christ was greater, and greatest of all the Prophets, as being borne of the virgin Mary by the power of God, without mans seed, and at last was taken up to Heaven, but was not flaine, but another in his likeness for him, with many other wicked blasphemies in his law contained. At length this kingdome of the Saracens began to be conquered of the Turkes, and in proceesse of time wholly subdued to them.

But now to returne againe to the time of our English Saxons: In this meane season Theodorius was sent from Italy into England, by Vitellianus the Pope, to be archbishop of Canturbury, and with him divers other monkes of Italy, to set up here in England Latine service, masses, ceremonies, letanies, with such other Romish ware, &c. This Theodorius being made archbishop and metropolitan of Canturbury, began to play the Kier, placing and displacing the bishops at his pleasure. As for Cedda and Willfride archbishops of Dorset, he thrust them both out, under the pretence that they were not lawfully consecrated, notwithstanding they were sufficiently authorized by their kings, and were placed against their wills. Wherefore Willfride, as is before touched, went up to Rome, but could have no redresse of his cause. Yet to shew what modesty this Willfride used against his enemy being so violently molested as he was, because the words of his complaint are expelld in William Palmesbury, I thought here to expelle the same both for the commendation of the party, and also for the good example of others, in case any such be, whom good examples will move to well doing. This Willfride therefore, having such injury and violence offered unto him by the hands of Theodoro, although he had just cause to doe his uttermost; yet in prosecuting his complaint how he tempered himselfe, what words of modesty he used, rather to defend his innocency, then to impugn his adversary, by this his suggestion offered up to the bishop of Rome may appeare, whose words in effect were these: Quid autem acciderit, ut Theodorus sanctiss. archiepiscopus (me superstitie in fede, quam licet indignus dispensabam) absque consensu cujuslibet episcopi ex sua auctoritate (mea humilitate non acquiescente) ordinaverit tres episcopos: omittere magis quam urgere, pro ejusdem viri reverentia, concedet. Quem quidem, pro eo quod ab hac apostolica sedis summitate directus est, accusare non audeo, &c. In English: How it chan- ceth that Theodorius the most holy and reverend archbishop (my selfe being alive in the See, which I though unworthy did rule and dispose) hath of his owne authority without the consent of any bishop (neither having my simple voyce agreeing to the same) ordained three bishops, I had rather passe over in silence, then to stirre any further therein, because of the reverence of that man, and no lesse thought I it my duty so to doe. The which man for that he hath bene directed by this See apostolicall, I will

not, nor dare not here accuse, &c. Thus the cause of the said Willfride albeit it was sufficiently knowne in the Court of Rome, to be well allowed for just and innocent; yet it was not then redressed. In such estimation was this Theodorius then among the Romans. Upon this controverisie of these two bishops I may well here infer the words of William Palmesbury not unworthy in my mind to be noted, which be these in his Latine story: Vbi videri & doleri potest humana miseria, quod videlicet quantumlibet quis sanctitate polleat, non ad plenum pervicaces mores exuat, &c. That is: In the which Theodoro (saith he) the weak and miserable infirmity of man may be seene and also lamented; considering, that although a man be never so holy, yet in the same man is something, whereby it may be perceived that he hath not utterly put off all his stubborne conditions, &c.

In the time of this Theodorius, and by the means of him, a provinciall synod was holden at Thetford, mentioned in the story of Bede: the principall contents whereof were these.

First, that Easter day should be uniformly kept and observed through the whole Realme, upon one certaine day, videlicet prima, 14. Luna mensis primi.

Secondly, that no bishop should intermeddle with, in the diocesse of another.

Thirdly, that Monasteries consecrated unto God should be exempt and free from the jurisdiction of the bishops.

Fourthly, that the monkes should not stray from one place (that is) from one monastery to another, without the licence of their abbat: also to keepe the same obedience which they promised at their first entering.

Fifthly, that no clergyman should for sake his owne bishop, and be receivd in any other place, without letters commendatory of his owne bishop.

Sixthly, that foren bishops and clergy men coming into the Realme, should be content onely with the benefit of such hospitality, as should be offered them: neither should intermeddle any further with, in the precinct of any bishop, without his speciall permission.

Seventhly, that synods provinciall should be kept within the realme at least once a yeere.

Eighthly, that no bishop should prefer himselfe before another, but must observe the time and order of his consecration.

Ninthly, that the number of bishops should be augmented, as the number of the people increaseth.

Tenthly, that no marriage should be admitted, but that which was lawfull; no incest to be suffered; neither any man to put away his wife for any cause except onely for fornication, after the rule of the Gospell. And these be the principall chapters of that synod, &c.

In the next yeere following was the first generall councill kept at Constance, whereat this Theodoro was also present under Pope Agatho: where marriage was permitted to Bracke priests, and forbidden to the Latine. In this councill the Latine masse was first openly said by John Portuensis the Popes legat, before the patriarch and Princes at Constantinople, in the temple of S. Sophie.

After the decease of Alfride King of Northumberland (from whom it was digressed) succeeded his sonne Eredus, raigning eleven yeeres, after whom raigned Kenredus two yeeres, and next Alricus after him eleven yeeres.

In the time and raigne of these foure Kings of Northumberland, King Ina or Inas raigned in westsar, who succeeding after Cadwallader, the last King of Brittaines, began his raigne about the yeeres of our Lord, 689. and raigned with great valiantnesse over the Westsaxons the terme of 37. yeeres. Concerning whose ads and wars maintai- ned

Beda lib. 4. c. 22.

Guli. Mahme-  
dianensis, lib. 1.  
de gestis pontif.  
Anglorum lib. 1.  
Polychron. lib. 5.  
cap. 19.

{Anno}  
{680.}

Beda lib. 4. c. 22.

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

6.

7.

8.

9.

10.

{Anno}  
{705.}

Oredus. Ken-  
redus. Alricus  
Kings of North-  
umberland.  
The kingdome  
of Britaine  
ceaseth.



*Jua* 02 *Jue*, 02  
*Juas* King of  
*Wiltshires*.  
*Polychron.* lib. 5.  
cap. 22.

*S. Cutblake* a  
popish Saint.

*Crowland* the  
courtious.

Lying mira-  
cles.

What strange  
lights this  
*Withwald*, 02  
*Witthelme* did  
see after his  
death, read the  
ninth booke of  
*Henry Hun-*  
*tington*.

King *Ethel-*  
died made  
abbat of  
*Wardney*.

*Adelmus*.

*Guil. Malmesh.*  
lib. 5. de pontif.

Lying mira-  
cles.

*Walmesbury*  
commended for  
his stile.

Lying miracles  
reproved  
*Abelme* bishop.  
*Switthine* bi-  
shop.

*Beda* lib. 5. c. 23.  
*Existoria* for-  
nulenſi de regi-  
bus Northumb.  
*S. John* of *W.*  
berly.

[Anno]  
2717

ned against the Kentish Saxons and other things, because I have not to intermeddle withall, I refer the reader to other chroniclers.

About the first yere of the raigne of this *Jua*, 02 *Jue*, *Polychronicon* and other make mention of one *Cutblacus*, whom they call *S. Cutblake* a confessor, who about the foure and twentieth yere of his age, renouncing the pompe of the worlde, professed himselfe a monke in the Abbey of *Wokingdon*, and the third yere after went to *Crowland*, where he led the life of an anchorite. In the which Ile and place of his burying was builded a faire Abbey, called after ward for the great reioyce and gentle entertainment of strangers, *Crowland* the courtious. But why this *Cutblake* should be fainted for his doings, I see no great cause; as neither doe I thinke the fabulous miracles reported of him to be true: as where the vulgar people are made to beleve, that hee invloshed the devill in a boyling pot, and caused wicked spirits to erect up houses, with such other fables and lying miracles. Among which lying miracles also may be reckoned that which the *Stories* mention in the eleventh yere of the raigne of *Jua*, to be done of one *Withwald* 02 *Witthelme*, who, being dead a long season, was reſtozed to life againe, and told many wonders of strange things that hee had scene, causing thereby great almes and deeds of charity to be done of the people: and so hee, disposing of his goods given in three parts, went to the abbey of *Waltham*, where he continued the rest of his life.

*Horrober*, about the sixteenth yere of the said *Jua*, *Ethelred* King of *Mercia*, after he had there raigned thirty yeres, was made a monke, and after abbat of *Wardney*.

And about the eighteenth yere of the raigne of *Jue*, died the worthy and learned bishop *Adelmus*, first abbat of *Walmesbury*, afterwards bishop of *Schirborne*, of whom *William Walmesbury* writeth plentifully with great commendation, and that not unworthily as I suppose: especially for the notable praise of learning and vertue in him above the rest of that time (next after *Bede*) as the great number of bookes and epistles, with Poems by him set forth, will declare. Although concerning the miracles which the said author ascribeth to him, as first in causing an infant of nine daies old to speake at *Rome*, to declare *Pope Sergius*, which was then suspected the father of the said child; also in hanging his caule upon the sun-beames; Item, in making whole the altar stone of marble brought from *Rome*; Item, in drawing a length one of the timber pieces, which went to the building of the Temple in *Walmesbury*; Item in saving the mariners at *Woburn*, &c. As concerning these and such other miracles, which *William Walmesbury* to him attributeth, I cannot consent to him therein: but thinke rather the same to be monkish devices, forged upon their patrons to maintaine the dignity of their houses. And as the author was deceived (no doubt) in beleiving such fables himselfe, so may he likewise deceive us through the dexterity of his stile and fine handling of the matter; but that further experience hath taught the world now adates more wisdom, in not beleiving such practises. This *Adelmus* was bishop of *Schirborne*, which see after was united to the See of *Winton*. In which Church of *Winton* the like miracles also are to be read of bishop *Adelwolf*, and *S. Switthine*, whom they have canonized likewise for a Saint.

*Horrober*, nere about the five and twentieth of *Jue*, by the report of *Bede*, *Saint John* of *Weberley*, which was then bishop of *Worke*, died, and was buried at the porch of the minster of *Wierwood* 02 *Weberley*. In the which porch it is recorded in some chroniclers, that as the said *John* upon a time was praying, being in the porch of *Saint Michael* in *Worke*, the holy Ghost in the similitude of a Dove

safe before him upon the Altar in brightnesse shining above the sunne. This brightnesse being scene of others, first commeth one of his deacons running unto the porch, who beholding the bishop there standing in his prayers, and all the place replenished with the holy Ghost, was stricken with the light thereof, having all his face burnt, as it were, with hot burning fire. Notwithstanding the bishop by and by cured the face of his Deacon againe, charging them (as the *Story* saith) not to publish what he had scene during his life time, &c. Which tale seemeth as true as that we read about the same time done of *S. Ewine*, in *Polychron.* abbat of *Cantham*, and bishop of *Worcester* (then called *Wulstons*) who upon a time when he had fettered both his feete in irons, fast locked for certaine finnes done in his youth, and had cast the key thereof into the sea, afterwards a fish brought the key againe unto the ship, as he was sailing homeward from *Rome*.

But to leave these monkish phantasies, and reſturne to the right course againe of the *Story*: In the time of this foresaid *Jue*, began first the right observing of *Easter* day to be kept of the *Picts* and of the *Britaines*. In the observation of which day (as is largely set forth in *Bede* and *Polychronicon*, lib. 5. cap. 17. and 22.) three things are necessary to be observed. First, the full moone of the first moneth, that is, of the moneth of *March*; secondly, the dominicall letter: thirdly, the equinoctiall day, which equinoctiall was wont to be counted in the East Church, and especially among the *Egyptians*, to be about the seventeenth day of *March*. So that the full moone either on the equinoctiall day, or after the equinoctiall day being observed, the next dominicall day following that full moone, is to be taken for *Easter* day. Wherein are diligently to be noted two things: First, the fullnesse of the moone must be perfectly full, so that it be the beginning of the third weeke of the moone, which is the fourteenth 02 fiftenth day of the moone: secondly, it is to be noted, that the said perfect fullnesse of the moone, beginning the third weeke, must happen either in the very evening of the equinoctiall day, or after the equinoctiall day: for else if it happen either on the equinoctiall day before the evening, or before the equinoctiall day, then it belongeth to the last moneth of the last yere, and not to the first moneth of the first yere, and so leaveth not to be observed.

This rite and usage in keeping *Easter* day being received in the Latine Church, began now to take place among the *Picts* and *Britaines*, through the busie travell of *Theobodus Cutblacus*, but namely of *Elbert* the holy monke, as they terme him, and of *Colfrid* abbat of *Sirwin* in *Northumberland*, which wrote to *Marcanus*, 02 *Matonus* the King of *Picts*, concerning the same: who also among other things writeth of the shaven crownes of *Priests*, saying; that it was as necessary for the bow of a *Monke*, or the degree of a *Priest*, to have a shaven crowne for restraint of their lust; as for any Christian man to blesse him against spirits, when they come upon him, *Beda*, lib. 5. The copie of which letter as it is in *Beda* I have here annexed, not for any great reason therein contained, but onely to delight the reader with some pastime, in seeing the fond ignorance of that monkish age: the copy of the letter thus proceeded.

## 70 Of the Shaving of Priests, out of the fifth booke of *Beda* the 21. chapter.

Concerning the shaving of *Priests* (whereof you writ also unto me) I exhort you that it be decently observed according to the Christian faith. We are not ignorant that the Apostles were not all shaven after one manner, neither doth the Catholike Church at this day agree in one uniforme manner

Another lying  
table of *Saint*  
*Ewine*.

*Ranulphus* in  
*Polychron.* lib. 5.  
cap. 23.

*Beda* lib. 5. de  
gestis Angl.  
*Polychron.* lib. 5.  
cap. 22.

A generall rule  
serving for the  
observation of  
*Easter* day.

This rule of  
*Easter* seemeth  
to be taken out  
of the booke of  
Numbers: And  
they going out  
of *Rameth* the  
fiftenth day of  
the first month,  
the next day after  
held their  
*Easter*, &c.

Why *Priests*  
crownes were  
shaven.

*Beda* de gest.  
lib. 5.

The copie of a  
monkish letter  
of *Elfrico* to  
King of *Wales*,  
for the shaving  
of *Priests*  
crownes.



of shaving, as they doe in faith, hope and charity. Let us consider the former time of the Patriarchs, and we shall find that Job (an example of patience) even in the very point of his afflictions, did shave his head: and he propheth also, that in the time of his prosperitie, he used to let his haire grow. And Joseph an excellent Doctor and executor of chastity, humilitie, piety, and other vertues, when he was delivered out of prison and servitude, was shaven: whereby it appeareth, that whilest he abode in prison he was unshaven. Behold both these, being men of God, did use an order in the habite of their body one contrary to the other, whose consciences notwithstanding within did well agree in the like grace of vertues. But to speake truly and freely, the difference of shaving hurteth not such as have a pure faith in the Lord, and sincere charity towards their neighbour: especially for that there was never any controverſie amongst the catholike fathers about the diversity thereof, as there hath ben of the difference of the celebration of Easter and of faith. But of all these shavings that we find, either in the Church or elsewhere, there is none in mine opinion so much to be followed and imbraced, as that which he used on his head, to whom the Lord said: Thou art Peter, and upon this rocke I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevaile against it, and I will give thee the keys of the kingdome of Heaven. And contrariwise there is no shaving so much to be abhorred and detested, as that which he used, to whom the same S. Peter said: Why money be with thee to thy destruction, because thou thinkest to possesse the gift of God by thy money, therefore thy part and lot is not in this word. Neither ought we to be shaven on the crowne onely, because S. Peter was to shaven, but because Peter was so shaven in remembrance of the Lords passion: therefore wee that desire by the same passion to be saved, must weare the signe of the same passion with him upon the top of our head, which is the highest part of our body. For as every Church, that is made a Church by the death of the Saviour, doth use to beare the signe of the holy crosse in the front, that it may the better by the defect of that banner, be kept from the invasions of evil spirits, and by the often admonition thereof is taught to crucifie the flesh with the concupiscence of the same: in like manner it becometh such as have the bowles of Honkes, and degrees of the Clergie, to bind themselves with a stricter bit of continency for the Lords sake. And as the Lord bare a crowne of thornes on his head in his passion, whereby he toke and carried away from us the thornes and prickes of our sins: so must every one of us, by shaving our heads, patiently beare, and willingly suffer the mocks and scornes of the world for his sake, that we may receive the crowne of eternall life, which God hath promised to all that love him, and shall by shaving their corporall crownes, beare the aduersity, and continue the prosperitie of this world. But the shaving which Simon Pagus used, what faithfull man doth not detest, together with his magical art? The which at the first appearance hath a shew of a shaven crowne, but if you marke his neck, you shall find it curtailed in such wise, as you will say, it is rather meete to be used of the Simonists, than of the Christians. And such (of foolish men) be thought worthy of the glozy of the eternall crowne: whereas indeed for their ill living, they are worthy not only to be deprived of the same, but also of eternall salvation. I speake not this against them, that use this kind of shaving, and like catholically in faith and good workes, but surely I believe there be divers of them be very holy and godly men, amongst the which is Adamnan, the Abbat & worthy Priest of the Columbians: who when he came Ambassadors from his country unto King Alfride, desired greatly to see our Monastery: where he declared a wonderfull wisdom, humilitie, and religi-

on both in his manners and words. Amongst other talke, I asked him, why he that did believe to come to the crowne of life that should never have end, did use contrary to his believe a definite image of a crowne on his head: And if you heere (quoth I) the fellowship of S. Peter, why doe you use the fashion of his crowne whom S. Peter did acurse, and not of his rather with whom you desire to live eternally? Adamnan answered, saying: You know right well brother, though I use Simons manner of shaving, after the custome of my countrey, yet doe I detest, and with all my heart abhorre his infidelity. I desire notwithstanding to imitate the footsteps of the holy Apostle as far forth as my power will extend. When said I, I believe it is so: but then it is apparant you imitate those things which the Apostle Peter did from the bottome of your heart, if you use the same upon your face that you know he did: for I suppose your wisdom understandeth that it is right decent to differ in the trimming your face of shaving, from his, whom in your heart you abhorre. And contrariwise, as you desire to imitate the doings of him whom you desire to have a Mediator betwene God and you, so it is meete you imitate the manner of his apparell and shaving. Thus much said I to Adamnan, who seemed then well to like our Churches: in so much that he returning into Scotland, reformed many of his Churches there after our celebration, albeit he could not doe so amongst the Honkes, with whom he had speciall authority. He endeavoured also to have reformed their manner of shaving if hee had bene able. And now (O King) I exhort your Majesty to labour together with your people, over whom the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords hath made you governor, to imitate likewise in all these points the catholike and apostolical Churches. So shall it come to passe, that in the end of this your temporal kingdome, the most blessed Prince of the Apostles shall open you the gates of the heavenly kingdome, together with the other elect of God. The grace of the eternall King preserve you most dearly beloved sonne in Christ, long time to raigne over us, to the great tranquillity of us all.

When this letter was read before King Jsaion with other of his learned men, and diligently translated into his proper language, he seemed to rejoyce very much at the exhortation thereof, in so much as rising up from among his noble men, he kneeled on the ground, and gave God thanks that hee had deserved to receive so worthy a present out of England, and so caused it forthwith by publike proclamation to be written out, learned, and observed throughout all the provinces of the Isles, defacing the errors that had bene used there by the space of 704. yeeres. For all the Ministers of the altar and all Honkes were shaven on the crowne, and all the people rejoyced for the new discipline of the most blessed Prince of the Apostle S. Peter, which they had received.

By this monkish letter above prefixed, void of all Scripture, of all probation and truth of history, thou mayest note, gentle reader, how this vaine tradition of shaven crownes hath come up, and upon how light and trifling occasion: which in very deede was none other but the dreaming fantasies of Honkes of that time, falsely grounded upon the example of Peter, when by no old monument of any ancient record they can ever prove, either Peter or Simon Pagus to have bene shaven. Moreover, in the said letter also is to be noted, how the Scottish Clergie at that season, did weare no such Priestly crownes as our English Churchmen then did.

But to cut off this matter of shaving, more worthy to be laughed at, then to be storied, let us now againe returne where as wee left at King Jue, of whom

The difference betweene the shaving of Peter and Simon Pagus. In outward shaven the Christians ought not to resemble wicked doers.

There is but one mediator betweene God and man, Christ Jesus.

The Scottish Honkes and the English monks differed in their shaving.

If Peter shall let in the elect of God into heaven, Christ then freely in little stead.

A note to admonish the reader.

How propheth be the Apostles, Job and Joseph were shaven. Much said, nothing proved.

Diversity of shaven hurteth not the church.

See how these shavings would rather hurt their shaven upon Peter, which is neither found in Scripture, nor any approved story, but onely in painted clothes. Why Priests and Honkes be shaven in the crowne.

The shaving of the crowne what it representeth.

How both the signe of the crosse defend churches from evil spirits, when it cannot keep them from evil Priests? If shaving of the crown doth teach men patience in suffering, how cometh it that we see none more wisely and fully then the shorne generation of monkish bishops?

Simon Pagus shaven, as he saith.



Fabian. cap. 141.  
Guil. Malmesb.  
de reg.

Anno 724.  
Ethelburga the  
queene perswa-  
deth her hus-  
band to be a  
monke.

The crafty  
head of a wo-  
man.

King Iue re-  
signing his  
kingdome, went  
to Rome and  
became a monke.

Ethelburga the  
queene made  
nun of War-  
king.

Peterpence  
first granted  
no paid to  
King.

The lawes  
made by King  
Iue to his pro-  
ple.

Celulfus King  
of Northum-  
berland.

Beda.

whom William Malmesbury and Fabian in his chronicle doe record, that when the foresaid Iue had ruled the Westsaxons by the terme of 37. yeres, by the importunate perswasion and subtil policy of his wife Ethelburga, hee was allured to goe to Rome, there to be made a Monke. Which Ethelburga after shee had a long time laboured him to leade the world, and could not bring about her purpose, upon a season, when the King and shee had rested them in a faire palace richly beggared, and were upon the morrow thence departed: shee by her commandement, caused the palace to be replenished with all kinde of filth and dung, and Hogs and vile beasts therein to be laid, as well in the chambers, as other houses of office: and in their owne chamber where they did lie, there was a sow laid with her young pigs. And when shee knew that this palace was thus deformed, being a certaine space out of the towne, shee besought the King to visit the said palace. And when shee had brought him thercunto, shee said to him: I pray you my Lord, behold now this house, where are now the rich tapets and clothes of gold and silke, and other rich apparell, that was left here this other day: And where be the delicacies and pleasant seruitors and costly dishes, that you and I lately were serued with: We not all these passed and gone: My Lord (saith she) in like manner shall we vanish away, as suddenly as you see these worldly things be passed. And our bodies, which now be delicately kept, shall fall and turne into the filth of the earth. I therefore haue in mind my words that be fore time to you I haue often shewed and told, and buse you to purchase that palace that euer shall indure in joy without transmutation.

By means of these words and other, the Queene turned so the Kings mind, that shortly after hee resigned the governance of his kingdome unto Ethelardus his nephew; and for the love of Christ, tooke on him the habit of a poore man, and setting apart all the pompe and pride of this wicked world, associated himselfe in the fellowship of poore men, and travelled to Rome with great devotion, when he had bene King of Westsaxons (as before is said) thirty seven yeres. After whose departing, the said Ethelburga his wife, went unto Barking seven miles from London, where in the Monastery of Barking, before of Erkenwald founded, shee continued and ended the rest of her life, when she had bene Abbesse of the place a certaine time. The said Malmesbury in his story also testifieth, that this Iue was the first King that granted a penny of every five house through his dominion, to be paid unto the court of Rome, which afterward was called *Monescot*, or *Peterpence*, and long after was paid in many places of England.

This Iue, like as for his time he was worthy and valiant in his ads; so was he the first of the Saxon Kings (that I reade of) which set forth any lawes to his country: the rehearfall of which lawes, to the number of fourescore and odde, were not unprofitable here to be inserted, together with other lawes of the Westsaxon Kings after him, before the time of William the Conqueror; in case it were not for the length and prolirity of this present volume. And thus much concerning the raigne of King Iue, King of the Westsaxons by the way. Now to repaire againe to the course of Northumberland Kings something intermitted.

Pert unto the foresaid Africus, followed Celulfus, whom hee had adopted, brother to Kenred above specified. This Celulfus, as hee was himselfe learned, so were in his time diuers learned men then flourishing in England, among whom was Beda, who unto the same King Celulfus offered his story intituled *Anglorum historia*, not onely to be ratified by his authority, but also to be amended, as Malmesburienfis writeth, by his knowledge and

And for so much as I haue here entered into the mention of Beda, a man of worthy and venerable memory, because of the certifying of the truth of that man: and for that I see all writers, (as touching his life) doe not agree, some saying that he was no Englishman borne: I thought so much to report of him, as I find by his owne words testified of himselfe in the latter end of his Ecclesiasticall history of England, offered to the said Celulfus above mentioned, the words of whom be these:

Thus much (by the help of God) I Beda, the servant of Christ, and Priest of the Monastery of Peter and Paul at Wille, haue compiled and digested concerning the Britaine history. And so the same Beda proceeding further in his narration, declareth that hee being borne in the territory of the said Monastery, being of the age of seven yeres, was committed of his parents and friends, to the tuition and education of Benedict (of whom above relation is made) and of Celfrid, Abbats of the foresaid Monastery. In the which place or Monastery he continuing from that time forth, all his life long, gave himselfe and all his whole study to the meditating of holy Scripture. Whatsoever time or leisure he had from his daily service in the Church, that he spent either in learning or teaching, or writing something. About nineteen yeres of his age, he was made Deacon, the thirtieth yere of his age hee was made Priest. From the which time, to the age of nine and fifty yeres, he occupied himselfe in interpreting the Works of the ancient fathers for his owne use, and the necessity of others: and in writing of treatises: which came in all to the number of seven and thirty volumes, which he digested into threescore and eightene Bookes.

Some say, that he went to Rome, either there to defend his bookes to be consonant to catholike doctrine: or else if they should be found faulty, to amend and correct the same, as he should thereto be commanded. Albeit the reporter of this his life dare not certainly affirme that euer hee was at Rome; but that hee was invited and called thither to come, both it is manifest in stories, and also this Epistle of Pope Sergius doth sufficiently prove: declaring moreover in what price and estimation Beda was accepted, as well in the court of Rome, as in other places besides. The Epistle of Sergius sent to Celfride thus proceedeth, in tenor and forme as followeth in Latine.

The Epistle of Pope Sergius sent to Celfride, Abbat of Wille Abbe, requiring Beda to be sent up to him to Rome, for the fame of his worthy learning.

Sergius Episcopus servus servorum Dei, Celfrido Religioso abbati, Sal. Quibus modis ac verbis clementiam Dei nostri, atque inenarrabilem providentiam possumus effari, & dignas gratiarum actiones pro immensis ejus circa nos beneficiis persolvere, qui in tenebris & in umbra mortis positos ad lumen scientiae perducit? Et infra benedictionis gratiam, quam nobis per presentem portatorem tua devota misit religio, libenti & hilari animo sicuti ab ea directa est, nos suscepisse, cognosce. Opportunis igitur ac dignis amplectenda tua sollicitudinis petitionibus arduissima devotione satisficientes, hortamur Deo dilectam religiositatis tuae bonitatem, ut quis exortis quibusdam Ecclesiasticarum causarum capitulis, non sine examinatione longius innotescendis, opus nobis sunt ad conferendum artes literaturae, sicut decet Deo devotum auxiliatorem sanctae matris universalis Ecclesiae obedientem devotionem huic nostrae exhortationi non desistas accommodare: sed absque ulla immoratione religiosum Dei famulum Bedam, venerabilem Monasterii tui presbyterum, ad limina Apostolorum principum dominorum meorum Petri & Pauli amatorum tuorum ac protecto-

Anno 729.  
The life of Beda briefly described.

This Benedict master to Beda was the first that brought in the use of glasse windows into England. Also the said Benedict brought from Rome with him John the archchanter, who did taught in England to sing in the quire after the manner of Rome. The number of the bookes and bookes written by Beda.

An epistle of pope Sergius.



rum, ad nostræ mediocritatis conspectum non more-  
ris dirigere. Quem, satisfaciendo Domino sanctis tuis  
precibus, non diffidas prosperè ad te redire (peracta  
premissorum capitulorum cum auxilio Dei desiderata  
solennitate.) Erit enim ut confidimus, etiam cunctis  
tibi creditis profuturum, quicquid Ecclesiæ generali  
claruerit per ejus præstantiam impartitum, &c.

So notable and famous was the learning of this  
foresaid Weda, that the church of Rome (as by this  
letter appeareth) both stood in need of his helpe, and  
also required the same, about the discussing of cer-  
taine causes and controversies appertaining to lear-  
ning. Whereof, the whole Latine church at that  
time gave him the mastery in judgment and know-  
ledge of the holy Scriptures. In all his explanati-  
ons, his chiefest scope and purpose did ever drive to  
instruct and informe his reader, simply, and with-  
out all curiousnesse of stile, in the sincere love of  
God and of his neighbour. As touching the holi-  
nesse and integrity of his life, it is not to be doubted.  
For how could it be, that he should attend to any  
vicious idlenesse, or had any leisure to the same, who  
in reading and digressing so many volumes, con-  
sumed all his whole cogitations in writing upon the  
Scriptures: for so he testifieth of himselfe in  
the third Booke of Samuel, saying in these words:  
If my Treatises and expositions, saith he, bring  
with them no other utility to the readers thereof;  
yet to my selfe they conduce not a little thus, that  
while all my study and cogitation was set upon  
them, in the meane while of slippery inticements  
and vaine cogitations of this world I had little  
mind. Thus in this travell of study he continued  
till the age of sixty two yeeres: at length, drawing  
to his latter end, being sicke seven weekes together,  
besides other occupings of his mind, and other stu-  
dies which he did not intermit, he translated also the  
Gospell of S. John into English. At length, with  
great comfort of spirit, he departed this life, pro-  
nouncing many comfortable sayings to them that  
stood about him, upon Ascension day, the same  
yeere when Rothelinus was instituted Archbishop  
of Canturbury. And thus much concerning the  
lode of Weda.

This Celulfus, King of Northumberland, afore  
mentioned, after he had reigned eight yeeres was  
made a Monk in the Abby of ffarne, otherwise cal-  
led Lindisfar, or Holy Island: where by his meanes  
licence was given to the Monks of that house to  
dunke wine or ale, which before, by the institution  
of Aidanus above mentioned, dunke nothing but  
milke and water. After whom succeeded Egbert  
his cousin, brother to Egbert (the same time being  
Bishop of Dorset) which brought againe thither the  
pall that his predecessors had forgoone, since the time  
that Paulinus had left the See, and fled to Roche-  
ster, as is before declared. The said Egbert also  
erected a noble library in Dorset, whose example I  
wish other Bishops now would follow.

About the beginning of the reigne of this Egbert,  
was Cuthbert, Archbishop of Canturbury, who col-  
lected a great Synod of Bishops and Prelats, in the  
yeere of our Lord, 747. in the month of September,  
nere to the place called Clonetho. In the which  
Synod assembled, these decrees were enacted.

1 First, that Bishops should be more diligent in  
seeing to their office, and in admonishing the people  
of their faults.

2 That they should live in a peaceable minde to-  
gether, notwithstanding they were in place dis-  
tanced asunder.

3 That every Bishop once a yeere should goe  
about all the parishes of his Diocese.

4 That the said Bishops every one in his Dio-  
ces should monish their Abbats and Monks to live  
regularly: and that Prelats should not oppresse  
their inferiours, but love them.

5 That they should teach the Monasteries which  
the secular men had inhabited, and could not then be  
taken from them, to live regularly.

6 That none should be admitted to orders, be-  
fore his life should be examined.

7 That in Monasteries the reading of holy  
Scripture should be more frequented.

8 That Prelats should be no disposers of secular  
business.

9 That they should take no money for baptizing  
infants.

10 That they should both learne and teach the  
Lordes Prayer and Creed in the English tongue.

11 That all should some together in their Spi-  
rituality after one uniforme rite and manner.

12 That in a modest voyce they should sing in  
the Church.

13 That all holy and festiual daies should be  
celebrated at one time together.

14 That the Sabbath day be reverently obser-  
ved and kept.

15 That the seven houres canonicall every day  
be observed.

16 That the rogation daies, both the greater  
and lesser should not be omitted.

17 That the feast of S. Gregory and S. Austin  
our Patron should not be omitted.

18 That the fast of the four times should be  
kept and observed.

19 That Monks and Nuns should goe regular-  
ly apparelled.

20 That Bishops should see these decrees not to  
be neglected.

21 That the Churchmen should not give them-  
selves unto drunkennesse.

22 That the Communion should not be negle-  
cted of the Churchmen.

23 Item, that the same also should be observed of  
laymen, as time required.

24 That laymen first should be well tried, be-  
fore they entred into Monastery.

25 That almes be not neglected.

26 That Bishops should see these decrees to be  
notified to the people.

27 They disputed of the profit of almes.

28 They disputed of the profit of singing Psalms.

29 That the congregation should be constitute,  
after the ability of their goods.

30 That Monks should not dwell among lay-  
men.

31 That publike Prayer should be made for  
Kings and Princes.

These decrees and ordinances being thus among  
the Bishops concluded, Cuthbert the Archbishop  
sendeth the copy thereof to Boniface, which Boni-  
face, otherwise named Winfride, an English man  
borne, was then Archbishop of Mentz, and after  
made a martyr, as the Popish stories terme him.

This Boniface being, as is said, Archbishop of  
Mentz in the time of this foresaid Synod, wrote a  
letter to Ethelbald King of Merceland: which E-  
thelbald was also present in the same Synod, of  
whom Weda maketh mention in his history, calling  
him proud Ethelbald, and the greatest of the Saxon  
Kings in his time. First this Ethelbald, after the  
departing of Celulf into his Monastery, invaded and  
spoiled the country of Northumberland. Whereof,  
he exercised most all and horrible warre a long space  
with Cudred, otherwise of some named Cuthbert,  
King of the East Saxons: furthermore, he with other  
Saxon Kings so impugned the Brittaines, that from  
that time they never durst provoke the Saxons any  
more. At length the said Cudred, refusing the intol-  
erable exactions of proud Ethelbald, both encounter  
with him in battell: where notwithstanding the great  
power that Ethelbald had to him adjoynd, of the  
Mercians, of the East Saxons, of the East Angles, and  
of the Cantuarians; yet the said Cudred through  
Gods

The rogation  
daies had not  
then that super-  
stition in them,  
which they had  
afterward.

Boniface an  
English man  
Archbishop of  
Mentz.

Ethelbald King  
of Merceland.

The famous  
learning of  
Weda.

Weda commen-  
ted for interpre-  
tation of life.

Anno  
735.

Saint Johns  
Gospell transla-  
ted into Eng-  
lish by Weda.

Celulfus of a  
King made a  
Monk.

Egbert King  
of Northum-  
berland.

Anno  
747.

Ex Malmsb.  
lib. de gestis  
pontif. Anglo.  
Cuthbert Arch-  
bishop of Can-  
turbury.



Ethelbald a  
strong and  
valiant war-  
rior.  
Widre ober-  
theolme.

Gods power, and the meanes of a certaine valiant  
warrior, called Ethelbald, a Consul, oberthelw the  
pride of Ethelbald, after a foze and terrible conflict.  
Which Ethelbald notwithstanding repairing his  
power againe the next yere after, renewed bat-  
telle with the foresaid Cudred; in the which battell  
Ethelbald (after he had raigned one and forty yeres  
in Mercia) was slaine by one Beorned, who after  
raigned in that Dition but a small time. For Offa,  
nephue to the said Ethelbald, expelled the said Beor-  
nered, and succeeded King in that Province of Mer-  
cia, where he raigned nine and thirty yeres, of  
whom more followeth hereafter (the Lord Iesus  
speeding therein our purpose) to be declared, as place  
and time shall require. In the meane season, not  
to forget the letter before mentioned of Boniface,  
Archbishop of Mentz, sent unto this Ethelbald; I  
thought the same not unworthy here to be inserted  
(at the least the effect thereof) not so much for the  
authors sake, as for that some good matter, perad-  
venture, may be picked thereout for other Princes  
to behold and consider.

The copy and tenor of the Letter of  
Boniface, Archbishop of Mentz, and Martyr  
of God (an Englishman) sent to Ethelbald,  
King of Mercia, freely and yet charitably ad-  
monishing him of his adulterous life,  
and oppression of Churches.

**R**Egi & filio charissimo, & in Christi amore ceteris  
regibus Anglorum praeferendo Ethelbaldo, Bo-  
nifacius Archiepiscopus legatus Germanicus Romanæ  
Ecclesiæ perpetuum in Christo charitatis salutem.  
Consistimus coram Deo, qui novit an verè atque ex  
animo dicam: quando prosperitatem vestram, & fi-  
dem, & bona opera audimus, letamur: quando au-  
tem aliquid adversum vel ineventu bellorum, vel de  
periculo animarum, de vobis cognoscimus, tristamur.  
Audivimus enim quod Eleemosynis intentus, furta &  
rapinas prohibes, & pacem diligis, & defensor vi-  
duarum & pauperum es, & inde gratias Deo agimus.  
Quod verò legitimum matrimonium spernis, si pro-  
castitate facerès, esset laudabile: sed quia in luxu &  
adulterio & cum sanctimonialibus volutaris, est vi-  
tuperabile & damnabile. Nam & famam gloriæ  
vestræ coram Deo & hominibus confundit, & in-  
ter idolatras constituit, quia templum Dei violasti.  
Quapropter fili charissime poenitere, & memorare  
oportet, quam turpe sit, ut tu qui multis gentibus,  
dono Dei dominaris, ad injuriam ejus sis libidinis  
servus. Audivimus præterea quod optimates penè  
omnis gentis Merciorum tuo exemplo legitimas ux-  
ores deserant, & adulteras & sanctimoniales consti-  
pant. Quod quam sit peregrinum ab honestate,  
doceat vos alienæ gentis institutio. Nam in anti-  
qua Saxonia ubi nulla est Christi cognitio, si virgo  
in materna domo, vel maritata, sub conjuge fuerit  
adultera, manu propria strangulatam cremant, & su-  
pra fossam sepulcræ corruptorem suspendunt, aut cin-  
gulo tenus (vestibus abicissis) flagellant eam castæ  
matronæ & cultellis pungunt; & de villa in villam  
missæ occurrunt novæ flagellatrices, donec interimant.  
Insuper & Vinuli, quod est foedissimum genus ho-  
minum, hunc habent morem, ut mulier viro mor-  
tuo se in rogo cremantis pariter arsuræ præcipitet. Si  
ergo gentiles Deum ignorantes, tantum zelum casti-  
tatis habent, quid tibi convenit fili charissime, qui  
Christianus & rex es? Parce ergo animæ tuæ: par-  
ce multitudini populi tui pereuntis exemplo tuo: de  
quorum animabus redditurus es rationem. Atten-  
de & illud, quid si gens Anglorum (sicut in Fran-  
cia, & Italia, & ab ipsis paganis nobis impropria-  
tur) spretis legitimis matrimoniis per adulteria defi-  
cit, nasciturque sit ex ea commixtione gens ignava &  
Dei contemptrix, quæ perditis moribus patriam pes-  
fundet: sicut Burgundionibus & Provincialibus, &

Hispanis contigit, quos Saraceni multis annis infesta-  
runt propter peccata præterita? Præterea nunciatum  
est nobis, quod multa privilegia Ecclesiarum & Mo-  
nasteriorum auferens, ad hoc audendum duces tuos  
exemplo provokes. Sed recogita quaslo quam terri-  
bilem vindictam Deus in Anteriores reges exercuit,  
ejusdem culpæ conscios, quam in te arguimus. Nam  
Celredum prædecessorum tuum supratorem sanctimo-  
nialium, & Ecclesiasticorum privilegiorum fractorem,  
splendide cum suis comitibus epulantem spiritus ma-  
lignus arripuit: & sine confessione & viatico, cum  
diabolo sermocinanti, & legem Dei detestanti ani-  
mam extorsit. Ofredum quoque regem Deirorum &  
Bernicorum, earundem culpularum reum, ita effrana-  
tum regem egit, ut regnum & juvenilem ætatem con-  
temptibili morte amitteret. Carolus quoque prin-  
ceps Francorum, Monasteriorum multorum everfor,  
& Ecclesiasticarum pecuniarum in usus proprios com-  
mutator, longa torsione, & verenda morte con-  
sumptus est. Et mox infra: Quapropter fili cha-  
rissime, paternis & obnixis precibus deprecamur, ut  
non desipias consilium patrum tuorum, qui pro Dei  
amore celsitudinem tuam appellare saragunt. Nihil  
enim bono regi salubrius, quam si talia commissa  
cum arguantur, libenter emendantur, quia per Salo-  
monem dicitur: Qui diligit disciplinam, diligit sa-  
pientiam. Ideo, fili charissime, ostendentes consili-  
um justum, contestamur & obsecramus per viven-  
tem Deum, & per filium ejus Iesum Christum, & per  
spiritum sanctum, ut recorderis quam fugitiva sit vi-  
ta præsens, & quam brevis & momentanea delectatio  
spurcæ carnis: & quam ignominiosum sit ut brevis  
vitæ homo mala exempla in perpetuum posteris re-  
linquat. Incipe ergo melioribus moribus vitam com-  
ponere, & præteritos errores juventutis corrigere, ut  
hic coram hominibus laudem habeas & in futuro  
æterna gloria gaudeas. Valere celsitudinem tuam, &  
in bonis moribus proficere optamus.

**40** In this Epistle here is to be sene and noted, first  
the corruption and great disorder of life which al-  
way from time to time hath bene found in these re-  
ligious houses of Nuns, whose pprofessed vow of co-  
acted chastity hath yet never been good to the Church,  
nor profitable to the commonwealth, and least of all  
to themselves. As such young and wanton wid-  
dowes S. Paul in his time complaineth, 1 Tim. 5.  
which would take upon them the wilfull profession  
of single life, which they were not able to performe,  
but falling into damnable luxury, deserved worthi-  
ly to be reprehended. How much better had it bene  
for these lascivious Nuns not to have refused the  
safe yoke of Christian matrimony, than to intangle  
themselves in this their superstitious vow of perpe-  
tuall maidenhood, which neither was required of  
them, nor they were able to keepe?

**50** Secondly, no lesse are they also to be reprehended,  
which maintained these superstitious orders of un-  
profitable Nuns and of other religions. In the num-  
ber of whom was this foresaid Boniface, otherwile  
called Winfride, who, although in this Epistle he  
both justly reprehend the vicious enormities both of  
secular and of religious persons; yet he himselfe is  
not without the same or rather greater reprehensi-  
on, for that he gave the occasion thereof in maintain-  
ing such superstitious orders of such lascivious nuns  
and other religions, and restraining the same from  
lawfull marriage. For so we find of him in stories  
that he was a great setter up and upholder of such  
blind superstition, and of all popery. He being ad-  
mitted by Pope Gregory the second, Archbishop of  
Ragunze, and indued with full authority legantine  
over the Germans, brought divers countries there  
under the Popes obedience, held many great coun-  
cels, ordained Bishops, builded Monasteries, cano-  
nized Saints, commanded reliques to be worshipped,  
permitted religious fathers to carry about Nuns  
with them a preaching. Amongst al other he founded  
the

The corrupt  
life of Nuns  
noted.

The popish  
acts and do-  
ings of Boni-  
face Archbi-  
shop of Ra-  
gunze.



The monastery of Fulda in Germany, built by Boniface, which he received from Pope Zachary, Childericus, King of France, was deposed from the right of his crowne, and Pipinus, betrayer of his Master, was confirmed, or rather intruded in. From this Boniface proceeded that detestable doctrine which now standeth registered in the Popes decrees, Dist. 40. cap. Si papa. Which in a certaine Epistle of his is this; that in case the Pope were of most filthy living, and forgetfull or negligent of himselfe, and of the whole Christianity, in such sort, that he led innumerable soules with him to hell: yet ought there no man to rebuke him in so doing, for he hath (saith he) power to iudge all men, and ought of no man to be iudged againe.

In the time of this Archbishop, Pope Gregory the second, also Gregory the third, and Pope Zachary, and before these also Pope Constantine the first, wrought great massacres against the Greek Emperors Philippicus and Leo, and others for the maintaining of images to be set up in Churches. Of whom Philippicus lost both his Empire, and also his eyes: Leo for the same cause likewise was excommunicate of Gregory the third. This Gregory the third (so far as I can conjecture) was he that first wrote the foure bookes of dialogues in Greeke, falsely bearing the name of Gregory the first, which bookes afterward, Zachary his successor translated out of Greeke into Latine. Item, the said Gregory the third, first brought into the masse canon the clause for reliques, beginning Quorum solennitates hodie in conspectu, &c. Item, brought into the said canon the memorialis, the offering and sacrifice for the dead: like as Zachary brought in the Priestes vesture and ornaments, and as the foresaid Constantine also was the first that gave his feet to be killed of the Emperors. But to turne againe into the course of our English story.

In the time of this Egbert, King of Northumberland, Sigebert, or Sigbert reigned in Westsaxon, a man of so cruell tyranny to his subjects (turning the lawes and customes of his forefathers after his owne will and pleasure) that when he was somewhat sharply addrest by one of his Nobles, an Earle called Combranus, to change his manners, and to behaue himselfe more prudently toward his people: he therefore maliciously caused him to be put to cruell death. Whereupon the said King Sigebert continuing his cruell conditions, by his subjects conspiring against him, was put from his kingly dignity, & brought into such desolation, that wandering alone in a wood without comfort, was there slaine, even by the swineheard of the said Earle, whom before he had so wrongfully murdered, as partly is above touched. Whereby is to be seene the cruell tyranny of Princes never to prosper well, without the iust revenge both of God and man.

This Sigebert being slaine, in his place succeeded Kenulphus, in the yeere of our Lord, 748. who with the agreement of the Westsaxons, was one of the chiefe doers against Sigebert his Master. This Kenulphus kept strongly his Lordship against Offa, and against the power of all his enemies, till at length after that he had reigned, as Fabian saith, one and thirty yeeres, he resorting to a Paramour which he kept at Berston, was there befest, and likewise slaine by the traine and meanes of a certaine kinsman of the foresaid Sigebert, named Clito or Cliton, in revengement of King Sigeberts death.

Moreover, in the raigne of the foresaid Egbert, King of Northumberland, and in the eighth yeere of Kenulphus, King of Westsaxons, Offa, after he had slaine the tyrant Beoruredus, which before had slaine Ethelwald, King of Mercia, and uncle to this foresaid Offa, reigned King of that Province.

Of this Offa are told many notable deeds; which because they concerne rather politicall affaires, and doe not greatly appertaine to the purpose of this Ecclesiasticall history, I omit here to recite; As his wars and victories against Egbert, King of the Northumbrians, as also against Ethelred King of Eastangles. Item, against Egbert, King of Kent, otherwise called Aethen, whom (as Fabian saith) he tooke prisoner, and led bound with him to Mercia. Kenulphus witnesseth otherwise this to be done not by Offa, but by Kenulphus, as Christ willing, hereafter shall appear. After these victories, Offa had such displeasure unto the citizens of Canterbury, that he removed the Archbishops See, and lands of Lambeth Archbishop of Canterbury (by the agreement of Pope Adrian) unto Litchfield. He also chased the Britanes or Welchmen into Wales, and made a famous ditch betwene Wales and the utter bounds of Mercia, or middle England, which was called Offa's ditch, and builded there a Church, which long time after was called Offa's Church. This Offa also married one of his daughters to Brightricus that was a King of Westsaxons. And for that in his time was variance betwene him and the Frenchmen, in so much that the passage of Merchants was forbidden; therefore he sent Alcuinus a learned man unto Charles the great, then King of France, to commune the meanes of peace: which Charles had after that the said Alcuinus in great labour and estimation, and afterwards made him Abbat of Turonia in France.

About the latter time of the raigne of Offa, King of Mercia, Ethelbert being then King of Eastangles (a learned and a right goodly Prince) came to the court of Offa, provoked by the counsell of his Nobles to sue for the marriage of his daughter, well accompanied like a Prince with his men about him. Whereupon the Queene conceiving a false suspicion, and fearing that which was never minded; that Ethelbert with his company, under the pretence and made matter of marriage, was come to worke some violence against her husband, and the kingdome of Mercia; so he perswaded with King Offa and certaine of her counsell that night, that the next day following, Offa caused him to be trained into his palace alone from his company, by one called Guimbertus: who tooke him and bound him, and there stracke off his head, which forthwith he then presented to the King and Queene. And thus the innocent King Ethelbert was wrongfully murdered, about the yeere of our Lord, 793. but not without a iust revenge at Gods hands. For, as the story recordeth, the foresaid Queene, worker of this villany, lived not thre moneths after, and in her death was so tormented, that she was faine to bite and rent her tongue in pieces with her owne teeth. Offa understanding at length the innocency of this King, and the haynous cruelty of his fact, gave the tenth part of his goods to holy Church, and to the Church of Hereford, in the remembrance of this Ethelbert, he bestowed great lands. Moreover, he builded the Abby of S. Albons, with certaine other Monasteries besides. And so afterward he went up to Rome for his penance, where he gave to the Church of S. Peter a peny through every house in his dominion, which was called commonly Rome-shot, or Peter-pence, paid to the Church of S. Peter: and there at length was transformed from a King to a Monk, about the yeere of our Lord, 794. with Beoruredus King of Northumberland above mentioned, although some stories deny that he was a Monk.

After Offa King of Mercia, when he had reigned nine and thirty yeeres, succeeded his sonne Egfridus, who reigned but foure moneths, of whom thus writeth the foresaid Alcuinus: Non arbitror quod nobilissimus juvenis Egfridus propter peccata sua mortuus sit: sed quia pater suus, pro confirmatione regni ejus multum sanguinem effudit, &c. that is, This

An untruth noted in the story of Fabianus.

The primacy of Canterbury removed to Litchfield. Lambeth archbishop of Canterbury.

This Alcuinus is commended for his learning next to Adalmodus and Beda above all Saxons.

Ethelbert King of Eastangles wrongfully murdered by Offa. The same suspicion and wicked counsell of a woman.

Ex hist. Iornensis & Almufric. Ethelbert King of Eastangles wrongfully murdered.

Offa and Kenulphus of kings made Monks at Rome.

Egfridus King of Mercia. Alcuinus ofberto patricio. The fathers fault punished in the child.

This



This noble young man died not so much for offences of his owne, as for that his father had spilled much blood to confirme him in his kingdom.

Pert to which Egbertus succeeded Kenulphus in the said kingdom of Mercia, which Kenulphus keeping and retaining the hatred of Offa his predecessor against the Cantuaris, made warre upon them, where he tooke Egbert their King, otherwise called Alren, whom he bound and led prisoner to Mercia. Notwithstanding, shortly after being mollified with Princely clemency in the towne of Winchcombe, where he had builded the same time a Church, upon the day when he should dedicate the same in the presence of thirtene Bishops, and of Cutbert, whom he had placed in the same kingdom of Canterbury before, and ten Dukes, and many other great estates, King Kenulphus brought the said Egbert King of Kent, out of prison into the Church, where he enlarged him out of imprisonment, and restored him to his place againe.

At the sight whereof, not only Cutbert the foresaid King rejoyced, but also all the estates and people being there present, made such an exclamation of ioy and gladnesse, that the Church (and not only the Church, but also the streets) rang withall. At which time such bountifullnesse of gifts & jewels was then bestowed, that from the highest estate to the lowest, none departed without something giuen, according as to every degree was thought meet. Yet cautes there be why I assent rather unto Malinesbury and to Polychronicon, which attribute the same to Kenulphus the second King of Mercia after Offa.

A little before in speaking of certaine Bishops of Rome, mention was made of Pope Constantine the first, Pope Gregory the second, Pope Gregory the third, and of Pope Zachary, which deposed Childerike, and set up Pipinus the French King, &c. Pert after this Zachary in order, followed Pope Stephan the second, to whom the foresaid Pipinus, to gratifie againe the See of Rome for this their benefit shewed to him, gave and contributed to the said See of Rome, the Exarchat or Princesdome of Ravenna, the Kingdom of the Lombards, and many other great possessions of Italy, with all the cities thereto adioyning unto the borders of Venice. And this donation of Pipin, no doubt, if the truth were rightly tried, should be found to be the same, which hitherto falsly hath been thought to be the donation of Constantine. For else how could it be that the Exarchat of Ravenna could belong all this while to the Emperors of Constantinople, if Constantine before had giuen it and all Italy from the Empire of the See of Rome?

As this Pipinus, as witnesseth Polychronicon, was sent first into France, the invention of the Organs out of Grecia, by Constantine, Emperour of Constantinople, in the yere of our Lord, 757.

Pert to this Stephan the second, succeeded Paul the first, who following his predecessors, thundered out great excommunication against Constantinus the Emperour of Constantinople, for abrogating and plucking downe images set up in Temples. Notwithstanding this, Constantine neglecting the Popes vaine curses, persevered in his blessed purpose, in destroying idolatry till the end of his life. When came to be Pope Constantinus the second, a lay man, & brother to Desiderius the King of Lombardy, for the which cause he was shortly deposed, and thrust into a Monastery, having his eyes put out.

In whose stead succeeded Stephan the third, who obtained after, that no lay man should be Pope: condemning moreover the counsell of Constantinople the seventh for hereticall, because in that counsell the worshipping of images was reprobed and condemned. Contrary to the which counsell, this Pope not onely maintained the filthy idolatry of images in Christian temples, but also advanced their bene-

ration, commanding them most ethnically to be increased, &c. At this time Carolus Magnus, called Charles the great, a little before mentioned, began to reign, by whom this Pope caused Desiderius the Lombard King to be deposed.

Then in this race of Popes, after this Stephan the third, commeth Adrianus the first, who likewise following the steps of his fathers the Popes, added and attributed to the veneration of images more than all the other had done before, writing a booke for the adoration and utility proceeding of them, commanding them to be taken for lay mens kalendars, holding moreover a Synod at Rome against itselfe, and all others that spake against the setting up of such stockes and images. And as Paul the first before him made much of the body of Petronilla S. Peters daughter: so this Adrian clothed the body of S. Peter all in silver, and robered the altar of Saint Paul with a pall of gold. This

Pope Adrian was he whom we declared in the former part of this treatise, to ratifie and confirme by revelation the order of S. Gregories masse, above the order of S. Ambrose masse: for unto this time, which was about the yere of our Lord, 780. the liturgie of S. Ambrose was more used in the Italian Churches. The story whereof, because it is requirred in Durandus, Paucerus, and Iacobus de Voragine, I thought here to insert the same to this speciall purpose, for the reader to understand the time when this usuall masse of the Papists began first to be uniuersall and uniforme, and generally in Churches to be receiued. Thus it followeth in the story by the foresaid authors set forth. Iacobus de Voragine, in the life of Pope Gregory the first, telleth a tale concerning this matter.

In times past (saith he) when the service which Ambrose made, was more frequented and used in Churches, then was the service which Gregory had appointed, the Bishop of Rome then called Adrian gathered a counsell together: in the which it was ordained, that Gregories service should be obserued and kept uniuersally. Which determination of the counsell, Charles the Emperour did diligently put in execution, while he ran about by diuers Provinces, and informed all the Clergie, partly with threatenings, and partly with punishments to receive that order. And as touching the Bookes of Ambrose service, he burnt them to ashes in all places, and threw into prison many Priests that would not consent and agree unto the matter. Blessed Eugenius the Bishop comming unto the counsell, found that it was dissolved three daies before his comming. Notwithstanding through his wisdom, he so perswaded the Lord Pope, that he called againe all the Prelates that had bene present at the counsell, and were now departed by the space of three daies. Therefore when the counsell was gathered againe together, in this all the fathers did consent and agree, that both the masse bookes of Ambrose and Gregory should be laid upon the altar of blessed S. Peter the Apostle, and the Church doores diligently shut, and most warily sealed up with the signets of many and diuers Bishops. Again, that they should all the whole night giue themselves to prayer, that the Lord might reueale, open, and shew unto them by some euident signe or token, which of these two services he would have used in the Temples. Thus they doing in all points as they had determined, in the morning opened the Church doores, and found both the missals, or masse bookes open upon the altar: or rather (as some say) they found Gregories masse booke utterly plucked asunder, one piece from another, and scattered ober all the Church. As touching Ambrose booke, they only found it open upon the altar in the very same place where they before laid it. This miracle Pope Adrian, like a wise expounder of dreams, interpreted thus, that as the leaves were torne and blowne abroad all the Church over, so should Grego-

The Pope adrian, Gloria in excelsis, to be sung in the masse at Saint Peters altar by the Cardinals.

Pope Adrian the first.

Images again maintained by the Pope to be lay mens kalendars.

The body of S. Peter clothed in silver.

The order of the Romish masse booke when it came into.

Ex Durando, Nauclero, Iacob de Voragine, in vita Greg.

Et tamen ipsi commentum placet. Terent.

Egbert King of Kent taken prisoner.

A Princely example of clemency in a noble King.

The Church of Winchcombe builded by king Kenulphus.

Egbert king of Kent released out of prison.

A place of Fabian doubted.

Pope Stephan the second.

The donation of Pipinus falsly taken to be the donation of Constantine.

Ex Poly. c. lib. 5. cap. 25.

Pope Paul the first. Images againe maintained by the Pope against the Emperour.

A lay man Pope, who was deposed, and had his eyes put out.

Pope Stephan the third. The counsell of Constantinople the seventh condemned of the Pope, for condemning images.



gories booke be used throughout the world. Where upon they thought themselves sufficiently instructed and taught of God, that the service which Gregory had made, ought to be set abroad and used throughout the world, and that Ambrose his service should only be observed and kept in his owne Church of Mediolanum, where he sometime was bishop.

Thus hast thou heard (brother Reader) the full and whole narration of this mysticall miracle, with the Popes exposition upon the same, which seemeth to be as true as that which Daniel speaketh of, how the idoll Bell did eat up all the meat that was set before him all the night, Daniel 14. Concerning the which miracle, I need not admonish thee to smell out the blinde practises of these night-crowes, to blinde the world with forged inventions in stead of true stories. Albeit to grant the miracle to be most true and unfallible, yet as touching the exposition thereof, another man beside the Pope percase might interpret this great miracle otherwise, as thus; that God was angrie with Gregories booke, and therefore rent it in peeces, and scattered it abroad, and the other as good, lay sound, untouched, and at the least so to be preferred. Now withstanding, what soever is to be thought of this miracle with the exposition thereof, thus the matter fell out, that Gregories service had onely the place, and yet hath to this day in the greatest part of Europe, the service of Ambrose being excluded. And thus much touching the great act of Pope Adrian for the setting up of the Masse. By the relation whereof, yet this knowledge may come to the Reader, at least to understand how that commonly in Christian Nations abroad, as yet no unifoyme order of any Missall or Masse booke was received, as hath bene hitherto discoursed.

Now from the Popes to returne againe to the Emperours, from whence we digressed: like as Martinus the father of Charles (as hath bene before sufficiently told) had given to the Sea papall all the Princedome of Ravenna, with other donations and rebvenues and lands in Italy; so this Carolus following his fathers devotion did confirme the same, adding mozeover thereunto, the cite and dominion of Venice, Histria, the Dukedome of Iosulien, the Dukedome Spoletanum, and Beneventanum, and other possessions moze, to the patrimony of St. Peter, making him the Prince of Rome and of Italy. The Pope againe to recompence his so gentle kindness, made him to be intituled Most Christian king, and made him Patricius Romanum, mozeover, ordained him only to be taken for Emperour of Rome. For these and other causes moze, Carolus bare no little affection to the said Adrian above all other Popes: as may well appeare by this letter of Carolus Magnus sent to King Offa, what time the said Offa (as is above preferred) sent to him Alcuinus for intreaty of peace: whereto the foresaid Carolus answereth againe to the message of Offa in a letter, the contents whereof be these.

The tenor of a letter sent by Carolus Magnus to King Offa, answering to his request concerning the intreaty of peace betweene them.

Carolus rex Francorum & Longobardorum, patricius Romanorum, viro venerando, & fratri charissimo Offa regi Merciorum salutem. Primò gratias agimus omnipotenti Deo, de Catholicæ fidei sinceritate, quam in vestris laudabilibus paginis reperimus exaratam. De peregrinis vero, qui pro amore Dei, & salute animarum suarum, beatorum Apostolorum limina desiderant adire, cum pace sine omni perturbatione vadant. Sed si aliqui religioni non servientes, sed lucra sectantes inveniantur inter eos, locis opportunis statuta solvant telonia. Negotiatores quoque volumus ut ex mandato nostro patrociniū habeant in regno nostro legitime. Et si in aliquo loco injusta affli-

gantur oppressiones, reclamant se ad nos, vel nostros iudices, & plenam iustitiam iubemus fieri. Cognoscatur quoque dilectio vestra, quod aliquam benignitatem de Delmaticis nostris vel palliis ad singulas sedes episcopales regni vestri vel Echebredi direximus, in elemosynam domini apostolici Adriani, deprecantes ut pro eo intercedi jubeatis, nullam habentes dubitationem beatam illius animam in requie esse, sed ut fidem & dilectionem ostendamus in amicū nobis charissimum. Sed & de thesauro humanarum rerum, quum Dominus Iesus gratuita pietate concessit aliquid per metropolitanas civitates; direximus vestræ quoque dilectioni unum baltheum, & unum gladium, & duo Pallia serica, &c.

The cause why this Carolus writeth so favourably of Adrian, partly is touched before, partly also was, for that Caroloman his elder brother being dead, his wife called Bertha with her two children came to Adrian, to have them confirmed in their fathers kingdom, wherunto the Pope to shew a pleasure to Carolus would not agree: but gave the mother with her two children, and Desiderius the Lombard king with his whole kingdom, his wife and children, into the hands of the said Carolus, who led them with him captive into France, and there kept them in servitude during their life.

Thus Carolus Magnus being proclaimed Emperour of Rome, through the preferment of Adrian and Pope Leo the third, which succeeded next after him, the Empire was translated from the Grecians about the yeare of our Lord 801. unto the Frenchmen, where it continued about one hundred and two yeares, till the coming of Conradus and his nephew Otto, which were Germans: and so hath continued after them among the Germans unto this present time. This Charles builded so many Monasteries as there be letters in the row of the A B C, he was beneficial chiefly to the Churchmen, also mercifull to the poore, in his acts valiant and triumphant, skilful in all languages; he held a Councell at Francford, where was condemned the Councell of Nice and Irene, for setting up and worshipping images, &c.

Concerning which Councell of Nice, and things there concluded and enacted (because no man shall thinke the detesting of images to be any new thing now begun) thus I finde it recorded in an ancient written history of Roger Hoveden, called Continuationes Bedæ: his words in Latine be these. Anno 792. Carolus Rex Francorum misit Synodalem librum ad Britanniam, sibi a Constantinopoli directum. In quo lib. heu proli dolor, multa inconvenientia, & veræ fidei contraria reperiuntur, maxime quod pene omnium orientalium doctorum non minus quam 300. vel eo amplius episcoporum unanimi assertione confirmatum sit, imagines adorari debere: quod omnino Ecclesia Dei execratur. Contra quod scripsit Albinus epistolam ex autoritate divinarum scripturarum mirabiliter affirmatam, illamque cum eodem libro ex persona episcoporum ac principum nostrorum, regi Francorum attulit. Hæc ille. That is, In the yeare of our Lord 792 Charles the French king sent a book containing the acts of a certaine Synod, unto Brittain, directed unto him from Constantinople. In the which book (lamentable to be told) many things inconvenient, and cleane contrary unto the true faith are there to be found: especially for that by the common consent of almost all the learned Bishops of the East Church, not so few as thye hundred, it was there agreed, that images should be worshipped: which thing the Church of God hath alwayes abhorred. Against which booke Albinus wrote an Epistle substantially grounded out of the authority of holy Scripture, which Epistle with the booke, the said Albinus, in the name and person of our Bishops and Princes, did present to the French king.

And thus much by the way of Romish matters: now to return againe to the Northumberland kings, where

Note well the practice of Popes in planting their popish Mass.

Gregories Masse taketh place in Europe.

Carolus Magnus beneficiall to the Sea of Rome.

Rex Christianissimus, intituled to France.

A letter of Charles the Great sent to King Offa.

How the Pope hearth the crye of poore we downe a 1000 phans.

The Empire translated from Greece to France.

Images writen against, as contrary to the true faith.

This Albinus was Alcuinus above mentioned.

The Bishops and Princes of France as against images.



King Egbert  
made a Monke.

{Anno}  
757.  
Alcuinus,  
Hollo, other  
wife called A-  
delwald.  
Alcredus o<sup>r</sup>  
lacedur.  
Ethelbert, o<sup>r</sup>  
Edelred, o<sup>r</sup>  
Cardulph.  
Alfred, o<sup>r</sup>  
Edredus,  
Adelred againe  
king of North-  
umberland.

{Anno}  
764.

where we left at Egbert: which Egbert (as is be-  
fore declared) succeeded after Celulphus, after hee  
was made monk. And likewise the said Egbert also  
following the devotion of his uncle Celulphus, and  
Benetus before him, was likewise Monke after  
he had reigned twenty yeares in Northum-  
berland; leaving his son Mulphus after him to suc-  
ceed. About which time, and in the same yeare, when  
Celulphus deceased in his monastery, which was  
the yeare of our Lord 764. divers cities were burnt  
with sudden fire, as the cite of Alenta, the cite of  
Londen, the cite of York, Doncaster, with divers  
other townes besides: Roger Hoveden, lib. contin.  
post Bedam. Who the first yeare of his reign, which  
was the yeare of our Lord 757. being innocently  
slaine, next to him followed Hollo, otherwise called  
Adelwald, who likewise being slain of Alcredus, af-  
ter he had reigned eleven yeares, departed. After,  
Alcredus when he had reigned ten yeares, was ex-  
pelled out of his kingdom by his people. Then was  
Ethelbert, otherwise named Adelred, the son of the  
foresaid Hollo, received king of Northumberland:  
which Ethelbert o<sup>r</sup> Adelred in like sort, after he  
had reigned five yeares, was expelled. After whom  
succeeded Alfwold, who likewise, when he had reig-  
ned eleven yeares, was unjustly slaine. So likewise  
after him his nephue and the sonne of Alcredus na-  
med Alcredus reigned one yeare, and was slaine.  
Then the foresaid Ethelbert, the son of Hollo, after  
twelve yeares banishment, reigned againe in North-  
umberland the space of foure yers, and was slain.  
The cause whereof (as I find in an old written sto-  
rie) was, that forsaking his old wife, he married a  
new. Concerning the restoring of whom, Alcuinus  
writeth in this manner. Benedictus Deus qui facit  
mirabilia solus. Nuper Edelredus, filius Edelwaldi de  
carcere processit in solium, & de miseria in majesta-  
tem, cuius regni novitate detenti sumus ne venerimus  
ad vos, &c. And afterward the same Alcuinus a-  
gain speaking of his death, writeth unto King  
Alfred in these words: Sciat veneranda dilectio vestra,  
quod dominus Carolus amabiliter & fideliter saepe me-  
cum locutus est de vobis, & in eo habetis fidelissimum  
amicum. Ideo & vestra dilectioni digna dirigit munera,  
& per episcopales sedes regni vestri, similiter & E-  
delredo regi, & ad suas episcoporum sedes direxit dona.  
Sed heu pro dolor, donis datis, & epistolis in ma-  
nus missorum, supervenit tristis legatio per missos qui  
de Scotia per nos reversi sunt, de infidelitate gentis, &  
nece regis. Ita Carolus retracta donorum largitate in  
tantum iratus est contra gentem illam, ut ait, perfidam  
& perversam, & homicidam dominorum suorum, pe-  
jorem eam pagani astant, ut nisi ego intercessor  
essem pro ea, quicquid eis boni abstrahere potuisset, &  
mali machinari, jam fecisset, &c.

#### The kingdome of Northumberland ceaseth.

Northumber-  
land kingdome  
ceaseth.

Thus as you have heard, after the reigne of King  
Egbert before mentioned, such trouble and pertur-  
bation was in the dominion of Northumberland,  
with slaying, expelling and deposing their Kings  
one after another, that after the murdering of this  
Egbert above specified, none durst take the govern-  
ment upon him, seeing the great danger thereupon  
insuing. Insomuch that the foresaid kingdome did  
lie voyd and waste the space of thre and thirtie  
yeares together; after the terme of which yeares,  
this kingdome of Northumberland, with the king-  
domes also of the other Saxons besides, came alto-  
gether into the hands of Egbert, king of Westsar-  
on, and his progeny: which monarchie began in  
the yeare of our Lord 827. and in the eight and  
twentieth yeare of the reigne of the said Egbert;  
whereof more shall be said (Christ willing) hereaf-  
ter. Of this troublesome and outrageous time of  
Northumberland people speaketh also the said lear-  
ned man Alcuinus, otherwise called Albinus, in the

Alcuinus oth-  
erwise called A-  
lbinus.

same countrey borne, writing out of France into  
England, and complaining of the same in divers  
his letters, as first to Alfwold, where he thus writeth:  
Ego paratus eram cum muneribus Caroli regis ad vos  
venire, & in patriam reverti. Sed melius visum est  
propter pacem gentis meae in peregrinatione remane-  
re, nesciens quid fecissem inter eos, ubi nullus securus  
esset, vel in salubri consilio proficere potest. Ecclesia  
sancta a paganis vastata, altaria perjuriis foedata, mo-  
nasteria adulteriis violata, terra sanguine dominorum  
& principum foedata, &c. Moreover, the said Alcu-  
nus writing to the foresaid Egbert a little above  
mentioned, after the same tenor repositeth: Ecce ec-  
clesia sancti Cuthberti sacerdotum Dei sanguine aspersa  
(omnibus spoliata ornamentis) locus cunctis in Britan-  
nia venerabilior paganis gentibus datur ad depradan-  
dum. Et ubi primum, post decessum S. Cuthberti ab  
Eboraco, Christiana religio in nostra gente lumpsit ex-  
ordium, ibi miseria & calamitatis coepit initium, &c.  
Item, writing to Alfwold a noble pere of the West-  
saxons, complaining on the same matter, saith: Reg-  
num Nostrum Northumbrorum pene periit, propter in-  
testinas dissensiones, & fallaces conjurationes, &c.

Item, in another place the said Alcuinus writ-  
ing to Adelard Archbishop of Canturbury, com-  
plaineth moreover: Hoc dico propter flagellum, quod  
nuper accidit partibus insulae nostrae, quae prope tre-  
centis & quadraginta annis a parentibus inhabitata est  
nostris. Legitur in libro Gildae sapientissimi Brito-  
num, quod iidem Britones, propter avaritiam & ra-  
pinam principum, propter iniquitatem & injustitiam  
judicum, propter desidiam praedicationis episcopo-  
rum, propter luxuriam & malos mores populi, pa-  
triam perdidere. Caveamus haec eadem vicia nostris  
temporibus inolescere, quatenus benedictio divina  
nobis patriam conservet in prosperitate bona, quia  
nobis misericordissima pietate perdonare dignatus  
est, &c.

Over and besides, the same Author Alcuinus, writ-  
ing unto the foresaid Egbert king of Northum-  
berland, maketh record of a strange sight which  
he himselfe did see the same time in the cite of  
York, it rained blood: whereof his words which  
he wrote concerning the same unto the said King  
Egbert be these: Quid significat pluvia sanguinis,  
quam quadragesimali tempore in Eboraco civitate,  
quae caput est totius regni, in ecclesia beati principis  
Apostolorum, vidimus de borealibus partibus de-  
mus (sereno aere) de summitate minanter cadere?  
Nonne potest putari, a borealibus partibus venire san-  
guinem super terram? What is, what significeth the  
raine of blood which in time of Lent, in the cite of  
York the chiefe cite of that dominion, and in the  
Church of S. Peter the chiefe of the Apostles, was  
our selves did see to fall from the Church top (the  
element being clere) out of the north parts of the  
Temple, &c. This wondrous sight testified by Wal-  
mesburienfis, is thought of Fabian to happen in  
the second yeare of the reigne of Brighticus (as  
with the time doth well agree) which was the year  
of our Lord seven hundred and eightie, and is  
thought of some Expositors to befallen the com-  
ming of the Danes into this Land, which entred  
shortly after about seven yeares, in the ninth yeare  
of the reigne of Brighticus king of the West-  
saxons. Which Brighticus in defence thereof sent  
forth his steward of his household with a small com-  
pany, which shortly was slain: but by the strength  
of the said Brighticus and the other Baron kings,  
they were compelled to void the Land for that time,  
which was in the yeare 790. To this Brighticus,  
king of Westsaxons, as is aforesaid, gave his daughter  
Edelburga to wife, by whom he at length was impos-  
sioned, besides certaine other of his holdes, upon  
whom the said Alcuine before him had practised the  
same wickednesse. Who then after that hee obser-  
ved to Charles the great into France: where she being  
offered for her beautie to marry either to him or  
his

Ex historia  
Malmesburienfis,  
how it rained  
blood in York.

{Anno}  
780.

Brighticus  
king of West-  
saxons.

Edelburga  
daughter to  
Brighticus  
her husband.



Eccl. ch. 11.  
Eccl. 11.

From.

{ Anno }  
{ 784. }

Images restor-  
ed againe by  
Irene at Con-  
stantinople.  
The second  
Council at  
Nicaea.

The wickednes  
of Irene con-  
siderably rewar-  
ded.

Permalus king  
of Mercia in-  
nocently slaine.

Ecolulphus,  
Bishop of Ber-  
ta.  
The kingdome  
of Mercia cea-  
seth.

his son, because she chose rather his son, married  
neither the one, nor yet the other; but was thrust in-  
to a monastery, where she, then playing the harlot  
with a Donke, was expelled from thence, and ended  
her life in penury and misery.

In the meane time, while this Edelburga was  
thus working her feats in England, Irene Em-  
peresse of the Grækes, was as busie also for her part  
at Constantinople: who first through the meanes  
of Pope Adrian took up the body of Constantine  
Emperour of Constantinople, her owne husbands  
father. And when he had buried the same, she cau-  
sed the ashes to be cast into the sea, because he dis-  
annulled images. Afterwards reigning with her son  
Constantine the sixth, son to Leo the fourth (whom  
also we declared before to be recommunicated for  
taking away images) being at dissention with him,  
caused him to be taken and laid in prison; who af-  
terward through power of friends being restored to  
his Empire againe, at last she caused the same her  
owne son to be cast into prison, and his eyes to be  
put out so cruelly, that within short space hee dyed.  
After this the said Irene Emperesse, with the coun-  
sell of Therasius Bishop of Constantinople, held a  
Council at Nicea, where it was decreed, that  
images should againe be restored unto the Church;  
which Council after was repealed by another  
Council holden at Frankford by Charles the  
Great. At length she was deposed by Nicephorus  
(who reigned after) and was expelled the Empire:  
who after the example of Edelburga abode menti-  
oned (condignly punished for her wickednesse) en-  
ded likewise her life in much penury and misery.

About the time when the foresaid Brighticus  
was imprisoned by Edelburga his wife, died also  
King Offa, which was about the yeare of our Lord  
795. or (as some say) 802. After which Offa (as is  
aforesaid) succeeded Egbert, then Kenulphus, after  
whom succeeded Kenelinus his sonne, who in his  
younger age was wickedly murdered by his sister  
Quinreda, and Alkebertus, about the year of our  
Lord 819. and in the Church of Minchincombe was  
counted for an holy martyr. After him succeeded  
his Uncle Ecolulphus, whom Bernulphus in the  
first yeare of his reigne expelled, and reigned in  
his place. Wholikewise in the third yeare of his  
reigne was overcome and expelled by Egbert  
king of the Westsaxons, and afterward slaine  
by the Eastangles. And the kingdome of Mer-  
cia also ceased, and came into the hands of the  
Westsaxons.

Hitherto I have brought (as thou seest good  
Reader) the confused and turbulent reignes of  
these seven Saxon Kings, who after the expulsion  
of the Britaines ruled and reigned asunder in  
sundry quarters of this Land together, unto this  
present time of Egbert King of the Westsaxons,  
by whom it so pleased God to begin to reduce and  
unite all these scattered Kingdomes into one  
Monarchicall forme of dominion. Wherefore, as  
in the foresaid Egbert beginneth a new alterati-  
on of the Commonwealth here in this Land and a-  
mong the Saxons: so my purpose is (the Lord  
willing) with the same Egbert to enter a new  
beginning of my third booke, after a briefe reca-  
pitation first made of such things as in this se-  
cond booke before are to be collected and noted, es-  
pecially touching the Monasteries builded, the  
Kings who have entred the life & profession mona-  
stike; also Queens and Queens daughters, which  
the same time possessed solitary life in Monaste-  
ries, which they or their Ancestors had erected.

The conclusion of the story precedent, concerning the  
seven Kingdoms of the Saxon Kings above mentioned.

And thus hath thou gentle reader) concerning the  
seven Kingdoms of these Saxons, ruling all toge-  
ther in England, the course and order of their do-

ings briefly described and discoursed unto thee, in  
such order, as the matter being so intricate, in such  
confusion & disorder of things incident together,  
would permit: following especially in this story  
hitherto the line of the Northumberland Kings, as  
the other stories most follow the line of Westsax-  
on Kings. The which seven Kingdoms of these said  
Saxons, after they had untruly expelled and cha-  
sed out the Britains from their land, like as they  
never were in quietnesse among themselves, reig-  
ning thus together till the time of this Egbert, so  
also after the reign of Egbert, the whole Realme  
being reduced into one regiment, no lesse were they  
impugned and afflicted by the Danes continually  
fro time to time, till the last Conquer of William  
the Norman. Thus it pleased God (ever lightly) to  
revenge with blood bloody violence, and the unust  
dealings of men with just & like retribution. But  
of this let the Christian Reader consider, as Gods  
grace shall work in him. In the meane time too,  
as much as in us did live, satisfiing the part of an  
historician, have thus hitherto set forth & declared  
concerning these seven foresaid Kingdoms: first the  
names & lineall descent of the Kings severally by  
them selves, as by the table precedent may appeare:  
then what were the doings & acts of the same how  
first being pagans, they were converted to the Chri-  
stian faith: what things in their time hapned in  
the church, how many of them of Kings were made  
monks, how devout they were then to holy church &  
to the churchmen, and especially to the church of  
Rome. But the churchmen then were much other-  
wise in life than afterward they declared themselves  
to be. Through which devotio of the said Kings, first  
came in the Peterpence or Rome'shote, then by  
Offa in his lordship, & afterwards by Adelwulph  
brought in & ratified thorow the whole Realme:  
where also is to be noted, that by the foresaid  
Kings and Queenes of the said Saxons, the most  
part of the greatest Abbeyes and Monneries in  
this Realme were first begun & builded, as partly  
by the names of some here follow to be seene.

First the Church or Minster of Saint Paul  
in London was founded by Ethelbert King of  
Kent, and Sigebert King of Essex, about the  
yeare of our Lord, 604.

The first Crosse and Altar within this Realme  
was first set up in the north-parts in Heberfeld,  
upon the occasion of Oswald King of Northum-  
berland, fighting against Cadwalla, where he in  
the same place set up the signe of the Crosse, knee-  
ling and praying there for victory: Polychron. lib.  
5. cap. 12. An. 635.

The Church of Winchester was first begun &  
founded by Kingillus king of Mercians, having  
nine miles about it: after finished by his son Ken-  
walens, where Wilne of Englishmen was first  
Bishop. An. 636. Guliel. Malm. lib. de gestis pont. Ang.

The Church of Lincolne first founded by Pau-  
linus Bishop. An. 629.

The Church of Westminster began first by a  
certaine citizen of London, through the instiga-  
tion of Ethelbert King of Kent, which before  
was an ile of thornes, Bed. An. 614.

The common schools first erected at Cambriges  
by Sigebert King of Eastangles, An. 636.

The Abbey of Knobisburgh builded by Fur-  
cus the Heremit, An. 637.

The monastery of Malmsbury by one Mel-  
phus a Scot, about the year of our Lord 640. after-  
ward enlarged by Agilbert bishop of Winchester.

The monastery in Gloucester first builded by  
Africus King of Mercia, as Cellrentis saith: but  
as William Malmsbury writeth, by Alferus  
and Etheldred, brethren to Kineburga Abbess of  
the same house. An. 679.

The monastery of Mailrose by the flood of Mailrosk.  
P 2 Twide

Quintus  
Kings of man  
kindly rewar-  
ded.

Pauls Church.

The first Altar  
and Crosse set  
up in England.

The Church of  
Winchester.

The Church of  
Lincolne.  
The Church of  
Winchester.

The Schooles  
at Cambriges.  
Abbey of Kno-  
sborough.

Malmsbury;

Abbey of Glou-  
cester.



**Deorpenton.** Twide by Aidanus a Scottish bishop.  
The Nuny of Deorpenton by Hedi, who was the first Nun in Northumberland: Beda. lib. 4. cap. 1.

**Heteley.** The monastery of Heteley by Oswie King of Northumberland, who also with his daughter Elfried gave possessions for twelve monasteries in the parts of Northumberland, An. 656.

The monastery of Saint Martin in Dover, builded by Althitred King of Kent.

The Abbey of Lessingy by Ceadda (whom we call Saint Ced) through the grant of Oswald, son to Saint Oswald, King of Northumberland, An. 651.

The monastery of Althitby, called otherwife Stenhal: by Hilda daughter to the nephue of Edwin King of Northumberland, An. 657.

Item another monastery called Hacanos, not farre from the same place, builded by the said Hilda the same yeare.

The Abbey of Abbingdon builded by Sissa King of Southsex, An. 666.

Item, an Abbey in the east-side of Lincolne called Ioanno, by S. Botolph, Polych. lib. 5. cap. 16. An. 654.

The monastery in Ely founded by Ethelred or Ethelorda daughter of Anna King of Eastangles, and the wife of Elfried, King of Northumberland, An. 674.

The monastery of Chertsey in Southery, founded by Erkenwald Bishop of London, An. 674. throve done by the Danes, after recified by King Edgar.

Item, the nuny of Berking edified by the said Erkenwaldus bishop of London about the same time.

The abbe of Peterborough, called otherwife Godhamsted founded by King Ethelwald, King of the Mercians, An. 675.

Barney abbe by Ethelredus King of the Mercians, An. 700.

Claffenbury by Iua King of the Westsaxons, & after repaired and enriched by King Edgar, An. 701.

Ramsley in the time of king Edgar, by one Ailwinus a Nobleman, An. 973. King Edgar builded in his time forty monasteries, who reigned, An. 901.

The nuny of Winburne builded by Cuthbert, ga sister to Angillus, king Iua his brother, An. 717.

The monastery of Sealesey by the ile of Wight, by Alfridus bishop of Dorke, An. 678.

The monastery of Alincombe by Kenulphus King of the Mercians, An. 737.

Saint Albons builded by Offa King of the Mercians, An. 755.

The abbe of Cutham by Edwinus bish. An. 691.

Ripon in the north by Alfridus bishop, An. 709.

The abbe of Echlingher, by R. Alured, An. 891.

The nuny of Shaftesbury by the same Alured, the same yeare.

Thus we see what monasteries, and in what time, began to be founded by the Saxon kings, newly converted to the Christian faith, within the space of two hundred yeares; who, as they seemed then to have a certaine zeale and devotion to Godward, according to the leading and teaching that then was: so it seemeth again to me, two things to be wished in these foresaid Kings: first, that they which began to erect these monasteries and cels of monkes and nuns, to live soly and singly by themselves out of the holy state of matrimony, had foresen what danger, and what absurd enormities might and also did thereof ensue, both publicly to the Church of Christ, and privately to their own soules: secondly, that unto this their zeale and devotion had been opened like knowledge and doctrine in Christs Gospel, especially in the article of our free iustificati-  
on not knowne.

zeale of minde, that thought well in this their doing, which I will not here reprehend: yet the end and cause of their deeds and buildings cannot be excused, being contrary to the rule of Christs Gospel: for so much as they did these things seeking thereby merits with God, and for remede of their soules, and remission of their sins, as may appeare testified in their owne records, whereof one here I thought to set forth for probati-  
on of the same. Heade this chart (if it please the gentle Reader) of King Ethelwald his donation, given to Churches and religious persons; which Ethelwald was the builder (as is said) of Peterborough. The words of his record and instrument be these.

*The donations and privileges granted and given by King Ethelwald to religious men of the Church.*

**P**erumque contingere solet, pro incerta temporum vicissitudine, ut ea quæ multarum fidelium performarum testimonio consilioque roborata fuerint, fraudulenter per contumaciam plurimorum, & machinamenta simulationis, sine ulla consideratione rationis, periculose dissipentur, nisi autoritate literarum (testamento chirographorum) æternæ memoriæ committantur. Quapropter, ego Ethelwaldus rex Merciorum pro amore cœlestis patriæ, & remedio animæ meæ, studendum esse prævidi, ut eam pro bona opera liberam eficerem in omni vinculo delictorum. Quoniam enim mihi omnipotens Deus per misericordiam clementiæ suæ, absque ullo antecedente merito, sceptræ regiminis largitus est: ideo libenter ei, ex eo quod dedit, retribuio. Hujus rei gratiâ hanc donationem, me vivente, concedo, ut omnia monasteria & ecclesiæ regni mei, à publicis vectigalibus, & operibus, & oneribus absolvantur; nisi instructionibus arcium, vel pontium, quæ nulli unquam profunt. Præterea, habeant famuli Dei propriam libertatem in fructibus sylvarum & agrorum, & in captura piscium, ne munuscula præbeant vel regi, vel principibus, nisi voluntaria; sed liberi Deo ferviant, &c.

By the contents hereof may well be understood (as where hee saith, Pro amore cœlestis patriæ, pro remedio animæ, pro liberatione animæ, & absolutio-  
ne delictorum, &c.) how great the ignorance and blindness of these men was; who, lacking no zeale, only lacked knowledge to rule it withall: seeking their salvation not by Christ onely, but by their owne deservings and meritorious deeds. Which I recite not here to any infamie or reprehension of them; but rather to put us in mind and memorie, how much we at this present are bound to God for the true sincerity of his truth, hidden so long before to our fore-ancestours, and opened now unto us by the good will of our God, in his Son Christ Jesus. This onely lamenting by the way, to set them to have such works and to lack our faith, and us to have the right faith, and to lack their works. And this blind ignorance of that age, thus above prenoted, was the cause not onely why these Kings builded so many monasteries upon zealous superstition, but also why so many of them, forsaking their orderly vocation of princely regiment, gave themselves over to monasticall profession, or rather wilfull superstition. Concerning the names and number of which Kings that were professed Monks, is sufficiently in the story before declared: the names of whom we shewed to be seven or eight, within the space of these two hundred yeers. Such was then the superstitious devotion of Kings and Princes in that age; and no lesse also to be noted in Queens and Kings daughters, with other noble women of the same age and time; the names of whom it were too long here to recite. As Hilda daughter to the nephue of Edwin King of Northumberland, Abbess of Ely. Erchengoda with her sister Ermenilda daughters of Ercombertus King of Kent, which Erchengoda was professed in Saint Brigets Wyder in France. Item Edelberga wife

*Ex chronica Gulielmi Malmesb. lib. 1.*

*A hylese catalogue of queens and kings daughters which leaving their estate, were made Nunnies.*

*Hilda. Erchengoda. Ermenilda. Edelberga. Ethelberga.*



wife and Quene to King Edwin of Northumberland, and daughter of King Anna, which was also in the same house of S. Bridget made a nun. Item, Etheldreda, whom we terme Saint Etheldred, wife to King Eadride of Northumberland, who being married to two husbands, could not be obtained to give her consent to either of them, during the space of twelue yeeres, but would needs live a virgin, and was professed Nun at Helings. Mercburga was the daughter of Ulferus King of Mercians, and made Nun at Ely. Kineborda sister of King Ulferus and Kinebilda her sister, were both nuns professed. Serburga daughter of King Anna King of Mercians, and wife of Crombert King of Kent, was abbess at Ely. Elfrida daughter of Oluf King of Northumberland was abbess of Whitby: Hilodeba, Hilburga, and Hilgilda, all three daughters of Herwaldus King of Westmercia, entered the profession and vow of nunish virginity. Kineburga wife of Alfrida King of Northumberland, and sister to Alricus King of Mercians, and daughter of King Wenda, was professed abbess of the monastery in Gloucester. Elfreda daughter of Oluf King, and wife of Peda, sonne of King Wenda, likewise inclosed her selfe in the same profession and vow of Romish chastity. Likewise Alfritha wife to King Edgar, and Ewitha daughter to the said Edgar, with Wolfrith her mother, &c. All which holy nuns with divers mo, the Romish Catholikes have canonized for saints, and put the most part of them in their kalender, onely because of the vow of their chastity solemnely professed. Concerning which chastity, whether they kept it or no, little I have to say against them, and lesse to swear for them. But whether they so kept it or not; if this gift of chastity which they professed were given them of God, small praise worthy was it in them to keepe it. And if it were not given them, I will not say here of them so much, as hath been said of some other, which sufficiently have painted out to the world the demeanour of these holy votaries. But this I will say, that although they kept it never so perfectly, yet it is not that which maketh Saints before God, but onely the blood of Christ Jesus, and a true faith in him.

Likewise remaineth, that as we have declared the devotion of these noble women, which professing monastike life have cast off all worldly dignity and delights: so we should also intreat of such noble men, who among the Saxon Kings in like zeale of devotion, have given over themselves from the world (as they thought) unto the contemplative life of monkish profession. The names of whom as in the catalogue of the Saxon Kings before is described, be these, to the number of nine.

A table of such Saxon Kings as were after made monkes.

1. Kingillus, King of Westsaxons.
2. Ine, King of Westsaxons.
3. Ceolulfus, King of Northumberland.
4. Eadbertus, King of Northumberland.
5. Ethelredus, King of Mercia.
6. Kenredus, King of Mercia.
7. Offa, King of Eastsaxons.
8. Sebbi, King of Eastsaxons.
9. Sigebertus, King of Eastangles.

NOW remaineth (by the grace of Christ) in the next booke following, to prosecute the order of such Kings as principally reigning alone had this Realme in their possession, from the time of Egbert King of Westsaxons, to the coming of William Conqueror the Norman; comprehending therein the rest of the next 300. yeeres, with the acts and state of religion, as in that space was in the Church: wherein may appear the declining time of the Church, and of true religion, preparing the way to antichrist, which not long after followed. For here is to be noted, that during yet this meane time, Isatan (as is said) was bound up from his raging and furious violence: counting from the time of Constantinus, to the next looking out of Isatan, which was foretold by the Revelation of S. John above mentioned, to be a thousand yeeres; whereof by the order of the history (Christ granting) more shall be said hereafter.

Of which Kings and their doings, what is to be judged, looke (gentle reader) before.

By these histories it is apparant, what mutations, what perturbations, and what alterations of state hath bene in this Realme of Britaine, first from Britaines Kings, to Romanes; then to Britaines againe, afterward to the Saxons. First, to seven all together reigning, then to one, &c. And this alteration not onely happened in the civill government, but also followed in the state ecclesiasticall. For as in the Britaines time the metropolitan was in London, so in the Saxons time, after the coming of Austin, it was removed to Canturbury: the catalogue and order of which metropolitans, from the time of Austin to Egbertus, is thus, as in the history of Malmesburienfis is described.

The names and order of the Archbishops of Canturbury, from Augustine, to the time of King Egbert.

1	Augustinus.	16.
2	Laurentius.	5
3	Mellitus.	5
4	Iustus.	3
5	Honorius.	25
6	Dunsdedit.	19
7	Theodorus.	22

30 Hitherto from Augustine, all the Archbishops of Canturbury were Italians and Forraigners.

8	Berthwaldus	English.	37	In his time the monastery of S. Martin was builded in Dorobernia, by Witredus and his brother Kings of Kent.
9	Tacuinus.	3		This Cutbert after his death forbad all funerall exequies or lamentation for him to be made.
10	Nothelmus.	5		William Malm. De vicis. lib. 1.
11	Cutbertus.	17		
12	Breguinus.	3		
13	Lambrightus			In his time he. Offa translated the Metropolitan See from Canturbury to Lichfield by the grant of Pope Adrian, being overcome with Apostolicall argument, as saith Flor. hist. that is, with money.
	or Lambertus		27	This Ethelardus by his Epistles to Pope Leo, obtained the Metropolitan See againe to Canturbury.
14	Ethelardus.	13		
15	Vlfredus.	28		
16	Feolegeldus.	3		
		m		
17	Celnothw.	41		

During the course of these seventene archbishops of Canturbury, in Rome passed in the meane time foure and thirty Popes, of whom partly heretofore we have declared.

And thus much teaching the time of the seven kingdomes of the Saxons, ruling together in England, from the raigne of Hengist unto Egbert, the first King and Monarch of the whole land, after the expulsion of the Britaines.

The end of the second Booke.



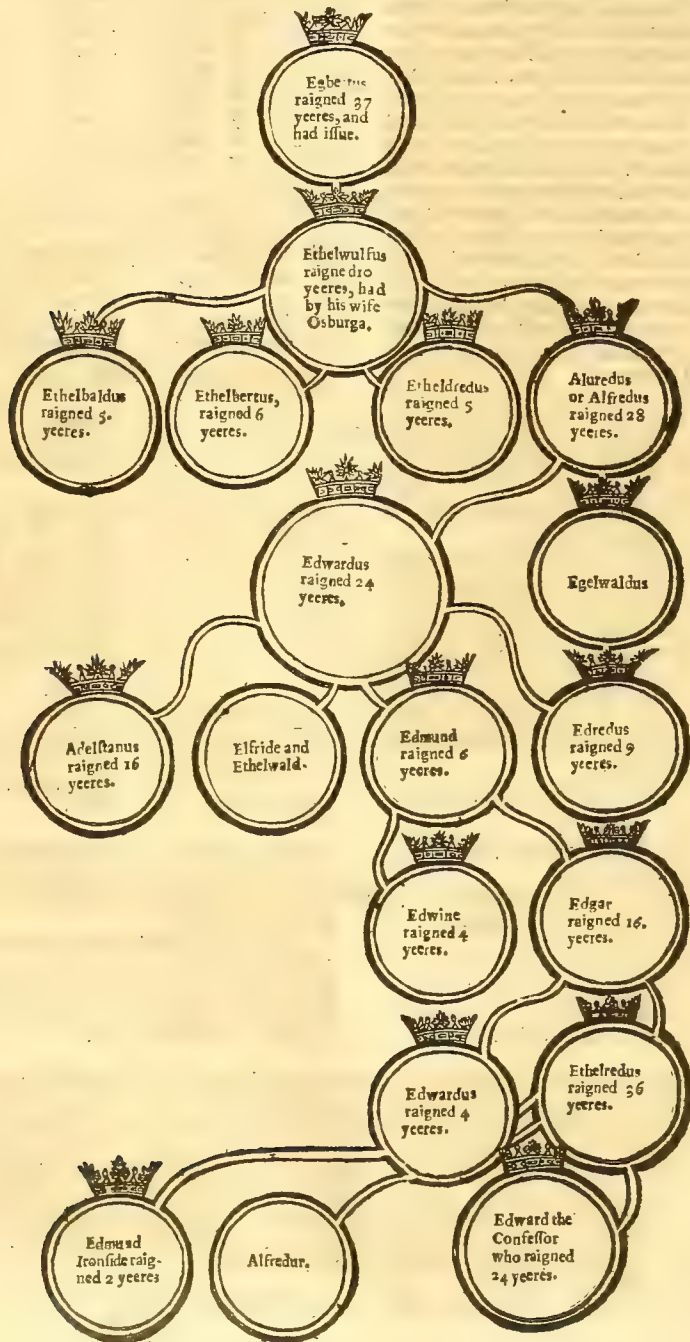
# The third Booke containing the text three hundred yeeres, from the raigne of King *Egbertus* unto the time of *Williams Conquerour*.



Now remaineth likewise, as before I did in describing the descent and diversity of the seven Kings, all together reigning and ruling in this land: so to prosecute in like order the lineall succession of them, which after *Egbertus* King of the *West Saxons*, governed and ruled sole, untill the conquest of *William* the *Roman*; first expressing their names, and afterwards importing such acts, as in their time happened in the Church worthy to be noted. Albeit, as touching the acts and doings of these Kings, because

they are sufficiently and at large described, and taken out of Latine writers into the English tongue by others and sundry authors, and namely in the history or chronicle of *Fabian*; I shall not spend much travail thereupon, but rather referre the reader unto him or to some other, where the troublesome tumults betweene the Englishmen and the Danes at that time may be seene, who so listeth to read them. Whely the table of their names and raigne, and acts done under their raigne, I have compendiously abridged, using such brevity as the matter would suffer.

A Table of the Saxon Kings, which ruled alone from King *Egbert* unto *William Conquerour*.





Here is to be noted, that before the raighe of Edward the Confessor, the Danes obtained the crowne under their captaine Canutus who raigned yeres

Haraldus Harefoot, sonne of Canutus 4  
Hardeknutus, sonne of Canutus 2  
Edward the Confessor, an English man, sonne of Ethelred. 24  
Haraldus, sonne of Earle Godwin an usurper 1  
William Conqueror, a Norman.

## King Egbertus.

In the raighe of Brighticus a little before mentioned, about the yere of Grace, 795. there was in his dominion a noble personage, of some called Egbert, of some Ethelbert: who being feared of the same Brighticus, because he was of a kingly blood, and neere unto the crowne, was by the force and conspiracie of the forenamed Brighticus, chased and pursued out of the land of Britaine into France, where he indured till the death of the said Brighticus. After the hearing whereof, Egbert sped him selfones out of France, unto his country of Wessest, where he in such wise behaved himselfe, that he obtained the regiment and governance of the above said kingdome.

Bernulphus, King of Mercia above mentioned, with other Kings, had this Egbert in such derision, that they made of him divers scoffing jests, and scoffing rimes, all which he sustained for a time. But when he was more established in his kingdome, and had proved the minds of his subjects, and especially God working withall, he afterward assembled his knights, and gave to the said Bernulphus a battell in a place called Clinden in the Province of Hampton; and notwithstanding in that fight was great odds of number, as six or eight against one, yet Egbert (through the might of the Lord which giveth victory as pleaseth him) had the better, and won the field: which done, he seized that Lordship into his hand; and that also done, he made warre upon the Kentish Saxons, and at length in like wise obtained the victory. And as it is in Polychronicon testified, he also subdued Northumberland, and caused the Kings of these three kingdomes to live under him as tributaries, or ioned them to his kingdome: Ex Flor. hist. This Egbert also won from the Britains or Welchmen, the towne of Chelster, which they had kept possession of till this day. After these and other victories, he peaceably inspying the land, called a councell of his Lords at Winchester, where by their advices he was crowned King, and chose Lord over this land, which before that day was called Britaine: but then he sent out into all coasts of the land his commandements and commissions, charging straightly, that from that day forward, the Saxons should be called Angles, and the land Anglia.

About the thirtieth yere of the raighe of Egbert, the heathenish people of the Danes, which a little before had made horrible destruction in Northumberland, and especially in the Ile of Lindesfarne, where they spoiled the Churches, and murdered the Ministers, with men, women and children, after a cruell manner, entred now the second time with a great host into this land, and spoiled the Ile of Shepie in Kent, or near to Kent: where Egbert hearing thereof, assembled his people, and met with them at Carrum. But in that conflict he sped not so well as he was wont in times before, but with his knights was compelled to forsake the field. Notwithstanding in the next battell, the said Egbert, with a small power, overthrew a great multitude of them, and so drave them backe. The next yere following, the said Danes presuming upon their victory before, made their returne againe into the land westward, where joining with the Britaines, by the help and power of them, they assailed the lands of Egbert,

and did much harme in many places of his dominion, and elsewhere: so that after this day they were continually abiding in one place of the Realme of England or other, till the time of Hardeknutus last King of the Danes blood, so that many of them were married to English women, and many that now be, or in times past were called Englishmen, are descended of them. And albeit that they were many and sundry times driven out of the land, and chased from one country to another, yet that notwithstanding, they ever gathered new strengths and powers, that they abode still within the land.

And thus, as by the stories appeares, this trouble, some land of Britaine, now called England, hath borne hitherto by five sundry outward nations plagued. First by the Romanes, then by the Scots and Picts; thirdly, by the Saxons; fourthly, by the Danes, of whose outrageous cruelty & hostility, our English histories do most exclaime and complaine; fifthly, by the Normans, which I pray God be the last.

When it followeth in the story, that the time of this persecution of the foresaid Pagans and Danes continuing, King Egbert, when he had ruled the Wessestons, and over the more part of England, by the terme of seven and thirty yeres, dyed, and was buried at Winchester, leaving to his sonne Ethelwulfe his kingdome, which first was Bishop of Winchester (as Hoveden recordeth) and after upon necessity made King, leaving withall, and pronouncing this saying to his sonne: Felicem fore si regnum, quod multa rexerat indultia, ille consueti genti illi non interrumperet ignavia.

## King Ethelwulfus.

Ethelwulfus, the sonne of Egbert, in his former age had entered into the order of subdeacon, as some others say, was made Bishop of Winchester; but afterwards, being the onely sonne of Egbert, was made King through the dispensation (as Fabian saith) of Pope Paschalis: but that cannot be; for Paschalis then was not Bishop: so that by the computation of time, it should rather seeme to be Gregory the fourth. This Ethelwulfe (as being himselfe once nuzled in that order) was alwaies good and devout to holy Church and religious orders, in so much that he gave to them the fifth of all his goods and lands in Wessestony, with liberty and freedom from all serbage and civill charges. Whereof his chart instrument beareth testimony after this tenor proceeding, much like to the donation of Ethelbaldu, King of Mercians above mentioned.

## The Privileges and Donations given by King Ethelwulfus to the Clergie.

Regnante Domino nostro in perpetuum. Dum in nostris temporibus per bellorum incendia, & depredationes opum nostrarum, necnon & vastantium crudelissimas depredationes hostium barbarorum, paganaeque gentium, multiplices tribulationes ad affligendum usque ad internecionem, tempora cernimus incumbere periculosa. Quamobrem, ego Ethelwulfus rex occidentalium Saxonum, cum consilio Episcoporum & principum meorum, consilium salubre, & utile forme remedium affirmavi: ut aliquam portionem terrarum hereditariam, Deo & sanctae Mariae, & omnibus sanctis jure perpetuo possidendam concedam, scilicet partem terrae meae, ut sit tuta & immunis ab omnibus secularibus servitiis, necnon regalibus tributis majoribus & minoribus sive taxationibus, quod nos dicimus Witterden: sitque libera omnium rerum, pro remissione animarum & peccatorum nostrorum, ad Deo soli deservendum, sine expeditione, & pontis constructione, & arcis munitione: ut eo diligentius pro nobis ad Deum preces sine cessatione fundant, quorum servitutem in aliqua parte levigamus, &c.

England five times plagued by other nations.

Ex Rog. Howel. lib. 5.

Anno 837.

A place in Fabian to be amended.

Guliel. lib. de gest. Anglor. scilicet, this Pope was Leo the fourth.

Anno 844.

Disturbances and temporalities granted to the Church by E. Ethelwulfe.

Ex Flor. histor.

Pro remissione.

Here.

Egbert, King of the Wessestons, afterward Monarch and King of the whole Realme.

In this time came in the Danes first into the South parts and were driven out againe.

Anno 807.

Example what tries to despise other. Example of patience.

Anno 826.

Of this victory went a proverb: Rivos cruore rubuit, ruina restitit, sorsore abuit.

This land first called Anglia.

Anno 833.

Danes now the second time entered in this land.

Anno 834.

Fabian. cap. 158. Rog. Howel. lib. 5. cap. 1.



Note the blind ignorance and erroneous teaching in those daies.

Whereby may it appeare, both, and when the Churches of England began first to be indued with temporalities and lands; also with privileges and exemptions enlarged: moreover (and that which specially is to be considered & lamented) what pernicious doctrine this was, whereby they were led, thus to let remission of their sins, and remedy of their souls, in this donation, and such other deeds of their donation, contrary to the information of Gods Word, and with no small derogation from the crosse of Christ.

These things thus done within the Realme, then the said Ethelwolfe the King, taking his journey to Rome with Alfred his youngest sonne, committed him to the bringing up of Pope Leo the fourth, where he also re-edified the English scholl at Rome: which being founded by King Offa, or rather by Aue, King of Mercians (as in the flowers of histories is affirmed) was lately in the time of King Egbert his father, consumed with fire. Further and besides, this King gave and granted there unto Rome, of every five house a penny to be paid through his whole land, as King Aue in his dominion had done before. Also he gave and granted yearly to be paid to Rome 300. marks, that is to the maintaining of the light of Saint Peter, 100. marks, to the light of Saint Paul 100. marks, to the use of the Pope also another hundred. This done, he returning home through France, married there Judith, the daughter of Carolus Calvus, the French King, whom he restored afterward (contrary to the lawes of Welfarons) to the title and throne of a Quene: for before it was decreed among the Welfarons (by the occasion of wicked Ethelburga, who poisoned Wighthicus her owne husband) that after that, no Kings wife should have the name or place of a Quene.

And for so much as I have here entred into the mention of Judith, daughter of Carolus Calvus; the occasion thereof putteth me in memory here to insert by the way, a matter done, although not in this Realme, yet not impertinent to this Ecclesiastical history. And first to debut the narration hereof from the first original; the father of this Carolus Calvus, whose name was Ludouicus, first of that name called Pius, King of France, had two wives: whereof by the first he had three sonnes, Lothary, Pipin, and Lewis. Which three sonnes unnaturaly and unkindly conspiring against their father and his second wife, with her sonne their youngest brother, persecuted him so, that through a certaine counsell of Lords spirituall and temporall, they deposed the same their naturall and right goodly father, dispossessing and discharging him of all rule and dominion. Moreover, caused him to renounce his temporall habit, inclosing him in the Donastery of S. Marke, for a Monk, or rather a prisoner. All which done, they divided his Empire and kingdom among themselves.

Thus was Ludobicus Pius, of unpius sonnes left desolate. But the power of God which worketh, when as all earthly power ceaseth, of his divine mercy so aided and recovered him out of all his tribulation to this Imperiall dignity againe; that it was to all his enemies confusion, and to all good men a miracle. But this by the way. By his second wife, whose name was Judith, he had this Charles the Bald here mentioned. Which Judith was thought, and so accepted to the Pope, to be within such degree of alliance, that by the Popes law, she might not continue his wife without the Popes dispensation. It so fell out in the meane time, that this Ludobicus the Emperour had promoted a young man named Fredericke to be Bishop of Atricht; and to him had given sad and good exhortation, that he remembering and following the censure of his predecessors, would maintaine right and truth without all exception of any person, and punish misdoers, with excommunication, as well the rich as the poore

with such like words of godly counsell. Fredericke hearing the king thus to say, sitting at dinner with him as the manner was, being newly in bedded, in these words answered the Emperour againe: I thank your majesty (saith he) which with your so wholesome exhortation put me in mind of my profession. But I beseech you of your benigne favour and patience, that I may freely disclose that which hath long incumbered and pierced my conscience. To whom leave being given, thus he began. I pray you (Lord Emperour) to shew me herein your mind (pointing to the fish before him) whether it is more according to attaine this fish here present, beginning first at the head or at the taile: What a tale is this (quoth the Emperour) of the taile and of the head? At the head (quoth he.) When Fredericke taking thereof his occasion, proceedeth: Then so let it be Lord Emperour (saith he) as you have said. Let Christian faith and charity first begin with your selfe, as with the head, admonishing you to cease from your fact and error, that your subjects by that example be not boldened to follow your misdoing. Wherefore first forsake you your unlawfull wedlocke, which you have made with Judith your nere kinswoman. These words of the new bishop, although they moved Ludobicus the Emperour not a little, yet he with a gentle modesty, and modest silence was contented, suffering the bishop to goe home in peace. But the word being uttered in such an audience, could not be so concealed, but spread and burst out in much talke in the whole Court, and especially among the bishops, consulting earnestly with themselves about the matter. Through whose counsell and labour so at length it fell, that the Emperour was constrained to leave the company of his wife, till he had purchased a licence of the bishop of Rome to retaine her againe, who then forgave the said bishop all that was past. But the woman hired two knights that sue him in his vestments, when he had ended his masse. Ranulphus and Gul. lib. de Pontificib. gave forth this story in his great commendation, that he died a martyr. Whereof I have not to judge, nor here to pronounce, but that rather I thinke him to be commended in his dying, then the woman for her killing.

And for so much as mention hath bene made of Ludobicus Pius, here is to be noted, that in France then was used of Priestes and Churchmen, precious and shining vestures, and golden and rich farding girdles, with rings and other ornaments of gold. Wherefore the said Lewis purchased of the bishop of Rome a correction for all such as used such disordinate apperrell, causing them to weare browne and sad colours, according to their sadnesse. Fab.

Of this Lewis the papists doe saie, that because he converted certaine of their Church goods and patrimony to the wages of his souldiers, his body (say they) was carried out of his tomb by devils, and was no more seene.

And thus a little having digressed out of our course, now let us returne out of France into England againe. King Ethelwolfe, coming now from Rome by the Countrey of France, was now returned againe into his owne dominion, where he continued not long after.

This Ethelwolfe had especially about him two bishops, whose counsell he was most ruled by, St. thomas bishop of Winchester, and Adelfanus bishop of Shireborne. Of the which two, the one was more skilfull in temporall and civil affaires touching the Kings warres, and filling of his coffers, and other furniture for the king. The other (which was St. thomas) was of a contrary sort, wholly disposed and inclined to spirituall meditation, and to minister spirituall counsell to the king: who had been scholemaster to the King before. Wherein appeared one good condition of this Kings nature, among his other vertues, not only in following the precepts and

Bishop Fredericke openly admonished the Emperour at the table.

Note, there were two Thedis, one the mother of Carolus Calvus, the other, his daughter, whom King Ethelwolfe did marry.

Fredericke Bishop of Atricht judged of some a martyr. Example of the woman more ready in revenge then the man.

Peter pence through the Realme granted to Rome. Money bestowed to burne day light.

Note here the holy and wholesome counsell and doings of the spirituall Lords.

Ludobicus Pius Emperour, King of France.

Fredericke Bishop of Atricht.

St. thomas bishop of Winchester.



advertisements of his old Scholmaster: but alſo in that he like a kind and th unskillfull pupill did fo-  
rcherage his binger up, and old ſcholmaster  
(as he called him) that he ceaſed not, till he made  
him biſhop of Lincheſter, by the conſecration of  
Celnoch then Archbiſhop of Canturbury. But as  
concerning the miracles which are read in the  
Church of Lincheſter, of this Swithinus, them  
I leade to be read together with the *Iliads* of Ho-  
mer, or tales of Robinhood.

This Gregory the fourth, here in this preſent  
chapter above mentioned, was the third Pope  
which ſucceeded after Paſchalis the firſt, being but  
four years betwixt them: which Paſchalis ſucced-  
ed after Stephan the fourth, who followed after  
Leo the third, next pope unto Adrian above in our  
hiſtory mentioned, wher as we intreated of Charls  
the Great. From the time of that Adrian the firſt,  
unto Pope Adrian the third, the Emperours had  
ſome ſtroke in the election (at leaſt in the confir-  
mation) of the Roman Pope. Notwithſtanding,  
divers of thoſe foreſaid Popes in the meane time  
began to waik their practices to bring their pur-  
poſe about. But yet all their devices could take no  
full effect, before the ſaid Adrian the third, as here-  
after (Chriſt willing) ſhall be declared. So that  
the Emperours all this while bare ſome rule in  
chooſing the Popes, and in aſſembling generall  
Councils. Wherefore by the commandement of  
Ludovicus the Emperour, in the time of this Gre-  
gory the fourth, a generall Synod was commenced  
at Aquitane, where it was decreed by the ſaid  
Gregory and his Aſſiſtants: firſt, that every  
Church ſhould have ſufficient of his own proper  
lands and revenues to find the prieſts thereof, that  
none ſhould need to lacke or goe about a begging.  
Item, that none of the clergy, of what order or de-  
gree ſoever hee be, ſhould uſe any beſture of any  
pretious or ſcarlet colour. Neither ſhal wear rings  
on their fingers, unleſſe it be when prelates be at  
maſſe, or give their conſecrations. Item, that pre-  
lates ſhould not keep too great parks or families, nor  
keep great horſes, uſe dice or harlots: & the monkes  
ſhould not exceeſſe meaſure in glaſſing or riot. I-  
tem, that none of the clergy, being either anoin-  
ted or ſhaven, ſhould uſe either gold or ſilver in  
their ſhoes, ſlippers, or girdles, like to Heliozaba-  
lus. By this it may be conjectured, what pompe and  
pride in thoſe daies was crept into the clergy. More-  
over, by the ſaid Pope Gregory the fourth, at the  
commandement of Ludovicus Emperour, the feaſt  
of all Saints was firſt brought into the Church.

After this Pope, came Sergius the ſecond,  
which firſt brought in the altering of the Popes  
names, becauſe he was named before *Oſ porci*,  
that is, Swines ſnoot: which alſo ordained the  
*Agnus thyrice* to bee ſung at the Paſſe, and the  
Hoſt to be divided into three parts.

After him was pope Leo the fourth, to whom this  
king Ethelwolfe (as in this preſent chapter is a-  
bove ſpecified) did commit the tuition of his ſon A-  
lured. By this pope Leo it came in, and was firſt  
enacted in a Council of his, that no biſhop ſhould be  
condemned under threſcore and twelve witneſ-  
ſes, according as ye ſee, in the witneſſes at the con-  
demnation of Stephan Cardiner, orderly practiſed.  
Item, contrary to the law of Gregory the fourth  
his predecessor, this Pope ordained the Croſſe  
(all ſet with gold and pretious ſtones) to be car-  
ried before him, like a Pope.

And here next now followeth and commeth in the  
whoze of Babylon (rightly in her true colours, by  
the permission of God, and manifeſtly without all  
tergiverſation) to appeare to the whole world: and  
that not only after the ſpiritual ſenſe, but after the  
very letter, and the right forme of an whoze indeed.  
For after this Leo above mentioned, the Cardinals  
proceeding to their ordinary election (after a ſolemne

maſſe of the holy Hoſt, to the perpetuall ſhame of  
them and of that Sex) in ſtead of a man Pope, elec-  
ted an whoze indeed to miniſter ſacraments, to ſay  
maſſe, to give orders, to conſtitute deacons, prieſts,  
and biſhops, to promote prelates, to make abbots, to  
conſecrate Churches and altars, to have the raigne  
and rule of Emperours and kings: and ſo he did in-  
ded, called by name Ione the eighth. This womans  
proper name was Gilberta (a dutch woman of Ha-  
gunc) who went with an Engliſh monke out of the  
abbey of Fulda in mans apparell unto Athenz, and  
after through her dexterity of wit and learning was  
promoted unto the Papedom, where ſhe ſat two  
yeres and ſixe moneths. At laſt openly in the face of  
a generall proceſſion, ſhe fell in labour and travail of  
child, and ſo died. By re iſon whereof, the Cardinals  
yet to this day doe abyrd to come nere by that ſtreet  
where this ſhame was taken. By Benedictus the  
third, who ſucceeded next in the whozth ſee, was firſt  
ordained (as moſt writers doe record) the dirge to be  
ſaid for the dead. Albeit before him, Gregory the  
third had done in that matter worthily for his part  
already.

After him ſate Pope Nicholas the firſt, who in-  
larged the Popes decrees with many conſtitutions,  
equalling the authority of them with the writings  
of the Apoſtles. He ordained that no ſecular Prince,  
nor the Emperour himſelfe, ſhould be preſent at their  
Councils, unleſſe in matters concerning the faith;  
to the end that ſuch as they judged to be heretikes,  
they ſhould execute and murder. Alſo, that no lay  
men ſhould ſit in judgement upon the Clergy-men,  
or reaſon upon the Popes power. Item, that no chri-  
ſtian Magiſtrate ſhould have any power upon any  
prelate, alledging that a prelate is called god. Item,  
that all Church ſervice ſhould be in Latine, not  
withſtanding, diſpenſing with the Sclavonians and  
Polonians to retainne ſtill their bulgar language.  
Sequences in the maſſe were by him firſt allowed.

By this Pope Puelle began to be reſtrained and  
debarred from marrying: whereof Hulderike biſhop  
of Ausbrough (a learned and an holy man) ſending  
a letter unto the Pope, gravely and learnedly re-  
fuſeth and reclaimeth againſt his unſuffered proce-  
dings touching that matter. The copy of which  
letter, as I thought it unworthy to be ſuppreſſed, ſo  
I judged it here worthy and meet for the better in-  
ſtruction of the reader to be inferred. The words  
thereof here follow out of Latine into Engliſh  
translated.

A learned Epistle of Hulderike Biſhop of  
Ausbrough, ſent to Pope Nicholas the firſt,  
proving by probations ſubſtantiall, that Prieſts  
ought not to be reſtrained from  
marriage.

Nicholas dominus & patri, pruvigili ſanctæ Romanæ eccleſiæ  
provivori, Huldericus ſolo nomine Episcopos, anorem ut filius,  
timorem ut ſervus. Cum tua (ô pater & domine) decreta ſuper cleri-  
corum continentiam, &c.

The ſame in Engliſh.

Hulderike Biſhop only by name, unto the reverend  
father Nicolas the vigilant provivor of the holy Church  
of Rome, with due commendation ſendeth love as a  
ſon, and feare as a ſervant. Underſtanding (reverend  
father) your decrees which you ſent to me concerning  
the ſingle life of the Clergie, to be far diſcrepant from  
all diſcretion, I was troubled partly with feare, and  
partly with heavineſſe. With feare, for that (as it is  
ſaid) the ſentence of the Paſtor, whether it be juſt or  
unjuſt, is to be feared. For I was afraid leſt the weake  
hearers of the Scripture (which ſcarcely obey the juſt  
ſentence of their Paſtor, much more deſpiſing this unjuſt  
decreement) through the onerous and importable  
transgreſſion of their Paſtor, ſhould ſhew themſelves  
diſobedient. With heavineſſe I was troubled, and  
with compaſſion, for that I doubted how the mem-  
bers

The Church  
of Rome after  
their maſſe of  
the whoze Ione  
may erre.

Pope Benedic-  
tus the eighth.

Dirge for the  
dead.

Pope Nicolas  
the firſt.

The marriage  
of Puelle be-  
gin to be for-  
bidden.

Anno  
867.

A letter written  
to Pope Nico-  
las concerning  
Prieſts not to  
refraime from  
marriage.

Example of a  
kind ſcholler to  
his ſcholler-  
maſter.

Worſhipful mi-  
ſtes ſained of  
Swithinus.

Pope Leo the  
third.  
Stephen the  
fourth.  
Paſchalis the  
firſt.  
Eugenius the  
ſecond.  
Valentinus the  
third.  
Gregory the  
fourth.

A generall Syn-  
od at Aquit-  
tane.

Every Church  
to have ſuffici-  
ent to find his  
owne Prieſts.

Pretious gar-  
ments of ſcarlet  
or other rich co-  
lour forbidden  
men of the  
Clergie.

Great families  
and lawfull for  
men of the  
Clergie.

Rings, and  
gold in their  
ſhoes forbid-  
den.

The Feaſt of  
All ſaints firſt  
ordained.

Pope Sergius  
the ſecond.

When the  
Popes names  
began firſt to be  
altered.

Agnus thyrice  
ſung at the  
maſſe.

The Hoſt divid-  
ed into three  
parts.

Pope Leo the  
fourth.

No Biſhop by  
the Popes law  
to be condem-  
ned under ſe-  
venty and two  
witneſſes.

The golden  
croſſe firſt borne  
before the pope.

A woman pope  
called Ione the  
eighth.



bers of the body should doe, their head being so greatly out of frame. For what can bee more grievous or more to bee lamented, touching the state of the Church, than for you, being the Bishop of the principall See, to whom appertaineth the regiment of the whole Church, to swerve never so little out of the right way? Certes in this you have not a little erred, in that you have gone about to constrain your Clergie to singlenesse of life, through your imperious tyrannie: whom rather you ought to stirre up to the continencie of marriage. For is not this to be counted a violence and tyrannie to the judgement of all wise men, when a man is compelled by your decrees to doe that which is against the institution of the Gospell and the proceeding of the Holy Ghost? Seeing then there be so many holy examples both of the old and new Testament, teaching us (as you know) due information: I desire your patience not to thinke it grievous for me to bring a few here out of many.

Priests marriage in the old Law permitted, in the new Law not so hidden.

First in the old Law, the Lord permitte marriage unto the Priests, which afterward in the new Law wee doe not reade to bee restrained, but in the Gospell thus hee saith: There bee some Eunuchs which have gelded themselves for the Kingdome of Heaven, but all men doe not take this word; he that can take it, let him take it. Wherefore, the Apostle saith, concerning Virgins, I have no Commandement of the Lord, but onely I give counsell. Which counsell also all men doe not take, as in the commandement of the Lord before, but many there bee, false dissemblers and flatterers, going about to please men, and not God, whom wee see under a false pretence of continencie to fall into horrible wickednesse: some to lye with their fathers wives, some to bee Sodomites, and not to abhorre to play the beasts with brute beasts. And therefore lest through the infection of this wicked pestilence, the state of the Church should too much goe to ruine: therefore hee saith, Because of fornication, let every man have his owne wife. Touching which saying, our false hypocrites falsely doe lye and faine: as though onely it pertained to the laity, and not to them. And yet they themselves, seeming to bee set in the most holy order, are not afraid to abuse other mens wives, and as wee see (with weeping eyes) all they doe outrage in the foresaid wickednesse.

The inconveniency of single life.

These men have not rightly understood the Scripture, whose breasts while they sucke so hard, in stead of milke they sucke out blood. For the saying of the Apostle, Let every man have his owne wife, doth except none in very deed, but him onely which hath the gift of continencie, prefixing with himselfe to keepe and continue his virgin in the Lord. Wherefore (O reverend Father) it shall be your part to cause and oversee, that whosoever, either with hand or mouth, hath made a vow of continencie, and afterward would forsake, either should be compelled to keepe his vow, or else by lawfull authority should be deposed from his Order.

The saying of the Apostle, Let every one have his owne wife.

And to bring this to passe, you shall not onely have me, but also all other of my Order, to be helpers unto you. But that you may understand, that such which know not what a vow doth meane, are not to be violently compelled thereunto, heare what the Apostle saith to Timothie: A Bishop (saith he) must be irreprehensible, the husband of one wife. Which sentence lest you should turne and apply onely to the Church; marke what hee inferreth after: Hee that knoweth not (saith hee) to rule his owne household and family, how should he rule the Church of God? And likewise the Deacons (saith he) let them be the husband of one wife, which have knowledge to govern their owne house and children. And this wife, how free is wont to be blest of the Priest, you understand sufficiently, I suppose, by the decrees of holy Sylvester the Pope.

This Decree is contrary to the

To these and such other holy sentences of the Scripture agreeth also he that is the writer of the rule of the

clergie, writing after this manner: A Clerke must be chaste and continent, or else let him be coupled in the bands of matrimony, having one wife. Whereby it is to bee gathered, that the Bishop and Deacon are noted infamous and reprehensible, if they bee divided in more women than one: otherwise, if they doe forsake one under the pretence of Religion, both they together, as well the Bishop as the Deacon bee here condemned by the canonically sentence, which

Bishops and Priests in Queen Maries time.

10 saith: Let no Bishop or Priest forsake his owne wife, under the colour and pretence of Religion. If he doe forsake her, let him be excommunicate. And if he so continue, let him be dragged. Saint Augustine also (a man of discreet holinesse) saith in these words: There is no offence so great or grievous, but it is to avoid a greater evill.

Furthermore, we reade in the second booke of the tripartite history: that when the Councell of Nice, going about to establish the same Decree, would enact 20 that Bishops, Priests and Deacons, after their consecration, either should abstaine utterly from their owne wives, or else should be deposed; then Paphnutius (one of those holy Martyrs, whom the Emperour Maximus had put out the right eye, and hockt their left legs) rising up amongst them, withstood their purposed decree: confessing marriage to be honourable, and calling the bed of matrimony to be chastitie, and so perswaded the Councell from making that law, declaring thereby what occasion might come to themselves and 30 their wives of fornication. And thus much did Paphnutius (being unmarried himselfe) declare unto them. And the whole Councell commending his sentence, gave place thereto, and left the matter freely without compulsion, to the will of every man, to doe therein as he thought.

Notwithstanding there bee some, which take Saint Gregory for their defence in this matter, whose temerity I laugh at, and ignorance I lament: for they know not, being ignorantly deceived, how dangerous the decree of this heresie was (being made of Saint Gregory) 40 who afterwards well revoked the same, with condigne fruit of repentance.

For upon a certaine day, as he sent unto his fishpond to have fish, and did see more than six thousand infants 50 heads brought to him, which were taken out of the same pond or mote, he did greatly repent in himselfe the decree made before touching the single life of Priests, which hee confessed to be the cause of that so lamentable a murder. And so purging the same with condigne fruit of repentance, altered again the things which he had decreed before, commending that counsell of the Apostle, which saith, It is better to marry than to burne; adding moreover of himselfe thereunto, and saying; It is better to marry than to give occasion of death.

More than six thousand heads of infants found in the Poyes more through the wicked decree of the single life of Priests. Let Priests note well the saying of Saint Gregory.

Peradventure if these men had read with mee this which so hapned, I thinke they would not be so rash in their doing and judging; fearing at least the Lords commandement: Doe not judge, that you bee not 60 judged. And Saint Paul saith, Who art thou that judgest another mans servant? Either hee standeth or falleth to his owne master: but he shall stand; for the Lord is mighty and able to make him stand. Therefore let your Holinesse cease to compell and enforce those, whom only you ought to admonish, lest through your owne private commandement (which God forbid) you bee found contrary as well to the old Testament, as to the new. For as Saint Augustine saith to Donatus, This is onely that wee doe feare in your justice, lest (not for the consideration of Christian lenitie, but for the grievousnesse and greatnesse of transgressions committed) you bee thought to use violence in executing punishment of that, which onely wee doe desire you (by Christ) not to doe. For transgressions are so to bee punished, that the life of the transgressours may repent. Also another saying of Saint Augustine wee would you to remember, which is this: *Nisi nocendi fiat cupiditate, omnia consulendi* 70 *chari-*

Augustine De nativ.



Note well the  
saying of Au-  
gustine.

charitate, & nihil fiat inhumaniter, nihil inhumaniter; that is, Let nothing be done through the greedinesse of hurting, but all things through the charitie of profiting; neither let any thing be done cruelly, nothing ungently. Item, of the same Augustine it is written; In the feare and name of Christ I exhort you, which of you forever have not the goods of this world, be not greedie to have them. Such as have them, presume not too much upon them. For I say, to have them is no damnation, but if you presume upon them, that is damnation; if for the having of them you shall seeme great in your owne sight, or if you doe forget the common condition of man through the excellencie of any thing you have. Vse therefore therein due discretion, tempered with moderation, the which cup of discretion is drawne out of the fountaine of the Apostolike preaching, which saith: Art thou loofe from thy wife? Doe not seeke for thy wife, Art thou bound to thy wife? Seeke not to be loofed from her. Where also it followeth: Such as have wives, let them bee as though they had them not, and they that use the world, let them be as not using it.

Item, concerning the Widow, he saith: Let her marrie to whom shee will, onely in the Lord. To marrie in the Lord, is nothing else but to attempt nothing in contracting of Matrimonie, which the Lord doth forbid. Ieremie also saith: Trust not in the words of lyes, saying: The Temple of the Lord, the Temple of the Lord, the Temple of the Lord. The which saying of Ieremie, Hierome expounding, saith thus: This may agree also, and bee applied to such Virgins, which bragge and vaunt of their virginie with an impudent face, pretending chastity, when they have another thing in their conscience, and know not how the Apostle defineth the Virgin, that shee should bee holy in body, and also in spirit. For what availeth the chastitie of the bodie, if the minde inwardly bee deflowred? Or if it have not the other virtues, which the propheticall Sermon doth describe. The which virtues, for so much as wee see

partly to bee in you; and because wee are not ignorant, that this discretion, although neglected in this part, yet in the other actions of your life is kept honestly of you, wee doe not despaire, but you will also soone amend the little lacke which is behind. And therefore with as much gravity as wee can, wee cease not to call upon you, to correct and amend this your negligence. For although, according to our common calling, a Bishop is greater than a Priest, and Augustine was lesse than Hierome; notwithstanding the good correction proceeding from the lesser to the greater, was not to be refused or disdained; especially, when hee which is corrected is found to strive against the truth, to please men. For as Saint Augustine saith, writing to Boniface: The disputations of all men, be they never so Catholike or approved persons, ought not to bee had in stead of the canonicall Scriptures. So that wee may disprove or refuse (saving the honour and reverence which is due unto them) any thing that is in their writings, if any thing there bee found contrary to truth. And what can bee found more contrary to the truth than this? When as the truth it selfe, speaking of continencie, not of one onely, but of all together (the number onely excepted of them which have professed continencie) saith: He that can take, let him take: the which saying, these men (moved, I cannot tell by what occasion) doe turne and say: Hee that cannot take, let him bee accursed. And what can bee more foolish amongst men, than when any Bishop or Archdeacon runne themselves headlong into all kind of lust, to adultery and incest, and also Sodomitie? Yet shame not to say, that the chaste marriage of Priests doth sinke before them: and, as void of all compassion and true righteousnesse, doe not desire or admonish their clerkes, as their fellow-servants to abstaine, but command them, and enforce them as servants, violently to abstaine. Vnto the which imperious com-

mandement of theirs, or counsell (whether you will call it) they adde also this foolish and filthy suggestion, saying: that it is more honest, privily to have to doe with many women, than apertly in the sight and consciences of many men to bee bound to one wife. The which truly they would not say, if they were either of him, or in him, which saith, Woe to you Pharisees, which doe all things before men. And so the Psalmist: Because they please men, they are confounded, for the Lord hath despised them. These bee the men, who ought to perfwade us that we should rather shame to sinne privily in the sight of him, to whom all things bee open, than seeme in the sight of men to bee cleane. These men therefore, although through their sinfull wickednesse they deserve no counsell of godlinesse to bee given them: yet wee, not forgetting our humanitie, cease not to give them counsell by the authority of Gods Word, which seeketh all mens salvation; desiring them by the bowels of charitie, and saying with the words of Scripture; Cast out (thou hypocrite) first the beame out of thine owne eye, and then thou shalt see to cast the mote out of the eye of thy brother.

Moreover, this also we desire them to attend, what the Lord saith of the adulterous woman: Which of you that is without sinne; let him cast the first stone against her. As though he would say: If Moses bid you, I also bid you. But yet I require you that be the competent Ministers and Executors of the Law, take heed what you adde thereunto; take heed also (I pray you) what you are your selves: for if (as the Scripture saith) thou shalt well consider thy selfe, thou wilt never defame or detract another.

Moreover, it is signified unto us also, that some there be of them, which (when they ought like unto good Shepherds to give their lives for the Lords flocke) yet are they puffed up with such pride, that without all reason they presume to rend and teare the Lords flocke with whippings and beatings, whose unreasonable doings Saint Gregory bewailing, thus saith: *Quid fiat de ovibus quando pastores lupi sunt?* that is: What shall become of the sheepe when the pastors themselves bee wolves? But who is overcome, but hee which exerciseth crueltie? Or who shall judge the persecutor, but hee which gave patiently his backe to stripes? And this is the fruit which commeth to the Church by such persecutors, also which commeth to the Clergie by such despightfull handling of their Bishops, or rather infidels. For why may you not call them infidels, of whom Saint Paul thus speaketh, and writeth to Timothy? that, in the latter dayes there shall certaine depart from the faith, and give heed to spirits of error and doctrine of devils, that speake false through hypocrisie, having their consciences marked with an hotte iron, forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstaine from meates, &c. And this is (if it bee well marked) the whole handfull of the darnell and cockell growing amongst the corne: this is the covent of all madnesse; that whiles they of the Clergie be compelled to relinquish the companie of their owne lawfull wives, they become afterward fornicatours, and adulterers with other women, and wicked ministers of other sinfull filthinesse. These bee they which bring into the Church of God this heresie (as blinde guides leading the blinde) that it might bee fulfilled which the Psalmist speaketh of, as fore-seeing the errors of such men, and accursing them after this manner: Let their eyes bee blinded, that they see not, and bow downe alwayes their backe. For so much then (O apostolicall sir) as no man which knoweth you, is ignorant, that if you through the light of your discretion had understood and seene what paysoned pestilence might have come into the Church through the sentence of this your decree; you would never have consented to the suggestions of certaine wicked persons. Wherefore wee counsell you by the fidelity of our due subjection, that with all diligence

The absurd  
saying and con-  
trary doing of  
Papists.

Gregorius.

1 Tim. 4.

What a Virgin  
is by the defini-  
tion of the A-  
postle.

August. ad Bo-  
nifacium.

you



Invenitur hec  
epistola in vetu-  
stis membranace-  
is libris (testante  
Hylrico in cata-  
logo.) Meminit  
epistolam epistole  
e Enecas Sylvi-  
us, in sua peregrina-  
tione, & Ger-  
manice descrip-  
tione.

you would put away so great slander from the Church of God: and through your discreet discipline, you will remove this Pharisaicall doctrine from the flocke of God: so that this onely Sunamite of the Lords (using no more adulterous husbands) doe not separate the holy people, and the kingly Priesthood from her Spoule which is Christ, through an unrecoverable divorcement: seeing that no man without chastitie (not onely in the virgins state, but also in the state of matrimony) shall see our Lord, who with the Father and the Holy Ghost liveth and reigneth for ever, Amen.

By this epistle of bishop Hulericke (above pre-  
fixed) the matter is plaine (gentle reader) to con-  
ceive what was then the sentence of learned men  
concerning the marriage of ministers: but that here  
by the way, the reader is to be admonished, that this  
epistle which by error of the writer is referred to  
Pope Nicholas the first, in my minde is rather to  
be attributed to the name and time of Nicholas the  
second, or Nicholas the third.

After this Pope Nicholas succeeded Adrian the  
second, Joannes the ninth, Martinus the second. Af-  
ter these came Adrian the third, and Stephan the  
first. By this Adrian it was first decreed that no  
Emperour after that time should intermeddle or  
have any thing to doe in the election of the Pope.  
And thus began the Emperours first decay, and the  
papacy to swell and rise aloft. And thus much con-  
cerning Romish matters for this time.

Then to returne where we left, touching the story  
of King Ethelwolfe. About the latter end of his  
reigne, the Danes which before had invaded the  
realme, in the time of King Egbert, as is above de-  
clared now made their re-entrie againe, with three  
and thirty ships arriving about Hamshire: through  
the barbarous tyranny of whom, much bloodshed and  
murther happened here among Englishmen, in  
Dorsetshire, about Portsmouth in Kent, in East-  
angle, in Lindsey, at Rochester, about London, and  
in Wiltshire, where Ethelwolfe the king was over-  
come, besides divers other kings and Dukes, whom  
the Danes daily approaching, in great multitudes,  
in divers victories had put to flight. At length King  
Ethelwolfe, with his sonne Ethelbaldeus, warring  
against them in Southey, at Wyley, drave them to  
the sea; where they hovering a space, after a while  
braft in againe with horrible rage and cruelty, as  
hereafter (Christ willing) shall be declared, so much  
as to our purpose shall serve, professing in this his-  
tory to write of no matters externe and politike,  
but onely pertaining to the Church. The cause of  
this great affliction sent of God unto this realme  
thus I found expressed and collected in a certaine old  
written story, which hath no name: the words of  
which writer, for the same cause as he thought to  
recite them, writing (as he saith) Ad cautelam futu-  
rorum, I thought also for the same here not to be  
omitted, albeit in all parts of his commendation I  
do not fully with him accord. The words of the wi-  
ter be these.

In Anglorum quidam ecclesia primitiva, religio  
clarissime resplenduit: ita ut reges & regina, & prin-  
cipes ac duces, consules, & barones, &c.

#### In English thus:

In the Primitive Church (saith hee) of the Eng-  
lishmen; Religion did most cleerely shine, in so much  
that Kings, Queenes, Princes and Dukes, Consuls,  
Barons; and Rulers of Churches; incited with the  
desire of the Kingdome of Heaven, labouring and  
striving among themselves to enter into Monkerie,  
into voluntary exile and solitarie life, forsooke all,  
and followed the Lord. Where, in proceffe of time  
all vertue so much decayed among them, that in  
fraud and treachery none seemed like unto them:  
neither was to them any thing odious or hatefull.

but piety and justice. Neither any thing in price or ho-  
nour, but civill warre and shedding of innocent blood.  
Wherefore Almighty God sent upon them Pagan and  
cruell Nations, like swarmes of Bees, which neither  
spared women nor children, as Danes, Norwegians,  
Gothes, Suevians, Vandals, and Frisians. Who, from  
the beginning of the reigne of King Ethelwolfe, till  
the comming of the Normans, by the space neere of  
two hundred and thirty yeeres, destroyed their finfull  
Land from the one side of the Sea to the other, from  
man also to beast. For why? They invading England  
oft-times, of every side, went not about to subdue and  
possesse it, but onely to spoile and destroy it. And if  
it had chanced them at any time to bee overcome of  
Englishmen, it availed nothing, when as other Navies  
still with greater power in other places were ready, up-  
on a sudden and unawares, to approach upon them,  
&c. Historia Cariana.

Thus farre have you the words of mine autho-  
r, declaring the cause which provoked Gods anger:  
whereunto may be adjoyned the wickednesse, not  
onely of them but of their forefathers also before  
them, who falsely breaking the faith and promise  
made with the Britains, did cruelly murther their  
nobles, wickedly oppressed their Commons, impi-  
ously persecuted the innocent Christians, insuriously  
possessed their land and habitation: chasing the in-  
habitants out of house and countrey, besides the vio-  
lent murther of the Spokes of Wangoz, and di-  
vers foule slaughters among the poore Britaines,  
who sent for them to be their helpers. Wherefore  
Gods just recompence falling upon them from that  
time, never suffered them to be quiet from foren  
enemies, till the comming of William the first  
man, &c.

Forsooke, concerning the outward occasions gi-  
ven of the Englishmens parts, moving the Danes  
first to invade the realme, I finde in certaine sto-  
ries two most specially assigned. The one unjustly  
given, and justly taken. The other not given justly,  
and unjustly taken. Of the which two, the first was  
given in Northumberland, by the meanes of Al-  
bright, reigning under king of Westsaxons, in the  
North parts. This Albright upon a time journey-  
ing by the way, turned into the house of one of his  
nobles called Wuer. Who having at home a wife  
of great beauty (he being absent abroad) the king  
after his dinner (allured with the excellency of her  
beauty) took her to a secret chamber, where he force-  
ably (contrary to her will) did ravish her: where-  
upon she being greatly dismayed, and bared in  
her mind, made her moane to her husband retur-  
ning, of this violence and injury received. Wuer  
consulting with his friends, first went to the king,  
resigning into his hands all such service and posses-  
sions which he did hold of him: that done, he tooke  
shipping and sailed into Denmarke, where he had  
great friends, and had his bringing up before. There  
making his moane to Godwinus the king, desired  
his aid in revenging of the great villany of Al-  
bright against him and his wife. Godwinus hearing  
this, and glad to have some just quarrell to enter  
that Land, levied an armie with all speed, and pre-  
paring all things necessary for the same, sendeth  
forth Ingvar and Hubba, two brethren, his chiefe  
Captaines, with an innumerable multitude of  
Danes into England; who first arriving at Hol-  
dernesse, there burnt up the countrey, and killed  
without mercy, both men, women and children,  
whom they could lay hands upon. Then marching  
towards Forke, entred their battell with the fore-  
said Albright, where he with the most part of his  
armie was slaine. And so the Danes entred the  
possession of the Citie of Forke. Some others say,  
and it is by the most part of story-writers recorded,  
that the chiefe cause of the comming of Ingvar and  
Hubba with the Danes, was, to see revenged of  
king

Another cause  
rendred, why  
England was  
scourged of the  
Danes.

The first en-  
tering of the  
Danes.  
Ex historia  
jornalens.

Example, who  
mischief com-  
meth by adul-  
tery.

Godwinus King  
of Denmarke.

Ingvar and  
Hubba Cap-  
taines of the  
Danes.

Another cause  
of the comming  
of the Danes.

Pope Adrian  
the second,  
John the ninth,  
Martin the  
second,  
Adrian the  
third,  
Stephan the  
first.

Ex vetusto ex-  
empli historie  
Cariane.  
W.C. 1.

The cause of  
Gods wrath,  
whereby the  
Realme of  
England was  
troubled by the  
Danes.



King Edmund, raigning under the Westsaxons over the Eastangles in Norfolk and Suffolke: for the murdering of a certaine Dane being father to Inguar and Hubba, which was falsely imputed to King Edmund. The story is thus told.

A certaine noble man of the Danes of the Kings Brooke, called Lothbroke, father to Inguar and Hubba, entering upon a time with his hawke into a certaine schiffe of cockbote alone, by chance through tempest was driven with his hawke to the coast of Norfolk named Kotham, where he being found and detained, was presented to the King. The King understanding his parentage, and seeing his case, entertained him in his Court accordingly, and every day more and more perceiving his activities and great dexterity in hunting and hawking, bare speciall favour unto him. In so much that the Kings falconer, or master of his game, bearing pryde envye against him, secretly as they were hunting together in a wood did murder him, and threw him into a bush. This Lothbroke, being murdered, within two or three daies began to be missed in the Kings house: of whom no tidings could be heard, but onely by a dogge or spaniel of his, which continuing in the wood with the corpes of his master, at sundry times came and fauned upon the King: so long that at the length they following the trace of the hound, were brought to the place where Lothbroke lay. Whereupon inquisition being made, at length by certaine circumstances of words and other evidences, it was known how and by whom he was murdered, that was by the Kings huntsman named Berike. Who thereupon being convicted, was set into the same bote of Lothbroke, alone and without any tackling to drive by seas, either to be sated by the weather, or to be drowned in the deepe. And as it chanced, Lothbroke from Denmarke to be driven to Norfolk, so it happened that from Norfolk he was carried into Denmarke, where the bote of Lothbroke being well knowne, hands were laid upon him, and inquisition made of the party. In fine in his torments, to save himselfe, he uttered an untruth of King Edmund, saying, that the King had put him to death in the countrey of Northfolke. Whereupon grudge first was conceived, then an army appointed, and great multitudes sent into England to revenge that fact, where first they arriving in Northumberland, destroyed (as is said) those parts first. From thence failing into Northfolke they exercised the like tyranny there, upon the inhabitants thereof, especially upon the innocent Prince, and blessed martyr of God, King Edmund. Concerning the farther declaration whereof hereafter shall follow (Christ our Lord so permitting) more to be spoken, as place and observation of time and yeeres shall require.

In the meane season, King Ethelwolfe in this chapter here presently touchen, when he had chased the foresaid Danes (as is above rehearsed) from place to place, causing them to take the sea, he in the meane while departeth himselfe both from land and life: leaving behind him foure sonnes, which reigned every one his order, after the decease of their father. The names of whom were Ethelbaldus, Ethelbrightus, Ethelredus and Aluredus.

### King Ethelbald.

King Ethelbald the eldest sonne of Ethelwolfe, succeeding his father in the province of Westsax, and Ethelbright in the province of Kent, reigned both together the terme of five yeeres, one with the other. Of the which two, Ethelbald the first left this infamy behind him in stories, for marrying and lying with his stepmother, wife to his owne father, named Judith. After these two succeeded Ethelred, the third sonne, who in his time was so incumbrd with the Danes, burking in on every side,

especially about Poze (which City they then spoiled and burnt up) that he in one yere stood in nine battels against them, with the helpe of Alured his brother. In the beginning of this Kings raigne, the Danes landed in East-england, or Northfolke and Suffolke. But (as Fabian writeth) they were compelled to forsake that countrey, and so toke againe shipping, and sailed Northward, and landed in Northumberland: where they were met of the Kings then there raigning, called Albright and Ella, which gave to them a strong fight. But notwithstanding, the Danes, with the helpe of such as inhabited the countrey, won the City of Poze, and held it a certaine season, as is above foretouched.

In the raigne of this Ethelred, the Northumberlanders rebelling against the King thought to recover againe the former state of their Kingdome out of the Westsaxons hand; by reason of which discord (as happeneth in all lands where dissention is) the strength of the English Nation was thereby not a little weakened, and the Danes the more thereby prevailed.

About the latter time of the raigne of this Ethelred, which was about the yere of our Lord 870, certaine of the foresaid Danes being thus possessed of the North countrey (after their cruell persecution and murder done there, as partly is touched before) toke shipping from thence, intending to saile toward the Eastangles, who by the way upon the sea met with a flecte of Danes, whereof the Captaines or leaders were named Inguar and Hubba. Who joining altogether in one Councell, made all one course, and lastly landed in East-england, or Northfolke, and in procelle of time came to Thetford.

Whereof hearing Edmund, then under-king of that province, assembled an host that gave to them battell. But Edmund and his company was forced to forsake the field; and the King with a few persons fled unto the Castell of Frammingham, whom the Danes pursued. But he in that while after yielded himselfe to the persecution of the Danes: and answering in this manner to the messenger, that told him in the name of Inguar Prince of the Danes, which most victoriously (saith he) was come with innumerable legions, subduing both by sea and land many Nations unto him: and so now arrived in those parts requireth him likewise to submit himselfe, yielding to him his hid treasures, & such other goods of his ancestors, and so to raigane under him: which thing if he would not doe, he should (said he) be judged unworthy both of life and raigne. Edmund hearing of this proud message of the pagan, consulted with certaine of his friends; and among others, with one of his bishops, being then his secretary; who seeing the present danger of the King, gave him counsell to yield to the conditions. Upon this the King pausing a little with himselfe, at length rendered this answer; bidding the messenger go tell his Lord in these words, that Edmund a Christian King, for the love of temporall life, will not submit himselfe to a pagan Duke, unlesse he before would be a Christian. Incontinent upon the same, the wicked and crafty Dane, approaching in most hasty speed upon the King, encountered with him in battell (as some say) at Thetford: where the King being put to the worse, and pittying the terrible slaughter of his men, thinking with himselfe rather to submit his owne person to danger, then his people should be slaine, did flie (as Fabian saith) to the Castell of Frammingham, (or as mine author writeth) to Haleson, now called S. Edmundsbury, where this blessed man, being on every side compassed of his cruell enemies, yielded himselfe to their persecution. And for that he would not reney or deny Christ and his lawes, they therefore most cruelly bound him unto a tree, and caused him to be shot to death: and lastly caused his head to be smitten from his body, and cast into the thicke bushes, which head

Poze burne by the Danes.

What discord was in a Commonwealth.

Anno 870.

S. Edmund King of Eastangles.

The message of the Danes to K. Edmund.

The answer of K. Edmund.

The persecution and death of S. Edmund King of the Eastangles.

K. Edmund martyred.

Lothbroke father to Inguar and Hubba.

What mischief any worketh.

Murder will out.

King Ethelwolfe deceaseth.

King Ethelbald.

Anno 867.

King Ethelred.

70

and



and body at the same time by his friends was taken up, and solemnly buried at the said Halesdon, otherwise now named S. Edmundsbury. Whose brother named Edwoldus ( notwithstanding of right the kingsome fell next unto him ) setting apart the liking and pleasure of the world, became an hermit at the Abbey of Cerum in the countrey of Dorset.

After the martyrdom of this blessed Edmund, when the cruell Danes had sufficiently robbed and spoiled that countrey, they tooke againe their ships, and landed in Southery, and continued their journey till they came to the towne of Reading, and there wan the Towne with the Castle, where (as Cambricis saith) within three daies of their thither coming, the foresaid Ingvar & Hubba Captaines of the Danes, as they went in purchasing of their preyes or booties, were slaine at a place called Englesfield. Which Princes of the Danes thus slaine, the rest of them kept whole together, in such wise that the Westsaxons might take of them none advantage. But yet within few daies after, the Danes were holden so short, that they were forced to issue out of the castell, and to defend themselves in plaine battell. In the which (by the industry of king Ethelred and of Alured his brother) the Danes were discomfited, and many of them slaine: which discomfort made them fly againe into the Castell, and there he kept them for a certaine time. The king then, committing the charge of them to Ethelwold Duke of Saroke or Warkshire, so departed. But when the Danes knew of the Kings departure, they brake suddenly out of their hold, and tooke the Duke unprovided, and slue him, and much of his people. And so adioyning themselves with others that were scattered in the countrey, imbattelled them in such wise, that of them was gathered a strong host.

As the things hereof was brought unto King Ethelred (which put him in great heavinesse) word al o was brought the same time of the landing of Alrike, King of Denmarke, who with assistance of the other Danes had gathered a great host, and were imbattelled upon Ashdon. To this battell King Ethelred with his brother Alured (forced by great need) sped themselves to withstand the Danes. At which time the king a litle staying behind, being yet at his service, Alured which was come in before, had entered already into the whole fight with the Danes: who stricke together with huge violence. The king being required to make speed (he being then at service and meditations) such was his devotion, that he would not stirre out one foote, before their service was fully compleate. In this meane while, the Danes so fiercely invaded Alured and his men, that they wan the hill: and the Christian men were in the valley, and in great danger to lose the whole field. Nevertheless, though the grace of God, and their godly manhood, the king coming from his service, with his fresh souldiers recovered the hill of the infidels: and so discomfited the Danes that day; that in flying away not onely they lost the victory, but most part also of them their lives. In so much that their Duke or King Alrike or Alce, and five of their Dukes, with much of their people were slaine, and the rest chased unto Reading towne.

After this the Danes yet reassembled their people, and gathered a new host: so that within fiftene daies they met at Basingstoke, and there gave battell unto the king, and had the better. When the king againe gathered his men, which at that field were disparted, and with fresh souldiers to them accompanied, met the Danes within two moneths after at the towne of Herton, where he gave them a sharpe battell: so that much people were slaine as well of the Christians, as of the Danes, but in the end the Danes had the honour of the field, and king Ethelred there was wounded, and therefore saine to save himselfe.

After these two field thus woon by the Danes, they obtained great circuit of ground, and destroyed man and child that would not yald to them. And Churches and Temples they turned to the use of stables, and other vile occupations.

Thus the king being beset with enemies on every side, seeing the land so miserably oppressed of the Danes, his knights and souldiers consumed, his owne land of Westsaxons in such desolation, he being also wounded himselfe, but specially for that he sending his Commissions into Northumberland, into Mercia, and Eastanglia, could have of them but small or little comfort (because they through wicked rebellion were more willing to take the part of the Danes then of their king) was sore perplexed therewithall, as the other kings were both before him and after him, at that time. So that, as Palsambury witnesseth, Magis optarent hunc exitum, quam tam acerbum imperium: that is, They rather wished honestly to die, then with such trouble and sorrow to raigne. And thus this king not long after deceased, when he had rigned (as Fabian saith) eight yeres, or as Palsambury witnesseth, but five yeres. During which time of his raigne, notwithstanding his so great troubles and verations in martiall affaires (as is in some stories mentioned) he founded the house or Colledge of Canons at Excester, and was buried at the Abbey of Winborne or Wimborne. After whose decease, for lacke of issue of his body, the rule of the land fell unto his brother Alured.

King Alured, otherwise called  
Alfred.

Among the Saxon kings hitherto in this story aforesaid, I finde few or none to be preferred (or almost to be compared) to this Alured or Alfred, for the great and singular qualities in this king, worthy of high remembrance and commendation: whether we behold in him the valiant acts and manifold travells which he continually from time to time sustained against his enemies in warres, during almost all the time of his raigne, for the publique preservation of his people: or whether we consider in him his good and excellent vertues, joynd with a publike and tender care, and a zealous study for the common peace & tranquillity of the weale publike: appearing as well in his prudent lawes by him both carefully set forth, and with the like care executed; as also by his owne private exercises touching the vertuous institution of his life: or whether we respect that in him, which with equall praise matcheth with both the other before: that is, his notable knowledge of good letters, with a fervent love and princely desire to set forth the same through all his Realme, before his time both rude and barbarous. All which his heroicall properties, joynd together in one Prince, as it is a thing most rare, and seldom scene in Princes now adates: so I thought the same the more to be noted and exemplified in this good king. Whereby either to move other Rulers and Princes in these our daies to his imitation, or else to shew them what hath bene in times past in their ancestors, which ought to be, and yet is not found in them. Wherefore of these three parts to discourse either part in order, first we will enter to intreat of his acts and painefull travells sustained in defence of the Realme publike, against the raging tyranny of the Danes, as they be described in the last of Histories of Roger Botetoden and Huntingdon: whom Fabian also setteth in this part somewhat to follow. King Alfred therefore the first of all the English kings, taking his crone and uncion at Rome of Pope Leo (as Palsambury and Polychronicon doe record) in the beginning of his raigne, perceiving his Lords and people much wasted and decayed, by the reason of the great warres of

What discord and rebellion  
roth in a  
Realme.

The death of  
Ethelred.

The abbey of  
Excester found-  
ed.

Anno  
872. }  
Alured King  
of England.

Ex Reg. Hæd.  
H. Hunting.  
Polychronicon.  
& Fabian.

Reading taken  
of the Danes.

Ingvar and  
Hubba slaine.

Duke Ethel-  
wold slaine.

Alrike King  
of Denmarke  
landeth in  
England.

Ex Guliel.  
Malmesb.  
Ex historia  
jordanensi.  
Ex Fabiano  
& aliis.

Invocation  
and prayer pro-  
fitable in time  
of battell.

The Danes  
overthrowne  
at Ashdon.

An other battell  
fought with the  
Danes at Hert-  
on.



of Ethelred, had against the Danes) yet as well as he could, gathered a strength of men unto him, and in the second moneth that he was made king, he met with the Danes beside Wilton, where he gave them battell. But being farre overmatched, through the multitude of the contrary part, was put there to the worse: although not without a great slaughter of the pagan army. Which army then of the Danes, after that victorie, by compacion made with King Alfred to depart out of his dominion of Wiltshire, removed from Reading to London, where they abode all that winter. Where Halsten their king, truce with Burthred king of Mercians, the next yeare following bodded those parts, and drew to Lindsey, robbing and spoiling the townes and villages as they went, and holding the common people under their seruage. From thence after to Kepingdon, where they joining with the three other kings of the Danes (called Surdrin, Sketell, and Hamond) grew thereby in mighty force and strength. Who then dividing their army in two parts, the one halfe remained with Halsten in the Country of Northumberland: the residue were with the other three kings, wintering and sojourning all the next yeare at Grantbridge, which was the fourth yeare of King Alfred. In the which yeare King Alfred his men had a conflict on the sea with five of the Danes ships, of which one they took, the other fled away. In this yeare went Hollo the Dane into Normandy, where he was Duke thirty yeares, & afterward was baptised in the faith of Christ, and named Robert. The foresaid army of the three Dane kings above mentioned from Grantbridge returned againe to Wiltshire, and entered the Castle of Marlham: where Alfred with a sufficient power of men was ready to assault them. But the Danes, seeing his strength, durst not attempt with him, but sought delays, whiles more ayde might come. In the meane season they were constrained to intreate for truce: leaving also sufficient pledges in the kings hand, promising moreover upon their oath to voyde the Countrey of the Wiltshires. The king upon the surety let them goe. But they falsely breaking their league, privily in the night brake out, taking their journey toward Excester. In which journey, they lost five score of their small ships, by a tempest at Sandwich (as Henry Huntington in his story recordeth). When King Alfred followed after the horsemen of the Danes, but could not overtake them before they came to Excester, where he tooke of them pledges and faire promises of peace, and so returned. Notwithstanding the number of the pagans did daily more and more increase, in so much (as one of my authors saith) that if in one day thirty thousand of them were slaine, shortly after they increased double as many againe. After this truce taken with King Alfred, the Danes then bodded to the Land of Mercia, whereof part of that kingdom they kept themselves, part they committed to one Ceolulphus: upon condition that he should be vassall to them, and at their commandment, with his people at all times.

The next yeare ensuing, which was the seventh yeare of the reigne of Alfred, the Danes, now having all the rule of the north part of England, from the river of Thames, with Hertford, London, and Essex, ordained that Alfred should bear any dominion on the other side of Thames southward. Whereupon the foresaid three kings, with all the forces and strength they could make, marched toward Chippenham in Wiltshire, with such a multitude, that the king with his people was not able to resist them: In so much that the people which inhabited there, some fled over the sea, some remained with the king, divers submitted themselves to the Danes. Thus Alfred being over set with multitude of enemies, and forsaken of his people, having neither land to hold, nor hope to recover that which he had

lost, withdrew himselfe with a few of his nobles about him, into a certaine woodcountry in Sommer setshire, called Etheling: where he had right scant to live with, but such as he and his people might purchase by hunting and fishing. This Etheling or Etheling, or Ethelingsley, standeth in a great marsh or moore, so that there is no access unto it with out ship or bote, and hath in it a great wood called Selwood, and in the middle a little plaine, about two acres of ground, in which he is venison, and other wilde beasts, with foule and fishes, great plenty. In this wood King Alfred at his first coming espied a certaine desart cotage of a poore swineherd, keeping swine in the wood, named Duntwolphus: of whom the king then unknowne was entertained and cherished, with such poore fare as he and his wife could make him. For the which, King Alfred afterward set the poore swineherd to learning, and made him bishop of Winchester.

In the meane season, while King Alfred accompanied with a few was thus in the desart wood, waiting the event of these miseries, certaine frozes record of a poore begger, which there came and asked his almes of the king. And the night following he appeared to the king in his sleepe, saying, his name was Cuthbert, promising (as sent from God unto him for his good charity) great victories against the Danes. But to let these dreaming fables passe, although they be testified by divers authors, as both

Wilhelmus li. de reg. Polychronicon, Rog. Hoveden, Iornalensis, and others more. Notwithstanding the king in proceesse of time was strengthened and comforted more, though the providence of God; respecting the miserable ruine of the Englishmen. First, the brother of King Halsten the Dane before mentioned, coming in with three and thirty ships, landed about Devonshire: where by chance being resisted by a bulwark of King Alfreds men (who for their safeguard there lay in garrison) were slaine to the number of 1300. men, and their ensigne called the raven was taken. Hovedenus in his booke of Continuaciones writeth, that in the same conflict both Ingvar and Yubba were slaine among the other Danes. After this, King Alfred being better cheered, shewed himselfe more at large; so that daily resorted to him men of Wiltshire, Sommer setshire, and Hamshire, till that he was strongly accompanied.

When the king put himselfe in a bold and dangerous venture, as writeth Wilhelmus li. de reg. Polychron. and Fabian, which followeth them both. For he apparelling him in the habit of a minstrell (as he was very skilfull in all Saxon poems) with his instrument of musick entered into the tents of the Danes, lying then at Eddendun: and in shewing there his interlude and songs, espied all their sloth and idleness, and heard much of their counsell: and after, returning to his company, declared unto them the whole manner of the Danes. Shortly upon the same, the king suddenly in the night fell upon the foresaid Danes, and distressed and slew of them a great multitude, chased them from that coast. In so much that through his strong and valiant assaults upon his enemies, out of his tower of Etheling newly fortified, he so incombed them, that he clearely bodded the countrey of them, betwene that and Selwood. His subjects effcones, hearing of these his valiant victories and manfull deeds, drew to him daily out of all coasts. Who through the helpe of God, and their assistance, held the Danes so short, that he wonne from them Winchester and divers other good townes. Briefely, at length he forced them to seeke for peace: the which was concluded upon certaine covenants. Whereof one and the principall was, that the forenamed Outrum their king should be christened. The other was, that such as would not be christened, should depart and voyde the countrey.

King Alfred fled into a desart wood.

Etheling, which is to say, the Isle of marshes.

A swineherd made bishop of Winchester.

Herr. Hunting. lib. 5. de Histor. Angl.

Ingvar and Yubba slaine.

A bold adventure or attempt of King Alfred, securing himself into the tents of the Danes.

Ex Fabiano.

Burthred expelled his king home, went to Rome, and there died in the English house.

Hollo a Dane first Duke of Normandy.

Anno 879.



Entrum the  
Prince of the  
Danes was  
challenged.

King Entrum  
named Athel-  
stan.

Northfolke and  
Suffolke given  
to King En-  
trum.

Upon these covenants, first the said Entrum the Danish prince comming to Winchester, was there christened with twenty of his greatest Dukes or nobles. To the which Entrum is. Alfred being his godfather at his baptism, named him Athelstan. Who after a certaine season that he had seased the said Danes, he, according to his promise before made, gave unto their King the country of East Anglia containing Northfolke and Suffolke, and part of Cambridgeshire. Hozober (as saith Polychronicon) he granted to the Danes that were christened, the country of Northumberland. So the residue that would not be christened, departed the land, and sailed into France: where what veneration and harm they wrought, the Chronicles of France doe partly comprehend.

King Athelstan thus having the possession of these countries, had all East Angles under his obedience. And albeit that he held the same Province as in fee of the King, and promised to dwell there as his liege man: yet that notwithstanding, he continued more like a tyrant, by the terme of eleven yeeres, and died in the sixtieth yeere. During the which space, King Alfred having some more rest and peace, repaired certaine Townes and strong Holds afoze by the Danes impaired. Also he builded divers houses of religion, as the house of Puns at Shaftesbury: An other religious house at Chelning he founded. Item another in Winchester, named the new monastery. Item, he indued richly the Church of S. Cuthbert in Durham. He sent also to India to pay and perforce his vowes to S. Thomas of Inde, which he made during the time of his distresse against the Danes.

About the fiftieth yeere of the raigne of Alfred, the Danes, returning from France to England, landed in Kent, and so came to Rochester, and besieged that City: and there lay so long, that they builded a tower of timber against the gates of the City. But by strength of the Citizens, that Tower was destroyed, and the City defended, till King Alfred came and rescued them. Whereby the Danes were so distressed, and so nere trapped, that for feare they left their hozes behind them, and fled to their ships by night. But the King when he was thereof aware, sent after them and tooke sixtene of their ships, and slew many of the said Danes. This done, the King returned to London, and repaired the same honorably (as saith Hovedenus) and made it habitable, which before was fore decayed and seebled by the Danes.

The third yeere after this, which was the ninetieth yeere of the raigne of King Alfred, the foresaid Athelstan the Danish King of Northfolke (which by Alfred was christened) before deceased. Not long after this, about the one and twentieth yeere of this Kings raigne, the Danes againe landed in foure places of this land: which was, in East-england, in the North, and in the West, in two places. Before the landing of these Danes, it chanced King Alfred, hearing of the death of King Athelstan and of other complaints of the Danes, was then in East-england, when these tidings came to him.

When King Alfred was hereof ascertained, for so much as some of the Danes were landed in that coast, thinking with themselves the further they went in those parts the lesse resistance to have, and the more speed, as they were wont to have before: Alfred therfore sending messengers in all hast to Ethelred Duke of Mercia, to assemble to him an host, to withstand the Danes which landed in the West, made forth toward his enemies there, where he was in East Anglia, whom he pursued so sharply, that he drove them out from those parts. They then landed in Kent, whither the King with his people sped him, and in like manner drove the Danes from thence, without any great fight, so farre as in our authors we can see. After this, againe the Danes tooke shipping, and sailed into Northwales,

and there robbed and spoyled the Britains, and from thence returned by the sea into East Anglia, with an hundred ships, and there rested them, for so much as the King then was gone Westward.

The fourth host of the Danes the same yeere came to Chester, which at length they wonne; but then the Countrey adjoyning pressed so sore upon them, and besieged them so long, keeping themselves within the City, that at the last the Danes wearied with the long siege were compelled to eat their own hozes for hunger. But by appointment, at last they gave over the Towne, and went about by Northwales to Northumberland, which was about the three and twentieth yeere of King Alfred: which Alfred in the meane while with his host sped him thitherward. When the Danes, leaving their strong holds and castles, garnished with men and victuall, tooke againe shipping, and let their course in such wise that they landed in Sussex, and so came to the port of Lewes; and from thence toward London, and builded a tower or castle nere unto the river of Luy, twenty miles from London. But the Londoners hearing thereof manned out a certaine number of men of armes, who, with the assistance of them of that Countrey, put the Danes from that tower, and after beate it downe to the ground. Some after the King came downe thither, and to prevent the dangers that might insue, commanded the river of Luy to be divided in three streames: so that where a ship might faile in times before, there a little boate might scantily row. From thence the Danes, leaving their ships and wives, were forced to flee that Countrey, and toke their way againe toward Wales, and came to Quaduge nere to the river of Seberne. All here upon the hozers thereof, they builded them a castle, there resting themselves for a time, whom the King effrones with his army pursued. In the meane time, the Londoners at Luy taking the Danes ships, some of them they brought to London, the rest they fired. During all these three yeeres, from the first comming of the Danes to Luy, England was afflicted with three manner of sorowes: with the Danes, with pestilence of men, and moraine of beasts. The which troubles notwithstanding, yet the King manfully resisted the malice of his enemies, and thanked God alwaies, what trouble soever fell to him, or unto his realme, and sustained it with great patience and humility. These three yeeres overpast, the next following, which was the eight and twentieth of the raigne of Alfred, the Danes divided their host, of whom part went to Northumberland, some to Northfolke, part sailed over to France, some other came to Westsar, where they had divers conflicts with the Englishmen, both by land, and especially upon the sea: of whom some were slaine, many by shipwracke perished, divers others were taken and hanged, and thirty of their ships were taken.

Not long after this, King Alfred, when he had reigned nine and twenty yeeres and six moneths, changed this mortall life. And thus much (and more peradventure then wil seeme to this our ecclesiasticall story appertaining) touching the painfull labours and travells of this good King: which he no lesse valiantly achieved, than patiently sustained for the necessary defence of his Realme and subjects. Now if there be any Prince, who listeth to see and follow the vertuous and godly disposition of this King, both touching the institution of his owne life, and also concerning his careful government of the Commonweale, thus the histories of him doe record. What at what time he being young, perceiving himselfe somewhat disposed to the vice of the flesh, and thereby letted from many vertuous purposes, did not as many young Princes and Kings sons in the world be now wont to doe, that is, to resolve themselves into all kind of carnall licence, and dissolute sensuality, running and following without

The Danes  
driven out of  
Chester.

The Danes  
driven from  
Lewes.

The river of  
Luy divided  
into three  
streames.

Three plagues  
in England:

Anno  
897.

The Danes  
ships taken.

Anno  
899.

The vertues  
and godly life  
of King Alfred  
described.

The inclina-  
tion of nature  
corrected in  
King Alfred.

The Danes re-  
turne againe to  
Northwales.

Anno  
892.

The Danes  
driven from  
Northfolke.



hible whither soeber their licence giuen doth lead them (as therefore not without cause the common proverbe reporteth of them, that Kings sons learne nothing well else but only to ride.) Meaning thereby, that Princes and Kings sommes habing about them flatterers, which bolster them in their faults, only their hoxes giue to them no more then to any other: but if they sit not fast, they will cast them. But this young King, seeing in himselfe the inclination of his fleshly nature, minding not to giue himselfe so much as he might take, but rather by resistance to aboyd the temptation thereof, he sought God that he would send to him some continuall sicknesse, in quenching of that vice, whereby he might be more profitable to the publike businesse of the common wealth, and more apt to serue God in his calling. Cestren. lib. 5. cap. 1. Fab. cap. 17.

Then at Gods ordinance, he had the ebill called *Ficus*, till he came to the age of twenty yeres, whereof at length he was cured (as is said in some stories) by the virgin called *Modwen*, an Irish woman. After this sicknesse being taken away, to him fell another, which continued with him from the twentieth yere of his age, to forty and five (according to his owne petition and request made unto God) whereby he was the more reclaimed and attempered fro the other more great inconveniences, and lesse disposed to that which he did most abhorre.

Whereby, to behold the bountifull goodnesse joined with like prudence in this man, in the ordering and disposing his riches and rents, it is not unworthily to be recited, how he diuided his goods in two equal parts: the one appertaining to uses secular, the other to uses spirituall or ecclesiasticall. Of the which two principall parts, the first he diuided into three portions; the first to the behoofe of his house and family, the second upon the workmen and builders of his new workes, whereof he had great delight and cunning; the third upon strangers. Likewise the other second half upon spirituall uses, he did thus diuide in four portions: one to the relieving of the poore, another to the monasteries, the third portion to the schooles of *Driford*, for the maintaining of good letters; the fourth he sent to forren Churches without the Realme. This also is left in stories written to his commendation for his great tolerance and sufferance, that when he had builded the new monastery at *Winchester*, and afterward his sonne *Edward* had purchased of the bishop and the chapter a sufficient piece of ground for certaine offices to be adjoynded unto the same, and had given for ebery foote of ground, *Marcam auri pleni ponderis* (which was as I thinke a marke of gold or more) yet *Alfred* therewithall was not greatly discontented to see his coffers so waisted.

Over and besides, how sparing and frugall he was of time (as of a thing in this earth most precious) and how far from all vaine pastimes and idlenesse he was, this doth well declare, which in the story of *William de Reg.* and other writers is told of him. That he so diuided the day and night in three parts if he were not let by warres and other great businesse, that eight houres he spent in study and learning, and other eight houres he spent in prayer and almesdeeds, and other eight houres he spent in his naturall rest, sustentance of his body, and the needs of the realme. The which order he kept duely by the burning of wren tapers kept in his closet by certaine persons for the same purpose. *Guliel.*

How studious he was and carefull of the Common wealth, and maintenance of publike tranquillity, his lawes most godly set forth and devised by him may declare. Wherein especially by him was provided for the extirping and abolishing of all theft and thebes out of the realme. Whereby the realme through his vigilant care was brought into such tranquillity, or rather perfection, that in ebery crosse or turning way he made to be set up a golden bough,

at least of silver gilded, through his dominions, and none so hardy neither by day nor night to take it downe; for the more credit whereof, the words of the Latine story be these: *Armillas aureas iuberet suspendi, quæ vianum aviditatem irritarent, dum non essent qui eas abriperent.* See. *Guliel. lib. de regibus Angl.* And no great marvell therein, if the realme in those daies was brought into such an order, and that justice then was so well ministered, when the King himselfe was so vigilant in overseeing the doings of his Judges and Officers. Whereof thus also we read in the said author testified: *Judiciorum a suis hominibus factorum inquisitor perperam actorum asperrimus corrector.* i. e. He was (saith mine author, speaking of the King) a vigilant inquisitor of the doings of his Judges, and a strict punisher of their misdoings. *Iornalenis* also, writing upon the same, thus saith: *Facta ministrorum suorum & potissime judicum diligenter investigavit, adeo ut quos ex avaritia aut imperitia errare cognosceret, ab officio removebat,* that is: He did diligently search out the doings of his officers, and especially of his Judges, so that if he knew any of them to erre either through covetousnesse or unskilfulnesse, them he removed from their office.

And thus much concerning the valliant acts and noble vertues of this worthy Prince: whereunto although there were no other ornaments adjoyning besides, yet sufficient were they alone to set forth a Prince worthy excellent commendation. Now besides these other qualities and gifts of Gods grace in him above mentioned, remaineth another part of his no little praise and commendation, which is his learning and knowledge of good letters, whereof he not onely was excellently expert himselfe, but also a worthy maintainer of the same through all his dominions; where before no use of Grammar or other sciences was practised in this realme, especially about the West parts of the land, were through the industry of the King, schooles began to be erected, and studies to flourish. Although among the Brittaines, in the towne of *Chester* in *Southwailes* long before that in King *Arthurs* time, as *Calfridus* writeth, both grammar and philosophy, with other tongues was then taught. After that, some writers record, that in the time of *Osbert* King of *Kent*, this *Iland* began to flourish with philosophy. About which time some also thinke that the University of *Grantchester*, neere to that which now is called *Cambridge*, began to be founded by *Beda*, following this consecution therein, for that *Alcinius* (before mentioned) which after went to *Rome*, and from thence to *France* in the time of *Charles the great*, where he first began the University of *Paris*, was first trained up in the exercise of studies at the same schole of *Grantchester*. *Beda lib. iii. cap. 18.* Writing also of *Sigebert* King of *Eastangles*, declareth how the said *Sigebert* returning out of *France* into *England* (according to the examples which he did there see) ordered and disposed schooles of learning, through the meanes of *Felix* then bishop, and placed in them masters and teachers, after the use and manner of the *Cantuaris*. And yet before these times, moreover it is thought that there were two schooles of Universities within the realme: the one *Graeke*, at the towne of *Greteclade*, which afterward was called *Birkelade*: the other for *Latine*, which place was then called *Latinslade*, afterward *Wethelade* neere to *Driford*.

But howsoever it chanced that the knowledge and study of good letters being once planted in this realme, afterward went to decay: yet King *Alfred* deserbeth no little praise, for restoring or rather increasing the same. After whose time they have ever since continued, albeit not continually through ebery age in like perfection. But this we may see, what it is to have a Prince learned himselfe, who feeling and tasting the price and value of science and knowledge,

Ex hisseria Iornalenis.

King Alfred commended for learning.

When learning first began to be set up in *England*.

*Chester* a place of learning. The University of *Grantchester* by *Cambridge*.

The University at *Paris* first began by *Alcinius*, *Rabanus*, *Alcinius*, *Cladius*, *Johannes Scotus*.

*Sigebert* King of *Eastangles* a supporter of schooles.

Two ancient schooles in *England*, one for *Graeke*, the other for *Latine*.

The gods petition of King Alfred.

*Modwen*.

King Alfred how he diuided his goods in two parts. *Polychron. lib. 5. cap. 1. Guliel. lib. de regibus.* The liberall heart of King Alfred.

How well and godly this King spent his time.

The godly lawes of King Alfred.

A notable example of the very and felony banished this realme.



ledge, is thereby not onely the more apt to rule, but also to instruct and frame his subjects, from a rude barbarity, to a more civill congruency of life, and to a better understanding of things: as we see in this famous Prince to happen. Concerning whose first education and bringing up, although it was somewhat late before he entered any letter, yet such was the apt forwardnesse and docility of his nature, that being a child, he had the Saxon poems (such as were used then in his owne tongue) by heart and memory. Who afterwards with yeeres and time grew up in such perfection of learning and knowledge, in so much that (as mine author saith) Nullus Anglorum fuerit vel intelligendo acutior, vel interpretando elegantior. The which thing in him the more was to be marvelled, for that he was twelve yeeres of age before he knew any letter. When his mother, carefull and tender over him, having by chance a booke in her hand, which he would faine have, promised to give him the same, so that he would learne it. Whereupon he for grādinnesse of the booke, effionely learned the letters, having by his schoolmaster Pleimundus, after bishop of Canturbury. And so daily grew he more and more in knowledge, that at length, as mine author saith: Plurimam partem Romanæ bibliothecæ Anglorum auribus dedit, optimam prædam peregrinarum mercium civium usibus convertens, that is: A great part of the Latine Library he translated into English, converting to the uses of his Citizens a notable prey of forreine ware and merchandize, &c. Of which bookes by him and through him translated, was Orosius, Pastorale Gregorii, the history of Beda, Boetius de consolatione Philosophiæ. Also a booke of his owne making and in his owne tongue, which in the English speech he called A handbooke, in Græke called it Enchiridion, in Latine A manuall. Besides the history of Beda translated into the Saxons tongue, he also himselfe compiled a story in the same speech, called The story of Alfred, &c. which both bookes in the Saxons tongue I have seene, though the language I doe not understand. And as he was learned himselfe excellently well, so likewise did he inflame all his countrey-men to the love of liberall letters, as the words: of the story repositeth; illos præmiis, hos minis hortando, neminem illiteratum ad quamlibet curiæ dignitatem aspirare permittens: that is, He exhorted and stirred his people to the study of learning, some with gifts, some by threats, suffering no man to aspire to any dignity in the court, except he were learned. Noeober an other story thus saith, speaking of his Nobles: Optimates quoque suos ad literaturam addiscendam in tantum provocavit, ut sibi filios suos, vel saltem si filios non haberent, servos suos, literis commendarent, that is: Also his Nobles so much he did allure to the embracing of good letters, that they set all their sonnes to schoole: or if they had no sonnes, yet their servants they caused to be learned. Whereby the common proverbe may be found not so common as true: 60 Such as is the Prince, such be the subjects. He began noeober to translate the Psalter in English, and had almost finished the same, had not death prebent him. Guliel. de regib. Angl. In the prologue of the booke intituled Pastorale Grego. thus he writeth; declaring the cause why he was so earnest and diligent in translating good bookes from Latine into English, shewing the cause thereof why he so did, as followeth: Quod ecclesiæ in quibus innumera priscæ bibliothecæ continebantur, cum libris à Danis incensa sint: quodque in tota insula studium literarum ita abolutum esset, ut quisque minus timeret capituli periculum, quam studiorum exercitia adire. Quapropter se in hoc Anglis suis consulere, &c. that is: The cause was, for that innumerable ancient Libraries, which were kept in Churches, were consumed with fire by the Danes: and that men had rather suffer perill of their life, then to follow the errors

of studies: and therefore he thought thereby to provide thereby for the people of the English Nation, &c.

It is told of him both in Polychronicon, Dalmabury, Roznalenis, and other stories more, whereof I have no names, that he seeing his countrey (namely Westward) to be so desolate of schooles and learning, partly to profit himselfe, partly to furnish his countrey and subjects with better knowledge, first 10 sent for Grimbaldus a learned monke out of France, to come into England. Also he sent for another learned man out from the parts of Wales, whose name was Alferion, whom he made bishop of Shireborne. Item out of Mercia, he sent for Alerefrithus bishop of Worcester, to whom he put the dialogues of Gregory to be translated. But chiefly he used the counsell of Æteotus, who then was counted for an holy man, an abbat of a certaine monastery in Cornewall. By the advisement of which Æteotus, he sent for these learned men above recited: and also ordained certaine scholles of divers arts, first at Oxford, and also franchised the same with many great liberties: Guliel. Iornalen. Fabi. c. 171. Whereof perhaps the scholle, now called the new colledge (first then begun of this Æteotus) might take his name: which afterward peradventure the bishops of Winchester after a larger manner did redifie and enlarge with greater possessions.

Noeober, among other learned men, which were 30 about King Alfred, histories make mention of Iohannes Scotus (a goodly Divine, and a learned Philosopher) but not that Scotus whom now we call Dunis. For that Iohannes Scotus came after this many yeeres. This Iohannes is described to be of a sharpe wit, of great eloquence, and well expert in the Græke tongue, pleasant and merry of nature and conditions, as appeareth by divers his doctings and answers. First, he coming to France out of his owne countrey of Scotland, by reason of the great tumults of warre, was there worthily entertained, and for his learning had in great estimation of Carolus Calvus the French King; whom he commonly and familiarly used ever to have about him, both at table, and in chamber. Upon a time the King sitting at meat, and seeing something (belike in this John Scot) which seemed not very courtly, cast forth a merry word, asking of him what difference there was betwixt a Scot and a lot. Whereunto the Scot sitting over against the King some 50 what lower, replied againe suddenly, rather then advisedly (yet merrily) saying; Mensa tantum, that is, The table onely: importing thereby himselfe to be the Scot, and so calling the King a lot by craft. Which word how other Princes would have taken of scornake, I know not: but this Charles, for the great reverence he bare to his learning, turned it but to a laughter among his Nobles, and so let it passe.

Another time the same King being at dinner was 60 served with a certaine dish of fish, wherein were two great fishes and a little one. After the King had taken thereof his repast, setteth downe to Iohannes Scotus the foresaid fish, to distribute unto the other two clerkes, sitting there with him: which were two tall and mighty persons, he himselfe being but a little man. Iohannes taketh the fish, of the which the two great he taketh and carbeth to himselfe: the little fish he reacheth to the other two. The King perceiving his division thus made, reprehended the same. Then Iohannes, whose manner was ever to finde out some honest matter to delight the King, answered to him againe, probing his division to stand fast and equal: For here (saith he) be two great, and a little, pointing to the two great fishes and himselfe: and likewise here againe is a little one and two great, pointing to the little fish, and two great persons. I pray you (saith he) what odds is there, or what distribution can be more equal? 70 Whereat

Ex historia  
Guliel. de regi-  
bus, Aug.

Pleimundus  
teacher to King  
Alfred, and af-  
ter bishop of  
Canturbury.

Bookes trans-  
lated out of La-  
tine by King  
Alfred.

None permit-  
ted to have any  
dignity in the  
Court except  
he were learn-  
ed.  
Polychron. lib. 6.  
cap. 1.

The Psalter  
translated into  
English by  
King Alfred.

The cause why  
the King cur-  
ried Latine  
bookes into  
English.

Learned men  
sent for and pla-  
ced about the  
King.

The dialogues  
of Gregory  
translated.  
Æteotus an  
abbat.

The schooles  
and university  
of Oxford first  
begun by King  
Alfred.  
The new col-  
ledge in Ox-  
ford.

Iohannes  
Scotus.

The answer  
of Iohannes  
Scotus to the  
French King.



Whereat the King with his Nobles being much delighted, laughed merrily.

At the request of this Charles, furnished Bato, the French King, this Scotus translated the booke of Dionysius, intituled De Hierarchia, from Greeke into Latin, word for word, Quo fit (as my author saith) ut vix intelligatur Latina litera, quam nobilitate magis Græca, quam positione construitur Latina. Hæ wrote also a booke De corpore & sanguine Domini, which was afterward condemned by the Pope In concilio Vercellensi.

The same Johannes Scotus, moreover compiled a Booke of his owne, giving it a Greeke title, *Περὶ τῶν ὁρίων τῆς σαφείας*, that is, De naturæ divisione. In which booke (as saith my foresaid author) is contained the resolution of many profitable questions; but so, that he is thought to follow the Greeke Church rather than the Latine, and for the same was counted of some to be an heretike: because in that booke some things there be, which in all points accord not with the Romish Religion. Wherefore the Pope writing to the said King Charles of this Scotus, complaineth, as in his owne words here followeth:

Relatum est Apostolici nostri, quod opus Dionysii Areopagitæ, quod de divinis nominibus, & de celestibus ordinibus, Græco descriptis eloquio, quidam vir Ioannes (genere Scotus) nuper transfudit in Latium. Quod, juxta morem Ecclesiæ, nobis mitti, & nostro judicio debuit approbari: præsertim quum idem Ioannes (licet multæ scientiæ esse prædicetur) olim non sanè sapere, in quibusdam frequentiori rumore dicatur, &c. That is: Relation hath been made unto our Apostleship, that a certaine man called Johannes, a Scotishman, hath translated the Booke of Dionysius the Areopagit, of the names of God, and of the heavenly orders, from Greeke into Latine. Which Booke, according to the custome of the Church, ought first to have bene approved by our iudgement: namely, seeing the said John (albeit hee be said to be a man of great learning and science) in time past hath bene noted by common rumour to have bene a man not of upright or sound doctrine, in certaine points, &c. For this cause, the said Scotus being constrained to remove from France, came into England, allured (as some testifie) by the letters of Alured or Alfred, of whom hee was with great favour entertained and conversant a great space about the King; till at length (whether before or after the death of the King, it is uncertaine) hee went to Halmesbury, where hee taught certaine schollers a few yeres, by the which schollers at last most unpiouly hee was murdered and slaine with their penknives, and so died, as stories say, a martyr, buried at the said Monastery of Halmesbury with this Epitaph,

*Claudunt in tumultu sanctus sophista Ioannes,  
Qui ditatus erat jam vivens dogmate miræ.  
Martyrio tandem Christi conscendere regnum  
Qui meruit, regnans seculi per secula cuncta.*

King Alfred having these helps of learned men about him, and no lesse learned also himselfe, passed over his time not only to great utility and profit of his subjects, but also to a rare and profitable example of other Christian Kings and Princes for them to follow. This foresaid Alfred had by his wife, called Ethelwitha, two sons, Edward and Ethelward; and three daughters, Elfreda, Ethelgoza, and Ethelguda: Quas omnes liberalibus fecit artibus erudiri; that is, Whom he set all to their bookes and study of liberal arts, as my story testifieth. First, Edward his eldest son succeeded him in the kingdom: the second son Ethelward died before his father: Ethelgoza his middle daughter was made a Nun, the other two were married, the one in Merceland, the other to the Earle of Flanders. Thus King Alfred the valiant, vertuous and learned Prince, after hee had thus christianly governed the Realm the terme

of nine and twenty yeres and six moneths, departed this life, scilicet Nov. and Iyeth buried at Winchester, An. Dom. 901. Of whom this I find moreover greatly noted and commended in history, and not here to be forgotten, for the rare example thereof touching this Alfred, that wheresoever he was, or whithersoever hee went, hee bare alwaies about him in his bosome or pocket a little booke containing the Psalmes of David, and certaine other orisons of his owne composing. Whereupon hee was continually reading or praying whensoever hee was otherwise vacant, having leisure thereunto. Finally, what were the vertues of this famous King, this little table here undertowitten, which is left in ancient writing in the remembrance of his worthie and memorabill life, both sufficiently in few lines containe.

In regis Alfredi, & virtutis illius  
claram memoriam.

**F**Amosus, bellicosus, victoriosus: viduarum, pupillorum, & orphanorum, pauperumq; provisor studiosus; poetarum Saxonorum peritissimus; sue genti charissimus, affabilis omnibus, liberalissimus; prudentia, fortitudine, temperantia, justitia præditus; in infirmitate, qua continne laborabat, patientissimus; in exequendis iudiciis indigator discretissimus, in servicio Dei vigilantissimus & devotissimus, Anglosaxonum rex Alfredus, piissimi Ethelulfi filius 29. annis sexque mensibus regni sui peractis mortem obiit. Indi. 4. quinto cal. Novemb. feria quarta, & Wintonia in novo Monasterio sepultus, immortalitatis stolam, & resurrectionis gloriam cum iustis expectat. &c.

Moreover, in the history of Henricus Huntingtonensis these verses I find written in the commendation of the same Alfred made (as I suppose, and by his words appeareth) by the said author, whereof I thought not to defraud the reader: the words whereof here follow.

*Epitaphium regis Alfredi.*

Nobilitas innata tibi probitatis honorem,  
Armipotens Alfreda, dedit, probitasque laborem,  
Perpetuumque labor nomen, cui mixta dolori  
Gaudia semper erant, spes semper mixta timori.  
Si modo victor eras, ad crastina bella pavebas,  
Si modo victus eras, ad crastina bella parabas.  
Cui vestes sudore jugi, cui sicca cruore  
Tincta jugi, quantum sit onus regnare, probantur.  
Non fuit immensi quisquam per climata mundi,  
Cui tot in adversis nil respirare liceret.  
Nec tamen aut ferro contritus ponere ferrum,  
Aut gladio potuit, vitæ finire dolores.  
Iam post transactos vitæ regnique labores,  
Christus ei sit vera quies, sceptrumque perenne.

In the story of this Alfred, a little above mentioned was made of Pleimundus schoolmaster to the said Alfred, and also Bishop of Canturbury, succeeding Etheledus there Bishop before him. Which Pleimundus governed that See, the number of thirty and four yeres. After Pleimundus succeeded Athelmus, and late twelvet yeres. After him came Alfelmus thirtene yeres. Then followed Wdo a Dane bozne in the said See of Canturbury, and governed the same twenty yeres, being in great favour with King Ethelstan, King Edmund, and Edwin, as in proceffe hereafter (Christ willing) as place and order doth require, shall more at large be expressed.

As touching the course and proceedings of the Romish Bishops there, where I last entred mention of them, I ended with Pope Stephan the fifth. After his time was much boyle in the election of the Bishops of Rome, one contending against another: in so much that within the space of nine yeres, were nine Bishops. Of the which, first was Formosus, who succeeded next unto the foresaid Stephan the fifth,

The decease of King Alfred.  
Anno 901.

Etheledus, Pleimundus, Athelmus, Alfelmus, Wdo Archbishop of Canturbury.

Nine Popes in nine yeeres at Rome.

Formosus first Pope.

Johannes Scotus translated Hierarchiam Dionysii from Greeke into Latine.

The booke of Johannes Scotus called Peri gonimion. Johannes Scotus adorned more to be Greeke Church then the Latine. Johannes Scotus accused of being Pope for a while.

Johannes Scotus slaine by his owne schollers. John Scotus a martyr.

This Ethelwilda builded first the house of Nuns at Winchester.

The children of King Alfred. All his daughters learned.



fifth, being made Pope against the mind of certaine in Rome, that would rather Sergius, than Deacon of the Church of Rome, to have bene Pope. Notwithstanding, Wars and many prevailed on Formosus part. This Formosus, of whom partly also is mentioned in other places of this Ecclesiasticall history, being before Bishop of Pontinake, had in times past (I know not on what causes) offended Pope John the eight of that name, by reason whereof, for feare of the Pope, he voided away, and left his Bishoprick. And because he, being sent for againe by the Pope, would not returne, therefore was he excommunicated. At length comming into France to make there his satisfaction unto the Pope, he was degraded from a Bishop into a secular mans habit, swearing to the Pope, that he would no more re-enter into the city of Rome, nor claime his Bishoprick againe, subscribing moreover with his owne hand to continue from that time in the state of a secular person. But then Pope Martin (the next Pope after John) released the said Formosus of his oath, and restored him againe unto his Bishoprick; whereby Formosus entred not only into Rome againe, but also obtained shortly after the Papacy. Thus, he being placed in the Popedom, arose a great doubt or controversie among the Divines of his consecration, whether it was lawfull or not: some holding against him, that for so much as he was solemnly deposed, degraded, unpriested, and also sworne not to reiterate the state Ecclesiasticall, therefore he ought to be taken no otherwise than for a secular man. Others alleged againe, that whatsoever Formosus was, yet for the dignity of that order, and for the credit of them whom he ordered all his consecration ought to stand in force, especially seeing the said Formosus was afterward received and absolved by Pope Martin from that his perjury and degradation, &c. In the meane time (as witnesseth Siebertus) this Formosus sendeth for King Arnulphus for aid against his adversaries: who, then marching toward Rome, was there resisted by the Romans from entering. But in the siege (saith the autho) the Romans within so plaid the Lions, that a poore hare (or such a like thing) comming toward the city, the host of Arnulphus followed after with such a maine cry, that the valiant Romans upon the walls for very feare (where there was no hurt) cast themselves desperately over the walls, so that Arnulphus with little labour scaled the walls, and gat the city. Thus Arnulphus, obtaining the city of Rome, restueth Pope Formosus, and beheadeth his adversaries; whom the Pope, to gratifie with like recompence againe, blesteth and crowneeth him for Emperour. Thus Formosus, sitting fast about the space of foure or five yeeres, followed his predecessors; after whose time (as I said) within the space of nine yeeres were nine Bishops, as followeth. But in the mean time, concerning the story of this Formosus declared by Siebert, and many other chronicles: this thing would I gladly aske, and more gladly learne of some indifferent good catholike person, which not of obstinacy, but of simple error being a Papist, would answer his conscience: Whether doth hee thinke the holy order of Priesthood, which hee taketh for one of the seven sacraments, to be Character indelebilis or not? If it be not Indelebilis, that is, If it be such a thing, as may be put off, why then doth the Popes doctrine so call and so hold the contrary, pretending it to be Indelebilis, unremovable? If it be indeed so as they teach and affirm, Indelebilis character; why then did Pope John, or could Pope John annihilate and evacuate one of his seven Pope-holy sacraments, making of a Priest, a non-priest or layman, uncharactering his owne order, which is (as he saith) a character, which in no wise may be blotted out, or removed? Againe, howsoever Pope John is to be judged in this matter to do either wel or not well: this would I know,

if he did well in so dispriesting and discharactering Formosus for such private offences? If yea, how then standeth his doing with his owne doctrine which teacheth the contrary? If he did not well, how then standeth his doctrine with his doings to be true, which teacheth that the Pope with his synod of Cardinals cannot erre? Moreover, if this Pope John did not erre in his disordering Formosus, how then did Martinus his successor not erre in repeating the said doing of his predecessor? or how did not Pope Formosus erre himselfe, who, being unpriested by Pope John, afterward, without reiteration the character or order of Priesthood, tooke upon him to be Pope, and made acts and lawes in the Church? Againe, if Formosus, now Pope, did not erre, how then did Pope Stephan his successor afterward not erre, who did annihilate the consecration, and all other acts of the said Formosus as erroneous? Or againe, if we say that this Stephan with his Synod of Cardinals did right, then how could it be that Pope Theodor and Pope John the tenth, which came after the foresaid Stephan, did not plainly erre, who, approving the consecration of Formosus, did condemne and burne the acts synodall of Stephan and his Cardinals, which before had condemned Formosus, according as in story here consequently may appeare.

After Formosus had governed the See of Rome five yeeres, succeeded first Bonifacius the sixth, who continued but five and twenty daies. Then came Stephan the sixth, which so envied the name of his predecessor, Formosus, that he abrogated and dissolved his decrees, and taking up his body after it was buried, cut two fingers off his right hand, and commanded them to be cast into Tiber, and then buried the body in a private or lay-mans sepulchre.

Thus after Stephan had late in the chaire of popes silence one yeere, succeeded in the same chaire Pope Romanus, and late thre moneths repealing the acts decreed by Stephan his predecessor, against Formosus. Next to whom came Theodor the second, who likewise taking part with Formosus against the foresaid Stephan, reigned but twenty daies. When late Pope John the tenth, who did fight and repugne against the Romans, and to confirme the cause of Formosus more surely, did hold a Synod at Ravenna of 74. Bishops, with the French King Endo & his Archbishops being present at the same.

At the which Council were ratified all the decrees and doings of Formosus, and the contrary acts of the Synod of Stephan the sixth were burned. This Pope lived not Pope fully two yeeres, after whom succeeded Benedictus the fourth, which kept the chaire thre yeeres. After whom Leo the first was next Pope, who within forty daies of his Papacy was with strong hand taken and cast in prison by one Christopher his owne household chaplen, whom hee had long nourished before in his house. Which thing (saith Platina) could not be done without great conspiracy & much slaughter of men. Which Christopher being Pope about the space of seven moneths, was likewise himselfe hoisted from his Papall throne by Sergius, like as he had done to his Master before. And thus within the space of nine yeeres had bene nine Popes one after another. Then Sergius, after he had thrust downe Pope Christopher, and thorne him thence into a Monastery, occupied the roome seven yeeres. This Sergius a rude man and unlearned, very proud and cruell, had bene put backe from the Popedom by Formosus above mentioned. By reason whereof, to revenge Formosus againe being now in his Papacy, hee caused the body of Formosus where it was buried, to be taken up; and afterward, sitting in the Papall See (as in his pontificalibus) first degraded

him, then commanded his head to be smitten off, with the other thre fingers that were left (as Siebertus writeth) which done, he made his body to be throned

Bonifacius the sixth Pope.  
Stephan the sixth Pope.  
Ex Chron. Martini penitentiarii.  
Siebert.  
Ex Polych. & aliis.

Pope Theodor the second.

Pope John the tenth.

One Council burneth another's decrees.

Pope Benedictus the fourth.  
Pope Leo the fifth imprisoned and unpopped by his owne chaplen.

Pope Christopher the first.

Pope Sergius.

Pope Formosus after his death beheaded of Pope Sergius.

Ex Chronico Siebertii.

Schismes among the Popes.

Character indelebilis.

Whether the Pope with his Cardinals may erre.



tholome into Tiber, depofing likewife all fuch as by the laid Jfozmofus befoze had bene confecrated and inbested. This body of Jfozmofus thus tholome into Tiber, was afterward (as our Writers fay) found and taken up by certaine fifhers, and fo brought into S. Peters Temple. At the prefence whereof (as they fay) certaine images there ftanding by, bowed downe themfelves, and reberenced the fame, with lie and all. But fuch deceitbeable miracles of ftocks and images, in monkish and friery temples, be to us no newes, efpecially here in England, where we have bene fo inured with the like and fo many, that fuch wily practises cannot be to us inuifible, though this crowne thome generation thinke themfelves to dance in a net. But the truth is, while they think to deceiue the fimple, thefe wily beguily moft of all deceiue themfelves, as they will finde except they repent. By this Pope Sergius firft came up the ufe to beare about candles on Candlemas day, for the purifying of the blessed virgine; as though the fabled conception of Iefus the Son of God were to be purified as a thing unipure, and that with candle light.

After Sergius entered Pope Anafthasius, in whole time the body of Jfozmofus afozenamed is thought to be found of fifhermen in the river of Tiber, and fo brought (as is laid) into the temple to be fainted of the images; which thing may quickly be fainted as a lie. For how is it to be thought that the body of Jfozmofus fo long dead befoze, and now lying feben yeeres in the river, could remaine whole all that while, that fifhers might take it up, and difcerne it to be the fame? After Anafthasius had fate two yeeres, followed Pope Lando, the father (as fome ftories thinke) of Pope John, which John is laid to be the Paramour of Theodora a famous harlot of Rome, and fet up of the fame harlot either againft Lando, or after Lando his father to fucceede in his roome, there is a froy wifer called Luithprandus, who writing De imperatorib. l. 2. cap. 13. maketh there mention of this Theodora and Pope John the eleventh, and faith moreover that this Theodora had a daughter named Harozia, which Harozia had by Pope Sergius abobe-mentioned, a fon which afterward was Pope John the twelfth. The fame Harozia afterward chanced to marry with Guido Marques of Tufcia, through the means of which Guido and his friends at Rome, the brought to paffe that this Pope John the eleventh was fmothered with a pillow laid to his mouth, after he had raigned thirteene yeeres, and fo the fozelaid John the twelfth her fon that might fucceede next after him. But becaufe the Clergie and people of Rome did not agree to his election, therefore was Pope Leo the firft in his place fet up. This Pope John the fon of Sergius and Harozia being defected, raigned Pope Leo feben moneths. After him Pope Stephan two yeeres, who being poyfoned, then was Pope John the twelfth abobe rehearsed, the fon of Sergius and Harozia fet up again in the Papacy, where he raigned nere the fpace of five yeeres. Of the wickednelle of this fcrumpet Harozia, how the married two bexhzen, one after the death of the other, and how the governed all Rome, and the whole Church at that time, I let it paffe.

Although the Latine verles whereof the laid Luithprandus doth indey againft fuch women as marry two bexhzen, were neither too fhy here to be rectified, and perhaps might be further applyed then to that Harozia of Rome: but for thofe thefe I let them alfo paffe. After John the twelfth, followed Pope Stephan three yeeres, Pope Leo three yeeres and foure moneths, Pope Stephan the eighth three yeeres & foure moneths, Pope Martin three yeeres and fir moneths; after him Pope Agapetus eight yeeres and fir moneths. About whole time or a little befoze began firft the order of Monks, called Ordo Chiniacensis, &c. But now to leaue off thefe monitions

matters of Rome, and to retorne againe to our countrey of England, where we last left befoze.

## King Edward the elder.

After the raigne of the famous King Alfred, his fonne Edward fucceded, furnamed the elder: where firft is to be noted, that befoze the conquest of the Normans, there were in England three Edwards, firft, this Edward the elder; fecondly, Edward the Martyr; third, Edward the Confessor: whereof hereafter (by the grace of Chrift) I fhall follow in order as place fhall give to be declared. This Edward began his raigne, the year of our Lord, 901. and governed the land right valiantly and nobly foure and twenty yeeres. In knowledge of good letters and learning he was not to be compared to his father, otherwife in Princely remoune, in civil government, and fuch like martiall prowefse, hee was nothing inferiour, but rather excelled him; through whole valiant acts firft the Princedome of Wales and kingdome of Scotland, with Conftantine King thereof were to him fubdued. He adjoynded moreover to his dominion, the countrey of East Anglia, that is, of Suffolke, Suffolke, and Effer.

All Merceland alfo he recovered, and Northumberland out of the hands of the Danes. In all his waies he never lightly went without victory. The fubjects of his Provinces & Dominions were fo inured and hardened in continuall pradtise and feats of warre, that when they heard of any enemies comming (never farring for any bidding from the King or from his Dukes) ftraightwaies they incountered with them, both in number and in knowledge of the order of warre excelling alwaies their adberfaies. Guliel, de regi. Ita hostes militibus contemptui, regi rifu erant; to meane, So was the comming and affaulting of their enemies to the people and comon fouldiers but a triffe, to the King but a ridicule. Among other adberfaries which were buisie rather then wile, in affailing this King, was one called Clito Ethelboldus a young man, King Edwards uncles fonne, who firft occupying the towne of Winborne (a King thence a Sun with him, whom then he had married) fled by night to Northumberland, to adjoyne himfelfe unto the Danes, who was made chief King and Captaine over them. When chafed from thence, hee fled ober into France, but fhortly returning againe into England, hee landed in Effingland, where the laid Clito with a company of Danes of that countrey gathered to him, destroyed and pilled much of the countrey about Crekinford and Crikeland. And fo paffing ober Thames after hee had fpoyled the land there to Bradenftocke, returned againe to Suffolke and Suffolke, where he meeting with an ambuflment of Kentifmen, which draged and farried after the maine host of Edward, contrary to his commandement, inclofed them in, and flew the moft part of them. Some after the two hosts meeting together, betwene the two ditches of S. Edmunds land, after a long fight, Clito with many of the Danes were flaine, and the remnant were constrained to fceke for peace, which upon certaine conditions, and under a tribute was to them granted.

In proceffe about the twelfth year of his raigne, the Danes repenting them of their covenants, and minding to breake the fame, assembled an host and met with the King in Staffordshire, at a place called Totenhall, and fone after at Wodnesfield, at which two places, the King flew two Kings, two Charles, and many thoufands of Danes that occupied the countrey of Northumberland.

Thus the importunate rage of the Danes being allwaged, King Edward having now fome leifure given from warres to other ftudies, gave his mind to the building or repairing of cities, towne, and caftles, that by the Danes were raged; shattered

and

and

A false fained miracle upon the body of Jfozmofus. Popish miracles not to be credited.

Beating of candles on Candlemas day how it came up.

Pope Anafthasius the third.

Pope Lando the first. Pope John the eleventh.

Harlots at this time ruled all at Rome.

Pope John the twelfth.

Pope Leo the sixth.

Pope Stephan the ninth. Pope John the twelfth restored.

Luithprandus, Ticinensis.

Pope Stephan the feventh.

Pope Leo the feventh.

Pope Stephan the eighth.

Pope Martin the third.

Pope Agapetus the second.

Ordo Chiniacensis beginning.

King Edward the elder.

Three Edwards befoze the conquest.

A comparison betweene Alfred and his fon Edwards.

Ase and long exercise of things maketh perfectnesse.

Clito Ethelboldus would rebell against King Edward.

Anno 904.

Anno 913.



Chesler repaired and enlarged.  
The castle of Hereford builded upon the river of Aven and Duse.

The towne of Colchester and Wigmore builded.  
The new towne of Nottingham builded.  
Chilwall.  
Hanchester repaired.

and broken. As first of Chesler, which city he double enlarged to that it was before, compassing the castle within the walls of the same, which before stood without. That done, the king builded a strong castle at Hereford in the edge of Wales. Also for the strengthening of the countrey, he made a castle at the mouth of the water of Aven, and another castle at Buckingham, and the third fast there by upon the river of Duse. Moreover, he builded or reedified the towne of Worcester and Wigmore, and destroyed the castle that the Danes had made at Domesford. Likewise upon the river of Trent, against the old towne of Nottingham, he builded a new towne on the South side, and made a bridge over the river betwene the said two towne. Also by the river of Merce he builded a city or towne in the South end of Mercia, and named it Chilwall, and after repaired the city of Hanchester, that fore was defaced with warres of the Danes.

In this renewing and building of towne and castles, for the more fortifying of his Realme, his sister Elfreda, daughter of King Alfred, and married to the Duke of Mercia (as is afore mentioned) was no small helper. Of this Elfreda, it is firmly of writers affirmed, that she being (as is said) married to Ethelred, Duke of Mercia, after she had once assayed the paines of women in travelling with her child, so much she abhorred ever after the imbracing of her husband, that it seemed to her (that said) not seemly for a Noble woman to use such fleshy liking, whereof so great sorrow and travell should ensue. And yet notwithstanding, the same Elfreda for all her delicate tendernesse, in eschewing the naturall passion which necessity giveth to women, was so hardy in warlike dangers which nature giveth not to women, that fighting against the Danes (so venturous she was of stomacke) foure of her next knights, which were guardians of her body, were slaine fast by her. This Elfreda, among her other noble acts, whereby she deserved praise, was a great helper and stirrer up of her brother Edward, who builded and newly repaired many castles & towne, as Tamworth besides Lichfield, Stafford, Watwike, Shrewesbury, Watrisbury, Eldebury, besides Chesler in the forrest now destroyed. Also in the South end of Mercia, upon the river of Merce, a castle called Rimcoze; also a bridge over Seberne, named Brimnisbury bridge.

The lawes of King Alfred and King Edward.

As touching the lawes and statutes of this Edward, as also of his father Alfred, made before him, I omit here to record them for length of matter and waste of time: yet notwithstanding, this admonition by the way I thinke good to note, that in those daies of these ancient Kings reigning in England, the authority then both of conferring Bishopricks and spirituall promotions, and also of prescribing lawes as well to the Church-men, as to the Laity, and of ordering and intermedling in matters merely spirituall, was then in the hands of Kings ruling in the Land, and not onely in the hand of the Pope, as appeareth by these lawes of Alfred.

Si quis fornicetur cum uxore aliena, &c.

Si quis in quadagesima sanctum velum in publico vel in lecto, &c.

Vt Christiani Deum diligant & paganismo renunciant, &c.

Si quis Christianitatem mutet, &c.

Si quis ordinatus sacris furetur, &c.

Si Presbyter ad rectum terminum sanctum chrisma, 70 &c.

Si duo fratres vel cognati cum una aliqua fornicentur, &c.

Note how Kings of England in times past had authority in spirituall causes.

By these and other such like constitutions of King Alfred it may appeare, how the governance and direction of the Church in those daies depended not upon Monsieur le Pope of Rome, but upon the Kings

which here in their time (under the Lord) did governe the land. To this also the example of King Edwards time gives testimony: which Edward with Pleimundus (afore mentioned) Archbishop of Canterbury, and with other Bishops in a Synod assembled, assigned and elected seven Bishops in seven Metropolitane Churches of the Realme. Which were, the first Fridelstan, the second Adelstan, the third Werstan, the fourth Adelelme, the fifth Eadulfus, the sixt Wernequus, the seventh Kenulphus; in which election, the Kings authority seemed then alone to be sufficient, &c.

This Edward (as in the beginning was said) reigned 24. yeres, who had three wives, Ecgwin, Elfred and Ethelwid. Of Ecgwin he had his eldest son, Adelstan, who next succeeded in the kingdome, and a daughter, married after to the Duke of Northumberland. Of Elfred he received two sons and six daughters, to wit, Ethelwald and Eadwin. Ethelwald was excellently well sene in all knowledge of learning, much resembling both in countenance and conditions his grandfather Alfred, and died soon after his father. Of his six daughters, two of them, Elfred and Ethelilda, were made Nuns, the other foure were married, Ecgina to Charles the French King in his fathers time, Ethilda, by King Ethelstan was married to Hugo, the son of Duke Robert. Cogitha and Algina, were both sent to Henricus, Prince of Almains. Of which two sisters, the second, the said Henricus married to his son Rtho, who was the first Emperour of the Almains. The other sister, which was Cogitha, the foresaid Henricus married unto a certaine Duke, about the border of the Alps in Italy. Of his third wife Ethelwid, he received two sons, Edmund and Eadred, which both reigned after Adelstan, and two daughters, Egburga, whom he made a Nun, and Cadguina, who was married unto Ludobicus, Prince of Aquitania in France. These sons and daughters, King Edward thus brought up: his daughters he set to spinning, and to the needle: Guliel. de reg. Et quia Philosophi ad gubernandam rempublicam non jam rudes procederent: that is, To the end, that they, being at first made Philosophers, should be the more expert thereby to governe the Common-wealth.

Guliel. de reg. Et quia Philosophi ad gubernandam rempublicam non jam rudes procederent: that is, To the end, that they, being at first made Philosophers, should be the more expert thereby to governe the Common-wealth.

### King Ethelstan, or Adelstan.

Ethelstan, or Adelstan, after the death of Edward his father, began his raigne in England, and was crowned at Kingston. He was a Prince of worthy memory, valiant and wise in all his acts, nothing inferior unto his father Edward. In like worldly renowne of civil government, joined with much prosperous successe, in reducing this Realme under the subjection of one Monarchy. For he both expelled the Danes, subdued the Scots, and quieted the Welshmen, as well in Northwales, as also in Cornwall. The first enemy against this Ethelstan, was one Elfredus, who, with a faction of seditious persons, conspiring against the said Ethelstan at Winchester, incontinently after the death of his father, went about to put out his eyes. Notwithstanding, the King escaping that danger, through the help of God, was at that time delivered. Elfred upon the same being accused, fled to Rome, there before the Pope to purge himselfe by his oath. Who being brought to the Church of St. Peter, and there swearing (or rather forswearing) himselfe to be cleare, which indeed was guilty thereof, suddenly upon his oath fell downe, and so being brought to the English house in Rome, within three daies after departed. The Pope sending word unto King Ethelstan, whether he would have the said Elfred buried among Christians or no: at length, through the persuasions of his friends and kinsfolkes, it was concluded

King Ethelstan, or Adelstan.

Duke Elfred suddenly stricken by the hand of God for perjury.



cluded that he should be buried in Christian burial. This story, although I find it in no other Writers mentioned, but only in the Chronicles of Guliel. lib. de regib. yet for so much as it beareth the witness and words of the King himselfe, as testified in an old deed of gift, given to the Monastery of Palmesbury, I thought the same more to be of credit. The words of the King proceeds in this tenor as followeth.

The copy of an old Writing of King Ethelstan, testifying of the miraculous death of Duke Elfred, suddenly stricken by the hand of God for perjury.

SCiant sapientes regionis nostræ, non has prefatas terras me injuste rapuisse, rapinamque Deo dedisse: Sed sic eas accepi, quemadmodum judicaverunt omnes optimates regni Anglorum. Insuper & Apostolicus Papa Romanæ Ecclesiæ Ioannes, Elfredo defuncto, qui nostræ felicitati & vitæ amulus exstitit, nequitia inimicorum nostrorum consentiens; quando me voluerunt (parte defuncto) excare in urbe Wintonia, si non me Deus sua pietate eripuisset. Sed denudatis eorum machinamentis, remissus est ad Romanam Ecclesiam, ut ibi se coram Apostolico Ioanne iurejurando defenderet. Et hoc fecit coram altare sancti Petri. Sed facto juramento, cecidit coram altare, & manibus famulorum suorum portatus est ad scholam Anglorum, & ibi tertia nocte vitam finivit. Et tunc Apostolicus ad nos remisit, & quid de eo ageretur a nobis consuluit, an cum cæteris Christianis corpus illius poneretur. His peractis, & nobis renunciatis, optimates regionis nostræ cum propinquo illius turba effragitabant omni humilitate, ut corpus illius per nostram licentiam cum corporibus poneretur Christianorum. Nosque flagitationi illorum consentientes Romanæ remisimus; & Papa consentiente, positus est ad cæteros Christianos, quamvis indignus. Et sic iudicata est mihi tota possessio ejus in magnis & in modicis. Sed & hæc apicibus literarum prenotavimus, ne quando aboleatur, unde mihi præfata possessio, quam Deo & sancto Petro dedi, donatur. Nec justius novi, quam Deo & sancto Petro hanc possessionem dare, qui æmulum meum in conspectu omnium cadere fecerunt, & mihi prosperitatem regni largiti sunt, &c.

In the second yeare of the raigne of King Ethelstan, for an unity and a peace to be had betwene the King and the Danes of Northumberland; he married to Sithericus their King, his sister, whereof mention is made before; but shortly after, within one yeare, this Sithericus died. After whose death, King Ethelstan seized that Province into his owne hands, putting out the sonne of the foresaid Sithericus, called Alanus, who with his brother Godfridus fled, the one into Ireland, the other unto Constantine, King of the Scots. And when he had thus accorded with the Danes of Northumberland, he shortly made subject unto him Constantine, King of Scots. But the said Constantine marked himselfe so lowly to the King, that he restored him to his former dignity, saying, that it was more honour to make a King, than to be a King.

Not long after, the said Constantine, King of Scots did breake covenant with King Ethelstan; wherefore he assembled his knights, and made towards Scotland, where he subduing his enemies, and bringing them againe unto due subjection, returned into England with victory. Here by the way, in some story-writers (who, forgetting the office of historians, seeme to play the Poets) is written and recorded for a marvell, that the said Ethelstan, returning out of Scotland into England, came to Forke, and so into the Church of Saint John of Beverley, to redeeme his knife, which before he had left there for a pledge at his going forth. In the

which place he praying to God and to S. John of Beverley, that he might leave there some remembrance whereby they that came after might know that the Scots by right should be subdued to the Englishmen, (note with a sword) they lay upon a great hard stone standing neere about the Castle of Dunbar, that with the stroke thereof the stone was cut a large ell deepe (with a lie no lesse deepe also then was the stroke in the stone.) But of this poeticall or

10 fabulous story, albeit Polychronicon, Fabian, Iornalensis, and others more constantly accord in the same, yet in Guliel. and Henricus no mention is made at all. But peradventure he that was the inventor first of this tale of the stone, was disposed to lie for the whetstone; wherefore in my mind he is worthy to have it.

Of like truth and credit seemeth also to be this that followeth, about the same yeare and time under the raigne of K. Ethelstan, being the eight yeare of his raigne, of one Bristanus bishop of Winchester, who succeeded Sfrichstanus in the same See, and governed that bishopricke foure yeeres. This Bristanus being a devout bishop in prayer and contemplation, used much among his solitary walks, to frequent late the Churchyard, praying for the soules there, and all Christian soules departed. Upon a time the said Bristanus after his wonted manner proceeding in his devotions, when he had done, came to Requiescant in pace. At herunto suddenly a great multitude of soules answering together with one voyce said, Amen. Of this miracle albeit I have not much to say (hasting to other matters) yet this question would I aske of some indifferent papist, which were not wilfull, but of ignorance deceived: Whether this multitude which here answered, Amen, were the soules of them buried in the church-yard or not? If yea, then how were they in purgatory, what time they were heard in that place answering Amen? Except wee should thinke purgatory to be in the church-yard at Winchester, where the soules were heard then so many answering and praying, Amen. And yet this story is testified by the accord of writers of that time, Guliel. Polychron, Hovedenus, Iornalensis, and others more. Such like miracles and prophecies also we read of Elphegus which succeeded him; but because we haste to other things, let these fables passe.

We heard a little before, how King Ethelstan after the death of Sithericus King of Northumberland, seized that Land and Province into his owne hand, and put out his sonne Alanus: who after flying into Scotland, married the daughters of Constantine King of Scots. By whose stirring and exhortation he gathered a company of Danes, Scots, and others, and entered the mouth of Humber with a strong Navy of five hundred and fiftene ships.

Whereof King Ethelstan, with his brother Edmund, having knowledge, prepared his army, and at length joyned in fight with him and his people, at a place called Brimamburch or Brimford: where he fighting with them from morning till evening, after a terrible slaughter on both sides (as the like hath not bene seene lightly in England) had the victory. In the which battell were slaine five small an under-kings, with Constantine King of Scots, and twelve Dukes, with the most part of all the strangers which at that time they gathered to them. Here also our writers put in another miracle in this battell, how King Ethelstans sword miraculously fell into his sheath, through the prayer of Wdo then archbishop of Canturbury.

Concerning this battell, I finde in a certaine written chronicle these verses, which because they should not be lost, I thought not unworthy here of rehearsal.

A fabulous miracle truly reported of King Ethelstan.

Bristanus Bishop.

Anno 933.

A ridiculous miracle forged upon Bristanus bishop of Winchester.

A miracle of soules answering, Amen.

A fore battell fought at Brimford.

Another unlike miracle of King Ethelstans sword. Wdo archbishop of Canturbury.



Transferat quinos, & tres, & quatuor annos,  
Iure regens cives, subigens virtute tyrannos :  
Cūna reditilla lues Europæ noxia labes.  
Iam cubat in terris fera barbaries aquilonis,  
Et jacet in campis pelago pirata relicto.  
Illicitas torusque minas Analanus anhelans,  
Bacchanti furia, Scotorum rege volente,  
Commodat assensum borealis terra serenum,  
Et jam grande tument, jam terrent aere verbis.  
Cedunt indigenæ, cedit plaga tota superbis.  
Nam quia rex noster fidens alacrisque juvenata,  
Emeritus pridem detriverat ocia lenta,  
Illi continuis fœdabant omnia prædis  
Vrgentes miseros injectis ignibus agros,  
Marcuerant totis viridantia gramina campis,  
Aegra seges votum deluserat agricolarum.  
Tanta fuit pedum, tam barbara vis equitantum,  
Innumeralium concursus quadrupedantum.  
Excivit tandem famæ querimonia regem,  
Ne se cauterio tali pateretur inuri,  
Quod sua barbaricæ cessissent arma securi,  
Nec mora, victrices ducentia signa cohortes,  
Explicat inventum vexilla ferocia centum,  
Lincta virum virtus, decies bis millia quina,  
Ad stadium belli comitantur prævia signa.  
Hicque ciet strepitus armatorum legiones,  
Ternit insignis venientum fama latrones,  
Vt posita proprias præda repetant regiones :  
At vulgus reliquum miseranda strage peremptum,  
Infecit bibulas terris nidoribus auras,  
Fugit Analanus de tot modo millibus unus, &c.

Analanus.

The North  
Britaines  
brought to  
tribute.The South  
Britaines,  
subdued.

After this victory thus obtained of the Danes and Scots, King Ethelstan also subdued (or at least quieted) the North Britaines, whom he contenting together at Berford (or thereabouts) forced them to grant unto him as a yearly tribute, twenty pounds of gold, three hundred pounds of silver, and of heads of neat five and twenty hundred, with hawks and dogs, to a certaine number. This done, he went to Excester, & there likewise subduing the South Britaines about Excester and Cornwall, repaired the walls of Excester with sufficient strength, and so returned.

Among these victorious and noble acts of this King, one blot there is of him written and noted, wherein he is as much worthy to be reprehended, as in the other before to be commended; (that is) the innocent death and murder of his brother Edwin. The occasion thereof was this. King Edward aforementioned their father, in the time of his youth committing by a certaine village or grange where he had bene nursed and brought up of a child, thought of courtship to goe to see how his nurse did, where he entering into the house, espied a certaine young damsell beautifull and right finely attired, Egwina by name. This Egwina, before, being a poor mans daughter, had a vision by night, that of her body sprang such a bright light of the Howne, that the brightnesse thereof gave light to the Realm of England; by reason whereof she was taken into the foresaid house, and daintily brought up in stead of their owne daughter, for hope of some commodity to ensue thereby, as afterward it came to passe. For King Edward (as is declared) coming into the house, and ravished with the beauty of the maiden, begat of her the same night this Ethelstan. Wherefore the said Ethelstan being thus basely borne of Egwina, the first wife to Edward (as is said) before he was married to her, and fearing his next brother Edwin, which was rightly borne (especially being stirred thereunto through the sinister suggestion of his mother) did call such displeasure to the foresaid Edwin his brother, being yet but young, that (notwithstanding his innocent submission and vrgation made against his accusers) he caused him to be set in an old rotten boat in the broad sea (only with one Chquire with him) without any sailing or other provision to the same. Where the

King Ethel-  
stan feareth  
the death of  
his owne bre-  
ther.

young and tender Prince being dismayed with the rage of winds and of the floods, and now weary of his life, cast himselfe over board into the sea, and so was drowned, notwithstanding the Chquire shifting for himselfe as he could, and recovering the body of his Master, brought it to Sandwich, where it was buried. Which done, the King, after wards coming to the remembrance of himselfe, was stricken with great repentance the space of seven yeeres together, and at length was revenged of him that was the accuser of his brother. This accuser (as is said) was the Kings cup-bearer, who (as God the righteous Judge of all things would have it) upon a certaine solemne feast, bearing the cup unto the King, chanced in the middle of the stoore to stumble with one foot, helping and recovering himselfe with the other, saying in these words: Thus one brother (as you see) helpeth another. These words being thus spoken in the hearing of the King, moved his mind, that forthwith he commanded the false accuser of his brother, to be had out to execution. Whose just recompence I would wish to be a warning to all men, what it is to sow discord betweene brother and brother.

10

20

30

40

50

60

70

King Ethelstan (besides his seven yeeres lamentation for this act) builded the two Monasteries of Whitleton and of Whithelnes for his brothers sake, or (as the stories say) for his soule. Whereby it may appeare what was the cause most speciall in those daies of building Monasteries, to wit, for releasing the sins both of them departed, and them alive: which cause, how it standeth with the grace and verity of Christs Gospell, and of his passion, let the christian reader try and examine with himselfe. This cruell fact of the King towards Edwin, caused him afterward to be more tender and careful towards his other brethren and sisters left in his hands unmarried. Which sisters, as is partly in the chapter before declared, he richly bestowed in great marriages; as one to the King of Northumberland, Si-thericus; another he gave unto Lewis, King of Aquitania; the third to Henricus, Duke of Aquitaine for his son Dtho, who was the first Emperour of the Germans. Whereby it is to be understood, that the Empire at this time began first to be translated from France (where it remained about one hundred yeeres and a halfe) unto Germany, where it hath ever since continued.

A note to learn  
not to sow dis-  
cord betwixt  
brother and  
brother.The cause of  
building Mo-  
nasteries.Dtho first Em-  
peror of the  
Germans.Pretious Jewels  
sent to King E-  
thelstan from  
the French  
King.Concerning  
one of the nails  
wherein our  
Saviour Christ  
was crucified.

The fourth of his sisters being a virgin of singu-  
lar beauty, Hugo the French King required to be  
given unto him, sending to King Ethelstan pre-  
tious and sumptuous presents, such as were not be-  
fore seene in England. Among the which presents  
and gifts, besides the rare odors of sundry labours  
and fine spices: and besides the pretious and costly  
gems, namely, of smaragds of most redolent graine;  
besides also many and great courfers and palfries  
richly trapped; especially of one Jewell (as writers  
make mention) which was a certaine vessel finely  
and subtilly made of the pretious stone onychinus,  
so radiantly wrought, that in it appeared the lively  
corne growing, and mens images walking, &c. Where  
and besides was sent also the sword of Constantine  
the great, with the name of the possessor, writ-  
ten in golden letters; where in the hilt of the same  
all beaten in gold, was one of the iron nails where  
without our Saviour on the crosse was nailed. Of the  
verity whereof I am not disposed at this present  
much to say what I suspect; but that this in the Ec-  
clesiasticall story of Eusebius is evident, that two  
of the foresaid nails of Christ were spent on the bi-  
ble of Constantine, the third he cast into the sea in a  
raging tempest. Wherefore, if Christ were nailed  
with foure nails, perhaps, this nail might be one.  
If he were nailed but with three, I see not how this  
story can stand with other stories, neither how this  
fourth nail can stand with the truth. Among the  
rest moreover was the spere (as is reported) where-  
with



with the side of our Saviour was opened, which also to the said Constantine was wont to carry in the field against his enemies; with a portion likewise of the holy crosse inclosed in chistall; also a part of the crown of thorn in like manner inclosed, &c. Of the which reliques, part was given to Winchester, part to the Church of Malmesbury, where King Ethelstan was buried. As this King was induced and enlarged by the gift of God (the letter up & disposer of all things) with great victories of wooldy renown, having under his subjection both Scots and Britains, and the whole monarchy of the Land: so he devised divers good and wholesome Lawes for the government of the same, as well concerning the state of the orders Ecclesiasticall, as also of the secular or lay people. Whereby it is to be understood, that the usurped power of the bishop of Rome did not then extend it self so largely, nor so proudly to derogate from the authority of Kings & Princes, but that every one in his own dominion had (under God, and not under the Pope) the doing of all matters within the same his dominion contained, whether they were causes temporall or spirituall, as by the decrees and constitutions of this King (and also of other as well before him, as after him) may evidently be testified, as where he amongst other Lawes thus ordaineth touching the bishop, in words as follow.

Episcopo jure pertinet, omnem rectitudinem promovere, Dei videlicet, ac seculi. In primis, debet omnem ordinatum instruere, quid ei sit agendum jure, & quid hominibus secularibus judicare debeant.

Debet etiam sedulo pacem & concordiam operari cum seculi iudicibus, qui rectum velle diligunt, & in compellationum allegationem edocere, ne quis alii perperam agat in jurejurando, vel ordalio.

Nec pati debet aliquam circumventionem injuste mensuræ, vel iniusti ponderis. Sed convenit ut per consilium & testimonium ejus omne legis rectum & burgi mensura, & omne pondus sit secundum a ditionem ejus, institutum valde rectum: ne quis proximum suum seducat, pro quo deciderat in peccatum.

Et semper debet Christianis providere contra omnia, quæ prædicta sunt, & ideo debet se de pluribus intrinsece, ut sciat quomodo grex agat, quem ad Dei manum custodire suscepit, ne diabolus cum dilaniet, nec malum aliquod superseminet. Nunquam enim erit populo bene consultum, nec digne Deo conversabitur, ubi lucrum impium & magis falsum diligitur. Ideo debent omnes amici Dei quod iniquum est enervare, & quod iustum est elevare, nec pati ut propter falsum, & pecuniæ questum homines se foris faciant erga verè sapientem Deum, cui displicet omnis iniustitia.

Christianis autem omnibus necessarium est, ut rectum diligant, & iniqua condemnent, & saltem sacris ordinibus eveci iustum semper erigant, & prava deponant.

Hinc debent Episcopi cum iudicibus iudicia dicere, & interesse, ne permittant (si possint) ut illinc aliqua pravitatum gramina pullulent. Et sacerdotibus pertinet in sua diocesi, ut ad rectum sedulo quemcumque inveniunt, nec patientur (si possint) ut Christianus aliquis alii noceat, non potens impotenti, non summus infirmo, non prælatus subditis, non dominus hominibus suis, servis, aut liberis. Et secundum conditionem, & per mensuram suam, convenit per rectum, ut necessaria servi operentur super omnem scyram cui præest.

Et rectum est ut non sit aliqua mensurabilis virga longior quam alia, sed per Episcopi mensuram omnes instituta sint, & exequata per suam diocesin. Et omne pondus constet secundum ditionem ejus, & si aliquid controversiarum interfit, discernat Episcopus.

Vaiuscuiusque domini proprium est & necesse, ut

servis condescendant; & compatiatur, sicut indulgentius poterit: quia Domino Deo viventi sunt æque chari servus, & liber. Et omnes uno & eodem pretio redemit, & omnes sumus Deo necessario servi: & sic iudicabit nos, sicut ante iudicavimus eos, in quos potestatem iudicii in terris habebimus. Et ideo opus est ut eis parcamus qui nobis parere debent, & tunc manebimur in Dei omnipotentis proprio iudicio: Amen.

10

The said Ethelstan besides, prescribed other constitutions also, as touching tithes giving, where he saith and proclaimeth: Ego Ethelstanus Rex, consilio Vlfelmi archiepiscopi mei & aliorum episcoporum, mando præpositis omnibus in regno meo, in nomine Domini & sanctorum omnium, ut inprimis reddant de meo proprio decimas Deo, tam in vivente capitali, quam in mortuis frugibus terræ: & episcopi mei similiter faciant de suo proprio, & Aldermanni mei & præpositi mei, &c.

20

That is, I Ethelstan King charge and command all my offices thorough my whole Realme, to give tithes unto God of my proper goods, as well in living Cattell, as in the Corne & fruites of the ground, and that my bishops likewise of their proper goods, and mine Aldermen, & my officers and headmen shall doe the same. Item, this I will, that my Bishops and other headmen doe declare the same to such as be under their subiection and that to be accomplished at the terme of S.

30

John the Baptist. Let us remember what Jacob said unto the Lord: Of all things that thou givest to mee I will offer tithes unto the Lord, &c. Also what the Lord saith in the Gospell of S. Matthew, Do him that hath it shall be given, and he shall be bound. We must also consider how terrible it is written in books, that if we will not offer our tenths, from us nine parts shall be taken away, & only the tenth part shall be left us, &c. And in the same place, after that he hath assigned the church rights to be paid in the place whereto they belong, if followeth this: Facite etiam ut mihi mea propria capiat, quæ mihi poteritis rectè acquirere. Nolo ut aliquid mihi iniuste conquiratis. Sed omnia vestra concedo vobis eo tenore, quo mihi mea similiter exoptetis, Caveat simul & vobis, & eis quos admonere debetis, ab ira Dei, & transgressionem mea.

40

Among his other Lawes and ordinances, to the number of 35. Divers things be comprehended, pertaining as well to the spirituall, as also to the temporall iurisdiction.

50

Out of the Lawes of this King first sprang up the attachment of Thæves, that such as stole above twelve pence, and were above twelve years old, should not be spared.

And thus much briefly concerning the History of King Ethelstan, and things in his time done: who reigned about the space of sixteen yeares. And because he died without issue, therefore after him succeeded his brother Edmund, the yeare of our Lord 940, who reigned six yeares.

60

King Edmund.

Edmund the sonne of Edward the elder by his Ethel wife (as is declared) and brother of Ethelstan, being of the age of 20. yeares, entred his raigne, who had by his Queene Elgna two sonnes, Edwin & Edgarus, surnamed Pacificus, which both reigned after him as followeth. This Edmund continued his raigne 6. yeares & a halfe. By him were expelled the Danes, Scots, Normans, and all foraine enemies out of the Land. Such Cities and Towns which before were in the possession of strangers, as Lincolne, Nottingham, Derby, Stafford, and Leicester, he recovered out of their hands. Thus the Realme being cleared of foraine power for a time: then the King set his study and mind in the redressing & maintaining the state of the Church: which

A Lawe how that matters ought to be considered and have sometime with these reasons.

The Lawe of King Ethelstan concerning tithes.

Tithes.

The King would usurp no mans goods without law.

The Law of King Ethelstan concerning tithes, stating above twelve pence. Episcop. in Ethelst. Soli illustris biseno scorpion oru, Cum regem casu da percussit illa sua.

Anno 940.

Edmundus R. of England.

Kings of England and governors, as well in churches Ecclesiasticall as in temporall.

Extractionem ex regib. regis Ethelstani.

Aliis distinctum.

Aliis minoribus. Aliis scribis distinctum. Aliis servi testamentales. Vel cui insunt. Aliis scribis memoriam. In sua scriptura.



Ex Historia  
Caritana.

Monks put out  
of Eutham, the  
veers of our  
Lord 944.

The diff'rence  
between monks  
and priests.

Chastity  
through decline  
of marriage  
by the decline  
of baptism  
thus to chastity.  
Monks how  
they differed  
from Priests  
and how they  
first began in  
England.

Guliel. de pontif.  
lib. 3.

The monast'ry  
of Floriacke.

which al stood then in building of monasteries, and furnishing of churches either with new possessions, or with restoring the old which were taken away before. In the time of this Edmund, this I find in an old written story borrowed of William Cary, a citizen of London, a worthy treasurer of most worthy monuments of antiquity. The name of the author I cannot alledge, because the booke beareth no title, lacking both the beginning & the latter end: but the words thereof faithfully recited, be these: Huius regis tempore facta est dispersio monachorum Euthemenis coenobii, cum substitutione canonicorum per Athelmum, & Ulricum laicos, & Osulphum episcopum, &c: that is: in the time of this King, there was a scattering or dispersion made of the Monks out of the Monastery of Eutham, and Canons substituted in their place, through the doing of Athelmus and Ulricus lay men, and of Osulphus Bishop, &c.

Where, as concerning this matter between Monks & others of the Clergy, first it is to be understood, that in the Realm of England heretofore, before the time of Dunstan, the bishops & cathedral churches were replenished with no monks, but with priests and canons, called then Clerks or men of the clergy. After this beginneth to rise a difference or a sect between these two parties in strictness of life and in habit: so that they which lived after a strict rule of holiness were called monks, and professed chastity, that was, to live from wives (for so was chastity then defined to those blind daves) as though holy matrimony were no chastity, according as Papynusius did well define it in the council of Nice. The other sort which were no monks but Priests or men of the Clergy so called, lived more free from those monkish rules & observances, and were then commonly (or at least lawfully married) and in their life and habit came nearer to the secular sort of other christians. By reason whereof great disdain and emulation was among them, in so much that in many cathedral churches, whereas priests were before, there monks were put in: and contrary, sometime whereas monks were intruded, there Priests & canons again were placed, and monks thrust out: whereof more shall appear hereafter (by the grace of Christ) when we come to the life of Dunstan. In the mean time, something to satiffie the cogitation of the Reader, which peradventure either is ignorant, or else would know of the first coming in of monks into this Realm and Church of England in the Saxons time: this is to be noted, according as I find in old chronicles, namely in the Latine History of Gulielm. de gestis pontificum Anglorum, recorded touching the same. About this time of King Edmund, or shortly after, when hardnesse and strictnesse of life toynd with superstition, was had in veneration, & counted for great holiness: men therefore, either to win publicke fame with men, or merits with God, gave themselves to lead a strict life, thinking thereby (the stranger their conversation was, & the further from the common trade of vulgar people) the more perfect to be towards God and man. There was at that time (and before that) a monastery in France named Floriacke, after the order and rule of Benedict: from the which monastery did spring a great part of our English monks, who being there professed, and afterward returning into England, did congregated men dayly to their profession. And so, partly for strangeness of their rule, partly for outward holynesse of their strict life, partly for the opinion of holiness that many had of them, were in great admiration, not onely with the rude sort, but with kings & princes, who founded their Houses, maintained their rules, and enlarged them with possessions. Among the which order of monks coming from Floriacke, especially was one Oswaldus, first a monk of Floriacke, then bishop of Wor-

cester and Yorke, a great patron and setter up of monasteries. Touching the which Oswaldus, William in his booke De pontifice, writing of his History, hath these words: Familiaris per id temporis Anglis consuetudo fuit, ut si qui boni affati essent desiderio, in beatissimi Benedicti monasterio Coenobiale susciperent habitum, a quo Religionis huiusce manavit exordium, &c. That is, it was a common custom at that time among Englishmen, that if any good men were well affected or minded toward religion, they went to the monastery of blessed S. Benedict in France, and there received the habit of a monk, whereupon the first origin of this religion began, &c. But of this Oswaldus bishop of Yorke, and Dunstan bishop of Canturbury, and Ethelwald bishop of Winchester, how they replenished divers monasteries and Cathedral Churches with Monks; and how they discharged married Priests and canons out of their Houses, to plant in monks in their cells, more shall be spoken (by the grace of Christ) hereafter. Now let us return againe to the matter where we left, of King Edmund; who, besides his noble victories against his enemies, and recovering the Cities above expressed into his own hands, did also subdue the province of Cumberland. And after he had put out the eyes of the two sons of Dunmail King of Cumberland, he committed the governance thereof to Malcolmus King of the Scots, upon promise of his trusty service & obedience, when the king should stand in any need of him. In the time of this King, Dunstan was not yet archbishop of Canturbury, but only abbat of Glasterbury: of whom many fabulous narrations passe among the writers, importing more vanity then verity, whereof this is one of the first. What time Edgarus called Pacificus was born, Dunstan being the same time abbat of Glasterbury (as the monkish fables dream) heard a voyce in the age of certaine Angels singing after this tenor and saying: Now peace cometh to the church of England in the time of this child and of our Dunstan, &c. This I thought to recite, that the Christian Reader might the better ponder with himself the impudent & abominable fictions of this Romish generation. But of the same mint also they have forged, how the said Dunstan should heare the Angels sing the Kyrieleson, used to be sung at even-song in the Church: Guliel. de pontif. lib. 1. Which is as true as that the harpe, hanging in a womans house played by it selfe the tune of the anthem, called Gaudet in coelis, &c. What would not these deceivers say in matters something likely, which in things so absurd & so inconventient shame not to lie and to forge so impudently & also so manifestly: Through the motion of this Dunstan, King Edmund builded & furnished the monastery of Glasterbury, & made the said Dunstan abbat thereof. Concerning the end and death of this King, sundry opinions there be. Alfridus and Marianus say that while this King Edmund indeboured himselfe to save his sewer from the danger of his enemies, which would have slain him at Bulcher church, the King in parting of the fray was wounded, and died shortly after. But Gulielmus de regibus lib. 2. saith, that the King being at a feast at Bulcher church upon the day of S. Augustine, spied a fellow sitting in the hall named Leof, whom he before for his felony had eriled: and leaping over the table did flie upon him, and plucked the thiefe by the haire of the head to the ground. In which doing, the fellow with a knife wounded the King to the death, and also with the same knife wounded many other of the Kings servants, and at length was all to beheaded, and died forthwith.

By the lawes of King Edmund ordained and set forth, as well for the redresse of Church matters, as also of civil regiment) it may appear, that the state both of causes temporal and likewise spiritual, appertained then to the Kings right (the false

Oswaldus bishop of Yorke, a great patron of monasteries. Guliel. lib. 3. de pontif.

The origin of monasteries, how it first began in England.

Dunstan abbat of Glasterbury.

The fables of King Edmund. The impudent vanity of the Popes Church in forging false miracles.

Guliel. lib. 2. de pontif.

The monastery of Glasterbury. Dunstan abbat of Glasterbury. The abbey of Glasterbury was builded by King Edmund, by the Council of Aethelmus, after being destroyed by the Danes.

Guliel. lib. 2. de regib.

The lawes of King Edmund touching as well the state spiritual as temporal.



pretended usurpation of the Bishop of Rome notwithstanding) as by these Lawes is to be seen: where by, by the aduice of his Lords and Bishops, did enact & determine concerning the chastity and pure life of Ecclesiasticall ministers, and such as were in the orders of the Church, with the penalties also for them which transgressed the same.

Item, for tithes to be paid for every Christian man, and for the Church fees, and almes fees, &c.

Item, for deflowering of women professed, which we call nunnages, &c.

Item, for every bishop to see his Churches repaired of his own proper charge; and boldly to admonish the King, whether the Houses of God were well maintained, &c.

Item, for flying into the Church for sanctuary, &c.

Item, concerning cases and determinations spouall, or matrimoniall, &c.

All which constitutions declare what interest Kings had in those dayes in matters as well Ecclesiasticall as others, within their dominion, & that not only in disposing the ordinances and rites, such as appertained to the institution of the Church, but also in placing & setting bishops in their sees, &c.

In the time of this Edmund, was Willstanus archbishop of Yorke, and Odo archbishop of Canturbury: which Odo being a Dane borne (as is before touched) was promoted to that See by King Ethelstan, for that (as they say) he being first bishop of Wilton, and present with King Ethelstan in the field against Anlans before mentioned, what time the said Ethelstan had lost his sword, he through his intercession up to Heauen, did see a sword from Heauen come down into the sheath of the King. Whereof relation being made unto the King by the foresaid bishop, Ethelstan upon the same was so affected towards Odo, that not only he counted him for a patron of his life, but also made him pymate of Canturbury after the decease of Alfwilms. This Odo was the first from the coming of the Saxons, till his time, which was archbishop of Canturbury being no monk. For all the other before him were of the profession of monks, of whom a great part had been takers unto Berdualous. Notwithstanding, this Odo, being also a stranger borne, after he was elected unto the bishoprick, to answer to the old custom of others before him, failed over into France, and there at Floriak (after the usual manner aboue mentioned of Englishmen) received the profession and habit of monkish Religion, as saith my foresaid author. And like as the said Odo first being no Monk, was made archbishop of Canturbury: so also Willstanus, the same time being bishop of Yorke and of Worcester, differed from diuers his predecessors before him in profession and habit of whom the foresaid author thus writeth in his third book, speaking of Willstanus; Qui sanctitate discrepat & habitu; that is, He differed in sanctimony and in habit. Whereby it is to be collected, that in those dayes was a difference in habit and garment, not only between Monks and bishops, but also between one bishop and another; albeit what difference it was, yet I doe not find. But I returne again to Odo, who by the description of his manners might seem not to be the worst that occupied that place, were it not that our lying Histories, faining false miracles upon him (as they doe of others) make him indeed to seem worse then he was. As where they imagine that he should see from Heauen a sword fall into the scabbard of King Ethelstan. Item, where he should cover and defend the Church of Canturbury with his Prayers from raine. And also where he should turne the bread of the Altar (as the writer termeth it) into lively flesh, and from flesh, into bread againe, to confirme the people which before doubted in the same. Where note againe (good Reader that albeit this miracle were true, as no doubt it is untrue, yet

is it to be noted that in those dayes was a great doubt amongst Englishmen of the popish Sacrament, and that transubstantiation was not received into the Christian Creed. The like judgment is to be given also of that, where our English writers, testifying of the same Odo, say that he should prophesie long before of Dunstan to be his successor in the Church of Canturbury. But to let these phantasies & idle stories passe, this which we find of Odo his own writing is certaine, that the said Odo, in the reigne of King Edmund, had a synod commenced of the chiefe prelates and men of the Clergy in his time, to whom he directed this Letter here following: the copy whereof I thought to expresse, for the reader to see what zealous care reigned in archbishops then toward the Church of the Lord. The words of his Epistle proceed in this tenor.

Transubstantiation not yet received.

## 20 The Letter or Epistle of Odo archbishop of Canturbury, sent to the other Bishops and men of the Clergy.

Mirabile cuncti-potentis polorum presulis clementia opitulante, ego Odo Ecclesie saluatoris domini nostri Iesu Christi archiepiscopus Doverniensis civitatis metropolitanus, coepiscopus fidei catholice compagatoribus, spirituali charitatis vigore meis confratribus, presentium prosperitatem athereique decoris beatitudinem, &c.

The Letter of Odo archbishop, to the Prelates.

### The same in English.

By the divine grace of God, I Odo of the Church of our Lord and Saviour Iesus Christ, archbishop and metropolitan of the City of Dover, to my fellow bishops and fellow planters of the Catholike faith, and my fellow brethren in the spirituall bond of charity, with greeting, with prosperity in this world present, and in the world to come felicity. If it were so, or by any means could be, that all the riches of this world were laid before mine eyes, so that I being Emperour had all things universally under my subjection, all those things would I gladly give, yea and my selfe also would offer willingly for the health of your soules, as which also doe desire and trust likewise my selfe to be strengthened with the fervency of your holiness, as appertaining to those things wherein the Lord our God hath set us to be workemen, &c.

And after a few other words of like effect, wherein he doth declare the heavy burthen of his office, it followeth after this manner.

Wherefore most humbly and one unworthy, but yet a devote fellow brother of yours, I beseech and exhort your holiness, that you will not shew your selves cold and negligent in the cure and regiment of soules, so that in the time of the fearefull judgement, the Lord doe not complaine of you, saying; My shepherds did not feede my flock, but they fed themselves. And againe; They were Princes of my flock, and I knew not of it. But rather let us take heede and bee diligenter over the household of the Lord, over which hee hath set us to bee the leaders, to give them meate and true measure of Corne in time convenient: that is to say, wholesome doctrine. And although upon mine own demerits or worthinesse I doe not presume to comfort or exhort any man; but as one being unworthy and faulty in transgressions innumerable, am glad, and stand in need rather to bee strengthened by your brotherly admonitions: yet for the ancient authority of my predecessors, as of Augustine of happy memory, and also of all other Saints, by whose industry the rule of Christianity did first flourish and spring from this metropolitan Sea unto all quarters of England; therefore I have thought good to direct unto you these my Letters to the profit of you all; especially, for that our renowned and princely King Edmund, with all his people, doth joy to follow that which he heareth in you and of you: and also for so much as all his subjects,

Willstanus archbishop of Yorke, Odo archbishop of Canturbury.

Guliel. de pont. lib. 1. Polychro. lib. 6. cap. 6. Odo made a monk at Floriak, after he was archbishop of Canturbury. Guliel. de pont. lib. 1.

Guliel. lib. 3. de pont. Ebor.

The difference of habit and garments among men of the Church.

False and lying miracles noted upon Odo.

A note to the Reader.



jects, which be under his imperiall dominion, doe love and delight to follow most joyfully the same, and report of your sincere conversation, &c.

Elfinus arch-  
bishop of Can-  
terbury elect.  
S. Edmunds-  
bury.

This Doo continued bishop the space of twenty yeares. After whom Elfinus was elected and ordained by the King to succeed through favour and money: but in going to Rome for the Popes pall, in his journey through the Alps, he decayed and died for cold. Whereupon succeeded Dunstan, as in time and place (by the leave of Christ) followeth to be declared.

This Edmund gave to S. Edmund the Martyr before mentioned, the Town of Bredricheworth, which is now called S. Edmundsbury, with great revenues and lands appertaining to the same. But concerning the frivolous miracles which our monkish story writers here saine of this good Edmund, by the way (or rather out of the way) I let them passe.

The children of  
K. Edmund.

{ Anno?  
946. }

Edred gover-  
nour of the  
Realme.

Dunstan made  
bishop of Can-  
terbury, and af-  
ter of London.

And thus much concerning the raigne of King Edmund, who after hee had reigned six yeares & a halfe, was slaine, as is said, at Pulcherchurch, and buried at Glaffenbury of Dunstan; leaving behind him two children, Edwin and Edgar, by his wife Elgina. But because the foresaid children were yet young & under age, therefore Edred brother to King Edmund, and uncle to the children, governed as protector about the space of nine yeares and a halfe, till Edwin the eldest son came to age. This Edred with great moderation & fidelity to the young children behaved himselfe, during the time of his government. In his time Dunstan was promoted, through the means of Doo the archbishop, from abbat of Glaffenbury to be bishop of Worcester, and after of London. By the counsell of this Dunstan, Edred was much ruled, and too much thereto addicted: in so much that the foresaid Edred is reported in stories to submit himselfe unto much fond penance & castigations, inflicted to him of the said Dunstan. Such zealous devotion was then in Princes, and more blind superstition in bishops. And here againe is another miracle as fantastical as the other before, forged of Dunstan, that when that Edred being sick sent for Dunstan to be his confessor, by the way Dunstan should heare a voyce declaring to him before, that Edred was already departed, at the declaring whereof Dunstons Hoze fell immediately dead under him, with ly and all.

### King Edwin.

K. Edwin.

{ Anno?  
955. }

The King sur-  
rounded by the  
archbishop.  
Edwin an-  
nounceth unto  
Monks.

Edwin the eldest son of King Edmund afore mentioned, after his uncle Edred, began his raigne about the yeare of our Lord 955. being crowned at Kingston by Doo the archbishop of Canturbury. Of this Edwin it is reported of divers writers, that the first day of his coronation, sitting with his Lords, he brake suddenly from them, and entred a secret chamber, to the company of a certaine woman whom he inordinately retained (being, as some say, another mans wife) whose husband he had before slaine, as others say, being of his alliance, to the great miliking of his Lords, and especially of the Clergy. Dunstan was yet but abbat of Glaffenbury; who, following the King into the chamber, brought him out by the hand, and accused him to Doo the archbishop, causing him to be separated from the company of the foresaid party; by the which Doo the King was for his fact suspended out of the Church. By reason whereof the King, being with Dunstan displeased, banished him his Land, and forced him for a season to flee into Flanders, where hee was in the monastery of S. Amandus. About the same season the monasticall order of Benedict Monks, or black Monks (as they were called) began to multiply and increase here in Eng-

land. In so much that where before time other priests and Canons had been placed, there Monks were in their rooms set in, and secular Priests (as they then were called, or canons) put out. But King Edwin for that displeasure hee bare to Dunstan, did so veral the order of the said monks, that in Malmesbury, Glaffenbury, & other places more, he thrust out the monks, and set in secular priests in their stead.

Monks put  
out, and secular  
Priests placed  
in their rooms.

Notwithstanding, it was not long but these Priests and Canons were againe removed, and the said monks in their stead restored, both in the foresaid Houses, and in divers other churches cathedrall besides, as in the next story of King Edgar (Christ willing) shall move at large appeare.

In fine, King Edwin being hated, by reason of certaine his demeanors, of all his subjects (especially the Northumbrians and Mercians) was by them removed from his kingly honour, and his brother Edgar in his stead received; so that the River of Thames divided both their Kingdomes. Which Edwin, after hee had reigned about the term of foure yeares, departed, leaving no heire of his body. Wherefore the rule of the Land fell unto Edgar his younger brother.

The death of  
King Edwin.

### King Edgar.

Edgar the second son of Edmund and brother to Edwin, being of the age of fifteen yeares, began his raigne over the Realm of England, in the yeare of our Lord 959. but was not crowned till fourteen yeares after: the causes whereof here under follow (Christ willing) to be declared. In the beginning of his raigne hee called home Dunstan, whom King Edwin before had exiled. Then was Dunstan, which before was abbat of Glaffenbury, made bishop of Worcester, and then of London. Not long after, this Doo the archbishop of Canturbury deceased, after hee had governed that Church 24 yeares. After whom Writtilinus bishop of Winchester first was elected; but because hee was thought not sufficient to furnish that come, Dunstan was ordained archbishop, the other sent home again to his old Church. Where note by the way, how in those days the donation & assigning of Ecclesiasticall dignities remained in the Kings hand; only they set their pall from Rome as a token of the Popes confirmation. So Dunstan, being by the King made archbishop took his journey to Rome for his pall of Pope John the thirtieth, which was about the beginning of the Kings raign. Thus Dunstan obtaining his pall, shortly after his return again from Rome, intreateth King Edgar, that Oswaldus (who, as is said, was made monk at Floriack, and was nephew to Doo late bishop of Canturbury) might be promoted to be bishop of Worcester; which thing to him was granted. And not long after, through the means of the said Dunstan, Ethelwoldus, (whom stories doe saine to be the great patron of monkery) first monk at Glaffenbury, then abbat of Abendon, was also made bishop of Winchester. Of this Ethelwoldus, Guilielmus libro de gestis pontificum recordeth, that

{ Anno?  
959. }

King Edgar  
called Dun-  
stan.  
Dunstan made  
bishop of Wor-  
cester, and of  
London.  
Ex hist. Reg.  
Hoveden.  
Spiritual li-  
bings given by  
the King, and  
not by the pope.

what time he was a monk in the House of Glaffenbury, the abbat had a vision of him, which was this: How that there appeared to him in his sleep a certain great tree, & branches whereof extended throughout all the foure quarters of the Realm, which branches were all covered with many little monks coules, where in the top of the tree was one great master Coule, which in spreading it selfe over the other Coules, inclosed all the rest: which P. Coule in the tree top, mine author in the interpretation applyeth to the life of this Ethelwold. Of such prodigious fantasies our monkish Histories be full; and not only our Histories of England, but also of the Heathen stories of the Gentiles be stuffed with such kind of dreames of much like effect.

Oswaldus bi-  
shop of Wor-  
cester, and after  
of Poske.  
Ethelwoldus  
bishop of Glou-  
cester, a great ma-  
nager of  
monkery.

{ Anno?  
963. }

Ex Guliel. Mal-  
mesburiens. de  
gest. pontif. Ang.

Monks  
dreames.



Of such a like dreame wee read of the mother of Athelstan, how the Spine did spring out of her wombe, and gave light to all England. Also of King Charles the Emperour, how he was led by a thred to see the torments of hell. Likewise of Furcus the heremite mentioned in the third booke of Beda, who saw the scyes of Heaven, and the foure fires that should destroy the world: the one of lying, for breakeing our promise made at baptism; the second fire was of the covetous; the third of dissention; the fourth was of the fire of impiety and wrongfull dealing. Item, in like sort of the dreame of Dunstan, and of the same Ethelwold, to whom appeared the three bishops, Bissanus, Birinus, and Swithinus, &c. Of the dreame of the mother of this Ethelwold, who being great with him, did see a golden eagle fire out of her mouth, &c. Of the dreame likewise, or the vision of King Edgar concerning the falling of the two apples, and of the pots, one being full of water, the other empty, &c. Also of King Edward the confessor, touching the ruine of the land by the conqueror of the Normans. Wee read also in the history of Ages, how he dreamed of Cyrus, and likewise of many other dreames in the bookes of the monkes, and of the ethnike writers. For what cannot either the idle vanity of mans head, or the deception of the lying spirit worke by man, in foretelling such earthly events as happen commonly in this present world? But here is a difference to be understood betwene these earthly dreames, speaking of earthly things and matters of humane superstition; and betwene other spirituall revelations sent by God touching spirituall matters of the Church pertaining to mans salvation. But to our purpose, by this dreame, and by the event which followed after, it may appeare how and by what meanes the multitude of monkes began first to swarme in the Churches of England: that is, in the daies of this Edgar, by the meanes of these three bishops, Dunstan, Ethelwold, and Oswald. Albeit Dunstan was the chiefest ring-leader of this race; yet Ethelwold being now bishop of Winchester, and Oswald bishop of Worcester, were not much behind for their parts. By the instigation and counsell of these three foresaid, King Edgar is recorded in histories to build either new out of the ground, or to rebuild monasteries decayed by the Danes, more then forty. As the house of Ely, Glaffenbury, Abbingdon, Burga by Stan-ford, Thorney, Ramsey, Wilton, Winton, Winchcombe, Thamestoke in Devonshire, with divers more. In the setting up and building of the which the foresaid Ethelwold was a great doer, and a founder under the King. Moreover through the motion of this Dunstan and his fellowes, King Edgar in divers great houses and cathedrall Churches, where Prebendaries and Priests were before, displaced the Priests and set in Monks. Whereof we read in the Chronicles of Roger Hoveden, in words and forme as followeth: Hic namque Ethelwoldus regem, cujus eximius erat consiliarius, ad hoc maxime provocavit, ut clericos à monasteriis expelleret, & monachos sanctimonialésque in eis collocaret, &c. that is, Ethelwold bishop of Winchester, who was then one of the Kings Councell, did urge the King chiefly to expell Clerks out of monasteries, and in their roomes to bestow Monks and Nuns, &c. Whereunto accordeth likewise Historia Iornalensis, containing the like effect in these words: Hoc anno Ethelwoldus Wint. & Oswaldus Wigorniensis, episcopi, iussu regis Edgari (clericis de quibusdam majoribus ecclesiis expulsi) monachos instituerunt, aut de eisdem clericis & aliis monachos in eisdem fecerunt. Gulielmus also writing of the time of Dunstan maketh the matter somewhat more plaine, where he saith: Itaque clerici multarum ecclesiarum data optione, ut aut amicum mutarent, aut locis valedicerent, melioribus habitacula vacuefacientes: surgebant itaque in tota insula religiosorum monasteria, cumlabantur

mole pretiosi metalli sanctorum altaria, &c. Thus the secular Priests being put to their choice, whether to change their habit, or to leave their roomes, departed out of their houses, giving place for other better men to come in. Then the houses and monasteries of religious men through all the realme went up apace, &c.

After the Kings mind was thus perswaded & incited by these bishops to advance monkery, then Oswaldus bishop of Worcester, and also made archbishop of Dorchester after the decease of Wulfstanus, Sui voti compos effectus (as Hoveden writeth) having his share in the cathedrall Church there of S. Peter, began first with faire persuasions to assuage the minds of the canons and priests, whether they could be content to change their profession and to be made monkes, or no. Which when he saw it would not take effect, he practised this policy with them: Heere to the said Church of S. Peter, within the Church-yard, he erected another Church of our Lady, which when he had replenished with monkes, there he continually frequented, there he kept, there hee sat, and was ever there conversant. By reason whereof the other Church was left naked and desolate, and all the people gathered there where the bishop was. The priests seeing themselves so to be left and neglected both of the bishop and of the people, to whom nothing remained but shame and contempt, were driven of shame either to relinquish the house (such as would not enter the monkish profession) or else to become monkes, such as had nothing else to stay upon. After the like superstition (although not after the same subtilty) did Ethelwold also drive out the Canons and Priests from the new monastery in Winchester, afterward called Wyke, and placed his monkes. So in Dorset and in Wiltshire, with divers other places more, the secular Priests with their wives were expelled, to give place to monkes. The cause whereof is thus pretended in certaine story-writers, whom I see also Fabian to follow: for that the Priests and Clerks were thought slack and negligent in their Church service, and set in Vicars in their stead, while they lived in pleasure & mispent the patrimony of the Church after their owne lust. When King Edgar gave to the vicars the same land which before belonged to the prebendaries; who also not long after shewed themselves as negligent as the others. Wherefore K. Edgar (as mine author saith) by the content of Pope John the thirtieth bodded clearly the Priests, and ordained there monkes. Although certaine of the nobles, and some of the prelates were therewith not well contented, as in the chapter following may partly appeare.

But for so much as we have entered into the mention of Monks and Nunnes, and of their profession, which I see so greatly in our monkish stories commended: lest perhaps the simple reader may be deceived thereby, in hearing the name of monkes in all histories of times to be such an ancient thing in Christian life (even from the primitive Church after the Apostles time) both commonly rectified and well received, therefore to helpe the judgement of the ignorant, and to prevent all error herein, it shall not be unprofitable, in following the present occasion here given (by way of a little digression) to intermeddle somewhat concerning the original institution of monkes, what they were in the old times which were called Monachi, wherein the monkes of the primitive time did differ from the monkes of the middle time, and from these our monkes now of this later age: Moreover, wherein all these three doe differ from Priests (as we call them) and from men of the clergy. Wherefore to answer to the superstitious scruple of such, which alledge the old antiquity of the name and title of monkes; first I grant the name and order of monkes to be of old continuance, during nere from the time of 300. yeeres after Christ. Of whom divers old authors do

Oswald bishop of Worcester, and archbishop of Dorchester. The policy of Oswald in driving out priests to place in monkes.

{ Anno }  
{ 969. }

Gulielm. lib. 3. de gest. pont. Chr. Iornalens. in vita Edgari.

Prebendaries and Priests slacke in their duty.

Priests bodded of Cathedrall churches, and monkes set in.

The difference, order, and institution of monkes examined.

Two sorts of monkes in the primitive Church.

Dreames not necessary to be regarded.

Difference of dreames.

How and when monkes first began to swarme in England. Dunstan, Ethelwold, Oswald, three leaders up of monkish religion.

Forty monasteries builded and repaired by King Edgar.

Roger Hoveden. lib. Continuationem post Bedam. Chronicon. Iornalensis. Gulielm. de gestis pontif. lib. 1.



record, as Augustinus, Hieronimus, Basilus Magnus, who was also himselfe one of the first institutors & commendors of that superstition, Chrysostomus, Nazianzenus, Eusebius, Sozomenus, Dionysius, and divers others. In the number of these monkes (which then were divided into hermits or anchorites, and into Coenobites) were Antoninus, Paulus, Johannes, with divers other recluses. Among the which was Hierome, Basil, Pacharius, Idorus, Pambus, Nilammon, Simeon, with infinite others both in Palestina, Syria, Thebaide, Desopofamia, in Egypt, in Africa and in Scythia. In so much that Cassianus Lib. 2. cap. 4. De Canon. Noctur. orat. maketh mention of a certaine monastery in Thebaide, wherein were above 5000 monkes, under the government of one abbat. And here also in England mention is made before of Bangor, wherein were two thousand and two hundred monkes under one mans ruling, in the yere of our Lord 596. Whereby it appeareth that monkes were then, and two hundred yeres before, in the primitive time of the Church. But what monkes these were is to be considered: such as either by tyranny of persecution were driven into solitary and desert places; or else such as not constrained of any, but of their owne voluntary devotion (joynd with some superstition among, for the love they had unto spirituall contemplation, and for hatred of the wicked world) withdrew themselves from all company, either having nothing to themselves proper, or else all things common with others. And all these were then nothing else but lay men: of which lay men, there were two sundry sorts, one of the vulgar and common people, which onely were partakers of the Sacraments; the other, in following a monasticall kind of life, were called monkes, (being nothing but lay men) leading a more severe and stricter trade of life then the others, as may sufficiently appeare, August. lib. de moribus ecclesiar. cap. 13. Item, lib. de operibus monachorum. Item, epistola ad Aurelium. Also by Hierome ad Heliodorum, writing these words: Alia monachorum est causa, alia clericorum; clerici pascunt oves, ego pascor, &c. that is, One thing pertaineth to monkes, another thing unto them of the Clergy; they of the Clergy feed their flocke, I am fed, &c. Et ex Dionysio. Also the same appeareth likewise by the fourth Canon of the Council of Chalcedon, where it is provided, Ne monachi se ecclesiasticis negotiis immisceant: that is, That monkes should not intermeddle with matters of the church, &c. Et Leo epistola 62. vetat monachos & laicos, etsi scientia nomine gloriantur, admitti ad officium docendi & concionandi.

By these foresaid authoꝝ alleadged, it is evident, that monkes in the former age of the Church, albeit they lived a solitary life, yet they were then no other but onely lay men, differing from Priests, and differing from the other monkes which succeeded them afterwards in the middle age of the church, and that in three points: first, they were tied and bound to no prescript forme either of diet or apparrell, or any thing else, as we may see testified by the words of Saint Augustine, which be these: Neque inter hæc nemo urgetur in aspera, quæ ferre non potest: nulli quod recusat imponitur. Nec ideo contemnuntur a cæteris, in quod eis imitandis se fateatur invalidum. Meminerunt enim quantopere commendata sit in scripturis charitas. Meminerunt omnia munda mundis, &c. Non quod intrat in os coinquinat hominem, sed quod exit. Itaque non rejicendis generibus ciborum quasi pollutis, sed concupiscentie perdomandæ, & dilectioni fratrum retinendæ invigilat omnis industria. And Sozomen. lib. 3. cap. 16. speaking of the monkes of the same time, which in Cities had severall mansions from others, saith: Alii in turba civitatum conversabantur, sic seipsos gerentes, ut nullius momenti viderentur, & à multis nihil differrent, &c. Some live in Cities to behaving themselves, as seeming nothing

worth, and they differed nothing from the multitude, &c. The second point wherein they were discrepant from the later monkes was, in that they remained no other but in the order of lay men (onely being of a stricter life then the rest) and had nothing to doe in matters and charges ecclesiasticall; which was afterward broken by Pope Boniface the fourth, as followeth (the Lord willing) to be scene and said. Thirdly, the foresaid monkes of that age (albeit the most part of them lived sole and single from wives) yet some of them were married: certes none of them were forbidden or restrained from marriage. Of such as were married speaketh Athanasius in epistola ad Dracontium, qui ait se novisse & monachos & episcopos conjuges & liberorum patres, &c. that is, Which saith, that he knew both monkes and bishops married men, and fathers of children, &c.

And yet the said monkes of the old time, though they were better then the other which followed the; yet all that notwithstanding, superstition with them and among them began then to creep into the church through the crafty subtilty of satan, and all for the ignorance of our free justification by faith in Jesus Christ. Examples doe declare the vaine and prodigious superstition of these monasticall sort of men; which examples doe not lacke, if leisure rather did not lacke to bring them in. But two or three shall suffice for many, which I purpose (the Lord willing) here to insert, to the intent the mind of the godly reader may the better consider and understand, how shortly after the time of Christ and his Apostles the doctrine of Christian justification began to be forgotten, true religion turned to superstition, and the price of Christs passion to be obscured through the vaine opinion of mens merits, &c. A certaine abbat named Holes thus testifieth of himselfe in the collations of Cassianus, that he so afflicted himselfe with much fasting and watching, that sometimes for two or three daies together, not onely he felt no appetite to eate, but also had no remembrance of any meate at all, and by reason thereof was driven also from sleepe. In so much that he was caused to pray to God but for a little refreshing of sleepe to be given him some peece of the night. In the same author mention is made of a certaine old man an heremit, who because he had conceived in himselfe such a purpose never to eate meate, without he had some guest or stranger with him, sometime was constrained to abstaine five daies together untill sunday, while he came to the Church, and there brought some stranger or other home with him.

Two other examples yet more still I adde out of the said Cassianus, to declare how the subtilty of satan, through superstition and false colour of holiness, blindeth the miserable eyes of such, which rather attend mens traditions then the word of God. In the fortieth chapter of the said author, in his booke De gastrimargia, is told of a certaine abbat named Joannes, in the desert wilderness of Scythia, who sent two of his novices with figs unto one that was sicke in the wilderness eightene miles off from the Church. It chanced these two yong novices, missing the way, wandered so long in the wilde forest or wilderness and could not find the cell, that for emptinesse and wearinesse they waxed faint and tired; and yet rather would they then taste the figs committed to them to carry, & to die: for shortly after they were found dead, their figs lying whole by them.

Another story he also reciteth of two monasticall brethren, who making their progresse in the desert of Thebaide, purposed with themselves to take no sustenance but such as the Lord himselfe should minister unto them. It happened as they were wandering desolate in the desert, and fainting almost for penury, certaine Daxies, a kind of people by nature fierce and cruel, notwithstanding being suddenly altered into a new nature of humanity, came forth,

Monkes of the primitive time were no clerks, but mere lay men.

Monkes of the old time some married, none restrained from marriage.

Superstition crept in with monkeſy.

It be ignorance of our free justification by Christ is the cause of all superstition.

Ex Cassian. cap. 17. Collat. 2.

Cassianus lib. de spiritu gastrimarg. cap. 40.

Superstitious

Cassian. lib. 6. cap. 2.

Cassian. lib. 2. cap. 4. de canon. Noctur. orat.

Two sorts of lay men. Monkes in the old time were no other but lay men, leading a strict life. August. de mor. eccle. Hier. ad Heliodor. Dionys. concil. Chalcedon. A. Monkes forbidden to intermeddle with matters ecclesiasticall.

Monkes differing from Priests. Monkes in the primitive time differing from monkes of the second age of the Church. August. de institutis monachorum.

Sozom. lib. 3. cap. 16.



and of their owne accord offered bread unto them: which bread the one thankfully receiued as sent of God; the other, as counting it sent of man, and not of God, refused it, and so for lacke perished.

Whereunto might I also annex the story of Pucius, who, to declare his obedience, did not sticke, at the commandement of his Abbat, to cast his son into the water, not knowing whether any were appointed there ready to rescue him from drowning: so farre were the Monks in those daies drowned in superstition. What is this, but for mans traditions and commandements to transgresse the Commandement of God, which saith: Thou shalt doe no murder. Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God: What man is so blind, that seeth not by these and infinit examples more, what pernicious superstition hath begun by reason of this Monkery, almost from the beginning, to creep into the Church? Whereat I cannot marvell enough, seeing that age of the Church had in it so many learned Doctors, who not only did approve & allow these monasticall sects of life, but also certain themselves were the authoꝝ & institutors of the same, yea, and of mens traditions made the service of God. In number of whom may be reckoned Basilus Magnus, and Iulianus, who with immoderate austeritie did so plucke downe themselves, that when they were called to the office of Bishops, they were not able to sustain the labor thereof.

After these foresaid Monks of that time aboue rehearsed, followed other Monks of the middle age of the Church, who, as in multitude, so also in superstition increasing, began by little and little from their desolat dens in the wast wilderness to approach more neer to great townes; where they had solemne Monasteries founded by Kings and Quenes, and Kings daughters, and other rich Confuls, as is partly before touched; and the causes also touched withall, for the which they were first founded, as these: Pro remedio animæ meæ, pro remissione peccatorum meorum, pro redemptione peccatorum meorum, & pro salute regnorum, quique meo subiacent regimini populi, in honorem gloriosæ virginis, &c. For all these impious and erroneous titles and causes we find alleged in stories, as in Palmesburienfis, Fornalenfis, Henricus, and others more. In which histories I also note, that the most part of these foresaid Monasteries were erected first upon some great murder, either by warre in the field, or privately committed at home, as shall well appeare to them that reade their bookes whom I haue alleged. But to returne to our Monks againe, who (as is said) first began to creepe from the cold field into warme townes and cloisters, from townes then into cities, and at length from their close cels and citises, into Cathedral Churches (as here appeareth by this story of King Edgar) where, not only they did abound in wealth and riches (especially these Monks of our later time) but much more did swim in superstition and pharisaicall hypocrisie, being roked and tied in all their doings, to certaine prescript rules, and formall obseruances: in watching, in sleeping, in eating, in rising, in praying, in walking, in talking, in looking, in fasting, in touching, in handling, in their gestures, in their bestures, every man apperelled not as the season of the yeare did serue, but as the coated rules and order of every sect did inforce them. The number of which sects was infinitely diuers: some after Basilus rule went in white: some after Benets rule, in black; some Cluniacensis, first set up by Atho in the time of this King Edgar, wearing after the rule of Benets order; some after Hieromes rule, leather girdled, and copped aboue their white coat; some Gregorian, copper coloured; some De valle umbrosa, gray Monks; some Grandimontenses, wearing a coat of mailles upon their bare bodies, with a blacke cloake thereupon; some Cistercians, who had white rochetts on a blacke coat; some Celestines, all in

blew, both cloake, coule and cap; some Charter Monks, wearing haire-cloth next their bodies; some flagellants, going bare foot in long white linnen shirts, with an open place in the backe, where they beat themselves with scourges on the bare skin every day before the peoples eyes, till the blood ran downe, saying, that it was revealed to them by an Angel, that in so scourging themselves, within thirtie daies and twelue houres, they should be made so pure from sin, as they were when they first receiued baptism: some Starred Monks; some Iesuits with a white girdle and russet coule. Briefely, who can reckon the innumerable sects and disguised orders of their fraternities? some holding of Saint Benet, some of Saint Hierome, some of Saint Basil, some of Saint Bernard, some of Saint Bridgit, some of Saint Bruno, some of Saint Lewis, as though it were not enough for Christians to hold of Christ only. So subiect were they to seruaile rules, that no part of Christian liberty remained among them, so drowned and sunke in superstition, that not only they had lost Christs Religion, but also almost the sense and nature of men. For where men naturally are and ought to be ruled by the discret government of reason in all outward doings, whereun one rule can serue for all men: the circumstance of time, place, person, and businesse being so sundry and diuers: contrary among these, no reason but only the knocke of a bell ruled all their doings; their rising, their sleeping, their praying, their eating, their coming in, their going out, their talking, their silence; and altogether like insensible people, either not having reason to rule themselves, or else as persons ungratefull to God, neither inioying the benefit of reason created in them, nor yet using the grace of Christs liberty, whereunto he redeemed them.

Thus thou seest (gentle reader) sufficiently declared, what the Monks were in the primitive time of the Church, and what were the Monks of the middle age, and of these our later daies of the Church. Whereunto Ioyne this withall, that where the Monks of elder time (as is said) were meer lay-men and no spirituall Ministers: after ward Bonifacius the fourth made a decree, An. 606. that Monks might use the office of preaching, of churshening, of hearing confessions, and also of absolving them of their sins, &c. So then Monks who in the beginning were but lay-men, and no spirituall Ministers, forbidden by the generall councill of Chalcedon (as is aboue related) to intermeddle with matters Ecclesiasticall: after ward in proceesse of time, did so much increase upon the office of spirituall Ministers, that at length the Priests were discharged out of their Cathedral Churches, and Monks set in their places: because that Monks in those daies, leading a stricter life, and professing chastity, had a greater countenance of holines among the people then the Priests, who then in the daies of King Edgar had wiues (at least so many as would) no law forbidding them to the contrary, till the time of Heldebrand, now called Gregory the seventh, whereof more shall be said (Christ willing) in the booke next following.

And thus much by the way, as touching the order and profession of Monks. Now to turne in againe from whence we digressed (that is) to the matter of King Edgar, who following the counsel and leading of Dunstan, and the foresaid Ethelwold Bishop of Winchester, was somewhat thereby inclined to superstition: but otherwise of his owne nature well giuen to all vertues and Princely acts worthy of much commendation and famous memory. So excellent was he in iustice, and sharp in correction of vices (as well in his Magistrates as other subjects) that never before his daies was lesse felony by robbers, nor lesse extortion or bribery by false officers. Such Robbinces & Lodeships, as were not yet come under the Kings subiection, he united and adioyned to his dominion; and so made one perfect Monarchy

Monachi flagellantes.

Monks are subiect and ruled by the knocke of a bell.

Monks made spirituall Ministers contrary to the old decrees and customes of the Church.

Priests in King Egars time had wiues.

The worthy acts of King Edgar.

The King a good iusticer.

Demetrius monke of superstition and hypocrisie.

Basilus Magnus, Iulianus.

Monks of the middle and later age of the Church described.

Causes of the founding of Monasteries, ending to the derogation of Christs passion and Christian altie.

Part part of Monasteries were built upon some murder.

The order of Monks Cluniac, by Atho set up in King Egars time.



England reduc-  
ed into one full  
and perfect mo-  
narchy.

Edgarus rex  
pacificus.

King Edgar  
and King Al-  
fred compared  
together.

A note for men  
of nobility to  
marke.

A notable ex-  
ample of a  
Prince, to ad-  
monish all prin-  
ces what to doe.

Welshes first  
driven out of  
England.

The provision  
of King Edgar  
in keeping the  
seas.

A notable ex-  
ample in a  
Prince for all  
good Princes  
to marke and  
to follow.

of the whole Realme of England, with all the Ilands and borders about the same. Such as were wicked, he kept under, he repressed them that were rebels, the goodly he maintained, he loved the modest, he was devout to God, and beloved of his subjects, whom he governed in much peace and quietnesse. And as he was a great seeker of peace, so God did bless him with much abundance of peace and rest from all warres: so that as the story recordeth of him: Nullas insidias domesticorum, nullum exterminium alienorum senserit, for the which he was called Pacificus. He neither tasted of any pryvy treason among his subjects; nor of any invasion of foreyn enemies. So studious he was of the publike profit of his Realme, and fruitfull in his government, that as the said story testifieth of him, Nullus ferè annus in chronicis præterit, quo non magnum & necessarium patris aliquid fecerit: So yere passed in all the time of his raigne, wherein he did not some singular and necessary commodity for the common wealth, &c. A great maintainer he was of religion and learning, not forgetting herein the foresayd of King Alfred his predecessor. Among his other Princely vertues this chiefly is to be regarded, that whereas other Princes commonly in much peace and quietnesse are wont to grow into a dissolute negligence of life, or oblivion of their charge committed unto them: this King in continuance of peace (that notwithstanding) kept ever with him such a watch, and a vigilant severity joined with a seemly clemency, that I cannot here but recite the witness of our story writers, testifying of his diligent care over the common wealth, which was so great, Vt nullum cuiuscunque dignitatis hominem leges eludere impune permetteret: that is, What he would suffer no man, of what degree of nobility so ever he were, to dally out his labours without condigne punishment, &c. And follooweth moze in the same authoꝝ: Nemo ejus tempore privatus latro, nemo popularis prædo, nisi qui mallet in fortunas alienas gratulari propriæ vitæ dispendio, &c. In all his time there was neither any pryvy picker, nor open thiefe, but he that in stealing other mens goods, would venture and suffer (as he was sure) the losse of his owne life, &c. Guliel. de reg.

Moreover, as the studious industry of this Prince was forward in all other points, so his prudent provision did lacke in this also, in driving out the devouring and ravening wolves throughout all his land. Wherein he used this policy, in causing Ad-  
wallus Prince or King of Wales to yeld to him  
yere by way of tribute thre hundred wolves. By  
meanes whereof, within the space of foure yeres af-  
ter, in England and Wales might scantely be found  
one wolfe alive.

This Edgar, among other of his politike dedes had in readinesse 3600. ships of warre to scoure the Seas in the summer time; whereof 1200. kept the East seas; as many defended the West side: againe as many were on the South seas, to repulse the invasion of foreyn enemies. Moreover, in winter season, the life and manner of this vertuous King was this: During all the time of his life, to ride over the land in progresse, searching and inquiring diligently (to use here the words of mine authoꝝ) Quomodo legum jura, & suorum statuta decretorum observarentur: & ne pauperes à potentibus præjudicium passi opprimerentur: that is, How his lawes and statutes by him ordained were kept, and that the poore should suffer no prejudice, or be oppressed any manner of waies by the mightier, &c. Briefly, as I see many things in this worthy Prince to be commended, so this one thing in him I cannot but lament, to see him like a Phoenix to fly alone, that of all his posterity so few there be that seek to keepe him company. And although I have shewed moze already of this King, then I thinke will well be folloowed, yet this moze is to be added to the worthinesse of

his other acts, that whereas by the multitude of the Danes dwelling in divers places of England, much excessive drinking was used, whereupon ensued drunkennesse and many other vices, to the evill example and hurt of his subjects; he therefore, to prevent that evill, ordained certaine cups with pins or nailes set in them, adding theremto a law, that what person drank past the marke at one draught, should forfeit a certaine penny, whereof one halfe should fall to the accuser, and the other halfe to the ruler of the borough or towne, where the offence was done.

It is reported of this Edgar by divers authoꝝ, that about the thirtienth yere of his raigne, he being at Chester, eight Kings (called in histories Subreguli) to wit, petty Kings, or under Kings, came and did homage to him. Of whom the first was the King of Scots, called Kinadius, Carolinus King of Cumberland, Hackus or Hascutinus King of Honia, and of divers other Ilands, and all the Kings of Wales, the names of whom were Duff-nall, or Dunelwaldus, Sifreth, Hnwall, Jacob, Wilkell, Iuchel. All which Kings, after they had given there fidelity to Edgar, the next day following (for a pompe or royalty) he entered with these aforesaid Kings into the river of Dee; where he, sitting in a boat, took the rule of the helme, and caused these eight Kings, every person taking an oze in his hand, to row him up and downe the river to and from the Church of S. John, unto his palace againe, in token that he was Walker and Lord of so many Provinces: whereupon he is reported to have said in this manner, Tunc demum posse successores suos gloriarì, se reges Angliæ esse, cum tanta prærogativa honorum fruerentur. But in my mind, this King had said much better, if he had rather said with S. Paul, Absit mihi gloriari, nisi in cruce Domini nostri Iesu Christi.

And thus ye have heard hitherto, touching the commendation of King Edgar, such reports as the old Monkish writers thought to bestow upon him, as upon the great patron of their monkish religion, who had builded so many Monasteries for them, as were Sundates in the yere (as some say) or as Edmer reporteth, but forty and eight.

Now on the other side, what vices in him were raigning, let us likewise consider, according as we find in the said authoꝝ described, which most write to his advancement. Whereof, the first vice is noted to be cruelty, as well upon others, as namely upon a certaine Earle, being of his secret Councell, called Ethelwold. The story is this: Edgarus, Duke of Devonshire, had a certaine daughter named Elfrida, whose beauty being highly commended to the King, he being inflamed therewith, sent this foresaid Ethelwold (whom he specially trusted) to the party, to see and to bring him word againe, and if her beauty were such as was reported, willing him also to make the match between them. Ethelwold well viewing the party, and seeing her beauty nothing inferiour to her fame, and thinking first to serve his owne turne, told all things contrary unto the King. Whereupon the King withdrawing his mind otherwise, in the end it came to passe, that Ethelwold himselfe did marry her.

Not long after, the King understanding further by the complaints and rumors of certaine how he was prevented and beguiled, set a faire face upon the matter before Ethelwold; and merrily jesting with him, told him how he would come and see his wife, and indeed appointed the day when he would be there. Ethelwold the husband, perceiving this matter to goe hardly with him, made haste to his wife, declaring to her the cunning of the King, and also opening the whole order of the matter how he had done; desiring her of all love, as she would save his life, to disgrace and defoyme her selfe with garments and such attire, as the King might take

The desire of  
King Edgar  
to avoid drunken-  
nesse.

Eight Kings  
do homage to  
King Edgar.

The glow of  
King Edgar  
reprehended.

Wherein Kings  
ought to glory.

King Edgar a  
superstitious  
upholder of  
monkery.  
Ex Edmerto.

Vices noted in  
King Edgar.

King Edgar  
circumvented  
by one of his  
councell.



no delighting in her. Elfrida hearing this, what did she, but contrary to the request of her husband & promise of a wife, against the Kings comming, trimmed her selfe at the glasse, and decked her in her best array. Whom when the King beheld, he was not so much enamored with her, as in hatred with her husband, who had deceived him. Whereupon the King shortly after, making as though he would goe to hunt in the Forrest of Harwood, sent for Ethelwold to come to him under the pretence of hunting, and there ran him thorow & slew him. After this, the bastard son of Ethelwold comming to him, the King asked him how he liked that hunting? Who answered again, that which pleaseth the King, ought not to displease him: for the death of which Ethelwold, Elfrida afterward builded a monastery of Nuns in remission of sins.

Another fault which Malmesbury noteth in him, was the comming in of strangers into this land, as Saxons, Flemmings and Danes, whom he with great familiarity retained to the great detriment of the Land, as the foresaid story of Malmesbury recordeth, whose words be these: Vnde factum est, ut fama ejus per ora omnium volitante, alienigenæ, Saxones, Flandricæ, ipsi etiam Dani huc frequenter annavigarent, Edgardo familiares, affesti. Quorum adventus magnum provincialibus detrimentum peperit. Inde merito jureque reprehendunt eum litteræ, &c. That is: Whereby it happened that divers strangers out of forren countries allured by his fame came into the Land, as Saxons, Flemmings, and Danes also, all which he retained with great familiarity. The comming of which strangers bred great damage to the Realm, and therefore is Edgar iustly blamed in stories, &c. With the which reprehension, the Saxon stories also doe agree.

The third vice to him objected, was, his incontinent & lascivious lust in deflowering maids, as first of a Dukes daughter being a Nun, and a Virgin named Wilfrida, or Wilfrude, of which Wilfrid was born Editha a bastard daughter of Edgar. Also of another certaine Virgin in the Town of Andegar, who was privily conveyed into his bed by this means: The lascivious King comming to Andegar not far from Winchester, and thinking to have his pleasure of a certaine Dukes daughter, of whose beauty he heard much speaking, commanded the maid to be brought unto him. The mother of the Virgin, grieving to have her daughter made a concubine, secretly by night conveyed to the Kings bed in stead of her daughter, another maiden, of beauty and favour not uncomely: who in the morning rising to her work, and so being known of the King what she was, had granted unto her of the King such liberty and freedom, that of a servant she was made mistress both to her master, and also to her mistress. Ex Mattheo Paris lib. de regib.

Another concubine he had also besides these aforesaid, which was Eggheda or Eldeda, called Candida, the white daughter of Duke Ordmere (as Guliel. Malmesbur. recordeth) she being also a professed Nun, of whom he begot Edward in bastardy for the which he was injoynd by Dunstan seven yeeres penance. After which penance being compleat, then he took to him a lawfull wife (as Malmesb. saith) Elfrida, the mother of Edmund and Ethelred, or otherwife called Egelred, wherof more shall be said (the Lord willing) hereafter.

Over and besides all these vices noted & objected to King Edgar in our monkish story-writers, I also observe another no lesse, or rather greater vice then the other aforesaid, which was, blind superstition & idolatrous monkery brought into the Church of Christ. With the wrongfull expulsiō of lawfull married Priests out of their Houses. Whereupon what incontinencies ensued after in this Realm, especially in the House of the Lord, I leave it to the consideration of them which have heard of the detestable enmities of those religious votaries: the

occasion wherof first and chiefly began in this Edgar, through the instigation of Dunstan and his fellows, who after they had inveigled the King, and had brought him to their purpose, they caused him to call a councell of the clergy: where it was enacted, that the canons of divers cathedrall Churches, collegiines, parsons, vicars, priests and deacons, with their wives & children, either should give over that kind of life, or else give room to monks, &c. For execution of which decree, two principall visitors were appointed, Athelwold or Ethelwold bishop of Winchester, and Wulvald bishop of Worcester, as is partly before touched. Osbernus in vita Dunstani. Malmesb. de vit. pont. Rog. Hoved.

And thus much concerning the History of King Edgar, and of such things as in his time hapned in the Church which Edgar after he had entred into the parts of Brittain to subdue the rebellion of the Welshmen, and there had spoiled the Country of Glamorgan, and invaded the Country of Doo, within ten daies after, when he had reigned the space of sixteen yeeres, he died, and was buried at Glastonbury, leading after him two bastards, to wit, Editha and Edward, and one son lawfully begotten named Ethelred, or otherwife by corruption called Egelred, for Edmund the elder son died before his father.

You heard before how King Edgar is noted in all stories to be an incontinent liver in deflowering maids & virgins. Of which virgins, three notoriously are expressed in authors, to wit, Alfrude or Alfride; the second was the Dukes maid at Andegar, nere to Winchester: the third was Elded mother of Edward, for the which Elded he was slayed and kept backe from his Coronation, by Dunstan archbishop of Canturbury, the space of seven yeeres; and so the said King beginning his raigne in the sixteenth yeere of his age, being the yeere of the Lord, 959, was crowned at his age one and thirty, An. Dom. 974. as is in the Saxon Chronicle of Worcester Church to be proved. For the more evident declaration of which matter, concerning the coronation of the King restrained, and the presumptuous behaviour of Dunstan against the King, and his penance by the said Dunstan enjoined, ye shall heare both Osberne, Palmesb. and other authors speak in their owne words as followeth. Perpetratō itaque in virginem velatam peccato, &c. After that Dunstan had understanding of the Kings offence perpetrated with the professed Nun, and that the same was blazed amongst the people, with great ire and passion of mind he came to the King, who seeing the archbishop comming, effronies of gentleness arose from his regall seate towards him, to take him by the hand and to give him place. But Dunstan refusing to take him by the hand, and with sterne countenance bending his browes, spake after this effect of words (as stories import) unto the King: You that have not feared to corrupt a virgin maid handfast to Christ, presume you to touch the consecrated hands of a bishop? You have defiled the spouse of your maker, and thinke you by flattering service to pacifie the friend of the bridegroom? No sir, his friend will not I be, which hath Christ to his enemy, &c. The king terrified with these thundering words of Dunstan, and compuncted with inward repentance of his sin perpetrated, fell down with weeping at the feete of Dunstan: who after he had raised him up from the ground again, began to offer to him the horribleness of his fact: and finding the King ready to receave whatsoeuer satisfaction he would lay upon him, injoynd him this penance for seven yeeres space, as followeth: That he should weare no crowne all that space, that he should fast twice in the weeke, he should distribute his treasure left to him of his ancestors liberally unto the poore, he should build a monastery of Nuns at Shaftsbury, that as hee

King Edgar seduced by Dunstan and Ethelwold bishop of Winchester in the 27. Malmesb. Hoveden, & this.

The death of King Edgar.

Ex Chronico Saxonico Ecclesie Wigornensis.

Ex Osberno in vita Dunstani.

Dunstan refused to take the King by the hand. The words of Dunstan to King Edgar.

Penance enjoined to King Edgar by Dunstan.

Crucity in King Edgar noted.

Great detriment hapning in this Realm by King Edgar.

Malmesb.

The incontinent life of King Edgar.

Editha base daughter of Alfrid the Kings lemmann.

Edward borne a bastardy of Alfrid, King Edwards concubine.

King Edgar a great maintainer of monkery.



had robbed God of one virgin through his transgression, so should he restore to him many againe in times to come. Moreover he should expell Clerks of evill life (meaning such priests as had wives and children) out of Churches, & place covents of monks in their room, &c.

It followeth then in the story of Osberne, that when the seven yeeres of the Kings penance were expired, Dunstan calling together all the yeeres of the realm, with bishops, abbats, and other Ecclesiasticall degrees of the Clergy, in the publike sight of all the multitude, set the crown upon the Kings head at Bathe, which was the one and thirtieth yeare of his age, and the thirtieth yeare of his reigne; so that he reigned only but three yeares crowned King. All the other yeares besides Dunstan belike ruled the land as he listeth. Furthermore, as touching the sonne of the said Elfred, thus the story writeth: Puerum quoque ex peccatrice quondam progenitum, sacro fonte regenerationem lavavit, & aptato illi nomine Edwardo in filium sibi adoptavit. i. e. The child also which was gotten of the harlot, he baptised in the holy fountaine of regeneration, and so giving his name to be called Edward, did adopt him to be his sonne, &c. Ex Osberno.

By the which narration of Osberne agreeing also with the story of the Saxon Book above mentioned, is convinced a double untruth or error, either negligently overseen, or of purpose dissembled in our later monkish story writers, as in Malmesbury, Matth. Paris, Matth. Westm. and others more. To ha, to conceale the fault of King Edgar, or to bear with Dunstons fact, in setting up Edward for the maintenance of their monkish order, first doe falsely as firme, that Editha the daughter of Alfride was born after Edward, and that for her this penance was in-oynd to King Edgar. Which neither is, nor can be so, as in proesse hereafter (the Lord willing) shall appeare.

Secondly, they are deceived in this, that they as firme King Edgar to have two wives, & that Elfreda the mother of Edward was not a professed Nun indeed, but dissembled so to be to avoyd the violence of the King: whereas indeed the truth of the story both sheweth her to be a Nun, and her son to be base, and the her selfe never to be married unto the King.

Now foromuch as we have hitherto entred into the story of Elfreda and Editha, also of Alfrid and Dunstan, here would not be let passe to speak something of their lying miracles, falsely forged, to the great seduction of Christian people by superstitious monks, who cared not what fables and lies they brought into the church, so they might have a shew of power mens purses and oblations. And first here commeth in the fabulous miracles wrought at the tombe of Elfreda the Kings concubine, which William of Malmesbury in these verses expretheth:

*Nam nonnullis passa annis morborum molestiam,  
Defecatum & excoriatum Deo dedit animam.  
Functas ergo vita sacro beatas exuvias,  
Infinitis clemens signis illustravit Deitas:  
Inops visus & auditus si adorant tumulum,  
Sanitatis restituti probant sancta meritum.  
Rectum gressum refert domum, qui accessit loripes,  
Mente captus redit sanus, boni sensus locuples.*

The English of which verses is needlesse here to be recited. Briefly, the effect is this: That both the blind, deafe, halt, & such as be mad, receive their health againe, if they worship the tombe of this Elfreda, &c.

The like fainings and monstrous miracles were read also in Chronicles of dooting Dunstan, doctored in all superstition, if he were not also a wicked forgerer. First, how he being yet a boy chased away the devil, set about with a great company of dogs, & how the angels did open the Church doore for him to

enter. Then how the lute or harp hanging up the wall did sing or play without any finger these words: Gaudet in coelis anima sanctorum, qui Christi vestigia sunt sequuti, & qui pro ejus amore sanguinem suum fuderunt; deo cum Christo regnabunt in aeternum. Item where a certaine great beam or master post was loosed out of the place, he with making the signe of a crosse, set it in right frame again. Moreover, how the said Dunstan being tempted upon a time of the devil with the cogitation of women, caught the devil by the nose with a hot paire of tongs, and held him fast. Item, how often Heavenly spirits appeared to him, & used to talke with him familiarly. Item, how he prophesied of the birth of King Edgar, of the death of King Egbert, of the death of Editha, and of Ethelwald bishop of Winchester. Also how our Lady with her fellows appeared visibly to him singing this song: Cantemus domino sociis, cantemus honorem; Dulcis amor Christi personet ore pio. Againe, how the angels appeared to him, singing the hymne called Kyrie Rex splendens, &c. And yet these prodigious fantasies with other more are written of him in Chronicles, and have been belated in Churches.

Among many other false & lying miracles, forged in this corrupt time of monkery, the fabulous or rather filthy legend of Editha were not to be overpassed, if for shame and honesty it might well be recited. But to call the dirt of these popish holmes in their own face, which so impudently have abused the Church of Christ, and simplicity of the people, with their ungracious vanities; let us see what this miracle is, and how honestly it is told. Certaine yeeres after the death of Editha, saith William of Malmesbury, which yeares Capgrave in his new legend reckonest to be thirteenth, the said Editha and also Saint Dennis holding her by the hand, appeared to Dunstan in a vision, willing and requiring him to the body of Editha in the Church of Wilton should be taken up and thirned, to the intent it might be honored here in Earth of her servants, according as it is worshipped of her spouse in Heaven. Dunstan upon this coming from Salisbury to Wilton, where Editha was interred, commanded her body to be taken up with much honor and solemnity. Who there in opening her tombe (as both Malmesbury and Capgrave with shame enough record) found all the whole body of this Editha consumed to Earth, save only her thumbe, her belly, and the part under the belly. Wherof the said Editha expounding the meaning, declared that her thumbe remained sound, for the much crossing that used with the same. The other parts were incorrupted for a testimony of her abstinence, and integrity, &c. Ex Malmesb. & Capgrave. What Satan hath so emboldened the true sincerity of Christian faith and doctrine, so to contaminate the same with such impudent tales, such filthy vanities, and idolatrous fantasies as this? Such monks with their detestable houses, where Christs people were so abominably abused and seduced to worship dead carcases of men and women, whether they deserved not to be rased and pluckt down to the ground, let all chaste readers iudge. But of these matters enough and too much.

Where followeth the Epitaph, written by Henry Ricus archdeacon of Huntingdon, upon the praise and commendation of King Edgar.

*Auror optum vindex scelerum, largitor honorum,  
Scepripiger Edgarus regna ssepurna patit.  
Hic alter Salomon, legum pater, orbita pacis,  
Quod carnis bellis clarnit inde magis.  
Templa Deo, templis monachos, monachis dedit agros,  
Nequitia lapsam, justitieque locum.  
Novit enim regno verum perquirere falsis,  
Immensum modico; perperamque brevi.*

Dunstan a post-litter.

Dunstan caught the devil by the nose with an hot paire of tongs. Our Lady appeared to Dunstan. What merrell if certain books and Epistles be falsely intitled to the Doctors, when the Priests shame not to ascribe other mens verses to the Church of God?

A fault filthy monkish miracle in the story of Editha. Another dream of Dunstan.

Ex W. Malmesburienf. & Capgrave in legenda nova.

The death of King Edgar. An Epitaph commended of King Edgar written by Henry Ricus.

Among

King Edward reigned but three yeares crowned King.

Elfreda proved a nun, and Edward her sonne proved a bastard.

Errors in Malmesbury, and certaine other monks stories.

The first error. The Kings penance not injoynd for Editha but for Edward. The second error.

Elfreda the mother of Edward proved to be a professed Nun.

The lying miracles of Elfreda, Dunstan, and Editha reprovid.

Idolatrous worshipping the tombe of Elfreda.

The idle fantasies and forged miracles of Dunstan. A doubt whether Dunstan was a forgerer.



Sunday first  
halloved from  
Saturday at nine  
of the clock to  
Monday morn-  
ing.

Among his other lawes, this King ordained that the Sunday should be solemnised, from Saturday at nine of the clock, till Monday morning.

### King Edward called the Martyr.

{Anno}  
{975.}

The story of  
King Edward.  
Ex Simone  
Durham.  
Contention  
amongst the  
Lords about  
the putting  
in of monks.

Contention  
amongst the  
Lords for choo-  
sing the King.

Edward the  
batter made  
King, and the  
right heire put  
back.

Ex Osberno,  
Nic. Trivet,  
Joan. Paris.  
Inventio,  
Antonino.

Editha proved  
not to be the  
child for whom  
King Edgar  
was intorned  
penance.

After the death of Edgar no small trouble arose amongst the Lords & Bishops for succession of the crown: the principall cause whereof rose upon this occasion, as by the story of Simon of Durham is declared. Immediately after the decease of the King, Alferus Duke of Mercia, and many other Nobles which held with Egelerd or Ethelred the only right heire & lawfull son of Edgar, miking the placing & intruding of into Churches, and the thrusting out of the secular Priests, with their wives and children out of their ancient possessions, expelled the abbats and monks, and brought in again the foresaid Priests with their wives. Against whom certaine other there were on the contrary part that made resistance, as Ethelwin Duke of Eastangles, Elmsolous his brother, and the Earle Brithnotus, saying in a councill together assembled, that they would never suffer the religious monks to be expelled and driven out of the Realm, which held up all religion in the Land; and thereupon effones levied an army, whereby to defend by force the monasteries, such as were within the pectin of Eastanglia.

In this hurly-burly amongst the Lords, about the placing of Monks and putting out of Priests, rose also the contention about the Crown, who should be their King: the bishops & such Lords as favoured the monks, seeking to advance such a King as they knew would incline to their side: so that the Lords thus divided, some of them would have Edward, and some consented upon Egelerd the lawfull son. Then Dunstan archbishop of Canturbury, and Oswald archbishop of Yorke, with other their fellow bishops, abbats, and divers other Lords and Dukes assembled in a councill together. In the which councill Dunstan comming in with his cross in his hand, and bringing Edward before the Lords, so persuaded them, that in the end Edward by Dunstans means was elected, consecrated, and anointed for their King.

And thus hast thou (good reader) the very truth of this story, according to the writing of authors of most antiquity which lived nextest to that age, as Osbern and others: which Osbern, living in the dayes of William Conqueror, wrote this story of Dunstan through the motion of Lanfrancus, and alledgeth or rather tranlateth the same out of such Saxon stories as were written before his time. Besides which Osbern doe have also for witness hereof, Nicholas Trivet, in his English story written in French, and also Joannes Paris in his French story written in the Latine tongue, where he plainly calleth Edward, Non legitimus filium, that is, No lawfull son. Whereunto adde moreover, the testimony of Vincentius and Antoninus, who in plain termes likewise report the same.

Now having laid the foundation for the truth and ground of this matter, let us come to examine how truly our later writers doe say, which write that Editha, and not Edward, was the child for whom Dunstan intorned to the King seven yeeres penance, and also how truly they report Edward to be a lawfull heire, and Elsted to be a lawfull wife to King Edgar.

For first touching Editha, this is confessed by the said writers themselves, that she was of good yeeres at what time Edgar her father was intorned his penance. After which seven yeeres of his penance expired, he lived at the most but three yeeres and a halfe, which seven yeeres and three yeeres & a halfe, do make in all but ten yeeres and a halfe. But now the said authors themselves doe grant,

that she was made abbess by her father, hee being then alive. And how can this then stand with her legend, which saith that she was not lesse then fiftie yeeres of age? By which account it must needs fall out, she could not be so little as five yeeres old, before birth of that child for whom the king did penance.

And thus much touching Editha. Now in like manner to consider of the time of Edward. First, this by all writers is granted, that he was slain in the fiftieth yeere of his age. Which yeeres doe well agree to that child which King Edgar begat in bastardy, and for the which he did his penance: for the more evidence whereof, let us come to the supputation of the yeeres in this sort.

First the penance of the king after the birth of this child, lasted seven yeeres. Then the King after the same lived three yeeres & a halfe. After whose death Edward reigned other three yeeres & a halfe, which in all make the full som of fourteen yeeres. About y count of which age, the said Edward going on his fiftieth yeere by their own reckning was slain.

And thus have wee by many self demonstration proved by the right casting of the yeeres, after their own grant and reckoning, that Editha daughter of Elfride in no case can be the child which was born after Edward, and for whom the King was intorned penance; but that Edward rather was born after Editha, and was the child for whom the penance was intorned: contrary to the opinion commonly received in the Church, which for ignorance of the story hath hitherto holden Edward to be an holy martyr, and right heire unto the Crown. Which error and opinion how it first sprang and by whom, albeit it pertaine not to my story to discuss, yet were it no hard matter to conjecture.

First, after that Dunstan & Oswald with other bishops, abbats, and certain Lords and Dukes of that faction, for the maintenance of monkery, had advanced Edward to be king, against Queen Alfrith mother of Ethelred, & Alferus Duke of Mercia, & certain other Nobles which hold the contrary side of the priests against the monks; in proceesse of time the monks that came after to write stories, perceiving Dunstan to be reputed in the Church of Rome for an holy saint, and the said king Edward for an holy martyr, & partly also to bolster up their own religion of monkery so much as they could; to the intent therefore that they might save both the credit of Dunstan and of the King, and especially bearing favour to their own Religion, and partly that the reputation of the Church of Rome should not be distained by opening the truth of this matter, either they did not see, or would not confesse herein what they knew; but rather thought best to blanch the story, and colourably to hide the simple truth therof, making the people falsely believe that Elsted the mother of Edward, was wife to King Edgar, and Edward to be lawfully born, and also that Editha was born after Edward, and to be the child for which the King was intorned penance. All which is false & contrary both to the order of time above declared, and also to the plain words of Halmesbury, which speaking of King Edgars last concubin, saith in plain words, Dilexit unice in-

gram lecto uni differens fidem, quoad legitimam uxorem accepit Elfridem, filiam Ordgari: that is, He had a concubin whom he loved intirely, keeping true faith of his bed to her alone, until the time he married for his lawfull wife Elfrid the daughter of Duke Ordgar. Whereby we have to understand, that what soever containeth in this was which Halmesbury speaketh of, certaine it is that Edgar lived in whoredom till the time he married his lawfull wife. Furthermore, and finally to conclude, beside these arguments and allegations above recited, let this also be perpended, how the said Dunstan with his complices, after the killing of King Edward, leaving the right heire of the crown (which

The yeeres of  
Editha and  
Edward call  
by the suppu-  
tion of legends  
and stories.

King Edward,  
called Martyr,  
proved to be a  
bastard.

The cause per-  
ceived, why  
this story of  
King Edward  
is so easily cor-  
rupted in mon-  
kish stories.

Malm. in lib.  
de regibus.



Dunstan subor-  
neth Editha the  
bastard, to take  
the crown from  
the right heir.  
Ex Capgrave in  
vita sancti E-  
dithæ.

(which was Ethelred) went about (as Capgrave and their own legend confesseth) to set up Editha the other bastard to possess the crown, but that she, more wise then her brother Edward, refused the same. Wherby what is to be thought of the doings of Dunstan, and what should be the cause why he preferred both Edward and Editha to the Crown, rather then the lawfull heir, I leave to all indifferant readers thereof to iudge.

Duke Alferus.

After that Dunstan & his fellowes had thus set up Edward for their King, they were now where they would be, supposing all to be sure on their side, and that they had established the Kingdom of mon-  
10 kery for ever, through the help of the young King, and the Duke of Eastangles, and certaine other nobles whom they had drawn to their part. Howbeit this matter passed not so well with them as they hoped. For shortly after the coronation of this young King, Alferus Duke of Mercia, who followed much the deeds of the Queen with other great men, stoutly standing on the contrary side, drove out the monks from the cathedrall Churches, which King Edgar before had set in, and restored again the Priests (as Ranulphus saith with their concubines: but in the History of the library of Jorhall, I find it plainly expelled, with their wives. The words of the very author be these: Alferus princeps Merciorum, cæterique plures, eiectionis monachis de magnis monasteriis, quos Rex Edgarus nuper instituerat, clericos cum uxoris reduxerunt: that is, Alferus Duke of Mercia, with other great men more, drove out the monks from the great monasteries whom King Edgar had there set in before, and restored againe the Priests with their wives.

Priests with  
their wives  
restored.

Historia tornalensis in vita  
Edgari.

Bishops and  
Priests in those  
times married  
in England.

Wherby it doth evidently appeare, that Priests in those dayes were married, and had their lawfull wives. The like before that in King Inas time is plaine, that bishops then had wives & Children, as appeareth by the words of the Law then sent forth, extant in the History of the said Tornalensis, which be these: Si quis filiolum alterius occiderit vel patrum, sit simile cognationi, & crescat emendatio secundum Veram eius regis, sicut cognationi. Si de parentela sit qui occidit eum, tunc excedat emendatio patrini, sicut mandata Domini. Si episcopi filiolus sit, sit dimidium hoc, &c. And thus much by the way for Priests wives and their children.

Tornalens.

Ex Chronico  
Ingulphi abba-  
tis de Crouland.

Now to the purpose againe of our matter, which is to declare how the Duke & Nobles of England expelled the monks out of the monasteries after the death of King Edgar: wherof let us heare what the monkish Booy of the Abby of Crouland recordeth: Monachis de quibusdam monasteriis eiectionis, clerici sunt introducti, qui statim monasteriorum maneria ducibus terræ distribuebant, ut sic in suas partes obligati eos contra monachos defenserent. Tunc de monasterio Eveshamensi, monachis expulsi, clerici fuerunt introducti. Terræque tyranni de terris Ecclesiæ præmiati sunt, quibus regina novercali nequitia, stans cum clericis in regis opprobrium, favebat. Cum monachis autem Rex, & sancti episcopi persistebant. Sed tyranni, fulti reginæ favore & potentia, super monachos triumphabant. Multus inde tumultus in omni angulo Angliæ factus est. Ex Chronico Ingulphi abbatis de Crouland, &c. that is, The Monks being expelled out of certaine Monasteries the Clerks againe were brought in, who distributed the manors or farms of the said monasteries to the Dukes and Lords of the land, that they being obliged to them, should defend them against the Monks. And so were the Monks of Evesham thrust out, and the secular Clerks placed, and the lands of the church given to the Lords, with whom the Queen, the Kings stepmother holding the same time, took part also with the said Clerks against the King. On the contrary part stood the King & the holy bishops taking part with the monks. Wherby it, the Lords & Peeres of the Realm, staying upon

Great business  
in the Land  
about placing  
of monks, and  
displacing  
Priests.

the favour and power of the Queene, triumphed over the monks, &c.

Thus, as much as there was through all quarters of the Realm about the matter among the Lords, so arose no lesse contention between the Priests & monks of England. The Priests, complaining to the King and Dunstan, said for themselves that it was uncomely, uncharitable, yea & unnatural, to put out an old knoton dweller for a new unknown; and that God was not pleased, that that should be taken from the ancient possessor which by God was given him; neither that it could be of any good man accepted, to suffer any such injury to be done, lest peradventure the same thing, wherein he was prejudiciall to another, might after revert & redound upon himselfe at length. The monks on the other side said for their part, that Christ allowed neither the old dweller, nor the new commer, nor yet looked upon the person, but who so would take the crosse of penance upon him, and follow Christ in vertuous living, should be his disciple.

A controverſie  
between priests  
and Monks.  
Priests mar-  
riage noted for  
an old custome  
in England.  
The objection  
of Priests  
against the  
Monks.  
Guliel. de regib.  
lib. 2.

The answer of  
monks against  
the Priests.

These and such other were the allegations of the monks. But whether a monks coule or a worse, lesse life make a sufficient title to enter into other mens possessions or no, I refer it to the iudgment of the goodly. The troublous cares in marriage, the necessary provision for house keeping, the vertuous bringing up of children, the dayly helping of poverty & bearing of publick charges, with other manifest perturbations and comburances dayly incident unto Patrimony, might rather appeare to goodly wise men to come nearer to the right crosse of penance, then the easie and loitering idleness of monkery. In the end, upon this controverſie was holden a councill of bishops and other of the Clergy. First, at Reading or at Winchester (as Guliel. saith) where the greater part both of the Nobles and commons iudged the Priests to have great wrong, and sought by all means possible to bring them againe to their old possessions and dignities. Jorhalensis here maketh rehearsal of an image of the crucifix, or a rood standing upon the Frater wal, where the councill was holden. To this rood Dunstan requirerth them all to pray, being belike not ignorant of some spirituall provision before hand. In the midst of their prayer the rood (or else some blind monk behind it in a trunk) through the wall, is reported to speake these words: A bñt hoc ut fiat, ab-  
50 sit hoc ut fiat: iudicatis benè, mutaretis non benè. In remembrance wherof these verses were written under the roods scete.

Married mens  
lives compared  
with the life  
of Monks.

{ Anno  
977. }

A bairn miracle  
of Dunstons  
rood that spake

Humano more crux præfens addidit ore,  
Coelitus affata, quæ perspicis hic subarata,  
Abst ut hoc fiat, & cætera tunc memorata.

Where lacked a  
Thomas  
Cromwell to  
try out false  
tugging.

Of this Dunstanicall or rather Satanicall oracle, Henricus maketh no mention, nor Ranulphus, nor yet Hovedenus, nor Fabian in their Histories. Gulielmus in his book De regibus reporteth it but by hearsay, in these words saying: Aliæ literæ docent, &c. Wherfore the lesse it seemeth to be of credit. Albeit if it were of credible truth, yet it proveth in this matter nothing else but Dunstan to be a sorcerer, as Polydore Virgil also himselfe seemeth to smell something in this matter.

Notwithstanding, for all this yet the strife ceased not: in so much that a new assembly of the Clergy & other was appointed after at a place called the street of Calve, where the councill was kept in an upper loft. In this councill many grievous  
70 plaints were obieded (as Malmesb. saith) against Dunstan: but yet he kept his opinion, and would not there remove from y which he began to maintain. And while they were in great contention and argument which way should be admitted & allowed (if it be true that in y story is written) suddenly the soies of the loft failed, and the people with the Nobles fell down, so that certain were slain, and many hurt. But Dunstan (they say, only standing

Another assembly  
called at  
Calve.

Dunstan an  
enemy to priest  
wives.  
A sudden fall  
of the people  
at the councill  
of Calve.



henricus lib. 5.  
Juliel. Ramiſph.  
vnnalenſis, & a-  
ian.

upon a poſt of the ſollar which remained unbroke) eſcaped without danger. Which thing whether it ſo happened to preſend before the ruine of the realme and of the ſobles (as Henry Huntington doth expound it) which after inſued by the Danes, or whether it was ſo wrought by Dunſtans forcery (as was not unpoſſible) or whether it were a thing but feigned of the monkly writers, and not true, all this I leave to the readers, to thinke therein what them liketh. The ſtoies ſay further, that upon this the matter ceaſed, and Dunſtan had all his will.

Theſe things thus done at Calbe, it happened not long after the ſame, that King Edward, whom the writers deſcribe to be a vertuous and a meek prince, much pitifull and beneficiall to the poore, about the fourth yeere of his raigne came upon a ſeaſon from hunting in the foreſt alone, without the company of his ſervants to the place in the Weſt countrey, where Alſtith his mother with her ſonne Egellred did lie. When the Quene the mother was warned of his coming by her men, anon ſhe calleth a ſervant of hers which was of her ſpeciall truſt, opening to him all her conceived counſell, and ſhewing him all points how and what to doe for the accompliſhing of her wicked purpoſe. Which thing ſo done, ſhe made towards the King, and received him with all courteſie, deſiring him to tarry that night; but hee in like courteſie excuſed himſelfe, and for ſped deſired to ſee his brother, and to drinke upon his horſe ſitting, the which was ſhortly brought.

Now while the cup was at his mouth, the ſervant of the Quene (being informed) ſtrake him in the body with a long two edged dagger. After the which ſtroke the King tooke the horſe with the ſpurs, and ranne toward the way where he ſuppoſed to meeete with his company, but hee bled ſo ſore, that with faintneſſe he fell from his horſe, his one foote being in the ſtirrup. By reaſon whereof hee was drawen of his horſe over fields and lands till hee came to a place named Coziſgate, where hee was found dead: and for that neither the manner of his death, nor yet hee himſelfe was knowne to be the King, hee was buried unhonourably at the Towne of Marham, where the body remained the ſpace of three yeeres, and then after was taken up by Duke Alſer above mentioned, and with pomp and honour accordingly was removed to the Minſter of Shaftsbury, and there beſtowed in the place called Edwardſtoll. Many tales runne (more perchance then be true) concerning the finding and taking up of his body, which our moſt common hiſtozies aſcribe to miracles and great wonders wrought about the place where the King was buried. As firſt, how a poore woman born blind, received her ſight by the meanes of S. Edward, there where hee did lie. Alſo how a pillar of fire from Heaven deſcended over the place of his buriall. When how the ſoreſaid Quene Alſtith, taking her horſe to goe to the place, was ſtopped by the way, that neither her horſe could be driven by any meanes, nor ſhe her ſelfe on foot was able to approach nere to the place where the corps of S. Edward was. Furthermoze, how the ſaid Quene, in repentance of her fact, afterward builded two Sunneries, one at Amesbury by Salisbury; the other at Weterwell, where hee kept herſelfe in continuall repentance all the daies of her life. And thus, as yet have heard, was this vertuous yong King Edward murdered, when hee had raigned almoſt ſoure yeeres, leaving no iſſue behind him, whereby the rule of the land fell to Egellredus his brother.

But here by the way is to be noted (upon the name of this Edward) that there were three Edwards before the conqueſt. The firſt, was King Edward the ſenioz; the ſecond, King Edward the martyr, which was this King; the third was King Edward called the Confeſſor, whereof hereafter ſhall ſollow (Chriſt willing) to be declared.

In the order and courſe of the Romane biſhops, mention was made laſt of Agapetus the ſecond, after whom next ſucceeded pope John the thirtieth, of whom Dunſtan archbiſhop of Canterbury receiveth his pall, as in the ſtozy of King Edgar is befoze minded. This Pope is noted to be very wicked and infamous, replete from his firſt bringing up with abominable vices: a whozemaſter, an adulterer, in celſtuous, libidinous, a gameſter, an extortioner, perjured, a fighter, a murderer, cruell and tyrannous. Of his Cardinals, ſome he put out their eyes, ſome he cut off their tongues, ſome their fingers, ſome their noſes, &c. In a generall Council befoze the Emperour who the firſt of that name (who was the firſt Emperour of the Germans) after the Empire was tranſlated out of France to Germany by Pope Agapetus (as is above hiſtozied) theſe obſections were articulate againſt him. Firſt, that hee never ſaid his ſervice, that in ſaying his maſſe hee did not communicate, that hee ordained Deacons in a ſtable, that hee committed inceſt with two of his ſiſters, that playing at dice hee called for the diſbell to helpe, that for money hee made boyes biſhops, that hee deſoured virgins and ſtrangers, that of the palace of Lateran hee made a ſtewes, that hee lay with Stephanna his fathers concubine, likewiſe with Ramera and with Anna and her maſe, that hee put out the eyes of the biſhop Benedic, that hee cauſed houſes to be ſet on fire, that hee brake open houſes, that hee dranke to the diſbell, that hee never croſſed himſelfe, &c. For the which cauſes (and worſhiply) hee was depoſed by the conſent of the Emperour with the prelates, and Pope Leo was ſubſtitute in his place. But after his departing (through the harlots of Rome and their great promiſes) the ſaid Pope John was reſtozed againe to his place, and Leo (ſet up by the Emperour) was depoſed. At length about the tenth yeere of the Pope dome of this John, hee being found without the city with another mans wiſe was ſo wounded of her husband, that within eight daies after hee died.

After him the Romans elected Pope Benedic the ſift, without the conſent of the Emperour; whereupon the ſaid who the Emperour being not a little diſpleaſed for diſplacing of Leo whom hee had befoze promoted, and for the choſing alſo of Benedic, came with his army and laid ſiege to Rome, and ſo ſet up pope Leo againe, the eight of that name, which Leo to gratiſſe his benefactor againe, crowned who for Emperour, and intituled him to be called Auguſtus. Alſo the power which Carolus Magnus had given befoze to the clergy and people of Rome, this Leo by a ſynodall decree granted to the Emperour and his ſucceſſors: that is, touching the election of the biſhop of Rome. The Emperour againe reſtozed to the See of Rome all ſuch donations and poſſeſſions which either Conſtantinus (as they falſely pretend) or which Carolus Magnus tooke from the Lombards, and gave to them.

After Pope Leo had raigned a yeere & three moneths, ſucceeded Pope John the fourteenth, againſt whom (for holding with the Emperour) Petrus the heid captaine of the City, with two conſuls, twelve Aldermen, and divers other ſobles, gathering their power together, laid hands upon him in the Church of Lateran, and clapt the Pope in priſon eleven moneths. The Emperour hearing this, with all ſped returned with his army againe to Rome; who after execution done upon the authozs and chiefe doers of that fact, among other committed the ſoreſaid Petrus to the Popes arbitrement; whom hee cauſed firſt to be ſtrip naked, then his beard being ſhaven, to be hanged by the haire a whole day together, after that to be ſet upon an aſſe (his face turned backward, and his hands bound under the aſſes taile) and ſo to be led through the City, that all men might ſee him; that done, to be ſcourged with rods, and ſo baniſhed the City. Thus we ſee how the holy father ſolloweth

Continuation  
of the Romiſh  
biſhops or  
Popes.

Pope John the  
thirtieth, a  
wicked Pope.

Luthprandus,  
lib. 6.

As merry as  
Pope John,  
a proſcriber.

Pope John  
the thirtieth  
depoſed.

Pope John  
reſtozed.

Pope John  
wounded in  
adultery.

Pope Bene-  
dictus the ſift.

Pope Leo the  
eight.

The election of  
the biſhop of  
Rome given to  
the Emperour.  
The donations  
of Carolus  
Magnus and  
who to Rome.

Pope John the  
fourteenth.

Pope John the  
fourteenth caſt  
into priſon.

The cruel re-  
venge of the  
Popes.

The horrible  
dickeneſſe  
of a Queene-  
mother.

King Edward  
cruelly  
murdered by  
his ſtepmother  
and her ſervant

King Edward  
found dead and  
buried, not  
knowne to be  
King.  
Coſt caſtle.  
The body of  
King Edward  
after three  
yeeres, hono-  
rably taken up  
and tranſlated  
to Shaftsbury.

Two Sunne-  
ries founded  
upon murder.

Anno  
1279.

Three Ed-  
wards Kings  
before the con-  
queſt.



**Chriſtning of bells ſhall be ſun.**  
ſolloweth the injuncion of the Goſpell; Diligite inimicos veſtros, Love your enemies, Like the ſir, &c. From this Pope proceeded firſt the chriſtning of bells, An. 971.

**Pope Benedic-  
tus the ſir.**  
After him followed Pope Benedictus the ſir, who in like manner was apprehended by Cinthius a Captaine of Rome, and caſt in priſon, where hee was ſtrangled, or as ſome ſay, ſamithed to death.

**Pope Donus  
the ſecond.**  
Then came Pope Donus the ſecond, after whom Bonifacius the ſeventh was Pope, who, likewiſe ſeeing the citizens of Rome to conſpire againſt him, was conſtrained to hide himſelfe, and ſeing no place there for him to tarry, took the treaſure of S. Peters Church, and ſo privily ſtole to Conſtantinople.

**Pope John the  
ſixteenth.**  
In whole ſtead the Romans ſet up Pope John the ſixteenth. Not long after, Bonifacius, returning againe from Conſtantinople, by his money and treaſure procured a gariſon or company to take his part:

**Pope John  
ſaine.**  
by whoſe means the ſorſaid Pope John was taken, his eyes put out, and ſo thruſt in priſon, where he was, as ſome ſay, ſamithed; ſome ſay hee was ſaine by Ferrucius: ſpeither did Bonifacius raigne many daies after, but ſuddenly died; whoſe carcaſe after his death was drowne by the ſecte through the ſtreets of Rome after a moſt deſpightful manner, the people ſhrieking and exclaming againſt him, An. 976.

**Pope Bonifacius  
the ſeventh.**  
Next Pope after him was Benedictus the ſeventh by the conſent of the Emperour who the ſecond, and raigned nineteene yeeres. In the time of this Pope, Hugh Cappel the French king tooke Charles (the right heire to the crowne) by the treaſon of the biſhop of Laon, and when he had impriſoned him, hee alſo committed to priſon Arnoldus archbiſhop of Rains, and placed in his ſtome Gilbertus a monke of Flo-  
**Pope Bonifacius  
drown through  
the ſtreets of  
Rome.**  
riacke (a ſecromancer) who was ſchollmaſter to Doctor Robert the Kings ſon. But this Pope Benedictus called a counsell at Remis, reſtozed the ſaid Arnoldus againe, and diſplaced Gilbertus, which after by the helpe of who was made archbiſhop of Ravenna, and at length was Pope, as in proceſſe hereafter (Chriſt granting) ſhall be declared.

**Pope Benedic-  
tus the ſeventh.**  
After Benedictus ſucceeded in the See of Rome Pope John the ſixteenth, and died the eight moneth of his papacy; next to whom came John the ſeventeenth, and after him Gregory the ſir in the yeere of our Lord, 995. This Gregory (called beſore Bruno) was a German bozne, and therefore the moze mali-  
**Pope Benedic-  
tus the ſeventh.**  
ced of the clergy and people of Rome. Whereupon Creſcentius with the people and clergy conſenting againſt the ſaid Gregory, ſet up John the eighteenth. Gregory upon the ſame ſped himſelfe in all conſentient haſt to the Emperour who the third in Germany, who hearing the complaint of Gregory, and underſtanding his wrongs, ſet forwarde with his army well appointed to Italy, gat the City, and there tooke both Creſcentius the Conſull, and John the Pope. Which John firſt having his eyes put out, was deprived after of his life. Creſcentius the Conſull was ſet upon a vile horſe, having his noſe and eares cut off, and ſo was led through the City, his face being turned to the horſe taile, and afterwarde, having his members cut off, was hanged upon a gibbet.

**Gilbertus a  
ſecromancer  
made archbi-  
ſhop.**  
Pope Gregory, thus being reſtozed to his former ſtate, raigned foure yeeres in his papacy (although Mariannus Scotus and Martinus ſay that he ſate but two yeeres, &c.) During the which time he aſſembled a counsell in Rome: where he, to ſtabliſh the Empire in his owne countrey (by the conſent of  
**Pope John the  
ſixteenth.**  
and John the Pope. Which John firſt having his eyes put out, was deprived after of his life. Creſcentius the Conſull was ſet upon a vile horſe, having his noſe and eares cut off, and ſo was led through the City, his face being turned to the horſe taile, and afterwarde, having his members cut off, was hanged upon a gibbet.

**Pope John the  
ſixteenth.**  
Pope Gregory, thus being reſtozed to his former ſtate, raigned foure yeeres in his papacy (although Mariannus Scotus and Martinus ſay that he ſate but two yeeres, &c.) During the which time he aſſembled a counsell in Rome: where he, to ſtabliſh the Empire in his owne countrey (by the conſent of  
**Pope John the  
ſixteenth.**  
and John the Pope. Which John firſt having his eyes put out, was deprived after of his life. Creſcentius the Conſull was ſet upon a vile horſe, having his noſe and eares cut off, and ſo was led through the City, his face being turned to the horſe taile, and afterwarde, having his members cut off, was hanged upon a gibbet.

**Pope John the  
ſixteenth.**  
Pope Gregory, thus being reſtozed to his former ſtate, raigned foure yeeres in his papacy (although Mariannus Scotus and Martinus ſay that he ſate but two yeeres, &c.) During the which time he aſſembled a counsell in Rome: where he, to ſtabliſh the Empire in his owne countrey (by the conſent of  
**Pope John the  
ſixteenth.**  
and John the Pope. Which John firſt having his eyes put out, was deprived after of his life. Creſcentius the Conſull was ſet upon a vile horſe, having his noſe and eares cut off, and ſo was led through the City, his face being turned to the horſe taile, and afterwarde, having his members cut off, was hanged upon a gibbet.

**Two Popes  
together in  
Rome.**  
Pope Gregory, thus being reſtozed to his former ſtate, raigned foure yeeres in his papacy (although Mariannus Scotus and Martinus ſay that he ſate but two yeeres, &c.) During the which time he aſſembled a counsell in Rome: where he, to ſtabliſh the Empire in his owne countrey (by the conſent of  
**Pope John the  
ſixteenth.**  
and John the Pope. Which John firſt having his eyes put out, was deprived after of his life. Creſcentius the Conſull was ſet upon a vile horſe, having his noſe and eares cut off, and ſo was led through the City, his face being turned to the horſe taile, and afterwarde, having his members cut off, was hanged upon a gibbet.

**Pope Gregory  
the ſir.**  
Pope Gregory, thus being reſtozed to his former ſtate, raigned foure yeeres in his papacy (although Mariannus Scotus and Martinus ſay that he ſate but two yeeres, &c.) During the which time he aſſembled a counsell in Rome: where he, to ſtabliſh the Empire in his owne countrey (by the conſent of  
**Pope John the  
ſixteenth.**  
and John the Pope. Which John firſt having his eyes put out, was deprived after of his life. Creſcentius the Conſull was ſet upon a vile horſe, having his noſe and eares cut off, and ſo was led through the City, his face being turned to the horſe taile, and afterwarde, having his members cut off, was hanged upon a gibbet.

**Seven electors  
of the Empe-  
rours ordained  
in Germany,  
and who they  
be.**  
Pope Gregory, thus being reſtozed to his former ſtate, raigned foure yeeres in his papacy (although Mariannus Scotus and Martinus ſay that he ſate but two yeeres, &c.) During the which time he aſſembled a counsell in Rome: where he, to ſtabliſh the Empire in his owne countrey (by the conſent of  
**Pope John the  
ſixteenth.**  
and John the Pope. Which John firſt having his eyes put out, was deprived after of his life. Creſcentius the Conſull was ſet upon a vile horſe, having his noſe and eares cut off, and ſo was led through the City, his face being turned to the horſe taile, and afterwarde, having his members cut off, was hanged upon a gibbet.

Maguntinenſis, Trevereniſis, Coloniaenſis,  
Quilibet imperii ſit cancellarius horum,

Et Palatinus dapifex, dux portitor enſis,  
Marchio præpoſitus camera, pincerna Bohemus.

theſe ſeven he ordained to be electors, theſe Bi-  
ſhops, theſe Princes: to wit, the Palatine, the Duke  
of Saxony, the Marques Brandenburg: to whom  
was added alſo the King of Boheme to give the ad-  
voyce, if the even voyce could not agree. This con-  
ſtitution being firſt begun, An. 997. was after eſtabli-  
ſhed in Germany by who the Emperour, the yeere  
of our Lord, 1002. And thus much by the way, or ra-  
ther digreſſion, concerning the rages and tumults of  
the Romiſh Church. Now to our matter againe.

### King Egelred, or Elred.

**K**ing Edward thus being murdered, as is afore-  
ſaid, the crowne fell next to Egelred his younger  
brother, and ſonne to King Edgar by the ſorſaid  
Queen Alſrith, as we have declared. This Egelred  
had a long raigne given him of God, which dured  
the terme of eight and thirty yeeres, but very unfor-  
tunate and full of great miſeries; and hee himſelfe  
(by the hiſtozies) ſeemeth to be a Prince, not of the  
greateſt courage to governe a Common wealth.  
Our English ſtozies writing of him, thus report of  
his raigne, that in the beginning it was ungracious,  
wretched in the middle, and hatefull in the latter  
end. Of this Egelred it is reab, that when Dunſtan  
the archbiſhop ſhould Chriſten him, as he did hold  
him over the font, ſomething there happened that  
pleaſed not Dunſtan, whereupon he ſware Per ſan-  
ctam Mariam, iſte ignavus homo erit. By the mother  
of Chriſt hee will be a Prince untoward and col-  
ardly: Chron. de Crowland. I finde in William of  
Malinesbury, Lib. 2. de regib. that this Egelred be-  
ing of the age of ten yeeres, when he heard his bro-  
ther Edward to be ſaine, made ſuch ſorrow and  
weeping for him, that his mother, falling therewith  
in a rage, tooke ware candles (having nothing elſe  
at hand) wherewith theſe ſcourged him ſo ſore (well  
nere till hee ſounded) that after the ſame hee could  
neber abide any ware candles to burne beſore him.  
After this, about the yeere of our Lord 981. (the  
day of his coronation being appointed by the Queen,  
the mother, and the nobles) Dunſtan the archbiſhop  
of Canturbury (who firſt reſuſed ſo to doe) with  
Alſwald archbiſhop of York, were enforced to  
crowne the King, and ſo they did at Kingſton. In  
doing whereof, the report of ſtozies goeth, that the  
ſaid Dunſtan ſhould ſay thus, prophesying, unto the  
King: that ſo ſo much as he came to the kingdome  
by the death of his brother, and through the conſpi-  
racy of the wicked conſpirators and other Engliſh  
men, they ſhould not be without bloodſhedding and  
ſword, till there came a people of an unknowne  
tongue, and ſhould bring them into thraldome, nei-  
ther ſhould that treſpaſſe be clenſed without long  
vengeance, &c.

In the Chronicles of Crowland I finde theſe  
wordes: Quoniam aſcendiſti ad thronum tuum per  
mortem fratris tui, quem occidit mater tua, propterea  
audi verbum Domini: Hoc dicit Dominus, non deficiet  
gladius de domo tua, ſaviens in te omnibus diebus vite  
tue, & interficiens de ſemine tuo, & de gente tua, uſque  
dum regnum tuum transferatur in regnum alienum:  
cujus ritum & linguam, gens tua non novit, nec expia-  
bitur niſi longa vindicta, & multa ſanguinis effuſione  
peccatum matris tue, & peccatum virorum peſſimorum,  
qui conſenſerunt conſilio ejus nequam, ut mitterent  
manum in Chriſtum Domini ad effundendum ſangu-  
inem innocentem: Chron. de Crowland.

Not long after the coronation of this King, a  
cloud was ſene throughout the land, which appea-  
red the one halfe like blood, and the other halfe like  
fire, and changed after into ſundry colours, and ba-  
niſhed at the laſt in the morning. Shortly after the  
appearance of this cloud, in the third yeere of his  
raigne

King Egelred.

Anno  
979.

The life of  
Egelred.

Anno  
981.

The coronation  
of Egelred.

The prophecy  
of Dunſtan as  
monkiſh ſtozies  
give it.



The Danes  
counte to  
England.

raigne of the Danes, arriving in sundry places of the land, first spoiled South-hampton, either slaying the inhabitants, or leading them captive away. From thence they went to the Ile of Thanet, then they invaded Chelster, from thence they proceeded to Cornwall and Devonshire, and so to Sussex, where in those coasts they did much harme, and so retired to their ships againe. Roger Hoveden writing here of, saith; that London the same time, or (as Fabian saith) a great part of London was consumed with fire. About this time fell a variance betwene the foresaid Egrelred and the bishop of Rochester: in so much that he made warre against him, and besieged the City. And notwithstanding that Dunstan required the King, sending him admonishment, to give over for the sake of Saint Andrew: yet continued he his siege, till the bishop offered him an hundred pounds of gold, which he received, and so departed. The Danes seeing the discord that then was in the realme, and especially the hatred of the subjects against the King, rose againe, and did great harme in divers places of England: in so much that the King was glad to grant them great summes of money for peace to be had. For the assurance of which peace, Analasse Captaine of the Danes became a Christian man, and so returned home to his country and did no more harme. Besides these miseries before recited, a sore sickness of the bloody-flux, and hot fevers fell among the people, whereof many died; with a like murren also among the beasts. Moreover for lacke of iustice, many thieves, rioters and bribers were in the land, with much misery and mischief.

About the eleventh yeere (some say the ninth yeere) of this Kings raigne died Dunstan. After whom succeeded Ethelgarus, or as Jornalandus writeth, Stilgarus. After him Elfricus, as affirmeth Guliel. lib. 1. de pontif. But as Polydorus saith, Siricius. After him Elfricus came; but Siricius after the mind of Guliel. lib. 1. but Polydorus saith, Aluricus, then Elphegus, &c.

About the same time in the yeere of our Lord 997. Aldunus bishop translated the body of Saint Guthbert from Chelster (which first was a Northerne land, then at Rochester) to Durelme or Dunelme. Whereupon the bishops See of Duresm first began.

Not long after the death of Dunstan, the Danes againe entered England, in many and sundry places of the Land; in such sort, that the King was to seeke to which coast he should goe first to withstand his enemies. But in conclusion, for the avoyding of more harme, he was compelled to appeale them with great summes of money. But when that money was spent, they fell to new robbing of the people, and assailing the Land in divers places, not onely about the countrey of Northumberland, but also besieged the City of London at the last. But being from thence repelled by the manhood of the Londoners, they strayed to other countries adjoining, as to Essex, Kent, Sussex, and Hampshire, burning & killing wheresoever they went: so that, for lacke of a good head or governoꝝ many things in the land perished. For the King gave himselfe to the vice of lechery, and polling of his subjects, and disinherited men of their possessions, and caused them to redeme the same againe with great summes of money; for he payed great tributes to the Danes yerely, which was called Danegilt. Which tributes to increase, that from the first tribute of 10000. pounds, it was brought at last in processe of five or sixe yeeres to 40000. pounds. The which yerely (untill the coming of S. Edward, and after) was levied of the subjects of this land.

To this sorrow moreover was joynd hunger and penury among the commons, in so much that every one of them was constrained to plucke and steale from others. So that, what for the pillage of the Danes, and what by inward thieues and bri-

bers, this Land was brought into great affliction. Albeit, the greatest cause of this affliction (as to me appeareth, is not so much to be imputed to the King, as to the dissension among the Lords themselves, who then did not agree one with another. But when they assembled in consultation together, either they did draw divers waies; or if any thing were agreed upon any matter of peace betwene the parties, soone it was broken againe; or else if any good thing were devised for the prejudice of the enemy, anon the Danes were warned thereof by some of the same countsell. Of whom, the chiefe doers were Godrike Duke of Mercia, and Alfricke the admirall of our captaine of the ships, who betrayed the Kings navy to the Danes. Wherefore the King apprehended Alfrigus sonne of the said Alfricke, put out his eyes, and so did he after to the two sonnes of Duke Godrike in like manner.

The Danes, thus prebailing more and more over the Englishmen, grew in such pride and presumption, that when they by strength caused the husbandmen to eare and sow the Land, and to doe all other vile labour belonging to the house, they would sit at home, holding the wife at their pleasure, with daughter and servant. And when the husbandman came home, he should scantily have of his owne, as his servants had: so that the Dane had all at his will, and fill, saring of the best; when the owner scantily had his fill of the worst. Thus the common people, being of them oppressed, were in such feare and dread, that not onely they were constrained to suffer them in their doings, but also glad to please them, and called every one of them, in the house where they had rule, Lord Dane. Which word after (in processe of time, when the Danes were vsided) was for despight of the Danes turned of the Englishmen to a name of opprobry, that when one Englishman would rebuke another, he would for the more part call him Lurdane.

And thus hitherto (through the assistance of Christ) we have brought this history to the yeere of our Lord 1000. During now and continuing these great miseries upon this English nation, the Land being brought into great ruine by the grievous tributes of the Danes, and also by sustaining the manifold villanies and injuries, as well by them as by other oppressions within the realme: this yeere which was the yeere of our Saviour 1000, this Egrelred through the counsell of certain his familiars about him, in the one and twentieth yeere of his raigne, began a matter, which was occasion either given by the one, or taken by the other, of a new plague to insue upon the Saxons, who had driven out the Brittaines before: that was in joining with the Normans in marriage. For the King this yeere as before said, for the more strength (as he thought) both of him and the realme, married Emma the daughter of Richard Duke of Normandy. Which Richard was the third Duke of the Normans, and the first of that name. By reason of which marriage King Egrelred was not a little inhauced in his owne mind: and, by presumption thereof, sent secret and strict commissions to the rulers of every towne in England, that upon S. Wices day at an houre appointed, the Danes should be suddenly slaine. And so it was performed, which turned after to more trouble.

After that tidings came into Denmarke of the murder of those Danes, anon after, Swanus King of Denmarke with a great Host and Navy landed in Cornwall: where, by treason of a Norman named Hugh, which by favour of Duene Emma was made Earle of Devonshire, the said Swanus tooke Excester, and after beate downe the Walles. From thence proceeding further into the Land, they came to Wiltton and Shireborne, where they cruelly spoiled the Countrey, and slue the people. But anon Swanus, hearing that

The sorrowfull  
affliction of the  
English nation.

What dissension  
and discord  
duty among the  
nobles in a  
realme.

The pride and  
wretchedness  
of the Danes  
toward the  
Englishmen.

Lord Dane.

Lurdane.

Hen. Archidia.  
lib. 6.

The first love  
ing betweene  
the Normans  
and English  
men.

King Egrelred  
married Emma  
the Dukes  
daughter of  
Normandy.

Richard Duke  
of Normandy.

The Danes by  
secret commis-  
sion slaine in  
every towne of  
England.

Swanus King  
of Denmarke  
arriveth in  
England.

Excester beate  
downe.



the King was coming to him with the power of his land, took his ships and set about to Dorchester: where, after much wasting of that countrey, and spoiling the City of Dorchester, & burning the towne of Wetherford, and destroying the countrey thereabout, at length Duke Waskatell met him and beate him, and slew many of the Danes. Wherefore Swamus for that yere returned to Denmarke, and there made great provision to re-enter the Land againe the next yere following; and so did, landing at Sandwich about the five and twentieth yere of the raigne of King Egclred, and there spoiled that countrey. And as soon as he heard of any hoste of Englishmen coming toward him, then he took shiping againe. So that when the Kings army sought to meete him in one coast, then would he suddenly land in another. And when the King provided to meet with him upon the sea, either they would saine to flee, or else they would with gifts blinde the admirall of the Kings Navie. And thus wearied they the Englishmen, and in conclusion brought them into extreame and unspeakable misery. In so much that the King was faine to take peace with them, and gave to King Swamus 30000. pounds. After which peace thus made, Swamus returned againe to Denmarke.

But this peace continued not long. For the yere next following, King Egclred made Eorcius above mentioned duke of Mercia, who was subtil of wit, glossing and eloquent of speech, untruely, and false to the King and the realme. And soon after one Turkillus (a Prince of the Danes) landed in Kent with much people, and there did such harme, that the Englishmen were faine to make peace with great gifts, and so thence departed. But this persecution of the Danes (in one countrey or other in England) never ceased, nor the King did ever give to them any notable battell. For when he was disposed to give them battell, this Eorcius would ever counsell him to the contrary, so that the Danes ever spoiled and robbed, and wared rich, and the Englishmen ever more and bare.

After this Swamus being in Denmarke, and hearing of the increase of his people in England, brake his covenants before made, and with a great army and navy, in most defensible wise appointed, landed in Northumberland, proclaimed himselfe to be King of this land. Where after much veration when he had subdued the people, and caused the Earle with the rulers of the countrey to sweare to him fealty: he passed the river of Trent to Canisburgh, and to Northwasting street, and subduing the people there forced them to give him pledges: which pledges he committed with his navy unto Canutus his sonne to keepe, while he went further into the land; and so with a great hoste came to Mercia, killing and slaying. When he took by strength Winchester and Oxford, and did there what him liked. That done, he came toward London, and hearing the King was there, passed by the river Thames, and came into Kent, and there besieged Canturbury, where he was resisted the space of twenty daies. At length by treason of a deacon called Almaricus (whom the bishop had preferred from death before) he wan it, and took the goods of the people, and fired the City, and fished the monkes of Saint Augustines abbey (that is to meane, they slew nine by cruel torment, and the tenth they kept alive as for their slave.) So they slew there of religious men, to the number of 900. persons; of other men, women, and children, they slew above 8000. And finally, when they had kept the bishop Elphegus in strait prison the space of seven moneths, because he would not consented to give unto them 3000. pounds; after many villanies unto him done, they brought him to Crantwich, and there stoned him to death.

King Egclred in the meane time, fearing the end of this persecution, sent his wife Emma with his

two sons Alfred and Edward, to the Duke of Normandy, with whom also he sent the bishop of London. The Danes proceeded still in their fury and rage, and when they had wonne a great part of Westsaxon, they returned againe to London. Whereof the Londoners hearing, sent unto them certaine great gifts and pledges. At last the King about the five and thirtieth yere of his raigne, was chased unto the ile of Wight, and with a secret company he spent there a great part of the winter; and finally, without cattell or comfort sailed into Normandy to his wife. Swamus being ascertained thereof (inflamed with pride) reared exceeding impositions upon the people. And among other he required a great summe of money of Saint Edmunds lands; which the people there claiming to be free fro Kings tributes, denied to pay. For this Swamus entered the territory of S. Edmund, and wasted and spoiled the countrey, despoiling the holy martyrs, and menacing also the place of his sepulture. Wherefore the men of that countrey fearing his tyranny fell to prayer and fasting, so that shortly after Swamus died suddenly, crying and pelling among his knights. Some say that he was stricken with the sword of S. Edmund, whereof he died the third day after.

In feare whereof, Canutus his sonne, which ruled as King after his father, granted them the freedom of all their liberties; and moreover ditched the land of the said martyrs with a deepe ditch, and granted to the inhabitants thereof great freedoms, quitting them from all taske or tribute: and after builded a Church over the place of his sepulture, and obtained there an house of monkes, and indued them with rich possessions. And after that time it was used, that Kings of England, when they were crowned, sent their crowones for an offering to Saint Edmunds shrine, and redeemed the same againe after wards with a condigne price.

When King Egclred heard of the death of Swamus, he made provision and returned into England. For whose sudden coming Canutus, being unprovided, fled to Sandwich, and there cutting off the noses and hands of the pledges, which his father left with him, sayled into Denmarke; who the next yere returned againe with a great navy, and landed in the South countrey. Wherefore the eldest sonne of King Egclred, called Edmund Ironside, made provision with the aide of Eorike Duke of Mercia to meet him. But Eorike faining himselfe sicke came not, but deceived him. For as it was after proved, Eorike had promised his allegiance to Canutus. By reason whereof, Canutus entered the countrey of Westsaxon, and forced the people to be sworne unto him, and to give him pledges. In this season, King Egclred being at London was taken with great sickness, and there died, and was buried in the North side of Pauls Church behinde the Quire, after he had reigned unprosperously thirty and six yeres; leaving after him his said eldest sonne Edmund Ironside, and Alfred, and Edward which were in Normandy, sent thither before as is above rehearsed. This Egclred although he was miserably impugned and bered of his enemies, yet he with his Councell gave forth wholesome lawes, whereof this is one parcell, containing good rules and lessons for all Judges and justices to learne and follow.

Omnia iudex iustus misericordiam & iudicium libet in omnibus, & in primis per rectam scientiam dicat emandationem secundum culpam, & eam tamen admensuret propter indulgentiam. Quaedam culpe reputantur a bonis iudicibus secundum rectum emendanda. Quaedam per Dei misericordiam condonanda. Iudicia debent esse sine omni haderunga, quod non parcatu diviti alicui, vel legeno amico, vel inimico, jus publicum recitari. Nihil autem in iustus est, quam suscepio

Anno  
1013

King Egclred  
sailed to the  
ile of Wight,  
from thence to  
Normandy.

The vertue of  
Christian mens  
prayer.

The death and  
end of Swa-  
mus.

The abbey of  
S. Edmund.  
bury builded.

King Egclred  
returned into  
England.  
Canutus cut-  
teth off the no-  
ses and hands  
of his pledges.

Canutus ta-  
keth West-  
saxon.

A lesson for all  
Judges and  
Justices.

For which spo-  
iled and wasted  
by the Danes.

Anno  
1004

A tribute paid  
to the Danes of  
thirty thousand  
pounds to have  
peace.

The persecuti-  
on of Turkillus  
a Dane.

Will counsell  
about a King  
where hurt is  
only.

The second re-  
turne of Swa-  
mus into Eng-  
land.

The persecuti-  
on of Swamus  
King of  
Danes.

Canturbury  
besieged.  
Treason of a  
false deacon.

Canturbury  
taken and  
burnt  
The fisting of  
the monkes of  
Canturbury.  
A cruel mur-  
der of the  
Danes.  
Elphegus the  
archbishop of  
Canturbury  
stoned to death.



Bishops.

ceptio munerum pro iudicio subvertendo : Quia munera exerceant corda sapientum, & subvertunt verba iustorum. Dominus Iesus dixit: In quo iudicio iudicaveritis, iudicabimini. Timeat omnis iudex ac diligat Deum iudicem suum, ne in die iudicii mutus fiat, & humiliatus ante oculos iudicis cuncta videntis. Qui innocentem opprimit, & dimittit noxium pro pecunia, vel amicitia, vel odio, vel quacunque factione, opprimetur ab omnipotente iudice. Et nullus dominus, nulla potestas, stultos aut improbos iudices constituent, quia stultus per ignaviam, improbus per cupiditatem vitat, quam didicit, veritatem. Gravius enim lacerantur pauperes à pravis iudicibus, quam à cruentis hostibus. Nullus hostis acerbior, nulla pestis efficacior quam familiaris inimicus. Potest aliquoties homo fuga, vel defensione vitare prayos inimicos. Non ita possunt iudices, quoties adversus subditos malis desideriis inflammantur. Sape etiam boni iudices habent malos vicarios & ministros nefandos, quorum reatibus ipsi domi constringuntur, si non eos coerceant, & à rapacitate cohibeant. Quia Dominus & minister seculorum ait: Non solum male agentes, sed omnes consentientes digni sunt æterna morte. Sape etiam pravi iudices iudicium pervertunt, vel respectant, & non finiunt causam, donec voluntas eorum impleatur. Et quando iudicant, non opera, sed munera considerant. Impii iudices, juxta verbum sapientum, sicut rapaces lupi vespere nil residuant usque mane, id est, de presenti solum vita cogitant, de futura nihil considerant. Malorum prepositorum mos est, ut, quicquid possunt, auferant, & vix necessarium parum quid relinquant sustentationi. Iracundus iudex non potest attendere rectam iudicii satisfactionem. Nam per furoris excitationem, non perspicit rectitudinis claritatem. Iustum iudicium, ubi non persona consideratur. Scriptum est: Non attendas personam hominis in iudicio, nec pro aliquo facies, ut à vero declines, & injusti iudices. Susceptio muneris est dimissio veritatis. Ex historia biblica et ecclesiastica.

Wicked Judges worse in a commonwealth than bloody enemies.

Wicked officers.

Against wicked Judges.

A wicked Judge deposed and deprieved by the King.

Of this King Egred I finde noted in the booke of Roger Hoveden, that he deposed and deprieved from all possessions a certaine Judge or Justifier named Walgeatus, the sonne of one Leoner, for false judgement and other proud doings, whom notwithstanding he loved above all others.

Edmund Ironside a Saxon, and Canutus a Dane, Kings together in England.

Anno 1016.

Edmund Ironside sonne of Egred, King.

Canutus sonne of Swenus, King.

The battels betweene Edmundus and Canutus.

After the death of Egred, variance fell betwene the Englishmen for the election of their King, for the Citizens of London, with certaine other Lords named Edmund the eldest son of Egred (a young man of lusty and valiant courage) in marriage all adventures both hard and wise, who could very well indure all paines; wherefore he was surnamed Ironside. But the more of the Lords favoured Canutus the sonne of Swenus, especially the abbats, bishops, and men of the spirituallty which before had swozne to his father. By meanes whereof, betwene these two martiall Princes were fought many great battels, first in Dorsetshire, where Canutus was compelled to fly the field. And after that they fought another battell in Worcestershire, so close that none could tell who had the better; but either for wearinesse or for lacke of day, they departed one from the other, and on the next morrow fought againe: but then Canutus was compelled to forsake the field. After this they met in Mercia, and there fought againe, where Edmund (as stories say) by the treason of that false Eorike Duke of Mercia (whom he before had received to favour) had the worse. Thus many great conflicts there were betwene these two Princes. But upon a season, when

the hosts were ready to joigne, and a certaine time of truce was taken before battell, a knight of the party of Edmund stood up upon a high place, and said these words.

Daily we die, and none hath the victory: and when the Knights be dead on either part, then the Dukes compelled by need shall accord, or else they must fight alone. And this Kingdome is not sufficient for two men, which sometimes sufficed seven. But if the coverousnesse of Lordship in these twaine be so great, that neither can be content to take part and live by the other, nor the one under the other; then let them fight alone that will be Lords alone. If all men fight still, at the last all men shall be slaine, and none left to be under their Lordship, nor able to defend the King that shall be against strange enemies and Nations.

A witty oration to stay blood betwene two armies.

These words were so well allowed of both the hosts and Princes, that both were content to try the quarrell betwene them two onely. When the place and time was appointed where they both met in fight of both hosts. And when either had tasted other with sharpe swords and strokes: first by the motion of Canutus (as some write) hastily they were both agreed, and kissed each other to the comfort of both hosts. And shortly after they agreed upon partition of the land: and after that, during their lives they loved as brethren. Soone after, a sonne of wicked Eorikus, by the mind (as appeared afterward) of his father, espied, when King Edmund was at the draught, and with a speare (some say with a long knife) thrust him into the fundament, whereof the said Edmund shortly after died, after that he had reigned two yeeres. He left behind him two sonnes, Edmund and Edward, whom Eorike the wicked Duke, after the death of their father, took from their mother (not knowing yet of the death of Edmund her husband) and presented them to King Canutus, saluting him in these words, Ave rex solus. Thus Canutus after the death of Edmund Ironside, was King alone of the whole realme of England, and afterward by the advice of his counsell, he sent the foresaid sonnes of Edmund Ironside to his brother Swenus king of Swebeland to be slaine, who, abhorring that deed, sent them to Salomon King of Hungary, where Edmund being married to the Kings daughter died; Edward was married to Agatha daughter of his brother Henry the fourth Emperour.

Two Kings fight hand to hand.

The wicked murder of King Edmund.

Two sonnes of Edmund Ironside.

When Canutus was established in the kingdom, he called a Parliament at London, where (among other things there debated) it was propounded to the Bishops, Barons, and Lords of the Parliament there present, whether that in the composition made betwene Edmund and Canutus, any special remembrance was made for the children or brethren of Edmund, for any partition of any part of the land. Whereunto the English lords falsly flattering the foreign King, and speaking against their owne minds, as also against their native countrey, answered and said: Nay, affirming moreover with an oath (for the Kings pleasure) that they to the uttermost of their powers, would put off the blood of Edmund in all that they might. By reason of which answer, and promise, they thought (many of them) to have purchased with the King great favour. But by the just retribution of God it chanced farre other wise. For many of them of the most part (such especially as Canutus did perceive to be swozne before time to Edmund and his herres, and also considering that they were native Englishmen) he mistrusted and disdained ever after. In so much that some he executed, a great sort he beheaded, and some by Gods punishment died suddenly. Among whom wicked Eorike also the traitor (although with his sugered words he continued a while in the Kings favour) at length escaped not condigne reward for his detestable dealing. For (as the bishop of Exeter saith)

Flattery, insultery, and untruth in English Lords.

False unfaithfulness and unconstant mutability in English Lords well rewarded.



recordeth) as the King was in his Palace beyond Thames, this Edrike (being belike accused, or else suspected of the King before) comming unto him, began to reckon up his benefites and labours bestowed for his sake. First, in forsaking and betraying Egelfred, then in slaying King Edmund his sonne, with many such other deeds more, which all for his sake he had done. Well, saith the King, thou hast here rightly judged thy selfe, and worthily thou shalt die for slaying thy naturall Prince, and my swoorne brother. And so commanded him to be bound immediately hand and foot, and to be throvne into the Thames. Some stories say, that when he had saluted the King with Ave rex solus, and shewed him the slaying of Edmund: Canutus (promising that he would make him therfore higher then all the Lords of the realm) commanded his head to be stricken off, and to be set upon London bridge, and his body to be cast into the Tolovne ditch: thus with shame ended he his wretched life, as all they commonly doe, which with like dissimulation seeke the destruction of their Prince, and of their countrey.

This Canutus (shortly after the death of King Edmund) by the counsell of Edrike exiled Edmund, being brother unto King Edmund, called Rex-rusticorum, the King of churles. But afterward he was reconciled againe to the Kings favour, and lastly slaine by certaine of the Kings Secretaries or servants. Also through the counsell of the said Edrike, and of Emma his wife, he sent the two sonnes of Edmund Ironside (Edmund and Edward) to his brother Swornus King of Denmarke, to be slaine, as is above said.

In this meane time, Swornus King of Denmarke, brother to Canutus, died. Wherefore that Land fell to Canutus, which anon after sailed thither, and tooke thereof possession. And after he had set it in an order, he returned into England, and married Emma, late wife before of Egelfred, and by her had a sonne called Hardeknight or Hardeknotus. Moreover, this Canutus assembled a Parliament at Oxford, where it was agreed that Englishmen and Danes should hold the lawes made by King Edgar, because they were thought so good and reasonable above any other lawes.

Thus the Danes being in England began by little and little to be Christian men. And Canutus went to Rome, and so, returning againe to England, governed that land the space of twenty yeres, leaving after him two sonnes, Harold and Hardeknotus; which Hardeknotus was made King of Denmarke in his fathers time.

Harold (called Harefoote for his belibernesse and swiftnesse) sonne to Canutus by Elgina his first wife, began his raigne ober England, in the yere 1039. Of him is little left in memory (for he reigned but foure yeres) save that he banished his step-mother Emma, and tooke her goods and jewels from her.

Hardeknotus being King of Denmarke, and second sonne to Canutus by his last wife Emma, was next King of England. In the time of these Danish Kings, there was one Godwin an Earle in England, which had bene before in great favour with Canutus, for his acts done in Denmarke against the Norwegians; and afterward married the sister (some say the daughter) of Canutus. This Godwin was of a cruell and subtil wit, as he declared no lesse by the two sonnes of King Egelfred. For when these two aforesaid (whose names were Alfred and Edward) came from Normandy into England, to visit their mother Emma, and brought with them a great company of Normans: this Godwin (having a daughter called Godith, whom he thought to marry to Edward, and let him up to be King) to bring his purpose about used this practice, that is, to perswade King Hardeknot, and the Lords, not to suffer those Normans to be within the Realme for

jeopardy, but rather to punish them for example: by which meanes he gat authority to order the matter himselfe. Wherefore he met them on Guild downe, and there most wretchedly murdered, or rather martyred the most number of the Normans, and that innocently. For as Swornus before had tithed the monkes of Canturbury; so he, with the cruell company of English souldiers, slue nine of the said Normans, and saved the tenth. And yet passing the fury of Swornus (as not contented with that tyranny) he tithed againe the said tith, and slue every tenth knight, and that by cruell torment, as winding their guts out of their bodies, as writeth Karulphus. And among others, he put out the eyes of the elder brother Alfredus, and sent him to an abbey of Ely; where he, being fed with bread and water, inwardly not long after. Of some writers it was recorded, that he was there slaine with the forenamed torment, and that Edward was conveyed by some other unto his mother; who fearing the treason of Godwin, sent him some ober the sea into Normandy againe. This cruell fact of Godwin and his men against the innocent Normans, whether it came of himself, or of the Kings setting on, seemeth to me to be the cause, why the justice of God did shortly after revenge the quarrell of these Normans, in conquering and subduing the English Nation by William Conqueror, & the Normans which came with him. For so just and right it was, that as the Normans, comming with a naturall English Prince, were murdered of Englishmen: so afterward the Englishmen should be slaine and conquered by the Normans, comming with a forraigne King, being none of their naturall countrey.

Then it followeth in the story, that this King Canute or Hardeknot, when he had reigned two yeres (being merry at Lambeth) suddenly was stricken dumbe, and fell downe to the ground, and within eight daies after died without issue of his body; who was the last that reigned in England of the blood of the Danes.

This foresaid Godwin, had by the daughter of Canutus his wife, but one sonne, which was drowned. Of his second wife he received five sonnes, to wit, Swornus, Harold, Tosinus, Wilmotus, Sirith or Surth, and Leofricus, with one daughter called Goditha, which after was married to King Edward the Confessor.

Concerning the story of this Alfred, I finde it something otherwise reported in our English chronicles, that it should be after the death of Hardeknot; so much as the Carles and Barons after his death, assembled and made a councill, that never after any of the Danes blood should be king of England, for the despight that they had done to Englishmen. For evermore before, if the Englishmen and the Danes had happened to meet upon a bridge, the Englishmen should not be so hardy to move a foot, but stand still, till the Dane were passed forth. And moreover, if the Englishmen had not bowed downe their heads to doe reverence unto the Danes, they should have bene beaten and defiled. For the which despites and villanies they were widen out of the Land after the death of Hardeknot; for they had no Lord that might maintaine them. And after this manner avoided the Danes out of England, that they never came againe.

The Carles and Barons, by their common assent and counsell, sent unto Normandy for these two brethren, Alfred and Edward; intending to crowne Alfred the elder brother, and to make him King of England. And to this the Carles and Barons made their oath: but the Earle Godwin of Westsax (falsly and traiterously) thought to slay these two brethren, as some as they came into England, to the intent that he might make Harold his sonne King: which sonne he had by his wife Hardeknots daughter, that was a Dane. And so this Godwin went pri-

The miserable wretched death of Godwin against the Normans.

The Normans tithed, and yet the tenth remained againe.

Alfredus brother of Egelfred, right heire of the crowne, was murdered with cruell death.

The cause extended, why God suffered this land to be conquered by the Normans.

Examples of Gods righteous judgement.

The death of King Hardeknot.

The sonnes of Earle Godwin.

The storie of Alfred repeated.

Taken out of the English story or chronicle compiled of certaine English clerkes.

Duke Edrike, the false traitor, and murderer of his King, worthily rewarded for his wicked fallacy.

The end of pernicious traitors.

The brother of Edmund Ironside, banished, reconciled, and lastly slaine. Edmund and Edward two sonnes of Edmund Ironside sent out to be slaine.

Canutus King of Denmarke. Canutus married Emma, wife before of Egelfred, late wife of King Edgar.

Harold Harefoote King of England a Dane.

{ Anno }  
{ 1039. }

Hardeknot last King of the Danes that reigned in England. Earle Godwin.

10

20

30

40

50

60

70



vily to South-hampton, to meet there with the two  
brythen at their landing. And thus it fell, that the  
messengers that went (saith mine Author) into  
Normandy, found but only Alfred the elder brother.  
For Edward his younger brother was gone to  
Hungary, to speake with his cousin the Dutlaw,  
which was Edmund Ironsides son.

When Alfred had heard these messengers, and  
perceived their tidings, he thanked God, and in all  
haste sped him to England, arriving at South-  
hampton. There Godwin the false traitor (having  
knowledge of his coming) welcommed and recei-  
ved him with much joy, pretending to lead him un-  
to London, where the Barons waited for to make  
him King, and so they together passed forth toward  
London. But when they came to Guild downe, the  
traitor commanded all his men to slay all that were  
in Alfreds company, which came with him from  
Normandy; and after that, to take Alfred, and to  
leade him into the Ile of Ely, where they should put  
out both his eyes; and so they did. For they slew all  
the company that were there, to the number of  
twelve Gentlemen, which came with Alfred from  
Normandy; and after that they took Alfred, and in  
the Ile of Ely they executed their commission. That  
done, they opened his body, took out his bowels,  
set a stake into the ground, and fastened an end of  
his bowels thereunto, and with needles of yron they  
pricked his tender body, thereby causing him to goe  
about the stake, till that all his bowels were draine  
out. And so died this innocent Alfred or Alured,  
being the right heire of the crowne, through treason  
of wicked Godwin. When the Lords of England  
heard thereof, and how Alfred, that should have  
borne their King, was put to death through the false  
traitor Godwin, they were wondrous wroth; and  
swore betwene God and them, that he should die a  
worse death than did Edyth, which betrayed his  
Lord Edmund Ironsides, and would immediately  
have put him to death, but that the traitor fled thence  
into Denmarke, and there held him foure yeeres  
and more, and lost all his lands in England.

Another Latine story I have (bearing no name)  
which saith that this coming in of Alfred and the  
Normans, was in the time of Harold Canutus  
sonne. And how Godwin (after he pretended great  
amity to them) suddenly in the night came upon  
them at Wilford, and after hee had sithed the Nor-  
mans, sent Alfred to Harold at London; who sent  
him to the Ile of Ely, and caused his eyes to be  
put out.

And thus much of Canutus, and of his somes,  
Harold and Hardecanutus. Besides these two sons,  
Canutus had also a daughter named Gunilda, mar-  
ried to Henricus the Emperour. Of whom some  
write, that she being accused to the Emperour of  
spouse-breach, and having no Champion or knight  
that would fight for her, (after the manner of that  
country) for triall of her cause, a certaine little  
dwarfe or boy, whom she brought with her out of  
England (sired up of God) fought in her cause  
against a mighty big Germane of a monstrous  
greatnesse, which silly dwarfe, cutting by chance  
the sinewes of his legges, after strooke him to the  
ground, and so cut off his head, and laved the life of  
the Queene, if it be true that Gulielmus and Fabi-  
anus reporteth.

Of this Canutus, it is storied, that he following  
much the superstition of Achelnotus, Archbishop of  
Canturbury, went on pilgrimage to Rome, and  
there founded an hospitall for English pilgrims. He  
gave the Pope pretious gifts, and burdened the land  
with a yearly tribute, called the Rome-shot. He  
shred the body of Berinus, and gave great lands  
and ornaments to the Cathedral Church of Win-  
chester; he builded S. Benets in Northfolke, which  
was before an heremitage. Also S. Edmundsbury,  
which King Athelstan before ordained for a College

of Priests, hee turned to an Abbey of Monkes of Bury Abbey  
S. Benets order.

Henricus, Archdeacon of Huntingdon, lib. 6. maketh mention of this Canutus, as doth also Polydor,  
lib. 7. That he after his coming from Rome, wal-  
king upon a time by the port of South-hampton, but  
as Polydor saith, and Fabian affirmeth the same,  
that it was by the Thames side of London, when  
his flatterers comming about him, began to exalt  
him up with high words, calling him a King of all  
Kings (most mighty) who had under his subjection  
both the people, the land, and also the sea: Canutus  
rebolving this matter in his minde (whether for  
pride of his heart exalted, or whether to try and reuel  
their flattering words) commanded his chaire of  
estate to be brought to the Sea side, at what time it  
should begin to flow. Polydor saith, that no seat was  
brought; but sitting upon his garments, being fol-  
ded together under him, there charged and comman-  
ded the floods arising and coming towards his feet,  
that they should touch neither him, nor his clothes.  
But the water keeping his ordinary course came  
nearer and nearer; first to his feet, and so growing  
higher, began to wash him well labouredly. When  
with the King abashed, and partly also afraid, start  
backe, and looking to his Lords; Lo (saith hee) you  
call me such a mighty King, and yet can I not com-  
mand backe this little water to stay at my word,  
but it is ready to draine me. Wherefore all earth-  
ly Kings may know, that all their powers be but  
vaine, and that none is worthy to have the name of  
a King, but he alone which hath all things subject to  
the power and authority of his Word, which is the  
Lord of Heaven and earth, the Creator above of all  
things, the Father of our Christ and Lord, who with  
him for ever is to be glorified: Him let us worship  
and extoll for our King for ever. After this (as his-  
tories witness) he never suffered the crowne to come  
upon his head, but went to Winchester, or (as some  
say) to Canturbury; but both those may be true; for  
his going to Canturbury, was to acknowledge that  
there was a Lord much higher, and of more power  
than hee himselfe was, and therewithall to render  
up his crowne for ever. With that, Egelnobus,  
Archbishop of Canturbury informed him of the  
image of the crucifix before mentioned, which dis-  
solved the matter betwene married Priests and  
life of Monks, and did many other miracles more,  
being then at Winchester. Wherewith the King,  
provoked to goe to Winchester to the Wood, there  
resigned up his regall crowne, and made the Wood  
King over all the land.

Here is also to be noted in this Canutus, that al-  
though (as is said) he contended in the beginning  
of his raigne upon King Edgars lawes: yet after  
in proesse of time, he set forth peculiar lawes of his  
owne. Among which, divers there be that concerne  
as well causes Ecclesiasticall, as also temporall.  
Whereby it may appeare, that the government of  
spirituall matters did not depend then of the bishop  
of Rome: but appertained to the latfull authority  
of the temporall Prince, no lesse than of matters and  
causes temporall. As for example, by these ordi-  
nances of the aforesaid Canutus may be well con-  
sidered as here follow: Pecunia sepulturae justum est  
ut aperta terra reddatur. Si aliquod corpus a sua pa-  
rochia deferatur in aliam, pecunia sepulturae, &c.  
In English:  
It is meet and right, that in funerals, money be  
given for opening the earth.  
If any body, or coyle, be carried from his owne  
parish into another, the money of the buriall shall  
pertaine by the law to his owne parish Church.  
All ordinances and ceremonies of God, let them  
be observed as need in all things requirith.  
Upon the Sunday we forbid all publike faires or  
markets, all synods, or conventicles, huntings, or  
any such secular actions to be exercised, unless ac-  
cording

Bury Abbey  
turned to  
Monks.

Flatterers and  
claw-backs a-  
bout Princes.

Canutus char-  
geth the sea to  
stand backe,  
but it would  
not be.

A lesson notable  
for Kings and  
Princes.

God only the  
King of all  
Kings, Lord  
of Lords.

The Kings'  
crowne put on  
a Wood.

Kings of Eng-  
land have as  
much right in  
causes spirituall  
as temporall.

Certain lawes  
of King Canu-  
tus for the orde-  
ring of matters  
Ecclesiasticall.

Alfred or Alu-  
d sonne of  
King Egbert.

Historia ig-  
noris authoris.

Gunilda, wife  
of Henricus the  
Emperour.

Canutus went  
to Rome.  
The hospitall  
built at Rome  
for English  
pilgrims.  
Rome shot con-  
firmed by Can-  
utus.  
The Cathedral  
church of Win-  
chester founded  
by Canutus.  
S. Benets in  
Northfolke build-  
ed.



gent necessity compell therunto.

Let every Christian man prepare himselfe thize a yere to approach to the receiuing of the Lords body : so to eat the same, as not to his judgement, but to his wholesome remedie.

If a Minister of the Altar do kill any man, or haue intangled himselfe in any noxious crime, let him be deprived both from his order and dignity.

If any married woman (her husband being aliue) haue committed adultery, and be probed with the same; to her open shame in the world, let her haue her nose and eares cut off.

Let every widow, after the death of her husband, so remaine sole twelue moneths; or if she marry, let her lose her ioynture.

And here an end of the Danish Kings. Now to the English Kings againe, whose right line cometh in againe in Edward here following.

### King EDVVARD, called the Confessour.

{ Anno }  
{ 1043. }

King Edward the Confessor. England afflicted by the Danes the space of 255. yeres.

So much as God of his mercy and providence, who is only the maker of heires, thought it so good, after the wofull captivity of this English nation, to grant now some respite of deliberance, in taking away the Danish Kings without any issue left behind them : who raigning here in England, kept the English people in miserable subiection, about the space of eight and twenty yeres, and from their first landing in the time of King Wightricus, wasted and dured this land the terme of 255. yeres. Now their tyranny here comming to an end, the next election and right of the crowne fell (as appeared) to Edward the younger son of King Egellred and Emma, a maere Englishman : who had bene now long banished in Normandy, as is aboue declared; a man of gentle and soft spirit, more applicable to other mens counsels, than able to trust to his owne; of nature and condition so giuen from all warre and bloodshed, that being in his banishment, he wished rather to continue all his life long in that pitifull estate, than by war or bloodshed to aspire to any kingdome. This Edward, after the death of Canutus the second, or Hardicanute, being sent for of the Lords into Normandy, to take possession of the Realme, although he something mistrusted the unconstant and fickle heads of Englishmen (yet having sufficient pledges laid for him in Normandy) came over, accompanied with a few Normans, and not long after was crowned at Winchester, in the yere 1043. by Eadwin then Archbishop of Canterbury. And not long after that, he married Goditha, or Editha, daughter of Carle Godwin, whom he intreated after such sort, that he neither put her from his bed, nor yet dealt with her fleshly. Whether it were for hate of her kin (as most like it was) or for love of chastity, it remaineth uncertain. But most wifely agreed, that he continued his life without offence with women; for the which he is highly exalted among our story writers, and called holy King Edward. After he had thus taken upon him the government of the Realme, he guided the same with much wisdom and iustice, the space of foure and twenty yeres, lacking two moneths; from whom issued (as out of a fountaine) much godlinesse, mercy, pity, and liberality toward the poore, gentleness and iustice toward all men, and in all honest life he gave a vertuous example to his people. He discharged the Englishmen of the great tribute called Dane-gill, which before time was yearly leuiod to the great impoverishing of the people. He subdued the Scots and the Welshmen, which in their borders began to rebell against him. In much peace he continued his raigne, having no foreign enemy to assault him : albeit, as some Chronicles doe shew, certaine Danes and Norwegians there were, which intended to set upon

England. But as they were taking shipping, there was brought to them first one boll, then another, of Meade or Methe, to drinke upon a boun voyage. Thus one cup comming after another, after drinke came drunkennesse, after drunkennesse followed jangling, of jangling came strife, and strife turned unto stripes; whereby many were slaine, and the other returned to their home againe. And thus the mercifull providence of the Lord dispatched that journey.

In the time of this Edward, Emma his mother was accused to be familiar with Alwin the Bishop of Winchester: upon which accusation (by counsel of Carle Godwin) he took from her many of her jewels, and caused her to be kept some-deal more strictly in the Abbey of Martwell, and the Bishop committed to the examination of the Clergy. Polydore saith they were both in prison at Winchester, where the sorrowing the defame both of her selfe & the Bishop, and trusting upon her conscience, desired them of iustice, offering her selfe ready to abide any lawfull trial, yea, although it were with the sharpest.

Then divers of the Bishops made labour to the King for them both, and had obtained, had not Robert then Archbishop of Canterbury stopped the suit. Who, not well contented with their labour, said unto them; My brethren, how dare you defend her which is no woman but a beast? She hath defamed her owne son the King, and taken her lecherous leman the Bishop. And if it be so, that the woman will purge the Priest, who shall then purge the woman, that is accused to be consenting to the death of her sonne Alfred, and procured venon to the poisoning of her sonne Edward? But whether she be guilty or guiltlesse; if she will goe barefooted for her selfe foure steps, and for the Bishop five, continually upon nine plough shares fire hot; then if she escape harmlesse, she shall be assayed of this challenge, and the also.

To this she granted: the day was appointed; at which day the King, and a great part of his Nobles were present, except only Robert the Archbishop. This Robert had bene a Portke of a house in Normandy, and an helper of the King in his exile, and so, by the sending for of the King, came over and was made first Bishop of London, after Archbishop of Canterbury. When was she led blindfold unto the place betwene two men, where the yrons lay burning hot, and passed the nine shares unhurt. At last, saith she: Good Lord, when shall I come to the place of my purgation? When they then opened her eyes, and she saw that she was past the paine, she kneeled downe giving God thanks.

When the King repented (saith the story) and restored unto her, that he had before taken from her, and asked her forgiveness. But the Archbishop fled into Normandy.

Here about this time, about the tenth yere of his raigne, fell passing great snow from the beginning of January, to the seventeenth day of March. After which ensued a great mortality of men, murder of cattell, and by lightning the cozne was wonderfully blasted and wasted.

Not long after this, a certaine Carle of Bologne, who had married King Edwards sister, came into England: though the occasion of whom, when execution should be done upon the citizens of Dover, for a fray betwene them and the Carles men, variance hapned betwene King Edward and Carle Godwin, who perceiving that he could not withstand the Kings malice (although he gathered a great company to worke therein what he could) fled into Flanders, and was outlawed with his five sonnes. King Edward repudiated his wife, the daughter of the said Godwin: but the second yere after by mediation he was reconciled to the King againe and called from banishment, and for his good abearing he gave for pledges his two sonnes, Bionnon and Loffus, which

Wethe in  
Oreke sign  
feth drunken  
nife.

Accusation of  
the Archbishop  
against Emma  
the Kings ma  
cher.

False accusat  
on purged by  
hot yrons.

A strange thin  
if it were true,  
and without  
false conveys  
ance.

Great snow an  
mortality in  
England.

Variance be  
twene the  
King and  
Godwin.

Godwin with  
his five sonnes  
outlawed.  
Godwin recoi  
ciled to the  
King upon  
pledges ge  
uen.

King Edward crowned.

Holy King Edward a virgin in marriage.



which were sent to the Duke of Normandy, there to be kept.

During the time of the outlawry of Godwin, William, bastard Duke of Normandy came with a goodly company into England to see King Edward, and was honourably received. To whom the King made great cheare, and at his returne enriched him with great gifts and pleasures; and there (as some write) made promise to him, that if he died without issue, the said William should succeed him in the kingdom of England.

In this Kings reign libed Harianus Scotus the story writer. As concerning the end of Carle Godwin, the cruell murder of Alfred, and of the Normans, although divers histories diversly doe vary, yet in this the most part doe agree, that as hee late at the table with King Edward at Windsor, it happened one of the cup-bearers, one of Carle Godwins sons, to stumble and recover againe, so that hee shed none of the drinke. Whereat Godwin laughed; and said, how the one brother had sustained the other. With which words the King calling to mind his brothers death that was slaine by Godwin, beheld the Carle, saying, So should my brother Alfred have holpen me, had not Godwin borne. Godwin then, fearing the Kings displeasure to be newly kindled, after many words in excusing himselfe, said; So might I safely swallow this morsell of bread, as I am guiltlesse of the deed. But as soone as hee had received the bread, forthwith hee was choked. When the King commanded him to be drabone from the table, and so was conveyed by Harold his sonne to Winchester, and there buried.

About the thirtieth yere of this Kings raigne, the said King Edward sent Adred Bishop of Worcester to the Emperour Henricus the fourth, praying him that hee would lend to the King of Hungary, that his cousin Edward, son of Edmund Ironside, might come into England, for so much as hee intended to make him King after him, which was called Edward Outlaw. The which request was fulfilled, so that he came into England with his wife Agatha, and with his children, to wit, Edgar Adeling, Margaret and Christina. But the yere after his returne into this Realme, this Edward deceased at London, and was buried at Winchester, as Iornalenis saith, at Pauls Church in London. After whose decease the King then received Edgar Adeling his son, as his owne child, thinking to make him his heire. But fearing partly the unconstant mutability of the Englishmen, partly the pride and malice of Harold the son of Godwin, and of others (perceiving thereby that he could not bring that his purpose so well to passe) directed solemne ambassadors unto William Duke of Normandy his kinsman, admitting and assigning him to be his lawfull heire, next to succeed after him to the crowne.

After the death of Godwin, Harold his sonne wayed so in the Kings favour, that he ruled the most and greatest causes of the Realme, and was Lieutenant of the Kings army, who with his brother Tosson or Tostius (sent by the King against the Welshmen) subdued their rebellio. But afterward, such envy grew betwene these two brethren, for that Tostius saw his brother Harold so greatly advanced in the Kings favour, that at Berford the said Tostius slew all his brothers men. Which, when hee had cut in pieces, hee powdered their quarters and mangled parts in barrels of salt, vinegar, wine and other liquors. That done, he made a powder against his brother Harold (being King) with the aid of certaine Danes and Norwegians, and fought a battell with him in the North, as after shall follow (God willing) to be seene. So ungracious were these wicked children of Carle Godwin, that if they had seene any faire mansion or manor place, they would slay the owner thereof with all his kindred, and enter the possession thereof themselves.

At length it came in the mind of this Harold to saile over the sea (as Polydor saith) unto Normandy, to see his brother Tostius, as also his cousin Hucus, whom the King had sent thither to be kept for pledges, as we heard before. Polydor saith, these pledges were Tostius and Bionnon; but that cannot be, for Tostius was then in England. But as Henricus Archdeacon of Huntington saith, his journey was into Flanders, as seemeth more like. For it is not to be thought, that Harold, who was a doer in the cruell murder of Alfred, and of the Normans, would venture into Normandy; and therefore more like it is, that his sailing was into Flanders. But as the story proceedeth, he, being in the course of his sailing, was weather driven by tempest into the Province of Bountith, where he was taken as prisoner, and sent to Duke William of Normandy, to whom hee was made to sweare, that hee in time following should marry his daughter: and that, after the death of King Edward, hee should keepe the land of England to his behoofe according to the will and mind of Edward (after some writers) and so to live in great honour and dignity next unto him in the Realme. This promise faithfully made to the Duke, Harold returneth into England, with his cousin Hucus the son of his brother Swanus being delivered unto him. But Tostius, brother of Harold, the Duke keepeth still for performance of the covenants: Thus Harold, I say, returning home, sheweth the King all that he had done in the foresaid matters, wherewith the King was well contented. Whereby it may be gathered, that King Edward was right wel willing, that Duke William should raigne after him, and also it seemeth not unlike, but that he had given him his promise thereunto before.

Among all that were true and trusty to King Edward of the English Nobility, none had like commendation, as had Leofricus Earle of Mercia and of Chester. This Leofricus purchased many great liberties for the towne of Cobentry, and made it free of all manner of things, except onely of hoxle. Which freedom there was obtained by means of his wife Godina, by riding (as the same goeth) after a strange manner through the towne. This Leofricus with his wife Godina builded also the Abbey of Cobentry, and indued the same with great lands and riches.

Upon heard a little before of the coming over of Edward the Outlaw, son of King Edmund Ironside, whom King Edward had purposed to have made King after him; but soone after his coming over, hee deceased at London. This Edward had by his wife Agatha, a son and a daughter called Edgar Adeling, and Margaret. Which Margaret, being afterward married to the King of Scots, was the mother of David or David the Quene of England, and of David, King of Scots, &c.

This vertuous and blessed King Edward, after hee had raigned thre and twenty yeres and seven moneths, died, and was buried in the Monastery of Westminster, which hee had greatly augmented and repaired: but afterward was moze enlarged after this forme which it hath now, by Henry the third son of King John.

They that write the history of this King, here make mention of a dreame or revelation that should be shewed to him in time of his sickness: how that because the Piers and Bishops of the Realme were servants not of God, but of the Devil; God would give this Realme to the hand of others. And the King desired utterance to be given him, that hee might declare the same to the people, whereby they might repent. It was answered againe, that neither would they so doe; or yet if they did, it should be given to another people. But because it is a dreame, I let it passe.

Divers lawes were before in divers countries of this Realme used, as the law first of Dinnallo Apelmucius,

A place of Polydor. Cright examined.

Harold taken of the Normans.

Harold promised Duke William to marry his daughter, and to keepe the Realme for his behoofe.

Earle Leofricus ever true and faithful to his Prince. Whom Cobentry was made free. Godina wife to Leofricus.

The Abbey of Cobentry builded by Leofricus.

Edward the Outlaw. Edgar Adeling. Margaret Quene of Scots. David Quene of England. David King of Scots.

The death of King Edward. Westminster repaired.

Gulielm. Malmes. Ex Iornaken. Ex historia Richardi 2. iustis composita. Et lawes of King Edward.

William Duke of Normandy came to England to King Edward.

Harianus Scotus, when he lived. The end and death of ungodly Godwin. Ex Iornia. De Iornia. De Iornia. De Iornia.

Gods just judgement upon Godwin, for the murder of Alfred.

Perjury plagued.

Edward the Outlaw, son of Edmund Ironside, sent for to Englands.

Anno 1056.

The death of Edward, son of Edmund Ironside.

William Duke of Normandy admitted here to the crowne.

The envy and discord of brethren.

Ungracious children of a wicked father.



mucius, with the lawes of Mercia, called Mercenelaga: then the lawes of Westsaxon Kings, as of Aue, Offa, Alfred, &c. which was called Westsaxonelaga: the third were the lawes of Canutus, and of Danes, called Danelaga. Of all these lawes, which before were diversly in certaine particular countries used and received: this Edward compiled one universall and common law for all people through the whole Realme, which were called King Edwards lawes; which lawes being gathered out of the best and chiefest of the other lawes, were so just, so equall, and so serving the publike profit and wealth of all estates, that, mine authors say, the people long after did rebell against their heads and rulers, to have the same lawes againe (being taken from them) and yet could not obtaine them.

Ex Mat. Paris.  
William Conqueror, sworne to King Edwards lawes, yet went from it.

Furthermoze, I reade and find in Mattheu Paris, that when William Conqueror at his coming in, did sweare to use and practise the same good lawes of Edward, for the common lawes of this Realme: afterward (being established in his kingdom) he forswore himselfe, and placed his owne lawes in their roome, much worse and obscurer than the other were, &c.

Notwithstanding, among the said lawes of Edward, and in the first chapter and beginning thereof, this I find among the ancient records of the Guildhall in London: The office of a King, with such other appurtenances as belong to the Realme of Britaine, set forth and described in the Latine stile; which I thought here not unmeet to be expressed in the English tongue, for them that understood no Latine. The tenor and meaning whereof thus followeth.

*De jure & appendis regni Britannie, & quod sit officium regis.*

REx autem, quia vicarius summi regis est, ad hoc est constitutus, ut regnum terrenum & populum Domini, & super omnia sanctam ejus veneretur Ecclesiam & regat, & ab injuriis defendat, & maleficos ab eo avellat & destruat, & penitus disperdat. Quod nisi fecerit, nomen regis non in eo constabit, verum papa Iohanne testante, nomen regis perdit: cui Pipinus & Carolus filius ejus (nec dum reges, sed principes sub rege Francorum stulto) scripserunt querentes: si ita permanere debent Francorum reges, solo regio nomine contenti. A quo responsum est, illos decet vocare reges, qui vigilanter defendunt & regunt Ecclesiam Dei populum ejus, &c. In English thus:

Ex libro reg. antiquorum in pretorio London.

The office of a King described in the lawes of King Edward.

A King the Vicar of God in earth.

The King, because he is the vicar of the highest King, is appointed for this purpose, to rule the earthly kingdom, and the Lords people, and above all things to reverence his holy Church, to governe it, and to defend it from injuries: to pliche away wicked doers, and utterly to destroy them. Which unlesse he do, the name of a King agreeth not unto him; but he loseth the name of a King, as witnesseth Pope John: to the which Pope, Pipinus and Carolus his son (being not yet Kings but Princes under the French king, being not very wise) did write, demanding this question, whether the Kings of France ought so to continue, having but only the name of a King. Unto whom Pope John answered againe, that it was convenient to call them Kings, which vigilantly doe defend and governe the Church of God and his people, following the saying of King David the psalmograph: He shall not dwell in my house which worketh pride, &c.

Moreover, the King by right and by his office, ought to defend and conferre fully and wholly in all amplest, without diminution, all the lands, honours, dignities, rights, and liberties of the crowne of his kingdom. And further to reduce into their pristine state all such things as have been dispersed, wasted, and lost, which appertaine to his kingdom.

Also the whole and universall land, with all Islands about the same in Norway and Denmark, be appertaining to the crowne of his kingdom, and be of the appurtenances and dignity of the King: making one Monarchy and one kingdom, which sometime was called the kingdom of Britaine, and now the kingdom of England: such bounds and limits as is above said be appointed and limited to the name of this kingdom.

The limits of the kingdom of England, how farre they doe extend.

Moreover, in the foresaid lawes of this King Edward, it followeth in the same booke, where the foresaid Edward, describing the office of a King, addeth in these words: A King, saith he, ought above all things to feare God, to love and to observe his commandements, and cause them to be observed through his whole kingdom. He ought also to keepe, cherish, maintaine, and governe the holy Church within his kingdom, with all integrity and liberty, according to the constitutions of his ancestors and predecessors, and to defend the same against all enemies, so that God above all things be honoured, and ever be before his eyes. He ought also to set up good lawes and customes, such as be wholesome and approved: such as be otherwise, to repeale them, and thrust them out of his kingdom. Item, he ought to doe judgement and justice in his kingdom, by the counsel of the Nobles of his Realme. All these things ought a King in his owne person to doe, taking his oath upon the Evangelist, and the blessed reliques of Saints, swearing in the presence of the whole state of his Realme (as well of the temporality as of the spirituality) before he be crowned of the Archbishops and Bishops. These servants the King ought to have under him as vassals; fleshly lust, avarice, and greedy desire, whom if he keepe under as his servants and slaves, he shall raigne well and honourably in his kingdom. All things are to be done with good abstinence and premeditation: and that properly belongeth to a King. For hasty rashnesse bringeth all things to ruine, according to the saying of the Gospel: Every kingdom divided in it selfe shall be desolate, &c.

The office of a King further described.

Three slaves and servants a King ought to have under his subjection.

After the duty and office of Princes thus described, consequently followeth the institution of subjects, declared in many good and necessary ordinances very requisite and convenient for publike government. Of the which lawes William Conqueror was compelled, through the clamour of the people; to take some, but the most part be omitted, contrary to his owne oath at his coronation, inserting and placing the most of his own lawes in his language, to serve his purpose: and which as yet to this present day in the Norman language doe remaine. Now (the Lord willing) let us proceed in the story as in order followeth.

5 King Harold.

Harold the second Son of Earle Godwin, and last King of the Saxons, notwithstanding that divers of the Nobles went with Edgar Adeling, the next heire after Edmund Ironside: yet he through force and might continuing the young age of Edgar, and forgetting also his promise made to Duke William, took upon him to be King of England, Anno 1066. When Harold Harefagar, sonne of Canutus King of Norway and Denmark, heard of the death of King Edward, he came into England with three hundred ships or more: who then joining with Tostius, brother to the said Harold King of England, entered into the South parts, and claimed the land after the death of Edward. But the Lords of the country arose, and gave them battell, notwithstanding the Danes had the victory. And therefore Harold King of England prepared toward them in all hast, and gave them another strong battell, and there had the victory, where also Harold the

Anno 1066

Harold last King of Saxons.

Dane



Wane was slaine by the hand of Harold King of England; and Tostius was also slaine in the battell. After this victory, Harold waied proud and covetous, and would not divide the preyes to his knights that had deserved it, but kept it to himselfe; whereby he lost the favour of many of his knights and people.

In this meane time, William, Duke of Normandy, sent ambassage to Harold, King of England, admonishing him of the covenants that were agreed between them: which was, to have kept the land to his use after the death of Edward. But because that the daughter of Duke William (that was promised to Harold) was dead, Harold thought him thereby discharged, and said, that such a nice foolish promise ought not to be holden (concerning anothers land) without the consent of the Lords of the same: and especially for that he was therunto for need or for dread compelled.

Upon these answers received, Duke William, in the meane while that the messengers went and came, gathered his knights, and prepared his navie, and had the assent of the Lords of his land to aid and assist him in his journey. And over that sending unto Rome to Pope Alexander, concerning his title and voyage into England, the Pope confirmeth him to the same, and sent unto him a banner, willing him to beare it in the ship, wherein himselfe should saile. Thus Duke William being provided of all things concerning his journey, sped him to the Sea side, and toke shipping at the haven of S. Walery, where he tarried a long time ere he might have a convenient wind, for the which his soldiers murmured, saying, it was a woodnesse, and a thing displeasing God, to desire to have another mans kingdom by strength, and namely, when God was against it in sending contrary wind, &c. At the last, the wind shortly after came about, and they toke shipping with a great company, and landed at Hastings in Sussex.

For three causes Duke William entred this land to subdue Harold. One was, for that it was to him given by E. Edward his nephew. The second was to take revenge for the cruell murder of his nephew Alfred, King Edwards brother, and of the Normans, which deed he ascribed chiefly to Harold. The third was, to revenge the wrong done to Robert Archbishop of Canturbury, which was exiled by the means and labour of Harold, in the time of King Edward.

Thus, while Harold was in the North, Duke William made so great speed, that he came to London before the King; out of which he was holden, till he made good surety, that he and his people should passe through the city without carrying: which promise he well observing, passed the bridge, and went over to Sussex, from whence he sent a Monk unto Harold, and profered him three manner of waies. First, either to render to him the possession of the land, and so to take it againe of him under tribute, reigning under him; secondly, or else to abide and stand to the Popes arbitrement betwixt them both; or, thirdly, to defend this quarrell in his owne person against the Duke, and they two only to try the matter by dint of sword, without any other blood-shedding.

But Harold refused all these offers, saying, it should be tried by dint of swords, and not by one sword: and so gathered his people and joyned battell with the Normans, in the place where afterward was builded the Abbey of Battell in Sussex. In the beginning of which fight, the Englishmen kept them in good array like to vanquish the Normans: wherefore Duke William caused his men to give back, as though they fled, whereby the Englishmen followed fast, and broke their array. When the Normans, fiercely giving a charge upon them, in conclusion obtained the victory through the just providence of God. Where King Harold, who before had mur-

thered Alfred the true heire of the crowne, with his company of Normans so cruellly, was now wounded of the Normans in the left eye with an arrow; and thereof incontinent dyed: although Gerardus saith he fled away to Chester, and lived after that a Monk in the Monastery of S. James. Which is not like, but rather that he was there slaine after that he reigned nine moneths, and was buried at Maltham (which proveth that he dyed not at Chester) and so was he the last that reigned in England of the blood of Sarons, the which continued (to reckon from Hengist his first raigne in Kent) by the space of 591. yeeres, and if it be reckoned from the yeeres of the West Saxons, then it endureth the space of 65. yeeres.

This Duke William and King Edward were by the fathers side cousin germanes removed. For Richard the first of that name, which was the third Duke of Normandy after Rollo, was father to Duke Richard the second of that name, and brother to Emma mother to King Edward. Which Duke Richard the second was father to Duke Robert, this Duke Williams father.

Albeit in this matter other some may gather otherwise and better, perchance; yet if I may say what I thinke, verily I suppose, that there is no consanguinity so much the cause, why God of his unknowne judgements suffered the Normans here to prevaile, as was rather the cruell murder of Alfred and of the innocent Normans, wrought by the cruell despight of Harold and the Englishmen, as is before declared. The which merciless murder, God here justly in this conquest recompensed.

Now it remaineth also, to these foreen affaires of Kings and Princes, to adde something likewise concerning the continuation of the Archbishops of Canturbury, beginning there where we last left: that is, with Elphegus, whom we declared a little before to be stoned by the Danes at Grentowich. After which Elphegus, next succeeded Liningus, after him Egelnothus also above mentioned. Then Robertus a Norman, a great doer (as is declared) about King Edward, and a faithfull counsellour unto him; but he abode not long. After whom Sigandus invaded the Sea (as they report) by Symony, being both Archbishop of Canturbury, Bishop of Winchester, and also Abbat in another place, wherein he continued a great space, gathering and heaping goods together; till at length Duke William clapt him in prison, and there kept him, placing in his room Lanfrancus a Lombard boine, of whom more shall follow (Christ willing) hereafter to be declared.

Although the Church of Christ and state of religion, first founded and grounded by Christ and his Apostles, did not continually altogether remaine in his primitive perfection, wherein it was first instituted; but in proceesse of time began from better to worse, to decreasse & decline into much superstition and inconvenience; partly through the coming in of Mahomet, partly through the increase of wealth and riches, partly through the decrease of knowledge and diligence in such as should be the guides of Christs flocke: yet the infection and corruption of that time (though it were great) did not so abound in such excessive measure as afterward in the other latter times now following; about the thousand yeeres expired after Christ, whereof we have to intreat, Christ so permitting. About which time and yeere came Sylvester, the second of that name, who next succeeded after Gregory the fifth, before mentioned; and occupied the See of Rome about the yeere of our Lord, 1000. lacking one or two.

This Sylvester was a sorcerer, which after the sort of them that worke by familiars (as they call them) and by conjuration, compacted with the Devil

King Harold slaine.

The consanguinity between King Edward and William the Conqueror.

Further lightly recompensed.

Archbishops of Canturbury.

Liningus, Egelnothus, Robertus, Sigandus.

The decay of the Church.

Pope Sylvester the second.

Sylvester the second a soule sorcerer.

well

Harold King of Denmark and Tostius King.

the Pope sent him a banner in upon both England.

Duke William landed at Hastings.

Three causes by Duke William entered England.

Three conditions offered to Harold by Duke William.

The fight between Harold and Duke William.



bell to be made Pope. And so hee was (through the operation of Satan) according to his request. Which things, some Histories say, hee did greatly repent before his death. But for a more ample declaration hereof, I will bring in the words of Johannes Stella, a Venetian, translated from Latine into English, concerning the said Sylvester: to the intent that our inchanters and sorcerers now adaies (whereof there be too many in England) may the better through his example be admonished. The words of Stella be these; agreeing also with the narration of Benno, Platina, and many others. Sylvester, the second of that name, being Pope, and a Frenchman, called Gilbertus, late in his Papacy foure yeres, one moneth, and eight daies. Hee entered into his Papacy through wicked and unlawfull means: who from his youth being a Donke, and leaving his Monastery, gave himselfe wholly to the Diuell, to obtaine that which he required. And first comming to Hispalis a city in Spaine; there hee applied his booke and profited also, inasmuch that he was made Doctor, having amongst his auditors, Who the Emperors son, and Robert the French king, Lotharius Archbishop of Senon, with divers other more. By whose advancement hee was promoted, first Bishop of Rheme, afterward Bishop of Rabenna, and at last, through the operation of Satan, was exalted to the Papacy of Rome; upon this condition, that after his death, hee should give himselfe to the Diuell, by whose procurement he came to that promotion. Upon a certaine time he demanded an answer of the Diuell, how long hee should enjoy his Pope-dome. To whom hee answered againe, Untill thou say Masse in Jerusalem thou shalt live. At length the fourth yere of his Pope-dome, saying Masse at Lent time in the temple of the holy crosse, being called then Jerusalem, there he knew the time was come when hee should die. Whereupon being struck with repentance, he confessed his fault openly before the people, desiring them to cut his body all in pieces (being so seduced by deceits of the Diuell) and to being hewne in pieces, that they would lay it upon a cart, and bury it there wheresoever the Horses would carry it of their accord. And to the saying is, that by the providence of God (whereby the wicked may learne, that there is yet hope of remission with God, so that they will repent them in their life) the Horses of their owne accord staid at the Church of Laterane, and there hee was buried: where commonly by the rattling of his bones within the tomb, is portended the death of Popes, as the common report goeth. Thus much out of Johannes Stella concerning Sylvester. By whom our sorcerers and inchanters, or magicians may learne to beware of the deceitfull operation of Satan, who at the end deceiveth and frustrateth all them that have to doe with him: as the end of all such doth declare commonly, which use the like art or trade. The Lord and God of all mercy, through the spirit of Iesus our Redeemer, dissolve the works of Satan, and preserve the hearts of our Popes, and all other Englishmen from such infection, Amen.

After Sylvester, succeeded John the ninetenth, by whom was brought in (as Holateran saith) the feast of All soules in the yere 1004. through the means and instigation of one Danilo, Abbat of Cluniake, to be celebrate next after the feast of all Saints. This Donk Danilo, thinking that purgatory (as hee heard) should be in the Mount Aetna, dreamed upon a time, in the country of Sicily, that hee by his masses, had delivered divers soules from thence: saying moreover, that hee did heare the voyces and lamentations of Devils, crying out for that the soules were taken from them by the masses and dirges funerall. Ex Bakenthorpe, in prolo. 4. lib. sentent. And not long after him, came John the twentieth, and Sergius the fourth. After whom succeeded Benedictus the eighth; then John the one

and twentieth, who being promoted by art magike, of Theophylact his nephew, Gatzianus, Brazutus, and other sorcerers brought in first the feast of the even of John Baptiste and Saint Laurence. After him followed Pope Benedictus the ninth, likewise aspiring to his Papacy by like magick, practising inchantments and confiration in woods, after a horrible manner; who resisting the Emperour Henricus the third, son to Conradus, and placing in his room Petrus the King of Hungary with this verse, Petra dedit Romam Petro, tibi Papa coronam: Afterward, for feare of Henricus prebailing in battel, hee was faine to sell his seat to his successor, Gatzianus, called Gregorius the sixth, for 1500. pounds. At which time were thre popes together in Rome, reigning and raging one against another; Benedictus the ninth, Sylvester the third, and Gregorius the sixth. For the which cause Henricus, furnished wither, the Emperour comming to Rome, displaced these thre monsters at one time, placing for them Clement the second, and thereupon making, that there should no Bishop of Rome henceforth be chosen, but by the consent & confirmation of the Emperour. Which constitution, though it was both agreeable, and also necessary for publike tranquillity of that city, yet the Cardinals would not suffer it long to stand, but did impugne it afterward by subtil practice and open violence, as in processe (the Lord permitting) shall appeare, in the time of Henricus the fourth and the fifth. In the time of this Clement, the Romans made an oath to the Emperour, concerning the election of the Bishops, themselves to intermeddle no further therein, but as the assent of the Emperour should goe withall. Wherebeit the Emperour departing thence into Germany againe, by and by they forgot their oath, and within nine moneths after, poisoned the Bishop. Which fact, some impute to Stephan his successor, called Damasus the second. Some impute it to Brazutus, who (as Histories record) within thirtene yeres poisoned six Popes, that is, Clement the second, Damasus the second, Leo the ninth, Victor the second, Stephanus the ninth, Nicholas the second.

Thus Clement being poisoned, after him succeeded Damasus the second, neither by consent of the people, nor of the Emperour elected, but by force and invasion, who also within thre and twenty daies being poisoned, in the yere 1049. much contention and striving began in Rome about the Papall seat. Whereupon the Romans through the counsell of the Cardinals sent to the foresaid Emperour, desiring to give them a Bishop; and so hee did, whose name was Bruno, an Alman, and Bishop of Cullen, afterward called Leo the ninth. This Bruno being a simple man, and easie to be led with evil counsell, comming from the Emperour towards Rome in his pontifical apparell like a Pope: there meeteth him by the way, the Abbat of Cluniake, and Hildebrand a Donke, who, seeing him so in his pontificalibus, began to rate him, laying to his charge, that hee would so take his authority of the Emperour, and not rather of the Clergy of Rome, and the people thereof, as other his predecessors were wont to doe: and so counsell'd him to lay downe that apparell, and to enter in with his own habit, till he had his election by them. Bruno following their counsell, and confessing his fault before the Clergy of Rome, obtained their labour, and so was nominate Leo the ninth, whereby Hildebrand was made a Cardinal, and put in high Rome. Under this Pope Leo, were two counsels; one kept at Vercellis, where the doctrine of Berengarius against the reall presence in the Sacrament was first condemned, although Berengarius yet recanted not, which nevertheless was done after in the counsell of Lateran, under Nicholas the second, in the yere 1060. The other was kept at Doguntia, where amongst many other decrees it was enacted that Priests should be

Johannes Stella, Platina, Petrus Bemonstrator, Gaucerus, Anselmus, Robertus Barnus, Johannes Batus.

Ex Johan. Stella.

An admonition for sorcerers and wicked conjurers.

The feast of All soules brought into the church.

Benedictus the ninth.

Gregorius the sixth.

A constitution that no Pope should be chosen but by the confirmation of the Emperour.

Pope Clement the second.

Pope Damasus the second.

Pope Leo the ninth.



Concilium Moguntinum. Nauckrus Crant.

bee excluded and debarred utterly from marriage. Item, that no lay-man might give benefice or Bishoprick, or any spirituall promotion, &c.

This Leo, being at Wormes with the Emperour upon Christmas day, did communicate the subdeacon. because, in reading the Epistle, he did it not in the Roman tune, hee being there present. The archbishop, moved therewith, departed from the altar (being then at masse) saying he would not proceed any further in his service, unless his subdeacon were restored, whereupon the Pope commanded him to be released, and so they went forward in their service.

Ab. Crant. s. x. lib. 4. cap. 45.

After the death of Leo, whom Blasius poisoned the first yeere of his pope-dome, Theophylactus did strive to be Pope: but Hildebrand, to defeat him, went to the Emperour (partly also being sent by the Romans for feare of the Emperours displeasure) who assigned another bishop a German, called Victor the second. This Victor, having a counsell at Florence, deposed divers Bishops & Priests for simony and fornication: for simony in that they took of secular men their dignities for money; for fornication, in that, contrary to their Canon, they were married, &c. The second yeere of his papacy, and little more, this Pope also followed his predecessors, being poisoned by the foresaid Blasius, through the procurement of Hildebrand and his master.

Pope Victor the second.

Concilium Florentinum.

Here now began the Church & Clergy of Rome to wzing out of the Emperours hand the election of the Pope: electing Stephen the ninth for Pope, contrary to their oath, and to the Emperours assignement. Here was the Church of Milan first brought to obedience of the Romish Church, by this Stephanus the ninth bishop of Rome; who also shamed not to accuse the Emperour Henry (of who mention is made before) of heresie, for diminishing the authority of the Roman See. So this was their heresie at that time, not to maintaine the ambitious proceedings of the Romish prelate. And simony they called this, to take and injoy any spirituall living at a secular mans hand. Wherefore Stephen hearing this simony to raigne in divers places, namely in the Churches of Burgundy and Italy, sent forth the Cardinall Hildebrand to reform the matter: who was no lesse earnest in that kind of commission to help the matter forward.

Pope Stephen the ninth. The Church of Milan first brought under the Church of Rome. The Emperour accused of heresie.

Hildebrand sent in commission for simony.

Hildebrand being sent to live.

In the meane time Stephanus the Pope tassing of Blasius cup fell sick. Hildebrand, hearing of, appreyth home with all post speed. So being returned to Rome, he assembled all the companies & orders of the clergy together, making them to swear that they should admit none to be bishop, but which should be appointed by the publique consent of them all together. This being done, Hildebrand taketh his journey into Florence, belike to fetch the bishop of Florence, to call him bishop: the clergy swearing unto him that no bishop should be ordained before his returne againe. But the People of Rome not suffering the election to stand so long, after the death of Stephan, elected one of their own City, called Benedictus the tenth. Hildebrand, hearing of this, was not a little offended: wherefore returning to Rome with one Garhardus bishop of Florence, he caused the clergy to proceed to a new election, saying, that Benedictus was not lawfully called, but came in by force and buying. But the Clergy not daring to attempt any new election at Rome, went to Sene, and there elected this Garhardus bishop of Florence, whom Hildebrand brought with him. So were two Popes in Rome together: But Garhardus, named Nicholas the second, holding a council at Sutrium, through the help of Duke Godfrid and Guibert, and other bishops about Italy, caused the other Pope to be deposed. Benedictus understanding them to be set against him through

Pope Benedictus the tenth.

Pope Nicholas the second. Two Popes together at Rome. Pope Victor.

the meanes of Hildebrand, unpopped himselfe, & went to Meltras, living there more quietly then hee should have done at Rome.

unpopeth himselfe.

Here is to be touched by the way the error of the glosse upon the three & twentieth distinction, which falsely alledgeth out of the Chronicles, that Benedictus the tenth, which succeeded Stephen, was deposed: after whom came Johannes bishop of Sabine for mony, and he againe deposed. Benedictus was then restored, and after di placed againe, and then Johannes archdeacon Ad portam latinam, was made Pope, and he againe deposed by the Emperour, and all in one yeare. Which story neither is found in any Chronicle, nor agreeth to any Benedictus, save only that Benedictus the ninth, which was deposed & then raigned three Popes together: Benedictus the ninth, Silvester the third, and Gregorius the sixth, which before was called Johannes ad portam latinam (whom the Emperour deposed) all three together. But that Benedictus neither was the tenth, neither did he succeed Pope Stephen, as the glosse recordeth. Nicholas thus being set up without the minde both of the Emperour & of the people of Rome, after his fellow Pope was driven away, brake up the synod of Sutrium, & came to Rome, where he assembled another counsell, called Concilium Lateranum. In which counsell first was promulgat the terrible sentence of excommunication mentioned in the decrees, and beginneth: In nomine Domini nostri, &c. The effect whereof is this. First, that he after a subtil practise (as far and as plainly as he durst speak) undermineth the Emperours jurisdiction, & transferreth to a few Cardinals, and certaine catholike persons, the full authority of chusing the Pope. Secondly, against all such as doe creep into the seat of Peter by mony or favour, without the full consent of the Cardinals, he thundereth with terrible blasts of excommunication, accursing them & their children with devils, as wicked persons, to the anger of Almighty God, giving also authority & power to Cardinals, with the Clergy and Laity, to depose all such persons, & call a counsell generall, wheresoever they will against them.

The glosse of the Popes deposed.

Concilium Lateranum. Anno 1059. Dist. 23. cap. lina.

A terrible curse of Pope Nicholas.

Item, in the sayd counsell of Laterane, under Pope Nicholas the second, Werengarius Andegavensis, an archdeacon, was driven to the recantation of his doctrine, denying the real substance of Christs holy body & blood to be in the Sacrament, otherwile then Sacramentally and in mystery.

Werengarius driven to recantation.

In the same counsell also was hatched & intended the new found devise and terme of transubstantiation.

Transubstantiation brought into the Church.

It were too long here to declare the confederation bewixt this Nicholas & Robertus Guiscardus, whom this Pope (contrary to all right & good Law, displacing the right heire) made Duke of Apulia, Calabria, Sicilia, & captaine generall of Sicily: that through his force of armes & violence he might the better subdue all such as should rebell to his obedience, & so did. Now let all men, which be godly wise, iudge & understand how this standeth with the doctrine of Christ, the example of Peter, or the spirit of a Christian bishop, by outward armes & violence to conquer Christian men & Countries, under the obedience of a bishops See. Thus Pope Nicholas the second, well answering to his Greek name, by might and force continued three yeeres & a halfe. But at length he met with Blasius cup, and so turned up his heels.

Nauckrus, Platina, Lucas Sil.

Potentia ppe contraria stant deus moe with the Gospel. Anno 1062.

At the beginning of this Nicholas, or somewhat before, about the yeere of our Lord 1057, Henry was made Emperour, being but a child, & raigned fifty yeares: but not without great molestation & much disquietnesse, & all through the ungracious wickednesse of Hildebrand, as hereafter (the Lord so permitting) shall be declared.

Henry the fourth Emperour.



The Popes  
curse compared  
to Domitian's  
thunder.

Alfredus arch-  
bishop of Porke

How Costius  
persuaded the  
Pope.

Cadulus a  
Lombard made  
Pope by the  
Emperour.

Pope Alexan-  
der the second.

Two battels  
betwixt two  
Popes for S.  
Peters seat.

Here by the way commeth to be noted an example, whereby all princes may learne & understand how the pope is to be handled, whosoever looketh to have any goodnesse at his hand. If a man stand in feare of his curse, he shall be made his slave; but if he be depised of you, you shall have him as you lust. For the popes curse may well be assimiled to Domitians thunder: If a man give care to the noise and cracke, it seemeth a terrible thing; but if you consider the causes and effect thereof, it is a most vaine ridicule.

In the raigne of this Nicholas, in the yere 1060, Alredus bishop of Worcester, after the decease of Reginus his predecessor should be made archbishop of Porke; who comming to Rome with Costius Earle of Northumberland for his pall (as the manner was) could not obtaine it, but was deprieved of all his dignitie, for some default (I cannot tel what) in his answer, and furthermore, after his reversion home, was spoiled also of all that hee brought with him. Whereupon he, returning againe to Rome with Costius the foresaid earle, there made his complaint, but could not be heard: till Costius, a man of stout courage, taking the matter in hand, told the Pope to his face, that his curse was not to be feared in farre Countries, which his own neighbours, yea and most vile vagabonds derided and despised at home. Wherefore he required the Pope, either to restore Alredus againe to his goods lost, or else it should be known that they were lost, though his means and subtilty. And furthermore it would come to passe that the King of England hearing this would debar him of S. Peters tribute, taking it for a great shame to him and his realm, if Alredus should come from Rome both deprieved of dignitie, and spoiled also of his goods, &c. In fine the pope, thus perswaded by the argument of his purse, was content to send home Alredus with his pall, according to his request.

After the death of Nicholas, the Lombards being oppressed before by pope Nicholas, and brought under feare, were the more desirous, and thought it good to have a bishop of their company, & so elected the bishop of Parmen, called Cadulus, to be pope: sending to the emperor, and desiring his favour and suppoztation therein, for the election of the pope (said they) most properly appertained unto him.

The Emperour, well pleased and content, giveth his good leave and voyce withall. Hildebrand, no lesse a wicked necromancer the a stout maintainer of popish liberties against good emperours, hearing this, setteth up by a contrary faction another bishop, Anselmus, after called Alexander the second. Cadulus, thus elected by the Emperour and the cardinals, setteth forward to Rome with a sufficient army and strength of men. Alexander also, no lesse prepared, there received him with another army, where they had a great conflict, and many slaine on both sides. But Cadulus as he had the better cause, so had he the worse fortune: who being repelled yet repaired himselfe and came againe with a greater power: albeit he prebaild not. The emperor seeing this barly barly, to take up the matter, sent thither his ambassador, who archbishop of Cullen: who comming to Rome beginneth sharply to chide the Pope for taking to upon him without the leave or knowledge of the Emperour, declaring how the election of that Sea ought chiefly to appertaine to the right of the Emperour, as if hath done for the most part in the time of his predecessors before. But Hildebrand al set on wickednesse and ambition, and also putt up not a little with his late victories, not suffering the ambassador to tel to the end, interrupted him in the middle of his tale, affirming, that if they should stand to law and custome, the liberty of that election should rather belong to the clergy then to the Emperour. To make short, who the ambassador bearing (belike) more with the Clergy then

with the Emperour, was content to be perswaded, onely required this in the emperours name, a counsell to be had, to decide the matter, whereat the Emperour should be present himselfe, and so he was. In the which counsell being kept at Pantua Alexander was declared Pope, the other had his pardon granted. In this counsell, amongst many other considerations, it was concluded concerning Priests, that they should have no wives: such as have concubines to say no masse: priests children not to be secluded from holy orders: no benefices to be bought for money: Alleluia to be suspended in time of Lent out of the Church, &c. This also was decreed (which made most for Hildebrands purpose) that no spiritual man, whatsoever he be, should enter into any church by a secular person, & that the pope should be elected only by the cardinals, &c. Beruo Cardinalis writeth thus of Alexander, that after hee perceived the frauds of Hildebrand, & of other the Emperours enemies, and understanding that he was set up and enthronised but onely for a purpose; being at his Masse, as he was preaching to the people, told them he would not sit in the place, unless hee had the licence of the Emperour. Which when Hildebrand heard, he was stricken in such a fury, that scarcely he could keepe his hands off him, while Masse was done. After the masse being finished, by force of souldiers and strength of men he had him into a chamber, & there all to be pommiled Pope Alexander with his fists, rating and rebuking him for that he would seeke for favour of the Emperour. Thus Alexander being kept up in custody, and being stinted to a certaine allowance, as about five grotes a day, Hildebrand incrocheth all the whole revenues of the Church to himselfe, procuring thereby much treasure. At length Alexander, under the miserable indurance of Hildebrand, died at eventide after eleven yeres and a halfe of his Popedom. And thus much of Romish matters.

These things thus discoursed concerning the matters of Rome; now returning againe to our owne country story, the order thereof would require to enter againe into the raigne of William Conquerour, the next King following in England. But as a certaine oration of King Edgars, which should have bene placed before, chanced in the meane time to come to my hands, not unloosely to be read: I thought by the way in the end of this booke to insert the same (although out of order) yet better I judge it out of order, then out of the booke.

#### The oration of King Edgar to the clergy.

BECAUSE GOD hath shewed his great mercie to worke with us; it is meete (most reverend fathers) that with worthy workes wee should answer his innumerable benefits. For wee possesse not the land by our owne sword, and our owne arme hath not saved us: but his right hand and his holy arme, because hee hath bene delighted in us. Therefore it is meete that wee should submit both our selves and our soules to him, that hath subiected all these things under our government: and wee ought stoutlie to labour, that they, whom hee hath made subject to us, might bee subject to his lawes. It belongs to mee to rule the lay people with the law of equity, to doe just judgement betweene a man and his neighbour, to punish Church-robbers, to hold under rebels, to deliver the helpelesse from the hand of the stronger, the needy also and the poore from them that robbe them. It belongs also to my care to provide necessary things to the Ministers of the Churches, to the flockes of the monkes, to the company of virgins, and to provide for their peace and quiet. The examining of all whose manners belongeth unto us; whether they live chastly, if they behave themselves honestly toward them that bee without, whether they bee diligent at Gods service, if they bee earnest to reach

Councilum  
Mantuanum.

Alleluia suspended in the time of Lent. A decree that no secular man should give a spiritual promotion. Beruo Cardinals.

Pope Alexander knockt about the pate by Hildebrand.

F. 43.



teach the people, if they be sober in eating & drinking, if they keepe measure in apparell, and if they be discrete in judgement. If ye had regarded these things with a tryall, of them (O reverend fathers, by your leaves I speake) such horrible and abominable things of the clerkes should not have come unto our eares. I omit to speake how their crowne is not brode, nor their rounding convenient: the wantonnesse in your life, your pride in your gesture, the filthinesse in your words doe declare the evill of the inward man.

Furthermore, what negligence is in Gods service, whence scarce they will be present at the holy vigils? And when they come to masse, they seeme rather to be gathered to play and laugh then to sing. I will tell that, that good men be sorry for, and the evill laugh at. I will speake with sorrow (if so be I may expresse it) how they be riotous in banquetings, in chambering, drunkennesse and unshamefastnesse: that now clerkes houses may be thought to be a stewes of harlots, and a covent of players. There be dice, there is dancing and singing, there is watching to midnight, with crying and shouting. Thus the goods of Kings, the almes of Princes, yea (and that is more) the price of that precious blood is not esteemed. Have our fathers then spent their treasure for this purpose? Have the Kings coffers decayed by taking away many revenues, for this cause? Hath the Kings liberality given lands and possessions to Christs Churches for this intent, that clerkes harlots should be decked with the same? that riotous feasts might be dressed? that hounds and hawkes and such other toys might be gotten? The souldiers cry out of these things, the people grudge, minstrels sing and dance, and yet ye regard it not, ye spare it, ye dissemble it. Where is the sword of Levi, and the zeale of Simeon, which killed the Sichemites and the circumcised, which bare the figure of them that defile Christs Church with filthy deeds, because they abused Jacobs daughter as an harlot? Where is Moses spirit, which spared not his owne kinsfolke that worshipped the head of the calfe?

Where is Phinees the Priests dagger, which pacified Gods anger by holy zeale, when he killed him that plaied the harlot with the Madianit? Where is Peters spirit, by whose power covetousnesse is destroyed, and simoniack hereie is condemned? Be earnest ye Priests, be earnest to follow the waies of the Lord, and the righteousness of our God. It is time to doe against them that have broken the law of God. I have Constantines sword, and ye have Peters sword in your hands; let us joyne right hands, let us couple sword to sword, that the lepers may be cast out of the temples, that the holy place of the Lord may be purged, and the sonnes of Levi may minister in the temple, who said to his father and mother, I know you not, and to his brother, I know not you. Go to diligently I pray you, lest we repent to have done that we have done, and to have given that we give, if we shall see that to be spent not in Gods service, but on the riotousnesse of wicked men, through vile and corrupt liberty of life, for lacke of chastisement. Let the reliques of holy Saints which they despise, and the holy altars before which they play the mad men, move you. Let the great devotion of our ancestors move you, whose almes the madnesse of the clerkes doth abuse. My great grandfather (as ye know) gave the tenth part of all his lands to Churches and Abbies. My great great grandfather, Alfredus of holy memory, thought it not meete to spare his treasures, his goods, nor costs, nor rents that he might enrich the Church. My grandfather the elder, Edward, your fatherhood is not ignorant how great things he gave to the Churches. It becommeth you to remember with what gifts my father and his brothers did enrich Christs altars. O father of fathers, Dunstan, behold (I pray thee) the eyes of my father looking on thee, from that bright place of heaven: hearken to his complaining words sounding in thine eares, thus pitifully lamenting: O father Dunstan, thou, thou (I say) gavest me counsell to build Abbies and Churches, thou wast my helper and fellow-worker in all things: I chose thee as a

shepherd and bishop of my soule, and a keeper of my manners. When did I not obey thee? What treasures did I preferre in respect of thy counsels? What possessions did I not despise, if thou baddest me? If thou thoughtest meet to give any thing to the poore, I was ready. If thou thoughtest meet to give any thing to Churches, I deferred not. If thou complainedst that monkes or clerkes wanted any thing, I supplied. Thou saidst that almes lasted for ever, and that there was none

more fruitfull then that which was given to Abbies or Churches. For with that both Gods servants are sustained, and that which remaineth is given to the poore. O worthy almes! O worthy price of the soule! O wholesome remedy for our sins, which now doth stinke in the sweet furs of Priests lemmans, wherewith they adorne their eares and decke their fingers, apparelling their delicate bodies with silke and purple! O father, is this the fruit of mine almes, is this the effect of my desire, and of thy promise? What wilt thou answer to this complaint of my fathers? I know, I know: When thou didst see a theefe, thou runnest not with him, neither hast thou put thy portion with adulterers. Thou hast rebuked, thou hast exhorted, thou hast blamed them: but words have beene despised; now we must come to stripes of correction. Thou hast here with thee, the worshipfull father Edward Bishop of Winchester. Thou hast the reverend Prelate Oswald Bishop of Worcester. I commit this businesse to you, that both by bishoply correction, and the Kings authority, the filthy livers may be cast out of the Churches, and they that live orderly may be brought in, &c.

In this oration of King Edgar (above prefixed) three things are chiefly to be noted and considered of them that have judgement to marke and understand, to wit: The religious zeale and devotion of Kings, both in giving to the Church, and also in correcting the manners of Churchmen. Secondly, the dissolute behaviour and wantonnesse of the clergy, then abusing the great donations and patrimones of Princes bestowed upon them. Thirdly, the blind ignorance and superstition of that time in both states, as well ecclesiasticall as temporal, in esteeming Christs religion chiefly to consist in giving to Churches, and in maintaining of monkery; being falsely perswaded that remission of their sinnes, and remedy of their soules therein, did lye in building monasteries, erecting churches and cloisters, and in placing monkes in the same, and such other almes deeds, and workes of devotion. Wherein appeareth how ignorant that time was of the true doctrine of Christs faith, and of free grace of the Gospell, which promiseth life, remedy, and justification, not by any debout merits of ours, nor by any workes either of the law of God, or of the inventions of man, but onely and freely by our faith in Christ Jesus the sonne of God, in whom onely consisteth all the promises of God, Amen.

The ignorance and superstition of the time of King Edgar noted.

The doctrine of justification unknowne.

Justification by faith in Christ.

How remaineth as in the former booke before, so in this likewise, to prosecute the order and race of archbishops of Canturbury, as we have done the race of Kings, beginning with Ethelredus, who succeeded next after Elnocke, the seventeenth archbishop of that See, mentioned where we left before.



The names and order of the Archbishops  
of *Canturbury*, from the time of King  
*Egbert* to *William Conqueror*.

18	Ethelredus.	18							him with women: Mal-
19	Wleimundus.	29	This Wleimundus was						mesb. Item, of seeing the
20	Athelinus.	12	schoolmaster to King						Holy Ghost at his masse
21	Wlfelmas.	13	Alfred.						in likenesse of a Dove.
22	Wdo.	20	By the prayers of this	10					Item, in deliberating the
			Wdo, the monkish stories						soule of Edwin from the
			say, that the sword of King						diuell. Item, in foreseeing
			Ethelstan was brought						the death of King Eored,
			again into his scabbard,						by the death and falling
			as is noted before in that						of his Horse. Item, of
			Kings time.						his mother being great
			This Elsius, first bishop						with Dunstan, when all
23	Elsius, or El-	1	of Winchester, came to						the Candles of others
	sius.		the See of Canturbury,						went out, her onely can-
			by the commandement of	20					dle remained light: and
			King Edgar, some say						many other like fables,
			by bribes, contrary to the						&c.
			mind of Wdo. Where-						This Siricius was the
			upon in the first day of						counsellor to King Egels-
			his consecration, he in-						red, to redeme peace of
			sulting upon the tombe						the Danes with a great
			of Wdo with despite,						tribute.
			shortly after went to						Elphegus, because hee
			Rome for his pall, where						denyed to pay to the
			in his journey upon the						Danes a tribute, was
			Alpes he died for cold, in						stoned to death at Green-
			so much that his horses						wich, and of some is cal-
			being killed, and hee put						led a martyr.
			in their warme bellies,						This Robertus caused
			yet could he get no heate.						Godwin and his sonnes
			Malmesbur.						to be banished, accusing
			Of this Dunstan many						them of treason. But af-
			monkish miracles be fat-						terward they being resto-
			ned, as of the harpe up-						red, hee went to Rome,
			on the wall playing by						and at his returne died.
			it selfe, Gaudet in coelis,						Stigandus being an
			&c. Of our Lady with						Englishman, in the time
			her company appearing						of William Conqueror
			to him singing, Cante-						the Norman, was by the
			mus Domino socius, can-						craft of the said William
			temus honorem; Dulcis						conveyed into Norman-
			amor Christi personet ore						dy, where a while with
			pio. Also of the Angels						great honour he was en-
			singing Kyrieleison, &c.						tertained. At length the
			Item, of holding the di-						said William procured
			bell by the nose with a						secretly the Popes letters
			paire of songs, tempting						to depose him, that hee
									might place Lanfrancus
									in his roome. This Sti-
									gandus died at length in
									prison.

S. Dunstons  
harpe upon the  
wall fast by a  
pin did hang at  
without mans  
helpe, with ly  
and all, and by  
it selfe did  
twang it.

24 Dunstan. 20

Wolpobus maketh  
Dunstan to be the  
23 archbishop.

The end of the third Booke.



The

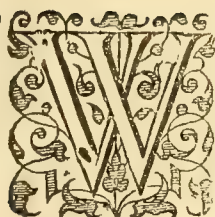




# THE FOURTH BOOKE,

Containing other three hundred yeeres  
from William Conquerour, to the time of John Wickliffe,  
wherein is described the proud and mis-ordered raigne of  
Antichrist, beginning to stirre in the  
Church of CHRIST.

William Conquerour.



William Duke of Normandy, surnamed Conquerour, base sonne of D. Robert, the first Duke of Normandy, and nephew unto King Edward, after the foresaid victory against Harold and the Englishmen obtained, was received King over the Realme of England,

not so much by assent, as for feare and necessity of time. For else the Londoners had promised their assistance to Edgar Atheling to the uttermost of their power. But being weakned and wasted so greatly in battels before, and the Duke coming to fast upon them, and fearing that they could not make their party good, submitted themselves. Whereupon the said William (of a Duke made a King) was crowned upon Christmas day in the yere of our Lord 1067. by the hands of Aldebrand archbishop of Dorke; for as much as at that time Stigandus archbishop of Canterbury was absent, or else durst not, or would not come in the presence of the King. A little before the coming in of this Duke, a terrible blazing starre was seene the space of seven daies, which was the yere before. In record whereof, as well of the conquest of the Duke, as of the blazing starre, these verses yet remaine:

*Sexagenis erat sextus mille finis annis,  
Cum pervenit Angli, stella monstrante cometa.*

Which King thus being crowned did raigne over the realme of England the space of one and twenty yeres and one moneth, with great severity and crueltie toward the Englishmen, burthening them with great tributes and exactions; which was, to pay of every hide of ground containing twenty acres, five shillings. By meanes whereof certaine parts of the land rebelled, and specially the City of Worcester. But at last William overcame them, and won the City, and punished them grievously. But, for that and for other sterne deeds of William, divers of the Lords departed into Scotland: wherefore he kept the other Lords that carried the traitor, and exalted the Normans, giving to them the chiefe possessions of the Land. And forsomuch as he obtained the Kingdom by force and dint of sword, he changed the whole state of the governance of this Common wealth: and ordained new lawes at his owne pleasure, profitable to himselfe, but grievous and hurtfull to the people, abolishing the lawes of King Edward, whereunto notwithstanding he was sworn before, to observe and maintaine them. For the which, great commotions and rebellions remained long after among the people (as histories record) to have the said lawes of King Edward revived againe.

Where by the way speaking of lawes, this is memorabile, that even in this Kings time the authority of the temporall Magistrate was distinct from that of the Church; but yet in such sort, that if need required, he should deale in causes ecclesiasticall, and be assistant to the bishop, whose jurisdiction what it was, and how qualified by King William now holding the sterne of government in his hand, the words following doe declare.

*Willielmus gratia Dei rex Anglorum, comitibus, Turris Lond. vicecomitibus, & omnibus Francigenis & Anglis, qui in episcopatu Remigii episcopi terras habent, salutem. Sciatis, &c. In English thus.*

William by the grace of God King of England, to all Shiriffes, under-Shiriffes, and to all French-borne and English, which in the Bishopricke of Remigius the Bishop have Lands, greeting. Know you all, and the rest my faithfull subjects which abide in England, that the Bishops lawes which have bene not well, nor according to the precepts of holy Canons, even to my time in the Kingdome of England; by the common counsell and the counsell of mine archbishops, and the rest of Bishops and Abbats, with all the Princes of my Kingdome I have judged to be amended. Wherefore I command, and by my royall authority give in charge, that no Bishop or Archdeacon doe hold any more pleas of Law in the hundred by the Bishops lawes, nor bring any cause which pertaineth to the cure of soules unto the judgement of secular men: but whosoever, according to the Bishops lawes, about any sute or default be troubled, shall come to the place, which to this end the Bishop shall choose and name, and there answer his cause, and not according as in the hundred, but according to the Canons and Lawes of the Bishop they shall doe right unto God and to their Bishop. And if any puffed up with pride, being called once, twice, and thrice to the Court of pleas, refuseth to come, and will not so be drawne to amendment, let him be excommunicate. And if need be, to correct and revenge this, let the power and justice of the Kings under-Shiriffe be used. And he, which being called or summoned to the Bishops Court, will not come, for every calling shall be put to his answer before the Bishop, and make amends. And this I defend, and by mine authority forbid, that no under-Shiriffe, or Provost, or officer of the King, nor any lay-man meddle or make with the lawes belonging to the Bishop; nor that any lay-man bring or sue another out of the Bishops Court of justice unto judgement. And as for judgement, let it be given in no place but in the Bishops See, or in that place which in this behalfe the Bishop shall appoint.

The first Bishop on ecclesiastical qualified and circumscribed in King William's time.

Anno 1067

A blazing star.

Tribute.

Rebellion. Earle Harcourt, and Earle Edwin, Edgar Atheling, with his nephews and two sisters Harcourt and Christian fled into Scotland. New Kings, new lawes.

King William forswore in abolishing King Edwards lawes.



By this evidence of record it is manifest (as you see) that duke William (now king) having assumed unto himselfe the absolute authority royall, endeavored to establish a forme of government both in the Church and Common wealth answerable to his owne mind: howbeit this is to be noted, that he allowed unto the Clergy a kind of jurisdiction of convening persons before them, and likewise of exercising such ecclesiasticall discipline as the quality of that age and time did use. Wherein we will not stand to debate any thing at large, but proceed in the course of our story, as the spirit of God shall vouchsafe to direct us.

Over and besides this, the foresaid William, as he was a warrior, so he delighting in forts and Bulwarks, builded foure strong Castles; two at Porke, one at Nottingham, and another at Lincolne, which garrisons he furnished with Normans.

About the third yere of his raigne, Harold and Canutus sonnes of Swanus, King of Denmarke, entred into the north country. The Normans within Porke, fearing that the Englishmen would ayde the Danes, fired the suburbs of the towne. Whereof the flame was so big, and the wind so strong that it tooke into the City, and burnt a great part thereof, with the Winter of S. Peter, where no doubt many worthy workes and monuments of bookes were consumed. In the time whereof the Danes by the favour of some of the Citizens entered the City, and slew more then three thousand of the Normans. But not long after King William chased them out, and drave them to their ships, and tooke such displeasure with the inhabitants of that country, that he despoiled the land from Porke to Durham, so that nine yeres after the province lay waste and uninhabited, onely except S. Johns land of Heberly; and the people thereof were so strictly kept in penury by the warre of the King; that (as our English story saith) they ate rats, cats, and dogs, with other vermin.

Also in the fourth yere of this King, Malcolm King of Scots entered into Northumberland, and destroyed the Countrey, and slew there many of the people both of men, women and children after a lamentable sort, and tooke some prisoners. But within two yeres after, King William made such war upon the Scots, that hee forced Malcolm their King to doe him homage.

And thus much concerning the outward calamities of this Realme under his foren Conquerour, which is now the fift time that the said land, with the inhabitants thereof hath bene scourged by the hand of God. First by the Romans in the time of Julius Cesar: Then by the Scots and Picts (as hath bene shewed) afterward by the Saronis. Again, the Saronis or Englishmen did not enjoy the possession of Britaine with long quiet, but were brought in as much subjection themselves under the Danes, as they had brought the Britaines before (and that much more) in so much that through all England, if an Englishman had met a Dane upon a bridge, hee might not stir one foote, before the lord Dane (other wise Lurdane) were past: And then if the Englishman had not given low reverence to the Dane at his coming by, he was sure to be sharply punished (with more) as above hath bene declared. And this subjection continued almost from the raigne of King Ethelwolfus 230. yeres, till the raigne of King Edward. And yet the indignation of God thus ceased not, but stirred up the Normans against them, who conquered and altered the whole Realme after their owne purpose; in so much that besides the innovation of the lawes, coines, and possessions, there was in no Church of England almost any English bishop, but onely Normans and foreigners placed through all their diocesse. No such misery was this A and then brought, that not onely of all the English Nobility not one house was standing; but also

it was thought reproachfull to be called an Englishman. This punishment of God against the English Nation, writers doe assigne severly to divers causes: (as partly before is touched) of whom, some assigne this to be the cause, as followeth in the wordes of the story: *In primitiva Anglia ecclesia religio clarissime splenduit, ita ut reges & regine, duces & episcopi, vel monachatum, vel exilium pro Dei amore appetere: processu vero temporis adeo omnis virtus in eis emarcuit, ut gentem nullam prodicione & nequitia sibi parem esse permitterent, &c.*

The meaning whereof is this: That whereas Kings and Queenes, Dukes, and Prelats, in the primitive time of the English Church, were ready for religion to forsake either liberty or Countrey, and give themselves to a solitary life: in processe of time they grew to such dissoluteness, that they left no other Realme like unto them in iniquity, &c.

Again, some writing of the vision of King Edward, a little before the invasion of the Normans, testifie, how the King reporting of his owne vision should heare, that for the great enormity and misbehaviour of the head Dukes, Bishops, and Abbats of the Realme, the Kingdome should be given to the hand of their enemies after the deceale of him, for the space of one hundred yeres and one day. Which space was also scene by William Conquerour, to be one hundred and fifty yeres: and that his progeny so long should continue. Against some writers intreating of this so great wrath of God upon the English people, declare the cause thereof as followeth: *Nam sicut Angli Britones quos Deus determinare proposuerat (peccatis suis exigentibus) humiliaverant, & à terra Anglie minus iuste fugaverant: sic ipsi duplici persecutione, &c.*

Like as the Englishmen did subdue the Britaines (whom God proposed for their deservings to exterminate) and them unjustly did dispossesse of their Land: so they should likewise be subdued and scourged with a double persecution; first by the Danes, and after by the Normans, &c. Moreover, to these injuries and iniquities done and wrought by the Englishmen, hitherto recited, let us adde also the cruell villany of this Nation, in murdering and tithing the innocent Normans before: who comming as strangers with Alfred the lawfull heire of the crowne, were despightfully put to death. Which seemeth to me no little cause why the Lord (whose doings be alwaies just and right) did suffer the Normans so to prevaile. By the comming in of the which Normans, and by their quarrell unto the realme, three things we may note and learne. First, to consider and learne the righteous retribution and wrath of God from heaven, upon all iniquity and unrighteous dealing of men. Secondly, we may thereby note, what it is for Princes to leave no issue or sure succession behind them. Thirdly, what dangers often doe chance to realmes publicly by foren marriage with other Princes, &c.

In the same fourth yere of this King, betwene Walter & Whitsonside, was holden a solemne council of the clergy of England at Winchester. At the which council were present two cardinals sent from Pope Alexander the second, Peter and John. In this council, the king being himselfe present, were deposed divers Bishops, Abbats, and Priors, (by the means of the King) without any evident cause: to the intent his Normans might be preferred to the rule of the Church, as he had preferred his knights before to the rule of the temporality, thereby to stand in more surety of the land. Amongst whom also Stigandus archbishop of Canturbury was put downe for three causes against him pretended.

The first was, for that he had holden wrongfully that bishopricke, while Robert the archbishop (above mentioned) was living. The second was, for that hee had received the pall of Benedict Bishop of Rome, the gift of that name.

Ex hist. Ing. nalenf.

England afflicted and scourged for iniquity.

The vision of King Edward.

Englishmen scourged for their unquietness of the Britaines.

Englishmen justly scourged for their unquietness against the Normans.

Three things in this conquest to be noted. Gods just judgement. Lacke of succession. Foren marriage.

{ Anno }  
{ 1070 }

A council holden at Winchester. Eight orders committed right. Divers bishops, Abbats, and Priors deposed in England.

Stigandus archbishop of Canturbury deprived, and the causes why.

Porke with the Winter of S. Peter burnt.

The North country was fled.

Worthle faraine in the North parts of Northumberland.

Scots subdued to King William.

The continuall affliction and disquietness of this Realme of England.

The conquests which have bin in this realme: Romans, Scots and Picts, Saronis, Danes, Normans.

Ex Hist. Humbergon. lib. 6.



name. Which Benedict, for buying his Popedom, had bene deposed, as is shewen before.

The third cause, for that he occupied the said pall without licence and lawfull authority of the court of Rome.

Then Stigandus well proved the benevolence of King William. For where before the King seemed in friendly countenance to make much of him, and did unto him great reverence: then he changed all his mildnesse into sternenesse, and excused himselfe by the Bishop of Romes authority. So that in the end, Stigandus was deprived of his dignity, and kept in Winchester as a prisoner during his life. This Stigandus is noted for a man so covetous and sparing, that when he would take nothing of his owne, and swearing that he had not a penny, yet, by a key, fastened about his necke, was found great treasure of his under the ground.

At the same time was preferred to the Archbishopricke of Yorke, Thomas a Nozeman, and canon of Baion.

At which time also Lanfrancus, Abbat of Cado-monency (a Lombard, and Italian borne) was sent for, and made Archbishop of Canturbury; betwene which two Archbishopps, about their consecration first began a contention, for giving and taking the oath of obedience: but that contention was at that time appeased by the King; and Thomas was contented to subscribe to the Archbishop of Canturburies obedience.

After this it followed within short space, that the said Lanfrancus and Thomas Archbishop of Yorke, who first builded the Minister of Yorke, and gave possessions thereunto, came to Rome with Reinigius, Bishop of Dorchester for their palls, as the manner was; without which no Archbishop nor Bishop could be confirmed, although their election were never so lawfull. This pall must be asked no where but of the Pope or his assignes, and that within three moneths: also it must be asked not faintly, but mightily; Dist. 100. cap. prisca. Which, as it was a chargeable thing to other nations (especially such as were farre from Rome) so it was no small gaine to the Romish See, so as they did order it. For although at the beginning the pall was given without money according to the decree, Dist. 100. or for little, as percase in this time of Lanfranke: yet in procelle of yeres it grew to such excesse, that where the Bishopricke of Wentz was wont to give to Rome but ten thousand florens: afterward it arose so, that he which asked his confirmation, could not obtaine it, without twenty thousand. And from thence it exceeded to five & twenty thousand, and at length to seven and twenty thousand florens: which sum, Iacobus Archbishop of Wentz, was prest to pay, a little before the councill of Basill: in so much that the said

Iacobus at his departing (which was within four yeres after) said, that his death did not so much grieve him, as to remember his poore subjects, which should be constrained to pay so terrible a fine for the Popes pall. Now by this, what riseth to the Pope in whole Germany, containing in it above fifty Bishopricks, it may be easily conjectured. Lanfrancus thus coming to Rome, with the other two Bishops; he for the estimation of his learning, obtained of Alexander two palls, one of honour, the other of love. Item, he obtained for the other two Bishops also their confirmation. At which time, they being there present before Alexander, the controversy began first to be moved (or rather renewed) for the primacy betwixt the two Metropolitanes, that is, betwixt the Archbishop of Canturbury, and the Archbishop of Yorke, whether of them should have preeminence above the other. For Canturbury challenged to himselfe the prerogative and primacy over whole Britaine and Ireland: the which contention continued a long season betwixt these two Churches, and was often renewed in the daies of Di-

vers Kings after this; as in the raigne of Henry the first, betwixt Thurstinus of Yorke, and Radulphus of Canturbury. And againe, in the seven and twentieth yere of the said King, at his second coronation: For Radulphus would not suffer the first coronation to stand, because it was done by the Bishop of Yorke, without his assent. Also in the raigne of Henry the second, where Alexander Pope made a letter decretall betwixt these two Metropolitanes, for bearing the crosse in the yere 1159. Also another time, in the raigne of the said King, betwixt Richard of Canturbury, and Roger of Yorke. Again, about the yere of our Lord 1170, when Thomas Becket hearing the King to be crowned of Roger Bishop of Yorke complained thereof grievously to Pope Alexander the third. Item, another time in the yere 1176, betwixt Richard and the said Roger, whether of them should sit on the right hand of Cardinall Hugo in his councill at London. Moreover, in the beginning of the raigne of King Richard in the yere 1190, betwixt Baldwinus of Canturbury, and Godfridus of Yorke, &c.

Now, to proceede in the story hereof. After this question was brought (as is said) to the Popes presence, he (not disposed to decide the matter) sent them home into England, there to have their cause determined. Whereupon they spending themselves from Rome to England in the yere 1070, and in the sixth yere (as is said) of this William, brought the matter before the King and the Clergie at Windsor. Whereas Lanfranke, first alleging for himselfe, brought in from the time of Austin to the time of Beda (which was about 140. yeres) how that the Bishop of Canturbury had ever the primacy over the whole land of Britaine and Ireland: how he kept his counsels divers times within the precincts of Yorke; how he did call and cite the Bishops of Yorke thereto; whereof some he did constitute, some he did excommunicate, and some he did remove; besides also he alleged divers privileges granted by Princes and Prelates to the primacy of that See, &c.

To this Thomas Archbishop of Yorke replyeth againe, and, first beginning with the first original of the Britaines Church, declareth in order of time, how the Britaines, &c.

The Britains first possessioners of this kingdom of Britaine, which induced from Brutus and Cadwaladar 2076. yeres, under an hundred and two Kings, at length received the Christian faith in the yere 162. in the time of Lucius their King Cleutherius Bishop of Rome sent Aganus and Damianus Preachers unto them; at which time after their conversion, they assigned and ordained in the Realm eight & twenty Bishops, with two Archbishops, Theonius the Archbishop of London, and Theodosius Archbishop of Yorke. Under those Bishops and Archbishops the Church of Britaine was governed after their conversion almost 300 yeres, till at length the Saxons being then infidels, with Hengistus their King, subduing the Britaines by fraudulent murder invaded their land, which was about the yere of our Lord 440. After this the Britaines being driven into Cambria (which we now call Wales) the Saxons overrunning the land, divided themselves into seven kingdomes. And so being infidels and pagans, continued till the time that Gregory Bishop of Rome sent Austin to preach unto them; which Austin coming first to Dover, being then the head city of Kent, called in Latine Dorobernia and there planting himselfe, converted first the King of Kent, called Odelbertus, who had then subdued certaine other Kings unto Wamber.

By reason whereof Austin was made Archbishop of Dover, by the appointment of Gregory, who sent him certaine palls with his letter from Rome, as before is expessed. Which letter being recited, then Thomas, expounding upon the same, beginneth to declare

Lucius the first King of Britaine christened.

Thomas first Archbishop of London.

Ex Chronico Sigoberti.

Dover the head city of Kent.

This was about 150. yeres after the coming of the Saxons.

Faire countenance not to be crueltie.

A covetous Bishop.

Thomas made Archbishop of Yorke.

Lanfrancus an Italian. Archbishop of Canturbury.

The Minister of Yorke builded.

The giving of the pall.

Dist. 100. cap. prisca.

Dist. 100. cap. novit.

Ex lib. Gravaminum nationis Germanice.

Iacobus Archbishop of Wentz.

Theas Sibbus writeth that where he fifty Bishopricks in Germany.

70



declare for himselfe, how the meaning of Gregory in this letter was, to reduce the new Church of Barons or Englishmen to the order that was in the old time among the Brittaines; that is, to be under two Metropolitans, one of London, the other of Yorke; for so the Church was ordered in the time of the Brittaines as is before declared. Notwithstanding, he giveth to Austin this prerogative during his life time, to have authority and jurisdiction, not only over his twelve Bishops, but upon all other Bishops and Priests in England. And after his decease then these two Metropolitans, London and Yorke, to oversee the whole Clergie, as in times past amongst the Brittaines: whom he joineth together after the death of Austin, to constitute Bishops, and to oversee the Church. And that he so meaneth London to be equall in authority with Yorke, it appeareth by foure arguments. First, that he willeth London to be consecrate by no Bishop, but of his owne Synod. Secondly, in that he willeth no distinction of honour to be betwixt London and Yorke, but only according to that as each one of them is elder in time. Thirdly, for that he matcheth these two together in common councill, and with one agreement to consent together in doing & disposing such things as they shall consult upon in the seale of Christ Jesus: and that in such sort, that one should not dissent nor discord from the other. What meaneth this, but that they should governe together, whom he would not to dissent together? Fourthly, where he writeth, that the Bishop of Yorke should not be subject to the Bishop of London; what meaneth this, but that the Bishop of London should be equivalent with the Metropolitan of Yorke, or rather superior unto him?

And thus he expounded the meaning of Gregory to be in the foresaid letter. To whom Lanfrancus againe answereth, that he was not the Bishop of London, and that the question pertained not to London. Thomas replieth, having on his part many fauours, that this privilege was granted by Gregory to Austin alone, to have all other Bishops subject to him: but after his decease, there should be equality of honour betwixt London and Yorke, without all distinction of priority; save the onely priority of time should make superiority betweene them. And although Austin translated the See from London to Kent; yet Gregory, if his mind had bene to give the same prerogative to the successors of Austin (which he gave to him) would expressly have uttered it in the words of his Epistle, writing thus to Austin: That which I give to thee Austin, I give also and grant to all thy successors after thee. But in that he maketh here no mention of his successors, it appeareth thereby, that it was not his mind so to doe.

To this Lanfrancus argueth againe: If this authority had bene given to Austin alone, and not to his successors, it had bene but a small gift, proceeding from the Apostolike See, to his speciall and familiar friend: especially seeing also that Austin in all his life did constitute no Bishop of Yorke, neither was there any such Bishop to be subject to him. Againe, we have privileges from the Apostolike See, which confirme this dignity in the successors of Austin, in the same See of Dover. Moreover, all Englishmen thinke it both right and reason, to fetch the direction of well living from that place, where first they took the sparkle of of right believing. Further, whereas you say that Gregory might have confirmed with plaine words the same thing to the successors of Austin, which he gave unto him; all that I grant: yet notwithstanding, this is nothing prejudiciall to the See of Canturbury. For, if you know your logike, that which is true in the whole, is also true in the part; and what is true in the more, is also true in the lesse. Now the Church of Rome is as the whole, to whom all other Churches be as

parts thereof; and as Homo mankind is Genus the generall in a certaine respect to all his Individua, to all particular persons, yet in every particular person lieth the property of the generall: so in like manner, the See of Rome in a certaine respect is the generall & the whole to other Churches, and yet in every particular Church is contained the whole fullnesse of the whole Christian faith. The church of Rome is greater then all churches; that which is wrought in it ought to worke in the lesse churches also: so that the authority of every chiefe head of the Church ought to stand also in them that doe succeed; unlesse there be any precise exception made by name. Wherefore, like as the Lord said to all Bishops of Rome the same thing which he said to Peter, so Gregory in like manner said to all the successors of Austin, that which he said to Austin. So thus I conclude; Likewise as the Bishop of Canturbury is subject to Rome, because hee had his faith from thence: so Yorke ought to be in subjection to Canturbury, which sent the first preachers thither. Now, whereas you allege that Gregory would Austin to be resident at London, that is utterly uncertaine. For how is it to be thought, that such a Disciple would doe contrary to the mind of such a Master? But grant (as you say) that Austin removed to London, what is that to me, which am not Bishop of London? Notwithstanding, all this contravenieth ceasing betwixt us, if it shall please you to come to some peaceable composition with me (all contention set apart) you shall finde mee not out of the way, so farre as reason and equity shall extend.

With these reasons of Lanfrancus Thomas gave over, condescending that the first of his Province should begin at Humber. Whereupon it was then decreed, that Yorke from that time should be subject to Canturbury in all matters appertaining to the rites and regiment of the catholike Church: so that wheresoever within England Canturbury should or would hold his councill, the Bishop of Yorke should resort thither with his Bishops, and be obedient to his decrees canonically.

Provided moreover, that when the bishop of Canturbury should decease, Yorke should repaire unto Dover, there to consecrate with others the bishops that should be elect. And if Yorke should decease, his successor should resort to Canturbury, or else where the bishop of Canturbury should appoint, there to receive his consecration, making his profession there, with an oath of Canonically obedience. Thomas being content withall, Lanfrancus the Italian triumpheth with no small joy, and putteth the matter forthwith in writing, that the memory thereof might remaine to the posterity of his successors. But yet that decree did not long stand. For shortly after the same scarre, so superficially cured, brast out againe. In so much that in the reign of King Henry the first, Anno Dom. 1121. Thurstanus Archbishop of Yorke could not be compelled to sweare to the archbishop of Canturbury; and yet notwithstanding by the letters of Calixtus the second was consecrated without any profession made to the said bishop, with much more matter of contention, all which to recite it were too long. But this I thought to commit to history, to the intent men might see the lamentable decay of true Christianity amongst the Christian bishops, who, enflamed with glorious ambition, so contended for honour, that without more forcement of law no modesty could take place.

Of such like contentions among Prelats of the clergy for superiority, we read of divers in old chronicles, as in the History intituled Chronicon Hirsfeldense, where is declared a bloody conflict, which twice happened in the Church of Gallaria, betwene Decelon Bishop of Hildesheim, and Mederatus Bishop of Fulda, and all for the superiour place, who should sit next to the Emperour, the Emperour himselfe

If this himselfe  
tude were for-  
med into a his-  
tory, neither  
were the major  
true: and spe-  
cially the minor,  
were utterly  
false.

Order taken  
betweene  
Lanfrancus  
Bishop of Can-  
turbury, and  
Thomas Bi-  
shop of Yorke

Lanfrancus  
replieth.

Thomas ar-  
gueth.

Lanfrancus  
replieth.

The dignity of  
Canturbury  
confirmed by  
privileges.

Well replied of  
an Italian.



himself: being there present, and looking on them, and yet not able to stay them.

Thus I have described the troublous contentions betwene Lanfrancus and Thomas Petropoli-  
tan of Yorke in the daies of Alexander, of which con-  
troverſie, and of the whole diſcourſe thereof Lanfrancus  
writeth to Pope Alexander, beginning thus:

Domino totius Christianæ religionis summo ſpecu-  
latori Alex. Papæ, Lanfrancus ſanctæ Dorobernenſis  
Eccleſiæ antiſtes, debitam cum omni ſervitute obedi-  
entiam. In concilio quod Angliæ per veſtram auctori-  
tatem coactum eſt, ubi querelæ Thomæ Archiepiſcopi  
prolatæ & ventilatæ ſunt, allata eſt Eccleſiaſtica  
gentis Anglorum hiſtoria, quam Eboracenſis Eccle-  
ſiæ preſbyter, & Anglorum doctor compoſuit: and ſo  
forth, in a long proceſſe of wordes which follow.  
Among which, in the middle of the Epiſtle, ſpeaking  
of Dover and Canturbury, hee hath theſe wordes:  
Vrbs namque quæ nunc Cantuarberia nominatur, anti-  
quis temporibus, ab ipſis terræ incolis, Dorobernia vo-  
cabatur, &c. with many other wordes in the ſaid  
Epiſtle, which for brevity here I overpaſſe.

In the ſtoory before of King Egred, was decla-  
red about the yere of our Lord, 1016. how the  
Biſhoppe of Lindſſarne, other wiſe named Ho-  
ly land, in the flood of Twed, was tranſlated to  
Durham: ſo likewiſe in the daies of this Lanfrancus,  
Archbiſhop of Canturbury, Anno 1076. di-  
vers Biſhops Sees were altered and removed from  
townſhips to greater cities. As the Biſhoppe of  
Seleſe was removed to Chicheſter; out of Cozne  
wall to Exceſter; from Welles to Bath; from  
Shireborne to Salisburie; from Dorceſter to Lin-  
colne; from Liſchfield to Cheſter; which Biſhop-  
rick of Cheſter Robert being then Biſhop, reduced  
from Cheſter to Coventrie. Likewiſe after that in  
the raigne of William Rufus, Anno 1095. Her-  
bert Biſhop of Hereford from thence reduced the  
See to Hereford, &c.

As concerning Dover and Canturbury, whither  
the See was likewiſe tranſlated from the towne of  
Dover to the city of Canturbury in the time of  
Theodoſius: or whether Canturbury by old time had  
the name of Dorobernia (as the letter of Lanfrancus  
to Pope Alexander above mentioned doth pre-  
tend) I find it not in hiſtories expreſſly defined; ſave  
that I reade by the wordes of William, being yet  
Duke of Normandy, charging then Harold to make  
a ſwell of water for the Kings uſe in the caſtle of  
Dorobernia, that the ſaid Dorobernia then was ta-  
ken for that which we now call Dover; but whether  
Dorobernia and the city of Canturbury be both one  
or divers, the matter is not great. Notwithſtanding  
this I reade in the Epiſtle of Pope Bonifacius to  
King Ethelbert, as alſo to Juſtinus Archbiſhop:  
Item, in the Epiſtle of Pope Bonifacius to Biſhop  
Anozius; Item, of Pope Vitalianus to Theodo-  
rus; of Pope Sergius to King Ethelred, Alfred  
and Adulphus, and to the Biſhops of England. Like-  
wiſe of Pope Gregory the third to the Biſhops of  
England; Item, of Pope Leo to Athelard Arch-  
biſhop of Canturbury; Of Formoſus to the Bi-  
ſhops of England, and of Pope John to Dunſtan;  
that the name of Dorobernia and of Canturbury  
indifferently are taken for one matter.

In this time (and by the procuring of this Lan-  
francus) the ninth yere of this King, a Councell  
was holden at London, where, among the acts ther-  
of, theſe were the principall things concluded.

Fiſt, for the order of ſitting, that the Archbiſhop  
of Yorke ſhould ſit on the right hand, and the Biſhop  
of London on the left hand: or in the abſence of  
Yorke, London ſhould have the right, and Lin-  
cheſter the left hand of the Archbiſhop of Cantur-  
bury ſitting in Councell.

2 The ſecond, that Biſhops ſhould tranſlate their  
Sees from villages into cities, whereupon thoſe  
Sees above named were tranſlated.

3 That monkes ſhould have nothing in proper;  
and if any ſo had, he dying unconfefſed ſhould not be  
buried in the Churchyard.

4 That no clerke or monke of any other diocleſſe  
ſhould be admitted to orders, or retained without  
letters commendatory or teſtimoniall.

5 That none ſhould ſpeake in the councell except  
biſhops and abbats, without leave of the arch-biſ-  
ropolitans.

6 That none ſhould marry within the ſeventh  
degre, with any either of his owne kindred or of his  
wives departed.

7 That none ſhould either buy or ſell any office  
within the Church.

8 That no ſorcery or any divination ſhould be uſ-  
ed or permitted in holy Church.

9 That no biſhop nor abbat, nor any of the clergy  
ſhould be at the judgement of any mans death or diſ-  
membzing, neither ſhould be any fautor of the ſaid  
judicants.

Dorober, in the daies of this Lanfrancus, divers  
good biſhops of the realme began to take part with  
Priests againſt the Monkes, in diſplacing theſe  
out of their Churches, and to reſtoze the married  
Priests againe: inſomuch that Wilkelmus biſhop  
of Wincheſter had placed above forty Canons in  
ſtead of Monkes for his part; but this goodly enter-  
priſe was ſtopped by ſtout Lanfranke the Italian  
Lombard. This luſty Prelat ſat nineteene yeres,  
but at his later end he was not ſo favoured of Wil-  
liam Rufus, and died for ſorrow. Although this Ita-  
lian franke being archbiſhop had little leiſure to  
write, yet ſomething he thought to doe to ſet out his  
famous learning, and wrote a booke againſt Be-  
rengarius, intituling it Opus ſcintillarum. The old  
Church of Canturbury he plucked downe and build-  
ed up the new.

After the death of Pope Alexander above mentio-  
ned, next unto him followed Hildebrand ſurnamed  
Gregory the ſeventh. This Hildebrand as hee was  
a ſorcere, ſo was he the firſt and principall cauſe of  
all this perturbation that is now and hath ben ſince  
his time in the Church: by reaſon that through his  
example all this ambition, ſtoutneſſe, and pride enter-  
red firſt into the Church of Rome, and hath ever  
ſince continued. For before Hildebrand came to  
Rome working there his feats, ſetting up and diſ-  
placing what biſhops he liſted, corrupting them with  
perniciouſ counſell, and ſetting them againſt Em-  
perours, under pretence of chaſtity deſtroying ma-  
trimony, and under the title of liberty breaking  
peace and reſiſting authority: before this (I ſay) the  
Church of Rome was in ſome order, and biſhops  
quietly governed under Chriſtian Emperours, and  
alſo were defended by the ſame: as Marcellus, Hel-  
tiades, and Silveſter were ſubdued, and under obe-  
dience to Conſtantine, An. 340. Siricius to Theo-  
doſius, An. 388. Gregory to Mauricius, An. 600.  
Vilarius to Juſtinian, An. 528. Adrianus and Leo  
to Carolus Magnus, An. 801. Balchalis and Cla-  
lenſius to Ludovicus Pius, An. 830. Sergius the  
nine and twentieth to Lotharius, An. 840. Bene-  
dictus the third and Johannes the ninth unto Ludo-  
vicus, ſonne of Lotharius, An. 856. But againſt  
this obedience and ſubſeſion Hildebrand firſt began  
to ſpurn, and by his example taught all other biſhops  
to doe the like.

In ſo much that at length they brought and  
brought to paſſe, that it ſhould be lawfull for a ſeſo  
curſtians and Cardinals (contrary to ancient ordi-  
nance and ſtatutes decreetall) to choiſe what Pope  
they liſt, without any conſent of the Emperour at all.  
And whereas before it ſtood in the Emperours gift  
to give and to grant biſhopricks, archbiſhopricks, be-  
neſſes and other eccleſiaſticall preferments within  
their owne limits, to whom they liſt: now the Popes  
through much weſtling, warres, and contention,  
have extorted all that into their owne hands, and to  
theire

Biſhops of  
England above  
to diſturb our  
monkes and to  
place Priests  
againſt in the  
ſtead.

Opus ſcintilla-  
rum Lanfranci.

Anno  
1074

Hildebrandus  
ſeu Gregor. 7.  
Hildebrand the  
cauſe of all the  
ſtouteſſe and  
proudneſſe in  
theſe  
times.

The obedience  
of biſhops in  
ancient time to  
Emperours.

What Popes  
have done.

A letter of  
Lanfrancus  
ſent to Pope  
Alexander.

Biſhops Sees  
tranſlated into  
England.

Dorobernia  
and Cantur-  
bury taken  
both for one.

A councell hol-  
den at London,  
and what were  
the acts there-  
of.



Popes more  
than Princes.

Frederike the  
first heare for  
holding the  
Popes left  
stirrup.

their assignes: yea, have pluckt in all the riches and power of the whole world; and not content with that, have usurped and prebailed so much above Emperors, that (as before) no Pope might be chosen without the confirmation of the Emperors; so now no emperor may be elected without the confirmation of the Pope, taking upon them more than Princes, to place or displace Emperors at their pleasure for every light cause: to put downe or set up whom & whom they liked; as Fredericus Barinus, for holding the left stirrup of the Popes saddle, was persecuted almost to excommunication. The which cause moveth me to straine more diligence here, in setting out the story, acts and doings of this Wildebrand, from whom, as the first Patron and founder, sprang all this ambition and contention about the liberties and dominion of the Romane Church: to the intent that such as cannot reade the Latine histories, may understand in English the originall of evils; how, and by what occasion they first began, and how long they have continued.

And first, how this Wildebrand hitherto had behaved himselfe, before he was Pope, I have partly declared. For though he was not yet Pope in name, yet he was then Pope indeed, and ruled the Popes and all their doings as him liked. Item, what waies and fetches he had attempted, ever since his first coming to the court of Rome, to magnifie and maintaine false liberty against true authority; what practice he wrought by counsels, what factions and conspiracies he made, in stirring up Popes against Emperors, striving for superiority; and what wars followed thereof, I have also expressed. Now let us see further (by the help of Christ) the worthy vertues of this Princely Prelate, after he came to be Pope, as they remaine in histories of divers and sundry writers described.

Ex Aventino  
& alius.

### The tragicall history of Gregory the seventh, otherwise named Hildebrand.

Gregory the  
seventh.  
Ex Aventino.

The words of the Latin history be these: Hactenus pontifices Romani in comitiis curiatis calatis à sacerdotibus, equitatu, plebe, senatu, &c.

In English.

Hitherto the Bishops of Rome have bene elected by voyces, and suffrages of all sorts and degrees as well of the Priests & the Clergie as of the nobility, people, and senate, all convening and assembling together. And this election so I find to stand in force, if so be it were ratified and confirmed by the consent of Romane Emperors who had authority to call and to assemble all these, as well as Bishops, together unto counsels as case required. Under the authority and jurisdiction of these Emperors, were contained both in Germany, France, Italy, and through the whole dominion of Rome, all Patriarches, Bishops, Masters of Churches & Monasteries, by the decree of counsels, according to the old custome of our ancestors, as is declared in a certaine story in the life of Carolus Magnus. The holy and ancient fathers (like as Christ our Lord with his Disciples and Apostles both taught and did) honoured and esteemed their Emperors as the supreme Potestates next under God in earth, set up, ordained, elected and crowned of God, above all other mortall men, and so counted them, and called them their Lords. To them they yielded tribute, and paid their subsidies, also prayed every day for their life. Such as rebelled against them they took as rebels and resistors against God his ordinance and Christian piety. The name of the Emperors then was of great majesty, and received as given from God. When these fathers of the Church never intermeddled nor intangled themselves with politicke affaires of the common-weale: much lesse occupied they martiall armes and matters of chivalry. Whely in poverty and modesty was all their contention with other

The state and  
manner of the  
old Church in  
times past.

Reverence and  
obedience in  
old time given  
to Princes.

The manner &  
vertue of the  
forefathers  
described.

Christians, who should be poorest and most modest among them. And the more humblest appeared in any, the higher opinion they conceived of him. The sharpe and two-edged sword they took, given to the Church of Christ, to save, and not to kill; to quicken, and not to destroy; and called it the sword of the spirit, which is the Word of God, the life and light of men, and rebuketh from death to life, making of men, gods; of mortall, immortall. Farre were they from that, to thrust out any Prince or King (though he were never so far out of the way, yea, an Arrian) from his kingdome, or to curse him, to release his subjects from their oath and their allegiance, to change and translate kingdomes, to subvert empires, to pollute themselves with Christian blood, or to warre with their Christian brethren for rule and principality. This was not their spirit and manner then, but rather they loved and obeyed their Princes. Again, Princes loved them also like fathers and fellow-princes with them of the soules of men. Now this Gregorius the seventh, otherwise named Hildebrandus, trusting upon the Romans, which then ruffled about Apulia, Calabria, and Campania, trusting also upon the power of Machilda, a stout woman there about Rome; and partly againe, bearing himselfe bold for the discord among the Germans: first of all others (contrary to the manner of elders) concerning the authority of the Emperors, invaded the cathedrall See of Rome, daunting himselfe, as having both the Ecclesiasticall & temporall sword committed to him by Christ, and that fulnesse of power was in his hand to bind and loose what to he liked. Whereupon thus he presumed to occupy both the regiments, to challenge all the whole dominion, both of the East and West Church, yea, and all power to himselfe alone, abiding none to be equal, much lesse superiour unto him, derogating from others, and arrogating to himselfe their due right and honour, setting at light Césars, Kings and Emperors, and who reigned but by his owne godamery: Bishops and Prelats as his underlings he kept in awe, suspending and curling, and chopping off their heads, stirring up strife & wars, sowing of discord, making factions, releasing oaths, defeating fidelity and due allegiance of subjects to their Princes. Yea, and if he had offended, or injured the Emperors himselfe, yet notwithstanding he ought to be feared, as he himselfe glozieth in a certaine Epistle, as one that could not erre, and had received of Christ our Saviour, and of Peter, authority to bind and unbind at his will and pleasure. Priests then in those daies had wives openly & lawfully (no law forbidding to the contrary) as appeareth by the deed and writings of their chapter scales and donations, which were given to Temples and Monasteries, wherein their wives also be cited with them for witness, and were called Presbyteris. Also for Bishops, Prelates, Parsons of Churches, Governours of the Clergie, Masters of Monasteries, and religious houses: all these were then in those times, in the Emperors ordination, to asigne by voyce or consent to whom he would. Now these two things Gregorius this Pope could not abide: for the which two causes only was all his striving and striving from his first beginning to abolish the marriage of Priests, and to translate the authority Imperiall to the Clergie. For to this scope only tended all his labour, practises and devices, as appeared before in the councill of Lateran under Pope Nicholas, and also in the councill of Mantua under Alexander, making their marriage heresie, and the other to be simony. And that which before he went about by others, now he practiseth by himselfe, to condemn Ministers that were married for Nicolaitans, and to receive any spiritual regiment of secular persons for simony, directing forth his letters upon the same to Henricus the Emperors, to Dukes, Princes, Potestates, Metarches: namely, to Berch,

The ambitious  
presumption of  
Hildebrand.

Ex Aventino.  
qui invenit in  
instrumentis de  
nationum.  
Priests wives  
called  
Presbyteris,  
in old chapter  
scales.

Hildebrand a  
mortal enemy  
against Priest  
marriage.

Priests mar-  
riage made  
heresie.



Werktholous, to Wolphus of Sclavia, to Wihelo, Adalberton, and their wives. Item, to bishops, archbishops, priests, & to all the people: in the which letters he denounceth them to be no Priests, so many as were married, forbidding men to salute them, to talke, to eate, to company with them, to pay them tithes, or to obey them if they would not bee obedient to him. Amongst all others, he directed speciall letters to Ottho Bishop of Constance concerning this matter. But Ottho, perceiving the ungodly and unreasonable pretence of Wihelbrand, would neither separate them that were married from their wives, nor yet forbid them to marry which were unmarried, &c.

Ottho Bishop  
of Constance.

The copie of the letter of Hildebrand sent  
to the Bishop of Constance against  
Priests mariages.

Gregory Bishop, servant of servants of God, to the clergy and laity, both more and lesse, within the diocese of Constance, saluation and benediction. Wee have directed to our brother Ottho your bishop our letters exhortatorie: wherein wee enjoined him, according to the necessity of our duty, by the authority apostolicall, that hee should utterly abolish out of his Church the heresie of simony, and also should cause with all diligence to bee preached the chastity of priests. But hee neither moved with reverence of Saint Peters precept, nor yet with the regard of his duty, neglected to do these things, whereunto wee so fatherly have exhorted him, incurring thereby a double offence, not onely of disobedience, but also of Rebellion, in that hee hath gone and done cleane contrary to our Commandement (yea rather the Commandement of blessed S. Peter) so that he hath permitted his clergy, not onely such as had wives, not to put them away, but also such as had none, to take unto them. Whereupon we being truly informed thereof, and grieved therewith, have directed to him another letter, declaring the motion of our displeasure and indignation. In which letters also we have cited him up to our counsell at Rome, there to appeare and give account of his disobedience, in the audience of the whole synod. And now therefore we thought it best to signifie this to you (our deare children) whereby in this behalfe wee might the better provide for your health and salvation. For if your bishop shall continue so obstinately to repugne and resist against our Commandement, he is not meete to sit over you, &c. Wherefore these shall be to command you, and all them that be obedient to God, and to blessed S. Peter, by our apostolicall authority, that if this your Bishop shall persist in his obstinacy, you that bee his subiects hereafter give to him no service nor obedience. For the which thing doing, wee here discharge you before God and your soules. For if your bishop shall seeme contrary to the decreements and iniunctions apostolicall, wee, through the apostolicall authority of S. Peter, discharge and absolve you from the band of your allegiance to him. So that if you be sworne to him, so long as he is a rebell against God and the apostolike seat, we loose you from the perill of your oath, that you shall not neede to feare therein any danger, &c.

Ottho cited  
to appeare for  
suffering priests  
with their law-  
full wives.

The Pope dis-  
penseth for dis-  
obedience.

Three things  
enacted by  
Wihelbrand,  
where committed  
in the vow of  
chastity.

Ottho bishop of Constance thus being cited, wher he did appeare personally himselfe, I doe not reade. Thus I reade & finde, that in the said counsell holden at Rome, Wihelbrand with other bishops of Rome did then enact, among many others, these three things most speciall. First, that no priest hereafter should marry wives. Secondly, that all such as were married should be divorced. Thirdly, that none hereafter should bee admitted to the order of priesthood, but should sweare perpetual chastity, &c. This counsell of Rome being ended, forthwith the

act of Wihelbrand concerning the single life of Priests was proclaimed and published in all places, and that Commandement given to bishops to execute the same.

The copie of his bull sent into Italy and  
Germany was this.

Gregory the Pope, otherwise Hildebrand, the servant of the servants of God, sendeth the Apostles blessing to all them within the kingdomes of Italy and Germany that shew their true obedience to S. Peter. If there be any Priests, deacons and subdeacons, that still wil remaine in the sin of fornication, we forbid them the Churches entrance, by the omnipotent power of God, and by the authority of S. Peter, till time they amend and repent. But if they persevere in their sin, we charge that none of you presume to heare their service: for their blessing is turned into cursing, and their prayer into sin, as the Lord doth testifie to us by his Prophets, I will turne your blessing, &c.

The bishops of France, being called upon daily with the Popes letters, were compelled to obey the decre of the counsell; but the residue of the clergy manfully & stoutly withstanding the Popes decree and enforcement of their bishops, would not agree, but repined thereat, and said, that the counsell did manifestly repugne against the Word of God, & that the Pope did take from Priests that which both God, and nature had given them; & therefore that person to be an heretike, and author of a wicked doctrine, which ruled and governed not by the spirit of God, but by satan. The decre and act set forth to send directly against the word of God & the saying of Christ, Non omnes capiunt verbum hoc, All men have not the gift and capacity of this Word. Item, to be against the sound doctrine of S. Paul writing these words: As concerning virginity, I have no Commandement of the Lord, &c. Again, he that cannot otherwise live continently, let him marry. Item, that it was against the Canons both of the Apostles & of the Nicene counsell. Moreover, that it was against the course of nature which hee required, that men, being sequestred from their naturall wives and women, should be coacted to live as angels: that is, to performe that which nature doth not give. And therefore the bishop therein did open a pernicious window to uncleanness and to fornication. In summe, giving up their answer, thus they concluded, that they had rather give up their benefices, then to forsake their naturall and lawfull wives against the word of Christ. And finally, if married Priests could not please them, they should call down angels from Heaven to serve the Churches. But Wihelbrand nothing moved neither with honest reason, nor with the authoritie of holy scripture, nor with the determination of the Nicene counsell, nor any thing else, followeth this matter; calleth upon the bishops still; with his letters and legates doth sollicite their minds, accuseth them of negligence and slackness, threatneth them with Excommunication, unless they cause their Priests to obey his decre imagined them. Whereupon a great number of bishops, for feare of the Popes tyranny, laboured the matter with their Priests, by all means possible to bereave them of their accustomed matrimony.

Amongst other the archbishop of Bents, perceiving this act of taking away Priests marriage might breede him no little trouble, talketh with his clergy gently, admonisheth them of the popes mind and decre, and giveth them halfe a yeeres respite to deliberate upon the case, exhorting them diligently to shew themselves obedient to the pope and to him, and to grant with good will that which at length (will they nill they) needs they must be forced unto, and therefore of their owne accord to stand content thereto.

The Clergy of  
France repug-  
ning for divor-  
cing from their  
wives.

Bishop of  
Bents.  
Ex Lambertus  
Scafnaburgen,  
in hist. Germa-  
narum. . .



therewith, lest the Pope should be compelled to at-  
tempt waives of that per severity. The time of deli-  
beration expired, the archbishop assembleth his  
Clergy at Crisford, the moneth of October, and  
there willethe the, according to the pontifical decree,  
either to abjure for ever all Matrimony, or else to  
abrenounce their benefices & Ecclesiastical livings.  
The Clergy againe defend themselves against the  
Popes decree with Scriptures, with reason, with  
the acts of generall councils, with examples of an-  
cestors, by divers strong arguments, declaring the  
Popes decree not to be constant, nor ought to take  
effect. But the archbishop said he was compelled to  
of the Pope, and could not otherwise doe, but to  
execute that which was enjoined him.

The clergy seeing that no reason, nor prayer, nor  
disputation would serve, laid their heads together,  
consulting among themselves what was best to be  
done: some gave counsell not to returne againe to  
the synod, some thought it good to returne and to  
thrust out the archbishop from his Sea, and to give  
him due punishment of death for his deserving, that  
by the example of him others may be warned here-  
after never to attempt that thing any more: to the  
prejudice of the Church, and the rightfull liberty  
of Ministers. After that this was signified to the  
archbishop by certaine spies that were amongst  
them, what the clergy intended to do, the Arch-  
bishop, to prevent & salve the matter, sendeth to the  
Bishops as they were coming out certaine mes-  
sengers, bidding them be of good hope, and to re-  
turne againe to the metropolitan, and they should  
have that should content their minds. So being  
persuaded, they come againe to the counsell. The  
bishop promisseth he would doe his indeavour what  
he could, to reboke and turne the mind of the bi-  
shop of Rome from that sentence, willing them in  
the meane time to continue as they had done in  
their cure & Ministry. The next pere following,  
Hildebrand the souldier of Satan sendeth his legate  
(a certaine bishop called Curientis) unto the arch-  
bishop of Bents, and assembleth there a counsell. In  
the which counsell the archbishop againe proposeth  
the matter, commanding all the clergy, under paine  
of the Popes curse, there perpetually either to abre-  
nounce their wives, or their livings. The clergy de-  
fended their cause againe with great constancy. But  
when no defension could take place, but all went by  
tyranny and mere extorcion, it burst in the end  
to an uprore & tumult, where the legate & the arch-  
bishop, being in great danger, hardly escaped with  
their lives, and so the counsell brake up. By this  
schisme and tumult it followed, that the Churches  
after that, in chusing their Bishops, would not send  
them to the bishops, (the enemies & suppressors of  
matrimony) to be confirmed and inducted, but did  
elect them within themselves, and so put them in  
their office without all leave or knowledge of the  
bishops, who then agreed and were determined to  
admit no Bishops, but such as should take an oth of  
perpetuall singleness, never to marry after. And  
thus first came up the oth and profession of single  
priesthood. Notwithstanding, if other Nations had  
followed the like constancy and concord of these  
Germane ministers, the devilish drift and decree of  
this Hildebrand (or rather Hildebrand) had been fru-  
strate and avoided. But this greedinesse of livings  
in weak Bishops made them to yield up their godly  
liberty to wicked tyranny. Yet this remaineth in  
these Germanes to be noted, what concord can doe  
in repelling the unordinate requests of evill bi-  
shops, if they constantly stand to the truth, and hold  
together. And thus much for banishing of Matrimony.  
Now let us proceed to the contents between  
wicked Hildebrand, and the godly Emperors. But  
before, by the way of digression, it shall not be much  
afraid from the purpose to touch a little of the pro-  
perties of this Pope, as we find them described

in certaine Epistles of Benno a Cardinall, writing  
to other Cardinals of Rome: which Benno lived  
in the same time of Hildebrand, and detesteth the  
prodigious acts and doings of this monstrous  
Pope.

First, declaring that he was a sozcerer most no-  
table, and a necromancer, an old companion of  
Sylvester, of Laurentius & Theophylactus, called  
otherwise Benedictus nonus. Amongst others Benno  
Cardinalis writeth this history of him: How upon  
a certaine time this Gregorius, coming from AL-  
banus to Rome, had forgot behinde him his familiar  
Booke of necromancy, which he was wont com-  
monly to carry alwaies with him. Whereupon re-  
membering himselfe, entring the port of Lateran, he  
callethe two of his most trusty familiars to fet the  
Booke, charging them at no hand to looke within  
it. But they, being so restrained, were the more de-  
sirus to open it, and to peruse it, and so did. After  
they had reade a little the secrets of the satanicall  
booke, suddenly there came about them the messen-  
gers of Satan, the multitude and terrour of whom  
made them almost out of their wits. At length they  
comming to themselves, the spirits were instant up-  
on them to know wherefore they were called up,  
wherefore they were vexed: quickly (said they) tell  
us what ye would us to doe, or else we will fall upon  
you, if ye retaine us longer. Then spake one of the  
young men to them, bidding them goe and pluck down  
yonder wals, pointing unto certaine high wals there  
nigh to Rome, which they did in a moment. The young  
men, crossing them for feare of the spirits (scarce  
recovering themselves) at length came to their master.  
And it followeth moreover in the Epistle of the  
said Benno to the Cardinals.

¶ We have made mention to you before of divers  
colleges of the Church of Rome, which refused to  
communicate with him; as Leo then archpriest of  
the Cardinals, Benno, Vgobaldus, Iohannes the Car-  
dinall, Peter Chancellor and Cardinall, being all in-  
stituted before this Hildebrand. These three also  
being consecrated by him, that is, Narro, Innocenti-  
us, and Leo, forsooke him, cursing the detestable er-  
rors which he held. In like case Theodinus whom  
he constituted Archdeacon, and other Cardinals  
more, Iohannes surnamed Primicerius, Petrus Obla-  
tionarius, with all that appertained to them, saving  
one only man. And now, when this Hildebrand  
saw that the Bishops also would forsake him, he cal-  
led unto him the laymen, and made them privy of  
his counsell, thinking thereby to separate the Bi-  
shops, that they should have no conference with the  
Cardinals. After that he called together those Bi-  
shops, and being guarded with bands of lay men he  
inforced the Bishops partly for feare, and partly for  
his menacing words, to swear unto him, that they  
should never disagree unto that which he would have  
done, that they should never defend the Kings quarrell,  
and that they should never favour or obey the Pope  
that should in his stead be instituted. VVhich thing  
being done he sent them, by meanes of the Prince  
of Salernites, into Campania, and thus did he se-  
parate them from the company of the Cardinals, and  
from the City of Rome. And not only the Bishops, but  
also the Priests of the City and Clerks of inferior or-  
ders, as also the laymen he bound by their oaths, that  
at no time nor for any cause they should condescend  
unto the King.

As soone as Pope Alexander was dead, which  
died somewhat before night, the same day, contra-  
ry to the Canons, he was chosen Pope of the laymen.  
But the Cardinals subscribed not to his election. For  
the Canons prescribed (under paine of cursing) that  
none should be chosen Pope before the third day  
after the buriall of his predecessor. But he (by si-  
nister meanes thus climbing to the Sea) removed the  
Cardinals of the said Sea from being of the counsell.  
But with what persons he consulted night and day,  
Rome

The Priests of  
Germany ston-  
ag, with the  
Popes unaine-  
full protecti-  
ons.

Ex Benno Car-  
dinalis.

Pope Hilde-  
brand fasten  
of divers of his  
Cardinals.

Pope Hilde-  
brand compel-  
led the bishops  
and priests of  
Rome to swear  
unto him.

Single Priest-  
hood how it be-  
gan.

Examples of  
concord in  
Bishops and  
Ministers.

Pope Hilde-  
brand unorder-  
ly made Pope



Rome well heard and ſaw. And he now putting the Cardinals from his counſell, his life, faith, and doctrine, no man could accuſe or beare witneſſe of: whereas in the Canons is commanded, 'that in every place whereſoeuer the Pope is, ſhould be with him three Cardinals being Priests, and two Deacons, becauſe of his Eccleſiaſtical testimony, and ſtile of verity: of which canonically decree loore gentle Reader before. He violently wrested the ſacred Scriptures to cover his fallhood, which kinde of idolatry how great it is, manifeſtly throughout all the Scripture it appeareth. Contrary to the minds and counſell of the Cardinals, and beſides the determinate order of pronouncing judgement by the Canons, he raſhly did Excommunicate the Emperour, being in no ſynod ſolemnly accuſed before. The ſentence of which Excommunication, after rehearſall of theſe preſents, ſhall alſo be manifeſted ( Chriſt willing ) to the which Excommunication, ſaith Benno, none of the Cardinals would ſubſcribe. As ſoone as he aroſe out of his ſeate papall, to Excommunicate the Emperour, the ſame ſeate (being made but a little before with big timber) ſuddenly by the appointment of God was rent and ſhivered in peeces: ſo that all men might plainly underſtand, what and how great and terrible ſchiſmes that lubber had ſowen againſt the Church of Chriſt, againſt the ſeat of S. Peter, and how cruelly he had diſperſed the chaire of Chriſt, in deſiling the Lawes of the Church, ruling by might and austeriſty in that his ſo perillous and preſumptuous Excommunication.

In the deſcription of the ſame Excommunication he interteth thoſe things wherein he himſelfe erred, when he abſolued the Emperour being unjuſtly Excommunicate, and the biſhops alſo communicating with him; and to the uttermoſt thus cutting and mangling the vniſty of the Church and thoſe that communicated with them, did as much as in him lay to make two Churches.

Alſo the ſame bold Merchant commanded that the Cardinals ſhould faſt, to the intent that God would reueale whoſe opinion was better (either of the Church of Rome, or of Berengarius) touching the controverſie of the Lords body in the Sacrament. And hereby he proved himſelfe to be a manifeſt infidell, for that in the Nicen counſell it is written, he that doubteth is an infidell.

Further, he ſought for a ſigne to eſtabliſh his faith concerning the Article of the Lords body; as did Gregory to confirme the Womans faith, when the conſecrated Bread was tranſubſtantiated into the forme of a fleſhly finger. He alſo ſent two Cardinals (Attones and Cunones) unto Anaſtaſe, that with the archpriest of the ſame Church they ſhould begin a faſt of three daies ſpace, and that every of them (every day during thoſe three daies) ſhould ſay over the Pſalter, and ſing maſſes, that Chriſt would ſhew unto them ſome ſuch like ſigne of his body, as he did to the foreſaid Gregory; which thing they could not ſee.

The Emperour was wont oftentimes to goe to S. Maries Church in the mount Aventine to pray. Hildebrand, when he had by his eſpials ſearched out and knew all the doings of the emperour, cauſed the place where the Emperour was accuſtomed (either ſtanding or proſtrate on his face to pray) to be marked, and for mony he hired a naughty pack (like himſelfe) to gather and lay together a heap of great ſtones directly over the place in the vault of the Church, where the Emperour would ſtand, that in throwing the ſame down upon his head, he ſhould ſlay the Emperour. About which purpoſe as the hireling haſted, and was buſie, removing to the place a ſtone of great hugeneſſe and waight, it broke the planke whereon it lay, and the hireling ſtanding thereupon, both together fell down from the rooſe to the pavement of the Church, and with the ſame ſtone was daſht all in peeces. And after the Romans had

underſtanding of the handling of this matter, they faſtened a rope to one of the feete of this hireling, and cauſed him to be drawen through the ſtreets of the City three daies together in example to others. The Emperour notwithstanding, according to his wonted clemency, cauſed him to be buried.

Iohannes Biſhop of Portua ( being one of the ſecret counſell of Hildebrand ) came up into the Pulpit of S. Peter, and amongſt other things in the hearing both of the Clergy and People, ſaid: Hildebrand and we have committed ſuch a fact and ſo horrible, for the which we are all worthy to be burned alive ( meaning of the Sacrament of the body of Chriſt ) which Sacrament Hildebrand, when he thereof inquired a Divine answer againſt the Emperour, and it would not ſpeake, threw into the fire and burned it, contrary to the perſwaſion of the Cardinals that were there preſent, and would have reſiſted the ſame.

In the ſecond holy day in the Eaſter-weeke, when the Clergy and the people were aſſembled at S. Peters Church to heare maſſe, after the Goſpell he ſent up into the Pulpit as he was in his pontificall attire, and in the preſence of divers Biſhops and Cardinals (a great company both of the ſenate and the people of Rome being gathered together) openly preached (among many other words of divination) that the King, whole name was Henry, ſhould die (with-out all peradventure) before the feaſt of S. Peter next inſuing: or elſe at leaſtwiſe that he ſhould be ſo dejected from his Kingdome, that he ſhould not be able any more to gather together above the number of fixe Knights. This he preached to the Biſhops and Cardinals, and all that were preſent, crying out of the Pulpit in theſe words: Never accept me for Pope any more, but pluck me from the Altar if this propheſie be not fulfilled by the day appointed. About the ſame time he went about by helpe of privy murderers to kill the Emperour, but God preferred him. And many there were even at that time which thought Pope Hildebrand to be guilty, and to be the deviſer of the treaſon, becauſe that then he ( before the deed put in execution ) preſumed of the death of the King, being by him falſly propheſied of before; which words of his wounded many mens hearts. And it came to paſſe that Hildebrand by his words was openly condemned in the congregation, which (as is ſaid) gave judgement of himſelfe to be no Pope, neither that he would be counted for Pope any longer, but thought to be both a belier and a traitor, unleſſe that before the feaſt of S. Peter next coming the Emperour ſhould die, or elſe ſhould be deprived of all kingly honor, in ſo much as he ſhould not be able to make above fixe Knights on his part. And thus by the appointment of God it came to paſſe, that by his own mouth he was condemned for an heretike.

Thus ſaith the Lord: the Prophet which of arrogancy will propheſie in my name thoſe things I have not commanded him, or elſe will propheſie in the name of other Gods, let him be ſlaine. And if thou ſhalt ſay with thy ſelfe, How ſhall I know what thing it is that the Lord hath not commanded to be ſpoken? This token ſhalt thou have to know it by: Whatſoeuer things the Prophet in the name of God ſhall propheſie, and the ſame come not to paſſe, that mayeſt thou be ſure the Lord hath not ſpoken, but the prophet hath imagined through the haughtineſſe of of his own minde, and therefore thou ſhalt not be afraid of him.

When the time was expired that Hildebrand in his divination had ſet, and that neither the King was dead, neither the power of the empire empai red: and fearing leſt by the words of his own mouth hee ſhould be reprehended and condemned, ſubtilly he turned his tale, ſaying, and perſwading the ignorant people, that he meant not of the body of the King, but of his ſoule: as though the ſoule of the

The Emperour wrongfully excommunicated.

The Pours Chaire brake under him as he ſole to excommunicate the Emperour.

The Pope divided the unity of the church

Of this miracle weread in no approved Writting.

The Pope hired one to ſlay the Emperour.

The Pope a falſe prophet.

The Pope ſet forth againe to murder the Emperour.

The Pope by his own mouth condemned for an heretike.

The Emperour preferred by the power of God from the Pope.



A ſubtilliſt  
of Hildebrand  
to ſave piſtying  
prophesie.

King had loſt all, ſaving ſix of his Knights or Souldiers, or elſe had been dead during that ſpace : and thus by theſe ſleights he beguiled the ignorant people. Againſt ſuch prophets S. Gregory upon Ezechiel ſaith : Betwene true prophets and falſe this difference there is, that true Prophets if they ſpeake any thing upon their own mind, they be ſoon rebuked : but the falſe Prophets, both they tell lyes, and not having the ſpirit of truth, they perſeuer in their falſity.

Three perſons  
before they were  
conſtituted, put to  
execution by  
Hildebrand  
againſt all  
Law.

Over and beſide, the ſaid Hildebrand judged to death three men before they were conſtituted, or elſe confeſſed their crime, without the ſentence of any ſecular judge, and cauſed them to be hanged upon a paire of gallows, over againſt the Church of S. Peter in a place called palatium, without any delay or aduiſement, contrary to the Lawes which command that every public offender ſhould have thirty dayes ſpace before he be put to execution. Which thing even amongst the Pagans is in ure and obſerved, as teacheth the authority of S. Ambroſe, and the martyrdom of holy Marcellianus and Marcus.

Centius taken  
by the Pope,  
and put into  
a battell of  
ſailles.  
The Pope taken  
of Centius

He caſt Centius the ſonne of Stephan the Alderman into priſon, being before his truſty friend ; and in a Veſſell being thick ſet with ſharpe Nailles, he tormented him to the point of death, who, after that he was eſcaped, apprehended the ſaid Hildebrand. Of this apprehenſion, before he was ſet at liberty, he openly forgave all the conſpirators. Which thing afterwards, contrary to his fidelity, he brake and revenged, and cauſed Centius, to whom he had forgiven all offences, to be taken, and hanged him and nine of his men upon the gallows before S. Peters Porch.

Centius executed  
by the pope  
contrary to pro-  
miſe and faith.

There was at the apprehenſion of Pope Hildebrand a certaine Widdowes ſonnes, to whom (and others more for their penance) he injoynd a yeares baniſhment. Which time being expleat or run out, the Widdow in token of more ample ſatisfaction, thinking thereby to have appeaſed the minde of Hildebrand, put a Halter about her ſonnes neck, and drawing her ſonne by the rope unto the foote of Hildebrand, ſaid : My Lord Popeat your hands will I receive againe my ſonne, which one whole yeare hath indured baniſhment and other penance by your holineſſe injoynd. Then the ſaid Hildebrand for that inſtant, becauſe of thoſe which were with him in company (diſſembling his wrath) delivered her, her ſon very churliſhly, ſaying : Get thee hence woman I bid thee, and let me be in reſt. After this he ſent his officers and apprehended the Widdowes ſon, and gave Commandement to the juſtices to put him to death : who all together making anſwer, ſaid, that they could no more condemne or meddle with him, for that he had for his crime committed appealed once to the Pope, and abidden the baniſhment, and done the penance by him injoynd. Hereupon this glorious Hildebrand, diſpleaſed with the iudges, cauſed the foote of the widdowes ſonne to be cut off : making neither repentance, nor the Lawes and Ordinances to be of any eſtimation with him : and thus his foote being cut off, he died within three dayes after with the paine thereof. Many other wicked deeds did this Hildebrand, upon whom the blood of the Church crieth vengeance, ſhed by the ſword (that is) the miſerable treachery of his tongue : for which things (and that juſtly) the Church reſuſed to communicate with him. *Hec Ben-*

The villainy of  
the Pope in kil-  
ling a Widdowes  
ſonne which be-  
fore had done  
his penance.

## An other Epiſtle of Benno to the Cardinals.

Another Letter  
of Benno.

To the reverend fathers of the Church of Rome, and to his beloved in Chriſt, and to his brethren that ſhall for ever be beloved, Benno the Cardinal of the Church of Rome, wiſeth faithfull ſervice, health, & communion with the ſervants of the

catholike Church, Of the which communion, diſcipline, and power he vainely braggeth, that by the preſumption of his authority ſhall unjuſtly bind or looſe any manner of perſon. And he doth unjuſtly bind whatſoever he be, that curſeth any man (being willing to make ſatisfaction, and bewailing his boldneſſe, being alſo unconvinced, and not confeſſing the crime) but rather curſing that party in vaine, he curſeth and condemneth himſelfe, turning his weapon upon his own perſon to his deſtruction. Strange and new found treachery proceeding from the ſanctuary, nay rather from him which as high Biſhop ſeemeth to rule the Church, & to be a iudge over the iudges.

The diuelliſh  
practiſe of Hi-  
debrand in ut-  
tering the biſhop  
againſt the  
Emperour.

Hildebrand was earneſtly in hand with the Emperour, that he ſhould depriue thoſe biſhops, which came in by ſimony. The Emperour (thinking, as a zealous Prince, that this commiſſion had proceeded from the throne of God) without delay obeyed the ſame, and forthwith without any conſideration, or iudiciall order, deprived certaine biſhops, and thought that by this his obedience to Hildebrand he offered an acceptable ſacrifice to God, not knowing the crafty handling of him. But Hildebrand then again placed thoſe, whom the Emperour for ſimony at his commandement had before depoſed, & thoſe whom by that meanes he made to beare a hatefull heart to the Emperour, he reconciled againe unto himſelfe in great familiarity ; and by many and great oathes taken of them, for their fidelity towards him, he promoted them above all the reſt. And thus by theſe pranks, the imperiall feat of the King being ſhortly after impaired, and deſtitute almoſt of friends, he craftily purchaſing the friendſhip & favour of the greateſt Princes, the better to bring his matters to paſſe, ſuddenly again, without any lawfull accusation, without any canonically vocation, without all iudiciall order, he excommunicated the Emperour (ſo obedient alwaies unto him) and ſet the Princes of the Empire all againſt him. And notwithstanding (as the Apoſtle ſaith) that no man ought to circumvent his brother in his buſineſſe, as much as in him lay, he rather mortified & killed him, then brotherly corrected him. Thus the Emperour being many wayes circumvented, as excommunicated beſides the canonically order, & by the conſent & counſell of Hildebrand, ſpoiled of the greateſt part of his imperiall honour, & overcharged with great wars & ſlaughters of his own ſubjects, in vain deſired & ſued to have the canon read and heard, cauſing him by force & violence at Canuſum, in the preſence of Hildebrand, to accuſe himſelfe by his own confeſſion.

The Emperour  
cauſed by Hi-  
debrand to ac-  
cuſe himſelfe.

Say you now (I pray you) all ſuch as love iuſtice, & love not to leane either upon the left hand, or elſe the right hand, in the favour of any perſon ; ſay your minds, whether that ſuch a confeſſion being forced upon never ſo pure a man (much moze upon an Emperour) ought at ſuch a time to be preiudiciall or not? Whether he, which extorted the ſame confeſſion, is guilty of the Canon? Or elſe he, which, being ſo perverſly judged, ſuffered the injury of a moſt perverſe iudge? Which alſo moſt patient-ly & publickly ſuffered this violence with lamentable affliction upon his bare ſete, clothed in thin garments, in the ſharpe winter, which never was uſed, & was theſe dayes together at Canuſum made a ſpectacle both of angels & men, & a ludibrious mocking ſtock to that proud Hildebrand. Never truſt me, if that fourteen Cardinals, the archdeacon himſelfe, & he that is called Primicerius, being all wiſe & religious men, beſides many other of the Clerkes of Lateran (to the iudgement & priviledge of whoſe holy ſeate the whole world is obedient) weighing & conſidering his intollerable apoſtaſie, departed not from participating, and reſuſed communicating with him.

The great pa-  
tience of the  
godly Emperour

This glorious Hildebrand, & his affinity, by



their new authoritie breaking the decrees of the Chalcedon councell, not only in words, but also in publicke writings have agreed, that it is tollerable both to baptise and communicate being out of the Church of God: & how blind these men were, and also what heretikes they be, their own writings doe declare. What a mischief is this? (saith Benno) they presume to iudge of the Church, which swaime themselves in all errors, who also esteem the verity but as a lie; and lest their poponed falsehood both in words & writings should appeare, they have like subtilt popponers (the sooner to deceive) mixed homp therewithall. Alie, saith S. Augustine, is every thing pronounced with the intent of deceiving of others.

It were too long & tedious here to recite all the detestable doings, & diabolicall practises of conjurings, charmes, & filthy sozeries, exercised between him & Laurentius, and Theopylact, otherwise named Pope Benedict the ninth, whereof a long narration followeth in the for. said Epistle of Benno to the cardinals to be seen, to whom the reader may repaire, who so hath either leisure to read or mind to understand more of the abominable parts & diabolish acts of this Hildebrand.

Thus having sufficiently alledged the words & testimonies of Benno and Aventinus, concerning the acts & facts of this Pope; now let us proceed (in the order as followeth in his story) to set forth the miserable deration which the vertuous and godly Emperour sustained by that ungodly person.

About what time Hildebrand was made Pope, Henricus the fourth Emperour was incumbered & much vexed with civill dissension in Germany, by reason of certaine grievances of the Barons against him & his father Henricus the third. Whereupon the matter growing to sedition, sides were taken, & great wars ensued betwixt the Duke of Saxony, & Henricus the Emperour. This busie time served to Hildebrand very opportune to work his feats, whose study and drift was ever from the beginning to advance the dominion of the Romish seat above all other bishops, & also to presse down the authority of the temporall rulers, under the spiritual men of the Church. And although he went about the same long before, by subtilt traines and acts set forth concerning simony: yet now he thought more effectually to accomplish his purposed intent after that he was exalted thither where he would be. And therefore now bearing himselfe the bolder, by the authority of S. Peters throne, first he began to pursue the act set out by his predecessor, as touching simony, cursing & excommunicating, whosoever they were, that received any spirituall living or promotion at lay mens hands, as also all such as were the givers thereof. For this he called then simony, that under that colour he might defeat the temporall potestats of their right, & so bying the whole Clergy at length to the lure of Rome. And so much as the Emperour was the head, thinking first to begin with him, he sendeth for him by letters & legats to appeare in the councell of Lateran at Rome. But the Emperour, busied in his warres against the Barons, had no leisure to attend to counells. Notwithstanding Gregorius the Pope proceedeth in his councell, rendring there the cause & reason before the Bishops, why he had excommunicate divers of the Clergy, as Herman bishop of Bamberg, counsellor to the Emperour, & other Priests more for simony. And there moreover in the said councell he threatneth to excommunicate likewise the Emperour himselfe, and to depose him from his regall Kingdom, unless he would abrenounce the heresie of simony, & doe penance. The councell being ended, Guibertus archbishop of Ravenna perswaded with one Centius (a Romane, the Captaine son, whom the Pope had excommunicated) to take the emperours part against the pope:

who watching his time in the Temple of S. Mary, upon Christmas day in the morning, taketh the Pope & putteth him fast in a strong Tower. The next day the people of Rome hearing this, harness themselves with all expedition to helpe the Bishop, whom when they looked out of the Tower, they besieged the house of Centius, and pluckt it down to the ground; his family, having their noses cut off, were cast out of the City. Centius himselfe escaping fled to the Emperour. Guibert the archbishop, pretending good will to the Pope, departed from Rome, who likewise had wrought with Hugo Candidus Cardinall, and with Theobaldus archbishop of Millain, also with divers other bishops about Italy, to forsake the Pope & take the Emperours part. Gregory the Pope called Hildebrand, hearing the conspiracy, lapeth the sentence of excommunication upon them all, & deprieth them of their dignity. The Emperour being moved (not unworthily) with the arrogant presumption of the proud prelate, called together a councell at Wormes. In which councell all the bishops not only of Saxony, but of all the whole Empire of Germanes, agree & conclude upon the deposition of Hildebrand, & that no obedience hereafter should be given to him. This being determined in the councell, Roulandus a priest of Barren was sent to Rome with the sentence, who in the name of the councell should command Gregory to yield up his seat, and also charge the Cardinals to select to the Emperour for a new election of another Pope. The tenor of the sentence sent by Roulandus was this.

### The sentence of the councell of Wormes against Hildebrand.

Forasmuch as thy first ingresse and coming in hath been so spotted with so many perjuries, and also the Church of God brought into no little danger through thine abuse and new fangleness: moreover, because thou hast defamed thine own life and conversation with somuch and great dishonesty, that we see no little perill or slander to rise thereof: therefore the obedience, which yet we never promised thee, hereafter we utterly renounce, and never intend to give thee. And as thou hast never taken us yet for Bishops (as thou hast openly reported of us) so neither will we hereafter take thee to be apostolike. Vale.

Gregory the Pope, tickled with this sentence, first condemneth it in his councell of Lateran with excommunication. Secondly, deprieth Sigifridus archbishop of Mentz of his dignities, & Ecclesiasticall livings, with all other bishops, abbats & priests, as many as tooke the Emperours part. Thirdly, accuseth Henricus the Emperour himselfe, deprieth him of his Kingdom & regall possession, and releaseth all his subjects of their oath of allegiance given unto him, after this sort, and manner.

### The tenor of the sentence Excommunicatory against Henricus the Emperour by Hildebrand.

O blessed S. Peter Prince of the Apostles, bow down thine eares I beseech thee, and heare me thy servant, whom thou hast brought up even from mine infancy, and hast delivered me untill this day from the hands of the wicked, which hate and persecute me, because of my faith in thee. Thou art my witness, and also the blessed mother of Iesus Christ, and thy brother S. Paul, fellow partner of thy martyrdom, how that I entered this function not willingly, but enforced against my will; not that I take it so as a robbery, lawfully to ascend into this seat; but

Hildebrand call in the Tower.

Guibertus archbishop of Ravenna.

The councell of Lateran against the pope.

The councell of Rome against the councell of Wormes. Henricus the Emperour excommunicated by Hildebrand.

Ex Platina.

Marke this preface, that say the pope cannot erre.

Modicum quid.

Pope Hildebrand a worker of sozery and conjuring.

Henricus 4. Emperour.

Such don't made of Peters throne, but his life they let alone.

Hermanus excommunicated Hildebrand.

Centius.



The Pope  
threateneth  
kindnesse of  
S. Peter.

but because that I had rather passe over my life, like a pilgrime or private person, then for any fame or glory to climbe up to it; I doe acknowledge (and that worthily) all this to come of thy grace, and not of my merits, that this charge over Christian people, and this power of binding and loosing is committed to mee. Wherefore, trusting upon this assurance for the dignity and tuition of holy Church in the Name of God omnipotent, the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy Ghost, I doe here depose Henrie; the sonne of Henry once the Emperour, from his imperiall seat, and princely government, who hath so boldly and presumptuously laid hands upon thy Church. And furthermore, all such as heretofore have sworne to bee his subjects; I release them of their oath, whereby all subjects are bound to the allegiance of their Princes. For it is meete and convenient that he should be voyde of dignity, which seeketh to diminish the Majesty of thy Church. Moreover, for that he hath contemned my monitions, tending to his health and wealth of his people; and hath separate himselfe from the fellowship of the Church (which he, through his seditions, studieth to destroy) therefore I binde him by vertue of excommunication, trusting and knowing most certainly, that thou art Peter (in the Rocke of whom as in the true foundation) Christ our King hath built his Church.

Quir tulrit  
Gracchos de  
seditione queren-  
tes Pluven.

The Saxons  
take the Popes  
part against the  
Emperour.

The Emperour, thus assaulted with the popes censure, sendeth abroad his letters throzow all nations to purge himselfe, declaring how wrongfully, and against all right he was condemned. The Princes of Almanie partly fearing the crack of the Popes thunderclap, partly againe reioycing that occasion was renewed to rebell against the Emperour, assem-

bled a commonement, where they did consult and so conclude to elect another Emperour; and so fall from Henry, unlesse the Pope would come to Germany, & hee would there be content to submit himselfe and obtaine his pardon.

Wherein is to be considered the lamentable afflictions of the Germans in those daies, so to forsake such a valiant Emperour, & so much to repute a vile Bishop. But this was the rudenesse of the world then, for lack of better knowledge. The Emperour, seeing the chiefe princes ready to forsake him, promised them with an oath, that if the pope would repaire to Germany, hee would aske forgiveness.

Upon this the Bishop of Triers was sent up in commission to Rome, to intreat the Pope to come into Germany. The Bishop (at the instant of the legat & of the Princes) was content. He entred into Germany, thinking to come to Augusta. After hee was come to Wercellos (the Bishop of that City being the Chancellor of Italy, and desirous to disturb peace for the old grudge hee had to the Emperour) falsly perswaded with the Pope, that he was certaine the emperour was comming with a mighty great army against him, counselling him therefore to provide betimes for his own safegard in some stronger place. Whereby the popes mind being altered, he retired back to Canusium or Canossus, a City being subject to Matilda, a countesse of Italy, where hee should not need to feare the Emperour.

Henricus understanding the false feare of the Pope, and of his retire to Canusium, incontinent (comming out of Spire with his wife and his yong sonne, in the deep and sharpe of winter) resorteth to Canossus. All his pæres and nobles had left him for feare of the Popes curse, neither did any accompanie him. Wherefore the Emperour, being not

Peace distur-  
bed through  
wicked  
councils.

Henricus the Emperour, with his wife and child, barefoote and barelegd waiting on Pope Hildebrand, three dayes and three nights, at the gates of Canusium, before he could be suffered to come in.





A wondrous  
subditiō of a  
battaile Empe-  
roz to a viler  
Pope.

Notable pat-  
tern in a noble  
Emperour.

Shoud conditi-  
ons of the pope.

Pope both  
accuser and  
iudge.

Here the beas-  
t of the Apoca-  
lyps appeareth  
in his colour.

a little troubled (laying apart his regall ornaments) came barefooted with his wife & child to the gate of Canossus, where he from morning to night (all the day fasting) (most humbly desireth absolution, craving to be let in to the speech of the bishop. But no ingresse might be given him once within the gates. Thus he continuing thre dayes together in his petition & suite; at length answer came, that the Popes maiesty had yet no leisure to talk with him. The Emperour nothing moved therewith, that he was not let into the City, patient & with an humble mind abideth without the wals, with no little grievance & painfull labour: for it was a sharp winter, & all frozen with cold. Notwithstanding, yet through his importunate suite at length it was granted, through the intreating of Matilda the Popes paramour, & of Arelaus Earle of Sebaudia, and the abbat of Cluniack, that he should be admitted to the Popes speech. On the fourth day being let in, for a token of his true repentance, he yeeldeth to the Popes hands his crowne, with all other ornaments imperfall; & confessed himselfe unworthy of the Empire, if ever he doe against the Pope hereafter, as he hath done before, desiring for that time to be absolved & forgiven. The Pope answereth, he will neither forgiue him, nor release the bond of his excommunication, but upon conditions. First, to promise that he shall be content to stand to his arbitrement in the councill, and to take such penance as he shall imayne him: also that he shall be well & ready to appeare, in what place or time the Pope shall appoint him. Moreover, that he, being content to take the Pope iudge of his cause, shall answer in the said councill to all objections and accusations laid against him, and that he shall never take any redgement herein. Item, that hee (though hee be quit & cleared therein,) shall stand to the Popes mind & pleasure, whether to have his Kingdom restored, or to lose it. Finally, that before the triall of his cause, he shall neither use his kingly ornaments, scepters, or crown, nor usurpe the authority to governe, nor to exact any oath of allegiance upon his subiects, &c. These things being promised to the bishop by an oath, and put in writing, the Emperour is only released of excommunication. The tenor of the writing is this.

The forme and tenor of the oath, which Henricus made to the Pope.

Henricus King, after peace and agreement made to the minde and sentence of our Lord Gregorius the seventh, promise to keep all covenants and bonds betwixt us, and to provide that the Pope goe safely where-soever he will without any danger either to him or to his retinue; especially in all such places as be subiect to our Empire. Nor that I shall at any time stay or hinder him, but that he may doe that belongeth to his function, where and whensoever his pleasure shall be. And these things I bind my selfe with an oath to keepe. Actum Canof. 5. calend. Februarii, indic. 15.

Thus the matter being decided betwixt them as for the Popes own prescribement, the Emperour taketh his journey to Papia. The Pope with his Cardinals did want and triumph with no little pride, that they had so quailed the Emperour, & brought him on his knees to aske them forgiveness. Yet notwithstanding, mistrusting themselves, and misdoubting time, what might befall them hereafter if fortune should turne, and God give th: Emperour to enjoy a more quiet Kingdom: therefore to prevent such dangers betime, they study and consult privily with themselves how to displace Henry cleare from his Kingdom, and how that device might safely be conceived. They conclude and determine to derive the Empire unto Rodolphus, a man

of great nobility amongst the chiefest states of Germany; and also to incite and stir up all other Princes and subiects (being yet free and discharged from their oaths) against Henry, & so by force of armes to expell the Emperour out of his Kingdom. To bring this purpose the better to passe, legates were sent down from the Pope, Sigehardus patriarch of Aquila, and Altimanus bishop of Padway, which should perswade through all France, that Henry the Emperour was rightfully excommunicated, and that they should give to the bishop of Rome their consents in chusing Rodolphus, to be Emperour. This being done, there was sent to the said Rodolphus, Duke of Suevia, a crown from the Pope with this verse:

*Petra dedit Petro, Petrus diadema Rodolpho.*

The verse.

The rock gave the crowne to Peter,  
Peter giveth it to Rodolph.

Here by the way of digression (to make a little glosse upon this barbarous verse) two notable lies are to be noted. One, where he lyeth upon Christ, the other where he lyeth upon St. Peter. First, that Christ gave any temporal diadem to Peter, it is a most manifest lie, & against the Scriptures, when as he would not take it, being given to himselfe, and saith, his Kingdom is not of this world. Again, where he saith that Peter giveth it to Rodolph: here he plaieth the poet; for neither had Peter any such thing to give; and if he had, yet he would not have given it to Rodolphus from the right heire: neither is it true that Peter did give it, because Hildebrand gave it. For it is no good argument; Hildebrand did give it; Ergo, Peter did give it: except we will say, Hildebrand stirred up great warres & bloodshed in Germany; Ergo, Peter stirred up great warres in Germany. So Peter neither could, nor would, nor did give it to Rodolphus, but only Hildebrand the Pope: who after he had so done, he gave in commandement to the archbishop of Mentz and of Cullen, to elect this Rodolphus for Emperour, and to annoint him King, & also to defend him with all force and strength they might.

While this conspiracy was in hand, Henricus the Emperour was absent, & the Popes ambassadors with him also. In the meane space Rodolphus was elected Emperour, unknowing to Henry. Upon this cometh the bishop of Strausborough unto the Emperour, certifying him what was done. He, suspecting and seeing the stomack and doings of the Saxons bent against him, mustereth his men with expedition, and marcheth forward to defend his right; but first sendeth to Rome (trusting upon the league betwixt him and his Pope) & requirerth the bishop to proceed with his sentence against Rodolphus, for the rebellious invasion of his Empire. But the bishop, minding nothing lesse, sendeth word again, that it was not right to condemne any person, his cause being not heard: thus under pretence of the Law colouring his unlawfull treachery. Henricus, thus disappointed & forsaken on every side with his men about him attempteth battell against Rodolphus. In which battell a marvellous great slaughter was on both sides, but the victory on neither part certaine; so that both the Captaines yet challenged the Empire. After the battell & great murder on both sides, they both sent to Rome, to know of the Popes determination, to whether of them two he iudged the right title of the Empire to appertaine. The bishop commandeth them both to break up their armies, & depart the field, promising he shortly would call a councill where this matter should be disputed; in the meane time they should cease from war. But before the messengers returned again (their armies being refreshed) they had another conflict together, but not victory got

The gloss upon  
the verse of  
Hildebrand.

The Pope  
proved a double  
liar.

The pope treat-  
ing to the Em-  
perour.

The crafty  
conspiracy of  
the Cardinals  
against the  
Emperour.



Great wars  
stirred up by  
the Pope.

on either part. Thus both the captaines being wearied in warres, the Romish beast the bishop, which was the cause thereof, perceiving whither these cruel warres would tend, to the great calamity not only of the Germans, but also of other Nations (trusting to find another way to help Rodolphus and his adherents) sendeth down a commission by **10** *Who* archbishop of Trevers, Bernardus Deacon, & Bernardus abbat of *Maastitia*: to whom he gave in charge that they should call together a counsell or sitting in Alman, & that there it should be defined to whether part the Empire should pertaine, by most right & publike consideration: promising that what they should therein determine, he (looking up on the matter through the authority of God omnipotent, and of S. Peter, and S. Paul) would ratifie the same. Moreover, for that no let nor impeachment should happen to the legats by the way, he giveth with them letters to the Princes & nations of Germany: whereof the contents be declared briefly **20** *ly* in Platina, if any list to read them.

But the Emperor would not so permit the legats to have any counsell within Germany, except they should first deprive Rodolphus of his Kingdom. The legats, considering that to be against the drift and intention of the Pope, returned againe from whence they came. The pope hearing this, & seeing his purpose was so disappointed by the Emperor, draweth out another Excommunication against him, and againe bereaveth him of his Kingdom: **30** sending about his letters Excommunicatory throughout all places, thinking thereby to further the part of Rodolphus the better. Platina hath in his booke the whole effect of the writing, which sendeth after this sort.

### The Copy of the second excommunication of Hildebrand against the Emperour.

Disaffection  
opposit.

The pope pray-  
eth S. Peter  
to dishonor his  
King.

And S. Peter  
bindeth the  
pope to honor  
his King.

Crocodili  
lachryme.  
Scripture well  
applied.  
A figure called  
"artus aboli."  
Cujus contrariū  
verum est.  
Vim facium  
scripturis, ut  
plenitudinem  
accipiam pote-  
statis.

Let all Papists  
marke here wel  
the holynesse of  
their holy sa-  
crament.

**B**lessed S Peter, Prince of the Apostles, and thou Paul also the teacher of the Gentiles, give eare unto me I beseech you a little, and gently heare me, for you are the disciples & lovers of truth. The things that I shall say are true. This matter I take in hand for truth sake, that my brethren (whose salvation I seeke) may the more obsequiously obey me, and better understand, how that I trusting upon your defence (next to Christ, and his mother the immaculate virgin) resist the wicked, and am ready to help the faithfull. I did not enter this seat of mine own accord, but much against my will, and with teares, for that I accounted my selfe unworthy to occupy so high a throne. And this I say, not that I have chosen you, but you have chosen me, and have laid this great burthen upon our shoulders. And now, whereas by this your assignement I have ascended up this hill, crying to the people, and shewing them their faults, and to the children of the Church their iniquities; the members of Satan have risen up against me, and have laid hands together to seeke my blood. For the Kings of the Earth have risen up against me, and the Princes of this World, with whom also have conspired certaine of the Clergy subjects against the Lord, and against us his annointed, saying: Let us breake asunder their bonds, and cast off from us their yoke. This have they done against me, to bring me either to death or to banishment. In the number of whom is Henricus, whom they call King, the sonne of Henry the Emperor; which hath lift up so proudly his hornes and heele against the Church of God, making conspiracy with divers other bishops, both Italian, French, and Germans. Against the pride of whom hitherto your authority hath resisted; who rather being broken then amended, comming to me in Cisalpinia, made humble sute to me for pardon and absolution. I, thinking nothing else but true repentance in him, received

him againe to favor, and did restore him to the communion only, from which hee was Excommunicate; but to his Kingdome (from which in the synod of Rome he was worthily expelled) I did not restore him, nor to the rents and fruits thereof that he might returne to the Faith againe) that I granted not to him. And that I did for this purpose, that if he should defer to fall to agreement with certaine of his Neighbours whom he hath alwayes vexed, and to restore againe the goods both of the Church and otherwise, then he might be compelled by the censures of the Church and force of Armes thereunto. Whereby divers and sundry bishops and Princes of Germany (such as he had long troubled) being helped by this opportunity, elected Rodolphus their Duke to be King in the place of Henricus, whom they for his transgressions had removed and dispatched from his Empire. But Rodolphus, first in this matter using a princely modesty and integrity, sent up his messengers to me, declaring how he was constrained (wild he, mild he) to take that regall government upon him, albeit he was not so desirous thereof, but that he would rather shew himselfe obedient to us, then to the other that offered him the Kingdom; and whatsoever our arbitrement should be therein, he would be under obedience both of God and of us. And for more assurance of his obedience, he hath sent his own children hither for pledges. Upon this Henricus began to snuffe, and first intreated us to restraine and inhibit Rodolphus, through the paine of our curse, from the usurpation of his Kingdom. I answered againe, I would see whether of them had more right and tide thereunto, and so send our legats thither upon the same, to know the whole state of the matter; and thereupon I would decide betwixt them, whether of them had the truer part. But Henricus would not suffer our legats to come to take up the matter, and slue divers both secular men, and of the Clergy, spoiling and prophaniag Churches; and so by this meanes hath indangered himselfe in the bonds of Excommunication. I therefore trusting in the judgement and mercy of God, and in the supportation of the blessed Virgin, also upon your authority, doe lay the sentence of curse upon the said Henricus, and all his adherents: and here againe I take his regall government from him, charging and forbidding all Christian men that have been sworn unto him, whom I discharge here of their oath, that hereafter they obey him in nothing, but that they take Rodolphus to their King, who is elected by many Princes of the Province. For so right it is and convenient, that as Henry for his pride and stubbornnesse is deprived of his dignity and possession: so Rodolphus, being gratefull to all men for his vertue & devotion, be exalted to the imperiall throne and domination.

As though he  
were not set up  
by you rather  
then by them.

The more to  
blame Emper-  
ors to suffer you  
to be so saucy  
with them.

Therefore, O you blessed princes of the Apostles, grant to this, and confirme with your authority that I have said, so that all men may understand, if you have power to bind and loose in Heaven, you have also power in Earth to give and take away Empires, Kingdomes, principalities, and whatsoever here in Earth belongeth to mortall men. For if you have power to judge in such matters as appertaine to God: what then should wee thinke you have of these inferior and prophane things? And if it bee in your power to judge the Angels, ruling over proud Princes, what then shall it besee me you to doe upon their servants? Therefore let the Kings understand by this example, and all other Princes of the World, what you be able to doe in Heaven, and what you are with God; that thereby they may feare to contemne the Commandement of holy Church. And now doe you exercise this judgement quickly upon Henricus, whereby all men may see this sonne of iniquity to fall from his Kingdome, not by any chance, but by your provision and onely worke. Notwithstanding this I would crave of you, that hee, being brought to repentance through your intercession, yet in the day

Nego argumentum.

Consider this  
clause with the  
history of the  
story hereafter.  
No doubt but  
possit.



day of judgment may finde fauour and grace with the Lord. Actum Romæ, nonis Martii, indictione 3.

Guibertus  
archbishop De-  
posed.

Furthermore, Hildebrand, not yet content with this, interdicteth & deposeth also Guibertus archbishop of Ravenna, for taking the Emperours part, commanding all Priests to giue no manner obedience to him, and sendeth thither to Ravenna another archbishop with full authority.

The 4. battell  
between Henry  
and Rodolph.  
Henricus victor.

After and upon this, Henricus and Rodolphus, to try the matter by the sword, coped together in battell, not without bloodshed, where Henricus, by the fauour of God, against the iudgement of Hildebrand, had the victory. Rodolphus, there greatly wounded in the conflict, was had out of the Army, & carried to Hyperbolic, where he commanded the bishops and chiefe doers of his conspiracy to be brought before him. When they came, he lifted up his right hand in which he had taken his deadly wound, and said: This is the hand which gave the oath and Sacrament unto Henricus my Prince, & which through your instigation so oft hath fought against him in baine: now goe and performe your first oath & allegiance to your King: for I must to my fathers, & so die. Thus the Pope gave battell, but God gave the victory.

Rodolphus at  
his death re-  
penteth.  
The Pope gives  
him victory.

Henricus (after his enemy being thus subdued, and wars being ceased in Germany) forgot not the old injuries receiued of Hildebrand, by whom he was twice excommunicated, and expelled from his Kingdome, and three daies making humble sute (yea and that in sharp winter) could find no fauor with him. Besides that, he incited moreouer and aided his enemy against him. Wherefore he calleth together a councill or assembly of diuers bishops of Italy, Lombardy, and Germany, at Brixia, 1083. where he purged himselfe, and accused the bishop Hildebrand of diuers crimes, to be an usurper, perjured, a Necromancer and forcerer, a sower of discords; complaining moreouer of wrongs and injuries done by the bishop and Church of Rome, in that the Church of Rome preferred the bishop before him; when that his father, being Emperour before him, had intyronized & set in diuers and sundry bishops there by his assignment, without al others election. And now this bishop, contrary to his oath and promise made, thrust in himselfe without the will and knowledge of him, being their King & magistrate. For, in the time of his father Henricus the third, this Hildebrand with other bound themselves with a corporall oath, that so long as the Emperour, and his sonne now being King, should liue, they should neither themselves presume nor suffer any other to aspire to the papall seate, without the assent & approbation of the foresaid Emperours; which now this Hildebrand, contrary to his corporall oath, had done. Wherefore the foresaid councill with one agreement condemned this Gregory, that he should be deposed. The tenor of which condemnation is thus expressed in Abbate Vrspergensis.

Councilum  
Brixienfe.

Anno  
1083.

Bishop of  
Rome can be  
chosen without  
consent of the  
Emperour.

Abbas Vrsper-  
gensis.

### The sentence of the councill of Brixia against Hildebrand.

BECAUSE it is not unknown, this bishop not to be elected of God, but to have intruded himselfe by fraud and money, who hath subverted all Ecclesiasticall order, who hath disturbed the government of the Christian Empire, menacing death of body & soule against our Catholike and peaceable King, who hath sowed & maintained a perjured King, sowing discord where concord was, causing debate amongst friends, slanders and offences amongst brethren, divorcements & separation amongst the married, for he took away the marriage of Priests, as Henricus Murus witnesseth, and finally disturbing the peaceable state of all quiet life: Therefore we here in the Name and Authority of God congregat

Henricus  
Murus.

together, with the legats and hands of 19. bishops, the day of Pentecost at Mentz, doe proceed in canonical judgement against Hildebrand, a man most wicked, preaching sacrilege and burning, maintaining perjury and murders, calling in question the catholike faith of the body and blood of the Lord, a follower of diuination and dreames, a manifest necromancer, a forcerer, and infected with a pythonical spirit, and therefore departed from the true faith, and we judge him to be deposed and expelled; and, unlesse he hearing this shall yeeld and depart the sear, to be perpetually condemned. Enacted 7. Calend. Iulii, feria. 5. indictione 3.

Note here the  
Pope iudged  
and deposed of  
the councill.

This being enacted and sent to Rome, they elected Guibertus archbishop of Ravenna in the place of Hildebrand, to governe the Church of Rome, named Clemens the third. But when Hildebrand neither would giue over his hold, nor giue place to Clement, the Emperour, gathering an army to send to Italy, came to Rome to depose Gregory, and to place Clement. But Hildebrand, sending to Basilica the Countesse before mentioned, required her (in remission of all her sins) to withstand Henry the Emperour: and so she did. Notwithstanding Henricus prebailing came to Rome, where he besieged the City all the Lent, and after Easter got it, the Romans being compelled to open the gates unto him: so he comming to the temple of S. Peter, there placed Clement in his papacy. Hildebrand straight flyeth into Adrians towne with his adherents, where he being beset round about at length sendeth for Robert Guiscardus his friend a Norman. In the mean time, while Robertus collected his power, the abbat of Cluniack, conferring with Gregory, exhorted him to crown Henricus Emperour in Lateran. Which if he would doe, the other promised to bring about, & Henry should depart with his army into Germany; whereunto the people of Rome also did likewise move him. To whom Gregory answered, that he was content to do so, but upon condition that the Emperour would submit himselfe to aske pardon, to amend his fault, & to promise obedience. The Emperour, not agreeing to those conditions, went to Senas, taking Clement new created Pope with him.

The Pope seeks  
succour of  
his paramour.  
The first example  
to fight for  
remission of sins  
began in Guido  
brand.

After the returne of the Emperour, the foresaid Robert Guiscardus, approaching with his souldiers, burst in at one of the gates, and spoyleth the City. And not long after delivereth Hildebrand out of his enemies hands, & carried him away to Campania; where he not long continuing after died in exile.

Platina,  
Nauclerus,  
Sabellicus,  
Crangius,  
Beno, &c.

Antonius writeth, that Hildebrand, as he did lie a dying, called to him one of his chiefe Cardinals, bewailing to him his fault & misorder of his spirituall ministry, in stirring up discords, warre, & dissension, whereupon he desired the cardinal to goe to the Emperour, & desire him of forgiveness, absolving him from the danger of Excommunication both him and all his partakers both quick and dead.

Thus hast thou (gentle reader) the full History of Pope Gregory the seventh, called Hildebrand; which I have laid out more at large, & desire thee to marke, because that from this Pope (if thou mark well) springeth all the occasions of mischief, of pomp, pride, stoutnesse, presumption & tyranny, which since that time hath raigned in his successors hitherto, in the cathedrall Church of the Romish clergy. For here came first the subiection of the temporall regiment under the spirituall iurisdiction: & Emperours, which before were their masters, now are made their underlings. Also here came in the suppression of Priests marriage, as is sufficiently declared. Here came in moreouer the authority of both the sword spirituall & secular into spirituall mens hands. So that Christian magistrates could doe nothing in election, in giuing bishopricks or benefices, in calling councill, in hearing & correcting the

Hildebrand the  
first author and  
patron of all  
mishief that  
followed after  
in Popes.



the excesses of the Clergy, but only the Pope must doe all. For moreover, no bishop nor pastor in his own parish could excommunicate or exercise any discipline amongst his flock, but only the Pope challenged that prerogative to himselfe. Finally, here came in the first example to persecute Emperors & Kings with rebellion and excommunication, as the Clergy themselves hereafter doe testifie & witness in proceeding against Paschalis. Thus these notes being well observed, let us (by the grace of Christ) now repaire againe to our Country history of England.

The death of  
William the  
Conqueror.

About the death of Pope Hildebrand (or not long after) followed the death of King William conqueror, in the yeare 1090, after he had reigned in England the space of one and twenty yeares, and ten months. The cause of his sicknesse and death is said to be this: For that Philip the French King upon a time (jesting) said that King William lay in childbed & nourished his fat belly. To this the foresaid William, hearing thereof, answered againe & said, when he should be churched, he would offer a thousand candles to him in France, wherewithall the King should have little toy. Whereupon King William in the moneth of July (when the corne, fruite and Chapes were most flourishing) entered into France, and let on fire many Cities & Townes in the west side of France. And lastly, coming to the City of Meaux, where he burning a woman being as a recluse in a wall inclosed (or as some say, two men anchorites inclosed) was so fervent & furious about the fire, that with the heat partly of the fire, partly of the fume of the yare, thereby he fell into sicknesse, and dyed upon the same.

By the life and ads of this King it may appeare true, as stories of him report, that he was wise, but guilefull; rich, but covetous; a faire speaker, but a great dissembler; glorious in victory and strong in armes, but rigorous in oppressing whom he overcame, in levying of tasks passing all others. Inso much that he caused to be enrolled and numbred in his treasure every hide of land, and owner thereof: what fruit and revenewes furnished of every Lordship, of every township, castle, village, field, river, and wood, within the realme of England. Moreover, how many parish churches, how many living cattell there were, what and how much every baron in the realm could dispend, what fees were belonging, what wages were taken, &c. The tenor & contents of which taskment yet remaineth in rolls. After this tasking or numbring, which was the yare before his death, followed an exceeding murren of cattell, and barrennesse of the ground, with much pestilence and hot fevers among the people, so that

Pestilence in  
England, and  
murren of  
beasts.

such as escaped the fever were consumed with famine. Moreover, at the same season among certain other Cities, a great part of the City of London, with the Church of Pauls, was waisted with fire in the yare of our Lord 1085.

London with  
the Church of  
Pauls burnt.

In hunting and in parks the foresaid King had such pleasure, that in the country of Southampton, by the space of 30 miles, he cast down Churches & townships, and there made the new forest; loving his Dære so dearely, as though he had bern to them a father, making sharpe lawes for the increasing thereof, under paine of losing both the eyes. So hard he was to Englishmen, and so favorable to his own country, that as there was no English bishop remaining, but only Wollstan of Worcester, who being commanded of the King and Lanfranke to resigne up his staffe, partly for inability, partly for lack of the French tongue, refused otherwise to resigne it, but only to him that gave it, and so went to the tombe of King Edward, where he thought to resigne it, but was permitted to introy it still; so likewise in his daies there was almost no Englishman that bare office of honor or rule in the Land. In so much that it was halfe a shame at that time to be called an Englishman. Notwithstanding he some deale favored the City of London, and granted unto the Citizens the first charter that ever they had, written in the Saxon, with green way sealed, and contained in few lines.

Wollstan bishop  
of Worcester

Among his other conditions, this in him is noted, that to given he was to peace and quiet, that any maiden being laden with gold or silver, might passe through the whole Realme without harme or resistance. This William in his time builded two Monasteries, one in England at Battell in Suffre, where he won the field against Harold, called the Abbey of Battell, another besides, named Warmond, sep in his country of Normandy.

England peace-  
able from  
theeves.

The abbe of  
Battell.  
The abbe of  
Warmond.

After the life and Roys of King William thus briefly described, with the acts and order of battell betwixen him and King Harold (although much more might have been written of that matter, if the booke had come sooner to my hands, which afterwards I saw) now remaineth in the end of this Roys to describe the names of such Barons and Nobles of Normandy, which entred with him into this land, as well of them which were imbarqued with him, and came also (as appeareth) in the battell, as also of them who were planted and advanced by the said Conqueror in the lands and possessions of English Lords, whom he either expelled, or else beheaded. The names of which Normans here follow under written.

Cut of the annals of Normandy in French, whereof one very ancient written booke in parchment remaineth in the custody of the writer hereof.

The day after the battell, very early in the morning, the bishop of Bajoux sung masse for those that were departed. The Duke after that desirous to know the estate of his battell, and what people he had therein lost and were slaine, he caused to come unto him a clerk that had written their names when they were imbarked at S. Valeries, and commanded him to call them all by their names, who called them that had bin at the battell, and had passed the seas with Duke William. And hereafter follow their names.

The names of those that were at the conquest of England.

Do, bishop of Bai- eux.	the beard, of whom descended the line of Meullent.	Henry Seigneur de Fer- rières,	Rob. Sire de Beauvou,
Robert, Conte de Mor- taign. These two were brethren unto Duke William by their Mo- ther.	Guillaume Maler,	Le Sire Daubemare,	Le Sire Davou,
Baudwin de Buillon,	Le sire de Monfort, fur Rille,	Guillaume Sire de Rommare,	Le Sire de Sotoville,
Roger conte de Beau- mont, surnamed With	Guill. de Viexpont,	Le Sire de Litcheare,	Le Sire de Margneville,
	Neel de S. Saviour le Vi- conte,	Le Sire de Touque,	Le sire de Tancarville,
	Le Sire de Fougiers,	Le Sire de Neauhou,	Eustace Dambleville,
		Le Sire de Pirou,	Le sire de Mangneville,
			Le Sire de Grâmesnil,
			Guillaume Crespin,
			Le sire de S. Martin,

Guill.



Guill. de Moulins, Le sire de Puis, Geoffrey sire de Mai- enne. Auffroy de Rohon, Auffroy & Maugier de Carrait, Guill. de Garrennes, Hue de Gournay, Siro de Bray, Le conte Hue de Gournay, Euguemont de laigle, Li viconte de Touars, Rich. Danvernechin, Le sire de Biars, Le sire de Solligny, Le Bouteiller Daubig- ny, Le sire de Maire, Le sire de Vitry, Le sire de Lacy, Le sire du val Dary, Le sire de Tracy, Hue sire de Montfort, Le sire de Piquegny, Hamon de Kaieu, Le sire Despinay, Le sire de Port, Le sire de Torcy, Le sire de Tort, Le sire de Riviers, Guillaume Moyonne, Raoul Tesson de Tin- gueleiz, Roger Marmion, Raoul de Guel, Avenel des Biars,	Paennel du Montier Hubert, Rob. Bertramle Tort, Le sire de Seulle, Le sire de Dorival, Le sire de Breval, Le sire de S. Iehan, Le sire de Bris, Le sire du Homme, Le sire de Sauchhoy, Le sire de Cailly, Le sire de Semilly, Le sire de Tilly, Le sire de Romelly Mar. de Basqueville, Le sire de Preaulx, Le sire de Gonis, Le sire de Sainceaulx, Le sire de Moulloy, Le sire de Monceaux,  The archers du val du Reul, and of Bretheul, and of many other places.  Le sire de S. Saen, i. de S. Sydonio, Le sire de la Kiviere, Le sire de Salaruile, Le sire de Rony, Eude de Beaugieu, Le sire de Oblic, Le sire de Sacie, Le sire de Nassie, Le Visquains de Chymes, Le sire du Sap, Le sire de Glos,	Le sire de Mine, Le sire de Glanville, Le sire de Breemcon, Le Vidam de Partay, Raoul de Morimont, Pierre de Baillaul, sire de Fiscamp, Le sire de Beaufault, Le sire de Tillieres, Le sire de Pacy, Le Séeschal de Torcy, Le sire de Gacy, Le sire de Douilly, Le sire de Sacy, Le sire de Vacy, Le sire de Tourneur, Le sire de Praeres, Guillaume de Cou- lombieres, Hue sire de Bollebec, Rich. sire Dorbeck, Le sire de Bonneboz, Le sire de Tresgoz, Le sire de Montiquet, Hue le Bigor de Male- tot. Le sire de la Hay, Le sire de Mombay, Le sire de Fay, Le sire de lay Ferte, Bouteuillain, Trouffebout, Guillaume Patric de laLaund, Hue de Mortemer, Le sire Danuillers, Le sire Donnebaut, Le sire de S. Cler.	Rob. le filz Herneys duc de Orleans. Le sire de Harecourt, Le sire de Creve- cœur, Le sire de Dein- court, Le sire de Bremetot, Le sire Combray, Le sire Daunay, Le sire de Fontenay, Le conte Deureux, Le sire de Rebel- chil, Alain Fergant conte de Bretagne, Le sire de S. Vallery, Le conte Deu, Gualtier Gifford conte de longeville, Le sire Destoute- ville, Le conte Thomas Daubmalle, Guill. conte de Hoy- mes & Darques, Le sire de Bere- ville, Le sire de Breante, Le sire de Frean- vible, Le sire de Pauilly, Le sire de Clerc, Toustan du Bec, Le sire Maigny, Roger de Montgo- mary, Amauri de Touars.
--	--	--	--

Over and besides the great number of knights and esquires that were under them. In the same battell betweene the said William the bassard, Duke of Normandy on the one part, and King Harold on the other part, there were slain on King Harolds side of Englishmen, 6654. And on Duke Williams side there were slaine, 6013. men, as it is to be found in the chronicle of S. Peter of Westminster, besides those that were drowned in the river of Thames.

When as the above named & many other great Lords were so called, some of them appeared, other some did not, for some of them were slaine there in the field, and others so wounded, that they could not come forth to the themselves. When gave the duke commandement, that the dead should be buried, & those that were sick comforted, and eased the best that might, &c.

Out of the ancient chronicles of England, touching the names of other Normans which seemed to remaine alive after the battell, and to be advanced in the signiories of this Land.

Iohn de Maudeville, Adam Vndeville, Bernard de Frevile, Rich. de Rochuile, Gilbert de Frankuile, Hugo de Dovile, Symond de Rotevile, R. de Evile, B. de Knevuile, Hugo de Morvile, R. de Colevile, A. de Warvile, C. de Karvile, R. de Rotevile, S. de Stotevile, H. Bonum, I. Monum, W. de Vignoun, K. de Vispount, W. Bailbof, S. de Baleyn, H. de Marreys, I. Aguleyne,	G. Agilon, R. Chamburlayne, N. de Vendres, H. de Verdon, W. de Verto, C. de Vernon, H. Hardul, C. Capan, W. de Camvile, I. de Cameyes, R. de Rotes, R. de Boys, W. de Waren, T. de Wardboys, R. de Boys, W. de Audaley, K. Dynham, R. de Vaures, G. Vargenteyn, I. de Hastings, G. de Haftank, L. de Burgee, R. de Butuileyn,	H. de Malebranch, S. de Malemain, G. de Hautevile, H. Hauteyn, R. de Morteyn, R. de Mortimer, G. de Kanovile, E. de Columb, W. Paynel, C. Panner, H. Pontrel, I. de Rivers, T. Revile, W. de Beauchamp, R. de Beaupale, E. de Ou, F. Lovel, S. de Troys, I. de Artel, Iohn de Montebrugge, H. de Mounteserel, W. Trussebur, W. Truffel.	H. Byset, R. Basset, R. Moler, H. Malovile, G. Bonet, P. de Bonvile, S. de Rovile, N. de Norbeck, I. de Corneux, P. de Corbes, W. de Mountague, S. de Mountfychet, I. de Genevyle, H. Gyffard, I. de Say, T. Gilbard, R. de Chalons, S. de Chauward, H. Ferret, Hugo Pepard, I. de Harecourt, H. de Haunfard, I. de Lamare,
--	---	---	---



P. de Mautreviers,  
G. de Ferron,  
R. de Ferrers,  
I. de Dely,  
W. de Werders,  
H. de Borneuile,  
I. de Saintenys,  
S. de Syncler,  
R. de Gorges,  
E. de Gemere,  
W. de Feus,  
S. de Filberd,  
H. de Turberville,  
R. Troublenuer,  
R. de Angon,  
T. de Morer,  
T. de Rotelet,  
H. de Spencer,  
E. de Saintpuenten,  
I. de Saint Martin,  
G. de Culfan,  
Saint Constantin,  
Saint Leger & Saint  
Med.  
M. de Cronu & de S.  
Viger,  
S. de Crayel,  
R. de Crenker,  
N. Meyuel,  
I. de Berners,  
S. de Chumly,  
E. de Charers,  
I. de Grey,  
W. de Grangers,

S. de Grangers,  
S. Baubenyn,  
H. Vangers,  
E. Bertram,  
R. Bygot,  
S. Treoly,  
I. Trigos,  
G. de Feues,  
H. Filiot,  
R. Taperyn,  
S. Talbot,  
H. Saatfaver,  
T. de Samford,  
G. de Vandien,  
C. de Vautort,  
G. de Mountague,  
Tho. de Chamber-  
non,  
S. de Montfort,  
R. de Erneuaux,  
W. de Valence,  
T. Clarel,  
S. de Cleruaus,  
P. de Aubemarle,  
H. de Saint Ar-  
vant,  
E. de Auganuteys,  
S. de Gant,  
G. de Malearbe,  
H. Mandur,  
W. de Chesun,  
L. de Chandut,  
B. Filz urs,  
B. Vicont de Low,

G. de Cantemere,  
T. de Cantlow,  
R. Breaunce,  
T. de Broxeboof,  
S. de Bolebec,  
B. Mol de Boef,  
I. de Muelis,  
R. de Brus,  
S. de Brewes,  
I. de Lille,  
T. de Bellile,  
I. de Waterville,  
G. de Nevile,  
R. de Neuburgh,  
H. de Burgoyne,  
G. de Bourgh,  
S. de Lymoges,  
L. de Lyben,  
W. de Helyoun,  
H. de Hildrebron,  
R. de Loges,  
S. de Saintlow,  
I. de Maubank,  
P. de Saint Malow,  
R. de Leoferne,  
I. de Loyotor,  
G. de Dabbeville,  
H. de Appetot,  
W. de Percy,  
H. de Lacy,  
C. de Quincy,  
E. Tracy,  
R. de la Souche,  
V. de Somery,

I. de Saint Iohn,  
T. de Saint Gory,  
P. de Boyly,  
R. de Saint Valery,  
P. de Pinkeny,  
S. de Pavely,  
G. de Monthaut,  
T. de Mountchesy,  
R. de Lymozy,  
G. de Lucy,  
I. de Artois,  
N. de Arty,  
P. de Grenville,  
I. de Greys,  
V. de Cresty,  
F. de Courcy,  
T. de Lamar,  
H. de Lymastz,  
I. de Moubray,  
C. de Morley,  
S. de Gorney,  
R. de Courtenay,  
P. de Gourney,  
R. de Cony,  
I. de la Hufe,  
R. de la Hufe,  
V. de Longeville,  
P. Longespy,  
I. Pouchardon,  
R. de la Pomeroy,  
I. de Pountz,  
R. de Pontlarge,  
R. Estrauunge,  
Tho. Savage.

The first bishop  
of Salisbury.  
Osmond bishop  
of Sarum.  
Ordinate ecle-  
siastici officii  
secundum usum  
Sarum.  
Ex Eulogio hi-  
storico lib. 3.  
The use and  
ordinary of  
Sarum, how  
it was  
devised.

A little above, mention was made of the bishops  
Sea of Shirebozne, translated from thence to Sa-  
lisbury. The first bishop of Salisbury was Birman-  
nus a Pozman, who first began the new Church &  
Minister of Salisbury. After whom succeeded Os-  
mundus, who finished the work, and replenished  
the house with great living, and much good singing.  
This Osmundus first began the ordinary which  
was called Secundum usum Sarum, An. 1076. The oc-  
casion whereof was this, as I find in an old story  
book intituled Eulogium. A great contention chanced  
at Glastenbury between Thurstanus the abbat  
& his convent, in the daies of William Conqueror.  
Which Thurstanus the said William had brought  
out of Normandy from the abbey of Caen, & placed  
him abbat of Glastenbury. The cause of this  
contentious battell was, for that Thurstanus con-  
temning their quier service, then called the use of  
S. Gregory, compelled his monks to the use of  
one William a monk of Jifcan in Normandy.  
Whereupon came strife & contentions amongst  
them, first in words, then from words to blows, af-  
ter blows then to armour. The abbat, with his  
gard of harness men, fell upon the monks, & drave  
them to the steps of the high altar, where two were  
slain, eight were wounded with shafts, swords, and  
pikes. The monks, then driven to such a strait and  
narrow shift, were compelled to defend themselves  
with formpes & candlesticks, wherewith they did  
wound certaine of the soldiers. One monk there  
was (an aged man) who instead of his shield took an  
image of the crucifix in his armes for his defence,  
which image was wounded in the breast by one of  
the bold men, whereby the monk was saved. My  
story addeth more, that the striker incontinent upon  
the same fell mad; which sheweth of some monkish  
addition besides the text. This matter being brought  
before the King, the abbat was sent again to Caen,  
and the monks by the Commandement of the  
King were scattered in far Countries. Thus, by the  
occasion hereof, Osmundus bishop of Salisbury  
devised that ordinary, which is called the use of Sa-  
rum, and was afterward received in a manner

through all England, Ireland and Wales. And thus  
much for this matter, done in the time of this King  
William.

Which William after his death, by his wife  
Matilda or Maud, left three sons, Robert Courteys,  
to whom he gave the duchy of Normandy; William  
Rufus his second sonne, to whom he gave the  
Kingdom of England; & Henry the third sonne, to  
whom he left & gave treasure & warned William  
to be to his people loving and liberall, Robert to be  
to his people stern and sturdy.

In the History called Iornalensis, it is reported of  
a certain great man, who about this time of King  
William was compassed about with mice & rats,  
and lying to the midst of a River, yet when that  
would not serve, came to the land againe, & was  
of them devoured. The Germans say that this  
was a bishop, who dwelling between Cullen and  
Wentz, in time of famine and dearth, having store  
of Corne & Grain, would not helpe the poverty  
crying to him for reliefe, but rather wished his  
Corne to be eaten up of mice & rats. Wherefore  
being compassed with mice & rats (by the just  
judgment of God) to avoid the annoiance of them,  
he builded a Tower in the midst of the River of  
Rheine (which yet to this day the Dutchmen call  
Rats Tower) but all that would not help; for the  
rats & mice swam over to him in as great abun-  
dance, as they did before, of whom at length he was  
devoured.

William Rufus.



William Rufus, the second sonne of  
William Conquerour, begun  
his raigne in the yeare of our  
Lord 1088. & reigned thirtein  
yeres, being crowned at West-  
minster by Lanfrancus; who, af-  
ter his Coronation, released out  
of prisoe, by the request of his fa-  
ther, divers English Lords, which before had bin in  
custody. It chanced, at the death of William Con-  
queror, Robert Courteys his eldest sonne was abset

Example of  
Gods just  
indgement up-  
on a Bishop,  
who being un-  
mercifull to the  
poore, was  
eaten with  
rats & mice.

{ Anno }  
1089.  
William  
Rufus.

in



in Almany, who hearing of the death of his father, & how William his younger brother had taken upon him the Kingdom, was therewith greatly moved; in so much that he laid his Dukedome to pledge unto his brother Henry, & with that good gathered unto him an Army, and so landed at Hampton, to the intent to have expelled his brother from the Kingdom. But William Rufus hearing thereof sent to him faire & gentle words, promising him dedition and subiedion, as to the more worthy and elder brother. this thing only requiring, that seeing he was now in place & possession, he might enjoy it during his life, paying to him yearly three thousand markes, with condition that which of them overlibed the other should enjoy the kingdom. The occasion of this variance between these brethren inought a great dissention between the Norman Lords & bishops, both in England and in Normandy. In so much that all the Norman bishops within the Realme almost rebelled against the King, taking part with Duke Robert, except only Lanfrancus, and Wolstan bishop of Worcester above mentioned, an Englishman; who for his vertue & constancy was so well liked and laboured of his Citizens, that (imbolstered with his presence and Prayer) they stoutly maintained the City of Worcester against the siege of their enemies, and at last vanquished them with utter ruine. But duke Robert at length by the advice of his counsell (hearing the words sent unto him, & wagging his head thereat, as one conceiving some matter of doubt or doublenesse) was yet content to assent to all that was desired, & so returned shortly after into Normandy, leaving the bishops and such others in the briars, which were in England, taking his part against the King.

This Rufus was so ill liked of the Normans, that between him & his Lords was oft dissention. Wherefore (well wene) all the Normans tooke part against him: so that he was forced of necessity to draw to him the Englishmen. Again, so covetous he was, & so immeasurable in his tasks & takings, in selling benefices, abbies, and bishopricks, that he was hated of all Englishmen.

In the third yeare of this King died Lanfrancus archbishop of Canturbury, from whose commendation and worthinesse as I list not to detract any thing (being so greatly magnified of Polydorus his countryman) so neither doe I see any great cause why to adde any thing thereto. This I thinke, lesse that man had bought with him lesse superstition, & more sincere science into Christ his Church, he might have kept him in his Country still, & have confuted Berengarius at home. After the decease of Lanfrancus the See of Canturbury stood empty four yeares.

After the counsell of Lanfrancus above mentioned, wherein was concluded for translating of bishops Sees from villages into head Cities, Remigius bishop of Dorchester (who, as ye heard, accompanied Lanfrancus unto Rome) removed his bishop See from Dorchester unto Lincoln, where he builded the Minster there situate upon an hill within the said City of Lincoln. The dedication of which Church Robert archbishop of Yorke did resist, saying, that it was builded within the ground of his precinct. But after, it had his Romish dedication by Robert Blevef, next bishop that followed. By the same Remigius also was founded the cloyster or monastery of Stow, &c.

In the fourth yeare of this King great tempests fell in sundry places of England, specially at Winchester, where the temple was burned with lightning, the Church wall burst thorow, the head & right leg of the crucifix, with the image of our lady on the right side of the crucifix, thrown down, & such a sink left in the Church, that none might abide it. At London the force of the weather and tempest overtur-

ned six hundred houses. In which tempest the roose of Winton church was hurled up in the wirts, & by the vehemency thereof was pitched down a great deepe nesse into the ground.

King William (as ye have heard) an exceeding poller, or rather rather of church goods, after he had given the bishoprick of Lincoln to his chancellor Robert Blevef above minded, began to cavill, about the See of Lincoln to belong to the See of Yorke; till the bishop of Lincoln had pleased him with a great sum of money of five thousand markes, &c.

And as nothing could come in those dayes without money from the King to Herbert Losinga, paying to the King a piece of money, was made bishop of Thetford, as he had paid a little before to be abbat of Ramsey. Who likewise, the same time removing his See from Thetford to the City of Norwich, there erected the cathedrall Church with the cloyster in the said City of Norwich, where he furnished the monks with sufficient living and rents of his own charges, besides the bishopps lands. Afterward, repening of his open & manifest sinomy, he went to Rome, where he resigned into the Popes hands his bishoprick, but so, that incontinent he received it again. This Herbert was the son of an abbat called Robert, for who he purchased of the King to be bishop of Winchester, whereof run these verses:

*Filius est presul, pater abba, Simm uterque:  
Quid non speremus si nummos possideamus?  
Omnia numus habet, quod vult facit, addit & aufert.  
Res nimis injusta, nummus fit presul & abba, &c.*

We heard a little before of the death of Pope Hildebrand, after the time of which Hildebrand the Germane Emperors began to lose their authority & right in the Popes election, & in giving of benefices. For next after this Hildebrand came Pope Victor by the setting up of Gratian, and the duke of Normandy, with the faction and retinue of Hildebrand, who likewise shewed him selfe stout against the Emperors. But God gave the shrewd cowhoad horns. For Victor being poisoned (as some say in his chalice) late but one yeare & a half. Notwithstanding the same imitation & example of Hildebrand continued still in them that followed after. And like as the Kings of Israel followed most part the steps of Jeroboam, till the time of their desolation: so for the greatest part all Popes followed the steps & proceedings of this Hildebrand and their spirituall Jeroboam, in maintaining of false worship, & chiefly in upholding the dignity of that See, against all rightfull authority, & the lawfull Kingdom of Zion. In the time of this Victor began the order of the monks of Charterhouse, through the meanes of one Hugo bishop, of Gracionople, and of Bruno bishop of Cullen.

Next to Victor sat Urban the second, by whom the acts of Hildebrand were confirmed, & also new decrees enacted against Henry the Emperour. In this time were two Popes at Rome, Urbanus, & Clemens the third, whom the Emperour set up. Under Pope Urban came in the white monkes of Cistercian order, by one Stephan Harding a monk of Shireborne, (an Englishman) by whom this order had his beginning in the wilderness of Cisterci, within the Province of Burgois, with witnesseth Cisterciensis. Others write that this Harding was the second abbat of that place, and that it was first founded by the meanes of one Robert abbat of Molise in Cistercium, a forrest in Burgundy, An. 1098, perswaded perchance by Harding; and afterwarde, in the yeare of our Lord 1135, it was brought into England by a certain man called Cyreke, which builded an abby of the same order called Perinall. In this order the monkes did live by the labour of their hands; they payed no tithes: nor offerings, they wore no fur nor lining, they wore

Six hundred houses blown down with wind. The roose of Winton Church pitched down.

Robert Blevef paid five thousand markes for his bishoprick.

Herbert Losinga bishop of Norwich. Losinga. 1. abbat.

Robert Victor the third.

Pope Victor's poison in his chalice. A comparison between Hildebrand Pope of Rome, and Jeroboam King of Israel.

The order of the charter monkes began.

Pope Urban the second.

Two Popes in Rome.

The order of Cistercian or white monkes began.

Wolstan Bishop of Worcester.

Anno 1097. The death of Lanfrancus archbishop of Canturbury.

Remigius bishop of Lincoln.

Lincolne minster builded.

Stow abby builded.

Anno 1092. Winchester the temple burned with lightning.



red shoes, their coules white, and coats black, all shorn save a little circle, they ate no flesh but only in their journey. Of this order was Bernardus, &c.

Synodus Romana vel Placentina.

This Urban held divers counsels: one at Rome, where he excommunicated all such lay persons as gave in bestiture of any Ecclesiasticall benefice: also all such of the Clergy as abided themselves to be underlings or servants to lay persons for Ecclesiasticall benefices: &c.

Synodus Clermontana.

Another councell he held at Cleremount in France, where among other things the bishop made an oration to the Lords being there present, concerning the voyage and recovering the holy Land from the Turks and Saracens. The cause of which voyage first sprang by one Peter a monk or heremit, who being in Jerusalem, & seeing the great misery of the Christians under the Pagans, made thereof declaration to Pope Urban, & was therein a great solicitor to all Christian Princes. By reason whereof, after the foresaid oration of Pope Urban, 30000 men (taking on them the signe of the crosse for their cognizance) made preparatiō for that voyage, whose captaines were Godfrey Duke of Lorraine, with his two brethren, Cusace and Baldwin, the bishop of Pody, Bohemund Duke of Puell and his nephew Tancredus, Raimund Earle of S. Egidius, Robert Earle of Flanders, and Hugh le Grand, brother of Philip the French King. To whom also was joined Robert Curthose Duke of Normandy, with divers other noble men, with the foresaid Peter the heremite, who was the chiefe cause of that voyage.

The voyage unto the holy Land. The number that went. The captaines of them which went to the holy Land.

At that time many of the said noble men laid their Lands & Lordships to mortgage to provide for the forenamed voyage, as Godfrey Duke of Lorraine, who sold the Dukedom of Bollogne to the bishop of Eburone for a great summe of money. Also Robert Curthose Duke of Normandy laid his Dukedom to pledge to his brother William King of England for ten thousand pounds, &c.

Anno 1096.

Thus the Christians, which passed first over Bosphorus, having to their captaine Peter the heremite (a man perchance more debout then expert to guide an army) being trapped of their enemies, were slain & murdered in great numbers among the Bulgars, and nere to the town called Civitus.

The acts of the Christians in their voyage to the holy Land.

When the nobles and the whole army met together at Constantinople (where Alexius was Emperor) passing over by Hellespontus going to Jerusalem, they took the Cities of Nicea, Craclea, Tarsis, and subdued the Country of Sicilia, appointing the possession thereof to certaine of their Captaines.

Antioch taken by the Christians.

Antioch was besieged, and in the ninth month of the siege it was yielded to the Christians by one Porcius; about which season were fought many strong battels, to the great slaughter and desolation of the Saracens, and not without losse of many Christian men. The governance of this City was committed to Bohemund Duke of Puell, whose martiall knighthood was often proved in time of the siege thereof.

Anno 1098.

The slaughter of the Persian infidels.

Hierusalem conquered by the Christians. Ex Henric. lib. 7.

And not long after, Corbona master of the Persians chivalry was vanquished & slain, with an hundred thousand infidels. In which discomfiture were taken 15000 Camels.

Hierusalem, on the nine and thirtieth day of the siege, was conquered by the Christians. Robert also Duke of Normandy was elected to be King thereof. Whobert he refused it, hearing of the death of King William Rufus of England; wherefore he never sped well in all his affaires after the same. The Godfrey, captaine of the Christian army, was proclaimed the first King of Hierusalem. At the taking of the City was such a murder of men, that blood was congealed in the street the thickness of a foote. Then after Godfrey raigned Baldwin his brother: After him Baldwin the second nephew: Then Gausfridus duke of Saint, & after him Gausfridus his sonne, by whom many great battels there were fought against

the Saracens, & all the Country thereabout subdued, save Ascalon, &c. And thus much hitherto touching the voyage to the holy Land. Now to our own Land againe.

About this time (as Matt. Parisiensis writeth) the King of England favoured not much the Sea of Rome, because of their impudent & unsatiable exactions which they required, neither would he suffer any of his subiects to goe to Rome, alleadging these words in the autho: thus expressed: Quod Petri non inhaerent vestigiis, praemiis inhiantes: non ejus potestatem retinent, cujus sanctitatem probantur non imitari: that is, Because they follow not the steps of Peter, hunting for rewards; neither have they the power and authority of him, whose holinesse they declare themselves not to follow, &c.

The King of England's judgement against the Pope. Ex Matt. Par.

By the same Urbanus the seven houres, which we call Septem horas canonicas, were first instituted in the Church.

Decrees of Pope Urbanus.

Item, by this Pope was decreed, no bishop to be made but under the name and title of some certaine place.

Item, that mattins and houres of the day should every day be said.

John Stella.

Also every Saturday to be said the masse of our Lady, and all the Iewes sabbath to be turned to the service of our Lady, as in the councell of Turon, to the which service was appointed the Anthem, Ora pro populo, interveni pro clero, intercede pro devoto foemineo sexu.

Naucerus.

Item, all such of the Clergy as had wives, to be deprived of their order.

Dist. 31. Ecce qui 15. q. 6. Iuratos.

Item, to be lawfull for subiects to breake their oath of allegiance with all such as were by the pope excommunicate.

Item, not to be lawfull both for husband & wife to Christen one child both together; with matters many more.

By the same Pope thus many Chapters stand written in the Canon Law, Dist. 7. Sanctorum, dist. 31. Eos qui 1. q. 1. Si qui dist. 56. Presbyterorum, 11. q. 3. quibus 15. q. 6. Iuratos 16. q. 7. Congregatio 19. q. 2. 30. q. 8. quod Statuimus, 25. q. 8. Tributum, 30. q. 4. quod autem, &c.

In the first yeare of this Kings raigne, Malcolm King of Scots, which former times before had made great slaughter of old & young in the North parts, as is before shewed, burst into Northumberland with all the power he could make, and there by the right iudgement of God was slain with his sonne Edward, and also Margaret his wife, sister to Edgar Abeling above intinded, a vertuous and debout Lady, within thre dayes after.

Example of Gods rightfull iudgement in punishing cruel murder.

The same yeare he gave the archbishoprick of Canturbury (after that he had detained the same in his own hands foure yeares) to Anselme abbat of Becke in Normandy.

Anselme made archbishop of Canturbury.

This Anselme was an Italian, in the City of Augusta, born and brought up in the abby of Becke in Normandy: where he was so strict a follower of vertue, that (as the story recordeth) he wished rather to be without sin in hell, then in Heaven with sin. Which saying and wish of his (if it were his) may seem to proceed out of a mind, neither speaking orderly according to the phrase and understanding of the Scripture, nor yet sufficiently acquainted with the justification of a Christian man. Further, they report him to be so far from singularity, that he should say, it was the vice which thrust the Angels first out of Heaven, and man out of Paradise.

The saying of Anselme pondered.

The vice of singularity.

Of this Anselme it is moreover reported, that he was so ill willing to take the archbishoprick, that the King had much ado to thrust it upon him; and he was so desirous to have him take it, that the City of Canturbury (which before Lanfrancus did hold but at the Kings good will and pleasure) he gave noli to Anselme wholly, which was about the yeare of our Lord 1093. But as desirous as the King

Anselme ill willing to take the archbishoprick. Canturbury first given to the archbishop wholly.



King was then to place the said Anselme, so much did he repent it afterward, seeking all manner of means to defeate him if he might. Such strife and contention rose betwene them two for certaine matters, the ground and occasion whereof first was this:

After that Anselme had bene thus elected to the See of Canturbury, before he was fully consecrate, the King communed with him (assaying by all gentle manner of words to intreate him) that such lands and possessions of the Church of Canturbury as the King had given and granted to his friends since the death of Lanfrancus, they might still enjoy the same as their owne lawfull possessions through his grant and permission. But to this Anselme in no case would agree. Whereupon the King, conceiving great displeasure against him, did stop his consecration a great season; till at length in long process of time the King, enforced by the daily complaints and desires of his people and subjects for lacke of an archbishop to moderate the Church, was constrained to admit and authorize him unto them. Thus Anselme with much adoe taking his consecration, and doing his homage to the King, went to his see of Canturbury. And not long after, the King layd over to Normandy.

About this time there were two striving in Rome for the Pope-dome, as is afore touched, Urbanus and Gubertus. Divers realmes diversly consenting, some to the one, some to the other. England, taking part with their King, was rather inclined to Gubertus, called Clement the third; but Anselme did fully goe with Urbanus, making so his exception with the King, entring to his bishopricke. After the King was returned againe from Normandy, the archbishop cometh to him, and asketh leave to goe to Rome, so set his pall of Pope Urban: which when he could not at first obtaine, he maketh his appeale from the King to the pope. Whereat the King being justly displeased chargeth the archbishop with breach of his fealty, contrary to his promise made: that is, if he without his licence should appeale either to Urban: or to any other pope. Anselme answereth againe, that it was to be referred unto some greater counsell, where it is to be disputed, whether this be to breake a mans allegiance to a terrene Prince, if he appeale to the Vicar of Saint Peter. And here much arguing and contending was on both sides. The Kings reason proceedeth thus: The custome (saith he) from my fathers time hath bene in England, that no person should appeale to the Pope without the Kings licence. He that breaketh the customes of the realme, violateth the power and crowne of the Kingdome. He that violateth and taketh away my crowne, is a traytor and enemy against me, &c. To this Anselme replyeth againe; The Lord (saith he) easily discusseth this question, briefly teaching what fidelity and allegiance we ought to give unto the Vicar of Saint Peter, where he saith: Thou art Peter, and upon this rocke will I build my Church, &c. And to thee will I give the keyes of the Kingdome of heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind in earth, it shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou loosest in earth, shall be loosed in heaven, &c. Againe, to them all in generall he saith: He that heareth you, heareth me. and who so despiseth you, despiseth me. And in another place: He that toucheth you, toucheth the apple of mine eye. On the other side, what duty we owe to the king, he sheweth also. Gibe (saith he) to the Emperour, what belongeth to the Emperour, and to God gibe that which to God belongeth. Wherefore in such things as belong to God, I will yeld, and must yeld by good right and duty, my obedience to the Vicar of Saint Peter; and in such things as belong againe to terrene dignities of my Prince, in those I will not deny to him my faithfull helpe and counsell, so farre as they can extend.

Thus have we the grounded arguments of this

Bislat to stand so stiffly against his Prince, whereunto peradventure was joined also some piece of a stubborne heart. But in this conclusion none of his fellow bishops durst take his part, but were all against him: namely, William bishop of Duresme, to whom Anselme thus protesteth, saying: Who-soever he were that would presume to probe it any breach of allegiance or fealty to his soveraigne, if he appealed to the Vicar of S. Peter, he was ready to answer at all times to the contrary. The bishop of Duresme answered againe, that he which would not be ruled by reason, must with force be constrained, &c. The King, having on his part the agreement of the bishops, thought to deprive the archbishop both of his pastozall See, and to expell him out of the realme. But he could not performe his purpose; for Anselme, as he was ready to depart the realme, said, whensoever he went, he would take his office and authority with him, though he took nothing else. Whereupon that matter was deferred till a longer time. In the meane season the King had sent privily two messengers unto Pope Urban, to intreat him to send his pall to the King, for him to give it where he would. Which messengers by this time were returned againe, bringing with them from Rome Gualter bishop of Alban the Popes legat, with the pall to be given unto Anselme. This legat, first landing at Dover, from thence came privily (unknowne to Anselme) to the King, declaring and promising, that if Urban was received Pope in England, whatsoever the King required to be obtained, he by his priviledge from the apostolicall See would ratifie and confirme the same: save onely that when the King required of the legat that Anselme might be removed, the legat thereunto would not agree; saying that it was impossible to be obtained, that such a man as he, being lawfully called, should be expelled without manifest cause. In conclusion, so it followed, that although he could not obtaine his request of the legat, yet the legat so wrought with the King, that Urban was proclaimed lawfull Pope throughout all the realme.

Then were sent to Anselme certaine bishops to move and probe his mind, declaring what charges and paines the King had bene at in his behalfe, to procure the pall for him from Rome, which otherwise would have stood him in great expences, & that all this the King had done for his sake. Wherefore if were good reason and convenient, that he (to gratifie the King) should something condescend to his request againe. But with all this Anselme the stout Archbishop would not be moved. Wherefore the King, seeing none other remedy, was compelled to grant unto him the full right of his archbishopricke. And so the day appointed when the pall should be brought to Canturbury (being carried with all solemnity in a thing of silver) the archbishop, with a great concourse of people, came forth barefoote with his priestly vestments, after a most goodly manner to meete the same: and so being brought in, it was laid upon the altar, whiles Anselme (spreading over his shoulders his popish vestments) proceeded unto his popish masse.

This agreement being made betwene the King and the bishop, so long as it would hold, it happened the yeere following, the King with his army entered into Wales, to subdue such as there rebelled against him. After the victory gotten, the King returned home againe with triumph; to whom Anselme thought to have come to congratulate his prosperous successe. But the King prevented him by messengers, laying to the bishops charge both the small number and the evill service of his souldiers sent to him at his need. At the hearing hereof, all the hope of Anselme was dashed, who at the same present had thought to have obtained and done many great matters with the King touching the state of the Church. But here all turned contrary to his expectation:

All the bishops of the Realme stood of the Kings side against Anselme, William bishop of Duresme.

Gualterus the Popes legat cometh to England.

Anselme could not be removed by the King. The Pope taketh this as no fault, for a subject to repugne against his King.

The countess of Anselme standing against his King.

The manner of bringing in Anselme's pall into Canturbury.

Another quarrell of the King against Anselme.

Strife and contention betwene the King and Anselme.

Anselme stopped from his consecration.

Anselme consecrated.

Anselme doeth homage to King William.

Urbanus and Clement striving for the papacy.

England favored Clement.

Anselme denied leave to goe to Rome.

Anselme appeared from the King, to the Pope.

Anselme charged for a traytor.

The Kings argument against Anselme.

The custome of England from William Conquerours time, not to appeale to the Pope.

The reasons of Anselme to move the popes indolency above other Kings. Anselme here grievously callet the Pope the Vicar of S. Peter, where the Canon law alleth him but the successor of Peter, and Vicar of Christ.



Anselme againe  
appealeth to  
Rome.

The Kings  
answer to An-  
selme for his  
appealing to  
Rome.

The custome of  
England.

No prelate or  
noble man to  
goe to Rome  
without the  
Kings sending.

The answer of  
Anselme to the  
King.

Note the high  
reasons of An-  
selme.

The bishops  
left Anselme  
alone.

pectation: in so much that he was charged, against the next court of parliament, to make his answer. But he answered that by appealing to Rome. Wherefore he made his wife and friends to the King for licence to goe to the Pope. Unto the which wife the King answered againe, that he should not goe, neither was there any cause for him so to doe; for that both he knew him to be of so sound a life, that he had done no such offence, whereof he needed to crave absolution at Rome, neither was there any such lacke of science and knowledge, that he needed to borrow any counsell there: In so much (saith the King) I dare say, Pope Urban rather hath to give place to the wisdom of Anselme, then Anselme to have need of Urban. Wherefore as he hath no cause to goe, so I charge him to tarry. And if he continue in his stubbornness, I will assuredly seize upon his possessions, and convert his archbishopricke into my coffers: for that he transgresseth and breaketh his fidelity and obedience, promising before to observe all the customes of my Kingdome. Neither is it the fashion in this realme, that any of my nobles should goe to Rome without my sending. And therefore let him sweare unto me, that he shall neither for any grievance appeale hereafter to the See of Rome, or else let him vowe my realme.

Against these words of the King Anselme thinking not best to reply againe by any message, but by word of mouth, committing himselfe personally to the King, he placed himselfe (after his order) on the right hand of the Prince, where he made his reply unto the message sent to him by the King. Whereas you say I ought not to goe to Rome either in regard of any trespass, or for abundance of counsell and knowledge in me (albeit I grant neither of them to be true) yet what the truth is therein, I referre it to the judgement of God. And whereas ye say that I promised to keep and observe your customes: that I grant, but with a condition; so farre to keep them, and such of them to observe, as were consonant to the lawes of God, and ruled with right and equity. Moreover, whereas ye charge me with breach of my fidelity and allegiance, for that contrary to your customes I appeale to the See apostolike (my reverence and duty to your soveraignty reserved) if another would say it, that is untrue. For the fidelity and obedience that I owe to the King (whom I have it of the faith and fidelity of God, whose vicar St. Peter is, to whose seate I doe appeale. Further, whereas ye require me to sweare, that I shall for no cause hereafter at any time appeale to Rome: I pronounce openly that a christian Prince requireth such an oath of his archbishop unjustly. For if I should forswear St. Peter, I should deny Christ. And when I shall at any time deny Christ, then shall I be content and ready to stand to the satisfaction of my transgression to you, for asking licence to goe to Rome. And peradventure when I am gone, the goods of the Church shall not so serve your temporall desires and commodities as ye were for. At these words of the bishop the King and his Nobles were not a little incensed: they defending againe, that in his promise of observing the Kings customes, there was neither condition nor any clause put in, either of God or right. So was said Anselme. If so be that in your customes was neither mention made of God nor of right, whereof was there mention then? For God forbid that any Christian should be bound to any customes which goe contrary to God and to right. Thus on both sides passed much altercation betwene them.

At length the King, after many threatening words, told him he should carry nothing out of the realme with him. Well said the bishop, if I may neither have my horse nor garments with me, then will I walke on foot, and so addressed him toward his journey (all the other bishops forsaking him) whereof none would take his part: but if he came to them

for counsell, they said he was wise enough, and needed not their counsell, as who for his prudence knew best what was to be done, as also for his holiness was willing and able to persecute the same that he did know. As for them, they neither durst nor would stand against the King their lord, whose favour they could not lacke, for the perill that might happen both to themselves and their kindred. But for him, because he was both a stranger, and lord of such worldly corruption in him: they willed him to goe forward as he had begun; their secret consent he should have, but their open voice they would not give him. Thus Anselme, remaining at Dover fifteen daies tarrying for wind, at last sped him toward his passage. But his packing being secretly knowen in the court, the Kings officer, William Marlwall, prevented his purpose, searching by the Kings commandement all his trusses, coffers, satchels, sleeves, purse, napkin, andosome for letters, and for money, and so let him passe. Who, sailing into France, first rested a while at Lyons, from thence came to Rome to Pope Urban, according to the tenor and forme of a certaine epistle of his; wherein, among many other things in the same epistle contained, these words he writeth to Pope Palchalis, the third yere after his banishment, after the death of Urban, and a little before the death of the King.

To the Lord and reverend father Paschalis, high Bishop, Anselme servant of the Church of Canturbury offereth due subjection from his heart, and prayers, if they can stand in any Read,  
Ex Epist. 36. paulo post initium.

I See in England many evils, whose correction belongeth to me, and which I could neither amend, nor suffer without mine owne fault. The King desireth of me, that under the name of right I should consent to his pleasures, which were against the law and will of God. For he would not have the Pope received nor appealed unto in England, without his commandement; neither that I should send a letter unto him, or receive any from him, or that I should obey his decrees. He suffered not a counsell to be kept in his realme now these thirtene yeres, since he was King. In all these things and such like, if I asked any counsell, all my suffragan bishops of his realme denied to give me any counsell, but according to the Kings pleasure. After that I saw these and such other things that are done against the will and law of God: I asked a licence of him to goe to Rome unto the See apostolike, that I might there take counsell for my soule, and the office committed unto me. The King said that I offended against him for the onely asking of licence; and propounded to me, that either I should make him amends for the same as a trespasser (assuring him never to aske his licence any more to appeale to the Pope at any time hereafter) or else that I should quickly depart out of his land. Wherefore choosing rather to goe out of the land then to agree to so wicked a thing; I came to Rome as you know, and declared the whole matter to the Lord Pope. The King by and by (as soone as I went out of England) invaded the whole archbishopricke, and turned it to his owne use, faring the monkes onely with bare meate, drinke, and cloath. The King, being warned & desired of the Lord pope to amend this, condemned the same, and yet continueth in his purpose still. And now is the third yere since I came thus out of England, and more. Some men, not understanding, demand why I did not excommunicate the King. But the wiser sort, such as have understanding, counsell me that I doe not this thing: because it belongeth not unto me both to complain and to punish. To conclude, I was forced by my friends that are under the King, that mine excommunication (if it should be done) would be laughed to scorn and despised, &c.

Anselme flying  
out of Eng-  
land.

Anselme sear-  
ched by the  
Kings officer  
for letters.

A fragment of  
portion of a let-  
ter of Anselme  
to Pope Pal-  
chalis.  
Ex legenda An-  
selmi, ex  
epist. Anselmi.  
36.

The King  
would not ha-  
ve the Pope re-  
ceived nor ap-  
pealed unto in  
England.

Anselme com-  
plaineth of the  
King and of his  
suffragan bi-  
shops.

The King co-  
munneth the  
Popes war-  
ning.



By these here above prefixed, appeareth how Anselm the archbishop, coming unto Rome, made his complaint to Pope Urban of the King: and how the Pope writing unto the King in the behalfe of Anselm, his letters & commandments were despised. And now to our story. In the meane time, while the Popes letters were sent to the King, Anselm was bid to waite about the Pope to looke for answer back. Who perceiving at length, how little the King reputed the Popes letters, began to be weary of his office, desiring the Pope that he might be discharged thereof: but the pope in no case would thereto consent, charging him upon his obedience, that wheresoever he went, he should beare with him the name & honour of the archbishop of Canturbury. Whereunto Anselm again said, his obedience he neither durst nor would refuse, as who for Gods cause was ready to suffer whatsoever should happen (yea though it were death it selfe) as he thought no lesse would follow thereof. But what should we thinke, saith he, is there to be done, where iustice not only taketh no place, but is utterly oppressed? And whereas my suffragans doe not only not help (for dread) the righteous cause, but also for fauor do impugn the same? Well (saith the Pope) as touching these matters we shall sufficiently provide at the next councell to be holden at Baion, whereas I will you the same time and place to be present.

When the time of the councell was come, Anselm amongst others was called for, who, first sitting in an utter end of the bishops, afterwards was placed at the right foot of the Pope, with these words: *Includamus hunc in orbe nostro, tanquam alterius orbis papam.* Whereupon the same place after him was appointed to the successors of the See of Canturbury, in every generall councell by the decree of Pope Urban, to sit at the right foot of the Pope. In this said councell great strife & much reasoning there was against the Grecians, concerning the matter & order of proceeding of the Holy Ghost. - Where is to be noted, that the Greeke church hath of long time differed from the Latine Church in many & sundry points, as I have them collected out of the register of the Church of Hereford: whereof like as occasion hereafter may serue God willing for a further and more ample tractation to be made: so here by the way partly I meane to touch some. The first is.

Wherein the Greeke Church differeth from the Latine.

The first Article wherein the Greeke church altereth fro the Latine or Romish church is this: *Quod iuxta obedientiam Romana ecclesia, pro eo quod ecclesia Constantinopolitana non est subiecta, sed ei equalis. Dicunt dominum apostolicum non habere maiorem potestatem, quam quatuor patriarche. Et quicquid sit prater scientiam eorum per papam, vel sine eorum approbatione, nullius est valoris, &c.*

In English.

First they are not under the obedience of the Church of Rome, because that the Church of Constantinople is not subiect, but equall to the same.

2 They hold that the bishop of the apostolike See of Rome hath not greater power than the foure Patriarchs. And whatsoever the Pope doth beside their knowledg, or without their approbation, it is of no value.

3 Item, they say whatsoever hath been done or concluded, since the second generall councell, it is of no full authority: because from that time they recount the Latines to be in error, and to be excluded out of the Holy Church.

4 Item, *Dicunt eucharistiam consecratam per Romanam ecclesiam non esse verum corpus Christi.* That is: They hold the eucharist consecrated by the Church of Rome not to be the very body of Christ.

Also where the Romish Church doth consecrate in unleavened bread, they consecrate in bread leavened. 5 Item, they say that the Romish Church both erre in the words of baptism, for saying, I baptise thee: when they should say, Let this creature of God be baptised, &c.

6 They hold moreover, to be no purgatory, nor the suffrages of the Church doe availe the dead, either to lessen the paine of them that be destinate to Hell, or to increase the glory of them that be ordained to salvation.

7 Item, they hold that the soules out of the bodies departed (whether they have done good or evil) have not their perfect pain nor glory: but are reserved in a certaine place, till the day of iudgment.

8 Item, they condemne the Church of Rome, for mixing cold water in their sacrifice.

9 Item, they condemne the Church of Rome, for that as well women as Priests annoint children (when they baptise them) on both shoulders.

10 Item, *Vicunt panem nostrum panagium*: That is, they call our bread panagia.

11 Item, they blame the Church of Rome for celebrating their masse on other dayes besides sundays, and certaine other feastis appointed.

12 Also in this the Greeke Church varieth from the Latine: for they have neither cream, nor oyle, nor sacrament of confirmation.

13 Neither doe they use extreme unction, or anointing after the manner of the Romane Church, expounding the place of S. James of the spirituall infirmity, and not corporall.

14 Item, they inioyne no satisfaction for penance, but only that they shew themselves to the Priests, annointing them with simple oyle in token of remission of sins.

15 Item, only on maundy thursdoy they consecrate for the sick, keeping it for whole yeare after, thinking it to be more holy on that day consecrated, then upon any other. Neither doe they fast any saturday through the whole yeare, but only on Easter-even.

16 Item, they give but only five orders, as of clerkes, subdeacons, deacons, priests, and bishops; when as the Romane Church giveth nine orders, after the nine orders of angels.

17 Moreover, the Grecians in their orders make no bow of chastity, alledging for them the first canon of S. *Ego presbyter vel diaconus, &c. non honestatis non renunciam, &c.* That is: I P. priest or

deacon will not forsake my wife for honesty sake.

18 Item, every yeare the Grecians use upon certaine daies to excommunicate the Church of Rome, and all the Latines as heretikes.

19 Item, among the said Grecians they are excommunicate, that beat or strike a priest. Neither doe their religious men live in such priestly chastity as the Romane Priests doe.

20 Item, their Emperors amongst them doth ordaine patriarchs, bishops, and other of the Clergy, and depose the same at his pleasure, also he giveth benefices to whom he listeth, & retaineth the fruits of the same benefices, as pleaseth him.

21 Item, they blame the Latine Church, because they eat no flesh, Eggs & cheese on fridaies, and doe eat flesh on saturdayes.

22 Item, they hold against the Latine men, for celebrating without the consecrated Church, either in the house or in the field; and fasting on the Sabbath day; and for permitting menstruous women to enter into the church before their purifying: also for suffering dogs, & other beasts to enter into the church.

23 The Grecians use not to kneele in all their devotions, yea not to the body of Christ (as the register termeth it) but one day in the whole yeare: saying & affirming, that the Latines be goates and heales, for they are alwaies prostrating themselves upon the ground in their prayers.

¶ 2

24 The

Council of Baionense. Anselm and his successors of Canturbury placed at the right foot of the pope in his generall councells.

De processione spiritus sancti. The difference between the Greeke church and the Latine

Ex registro ecclesie. Herefordensis.

The articles & opinions of the Greeke Church differing from the Latine Church of Rome.

By copy here printed to want somewhat.

This article seemeth not to be rightly collected out of the Grecians.



24 The Grecians moreover permit not the Latines to celebrate upon their altars. And if it chance any Latine Priest to celebrate upon their altar, by & by they wash their altar in token of abomination and false sacrifice. And diligently they observe, that whosoever they doe celebrate, they doe but one sacrifice upon one altar or table that day.

25 Item, they dissent from the Church of Rome touching the order and manner of the proceeding of the holy Ghost.

These articles, wherein is declared the difference between the east and west Church, of the Grecians and Romans, as I found them articulated and collected in an ancient and authentick register of the Church of Hereford: so I thought here to insert them, and leave them to the consideration of the reader. Other foure Articles more in the same register be there expressed concerning simony, usury, not with them forbidden: touching also their Emperors; and how they teach their children to hurt or damme by any manner of way the Latine priests, &c. Which articles, for that either they seem not truly collected out of their teachings, or else not greatly pertinent to the doctrine of religion, I overpasse them. To the purpose now of our story againe.

When certain of these above preferred were moved in the foresaid councill to be discussed, namely concerning the assertion of proceeding of the holy Ghost, and concerning leavened bread in the ministracion of the Lords supper, Anselm, as is above said, was called for: who in the tractatio of the same articles so bestirred him in that councill, & he well liked the Pope & them about him, as mine author recordeth. Whereupon, touching the matter of unleavened bread, how indifferently he seemed there to reason, & what he writeth to Waltram bishop of Nurenburch, thereof ye shall heare by a piece of his letter sent to the said bishop, the Copie whereof is such.

Anselm, servant to the Church of Canturbury,  
to Waltram bishop of Nurenburch.

Epist. 325. post initium.

AS concerning the Sacrifice, in which the Grecians think not as we doe; it seemeth to many reasonable catholike men, that which they doe not to be against the Christian Faith: for both he that sacrificeth unleavened and leavened, sacrificeth bread. And where it is read of our Lord (when he made his body of bread) that he tooke bread and blessed: it is not added unleavened or leavened. Yet it is certaine that he blessed unleavened bread (peradventure) not because the thing that was done required that, but because the supper, in which this was done, did give that. And whereas in another place he called himselfe and his flesh bread, because that as man liveth temporally with this bread, so with that bread he liveth for ever: He saith not unleavened or leavened, because both alike are, bread: for unleavened and leavened differ not in substance as some thinke; like as a new man afore sin, and an old man rooted in the leaven of sin, differ not in substance. For this cause, therefore only he might be thought to call himselfe & his flesh, bread, and made his body of bread, because that this bread (unleavened or leavened) giveth a transitory life; and his body giveth everlasting life, not for that it is either leavened or unleavened. Although it be a Commandement in the Law to eate unleavened bread in the pasche, where all things are done in a figure, that it might be declared that Christ, whom they looked for, was pure and cleane; and we that should eate his body were admonished to be likewise pure from all leaven of malice and wickednesse. But now, after we are come from the old figure to the new truth, and eate the unleavened flesh of Christ, that old figure in bread (of which we make that flesh) is not necessary for us. But manifest it is, to be better sacrificed of unleavened, then of leavened &c.

To this letter I have also adloyned another epistle of his to the said Waltram, appertaining to matters not much unlike to the same effect: wherein is intreated touching the variety and divers usages of the sacraments in the Church; whereby such as call and cry so much for uniformity in the Church, may note peradventure in the same something for their better understanding.

10 A peece of another Letter of Anselm to the said Waltram bishop of Nur.

To the reverend father and his friend, Waltram by the Ex. epist. Anselm, grace of God the worshipfull bishop of Nurenburch, 327.  
Anselm the servant of the Church of Canturbury, greeting, &c.

YOur worship complaineth of the Sacraments of the Church, that they are not made every where after one sort, but are handled in divers places after divers sorts. And truly, if they were ministred after one sort and agreeing through the whole Church, it were good and laudable. Yet notwithstanding because there be many diversities which differ not in the summe of the Sacrament, in the strength of it, or in the Faith, or else can be gathered into one custome: I thinke that they are rather to be borne with in agreement of peace, then to be condemned with offence. For we have this from the holy fathers, that if the unity of charity be kept in the catholike faith, the diversity of customes hurteth nothing. But if it be demanded whereof this diversity of customes doth spring; I perceive no other cause thereof, but the diversity of mens wits, which although they differ not in strength and truth of the thing, yet they agree not in the fittesse and comelinesse of the ministring. For that which one judgeth to be meete, oftentimes another thinketh lesse meete: wherefore not to agree in such diversities, I thinke it not to swarve from the truth of the thing, &c.

40 Then in the story it followeth, after long debating & discussing of these matters in the councill, when they had given forth their determination upon the same; and the pope had blasted out his thundring excommunications against the Grecians, & all that took their part: at length were brought in the complaints and accusation against the King of England. Upon the hearing whereof, Pope Urban with his adherents was ready to proceed in excommunication against the King. But Anselm kneeling before the Pope, after he had first accused his King, then after obtained for him longer time to be given upon further triall.

Thus the councill breaking up the Pope, returning againe to Rome, directed down his Letters to the King, commanding him that Anselm with all his partakers (in speedy wise) should be rebelled againe into his archbishoprick, and all other possessions therunto appertaining. To this the king sendeth answer again by messengers, who comming to the pope, declared in the kings behalfe on this wise; That the king their master did not a little marvel what came in his mind to command Anselm to be rebelled & relesed again into his former archbishoprick; seeing he told him before plainly, that if he went out of England without his leave, he would so do unto him. Well (saith the Pope) have ye no other matter against Anselm but only this? No (quoth they.) And have ye taken all this travell (saith the pope) to come hither so far to tell me this, that the primat of your country is therefore disseized and dispossessed, because he hath appealed to the See & judgement apostolick? Therefore if thou lovest thy Lord, speed thee home & tell him, if he will not be excommunicated, that he quickly rebelle Anselm againe to all that he had before. And lest I make thee to be hanged for thy labour, looke to thy terme, and see that thou bring me answer againe from him into this City, against the next councill the third

Anselm a stout Champion against the Grecians.

A letter of Anselm sent to Waltram bishop of Nurenburch. Ex. epist. Anselm. 325.

Bread in the communion is not necessary.

Another letter.

Diversity of usages in the Church to be borne with peace, rather then to be condemned with offence.

Divers customes in the Church hurt nothing.

Excommunication denounced against the Grecians.

Excommunication bent against King William.

First break his head, and then give him a playster.

Disagrees between the King and the Pope.

A loud crack of thunder, but without thunderbolt.



third waſke after Eaſter. The meſſenger oꝝ ſpea-  
ker, being ſome what aſtonied at the hearing of this  
ſo tragickall anſwer, thinking yet to work ſomething  
foꝝ his King and Eaſter, came ſecretly to the Pope,  
ſaying that he would conſerre a certaine myſtery  
from his King priuately with his holineſſe betwene  
them two. That myſtery that was, oꝝ what there  
paſſed from the King to the Pope and the Court of  
Rome, mine author doth not ſhew: but ſo cunningly  
that myſtery was handled, that, with a full conſent  
both of the Pope and all the Court of Rome, a lon-  
ger day was giuen, from Eaſter to Michaelmas,  
and the Popes cholericke heate ſo aſſwaged, that  
when the counsell came (which then was holden at  
S. Peters Church in Rome) albeit great com-  
plaints were then denounced againſt the King: yet  
ſuch fauour was found, that he tooke no harme.  
Whely the ſentence of excommunication was there  
pronounced againſt ſuch lay perſons as gabe in de-  
ſtitute of Churches, and them that were ſo inbeſet.  
Alſo againſt them that doe conſecrate ſuch, oꝝ which  
at be themſelues in ſubiedion to laymen foꝝ eccleſia-  
ſticall livings, as is befoze toucht, &c.

This counſell being finiſhed, the archbiſhop ſeing  
the unſtedfaſtneſſe of the Pope (which pleaied him  
but a little) tooke his journey to Lyons, where hee  
continued his abode a long time, till the death firſt  
of Pope Urban, then after of the King.

Of this King William many things be diuerſly  
recorded, ſome to his commendation, and ſome to  
his diſcomendation: whereof this is one, which ſome  
will aſcribe to hardineſſe, but I rather to raſhneſſe  
in him. As this King upon a time was in his diſpoſt  
of hunting, ſuddenly wood came to him, that Cenou-  
rona (a City in Normandy) was beſieged. The  
King without longer tarrying oꝝ aduiſement tooke  
the ſtraight way toward the ſea ſide, tending to his  
Lords that they ſhould follow after. They, being  
come to his preſence, aduiſed him to ſtay till the  
time his people were aſſembled, but he would not  
be ſtayed: ſaying that ſuch as him loved (he knew)  
would follow him ſhortly, and ſo went to take ſhip.  
The ſhipmaſter, ſeing the weather ſo darke and  
cloudy, was affraid, and counſelled the King to tarry  
till the wind did turne about, and the weather moze  
fauourable. But the King, perſiſting in his journey,  
commanded him to make all the ſped he might foꝝ  
his life: ſaying, that he neuer heard that any King  
yet was euer doyned. And ſo paſſed the ſea in ſafe-  
ty, and came to Normandy.

The thirtieth yeere of his raigne the ſaid King  
William, having the ſame time in his hand thre  
biſhops, Canturbury, Wincheſter, and Sarum:  
alſo twelue abbeyes in ſarme: as he was in his diſ-  
poſt of hunting in the new fozeſt, by glancing of an  
arrow (ſhot of a knight named Walter Tirrell)  
was wounded to death, and ſo ſpachleſſe was carried  
to Weſtmiſter, and there was buried. Where alſo  
is to be noted, that Richard the coſen Germane  
of King William, and ſonne to Duke Robert his  
brother, was likewiſe ſlaine in the ſoreſaid fozeſt.  
Soe the juſt hand of God upon Kings uſurping  
wrongfully upon other mens grounds, as did Wil-  
liam Conquerour their father, in making this new  
fozeſt, plucking downe diuers Churches & tow-  
nſhips the compaſſe of thirty miles about. Here there-  
foze appeareth, that although men cannot rebenge,  
yet God rebengeſh either in them, oꝝ in their poſſe-  
ſſity, &c. This King as he alwaies uſed concubines,  
ſo left he no iſſue legitimate behind him. His life  
was ſuch, that it is hard foꝝ a ſtoꝝ, that ſhould tell  
the truth, to ſay whether he was moze to be com-  
mended oꝝ reprobed. Among other vices in him,  
eſpecially is to be rebuked in him unmeaſurable and  
unreaſonable covetouſneſſe: inſomuch that he co-  
ved (if he might) to be ebery mans heire. This one  
example of a liberall and princely nature I finde in  
him: that upon a time, when a certaine abbat of a

place was dead, there came to his court two monkes  
of the ſame houſe, who befoze had gathered much  
money, and made their friends to the King, and offe-  
red large offers, either of them to be promoted to  
that dignity. There was alſo the third monke of the  
ſame place, which of meekneſſe and humility follow-  
ed the other two: to the intent that upon him, whom  
the King had admitted foꝝ abbat, he ſhould giue at-  
tendance, and as his chaplen with him returne. The  
King called befoze him the two monkes ſeuerally,  
of whom the one outprofered the other. As the King  
caſt his eye aſide, he eſpied the third monke ſtan-  
ding by, ſuppoſing that his coming had bene alſo  
foꝝ the like cauſe. Then the King, calling him, asked  
what he would doe, whether he would giue moze  
then his brethren had offered to be abbat. He an-  
ſwered to the King, and ſaid, that he neither had nor  
would (if he might) offer any penny foꝝ it, by any  
ſuch unlawfull meane.

When the King had well pondered this third  
monkes anſwer, he ſaid that he was beſt worthy to  
be abbat, and to have the rule of ſo holy a charge;  
and ſo gabe unto him that benefice without taking  
any penny.

Urban biſhop of Rome, who (as is ſaid) ſucceded  
after Victor, ruled the Church of Rome about the  
ſpace of twelue yeeres: and amongſt his other acts he  
excommunicated the Emperour Henry the fourth  
of that name, as a man not much deuote to that See  
of Rome. But yet a worthy and victorious Prince  
he was; in whom albeit ſome vice perchance might  
be noted, yet none ſuch, wherefoze any Prelate oꝝ  
Miniſter of Chriſt ought to excite his ſubiects to  
rebell againſt publike authority of God appointed.  
This Emperour Henry the fourth was by foure  
popes ſeuerally excommunicate: firſt by Hildebrand  
by Victor, Urban, and Paſchal. Which excommuni-  
cation wrought ſo in the ignorant and blind hearts  
of the people, that many (as well of the Nobles as of  
the multitude, contrary to their ſwoone allegiance)  
rebelliouſly conſpired againſt their King and Em-  
perour. In number of whom, amongſt the reſt, was  
one certaine Earle named Rudobicus, to whom  
Waltramus biſhop of the Church of Merzburch (a  
gooly and faithfull man, as appeareth) doth write  
letters of fatherly admonition, exhorting and in-  
ſtructing him in the office of obedience. Unto the  
which letters hee likewiſe doth anſwere againe by  
cabilling ſophiſtication, and by mere affection, ra-  
ther diſpoſed to diſcord, then ſeking ſincerity of  
truth. And ſo much as in theſe letters, the  
argument of Chriſtian obedience on both ſides is ſo  
debated by wyes and reaſons, as may be profitable  
foꝝ the reader to peruſe and underſtand: I thought  
therefoze not to deprand the Engliſh reader of the  
ſame, whereof peradventure ſome utility might be  
taken. The tenor of the biſhops letter to the Earle  
here followeth.

60 The Epiſtle of Waltramus biſhop of  
Merzburch to the Earle Ludouicus, exhor-  
ting to concord and obedience.

Waltramus Dei gratia id quod eſt, Ludouico ſe-  
reniſſimo principi, cum in ſtantia orationum ſe-  
metipſum ad omnia deuotiſſimum. Omni regno utilis  
eſt concordia, deſiderabilis eſt iuſtitia, &c.

In Engliſh.

Waltram by the grace of God being that he is, to  
Ludouike the noble Prince, with inſtance of prayers  
offereth himſelfe ſervicable to all things. To every  
realme concord is a thing profitable; and juſtice  
much to be deſired. For this vertue is the mother of  
godlineſſe, and the conſecration of all honeſty. Who-  
ſoeuer ſeeketh after civill diſſention, and incen-  
ſeth others to effuſion of blood; he is a murder-  
er, and partaker with him, who, ever gaping and thir-

Two biſhing  
monks to be  
diſappointed.

Urban excom-  
municed  
Henry the  
fourth, emperour.

Henry the  
fourth emperour,  
by foure popes  
excommunicate.

Ludouicus  
earle conſpiring  
and rebellious  
againſt the em-  
perour.

Anno  
1090.  
Ex appendice  
Mariani Scoti.

A biſhing  
myſtery hand-  
led at Rome.

Concilium Ro-  
manum.  
Optimus Cauſi-  
dianus nummus.

Acts of the  
counsell of  
Rome.

The hardineſſe  
oꝝ rather raſh-  
neſſe of King  
William.

The ſaving of  
King William,  
how he neuer  
knew any King  
doyned.

The death of  
William Rufus.  
Walter Tirrell.

The new  
fozeſt.

Example of the  
juſt hand of  
God rebenging  
the faults of  
Kings in their  
poſſeſſity.

Covetouſneſſe  
in King  
William.

A famous ex-  
ample of biſhes  
refuſed.



Concord and  
just obedience  
necessary in a  
common  
wealth.

ſting for anothers blood, goeth about ſeeking whom he may devour. You therefore, conſidering with your ſelfe (moſt noble Prince) how God is the God of peace and not of diſſention (ſo much as in you doth lie) have peace with all men. God is Charity, the Divell is hatred. The whole Law and Prophets conſiſt in love and charity. He that hateth and maligneth his brother is a murderher, and hath no part with Chriſt in the Kingdome of God. This we read teſtified and proteſted both by him which is the truth himſelfe, and by him which was the Scholler of the truth: who upon the breaſt of the Lord (drinking a more full draught of the Goſpell) rejoyceth the City of God with abundance of plentiful floods. In like manner that worthy veſſell of election, who being rapt up to the third Heaven (not by man, but by revelation of Ieſus Chriſt) proteſteth alſo, ſaying: Let every ſoule ſubmit himſelfe to the higher powers: There is no power, ſaith he, but of God. If that be true therefore, which certaine of our friends doe jangle among women and the vulgar ſort, that we ought not to be ſubdued to kingly power: then is it falſe which the Apoſtle teacheth, that every ſoule muſt ſubmit himſelfe under power and ſuperiority. But can the verity lie? Or doe we ſeek for experiment of him who ſpake in the Apoſtle, Chriſt the Lord? Or doe we provoke the Lord? Be we ſtronger then he? For what doth he but thinke himſelfe ſtronger then the Lord, that reſiſteth the ordinance of God? For there is no power but of God. But what ſaith the Prophet? Confounded be all they that ſtrive againſt thee O Lord; and the men which repugne againſt thee ſhall periſh. Rodolph, Hildebrand, Egbert, with many other Princes, reſiſted the Ordinance of God in Henry the Emperour. And Lo, even as they had never been, ſo are they now periſhed; and as their end was evil, ſo their beginning could not be good.

Now therefore, ſoſomuch as they which be contrary to us doe earneſtly ſtrive againſt us even with their own arguments, whereas of right (I dare referre me to your judgement) we ought to uſe the authority of Chriſt and ancient fathers, before that which our adverſaries take out of their own treaſury: And becauſe I will not reſuſe the order of Law in this behalfe; let it be the end of the ſtrife, that either I may be openly ſhamed before the people, either elſe (the victory falling on our ſide) we may win you to the obedience of our Sovereigne Lord the Emperour. Alſo take you heede to this ſaying, If any man doe preach otherwiſe then that which is preached; let him be of you accuſed. This curſe, I ſay, doth not proceed from any new prophane authority, but is thundred down from the third Heaven. And of them which know not the righteouſneſſe of God, but goe about to ſtabliſh their own righteouſneſſe, and therefore be not ſubject to the righteouſneſſe of God, I may boldly ſay, let ſuch be accuſed. So may you well ſay, Confounded be all they that proudly riſe up againſt the Lord; but thy ſervant (O Lord) ſhall rejoyce. For as thou haſt well ſaid, Without me you can doe nothing, ſo in judging of the wicked thou doſt not condemne the juſt. Who art thou that iudgeſt another mans ſervant? to his own Lord he doth either ſtand or fall.

## The answer of Earle Lewis to biſhop Waltram.

A railing an-  
ſwer to the for-  
mer letter of bi-  
ſhop Waltram.

THE Earle Lewis to the Lord Waltram, howſoever unworthy or unmeet he be for the name. Like as a good man from the good treaſure of the heart bringeth forth good fruit, ſo doth the evil man from the evil treaſure of the heart bring forth evil fruit. What arrogance haſt ſo poſſeſt you, to provoke

my diſpleaſure with ſuch injurious contumelies? For indeed thoſe my good Lords and ſpiritual Fathers, which ſtrengthen me in the way of righteouſneſſe, you (raylingly) call bloody men like unto Satan, and the whoſome leſſons which they teach, you ſay they are but dreames of the common people amongſt fooliſh women. Hath God any need of your judgement that you ſhould ſpeake leaſings for him? Iniquity hath taught your mouth to follow blaſphemous tongues: ſo that well may the Prophet ſay of you, He would not underſtand to doe well, he hath deviſed wickedneſſe upon his bed. Although therefore you, being altogether froward, have only ſpoken froward things: yet we have determined to ſet a watch before our mouth, like as if a ſhameleſſe perſon ſhould ſtand up before us: and the Word of God doth provoke us, ſaying: Answer a foolle according to his owne fooliſhneſſe, leaſt he ſhould ſeeme wiſe in his own opinion. Shall folly ſpeake, and wiſedome hold her peace? Shall lyes be freely uttered, and truth compelled to keep ſilence? Shall darkneſſe cover the Earth, and ſhall not the Lord ariſe and ſhine? yea rather the light hath lightned the darkneſſe, and darkneſſe hath not comprehended it. In conſideration hereof our hearts have melted, and our zealous meditations have ſet us on fire. We therefore ſpeake and cry, and the little Foxes which undermine the Lords Vineyards (as much as in us is) we drive away, fearing the threatening prophecy: You have not withſtood our adverſaries, neither have you made a bul-warke for the defence of the Houſe of Iſrael, that you might be able to ſtand in battell in the day of the Lord. Let them heare (I ſpeake not to you which have Eares and heare not, Eyes and ſee not, which have made darke the light that is in you) but let them heare, I ſay, that be well diſpoſed, and have Eares to heare withall: as for you, you have no underſtanding, and if you have, you cloke it. Neither have you any thing to ſay or to prove, by what reaſon we ſhould be ſubject to the Lord Henry, whom you call Emperour. And yet (as it is given us to underſtand) you goe about to perſwade, that of neceſſity we ought to be ſubject to him, and that by the argument of S. Paul; Let every ſoule be ſubdued to the higher powers, for there is no power but of God; he therefore that doth withſtand power, doth reſiſt Gods Ordinance. The which ſentence of the Apoſtle we ſay that you doe evil conceive, and therefore evil interpret: for if every power be of God (as you underſtand) what is meant by that, that the Lord doth ſpeake of ſome by the Prophet? They did raigne and were not made Princes by me, and I knew them not. If every power be of God as you take it, what is to be thought of that, that the Lord doth ſay: If thine Eye offend thee, pluck it out, and caſt it from thee? For what is power, but the Eye? Certainly, Auguſtin in the expoſition of this ſentence of the Apoſtle (Let every ſoule, &c.) doth ſay, that if the powers doe command any thing againſt God? then have them in contempt: but yet nevertheleſſe feare them. Is there any iniquity with God? Is Chriſt the Miniſter of ſinne? God forbid. What ſhall we therefore ſay? Doth the Apoſtle preach contrary to truth? Auguſt. ſaith? No. One wind filleth many Pipes of divers tunes. Therefore let us heare the Apoſtle agreeing and expounding himſelfe, and deſtroying his enemy and avenger: There is (ſaith he) no power but of God. What followeth? He therefore, ſaith he, that doth reſiſt the power, &c. God forbid, doth nothing follow? But what doth follow? Thoſe powers which be ordained of God truly, that is it we looke for. O crafty tongue! O heart imagining miſchiefe! O conſuming breath that ſhall not returne! Why haſt thou lyes to the Holy Ghoſt? Thine own conſcience ſhall accuſe thee. Behold, the wicked ſlieth, and no man doth purſue him. Why would you ſuppreſſe the truth to the intent to deceive? Why ſtole ye away the pith and effect of this ſentence:

As I ſaid, when you are not able to withſtand his wiſedome, call him a foolle.

Note how the Earle here calleth light darkneſſe, and darkneſſe light.

He hath uttered more reaſon then you are able ever to answer to.

Whether every power is to be obeyed or no. Q. 8.

If every power which offendeth his ſubjects is to be caſt out, then hath this Earle made a faire argument.

G. 1.

John.

Rom.

70



sentence? for if these words should be taken away from the midst of the sentence, it should lie (contrary to it selfe) inconvenient and halfe dead. The VVord of the Lord is herein fulfilled, He that diggeth a pit for his neighbour shall fall therein himselfe. Verily you can neither excuse you of theft, neither avoyd the punishment due for the same. O unhappy man! what shall you answer to the iudge, when he shall require an account of his servants of whom he putteth you in trust, seeing you shall be set before him in the midst, and proved a picker of your Masters treasure? Wherefore did you not feare the judgement and execution, when as the guiltinesse of offence doth require condigne punishment? The Apostoll through the Holy Ghost did foresee, that you and such heretikes as you are should spring in the Church, which should call good evill, and evill good, and that should put darknesse in place of light, and light in place of darknesse, which also should take occasion by the sentences of truth to bring in error; when as he did set this before, There is no power but of God: to the intent he might take away the conjecture of false understanding. For (saith he) those powers that be, are ordained of GOD. Give therefore an ordinary power, and we doe not resist, yea we will forthwith doe our homage. But I doe marvell (if at the least there remaine in you any one drop of blood) that you are not ashamed, to call the Lord Henry King, or to allow him any ordinary place.

Is this a seemly order (thinke you) to give place to wickednesse, and to make a generall confusion in mixing good and evill, Gods and mans devices together? Either doe you thinke this good order for man to sinne against his own body, as (Oh shameful wickednesse) to make his own wife a common harlot, a mischiefe not heard of at any time since the beginning of the World before now? Or doe you allow this for good order, when as the Lord saith, Defend the widowes, especially such as require equity of justice, and then them to send away most filthily defiled? Mad Orestes doth protest him to be out of his wit, that will say these things to be orderly or well done. Untill this most miserable time, nature hath ever loved secrecy; but your King, given up to a reprobate sense, hath uncovered the privities of nature, who hath not let to lay abroad all shamefastnesse. We will not speake of other things which cannot be numbred, that is to say, burning of Churches, robberies, firing of Houses, manslaughters, murders, and such like, the number whereof he knoweth, and not we; for let us speake chiefly of those things which most grieve the Church of God. Harken therefore to true and not fained things: Harken I say, to matters of earnest, and to no trifles. Every one that doth sell spirituall dignities is an heretike. But the Lord Henry, whom they call a King, doth sell both bishoprikes and abbacies: for truly he sold for money the bishoprike of Constance, Babembarge, Mentz, and many others. The bishoprikes of Ratisbone, Augusta, and Strausbrough he sold for a sword, and the abbey of Fulda for adultery: and for filthy Sodomitry he sold the Bishoprike of Mon. A wickednesse it is to speake or heare of such a fact. The which things if without shame yee will deny, he is to be condemned by the witnesse of Heaven and Earth: yea and of the silly poore idiots that come from the smiths forge. Wherefore the Lord Henry is an heretick; for the which most wicked evils he is excommunicate from the See apostolike, so that he may not exercise either Kingdome or power over us which be catholike. And whereas you burthen us with hatred of our Brethren, know you that we purpose not to hate any of affection, but of a godly zeale. God forbid that wee should thinke Henry worthy to be accounted amongst our Christian Brethren, who indeed is reputed for an ethnike and pub-  
lican, in that he refused to heare the Church which

so oft hath reprov'd him. The hatred of whom we offer unto God for a great sacrifice, saying with the Psalmist: Lord shall not I hate them that hate thee? and shall not I triumph over thine enemies? I hate them with an inward hatred that be enemies to me for thy sake. The truth it selfe; commending the worthinesse of this hatred, doth say: If any doe not hate Father and Mother, Brethren and Sisters for my sake, he cannot be my disciple. We are not therefore justly to be reprov'd of hatred, which doe give over our own soules to be in the way of God: who indeed are commanded to hate Father and Mother, and every affection which doth withstand us for walking in the path of God. Hereof it commeth, that we labour with all our study and endeavour to beware of the enemies of the Church, and them to hate; not for that they be our enemies, but Gods. Further, where you perswade peace to be had with all men, you must remember what the Apostoll doth put before, If it may be. But if it cannot be that we can have peace with them, who can be contrary to God? Who doth not know the Lord our Saviour not only to commend peace, when as he saith; My peace I give unto you, my peace I leave unto you: but that he is the peace (as saith the Apostoll) he is the peace which made of both one; for he calleth him our peace, speaking in commendation of the peace: Thinke not (saith he) that I came to send peace, for I came not to send peace, but the Sword. What is meant by this? Why is peace called a sword? Or doth peace bid battell? Yea truly, to destroy the peace of the Divell. For the Divell hath his peace, whereof the Lord speaketh: When as the strong man keepeth his House, he doth possesse all his substance in peace. Oh how mightily doth the Divell keepe his souldiers and his house in this time! Who with the Shield of falsehood, and the Helmet of untruth, so doth defend him, that he will not suffer either Arrow or Dart of truth to pierce him. Neverthelesse, our Lord being more strongly armed, and fiercely coming upon your Giant, is able to overcome him and to take away his weapons, wherein he putteth his trust. We are not therefore to be blamed, if we do detest that peace, more cruell then any warre, the which the truth it selfe did reprove weeping over Ierusalem, and saying: Truly, it grievech me this day to see sinners in peace; being like unto that peace, whereat the Psalmist was offended. Whereas you condemne Pope Gregory, King Rodolphus, and Marques Eggebertus, as men that have died of an unhappy death, and doe magnifie your Lord, because he doth over-live them; it doth plainly (forsooth) appeare, that you remaine void of all spirituall consideration. Is it not better to die well, then to live ill? They be truly happy, who suffer persecution for righteounesse sake. By the same reason may you esteeme Nero, Herod, and Pilat happy, in that they over-lived Peter, Paul, James Apostles, and Iesus Christ. VVhat can be said more foolish and wicked then this opinion? VVherefore refrain your babling tongue from this blasphemy, lest that you place your selfe in the number of them, which seeing the end of the just to be glorious (themselves doing late and unfruitfull penance, bewailing in the anguish of the Spirit) shall say: These be they whom sometimes we had in derision and laughed to scorne; we being out of our wits thought their lives madnesse, and their end to be without honour. Behold, how they be allowed to be amongst the Children of God, and their portion is amongst the Saints. VVherefore we have erred from the way of truth, and the brightnesse of righteounesse did not shine upon us. VVhat did our pride availe us? and what profit did the boasting of our riches bring us? They are all vanished away like a shadow. The which words we have registred up into perpetuall memory, and we doe despise every attempt that shall lift up it selfe against the truth of God; and rejoycing in troubles, we may be reproved,

And when they shall say you, they shall binke they doe Gods great service. Ioh. 16.

Per true, if he had compell'd you to forsake the name of Christ, which he never did.

Oh how craftily doth Satan here shape himselfe to an Engell of light.

How likely these Papists describe themselves in their own colours.

But Paul forbidd the Emperors to be an ordinary power, when he appeared to him.

This is likely, that the Emperors would make his own wife a common harlot.

Evill will never said well.

A zeale, but far from knowledge.



ved, put to shame and rebuked, yea and finally be slaine and killed, but we will neither yeeld, nor be overcome. And with great triumph will we rejoyce in our fathers doings; of whom you (as a beardless boy, and of small knowledge) have nothing rightly conceived: who indeed, despising Princes commandements, have deserved everlasting reward.

Ex vetusto  
Chronico.

There is a certaine chronicle in old English matter, which among other matters, speaking of William Rufus, declareth him to be so sumptuous & excessive in pompous apparell, that he being not contented with a paire of hose of a low price, which was thre shillings, caused a paire to be bought of a marke, whereupon his chamberlaine, procuring a paire much worse then the other before, said:

That they costened a marke, and unneeth he them so bought:

Yea belamy quoth the King they are well bought.

Whereby is to be noted what difference is to be seen betwix the hose of Princes then, and the hose of servingmen now.

#### Appendix Historiæ.

Kings ceased in  
Wales.

After the time of this King William, the name of Kings ceased in the Country of Wales among the Brittaines, since King Ivis, who in the raigne of this King, the yeare of our Lord 1093, was slaine in Wales. Ex continuatione Roger. Hoved.

#### King Henry the first.

Anno  
1100.



Henry the first of that name, the third son of William Conqueror, succeeding his brother Rufus, began his raigne in England, the yeare of our Lord, 1100. who, for his knowledge and science in the seven liberall arts, was surnamed

Henry the first  
the first  
King of Eng-  
land.

What learning  
both in a prince  
The lawes of  
King Edward  
reduced.  
The measure of  
England made  
after the length  
of King Henries  
arme.

Wanton per-  
sons removed  
out of the court

Clerke or Beucleke. In whom may well appeare, how knowledge and learning doth greatly conduce to the government & administration of any realme or country. At the beginning he reformed the state and condition of the Clergy, released the grievous payments, reduced againe King Edwards Lawes, with emendation thereof; he reformed the old and untrue measures, and made a measure after the length of his arme: he greatly abhorred excess of meats and drinke; many things misused before his time he reformed; and used to banquish more by counsell then by sword. Such persons as were nice and wanton he secluded from his Court. This man (as appeareth) little favoured the usurped power of the bishop of Rome. Some after he was King, he married Matild or Maud, daughter of Malcolm King of Scots & of Margaret his wife, daughter of Edward the outlaw, as is before specified, being a professed nun in Winchester: whom notwithstanding (without the Popes dispensation) he married by the consent of Anselm, by the which Maud he received two sons, William and Richard, and two daughters, Maud and Mary, which Maud afterward was married to Henry the first Emper.

Ex Mat. Paris.  
Flor. hist.

Example, what  
it is to leave off  
the Lords busi-  
ness.

In the second yeare of his raigne, Robert his elder brother Duke of Normandy being occupied in the Christian wars against the Turkes, and being elected (as you heard) King of Ierusalem, hearing of the death of Rufus, refused the Kingdom thereof: for the which (as is thought) he never sped well after. Thus the said Robert leaving off the Lords business, and returning into Normandy, made there his preparation, and came over into England with a great host to challenge the crown: but by mediation of the Lords it was agreed upon, that Robert should have yearly during his life thre thousand Markes, as was likewise promised him before by King Rufus his brother: and whether of them over-

lived the other, to be the others heire. And thus Robert departed againe into Normandy, to the great discontentation of his Lords there. But in few yeeres after, the forenamed tribute of thre thousand marks, through the meanes of Duene Maud, was released to the King his brother. In procelle of time, variance falling betwix King Henry & the said Robert his brother: at length Robert in his warres take prisoner & brought over into England, and was put into the Castle of Cardife in Wales, where he continued as prisoner while he lived.

Duke Robert  
taken prisoner.

In this time, as about the third yeare of this King, the hospitall of St. Bartholomew in Smithfield was founded (by meanes of a minstrell belonging unto the King, named Rater & after it was finished by Richard Whittington Alderman and Mayor of London. This place of Smithfield was at that day a laystall of all ordure or filth, and the place where the felons and other transgressors of the Kings Lawes were put to execution.

The hospitall  
of Bartholomew  
new founded.  
Rater and Richard  
Whittington found-  
ers of saint  
Bartholomews  
in London.

Divers strict lawes were by this King provided, especially against theeves and felons: that whosoever were taken in that fault, no money should save them from hanging.

Item, that whoso did counterfeite false money, should have both his eyes, and nether parts of his body cut off.

Item, in the same counsell was decreed an order for Priests to be sequestred from their wives, which before were not forbidden, according as the words of mine author doe purport, whose words be these: *Anselmus prohibuit uxores sacerdotibus Anglorum ante non prohibitas. Quid quibusdam mundissimum visum est, quibusdam periculolum, ne dum mundicias viribus majores appetere, in immundicias horribiles ad Christiani nominis summum dedecus inciderent.* &c. Henr. Hunt.

Ex Henr. lib. 7.  
Anselm.

Item, It was then decreed, that monkes & Priests should beare no rule over lay persons.

Item, it was then decreed concerning broidering of hatre, and wearing of garments.

Item, that the secret contract betwix a pong lad & a pong mayd should not stand: with other things more concerning the excommunication of Sodomites, &c.

In the story of William Rufus, before was declared how Anselm the archbishop of Canturbury, departing out of the realme, went unto the Pope; who after the death of King William was sent for againe by the foresaid King Henry, & so returned again, and was at the counsell of the King at Westminster: where the King, in the presence of the Lords as well temporal as spiritual, ordained & bestowed two bishops, Roger bishop of Salisbury, and Roger bishop of Hereford. During which Parliament or counsell of the King, Anselm in his Conbocation deposed and displaced divers abbats and other prelates from their rooms and dignities: either for that they lawfully came not by them, or uprightly did not administer the same.

The King or-  
dained and in-  
stituted bishops  
without the  
Pope.

After this counsell, and the other before set forth by Anselme, Herbert bishop of Norwich had much ado with the Priests of his diocesse: for they would neither leave their wives, nor yet give over their benefices. Whereupon he wrote to Anselme the Archbishop for counsell, what was to be done therein. Which Anselme required him (as he did others more the same time by writing) to perswade the people of Norfolk and Suffolke: that as they professed Christianity, they should subdue them as rebels against the Church, and utterly drive both them and their wives out of the countrey, placing monks in their rooms, as by the epistles of the said Anselme doth appeare. Whereof certaine parcels shall hereafter (by the grace of Christ) insue for the better evidence of this and the other his acts above recited.

Herbert bishop  
of Norwich dis-  
poising his  
Priests from  
their wives had  
much a doe.

Anselm cruel  
and fierce a-  
gainst married  
Priests.  
Ex Epist. Ansel.  
176.

The



The like businesse also had Gerard the archbishop of Yorke, in depriving the priests of his province from their wives: which thing with all his excommunications and thundrings he could hardly bring about. Upon this irruption of Anselm with married priests, were riming verses made to help the matter with all, when reason could not serve. Which verses for the folly thereof I thought here to annex.

*O male viventes, versus audite sequentes;  
Vires vestras, quas odit summa potestas,  
Linguite propter eum, tenuit qui morte trophæum,  
Quod si non facitis, inferna claustra petitis.  
Christi sponsa jubet, ne presbyter ille ministret,  
Qui tenet uxorem, Domini quia perdit amorem:  
Contradicentem fore dicimus insipientem:  
Non ex rancore loquor hæc, potius sed amore.*

About the end of the third yeere of this king, which was by computation of our Lord 1103, a variance fell betwix King Henry and Anselm, the occasion whereof was this. We heard a little before how Henry the first and King had of his own authority invested two bishops, one Roger which was chancellor, bishop of Salisbury: and another bishop of Hereford. Besides them divers also he invested, and divers other like things took he upon him in the Ecclesiasticall state, which he might lawfully doe, Gods Word allowing well the same: but because he was restrained by the bishop of Rome, and forbidden so to doe, this Anselm swelled, fretted, and inward to mad, that he would neither consent to it, neither yet confirme them, nor communicate nor talk friendly with them, whom the King had instituted & invested: but opprobriously called them abominations, or children of destruction, disdainfully rebuking the gentle King as a defiler of religion and polluter of their holy ceremonies, as witnesseth Polydorus. With this uncomely outrage the King was much displeased (as he might full well) & required Gerard the archbishop of Yorke (as he ought him allegiance) to consecrate them: who without delay did so, well performing the same: saving that one William Gifford, to whom the King had given the bishopricke of Winchester, refused to take his consecration by the hands of the archbishop of Yorke. For the which cause the King (wrothly with him offended) deprived him both of bishopricke and goods, and banished him the realme.

Whereover, the King required of Anselm the archbishop of Canturbury, to doe unto him homage after the manner of his ancestors, as witnesseth Gulielmus gestis pontif. Anglo. Also it was asked of the said Anselm, whether that he would be with the King in giving investitures, as Lanfrancus his predecessor was with his father. To whom Anselm said, that he promised not at any time, that he would enter into this order, to keep the Law or Custome of his father, as Lanfrancus did. Whereover, as concerning homage to be done to the King, that he refused; alluring the censures of the Popes excommunication, who, in his councill of Rome a little before, had given forth open sentence of excommunication upon all such lay persons (whatsoever they were) that should from henceforth confer or give any spiritual promotions: also upon them that received them at their hands, either yet should consecrate any such receivers. Whereover, he accused all them that should subject themselves under the homage or service of any great man, King, Prince, Duke, or Earle of the laity. For it was unseemly (said the Pope) and a thing very execrable, that the hands which were converted into so high a working, as was granted to no angel (that is, to create him with their crosses which created all, & to offer up the same before the sight of the father for the salvation of the whole world) should be brought to such a slave-

ry, as to be subiect to those filthy hands, which both day and night are polluted with shamefull touchings, robberies, and bloodshed, &c. This decree of Pope Urban Anselm allenging for himselfe, deemed to subject himselfe to the Kings homage, fearing (as he said) the Popes excommunication. Upon this, messengers were sent to Rome on both parts unto the Pope (then Paschalis) who, stoutly standing to the steps & determinations of Urban his predecessor, would in no case yield to the Kings investing.

In the meane time, while there was long dispute on both sides for investing; the nobles of the realm contended, that investitures did belong to the Kings dignity: wherefore the king, calling for Anselm again, required him either to doe homage to him, or else to forgo his Kingdom. To whom Anselm replying again, required the Popes Letters to be brought forth, and, according to the tenor thereof, so the matter to be decided. For now the messengers were returned from Rome, with the Popes answer, altogether bearing with Anselm. When said the King: What have I to doe with the popes letters? I will not forgoe the liberties of my Kingdom for any Pope. Thus the contention continued betwix them. Anselm saith, he would not out of the realm, but depart home to his Church: and there he who would offer him any violence, and forbid. Not long after, message came from the King to Anselm, requesting him, after a gentle sort, to reparaire to the Kings presence againe, to set an end of the controversy begun: whereunto Anselm granted and came. When were new ambassadors sent againe to the Pope, that he would something qualifie & moderate (or rather abolish) the strictnesse of the Roman decree before mentioned. On the part of Anselm went two monks, Baldwinus and Alexander. On the Kings behalfe were sent two bishops, Robert bishop of Lichfield, and Herbert bishop of Norwich, with the Kings letters written unto the pope, containing in forme as followeth.

*Patri venerabili Paschali summo pontifici, Henricus Dei gratia rex Anglorum, salutem. Promotioni vestre in sedem sancte Romanae ecclesie plurimum congaudeo, petens ut amicitia qua patri meo cum antecessoribus vestris fuit, inter nos quoque iulibata permaneat. Unde, ut dilectio & benignitas a me videtur sumere initium, beneficium quod ab antecessoribus meis beatus Petrus habuit, vobis mitto: eosque honores & eam obedientiam quam tempore patris mei antecessores vestri in regno Anglia habuerunt, tempore meo ut habeatis volo, eo videlicet tenore, ut dignitatis usus & consuetudines, quas pater meus tempore antecessorum vestrorum in regno Anglia habuit, ego tempore vestro in eodem regno meo integre obtineam. Notumque habeat sanctitas vestra, quod me vivente (Deo auxiliante) dignitatis & usus regni Anglia non inhiuentur. Et si ego (quod absit) in tanta me dejectione ponerem; optimates mei (imo totius Anglia populus) id nullo modo pateretur. Habita igitur (charissime pater) utiliori deliberatione, ita se erga nos moderetur benignitas vestra, ne quid inivisum faciam, & a vestra me cogitis recedere obedientia.*

#### In English.

To the reverend Father Paschall the chiefe bishop, Henry by the grace of God, King of England, greeting. For this your promotion unto the See of the holy church of Rome, as I am heartily glad; so my request is to you, that the friendship and amity, which hath been tofore between my father and your predecessors in times past, may now also between us in like manner continue undiminished. And that love and gentleness may first begin on my part; here I send to you that gift that S. Peter had in former time of my predecessors. And likewise the same honors and obedience, which your predecessors have had in the Realme of England before in the

Anselm refused to doe homage to his King. Messengers sent to Rome. Ex Hist. lib. 1. de Gestis pont. Ang.

The King had nothing to doe with the Popes Letters

Messengers sent againe to Rome.

The letter of King Henry to the archbishop of the Pope.

versus mrd. f. riat, ex biblis. Rantcy.

Anno 1103

A strife betwix King Henry and Anselm the archbishop of Canturbury

Stiff bishop of Winchester refused to be consecrated by the archbishop of York.

The be-lieving Hen and Anst arch-bish of Canturbury. Ex uli. lib. 1. de his.

A of the Romanus call agst laymen to be any spiritual promotions.

split null pon to be ut subiecti go any lay porage. Monasteris hothecae Paris.



Spoken like a King.

The King is at a point to take the popes obediace.

Another letter of King Henry the first, sent to the Pope.

the time of my father, I will you to have the same in my time also: after this forme I meane and tenor, that the usage and manner of dignity and customes which my father hath had in this Realme of England in the time of your ancestors; I in like ample manner also now in your time may fully enjoy the same in this the said realme of England. Thus therefore be it known to your holinesse, that during this life of mine (God Almighty abling me to the same) these above named dignities, usages, & customes of this realme of England, shall in no part be lessened. Yea and if that I (as God forbid I should) would so much deject my selfe unto such cowardnesse: yet my nobles, yea the whole people of England in no case would suffer it. Wherefore (deare father) using with your selfe a better deliberation in the matter, let your gentlenesse so moderate it selfe towards us, lest ye compell me (which I shall doe against my will) to recede and depart utterly from your obedience.

At the same terme also he sent another letter or Epistle to the said Pope, craving of him the pall for Gerardus archbishop of York, the forme whereof here also followeth.

*Reverendo & diligendo patri universali pape Paschali, Henricus Dei gratia rex Anglorum, salutem. Amor quem plurimum erga vos habeo, & benignitas que multum vestros actus exornat, &c.*

### In English.

To the reverend and welbeloved father, universall Pope Paschalis, Henry, by the grace of God, King of England, greeting. The great love which I beare to you, and the no lesse gentlenesse in you, which not a little beautifieth your doings, ministreth to me boldnesse to write. And whereas I thought to have retained still this Gerardus with me, and to have craved your pall for him by Letters; yet notwithstanding, when his desire could not otherwise be satisfied, but he would needs present himselfe before your presence, by his own heart to crave of you the same, I have sent him up unto you, desiring your benigne father-hood in this behalfe, that he, obtaining the pall at your hands, may be sent home again to me. And thus requiring the assistance of your prayers, I pray the Lord long to conserve your apostleship.

This second letter of the King in sending for the pall was well taken of all the court of Rome, which (as mine author saith) procured such favour to Gerardus archbishop of York, and bringer thereof, that no complaint of his adversaries afterwards could hurt him with the Pope. Notwithstanding he was accused grievously for divers things, and specially for not standing to the consecration of Anselm archbishop of Canturbury.

Polydorus in his eleventh booke of his English history affirmeth, that Anselmus also went up to Rome with Gerardus, about the same cause. But both the premises & sequell of the story argue that to be untrue, for what need the two monkes to be sent up on Anselms side, if he had gone up himselfe? Again, how could the Pope write down by the said messengers to Anselm, if he had there been himselfe present? For so proceedeth the story by the narration of Malinesbury and others.

The Pope hath to goe against his own profit.

After the ambassadors (thus on both sides sent up to Rome) had laboured their cause with instant sute, one against the other; the Pope glad to gratifie the King (yet loath to grant his request, being against his own profit, & therefore more inclining to Anselms side) sendeth down his letters to the said Anselm, signifying that he would not repeale the statutes of his holy fathers for one mans pleasure: charging him moreover, not only not to yield in the cause of investiture, but constantly to adhere to the foresaid decreement of pope Urban his predecessor.

for, &c. Besides this letter to Anselm, he directed also another to the King himselfe: which letter, mine author saith, the King suppressed and did not shew, only declaring by word of mouth, what the ambassadors had said unto him from the Pope. Which was, that he permitted unto him the licence of investing, upon condition that in other things he would execute the office of a good Prince, &c. To this also the testimony of the two bishops above minded did accord, which made the matter more probable. But the two monkes on the other side replied againe, bringing forth the letter of Anselm to the contrary, &c. To them was answered againe, that more credit was to be given to the degree and testimony of the bishops, then to theirs. And as for monkes, they had no suffrage nor testimony (said they) in secular matters, and therefore they might hold their peace. But this is no secular matter, said Baldwin abbat of Ramsey. Whereunto the nobles againe of

the Kings part answered, saying: that he was a good man, and of such demeanour as they had nothing to say against him, neither would if they might: but yet both humane and divine reason taught them so, to yield more credit and confidence to the testimony of three Bishops, then of two monkes. Whereby may well appeare, that Anselm at that time went not with them. When Anselm seeing the King & his peers how they were set, and hearing also the testimony of the three bi-

shops, against whom he saw he could not prevaile; and also having the Popes seale, which he saw to be so evident on the contrary side, made his answer againe: that he would send to Rome for a more certainty of truth. Adding moreover, that he neither would, nor durst give over his cause, though it should cost him his life, to doe or proceed against the determination of the Church of Rome, unless he had a perfect warrant of absolution from thence, for his discharge. Then was it agreed by the King & his nobles, that he should not send, but goe himselfe to Rome. And much intreaty was made, that he would take that journey in hand himselfe, in his own person, to present himselfe to the Pope for the peace of the Church and of his Country. And so at length, by perswasion, he was content, went to Rome & spake with the Pope. In short time after followeth also the Kings ambassadoz (William Earlswall new elect bishop of Excester, who there pleading on the Kings side for the ancient customes of the realm, and for the Kings right of investing, &c. First declared, how England of a long continuance had ever been a province peculiar to the Church of Rome, and how it payed duly his yearly tribute unto the same. Inferring moreover how the King, as he was of nature very liberal, so also of courage a Prince stout and valiant. When what a shame would he thinke it should be to him (as it were indeed) if he, who in might & dignity far exceeded all his progenitors, should not defend and maintaine the liberties & customes by them procured: Wherefore he desired the pope to see the matter, so as might stand both with the Kings honour, & also with his own profit & advantage; who otherwise no doubt should loose a great peece of money out of the realm, unless he did remit something of the severity of his Canons and Lawes decretall.

With these and such other like perswasions to the same effect the court of Rome was well contented, agreeing that the Kings request ought with all labour to be granted. But the Pope & Anselm sat still marking their doings. The ambassadoz, supposing their silence to be halfe a yielding unto him, added moreover and said; that the King, no not for the crown of his realm, would loose the authority of investing or admitting his prelates within his dominion. Whereunto the proud pope answering as ril. lib. 3. gain burst out in these words: For I (said he) for the price of this head (as thou sayest) wilt lose the giving

He meant to be the two bishops, Gerardus, which made third.

Anime a devout chaplain to the Church of Rome.

Anselm four, which came to Rome.

The next of the opinion of Earlswall at the popes Court.

Ex Gulielmo. His pontifical. Ex Marsh. c. ril. lib. 3. A proud answer of the Pope.



ving of spirituall promotions in England, and confirming it with an oath (Before God saith he I speak it) know it for a certaine, &c. When it followeth in the story of Anselmebury: With this word of the Pope the minds of the rest were changed, saying: Benedicta sit cordis tui constantia, benedicta oris loquela. The Kings attourney also was therewith dathed, who notwithstanding yet brought to passe, that certaine of the Kings customes, used before of his father, were released unto him. At the which time in the same court it was decreed, that (the King only, which had inbested the, being excepted) the other, which were inbested by the King, should be excommunicated: the absolution and satisfaction of whom was left to Anselme the Archbishop.

Thus Anselme, being dismissed from Rome, took his journey toward England. But the ambassador, pretending to goe to S. Nicholas, remained behind, to see whether he could win the Popes mind to the Kings purpose. Which when he saw it would not be, he overtaketh Anselme by the way, at Placentia, and opened to him the Kings pleasure. The King (saith he) giveth to you in charge and commandment, that if you will come to England, and there behabe your selfe to him, as your predecessors did to his father, you should be received and retained in the Realme accordingly: if not, you are wise enough (saith he) ye know what I meane, and what will follow, &c. And so with these wordes, parting from him, he returned againe to the King. Anselme remained at Lyons a yere and a halfe, writing divers letters to the King, after this effect, and in wordes as followeth.

To his reverend Lord, HENRY, King of England, *Anselme*, Archbishop of Canturbury, faithfull Service with Prayers.

*Epist. 224.*

Although you understand by William Warlawst what we have done at Rome; yet I shall shortly shew you that which belongeth to me. When I came to Rome, I declared the cause wherefore I came to the Lord Pope. He answered that he would not swarve from the statutes of his predecessors. Furthermore, he commanded me that I should have no fellowship with them that received investings of Churches at your hands, after the knowledge of this prohibition, except they will doe penance, and forsake that they had received, without hope of recovery; neither that I should communicate with the other Bishops that had consecrated such men, except they would present themselves to the judgement of the Apostolique See. The foresaid William can be a witnesse of all these things if he will. This William, when we departed asunder (reckoning up in your behalfe, the love and liberality which you had alwaies towards mee) warned mee as your Archbishop, that I should shew my selfe such an one, that, if I would come into England, I might be with you as my predecessor was with your father, and yee might intreat me with the same honour and liberality that your father intreated my predecessor. By which words I understand, that except I should shew my selfe such a one, you would not have me come into England. For your loue and liberality I thank you: but that I should be with you as my predecessor was with your father, I cannot doe it. For I dare not doe homage to you, nor dare communicate with them that take investings of Churches at your hands: because of the foresaid inhibition made, I my selfe hearing it. Wherefore I desire you to send me your pleasure herein (if it please you) whether I may returne into England (as I said) with your peace, and power of mine office.

In the meane while, great businesse there was, and much passing went to and fro between the King,

the Archbishop, and the Pope, but nothing was done: for neither would the Pope agree to the King, neither would the King condescend to the Archbishop. At last the Archbishop, seeing by no means he could prevaile against the King, thought to revenge himselfe by excommunication, and so went about the same. The King, having word thereof by the countesse Adela his sister, desireth her to come to him into Normandy, and bring Anselme with her: whereupon (through the meanes of the Countesse) reconcilment was made, and the Archbishop was restored to his former possessions againe. Only his returne into England was deferred, because he would not communicate with those whom the King had inbested. So the King took his passage over into England, and Anselme made his abode at the Abbey of Becke.

Then were Ambassadors againe directed unto Rome, William Warlawst, and Baldwin above named, Abbat of Hamelseie, who at length concluded the long controvercie betwene the King and the Pope upon this agreement, that the King should take homage of the Bishops elect, but should not deale with inbesting them by staffe and ring, &c. While the Ambassadors were thus in their lute at Rome, divers complaints were daily brought from England to Anselme, against the Priests & Canons, who in his absence, contrary to the late councill holden at London, received their wives unto their houses againe, and so were permitted by the King paying him certaine money for the same. Anselme (the fore enemy against lawfull marriage) grieved therewith, addresseth his letters unto the King, requiring him to refrain from any more taking of such exactions; declaring moreover and affirming, that the offences of all such Ecclesiasticall Ministers must be corrected by the instance of Bishops, and not of lay-men. To this the King answereth gently again by letters, tempering himselfe; how he purposed shortly to come over into Normandy, and if he had done any thing amisse, either in these or other things, he would reforme it by his obedience.

It was not long after (the messengers being now returned from Rome) but the King, as he had promised, sped him into Normandy, where he, warring against his brother Robert, brought both him and the countrey of Normandy at the last under his subjection. But first meeting with Anselme at the Abbey of Becke, he covenanted and agreed with him in all such points as the Archbishop required. As first, that all his Churches, which before were made tributary unto King William his brother, now should remaine free from all tribute. Item, that he should require nothing of the said Churches or Provinces, in the time of the seat being vacant. Moreover, concerning such Priests and Ministers as had given money to the King for their company with their wives, it was agreed that they should cease from all Ecclesiasticall function, the space of thre yeres, and that the King should take no more after such manner. Item, that all such goods, fruits and possessions, as had been taken away before from the Archbishopricke, should be restored at his coming againe into England, &c.

This Anselme, the stout champion of Popery and superstition, after this victory gotten upon the King, for the which he so long fought, with joy and triumph saileth into England, having all his popish requests obtained. Where first he sleeth like a Lyon upon the married Priests contrary to the Word of God, divorcing & punishing that by mans authority, which the eternall and Almighty God had coupled. Next, he looketh to them, which did hold any Church by farm under the King. Against simony likewise, and against them that married within the seventh degree, he proceedeth with his full pontificall authority.

Shortly after, as King Henry had finished his warre in Normandy, and with victory returned againe

Anselme about to communicate the King.

Reconcilment made between the King and Anselme.

Ambassage to Rome.

Guili. Malmesb. lib. i. de gestis pontif.

Priests received their wives againe by the absence of Anselme.

The faults of Ecclesiasticall Ministers being long to none but to Bishops to correct, Quoth Anselme.

The King brought under the Archb. shop.

Conditions granted by the King to Anselme.

Lawfull marriage money punished.

Anselme returned into England.

Priests driven againe from their wives.

Anno 1106.

Excommunication abused.

Anselme retained from coming to England. By Radulph. Londonensi.

A letter of Anselme to King Henry.

The proud Countesse of a Prelat in a long cause.



again into England, about the sixth yere of his reigne, Anselme Archbishop of Canturbury (by the permission of the King) assembled a great Councell at Westmynster in London, of the Clergie and Prelates of England.

In the which (by the Bishop of Romes authority) he so wrought with the King, that at length (albeit, as the story saith, not without great difficulty) it was newly confirmed and enacted, that no temporall man after that day should make investiture with crosse or with ring, or with pastozall hook. In this Councell, sundry and divers injunctions were given forth to Priests and Deacons: as divers other Synodall acts also by the same Anselme had bene concluded in other Councels before. And because here falleth in mention of the acts Synodall concluded in the time of this Anselme, I thought here good to packe them all in one generall heape together, as wee find them in Palmesbury, and in other sundry authours scatteringly recited.

The first thing, decreed by this Anselme in his Synodall Councels, was touching the fault of simony, whereby divers both Bishops and Abbats (as is aforesaid) were at the same time deposed. And laymen forbidden to conferre any Ecclesiasticall promotion.

Also it was decreed, that no Bishop should beare any office in secular mens business or meetings. And that such should not goe apparelled as the laymen did, but should have their vestures decent and meet for religious persons. And that in all places they should never goe without some to beare witness of their conversation.

Item, that no Archdeacons should be let out to farme.

Item, that no Archdeacon should be under the degree of a Deacon.

Item, that no Archdeacon, Priest, Deacon, Subdeacon, Colligener, nor Canon, should from thence marry a wife, nor yet keepe her, if hee had bene married to one before.

Item, that every Subdeacon, being under the degree of a Canon (after the profession of chastity marrying a wife) should be subject to the same rule.

They ordained also, that a Priest, keeping company with his wife, should be reputed unlawfull, and that hee should say no masse; and if hee said masse, hee should not be heard.

They charged that none should be admitted to orders from that time forward, from the degree of a Subdeacon, unless he did professe chastity.

That Priests sons should not claime by heritage the benefices of their fathers, as the custome had alwaies bene before.

Item, that no spirituall person should sit in any secular office, as to be Jurors or Judges of blood.

Item, that Priests should not resort to Taverns or banquets, nor sit drinking by the fire side.

That the garments of Priests should be of one colour, and that their shewes should be decent.

Item, that Monks, or any other of the Clergie (if they forsooke their order) either should come againe, or be excommunicated.

Item, that the men of the Clergie should weare broad crownes.

Item, that no tithes should be given but to the Church.

Item, that no Churches or Prebends should be bought.

That no new Chappels should be made without consent of the Bishop.

That no Church should be hallowed, before the necessary provision were made for the Priest, and for the Church to be maintained.

That Abbats should set forth no men to warre, and that they must both sleepe and eat in the same house with their Monks, unless some great necessity doe let.

Item, that Monks doe injoyne no penance to any man without the knowledge of his Abbat. And that their Abbats may give no licence therein, but onely for such persons whose charge they have of soule.

That no Monks should be godfathers, nor furs godmothers.

That Monks should have no Lordships to farm.

Item, that Monks should take no Churches but by the Bishop, neither should spoile and oppresse the Churches given unto them with their rents, that sufficient were not left for the ministers of the same.

That priby contracts betwene man and woman without witnesse should not stand, but be frustrate, if each party doe goe from the contract.

Item, that such of the Clergy, as weare long haire, be so rounded, that part of their eare appeare, and that their eyes be not covered.

Item, that there be no matrimoniall copulation within the seventh degree of kindred, nor so continue if they be married: but the marriage to be broken. And if any, being priby to that incest, doe not detect the same, he to be guilty of the same crime.

Item, that no funerall or buryings be without their owne parish Church, so that the Priest thereof doe lose that which to him is due.

Item, that no man upon any new fangled rashnesse doe attribute any reverence or opinion of holinesse to dead mens bodies, to fountaines, or to any other thing (as the use hath bene in times past) without authority of the Bishop.

Item, that no buying and selling be used hereafter in England of men, as of other cattell.

Item, after the restraint of Priests marriage, when filthy sodomity began to come in the place thereof, then were they forced also to make an act for that, which was this.

With a grievous curse we condemne both them that occupy the ungracious vice of sodomity, and them also that willingly assist them, or be wicked doers with them in the same; till such time as they may deserbe abolution by penance and confession.

So that whatsoever he be that is noyed or probed to be of this wickednesse (if he be a religious person) he shall from thenceforth be promoted to no degree of honour, and that which he hath shall be taken from him.

If he be a lay person, hee shall be deprived of all his freedom within the land, and be no better than a forrener.

And because it shall be knowne, the abolution of such as be secular to belong only to Bishops: it was therefore enacted, that on every Sunday, in every parish Church of England, the said excommunication should be published, &c.

But marke in this great matter what followed. For, as Ranulphus Cestrensis witnesseth, this grievous generall curse was some called backe againe by the sute of certaine, which perswaded Anselme, that the publication, or opening of that vice, gave kindlings to the same in the hearts of lewd persons, ministring occasion of more boldnesse to them to doe the like. And so to stop the occasion of filthy sodomity, the publication thereof was taken away; but the forbidding and restraintment of Priests lawfull marriage (which chiefly was the cause thereof) remained still. And thus ever since horrible sodomity remained in the Clergy, both for lacke of marriage more used, and for lacke of publication lesse punished.

Besides all these Synodall acts above comprehended, and given out by Anselme in his Councels before, here also in this present Councell at Westmynster, in the yere of this King aforesaid, hee also decreed other new injunctions to the Priests.

First, that they and their wives should never more meet in one house, neither yet have dwelling in their territories.

Item, wives.

Monks limited in giving penance.

Monks no godfathers, nor furs godmothers. Abbe lands. Impropriation restrained.

Priby contracts.

Rounding.

Marriage within the seventh degree restrained.

Buryings.

No holinesse to be given to shrines and places.

Selling and buying of men.

Sodomity.

A flap with a forsaile for sodomity.

Ranulph. Cestrensis lib. 7. Note the pernicious proceeding of Anselme in ceasing the vice of sodomity.

Penalties and forsaile against Priests that keepe their

Ex lib. Gulielm. gestis pontif. l. 1. ex Tornacensi & aliis.

Priests apparel.

Archdeacons not to be farmed.

Marriage of Priests forbidden.

How of chastity brought in.

Benefices not to goe by simony.

How then was Steven Gardiner Lord Chancellor in Queen Marys time?

Priests crowns. Tithes. Burying of Priests. Building of Chappels. Every Church to find his owne Priest.

Abbats to maintain no war.



Item, that the Priests, Deacons, and Subdeacons should keep no woman in their house, unless they were of their next kin.

Item, for such as had discovered themselves from the society of their wives, yet for some honest cause they had to common with them, they might, so it were without doze, and with two or three lawfull witnesses.

Item, if any of them should be accused by two or three witnesses, & could not purge himselfe again by six able men of his own order (if he be a Priest) or if he be a deacon by foure, or if he be a subdeacon by two) then he should be induged a transgressor of the statutes, deprived of his benefice, and be made infamous, or be put to open reproach of all men.

Item, he that rebelled, & in contempt of this new statute held still his wife, & presumed to say masse, upon the eight day after (if he made not due satisfaction) should be solemnly excommunicated.

Item, all archdeacons and deacons to be straitly sworn, not to winke or dissemble at their meetings, nor to beare with them for money. And if they would not be sworn to this, then to lose their offices without recovery.

Item, such priests, as forsaking their wives were willing to serbe still and remaine in their holy order, first must cease forty dayes from their ministration, setting vicars for them in the meane time to serbe: and taking such penance upon them, as by their bishop should be enjoined them.

Thus have ye heard the tedious treatise of the life and doings of Anselm, how superstitious in his religion, how stubborn against his Prince he was, what occasion of war and discord he ministred by his complaints (if they had been taken) what seale without right knowledge, what ferbency without cause he pretended, what paines without profit he took. And so if he had bestowed that time & travell in preaching Christ at home to his flock, which he took in gadding to Rome, to complaine of his country, in my mind he had been better occupied. Moreover, what violent & tyrannicall insunctions he set forth of investing & other things, ye have heard; but specially against the lawfull and godly marriage of priests. Wherein, what a vehement adberfary he was, here may appeare with these minutes or pieces extracted out of his letters, which we have here annexed; in forme and effect as followeth.

### A Letter of Anselm.

Anselm archbishop, to his brethren and dearest sonnes the Lord Prior and others at Canturbury.

AS concerning Priests, of whom the King commanded that they should have both their Churches and their women as they had in the time of his father, and of Lanfrancus archbishop: both because the King hath revesed and resealed the whole archbishoprick, and because so cursed a marriage was forbidden in a counsell in the time of his father and of the said archbishop: boldly I command by the authority which I have by my archbishoprick, not only within my archbishoprick, but also throughout England, that all priests, which keep women, shall be deprived of their Churches and Ecclesiasticall benefices.

### A Letter of Pope Paschalis to Anselm.

Paschal bishop, servant of Gods servants, to his reverend brother Anselm, archbishop of Canturbury, greeting and apostolicall blessing.

WE beleeve your brother-hood is not ignorant what is decreed in the Romish Church concerning Priests Children. But because there is so great

multitude of such within the realme of England, that almost the greater and better part of the Clerks are reckoned to be on this side: therefore we commit this dispensation to your care. For we grant these to be promoted to holy offices by reason of the need at this time, and for the profit of the Church (such as learning and life shall commend among you) so that yet notwithstanding the prejudice of the Ecclesiasticall decree be taken heed to hereafter, &c.

### Another Letter of Anselm for investing.

To the reverend Lord and loving father Paschal high bishop, Anselm servant of Canturbury Church, due subjection and continuall Prayers.

AFTER that I returned to my bishoprick in England, I shewed the apostolicall decree: which I being present heard in the Romish counsell. That no man should receive investing of Churches at the Kings hand, or any lay person, or should become his man for it, and that no man should presume to consecrate him that did offend herein. When the King and his Nobles, and the bishops themselves, and others of the lower degree heard these things, they tooke them so grievously, that they said they would in no case agree to the thing, and that they would drive me out of the Kingdom, and forsake the Romish Church, rather then keepe this thing. Wherefore reverend father, I desire your counsell by your Letter, &c.

### Another Letter of Anselm.

Anselm archbishop, to the reverend Gudolphus bishop, and to Arnulphus prior, and to William archdeacon of Canturbury, and to all in his diocese, greeting.

WILLIAM our archdeacon hath written unto me, that some Priests that be under his custody (taking again their women that were forbidden) have fallen unto the uncleannesse from the which they were drawn by wholsome counsell and commandement. When the archdeacon would amend this thing, they utterly despised with wicked pride his warning and worthy commandement to be received. Then he, calling together many religious men and obedient Priests, excommunicated worthily the proud and disobedient, that beastly despised the curle, and were not afraid to defile the holy ministry, as much as lay in them, &c.

Unto these letters above pressed, I have also adjoyned another of the said Anselm, touching a great case of conscience, of a monks whipping of himselfe. Wherein may appeare both y blind & lamentable superstition of those religious men, & the iudgment of this Anselm in the same matter.

### Another Letter of Anselm.

Anselm archbishop, to Bernard Monke of the abby of S. Warburg, greeting and Prayer.

I HEARD it said of your Lord abbot, that thou judgest it to be of greater merit, when a monke either beate himselfe, or desireth himselfe to be beaten of another; then when he is beaten (not of his own will) in the Chapter, by the Commandement of the prelacy. But it is not so as you thinke. For that judgement, that any man commandeth to himselfe, is kingly. But that, which he suffereth by obedience in the Chapter, is monkish. The one is of his own will, the other is of obedience, and not of his own will. That which I call kingly, Kings and rich proud men

come by Priest's children what hurt then were it to the Church for Priests to have wives?

King Henry and his nobles ready to forsake the Romish Church.

A letter of Anselm against Priests receiving again their wives. Ex epist. 37. Priests excommunicated for receiving again their wives.

A letter of Anselm. Ex epist. 255. Whether is more merit for a monke to cause himselfe in the Chapter to be whipped, or to suffer obediently the whipping of his abbat.

In the latter part shall come the teachers, adding cartage and acting of meats.

Justification of Priests that adberne married.

King Henry resealed the Churches and wives. Ex epist. Ansel. 7 & 277. Pope Paschal had so decreed at Rome. Ergo Anselm must have no other.

Ex epist. Ansel. 23. If profit of the Church may



comming to be done to themselves. But that which I call monkish, they take, not commanding, but obeying. The kingly is so much easier, by how much it agreeth to the will of the sufferer. But the monkish is so much the grievouser, by how much it differeth from the will of the sufferer. In the kingly judgement, the sufferer is judged to be his own: in the monkish he is proved not to be his own. For although the King or rich man, when he is beaten, willingly sheweth himselfe humbly to be a sinner; yet he would not submit himselfe to this humbleness at any others Commandement, but would withstand the commander with all his strength. But when a Monke submitteth himselfe to the whippe humbly in the Chapter at the will of the prelate; the truth judgeth him to be off so much greater merit, by how much he humbleth himselfe more, and more truly then the other. For he humbleth himselfe to God only, because he knoweth his sinnes. But this man humbleth himselfe to man for obedience. But he is lowlier that humbleth himselfe both to God and man for Gods cause, then he which humbleth himselfe to God only, and not to Gods Commandement. Therefore if he that humbleth himselfe shall be extolled; Ergo he that more humbleth himselfe, shall be more exalted. And where I said, that when a Monke is whipped, it differeth from his will; you must not so understand it, as though he would not patiently beare it with an obedient will; but because by a naturall appetite he would not suffer the sorrow. But if ye say, I doe not so much flie the open beating for the paines (which I feele also secretly) as for the shame: know then that he is stronger than joyceth to beare this for obedience sake. Therefore be thou sure, that one whipping of a Monke by obedience is of more merit then innumerable whippings taken by his owne minde. But whereas hee is such, that alwaies he ought to have his Heart ready without murmuring obediently to be whipped, we ought to judge him then to bee of a great merit, whether he be whipped privily or openly, &c.

The judgement  
or conclusion of  
Anselm upon  
the case.  
False opinion  
of merit.

Anno  
1105.

And thus much concerning Anselm archbishop of Canturbury; whose stout example gave no little courage to Thurstinus and Becket his successors, and others that followed after, to doe the like against their Kings and Princes, as in proceesse hereafter by the grace of Christ shall appeare.

About this time, 1105. two famous archbishops of Bantz, being right vertuous and well disposed prelates, were cruelly and tyrannously dealt with, all, and intreated by the bishop of Rome: their names were Henry and Christian. This Henry, having intelligence that he was complined of to the Pope, sent a learned man (as special friend of his) to excuse him, named Arnold, one for whom he had done much, and promoted to great livings and promotions. But this honest man Arnold, in stead of an excuser, became an accuser, bribing the two chiefest cardinals with good gold, by which meanes he obtained of the Pope, those two Cardinals to be sent as inquisitors, and only doers in that present case. The which (comming to Germany) summoned the said Henry, and deposed him of his archbishopricke (for all he could doe either by law or iustice) substituting in his place the foresaid Arnold, upon hope, truly of the Ecclesiasticall gold. Whereupon that vertuous and honorable Henry (as the story telleth) spake unto those his peruerse iudges on this wise: If I should appeale unto the Apostolicke See for this your untill proceesse had against me, perhaps the Pope would attempt nothing more therein then we have, neither should I win anything by it, but only toile of body, losse of goods, affliction of mind, care of heart, and missing of his labour.

Wherefore I doe appeale unto the Lord Jesus Christ, as to the most high and iust iudge, and cite

you before his iudgement, there to answer me before the high iudge. For neither iustly nor goodly (but by corruption as it pleaseth you) you have iudged. Whereunto they scoffingly answered: So you first, and we will follow. Not long after (as the story is) the said Henry died. Whereof the said two cardinals having intelligence said one to the other jestingly: Behold, he is gone before, & we must follow according to our promise. And verily they said truer then they were aware of: for within a while they died in one day. For the one, sitting upon a lakes to ease himselfe, boyded out all his intralles into the draught, and miserably ended his life. The other, gnawing off the fingers of his hands, and spitting them out of his mouth (all deformed in debouring himselfe) died. And in like wise, not long after the end of these men, the foresaid Arnold (most horribly) in a sedition was slain; and certaine dayes (lying stinking above the ground unburied lay open to the spoile of every rascall & harlot. The historiographer in declaring hereof crieth upon the cardinals in this manner: O ye cardinals, ye are the beginning and authors hereof. Come ye hither therefore, come ye hither, and heap and carry unto your countries the dibell, and offer your selves to him with that money, inhereof ye have been most gluttonous and insatiable.

About the same time and yere when R. Henry began his raigne, Pope Paschalis entred his papacy, succeeding after Urbanus, about the yere of our Lord 1100. nothing marving from the steps of Hildebrand and his superior. This Paschalis being elected by the cardinals, after that the people had cried thrice, S. Peter hath chosen good Ratnerus, he then putting on a purple vesture, and a tire upon his head, was brought upon a white palfrey into Lateran, where a scepter was given him, & a girdle put about him, having seven keies, with seven seales hanging thereupon for a recognisance or token of his seven-fold power, according to the seven-fold grace of the holy Ghost, of binding, loosing, shutting, opening, eating, resigning, and iudging, &c. After this Paschalis was elected Pope, Henry the fourth, the foresaid Emperour (of courage most valiant, if the time had served thereto) thought to come up to Italy to salute the new Pope. But, understanding the Popes mind bent against him, he changed his purpose. In the meane time, Paschalis, to shew himselfe inferior to Hildebrand in no point, began first to depose all such abbats and bishops whom the Emperour had set up. Also he banished Albertus, Theodoricus, and Agnulpus striving at the same time for the papacy. I spake before of Guibert, whom Henry the Emperour had made Pope against Hildebrand. Against this Guibert Paschalis made out an army; who, being put to flight, not long after departed.

About the same time, Anno 1101. the bishop of Fluence began to teach and to preach of antichrist then to be borne and to be manifest, as Sabellius testified: whereupon Paschalis, assembling a council, put to silence the said bishop, & condemned his bookes. In this council at Treves, Priests that were married were condemned for Nicolaitans. Item, according to the decre of Hildebrand, all such of what degree or estate soever they were (being laymen) that gave any Ecclesiasticall dignities, were condemned of simony. Furthermore, the statute of priests tithes there he renewed, counting the selling away thereof as a sin against the holy Ghost. Concerning the excommunication and other troubles, that Hildebrand wrought against Henry the fourth Emperour, it is declared sufficiently before. His excommunication Paschalis & Pope renewed afresh against the said Henry. And not only that, but also, convening the Princes of Germany unto a general Assembly, set up his own sonne against him, causing the bishop of Bantz, of Cullen,

A terrible  
example for  
corrupt iudges  
to beware.

The Popes  
tirement.

The seven-fold  
power of the  
Pope.

Judges  
corrupted.

Of antichrist  
borne and ma-  
nifest.  
The bishop of  
Fluence a  
martry.  
Sabellius.  
A council at  
Treves.

A tragical  
history of the  
Pope Pascha-  
lis setting the  
son against the  
father.

and



Ex historia Hel-  
moli.

The prelates set  
the son against  
the father.

A gratefull ex-  
ample of a good  
and thankfull  
Duke.  
A naughty son  
of a good fa-  
ther.

Ex Helmoldi  
Gosfrido Vicer-  
bensi.

The unkind-  
nes of a proud  
prelate.

{ Anno  
1106 }

The Emperour  
five yeeres  
without buriall.

{ Anno  
1107 }

Henricus Em-  
perour.  
Ex chronico  
Carionis. lib. 3.

and of Wormes to deprive him of his Imperiall crowne, and to place his sonne Henricus the fifth in his fathers Kingdome, and so they did. Comming to the place at Wilschheim, first they required his diadem, his purple, his ring, and other ornaments pertaining to the crowne, from him. The Emperour demandeth the cause, being then excommunicate and voice of friends. They pretending againe (I cannot tell what) for selling of bishopricks, abbacies, and other ecclesiasticall dignities for money: also alledging the Popes pleasure and of other Princes. Then required he first of the bishop of Wentz (and likewise of the other two, whom he had preferred to their bishopricks before) asking them in order, if he had received of them any penny for his promoting them to their dignities. This when they could not deny to be so, Well (saith he) and doe you requite me againe with this? With divers other words of exhortation, admonishing them to remember their oath and allegiance to their Prince. But the perjured Prelates, neither reverencing his Majesty, nor moved with his benefits, nor regarding their nobility, ceased not for all this, but first plucked from him (sitting in his throne) his crown imperiall, then distressed him, taking from him his purple and his scepter. The good Emperour, being left desolate and in confusion, saith to them: Videat Deus & judicet: that is, Let God see and judge. Thus leaving him, they went to his sonne to confirme him in his kingdome, and caused him to drive his father out. Who then being chased of his sonne (having but nine persons about him) did die by the Dukedome of Limburgh, where the duke being then in hunting, perceiving and hearing of him, made after to follovv him. The Emperour fearing no other but present death (for he had displaced the same Duke before out of his Dukedome) submitted himselfe, craving of him pardon, and not rebengement. The Duke full of compassion, and pitying his estate, not onely remitted all his displeasure, but also received him to his Castle. Moreover, collecting his souldiers and men of warre, he brought him to Cullen, and there he was well received. His sonne hearing this besieged the City of Cullen. But the father, by night escaping, came to Leodium, where resorted to him all such as were men of compassion and of constant heart. In so much that his power, being strong enough, he was now able to pitch a field against his enemies, and so did: desiring his friends, that if hee had the victory, they would spare his sonne. In fine (the battell ispired) the father had the victory, the sonne was put to flight: many being slaine on both sides. But shortly after, the battell renewed againe, the sonne prevailed, the father was overcome and taken. Who then, being utterly dispossessed of his Kingdome, was brought to that exigent, that comming to Spire, he was faine to crave of the Bishop there (whom he had done much for before) to have a prebend in the Church: and for that he had some skill of his booke, he desired to serve in our Ladies quire, yet could he not obtaine so much at his hand, who swore by our Lady, he should have none there. Thus the most full Emperour (most unkindly handled, and repulsed on every side) came to Leodium, and there for sorrow died, after he had reigned fifty yeeres; whose body Paschalis, after his funerall, caused to be taken up againe, and to be brought to Shires, where it remained five yeeres unburied. Hec ex Helmoldo.

After the decease of this Emperour Henry the fourth, his sonne Henricus the fifth reigned the space of twenty yeeres. Who, comming to Rome to be crowned of the Pope, could not obtaine it, before he would fully assent to have this ratified, that no Emperour should have any thing to doe with the election of the Romane bishop, or with other bishopricks. Besides that (about the same time) such a stir was made in Rome by the said bishop, that if the Empe-

rou had not defended himselfe with his owne hands, he had been slaine. But as it happened, the Emperour having the victory, amongst many other Romanes (which were partly slaine, partly taken in the same skirmish) he taketh also the Pope, & leadeth him out of the City: where he intendeth with him upon divers conditions, both of his coronation, and of recovering againe his right and title in the election of the Pope, and of other bishopricks: wherunto the Pope assenting agreed to all. So the Emperour (being crowned of Paschalis) returned againe with the Pope to Rome.

All the conditions betwene the Emperour and the Pope (so long as the Emperour remained at Rome) stood firme and ratified. But as sone as the Emperour was returned againe to Germany, forthwith the Pope, calling a synod, not onely rebeked all that he had agreed to before, but also excommunicated Henricus the Emperour, as he had done his father before, reprobbing the former Privilegium for privilegium. The Emperour, returning from Rome to France, there married Bathildis daughter to King Henry. Who then hearing what the Pope had done (grieved not a little) with all expedition marched to Rome, and putteth the Pope to flight, and finally placeth another in his stead. In the meane time the bishops of Germany (the Popes good friends) slept not their businesse, incensing the Saxons all that they might against their Cesar: in so much that a great commotion was stirred up, and it grew at length to a pitch field: which was fought in the moneth of February, by the wood called Sylva Catulaira, in the yere of our Lord one thousand one hundred and fiftene.

The Emperour seeing no end of these conflicts (unless he would yield to the Pope) was faine to give over, and forgoe his privilege, falling to a composition, not to meddle with matters pertaining to the Popes election, nor with investing, nor such other things belonging to the Church & churchmen. And thus was the peace betwene them concluded, and proclaimed to no small rejoycing of both the armies, then lying by Wormes, nere the river of Rhene.

In the time of this Paschalis lived Bernardus, called Abbas Claravallensis, in the yere 1108. of whom spang the Bernardine monkes.

About what time the City of Worcester was consumed almost all with fire, Anno 1109.

All this while Henricus the Emperour had no issue (having to wife Bathildis, the daughter of Henry the first, King of England) and that by the just judgment of God, as it may appeare. For as he, having a father, persecuted him by the Popes setting on, contrary to the part of a naturall sonne: so Gods providence did not suffer him to be the father of any child, naturally to love him, or to succed him.

After the death of Paschalis, Anno 1118, succeeded Pope Gelasius, chosen by the cardinals, but without the consent of the Emperour, whereupon rose no little variance in Rome. And at length another Pope was set up by the Emperour called Gregorius the eighth, and Gelasius driven away into France, and there died. After whom came Calixtus the second, (chosen likewise by a few Cardinals, without the voice of the Emperour) who, comming up to Rome to enjoy his seate, first sent his legat into Germany to excommunicate the Emperour Henricus, who then having divers conflicts with his fellow Pope Gregorius, at length drove him out of Rome. At this time by this occasion great dispute and controversy was betwene the Emperour and the Popes Court, whether of them in dignity should excell the other: whereof reasons and arguments on both sides were alledged, which in the verses here following are comprehended.

The Pope too  
acti pellant.

War raised by  
the Pope and  
his papists.

Peace concluded  
betwene  
the Emperour  
and the Pope.

Bernardus the  
abbat.  
Bernardine  
monks came in  
the City of  
Worcester al-  
most all con-  
sumed with fire.  
Bathildis.  
Example of the  
Lords just re-  
tribution and  
judgment.

Two Popes  
driving toge-  
ther.

Pope Calixtus  
the second.

The Pope ex-  
communicates  
the Emperour.



## Allegatio imperatoris contra papam.

*Cæsar lex viva stat regibus imperativa,  
Legesq; sub viva sunt omnia jura dative,  
Lex ea castigat, solvit & ipsa ligat.  
Conditor est legis, neq; debet lege teneri,  
Sed sibi complacuit sub lege libenter haberi:  
Quicquid ei placuit, juris adinstar erat.  
Qui ligat ac solvit Deus ipsum protulit orbi,  
Divisit regnum divina potentia secum,  
Astra dedit superis, cetera cuncta sibi.*

## Responsio Romanæ curiæ contra imperatorem.

*Pars quoque papalis sic obviat imperiali,  
Sic dans regnare, quod Petro subjiçitur:  
Ius etenim nobis Christus utrumque parit.  
Spiritus & corpus mihi sunt subiecta potenter,  
Corpore terrena teneo, cælestia mente,  
Unde, tenendo polum, solvo ligoque solum.  
Æthera pandere, cælica tangere, papa videtur.  
Nam dare, tollere, necesse,olvere cuncta meretur,  
Cui dedit omne decus lex nova, lexque vetus:  
Annulus & baculus quamvis terrena putentur,  
Sunt de jure poli, que significare videntur:  
Respice jura Dei, mens tua cedat ei, &c.*

In conclusion, the Emperour being overcome so much with the vaine reason of the Popes side, and fearing the dangerous thunderbolt of his curse (talking with Princes, and persuaded by his friends) was faine to condescend to the unreasonable conditions of the Pope. First, to ratifie his election, notwithstanding the other Pope (whom the said Emperour had set up) yet was alive. Secondly, that he should resign up his right and title in matters pertaining to the election of the Pope, and in bestiture of bishopps.

This being done and granted, and the writings thereof set up in the Church of Lateran, for a triumph of the Emperour thus subdued, the Pope maketh out after Gregorius his fellow Pope, being then in a towne called Sutrium; which being besieged and taken, Gregorius also was taken. Whom Calixtus the Pope setting upon a Camell (his face to the Camels taile) brought him to through the streets of Rome, holding the taile in his hand in stead of a bridle, and afterward being home he was thrust into a Monastery.

Amongst many other acts done by this glorious Pope, first he established the decrees of the papall See against this Emperour. He brought in the foure quarter falls, called Ember daies. Dist. 70. cap. Iejunium.

By the same Calixtus the order of monkes, called Præmonstratenses, were brought in.

Further, by him it was decreed to be judged for adultery, if any person (by his life time) had put from him either bishoppe or benefice, grounding upon this Scripture of S. Paul to the Romans: *Alligata est uxor legi viri, quādmū vir ejus vivit: eo desinēto, soluta est a lege viri, &c.* That is, The wife is bound to the law of her husband, so long as the husband liveth: after he is dead, she is loofe from the law of her husband, &c.

Item, the same Calixtus, holding a generall council at Aghenis, decreed that Priests, Deacons, and Subdeacons should put away their concubines and wives: and whosoever was found to keepe his wife, should be deprived of benefice, and all other Ecclesiasticall livings: whereupon a certaine English writer made these verses following.

*O bone Calixte, nunc omnis clerus odit te:  
Quendam presbyteri poterant uxoris sui,  
Hoc destruxisti, postquam tu papa fuisti, &c.*

## That is, word for word.

The hatred of the clergy hast thou good Calixte,  
For sometimes Priests might use their wives right,  
But that thou hast rejected, since Pope thou wast elected

And thus much of the Roman matters. Now to our countrey story againe. After the death of Anselme before mentioned (who deceased the yere of Christ 1109. after he had bene in the See firste yeres) the Church of Canturbury had boyd five yeres; and the goods of the Church were spent to the Kings use. And when he was prayed to helpe the Church that was so long without a pastor, his answer was: pretending that as his father and brother had accustomed thereto to let the best tried and approved men that might be found, so to the intent that he might doe the same (in choosing such, which either should equall the former examples of them before, or at least follow their footsteps as nere as they could) he toke therein the more time and leisure. And so with shift of answer he delayed out the time, while he had filled his coffers with the commodities of that benefice. The same yere (after the death of Anselme) the King converted the Abby of Ely to a bishoppe, which before was under the bishoppe of Lincoln, placing there Henry bishop of Bangor, the first bishop of that See. And as, of late yeres before this, others wonders were scene, as warres falling from Heaven so thicke that they

could not be numbrd, at the setting forth of the Christians to the holy Land; Iornalenf. A blazing starre over Constantinople; A spring boyling out blood (scene at Finchamsted in Warkshire) three weekes together Anno 1090. Gisburnensf. After that, the firmament appearing so red, as it had bene all on fire; also two full Moones appearing together, one in the east, the other in the west (on Maundy Thursday) with a blazing starre in the same yere appearing about the taking of Duke Robert, having a white circle inclosing it, Anno 1106. Iornalenf. Also with an eclipse of the Sunne darkened after that: So likewise about this present yere, Anno 1110. was scene the flood of Trent, about Spotttingham, so dyed up from morning to three of the clock at after noone, that men might goe over it dry shod; Gisburnenf. Also in Shyelsbury a great earthquake hapned, and after that followed a sharpe winter, great murder of beasts, and pestilence of men, as Gualterus Gisburnenf. recordeth; Moreover, the same author mentioneth, that about the same yere the like bading of water also happened in the flood of Hedway; and in the Thames (betwene the bridge and the Tower, and under the bridge, from midnight to the next evening) was so great an ebbe, that an innumerable sort of people and children waded over, scarce knee deepe in the water, the sea with drawing his tide ten miles from his accustomed course. Roger Hoveden. Gualter. Gisburnenf. &c. In the which yere also, as the said author and Porenalf. doe testifie, the City of Worcester by casualty was consumed with fire; Also the City of Chester, Anno 1114. Rog. Hoved.

The next yere following, Rodolphus bishop of Rochester (an Englishman) was promoted to be Archbishop of Canturbury, and Thurstinus the Kings Chaplen was elected Archbishop of Poike. Who being content to receive his benediction of consecration of the See of Canturbury; yet, because he refused to make his profession of obedience to the same See, he was by the King deprived of his dignity.

Then Thurstin (by the instigation of certaine his clerkes at Poike) toke his journey to Rome; who, there making his complaint to Pope Balchalis, brought with him a letter from the Pope to the King, where among other words was contained as followeth: Audimus eadum Eboracensis ecclesie, nunc fupremum & strenuum, sine iudicio ab Eboracensf. seque-

Then Thurstin (by the instigation of certaine his clerkes at Poike) toke his journey to Rome; who, there making his complaint to Pope Balchalis, brought with him a letter from the Pope to the King, where among other words was contained as followeth: Audimus eadum Eboracensis ecclesie, nunc fupremum & strenuum, sine iudicio ab Eboracensf. seque-

Anno 1109.

The bishoppe of Ely first planted, Henry first bishop of Ely.

Anno 1110.

Trent dyed up.

An earthquake. Quere and pestilence. Ex Gualtero Gisburnensf.

Anno 1113.

Worcester consumed with fire.

Anno 1114.

Rodolphus archbishop of Canturbury. Thurstinus archbishop of Poike. Disension betwene Thurstin of Poike, and Rodolph archbishop of Canturbury for subjection.

The letter of Balchalis to King Henry.

Gregorius brought into Rome by the Pope, his face to the horse taile. Ex Platina, Vincentio, Stella, &c. The Ember daies by whom they were brought in, and when. Dist. 70. cap. Iejunium. The order of monkes. Præmonstratenses.

Scripture clerically applied of the Pope.

Priests and ministers compelled to leave their wives.



sequestratum ecclesia; quod nimirum divine justitie & Statutum institutionibus aduersatur. Nos quidem neque Can. ecclesiam minui, neque Eboracensem volumus preiudicium pati, sed eam constitutionem que a B. Gregorio, Anglice gentis apostolo, inter easdem ecclesias constituta est, firmam censuimus illam inque seruari. Idem ergo obitus, ut iustitia exigit, ad suam ecclesiam omnibus modis reuocatur. Si quid autem questionis inter easdem ecclesias nascitur, presentibus utriusque partibus in vestra presentia pertractetur, &c.

In English thus:

We heare and understand, that the Archbishop elect of the Church of Poske (a discrete and industrious man) is sequestred from the Church of Poske; which standeth against both diuine justice, and the institution of holy fathers. Our purpose is, that neither the Church of Canturbury should be impaired, nor againe that the Church of Poske should suffer any preiudice, but that the same constitution, which was by blessed Gregory (the Apostle of the English nation) set and decreed between those two Churches, should remaine still in force and effect unviolate. Wherefore, as touching the foresaid elect, let him be receiued againe by any means, as right and meete it is, unto his Church. And if there be any question between the foresaid Churches, let it be handled and decided in your presence, both the two parties being there present.

Upon the occasion of this letter, a solemne assembly there was appointed at Salisbury, about the hearing of this controvercie. The variance between these two Prelats still increased more and more. Rodolph Archbishop of Canturbury in no case would yield or condescend to giue imposition of hands unto him, unless he would make his profession of obedience. Thurstin againe said, he would willingly receiue and embrace his benediction; but as touching the profession of his subiection, that he would not agree unto. When the King, declaring his mind therein, signified unto Thurstin, that without his subiection and obedience professed to the Archbishop of Canturbury, he should not enjoy his consecration to be Archbishop of Poske. Whereunto Thurstin, nothing replying againe, renounced his Archbishopricke, promising moreover to make no more claime unto it, nor to molest them that should enjoy it.

Shortly after this, it happened that Pope Paschalis died: after whom, as is aboue rehearsed, succeeded Pope Gelasius, who liued not past a yere, and died in France. Whereupon the Cardinals (which then followed the said Pope Gelasius unto Cluniacke) created another Pope of their choosing whom they called Calistus the second. The other Cardinals which were at Rome did chose another Pope called Gregory, as mention before is made: about which two Popes much stir there was in Christian realmes. As this Calistus was remaining in France, and there calling a generall councill at Rheims, as ye heard before; Thurstinus the archbishop of Poske desired licence of the King to goe to the councill, purposing there to open the cause of his Church, which estates he obtained: first promising to the King that he should there attempt nothing that should be preiudiciall to the Church of Canturbury. In the meane time, the King had sent secret word unto the Pope, by Rodolph and other procurators, that in no case he would consecrate Thurstinus. Yet, notwithstanding the faithfull promise of the Pope made to the King, so it fell out, that the said Pope though the sute of his Cardinals, whom Thurstinus had won to him, was inclined to consecrate him, and gave him the pall. For this deed the King was sore discontented with Thurstin, and warned him the entry of his land.

In this councill at Rheims (aboue mentioned) where were gathered 434. prelates, these fives principall acts were concluded,

1. That no man should either buy or sell any bishopricke, abbattishipp, deanry, archdeaconshepp, priesthood, prebendishipp, altar, or any ecclesiasticall promotion, or benefice, orders, consecration, Church halloving, seat or stall within the quier, or any office ecclesiasticall, under danger of excommunication, if he did persist.

2. That no lay person should giue investiture or any ecclesiasticall possession; and that no spirituall man should receive any such at any lay mans hand, under paine of deprivation.

3. That no man should invade, take away, or detain the goods or possessions of the Church, but that they should remaine firme and perpetuall, under paine of perpetuall curse.

4. That no bishop or priest should leaue any ecclesiasticall dignity or benefice to any, by way of inheritance. Adding moreover, that for baptism, chrisme, anointing, or buriall, no money should be exacted.

5. Item, that all priests, deacons, and subdeacons, should be utterly debarrd and sequestred from company of their wives and concubines, under paine of excluding from all Christian communion.

The acts thus determined were sent effswones to Henricus the Emperour, to see and try, before the breaking up of the councill, whether he would agree to the canoniceall elections, free consecration, and investing of spirituall persons, and to other acts of the said councill. The Emperour makeh answer againe, that he would lose nothing of that ancient custome which his progenitors had giuen him. Notwithstanding, because of the authority of the generall councill, he was content to consent to the residue, save onely the investing of ecclesiasticall sandion to be taken from him, to that he would never agree. Upon this, at the next returne of the Pope to the councill, the Emperour was appointed to be excommunicated. Which thing, when diuers of the councill did not well like, and therefore did separate themselves from the rest: the Pope applying against them the multitude of the seventy disciples which were offended at the Lord, when he taught them of eating of his flesh and blood, and therefore divided themselves from him, declaring moreover to them, how they which gathered not with him, scattered, and they that were not with him, were against him: by these and such like persuasions reduced them againe to his side; and so by that councill Henricus the Emperour was excommunicated.

It was not long after but the Pope came to Glaston, where Henry King of England resorted to him, desiring and also obtaining of him, that he would send henceforth no Legat, nor permit any to be sent from Rome to England, unless the King himselfe should so require, by reason of some occasion of strife, which else could not be otherwise decided by his owne bishops at home. The cause why the King required this of the Pope was, for that certaine Roman Legats had ben in England a little before (to wit) one Guido, and another Roman named Anselmus, and another also called Petrus, who had spoiled the realme of great treasure, as the accustomed manner of the proud Popes Legats is wont to be, Guli. de pont. lib. 1. Also he required of the Pope, that he might use and retaine all the customes used before of his forefathers in England and in Normandie.

To these petitions the Pope did easily consent, requiring againe of the King, that he would licence Thurstinus, the archbishop aboue minded, to returne with fauour into his realme. But that the King utterly denied, unless he would professe subiection to the Church of Canturbury, as his predecessors had done before; and excused himselfe by his oath which he before had made. To this the Pope answered againe, that he, by his authority apostolicall, both might,

Acts of the councill of Rheims.

The acts sent to the Emperour.

The Emperour agreeth not to the Popes making.

The councill divided. Ex Reg. Hoved.

Henry the Emperour become excommunicated.

Agreed that England should have no other Legat from Rome but onely the archbishop of Canturbury.

England spoiled by the Popes Legats.

All the customes of the realme granted of the Pope.

Ex Gualtero Gifford. cap. li. Gualter. de pont. lib. 4. Ex Roger. Hoved. l. aban. &c.

Anno 1116.

Assembly of the prelates at Salisbury. Thurstin refused to profess subiection to the archbishop of Canturbury.

Thurstin promised to receive his archbishopricke.

Anno 1118.

Pope Gelasius decreeth promise with the King. Thurstin consecrated archbishop of Poske by the Pope against the Kings mind.

Council at Rheims.



might, and would also easily dispence with him for his promise or oath. When the King said, that he would talke with his counsell thereof, and so send him an answer of his mind. Which answer was this, that, for the love and request of the Pope, he was content that Thurstinus should re-enter his realme, and quietly enjoy his prelathship, upon this condition that he would (as his predecessors did) profess his subjection to the Church of Canturbury. Otherwise (said he) so long as he was king, he should never sit archbishop of the Church of Porke. And thus ended that meeting between the King of England and the Pope for that time.

Anno  
1120.

The Popes letter to the King, compelled to receive Thurstinus for feare of the Popes curse.

Thurstinus restored.

Anno  
1122.

William archbishop of Canturbury.

The gray Friars first came into England.

Anno  
1125.

Priests payd for their wives. Ex Roger. Hoved. Et Guliel. Gisleburnensis. Hunting. lib. 7. The abbey of Gisleburne builded.

S. James hand. Reading abbey founded. Pauls daughter of King Henry heire to the crowne. Geoffrey Plantagenet. Henry 2. boins of Matilda the Emperesse.

Anno  
1130.

The Priory of Porton founded. Three terrible visions of the King.

The yere following after that, which was, Anno 1120. the foresaid Pope Calixtus directeth his letters for Thurstinus to the King, and to Rodolph archbishop of Canturbury. In which Epistle, by his full power apostolicall, he doth interdict both the Church of Canturbury, and the Church of Porke, with all the Parish Churches within the same Cities, from all Divine service, from the buriall also of the dead, except onely baptising of children, and absolution of them that lie on dying; unlesse, within a moneth after the receit of the same, Thurstinus (without any eracion of subjection made) were received and admitted to the See of Porke, and that the King likewise should doubtlesse be excommunicated, except he would consent unto the same. Whereupon Thurstinus, for feare of the Popes curse, was immediately sent for and reconciled to the King, and was placed quietly in his archiepiscopall See of Porke.

It followed not long after (within two yeres) Rodolph archbishop of Canturbury departed, in whose See succeeded after him Gulielmus de Turbine. About which time (in the seven and twentieth yere of the Kings raigne) the Gray friers, by procuring of the King, came first into England, and had their house first at Canturbury. About the same season or a little before, the King called a councill at London, where the spirituality of England (not knowing to what purpose it was required) condescended to the King to have the punishment of married Priests: by reason of which grant (whereof the spirituality afterwards much repented) the Priests, paying a certaine to the King, were suffered to retaine their wives still, whereby the King gathered no small summe of money, Rog Hoved. Guliel. Gisleburnensis. At this time began first the foundation of the monastery called Gisleburne in Clebeland.

It was above touched, how Matilda or Maud, daughter to King Henry, was married to Henry the fifth Emperour; who, after the decease of the said Emperour her husband, returned about this present time with the imperiall crowne to her father in Normandy, bringing with her the hand of saint James. For the joy whereof the King builded the abbey of Reading, where the said hand was reposed. This Matilda was received by the said counsell to be next heire to the king her father in possession of the English crowne, for lacke of issue male. And some after upon the same, she was sent over to Normandy, to marry with Geoffrey Plantagenet Earle of Anjou, of whom came Henry the second, who (after Stephen) was King of England. And about this time also was founded the Priory of Porton in the province of Cheshire, by one William the sonne of Blachel. In the story of Polychronicon, Iornal. and Polydorus is declared, how the King was troubled greatly with three sundry visions appearing unto him by night. The first was of a great multitude of husbandmen of the country, which appeared to fly upon him with their mattocks and instruments, requiring of him his debt which he did owe unto them. In the second, he saw a great number of soldiers and harnessed men to come fiercely upon him. In the third, he saw a company of prelates & Churchmen, threatening him with their Bishops staves,

and fiercely approaching upon him. Whereupon (being dismayed) in all haste he came and took his sword to defend himselfe, finding there none to strike: who afterward, asking counsell concerning these visions, was monished by one of his physicians (named Grimbald) by repentance, almes, and amendment of life to make some mends to God, and to his countrey whom he offended. Which three vomes thus being made, the next yere after he went to England, where he, being upon the seas in a great tempest with his daughter Matilda, remembered there his three vomes. And so comming to the land (for performance of the same) first released unto the commons the Danes gill which his father and his brother before had renewed. Secondly, he went to S. Edmundsbury, where he shewed great benefits to the Churchmen. Thirdly, he procured justice to be administered more rightly throughout his realme, &c. Also he ordained and erected a new bishopricke at Carlill.

Three vomes made of King Henry.

Anno  
1131.

Dane gill released. The Church relieved. Justice rightly administered. Bishopricke of Carlill newly erected by King Henry.

In the thre and thirtieth yere of the Kings raigne, (as witnesseth a certaine author) a great part of the City of London, with the Church of S. Paul, was burned with fire in Whitsuntwæke.

The City and Pauls Church of London burned.

After Calixtus (whose story and time is before discoursed) succeeded Pope Honorius the second, notwithstanding that the cardinals had elected another, yet he by the means of certaine citizens obtained the papacy, Anno 1125. About the second yere of his induction (as is to be read in Mat. Paris.) there was a certaine Legat of his, called Iohannes Cremenensis, sent downe to England from the Pope for the redresse I cannot well tell whereof. But indeed the chiefest purpose of his coming, as of all others after him in those daies, was to fill their pouches with English money, as may further appeare by their proceedings. This Legat comming then with the Popes letters directed both into England and into Scotland, after he had well refreshed himselfe in Bishops houses, and amongst the abbats, at length resorted to London, where he assembled the whole clergy together, inquired of Priests concubines, otherwise called their wives, and made thereupon a statute in the said Synod of London, after this tenor: Presbyteris, diaconibus, subdiaconibus, & economicis, uxoribus, concubinarum, & omnium omnino femininarum cantubernia, auctoritate apostolica inhibemus, præter matrem aut ferorem, vel amitam, aut ejusmodi que omnino carum suspitione. Et qui decreti hujus violator exstiterit (consequi vel convictus) ruinam ordinis patiat. Inter consanguineos seu affinitate propinquos, usque ad septimam generationem, matrimonia contrahi prohibemus. That is, So Priests, Deacons, Subdeacons, and Canons, were doe utterly inhibit by authority Apostolicall, all manner society and conversation with all kinde of women, except onely their mother, sister, or aunt, or such whereof can rise no suspicion. And whosoever shall be found to violate this decre, being convict thereof, shall suffer paine thereby the losse of all that he hath by his order. Whereover, amongst kindred or such as be joined in affinity, we forbid matrimony unto the seventh generation, &c. But see how God worketh against such ungodly proceedings. The next night after it happened the same Cardinall (ruffian and rebelling with his concubines) to be apprehended in the same vice, whereof he had so strictly given out precepts the next day before, to the no little scandal and shame, as Mat. Paris. doth write, of the whole Clergy.

Honorius the second.

Matthew Paris.

A Romish statute concerning Priests wives and concubines.

Unto this time lived Henricus the fifth Emperour, after he had reigned twenty yeres, dying without issue, as is before mentioned. After Henricus, the Imperiall crowne came unto Lotharius Duke of Saxony, in the yere one thousand one hundred twenty and seven.

Matilda heire to the seventh degree.

The Popes legat giving precepts of chastity, was found with an harlot.

Certaine histories make mention of one Arnulphus, in the time of this Pope Honorius the second. Some say he was archbishop of Lugdun, as Honorius.



Platina, Sabellicus. Tritemius saith he was a Priest, whose history, as it is set forth in Tritemius, I will briefly in English expresse. About this time, saith he, in the daies of Honorius the second, one Arnulphus Priest, a man zealous and of great devotion, and a worthy preacher, came to Rome; which Arnulphus in his preaching rebuked the dissolute and lascivious loosenesse, incontinency, avarice, and immoderate pride of the Clergy, provoking all to follow Christ and his Apostles in their poverty rather, and in purenesse of life. By reason whereof, this man was well accepted, and highly liked of the Nobility of Rome for a true Disciple of Christ; but of the Cardinals & the Clergy he was no lesse hated then favoured of the other. In so much that privily in the night season they took him and destroyed him. This his martyrdom, saith he, was revealed to him before from God by an Angel, he being in the desert, when he was sent forth to preach, whereupon he said unto them publicly with these words: I know (saith he) ye see like my life, and know you will make me alway privily: but why? Because I preach to you the truth, and blame your pride, stoutnesse, avarice, incontinency, with your unmeasurable greedinesse in getting and heaping up of riches, therefore you be displeased with me. I take here Heaven and Earth to witness, that I have preached unto you that which I was commanded of the Lord. But you contemne me and your Creator, who by his only Sonne hath redeemed you. And no marvell if you seeke my death, being a finfull person, preaching unto you the truth, when as if S. Peter were here this day and rebuked your vices, which doe so multiply above all measure, you would not spare him neither. And as he was expressing this, with a loud voyce he said moreover: For my part I am not afraid to suffer death for the truths sake; but this I say unto you, that God will take upon your iniquities, and will be revenged. You, being full of all un purity, play the blind guides to the people committed unto you, leading them the way to hell; a God he is of vengeance. Thus the hatred of the Clergy being incensed against him for preaching truth, they conspired against him, and so, laying privily wait for him, took him and drowned him. Sabellicus and Platina say they hanged him.

In the second tome of the Generall Councils imprinted at Cullen, is mentioned a certaine booke called Opus tripartitum, written, as the author supposeth, about foure hundred yeeres agoe, either of this Arnulphus, or just about the same time. In this booke, the writer complaineth of many enormities and abuses in the Church. First, of the number of holy daies, declaring what occasions of vice grew thereby, according unto the common saying of whores and naughty women, which say they bantage more in one holy-day, than in fifty other daies besides.

Item, he complaineth of the curious singing in Cathedrall Churches, whereby many be occasioned to bestow much good time, yea, many yeeres about the same, which other wise they might give to the learning of better sciences.

Likewise he complaineth of the rabble and the multitude of begging friers, and religious men and professed women, shewing what great occasion of idle and uncomely life cometh thereof.

Also of the inconsiderate promotion of evil Priests, and of their great negligence in correcting and reforming the evil demeanour of the people.

Item, of the great wantonnesse and lasciviousnesse in their servants and families, concerning their excessive wearing of apparel.

Item, he complaineth also of the outrageous and excessive gaires that Priests and other under them take for their feale, especially of officials, scribes, and such like: which give out the feale they care not how, nor wherefore, so they may gaine money.

He complaineth in like manner, that Priests be so slacke and negligent in looking to the residents in their benefices.

Further, he lamenteth the rash giving of benefices to Parsons, Vicars and Curats, not for any godlinesse or learning in them, but for favour or friendship, or intercession, or else for hope of some gaine, wherof springeth this great ignorance in the church.

After this, he noteth in Priests, how they waste and expend the goods of the Church in superfluities; or upon their kinsfolks, or other worse waies, which should rather be spent on the poore.

Nextly, in the tenth chapter he complaineth, for that though the negligence of men of the Church, (especially of the Church of Rome) the bookes and monuments of the old councils, and also of the new, are not to be found: which should be referred and kept in all Cathedrall Churches.

Item, that many Priests be so cold in doing their duties. Also he reproacheth, the unchaste and voluptuous demeanour of Ecclesiasticall Persons, by the example of Stozkes, whose nature is (saith he) that if any of their company, leaving his olone mate, joineth with any other, all the rest flieth upon him, whether it be he or she, beateh him, and plucketh his feathers off: what then, saith he, ought good Priests to doe to such a person of their company, whose filthinesse and corupt life both defileth so many, and stinketh in the whole Church?

Againe, for so much as we reade in the Booke of Exodus, lib. 2. cap. 9. that he, purging Israel of strange women, began first with the Priests; so now likewise in the purging & correcting of all sorts of men, first the purgation ought to begin with these, according as it is written by the Prophet Ezechiel; Begin first with the Sanctuary, &c.

Moreover, how that in the time of Philip king of France, the whole Realme was interdicted, for that the King had but one woman instead of his wife, which was not his wife by Law. And againe, seeing in these our daies the King of Portugale hath bene sequestred from his dominion, by the authority of the Church, being thought not sufficient to governe: what then ought to be said to that Priest who abuseth other mens wives, virgins, and nuns, which also is found unable and insufficient to take upon him the charge of soules?

About the yeere of our Lord, 1128. the orders of the Knights of the Rhodes, called Iohannits, also the order of Templars rose up.

After Honorius, next in the same usurpation succeeded Pope Innocentius the second, A.D. 1130. But as it was with his predecessors before him, that at every mutation of new Popes, came new perturbations, and commonly never a Pope was elected, but some other was set up against him (sometimes two, sometimes three Popes together) so likewise it hapned with this Innocentius; for after he was chosen, the Romans elected another Pope, named Anacleus. Betwixt these two Popes, there was much adoe, and great conflicts through the partaking of Rogerius, Duke of Sicile, taking Anacleus part against Innocentius, untill Lotharius the Emperour came; who rescuing Innocentius, drove Rogerius out of Italy. Our histories record, that King Henry was one of the great helps in setting up and maintaining this Pope Innocentius against Anacleus: Cisburyensis.

Amongst many other things, this Pope decreed that whosoever did strike a Priest or Clerke, being shaven, he should be excommunicated, and not be absolved, but only of the Pope himselfe.

About the time of doing these things, being the yeere of our Lord, 1135. King Henry being in Poitmandy, as some say, by taking there a fall from his horse, as others say, by taking a surfeit in eating Lampreies, fell sicke and died, after he had reigned over the Realme of England five and thirty yeeres.

Rash bestowing of Benefices.

Wastfull spending of the Church goods.

Old bookes of councils lost by the negligence of the Clerks.

The unchaste life of Priests condemned by the nature of the Stozkes.

Amendment of life ought first to begin with the Priests.

The Realme of France interdicted.

King of Portugale deposed.

The Knights of the Rhodes and Templars.

Pope Innocentius the second.

Quickly be tweene Popes.

The Popes curse proclaimed against such as strike any Priests.

The death of King Henry. Anno 1135.

Arnulphus martyr.

Arnulphus martyr.

Ex Tritemio. A booke called Tripartitum, written 400. yeeres agoe.

Number of holy daies.

Curious singing in cathedrall Churches.

The world overcharged with begging religions.

Promotion of evil Priests.

Superfluity of apparel in Priests families.

Bishops seats abused to get money.



yeeres and odde moneths; leaving for his heires Matilda the Emperesse his daughter, with her yong son Henry to succeed after him; to whom all the Prelats and Nobility of the Realme were sworn. But, contrary to their oath made to Haub in the presence of her father before, William the Archbishop of Canturbury, and the Nobles of the Realme, crowned Stephan Earle of Hologne, and sisters son to King Henry, upon Saint Stephens day in Christmas weeke; which Archbishop the next yeere after dyed, being, as it was thought, iustly punished for his perjury. And many other Lords, which did accordingly, went not quit without punishment. In the like maner of punishment is numbered also Roger, Bishop of Salisbury; who contrary unto his oath, being a great doer in the coronation of Stephan, was apprehended of the same King, and miserably, but iustly, extermined.

Perjury iustly punished.

The death of the Bishop of Salisbury, and of the Bishop of Winchester, taken prisoner of the King, and led with ropes to their death.

Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, taken prisoner of the King, and led with ropes to his death.

A certaine lewten English story I have, which addeth more, and saith, that King Stephan, having many foes in divers quarters keeping their holds and castles against him, went then to Oxford, and took the Bishop of Salisbury, and put a rope about his necke, and so led him to the castle of Wiles, that was his, and commanded them to render up the castle, or he would slay and hang their Bishop. Which castle being given up, the King took the spoyle thereof. The like also he did unto the Bishop of Lincoln, named Alexander; whom in like manner he led in a rope to a castle of the Bishops, that was upon Trent, and had them deliver up the castle, or else he would hang their Lord before the gate. Long it was before the castle was given up; yet at length the King obtaining it, there entered and took all the treasure of the Bishop, &c. Roger Hoveden and Fabian alleging a certaine old author, whom I cannot find, referreth a great cause of this perjury unto one Hugh Bigot, Keward sometime with King Henry. Which, immediately after the death of the said Henry, came into England, and before the said Archbishop, and other Lords of the land, took little solemnly an oath, a doo soe, that he was present a while before the Kings death, when King Henry admitted for his heire (to be King after him) Stephan his nephew, for so much as Haub his daughter had discontented him. Whereunto the Archbishop with the other Lords, gave too hasty credence. But this Hugh, saith he, escaped not unpunished, for he died miserably in a short time after. Ex Fabian. Albeit all this may be supposed rather to be wrought not without the practice of Henry, Bishop of Winchester, and other Prelats by his setting on, which Henry was brother unto King Stephan, &c.

### King Stephan.



Thus, when King Stephan, contrary unto his oath made before to Haub and the Emperesse, had taken upon him the crowne (as is above said) he swore before the Lords at Oxford, that he would not hold the benefices that were voided, and that he would remit the Danegilt, with many other things, which after he little performed. Moreover, because he dreaded the coming of the Emperesse, he gave licence to his Lords, every one to build upon his owne ground strong castles or fortresses, as them liked. All the time of his raigne he was vexed with wars, but especially with David, King of the Scots, with whom he was at length accorded; but yet the Scottish King did him no homage, because he was sworn to Haub and the Emperesse. Notwithstanding, yet Henry the eldest son to King David, did homage to King Stephan. But he, after repenting thereof, entered into Northumberland with a great host, and burnt and slew the people in most cruel wise, neither sparing man, woman, nor child. Such as were with child they ript,

King Stephan. Building of castles in England.

The cruelty of the Scots against the Englishmen.

the children they tost upon their speares points, and laying the Priests upon the Altars, they mangled and cut them all to pieces, after a most terrible manner. But by the manhood of the English Lords and souldiers, and through the means of Whurminster, Archbishop of Dozke, they were met withall, and slaine a great number of them, and David their King constrained to give Henry his son hostage for surety of peace. In the meane time, King Stephan was occupied in the South countries, besieging divers castles of divers Bishops and other Lords, and took them by force, and fortified them with his knights and servants, to the intent to withstand the Emperesse, whose coming he ever feared.

About the sixth yeere of his raigne, Haub the Emperesse came into England out of Normandy, and by the aid of Robert, Earle of Gloucester, and Ranulph of Chester, made strong war upon King Stephan. In the end whereof the Kings party was chaled, and himselfe taken prisoner; and sent to Wythow, there to be kept in sure hold. The same day when King Stephan should have his battell, it is said in a certaine old chronicle before minded, that he being at the masse (which then the Bishop of Lincoln said before the King) as he went to offer up his taper, it brake in two pieces. And when the masse was done, (at what time the King should have been houseled) the rope, whereby the peece did hang, did breake, and the peece fell downe upon the altar.

After this field, the Queen, King Stephens wife, (lying then in Kent) made great labour to the Emperesse and her counsell, to have the King delivered and put into some house of religion, but could not obtaine it. Also the Londoners made great suit to the said Emperesse, to have and to use againe Saint Edwards Lawes, and not the Lawes of her father, which were more strict and strange unto them then the other. Which when they could not obtaine of her and her counsell; the citizens of London, being therewith discontented, would have taken the Emperesse: but she having knowledge thereof, fled privately from London to Oxford. But then the Kentish men and Londoners, taking the Kings part, joyned battell against the Emperesse; where the foresaid Robert, Earle of Gloucester, and base brother to the Emperesse was taken, and so by exchange, both the King and the Earle Robert were delivered out of prison. Then Stephan without delay, gathering to him a strong armie, straitly pursued the foresaid

Matilda or Haub, with her friends, besieging them in the castle of Oxford. In the siege whereof fell a great snow and frost so hard, that a man well laden might passe over the water: upon the occasion whereof, the Emperesse bethinking her selfe, appointed with her friends and retinue clothed in white sheets, and so issuing out by a postern gate, went upon the ice over Thames, and so escaped to Wallingford. After this, the King (the castle being gotten) when he found not the Emperesse, was much displeased, and molested the country about divers waies. In conclusion, he pursued the Emperesse and her company so hard, that he caused them to flee the Realme, which was the sixth yeere of his raigne.

The second yeere after this, which was the eighth yeere of his raigne, there was a Parliament kept at London, unto the which all the Bishops of the realm resorted, and there denounced the King accursed, and all them with him that did any hurt to the Church, or to any Minister thereof. Whereupon the King began somewhat to amend his conditions for a certaine space: but afterward (as my story saith) was as ill as he was before; but what the causes were, my author maketh no relation thereof, &c. To returne againe to the story, the Emperesse compelled, as is said, to flee the Realme, returned againe into Normandy to Geoffrey Plantaginet her husband. Who, after hee had valiantly won and defended Geoffrey Plantaginet the Duchy of Normandy, against the puissance of King

Anno 1140.

Haub the Emperesse came into England against Stephan.

King Stephan taken prisoner.

What it is for Princes to be hard and strict to their subjects.

King Stephan and Robert, Earle of Gloucester, delivered by exchange.

Ex incerti auctoris chronico.

The death of Geoffrey Plantaginet.



King Stephan a long time, ended his life, leaving Henry his sonne to succedd him in that Dukedome. In the mean while, Robert Earle of Gloucester, and the Earle of Chester, who were strong of people, had divers conflicts with the King, insomuch that at a battell at Wilton betwene them the King was well mone taken, but yet escaped with much paine.

It was not long after, but Eustace, sonne to King Stephan, who had married the French kings sister, made warre on Duke Henry of Normandy, but prebailed not. Some after, the said Henry, Duke of Normandy (in the quarrell of his mother Haud) with a great puissance entred into England, and at the first tooke the Castle of Halmesbury, then the Tower of London, and afterward the Towne of Bottingham, with other Holds and Castles, as of Walsingham and other more. Thus betwene him and the King were fought many battels, to the great annoyance of the Realme. During which time, Eustace the Kings son, departeth. Upon the occasion whereof, the King caused Theobald (which succeeded next after William above mentioned) Archbishop of Canturbury, to make meanes to the Duke for peace, which upon this condition betwene them was concluded, that Stephan, during his life time, should hold the kingdome, and Henry in the meane time to be proclaimed heire apparent in the chiefe Cities throughout the Realme. These things thus concluded, Duke Henry taketh his journey into Normandy (King Stephan and his son William bringing him on his way) where William the Kings son, taking up his horse before his father, had a fall, and brake his leg, and so was had to Canturbury. The same yere King Stephan, about October (as some say for sorrow) ended his life, after hee had reigned nineteene yeres perjuredly.

As Theobald succeeded after William Archbishop of Canturbury, so in Poike, after Thurstin, succeeded William, which was called S. William of Poike, who was poisoned in his chalice by his chaplaines.

In the time of this King, and about the sixteenth yere of his raigne, Theobald Archbishop of Canturbury, and Legat to the Pope, did hold a Councell at London. In the which Councell first began new found appellations from councells to the Pope, found out by Henry, Bishop of Winchester. For as the words of mine author doe record: *In Anglia namque appellationes in usu non erant, donec eas Henricus Wintoniensis Episcopus, dum legatus esset, malo suo crudeliter intravit. In eodem namque consilio ad Romani pontificis audientiam per appellatum est, &c.* That is: For appellations before were not in use in England, till Henry Bishop of Winchester, being then the Popes legate, brought them cruelly in, to his owne hurt. For in that councell thrice appeale was made to the Bishop of Rome.

In the time of King Stephan died Gratianus a Monk of Bonony, who compiled the booke called The Popes decrees. Also his brother Petrus Lombardus, Bishop of Paris, which is called the Master of sentences, compiled his foure bookes of the sentences. These two brethren were the greatest doers in finding out and establishing this blind opinion of the sacrament, that the only similitude of bread and wine remained, but not the substance of them: and this they call the spirituall understanding of the mystery. And therefore no marvell if the summe in those daies were seene blacke and dimme.

Some also affirme, that Petrus Comestor, writer of the scholasticall history, was the third brother to these above named.

In the same time and raigne of the said King Stephan was also Hugo, surnamed De sancto victore. About the which time (as Polychronicon reciteth) lived and died Bernardus Clarevallensis.

The author of the history, called Iornalensis, maketh also mention of Hildegare the Nun and Prio

phetesse in Almanay, to have lived in the same age. Concerning whose prophesie against the friers, hereafter (by the grace of Christ) more shall be said, when we come to recite the order and number of friers and religious men crept into the Church of Christ.

Woe reade moreover of one named Iohannes de Temporibus, which by the affirmance of most of our old histories, lived 361. yeres (servant once to Carolus Magnus) and in the raigne of Stephan, King of England died. Polychron. lib. 7. Continuatur Henr. Hunt. Iornalensis in vita Steph. Nicol. Trivet, &c.

In the daies also of this King, and by him, was builded the Abbey of Febertham, where his sonne and hee were buried. Hee builded the Monastery of Finernels and of Fomitance, the castle of Walsingham, with a number of other castles more.

During the time of the said King Stephan, in the yere of our Lord, 1144. the miserable Jewes crucified a child in the city of Norwich, Nicol. Trivet, & alii.

Such about the same time, came up the order of the Gilbertines, by one Gilbert, sonne to Jacoline a Knight of Lincolnshire, &c.

Mention hath been made before of certaine English councels holden in the time of this King, where it was (in one of them under Theobald the Archbishop of Canturbury) decreed that Bishops should live more discreetly; should teach their flocke more diligently; that reading of Scriptures should be frequented more usually in Abbeys; that Priests should not be rulers of worldly matters; and that they should learne and teach the Lords Prayer and Creed in English: Malmes.

Matth. Parisiensis writeth, how Stephan King of England in these daies referred to himselfe the right and authority of bestowing spirituall livings, and in bestowing Prelats, in the yere, 1133.

At which time also, Lotharius the Emperour began to doe the like, in recovering againe the right and privilege taken away from Henricus his predecessor; had not Bernardus given him contrary counsell.

Here came into the Church the manner of cursing with bowke, bell, and candle, devised in the councell of London, holden by William, Bishop of Winchester under Celestinus, which succeeded after Innocentius, An. 1144.

Also Lotharius succeeded in the Imperiall crowne Conradus, the nephew of Henricus the fifth above mentioned, Anno 1138. who only amongst many Emperours, is not found to receive the crowne at the Popes hand.

In the daies of this Emperour, who reigned fiftene yeres, were divers Popes, as Celestinus the second, Lucius the second, Eugenius the third, at which time the Romans went about to recover their former old manner of chusing their Consuls and Senators. But the Popes, then being in their ruffe, in no case would abide it; whereupon arose many commotions, with much civill war amongst them.

In so much that Pope Lucius (sending for aid to the Emperour, who otherwise lefted at that time could not come) armed his souldiers, thinking to invade them, or else to destroy them in the Senate house. But this comming to their knowledge before, the people was all in aray, and so much adoe was amongst them. Pope Lucius being also amongst them in the fight (well pelted with stones and blowes) lived not long after. Likewise Pope Eugenius after him, An. 1145. pursuing the Romans for the same matter, first did curse them with excommunication; after, when he saw that would not serve, he came with his host, and so compelled them at length to seeke his peace, and to take his conditions, which were these: That they should abolish their Consuls, and take such Senators as he by his Papall authority should assigne them.

Iohannes de Temporibus.

The Jewes crucified a child in the city of Norwich.

The order of the Gilbertines.

The Lords Prayer and the Creed in English.

Matth. Parisiens. lib. Chron. 4. Stephan King of England.

Cursing with bowke, bell, and candle.

Anno 1138.

Pope Lucius the second warring against the Emperours.

Spirituall excommunication abused in temporal causes.

Then

Henry Duke of Normandy.

Henry entred into England.

Theobald Archbishop of Canturbury. Peace between King Stephan and Duke Henry concluded.

The death of King Stephan.

Saint William of Poike.

Gratianus the compiler of the Popes decrees. Petrus Lombardus Master of the sentences.

Petrus Comestor.

Hugo de Sancto victore.

Bernardus Clarevallensis. Hildegare.



Adrianus a  
Dope, an Eng-  
lishman.

Then followed Anastasius the fourth, and after him Adrian the fourth an Englishman, by his name called Breakespeare, belonging once to S. Albons. This Adrianus kept great stir in like sort with the citizens of Rome for abolishing their Consuls and Senate, cursing, excommunicating, and warring against them with all power he could make, till the time he removed the Consuls out of their office, and brought them all under his subiection. The like businessse and rage he also stirred up against Apulia, and especially against the Empire, blustering and thundering against Fredericus the Emperoz, as (the Lord granting) you shall heare anon, after we have prosecuted such matter, as necessarily appertaineth first to the continuation of our English story.

our Lord, 1218. but as I find in the story of Robert Guisturne, these stoo about the yere of our Lord, 1158. brought thirty with them into England, who by the King and the Prelats, were all burnt in the forehead, and so driven out of the Realme, and after (as Iliricus writeth) were slaine by the Pope.

{ Anno }  
{ 1158. }

And now (according to my promise premised) the time requireth to proceed to the history of Fredericus the first (called Barbarossa) successor unto Conradus in the empire, who marched up to Italy, to subdue there certaine rebels. The Pope hearing that, came with his Clergy to meet him by the way, in a towne called Sutrium, thinking by him to find aid against his enemies. The Emperoz seeing the Bishop lighteth from his horse to receive him, holding the stirrup to the Prelat on the left side, when he should have held it on the right, whereat the Pope shewed himselfe somewhat grieved. The Emperoz smiling, excused himselfe, that he was never accustomed to hold stirrups. And seeing it was done only of good will, and of no duty, the lesse matter was what side of the horse he held. The next day to make amends againe to the Bishop, the Emperoz sending for him receiued him, holding the right stirrup unto the Prelat, and so all the matter was made whole, and hee the Popes white son againe.

Fredericus  
Barbarossa  
Emperoz.

The Pope dis-  
pleased that the  
Emperoz did  
not hold his  
right stirrup.

The Emperoz  
holdeth the  
Popes stirrup.

After this, as they were come in and late together, Adrianus the Pope begimeth to declare unto him, how his ancestors before him, such as sought unto the See of Rome for the crowne, were wont alwaies to leave behind them some speciall token or monument of their benevolence for the obtaining thereof, as Carolus Magnus in subduing the Lombards, with the Berengarians, Lotharius the Romanus, &c. Wherefore he required some benefit to proceed likewise from him unto the Church of Rome, in restoring againe the country of Apulia to the Church of Rome. Which thing if he would doe, hee for his part againe would doe that which appertained unto him to doe: meaning in giving him the crowne, for at that time the Popes had brought the Emperors to fetch their crowne at their hands.

The Popes all  
practise in set-  
ting Princes  
together by  
the eares.

Frederike with his Princes perceiving that, unless he would of his owne proper costs and charges fetch in againe Apulia out of Duke Williams hands, hee could not speed of the crowne, was faine to promise to all that the Pope required, and so the next day after was crowned.

This done, the Emperoz returneth into Germany, to refresh his army and his other furnitures, for the subduing of Apulia. In the meane while Adrianus, not thinking to be idle, first giveth forth censures of excommunication against William, Duke of Apulia. Besides, not content with this, hee sendeth also to Emmanuel Emperoz of Constantinople, incensing him to warre against the foresaid William. The Duke perceiving this, sendeth to the Pope for peace, promising to restore to him whatsoever hee would.

War stirred up  
by the Pope.

But the Pope, through the malignant counsell of his Cardinals, would grant to no peace, thinking to get more by warre. The Duke, seeing nothing but warre, prepareth himselfe with all expedition to the same. To be briefe, making all his power out of Sicilia, hee arrived at Apulia, and there putteth the Emperoz Emmanuel to flight. This done, he proceeded to the city of Bonaventura, where the Pope with his Cardinals were looking for victory. He planting there his siege so straitly pressed the city, that the Pope with his Cardinals were glad to intreat for peace, which they refused before. The Duke granted unto their peace upon certaine conditions, that is, that neither he should invade such possessions as belonged to Rome, and that the Pope should make him king of both Sicilies. So the matter was concluded, and they departed. The Bishop, coming to Rome, was no lesse troubled there about their Consuls and Senators, in so much that when his curses and ex-

What more  
gainfull to the  
Dope than  
peace.

The Pope dis-  
ven to intreat  
for peace.

{ Anno }  
{ 1154. }

King Henry  
the second.

Thomas Bec-  
ket Chancelor  
of England.



### King Henry the second.

Henry the second of that name, the son of Geffrey Plantaginet and of Matilda the Emperesse, and daughter of King Henry the first, began his raigne after King Stephan, and continued fife and thirty yeres. The first yere of his raigne hee subdued Ireland; and not long after, Thomas Becket was made by him Lord Chancelor of England. This King cast downe divers castles which were erected in the same time of King Stephan. Hee went into the North parts, where hee subdued William King of Scotland, who at that time held a great part of Northumberland, unto Newcastle upon Tyne, and joyned Scotland to his owne kingdome, from the South Ocean to the North Isles of Orkades. Also hee put under his dominion the kingdome of Wales, and there felled many great woods, and made the waies plaine. So that by his great manhood and policy, the feignoz of England was much augmented with the addition of Scotland, Ireland, the Isles Orkades, Britaine, Poitou, and Guien. Also hee had in his rule Normandy, Gascoigne, Angou, and Chinon: also Aluerne and the city of Tholous hee wan, and were to him subject. Over and besides (by the title of his wife Eleanor, daughter to the Earle of Poitou) he obtained the mounts Pyrenne in Spaine: so that was reade of none of his progenitors, which had to many countries under his dominion.

In England were seene in the firmament two Sunnes, and (as it is in Chronico chronicorum) in Italy appeared three Sunnes by the space of three houres in the West, and the yere following appeared three Moones, whereof the middle Moone had a red crosse overthwart the face, whereby was betokened (by the iudgement of some) the great schisme that after fell among the Cardinals for the election of the Bishop of Rome: or else rather the businessse between Fredericus the Emperoz and the Popes, whereof partly now incidently occasion giveth us to discourse after that I have first written of Gerhards, and Dulcinus Sabarenis, who, in their time according to their gift, did earnestly labur & preach against the Church of Rome, defending and maintaining, that prayer was not more holy in one place than in another: that the Pope was Antichrist; that the Clergy and Prelats of Rome were reied, and the very whor of Babylon prefigured in the Apocalypse, &c. Peradventure these had receiued some light of knowledge of the Waldenses, who at length with a great number of their followers were oppressed and slaine by the Pope. And although some inconvenient points of doctrine and dishonesty in their assemblies be against them alleged of some, yet these times of ours doe teach us sufficiently what credit is to be given to such popish slanders, forged rather upon hatred of true religion, then upon any judgement of truth. Iliricus, in his booke De testibus, referreth the time of these two to the yere of

Gerhardus, and  
Dulcinus, pre-  
achers against  
Antichrist of  
Rome.

Ex historia Gil-  
burnensis.

{ Anno }  
{ 1157. }



excommunications could not prebaile nor serbe, hã was faine to leaue Rome, & remoued to Ariminum.

The Emperour, all this while sitting quietly at home, began to consider with himself, how the Pope had extorted from the Emperours, his predecessours, the inbessing and induing of prelats; how hã had pill'd & polled all nations by his legats, and also had been the sower of seditions through all his Empery. he began therefore to require of all the bishops of Germany homage, and oath of their allegiance, commanding also the Popes legats, if they came into Germany without his sending for, not to be receiued. Charging moreover all his subjects that none of them should appeale to Rome. Besides this, in his Letters hã set and prefixed his name before the Popes name: whereupon the Pope, being not a little offended, directed his Letters to the foresaid Frederick Emperour, after this tenor and forme as followeth.

### The Copy of Adrianus, the Popes Letters to Frederike the Emperour.

*Adrianus episcopus, servus servorum Dei, Frederico imperatori salutem, & apostolicam benedictionem, &c. Cetera vide in priore editione.*

#### In English.

Adrian bishop, servant of the servants of God, to Frederike Emperour, health and apostolicall benediction. The Law of God at is promisseth to them that honour father and mother long life, so it threatneth the sentence of death to them that curse father and mother. We are taught by the word of truth, that every one the which exalteth himselfe, shall be brought low. Wherefore (my welbelov'd sonne in the Lord) we marvell not a little at your wisdom, in that you seeme not to shew that reverence to blessed S. Peter, and to the holy Church of Rome, which you ought to shew. For why? In your Letters sent to us, you preferre your own name before ours, wherein you incur the note of insolency, yea rather (to speake it) of arrogancy. What should I here recite unto you the oath of your fidelity, which you sware to blessed S. Peter and to us, and how you observe and keepe the same? Seeing you so require homage and allegiance of them that be gods, and all the sons of the High God, and presume to joyne their Holy Lands with yours, working contrary to us: seeing also you exclude, not only out of your Churches, but also out of your Cities, our Cardinals, whom we direct as legats from our side: what shall I say then unto you? Amend therefore I advise you, amend; for while you goe about to obtaine of us your consecration and crowne, and to get those things you have not, I feare much your honour will lose the things you have. Thus fare yee well.

### The answer of Frederike the Emperour to the Pope.

Frederike by the grace of God, Romane Emperour, Ever Augustus, unto Adrian bishop of the Romane Church, and unto all such that be willing to cleave unto those things which Iesus began to worke and teach, greeting. The law of justice giveth to every person accordingly that which is his. Neither doe we derogate from our parents: of whom according as we have received this our dignity of the imperiall Crowne and Governance; so in the same Kingdome of ours, we doe render their due and true honour to them againe. And for so much as duty in all sorts of men is to be sought out, let us see first in the time of Constantine (Silvester then being bishop of Rome) what patrimony or regality he had of his own, due to him that might claime. Did not Constantine of his liberrall benignity give li-

berty, and restored peace unto the Church? And whatsoever regality or patrimony the See of your papacy hath, was it not by the donation of Princes given unto them? Revolve and turne over the ancient Chronicles (if either you have not read, or neglected that we doe affirme) there it is to be found. Of them which be Gods by adoption, and hold our Lordships of us: why may we not justly require their homage, and their sworne allegiance, when as he which is both your master and ours (taking nothing of any King or any man, but giving all goodnesse to all men) payd toll and tribute for him and Peter, unto Cesar? giving you example to doe the like. And therefore he saith to you and all men, Learne of me, for I am meeke and humble of heart, &c. Wherefore either render againe your Lordships and patrimonies which yee hold of us: or else if yee find them so sweete unto you, then give that which is due to God, unto God; and that which is due to Cesar, unto Cesar. As for your Cardinals, we shut them out both of Churches and Cities, for that we see them not Preachers, but Prolers, not repairers of peace, but rakers for mony; not pillars and upholders of the Church, but pollers insatiable of the World, and moylers of mony and gold. What time we shall see them to be other men (such as the Church requireth, them to be) members and makers of peace, shining forth like lights to the people, assisting poore and weak mens causes in the way of equity, &c. then shall they find us prest and ready to relieve them with stipends, and all things necessary. And whereas you infer such questions as these unto secular men (little conducing to Religion) you incur thereby no little note and blemish of your humility (which is keeper of all vertues) and of your mansuetude. Therefore let your father-hood beware and take heede, lest in moving such matters as seeme to us unseemly for you, yee give thereby offence to such, as depend of your word (giving eare to your mouth, as it were to an evening shower:) for we cannot but tell you of that we heare; seeing now the detestable beast of pride doth creepe into the seate of Peter, providing alwayes (as much as we may by Gods grace) for the peace of the Church. Fare yee well.

Upon this Adrian the Pope directeth out a bull against Frederick, excommunicating him with publicke and solemn ceremonies. Moreover, conspiring with William duke of Apulia hã sought all manner of wayes to insult the Emperour, and to set all men against him, especially the Clergy. Amongst many other writing to Hilinus bishop of Trivers, to Arnulphus bishop of Mentz, & to Frederick bishop of Cullen, hã seeketh first to make them of his side. His Epistle to them soundeth to this effect.

The Empire of Rome was transferred from the Greekes to the Almans; so that the King of Almans could not be called Emperour, before he was crowned of the bishop apostolicall. Before his consecration he is a King, afterwards Emperour. Whence hath he his Empire then, but of us? By the election of his Princes he hath the name of a King, by our consecration he hath the name of the Emperour, of August, or of Cesar. Ergo by us he reigneth as Emperour. Search ancient antiquities. Zacharias P. promoted Carolus and made him a great name, that he was made and called Emperour: and after that, ever the King of Almans was named Emperour and advocate to the Sea apostolicall: so that Apulia (conquered by him) was subdued to the bishop of Rome: which Apulia with the City of Rome is ours, and not the Emperours. Our seate is at Rome; the seate of the Emperour is at Aquis in Arduenna, which is a wood in France. The Emperour whatsoever he hath, he hath it of us. As Zacharias did translate the Empire from the Greekes to the Almans; so we may translate it againe from the Almans to the Greekes. Behold it lieth in our power to give it to whom we will, being therefore set up of God above gentils and nations, to destroy and pluck up, to Build and to plant, &c. willed.

A seditious and proud letter of the Pope to the bishops of Christ.

All bidden like a Pope.

Scripture will &c. willed.

And

The godly proceedings of Frederick the Emperour against the pope.

A letter of pope Adrian to the Emperour Frederick.

The Emperours name before the Popes.



And yet further to understand the ambitious presumption of this proud Sæ of Rome; it so chanced, this Emperour Fredericus, at his first coming up to Rome, did behold there in the palace of Lateran a certaine picture brought forth unto him, holo Ioharius the second Emperour was crowned of the Pope, with the inscription of certaine verses in Latine declaring how the foresaid Emperour, coming to Rome, first did swear to the City, after was made the popes mā, & so of him received the crowne. Fredericus, offended with this picture, desired the Pope if it might be abolished for that it should be no cause of any diffension hereafter. The Pope understanding the intent of the Emperour, how loth hee was to come under subiection to his Sæ, devised by all crafty wayes to bring it to passe. And first taking his occasion by the bishop of Laodicea (being then detained in custody, I cannot tell by whom) sent divers & sharp letters unto him, and yet not so sharp, as proud and disdainfull. Wherein the first salutation by his legats was thus in Latine: *Salutat vos beatissimus pater noster papa, & universitas cardinalium, ille ut pater, hi ut fratres.* That is, our most blessed father the Pope greeteth you, and the universall company of the cardinals, he as your father, they as your brethren. Meaning thereby that he should understand himselfe to be subied and underling to the Pope, no lesse the the cardinals were. Whereupon in his letters obiecting divers things against him, he reciteth how many & great benefites he had received of the Church of Rome, by the which Church hee had obtained the fulnesse of his honour and dignity, &c. The Emperour with his Princes, perceiuing wherunto the Pope by his legats did shewe (being a Prince of courage) could not abide such intollerable presumption of a proud message: wherupon much contention fel between the legats and the Princes. And of whom then, say the legats, receiveth Cesar the Empire, if he take it not of the Pope: with the which word the Germane Princes were so much offended, that had not the Emperour stayed them with much adoe, they would have used violence against the Legats. But the Emperour, not permitting that, commanded the Legats away, straightly charging them to make no turne by way, to any persō or persons, but straight to depart home. And he, to certifie the whole state of the Empire of the truth of the matter, directeth forth these Letters that follow.

### The tenor of the Emperours Letter sent through all his Empire.

For so much as the providence of God (whereof dependeth all power both in Heaven and Earth) hath committed to us, his annointed, this our regiment and Empire to be governed, and the peace of his Churches, by our imperiall armes to be protected; we cannot but lament and complaine to you with great sorrow of heart, seeing such causes of diffension the roote and fountaine of evils, and the infection of pestiferous corruption thus to rise from the holy Church, imprinted with the seale of peace and love of Christ.

By reason whereof (except God turne it away) we feare the whole body of the Church is like to be polluted, the unity thereof to be broken, and a schisme and division to be betwixt the spirituall and temporall regiment. For we being of late at Bisunze, and there intrating busily of matters pertaining as well to the honor of our Empire, as to the wealth of the Churches, there came ambassadours of the Sea apostolicall, declaring that they brought a legacy to our Majesty of great importance, redounding to the no small commodity of our honour and Empire.

Who then, the first day of their coming, being brought to our presence, and received of us (as the manner is) with honour accordingly; audience was given them to heare what they had to say. They forthwith bursting out of the mammon of iniquity, haughty pride, stoutnesse and arrogancy, out of the execrable presumption of their swelling heart did their message with Letters apostolicall, whereof the tenor was this: That we should alwayes have before our eyes, how that our Sovereigne Lord the Pope gave us the imperiall Crowne, and that it doth not repent him, if so be it we have received greater benefites at his hand. And this was the effect of that so sweet and fatherly legation, which should nourish peace both of the Church and of the Empire, to unite them fast together in the band of love.

At the hearing of this so false, untrue, and most vaine glorious presumption of so proud a message, not only the Emperours Majesty conceived indignation, but also all the Princes (there present) were moved with such anger and rage thereat, that if our presence and request had not staid them, they could not have held their hands from these wicked Priests, or else would have proceeded with sentence of death against them.

Furthermore, because a great number of other Letters (partly written already, partly with seales ready signed, for Letters to be written according as they should think good to the Churches of Germany) were found about them, whereby to worke their conceived intent of iniquity here in our Churches, to spoile the altars, to carry away the jewels of the Church, and to fley off the lims and plates of golden crosses, &c. To the intent their avaricious meaning should have no further power to raigne, we gave them commandement to depart the same way they came. And now, seeing our raigne and Empire standeth upon the election of Princes, from God alone, who in the passion of his sonne subdued the world to be governed with two swords necessary; and againe, seeing Peter the Apostle hath so informed the world with this doctrine, *Deum time, regem honorifica*: that is; Feare God, honour your King: therefore, who so saith that we have and possesse our imperiall Kingdom by the benefit of the Lord Pope, is contrary both to the ordinance of God, and to the doctrine of Peter, and also shall be reproved for a liar.

Therefore as our endeavour hath been heretofore to help and to deliver the servile captivity of Churches out of the hand, and from the yoke of the Egyptians, and to maintaine the right of their liberties and dignities, we desire you all with your compassion to lament with us this slanderous ignominy infered to us and our Kingdom, trusting that your faithfull good will, which hath been ever trusty to the honour of this Empire (never yet blemished from the first beginning of this City, and of religion) will provide, that it shall have no hurt through the strange novelty and presumptuous pride of such. Which thing rather then it should come to passe, know you this for certaine; I had rather in curre the danger of death, then suffer such confusion to happen in our daies.

This letter of Cesar fretted the Pope not a little, who wrote again to the Bishops of Germany, accusing the Emperour, & willing them to worke against him what they could. They answer again with all obedience to the Pope, submitting themselves, and yet excusing the Emperour, and blaming him rather; and exhorted him henceforth to temper his letters & legacies with the more gentlenesse and modesty; which counsell he also followed, perceiuing otherwise that he could not prebaile.

Much trouble had good Fredericus with this Pope, but much more with the ether that followed. For this Pope continued not very long, the space only of foure yeres and odde moneths. About whose time rose up the order of the hermits by one William once Duke of Aquitania, and afterward a frier, heremites.

This

Ex Rademico, in appendice Frisingen.

See the ambitious presumption of a proud Priest.

Note here a courageous heart in a valiant Emperour. An example for all Princes to follow.

Note.



Anno  
1159.

This Adrian walking with his Cardinals abroad, to a place called Anagnia or Arignanum (as Volaterran calleth it) chanced to be choked with a fly getting into his throat, and so was strangled: who in the later time of his papacy was wont to say, that there is no more miserable kinde of life in the earth, then to be Pope, and to come to the papacy by blood that is (said he) not to succeed Peter, but rather Romulus, who to raigne alone did slay his brother.

Although this Adrian was bad enough, yet came the next much worse, one Alexander the third of that name, who yet was not elect alone, for beside him the Emperour with nine Cardinals (albeit Sabellian faith but with three) did set up another Pope, named Victor the fourth. Betwixt these two Popes rose a foule schisme and great discord, and long continued. In so much that the Emperour, being required to take up the matter, sent for them both to appeare before him, that in hearing them both he might judge their cause the better. Victor came, but Alexander (disdaining that his matter should come in controversy) refused to appeare. Whereupon the Emperour, with a full consent of his bishops and clergy about him, assigned and ratified the election of Victor to stand, and so brought him into the City, there to be received and placed. Alexander flying into France, accused them both, sending his letters to all Christendome against them, as men to be abhorred and cast out of all Christian company. Also to get him friends at Rome, by flattery and money he got on his side the greatest part of the City, both to the favouring of him, and to the setting up of such Confessors as were for his purpose. After this, Alexander coming from France to Sicill, and from

thence to Rome, was there received with much favour, through the helpe of Philip the French king.

The Emperour, hearing this rebellion & conspiracy in Rome, removed with great power into Italy, where he had destroyed divers great Cities. Coming at length to Rome, he required the Citizens that the cause betwixt the two Popes might be decided, and that he which had the best right might be taken. If they would so doe, he would restore againe that which he tooke from them before. Alexander mistrusting his part and doubting the wils of the citizens (having ships ready prepared for him, from William Duke of Apulia) fetcht a course about to Venice.

To declare here the difference in histories, betweene Blondus, Sabellian, and the Venetian chroniclers, with other writers, concerning the order of this matter, I will overpasse. In this most doe agree, that the Pope being at Venice, and required to be sent of the Venetians to the Emperour, they would not send him. Whereupon Fredericus the Emperour sent thither his son Otto, with men and ships well appointed, charging him not to attempt any thing before his coming. The young man more hardy then circumspect (joining with the Venetians) was overcome; and so taken, was brought into the City. Whereby the Pope tooke no small occasion to worke his seats.

The father, to helpe the captivity and misery of his sonne, was compelled to submit himselfe to the Pope, and to intreate for peace. So the Emperour coming to Venice (at S. Markes Church, where the bishop was, there to take his absolution) was bid to kneele downe at the Popes feet.

Pope Alexander treading on the necke of Frederike the Emperour.



Holy Scripture abused.

The Pope treading on the Emperours necke.

The proud Pope, setting his foot upon the Emperours necke, said the verse of the Psalm, *Super aspidem & basiliscum ambulabis, & conculcabis leonem & draconem*: That is; Thou shalt walke upon the Adder and on the Basiliske, and shalt tread downe the Lyon and the Dragon. To whom the Emperour answering againe, said, *Non tibi sed Petro*: That is; Not to thee but to Peter. The Pope againe, *& mihi & Petro*: Both to me and to Peter. The Emperour, fearing to give any occasion of further quarrelling, held his peace, & so was absolved, and peace made betweene them.

The conditions whereof were these. First, that he should receive Alexander for the true Pope. Secondly, that he should restore againe to the Church of Rome all that he had taken away before. And thus the Emperour, obtaining againe his sonne, departed.

Here as I note in divers writers a great diversity and variety touching the order of this matter (of whom some say that the Emperour campt in Basselina before he came to Venice, some say after) so I marvell to see in Volaterran (so great a favourer of the



Polateran to  
ken with a con-  
tradiction.

Concilium Late-  
ranens.  
The Clergy  
bound to the  
how of chastity.  
Papists erre  
not so much in  
promising cha-  
stity, as in defini-  
ng chastity.

the Pope) such a contradiction, who in his two and twentieth booke saith, that *Who the Emperours son was taken in this conflict, which was the cause of the peace betwene his father and the Pope.* And in his three and twentieth booke againe saith, that the Emperour himselfe was taken prisoner in the same battell; and so afterwards peace concluded) took his journey to Asia and Palestina. This Pope in the time of his papacy (which continued one and twenty yeeres) kept sundry counceils both at Auro and at Lateran, where he confirmed the wicked proceedings of Hildebrand, and others his predecessors; as to bind all orders of the Clergy to the bow of chastity; which were not greatly to be reprehended, if they would define chastity aright. For whoso lieth not a chaste life (saith he) is not fit to be a minister. But herein lieth an error full of much blindness, and also perill, to thinke that matrimony immaculate (as *S. Paul* calleth it) is not chastity, but onely a single life, that they esteeme to be a chaste life.

Now for so much as our English Pope: holy martyr, called *Thomas Becket*, happened also in the same time of this Pope Alexander, let us somewhat also stozz of him, so farre as the matter shall seeme worthy of knowledge, and to stand with truth; to the end that the truth thereof being sifted from all flattery and lies of such popish writers as paint out his story, men may the better judge both of him what he was, and also of his cause.

### The life and history of *Thomas Becket*, Archbishop of Canturbury.

*Thomas Becket* Archbishop  
of Canturbury.

*Becket* no  
martyr.

If the cause make a martyr (as is said) I see not why we should esteeme *Thomas Becket* to die a martyr, more then any other whom the Princes sword doth here temporally punish for their temporal delictes. To die for the Church I grant is a glorious matter. But the Church (as it is a spirituall and not a temporall Church) so it standeth upon causes spirituall, and upon an heavenly foundation, as upon faith, religion, true doctrine, sincere discipline, obedience to Gods Commandements, and not upon things pertaining to this world, as possessions, liberties, exemptions, priuiledges, dignities, patrimonies, and superiorities. If these be given to the Church, I pray God Church-men may use them well; but if they be not given, the Church cannot claime them; or if they be taken away, that standeth in the Princes power. To contend with Princes for the same, it is no matter (in my mind) materiall to make a martyr, but rather a rebellion against them to whom we owe subiection. Wherefore as I suppose *Thomas Becket* to be farre from the cause and title of a martyr (neither can he be excused from a plaine rebell against his Prince) so yet would I have wished againe the law rather publicly to have found out his fault, then the swords of men (not bid-den nor sent) to have smitten him, having no speciall commandement either of the Prince, or of the law so to doe. For through the indignation of the Prince (as the wise Prince saith) is death, yet it is not for every private person straightwaies to revenge the secret indignation of his Prince, except he be publicly authorized thereunto. And this had been (as I suppose the better way, the lawes first to have executed their iustice upon him. Certes, if had bene the safest way for the King, as it proved after; who had just matter enough, if hee had prosecuted his cause against him. And also thereby his death had bene without all suspicion of martyrdom, neither had there followed that spinning and fainting of him as there did. Albeit the secret providence of God which governeeth all things, did see this way percale to be best, and most necessary for those daies. And doubtlesse (to say here what I thinke, and yet to speake nothing against charity) if the Emperours

had done the like to the Popes contending against them, what time they had taken them prisoners, that is, if they had used the law of the sword against them, and chopped off the heads of one or two, according to their traitorous rebellion, they had broken the neck of much disturbance, which long time after did trouble the Church. But for lack of that, because Emperours having the sword, and the truth on their side, would not use their sword, but standing in awe of the Popes baine curse, and reberencing his seate for *S. Peters* sake, durst not lay hand upon him, though he were never so abominable and traitorous a malefactor: the Popes perceiving that tooke so much upon them, not as the Scripture would giue, but as much as the superstitious feare of Emperours and Kings would suffer them to take; which was so much, that it past all order, rule, and measure; and all because the superior powers either would not, or durst not practise the authority given unto them of the Lord, upon those inferiours, but suffered them to be their masters.

But as touching *Thomas Becket*, what order is to be thought of them that did the act, the example thereof yet bringeth this profit with it, to teach all Romish prelates not to be so stubborn (in such matters not pertaining unto them) against their Prince unto whom God hath subiected them.

Now to the story, which if it be true that is set forth in *Quadrilogo*, by those foure, who tooke upon them to expresse the life and processe of *Thomas Becket*, it appeareth by all coniectures that he was a man of a stout nature, severe, and indurible. What persuasion or opinion he had once conceived, from that he would in no wise be remobed, or very hardly. Threatnings and flatterings were to him both one; in this point singular, following no mans counsell so much as his owne. Great helpes of nature there were in him (if hee could have used them well) rather then of learning; albeit somewhat skilfull he was of the civil law, which he studied at *Bonony*; in memory excellent good, and also well broken in courtly and worldly matters. Besides this, he was of a chaste and strait life, if the histories be true; although in the first part of his life (being yet Archdeacon of Canturbury, and after Lord chancellor) he was very evil, courtly, pleasant, given much both to hunting and hawking, according to the guise of the court; and highly favoured he was of his Prince, who not onely had thus promoted him, but also had committed his sonne and heire to his institution and governance. But in this his first beginning he was not so well beloved, but afterwards hee was againe as much hated and detested both of the King, and also of the most part of his subjects, save onely of certaine Monkcs and Priests, and such others as were perswaded by them, who magnified him not a little for upholding the liberties of the Church, that is, the licentious life and excess of Churchmen. Amongst all others, these vices he had most notable, and to be rebuked; full of devotion, but without all true religion; zealous, but cleane without knowledge. And therefore as he was stiff and stubborn of nature, so (a blind conscience being joyned withall) it turned to plaine rebellion. So superstitious hee was to the obedience of the Pope, that he forgot his obedience to his naturall and most beneficiall King; and in maintaining (so contentiously) the baine constitutions and decrees of men, he neglected the Commandements of God. But herein most of all to be reprehended, that not onely (contrary to the Kings knowledge) hee sought to convey himselfe out of the realme (being in that place and calling) but also being out of the realme set matter of discord betwene the Pope and his King, and also betwene the French King and him, contrary to all honesty, good order, naturall subiection, and true Christianity. Whereupon followed no little disquietnesse after to the King, and damage

*Herbertus de Bosham*:  
*Ioan. Charnot*.  
*Alanus*  
Abbat of  
Canterbury.  
*Gulielmus Ca-*  
*turniensis*.  
*Thomas Be-*  
*cket* detested

What commet  
of blind zeale  
destitute of  
rigor know-  
ledge.



damage to the realme, as here (in proceſſe and order following, by the grace of Chriſt) we will declare; firſt beginning with the firſt riſing up of him, and ſo conſequently proſecuting in order his ſtoꝝ, as fol- loweth.

And firſt here to omit the progenie of him and of his mother named Roſe, whom Polyd. Virgilius falſly nameth to be a Saracen, when indeed he came out of the parts bordering nere to Normandy; to omit alſo the fabulous viſion of his mother, mentioned in Roberto Crikeladenſi, of a burning torch iſſuing out of her body, and reaching up to heauen: his firſt preferment was to the Church of Wanſfield, which he had by the gift of St. Albans. After that, he entered into the ſervice of the archbiſhop of Canturbury, by whom hee was then preferred to be his archdeacon; and after by the ſaid Theobald was put (as a man meete for his purpoſe) to King Henry to bide the yong King, that he ſhould not be fierce againſt the clergy; whom in proceſſe of time the King made Lord Chancellor, and then he left playing the archdeacon, and began to play the chancellor. He faſhioned his conditions like to the Kings both in waighy matters and triſles; he would hunt with him, and watch the time when the King dined and ſlept. Furthermoze, he began to love the merry ſollings of the Court, to delight himſelfe with the great laud of men, and praife of the people. And that I may paſſe over his houſholdſtuffe, he had his Bride of ſilber, and the boſſes of his Bride were worth a great treaſure. At his table and in other expences hee paſſed any Carle: ſo that on the one ſide men judged him little to conſider the office of an archdeacon; and on the other ſide they judged him to uſe wicked doings. He played alſo the good ſouldier under the King in Calcoigne, and both wan and kept Townes. When the King ſent Thomas being Chancellor home into England (ambaffador with other nobles, after the death of the archbiſhop) he willed Richard Lucy (one of the chiefeſt) to commend in his name this Thomas to the covent of Canturbury, that they might choſe him archbiſhop which thing he did diligently. The monkes ſaid it was not meete to choſe a courtier and a ſouldier to be head of ſo holy a company; for hee would ſpend (ſaid they) all that they had. Others had this ſurmiſe alſo, becauſe he was in ſo great favour with the Prince the Kings ſon, and was ſo ſuddenly diſcharged of the Chancellourſhip which he had borne ſix yeres: in the foure and fortieth yere of his age (on the ſaturday in Whitſonweek) he was made prieſt, and the next day conſecrated biſhop.

As touching the prieſthood of this man, I finde the hiſtoꝝies to vary in themſelves: for if he were benefited, and Chaplaine to Theobald, and afterwards archdeacon (as ſome ſay) it is no other like, but that he was prieſt before, and not (as our moſt Engliſh ſtoꝝies ſay) made prieſt in one day, and Archbiſhop the next.

But howſoeuer this matter paſſeth, here is in the meane time to be ſeen, what great benefits the King had done for him, and what great love had bene betwixen them both. Now after that Becket was thus promoted, what variance and diſcord happened betwixen them, remaineth to be ſhewed: the cauſes of which variance were diuers and ſundry.

As firſt, when (according to the cuſtome) the Kings officers gathered of every one hide-money through the realme, for the defence of their owne countrey; the King would have taken it to his coffers. But he biſhop ſaid, that which every man gave willingly, he ſhould not count as his proper rent.

Another cauſe was, that where a prieſt was accused of murder, and the Kings officers and the friends of the dead accused the prieſt earneſtly before the biſhop of Salisbury his dioceſan to whom hee was ſent, deſiring juſtice to be done on him, the prieſt was put to his purgation. But when hee was not

able to defend himſelfe, the biſhop ſent to the archbiſhop to aſke what he ſhould doe. The archbiſhop commanded he ſhould be deprived of all eccleſiaſtical benefices, and ſhut up in an abbey to doe perpetual penance. After the ſame ſort were diuers others handled for like cauſes, but none put to death, nor loſt joynt, nor burned in the hand, or put to the like paine.

The third cauſe was, that, where a canon of Buiſ did rebile the Kings juſtices, the King was offended with the whole clergy. For theſe and ſuch like, the archbiſhop (to pacifie the Kings anger) commanded the canon to be whipped and deprived of his benefices for certaine yeres. But the King was not content with this gentle puniſhment, becauſe it rather increaſed their boldneſſe, and therefore he called the archbiſhop, biſhops, and all the clergy to aſſemble at Weſtmiſter. When they were aſſembled together; the King earneſtly commanded that ſuch wicked clerks ſhould have no privilege of their clergy, but be delivered to the Taylors, becauſe they paſſed ſo little of the ſpiritual correction; and this he ſaid alſo their owne canons and lawes had decreed. The archbiſhop, counſelling with his biſhops and learned men, answered probably; and in the end he deſired heartily the Kings gentleneſſe (for the quietneſſe of himſelfe and his realme) that under Chriſt our new King, and under the new Law of Chriſt he would bring in no new kind of puniſhment into his realme (upon the new choſen people of the Lord) againſt the old decrees of the holy fathers; and off he ſaid, that he neither ought nor could ſuffer it. The King moved therewith (and not without cauſe) alleageth againe and exateth the old lawes and cuſtomes of his grandfather, obſerved and agreed upon by archbiſhops, biſhops, prelates, and other privileged perſons, inquiring likewiſe of him whether he would agree to the ſame, or elſe now (in his raigne) would condemne that which in the raigne of his grandfather was well allowed? To which lawes and cuſtomes the ſaid Thomas did partly grant, and partly not grant. The copy of the which ſoreſaid lawes are contained in the number of eight and twenty or nine and twenty, whereof I thought here to recite certaine not unworthy to be knowne.

### The copy of the old lawes and cuſtomes whereunto Thomas Becket did grant.

1 That no order ſhould be given to husbandmens children and bondmens children, without the aſſent or teſtimonial of them, which be the Lords of the countrey where they were borne and brought up; and if their ſonnes become clerks, they ſhall not receive the order of prieſt had without licence of their Lords.

The Kings cuſtome.

2 And if a man of holy Church hold any layſee in his hand, he ſhall doe theretoze the King the ſervice that belongeth thereto, as upon juries, aſſiſe of lands and iudgements, ſaving onely at execution doing of death.

Out of an Engliſh chronicle as it appeareth, drawne out of French by Earle Rivers Lord of Sales.

3 If any man were the Kings traytor, and had taken the Church, that it ſhould be lawfull for the King and his officers to take him out.

4 And if any fellows goods were brought to holy Church, that there ſhould none ſuch keepe there; for every fellows goods be the Kings.

5 That no land ſhould be given to the Church, or to any houſe of religion, without the Kings licence.

The liſe of Thomas Becket. Polydorus ſaitheth the other of Becket. x Roberto Crikeladenſi. x Florio.

Difference in chronicles.

The cauſes of variance created betweene the King and the archbiſhop.



These articles following, *Thomas* agreed not unto.

1 If that betwene a clerke and a lay man were any striding for Church-goods, they would the plea should be done in the Kings court.

2 That there should neither bishop nor clerke go out of the land without the Kings licence, and then he should sweare upon a booke he should procure no hurt against the King, nor none of his.

3 If any man were denounced accursed, and were come againe to amendment, the King would not that he should be sworne, but onely finde sureties to stand to that, that holy Church should award.

4 The fourth, that no man, that held of the King in chiefe or in service, should be accursed without the Kings licence.

5 That all the bishopps and abbies, that were vacant, should be in the Kings hands, untill such time that he should choose a Prelate thereto, and he should be chosen out of the Kings chappels, and first before he were confirmed, he should doe his homage to the King.

6 If any plea were brought to the consistory, they should appeale from thence to the Archdeacon, and from thence to the bishops Court, and from the bishops Court to the archbishops, and from thence to the King, and no further. So that in conclusion, the complaints of holy Church must come before the King, and not the Pope.

7 That debts, that were owing through troth plight, should not be pleaded in spirituall, but in temporall Courts.

8 That the Peter-pence, which to the Pope were gathered, should be taken to the King.

9 If any clerke for felony were taken and so proved, he should be first degraded, and then through judgement be hanged, or if he were a traytor, be drawne.

Other Lawes and Constitutions made at Clarendon in Normandy and sent to England, whereunto *Becket* and the Pope would not agree, he being then fled out of the Realme.

The lawes of Clarendon.

1 If any person shall be found to bring from the Pope, or from the Archbishop of Canturbury any writing containing any indict or curse against the realme of England, the same man to be apprehended without delay for a traitor, and execution to be done upon the same.

2 That no monke nor any clerke shall be permitted to passe over into England without a passport from the King or his Justices: who so doth the contrary, that man to be attached and imprisoned.

3 No man to be so bold once to appeale to the Pope, or to the Archbishop of Canturbury out of England.

4 That no decre or commandment, proceeding from the authority of the Pope or the bishop of Canturbury, be received into England, under paine of taking and imprisoning.

5 In generall, to forbid any man to carry over any commandment or precept, either of clerke, or lay man, to the Pope, or to the archbishop of Canturbury, under paine of imprisonment.

6 If any bishop, clerke, abbat, or lay man shall doe contrary to this inhibition, or will keep the sentence of interdicting, the same incontinent to be thrust out of the Land, with all their kindred, and to leave all their goods behind them.

7 All the possessions, goods, and chattels of such as favour the Pope or the Archbishop of Canturbury, to be seized and confiscated for the King.

8 All such of the Clergy as be out of the realme, having their rents and profits out of the land, to be summoned and warned through every shire within

thre moneths to repaire home, or else their rents and goods to returne to the King.

9 That St. Peters pence should be no more paid to the apostolicall See, but to be refered diligently in the Kings coffers, and there to be at his commandment. Atque hæc ex Quadrilogo.

10 That the bishops of Salisbury and Dorwich be at the Kings mercy, and be summoned by the Justice, and bevels, that they before the Kings Justices doe right to the King and his Justices, because (contrary to the statutes of Clarendon) by commandment they interdicted the Land of Earle Hugh, and published the same in their diocese without licence of the Kings Justices.

By these and such other lawes and decrees it may appeare, that the abolishing of the Pope is no new thing in the realme of England. This onely difference there is, that the Pope being driven out then, could not be kept out so long as now he is.

20 The cause is, that the time was not yet come that antichrist should so fully be revealed; neither was his wickedness then so fully ripe in those dates, as it hath been now in our time. Now these premises, let us returne where we left, to the matter between the King and Thomas Becket.

The communication and controversie betweene the King and Thomas Becket with his Clergy.

30 The King (as is aforesaid) convening his nobles and clerkes together, required to have the punishment of certaine misdoers of the clergy; but Thomas Becket not assenting thereunto, the King came to this point, to know whether he would consent with his clergy, that the customes then set forth in the realme (meaning the first part of those decrees above specified) should be observed. To which the archbishop, consulting together with his brethren,

40 giveth answer againe, that he was contented the Kings ordinances should be observed, adding this withall, Salvo ordine suo; that is, Saving his order. And so in like manner all the other bishops after, being demanded in order answered with the same addition, Salvo ordine suo. Onely Hilarius bishop of Chichester, perceiving the King to be exasperate with that addition, in stead of Salvo ordine, agreed to observe them Bona fide. The King hearing them

50 not simply to agree unto him, but with an exception, was mightily offended; who then turning to the Archbishop and the Prelats, said; that he was not well contented with that clause of theirs, Salvo suo ordine, which he said was captious and deceitfull, having some manner of benome lurking under it, and therefore required an absolute grant of them without any exception, to agree to the Kings ordinances. To this the archbishop answered againe, that they had sworn unto him their fidelity, both life, body, and earthly honour, Salvo ordine suo; and that in the

60 same earthly honour also those ordinances were comprehended, and to the observing of them they would bind themselves after no other sort, but as they had sworn before. The King with this was moved, and all his Nobility not a little. As for the other bishops, there was no doubt but they would easily have relented, had not the stoutnesse of the archbishop made them more constant then otherwise they would have bene. The day being well spent, the King (when he could get no other answer of them) departed in great anger, giving no word of salutation to the bishops, and likewise the bishops every one to his owne house departed. The bishop of Chichester (amongst the rest) was greatly rebuked of his fellowes for changing the exception contrary to the voyce of all the others. The next day following the King took from the archbishop all such honours and Lordships, as he had given him before in the time that he was Chancelloz; whereby

Becket's addition, Salvo ordine suo.

The bishop of Chichester.



whereby appeared the great displeasure of the King against him and the clergy. Not long after this, the King removing from London (unknowne to the bishops) sailed over to Normandy, whither the bishop of London called Gilbert (not long after) resorted to crave the Kings favour, and gave him counsel withall to joyne some of the bishops on his side: lest if all were against him, peradventure he might sooner be overthrom. And thus the greatest number of the bishops were by this meanes reconciled againe to the King; onely the archbishop with a few others remained in their stoutnesse still. The King (thinking to try all manner of waies) when he saw no feare nor threats could turne him, did assay him with gentlenesse: it would not serue. Many of the nobles laboured betwixt them both, exhorting him to relent to the King; it would not be. Likewise the archbishop of Dorke with divers other bishops and abbats, especially the bishop of Chester, did the same. Besides this, his owne household daily called upon him, but no man could perswade him. At length understanding partly by them that came to him what danger might happen not only to himselfe, but to all the other clergy upon the Kings displeasure: partly considering the old love and kindness of the King towards him in time past, he was content to give over to the Kings request, and came to Oxford to him, reconciling himselfe about the addition, which displeased the King so much. Whereupon the King being somewhat mitigated receiveth him with a more chearefull countenance, but yet not all so familiarly as before, saying; that he would have his ordinances and proceedings after the forme confirmed in the publike audience and open sight of his bishops and all his nobles. After this, the King (being at Clarendon) there called all his Bares and prelates before him, requiring to have that performed, which they had promised, in consenting to the observing of his grandfatheres ordinances and proceedings. The archbishop suspecting I cannot tell what in the Kings promise, drew backward, and now would not that he would before; at last with much ado he was enforced to give assent. First, came to him the bishop of Salisbury and of Norwich, who (for old matters indangered to the King long before) came weeping and lamenting to the archbishop, desiring him to have some compassion of them, and to remit this pertinacy to the King, lest if he so continued (through his stoutnesse) to exasperate the Kings displeasure) happily it might redound to no small danger, not onely of them which were in jeopardy already, but also of himselfe to be imprisoned, and the whole clergy to be indangered. Besides these two bishops, there went to him other two noble Bares of the realme, labouring with him to relent and condescend to the Kings desire: if not, they should be enforced to use such violence, as neither would stand with the Kings fame, and much lesse with his quietnesse; but yet the stout stomacke of the man would not give over. After this came to him two rulers of the temple called Templars, one Richard de Hulf, another Cosans de Hebert with their company lamenting and bewailing the great perill, which they declared unto him to hang over his head: yet neither with their teares, nor with their knellings would he be removed. At length came the last message from the King, signifying unto him with expresse words, and also with teares, what he should trust to, if he would not give over to the Kings request.

By reason of which message, he either terrified, or else perswaded, was content to submit himselfe. Whereupon the King incontinent assembling the States together, the archbishop first before all others beginneth to promise the King obedience, and submission unto his custome, and that Cum bona fide, leaving out his former addition, Salvo ordine, mentioned before: in stead whereof he promised in Verbo

veritatis, to observe and keepe the Kings customes, and sweare to the same. After him the other bishops likewise gave the like oath, whereupon the King commanded incontinent certaine instruments obligatory to be drawn, of the which the King should have the one, the archbishop of Canturbury another, the archbishop of Dorke the third, requiring also the said archbishop to set to his hand and seale. To the which the archbishop (though not denying but that he was ready so to doe) yet desired respite in the matter, while that he (being but newly come to his bishopricke) might better peruse with himselfe the foresaid customes and ordinances of the King. This request as it seemed but reasonable, so it was lightly granted: so the day being well spent, they departed for that season and brake up.

Alanus, one of the foure writers of the life of this Thomas Becket, recordeth; that the archbishop in his voyage towards Winchester, began greatly to repent that he had done before, partly through the instigation of certaine about him, but chiefly of his crossbearer, who, going before the archbishop, sharply and earnestly expostulated with him for giving over to the Kings request, against the ppyledge and liberties of the Church, polluting not onely his fame & conscience, but also giving a pernicious example to them that should come after, with many like words. To make the matter short, the archbishop was so touched upon the same with such repentance, that keeping himselfe from all company, lamenting with teares, with fasting, and with much penance macerating and afflicting himselfe, he did suspend himself from all divine service, and would not receive comfort, before that (word being sent to his holy grandfather the Pope) he should be assailed of him, who, tending the teares of his deare chicken, directed to him letters againe by the same messenger which Thomas had sent up to him before. In which letters not onely he assailed him from his trespasses, but also with words of great consolation did encourage him to be stout in the quarrell he took in hand. The copy of which letters consolatory, sent from the Pope to bishop Becket, here followeth under writen.

Alexander bishop, &c. Your brotherhood is not ignorant that it hath bene advertised us, how that upon the occasion of a certaine transgression or excess of yours, you have determined to cease henceforth from saying of masse, and to abstaine from the consecration of the body and blood of the Lord; which thing to doe, how dangerous it is (especially in such a personage) and also what inconvenience may rise thereof, I will you advisedly to consider, and discretely also to ponder. Your wiledome ought not to forget what difference there is betweene them which advisedly and willingly doe offend, and those which through ignorance and for necessity sake doe offend. For as you read, so much the greater is wilfull sinne, as the same not being voluntary is a lesser sinne. Therefore if you remember your selfe to have done any thing that your owne conscience doth accuse you of, whatsoever it be, we counsell you (as a prudent and wise Prelate) to acknowledge the same. Which thing done, the mercifull and pitifull God, who hath more respect to the heart of the doer then to the thing done, will remit and forgive you the same according to his accustomed great mercy. And we trusting in the merits of the blessed Apostles S. Peter and Paul doe absolve you from the offence committed, and by the authority apostolicall we release you unto your fraternity, counselling you and commanding you, that henceforth you abstaine not (for this cause) from the celebration of the masse.

This letter with others more after the like sort the Pope then wrote to him, animating and comforting him in this quarrell so nearly pertaining to the Popes profit. By the occasion whereof, Becket took

The stubborn wilfulness of Tho. Becket.

Thomas Becket relenteth to the King.

Becket repenteth of his good deed.

A letter of Pope Alexander to Thomas Becket.

Becket yieldeth to the King.

Salvo ordine left out in the compilation.



no small heart and consolation: in so much that thereof seemeth to me to proceed all the occasion that made him so stout and malapert against his Prince, as hereafter followeth to be seen by his doings. What the other letters were that the Pope wrote unto him, shortly after (when we come to the appellations made to the Pope) shall appeare God willing. In the meane season (as he sat thus mourning at home) the King hearing of him, and how he denied to set his seale to those sanctions, which he condescended to before, tooke no displeasure against him: in so much that he (threatning to him and his banishment and death) began to call him to reckonings, and so burthen him with payments, that all men might understand that the Kings mind was sore set against him. The archbishop hereupon (whether more for the love of the Pope, or dread of his prince) thought to make an escape out of the realme, and so went about in the night (with two or three with him) seeking out of his house) to take the sea privately. Now amongst others the Kings ordinances and sanctions, this was one; that none of the prelacy or nobility without the Kings licence (or of his Justices) should depart out of the realme. So Becket twice attempted the sea to flee to the Sea of Rome; but the weather not serving, he was driven home againe, and his device for that time frustrated. After his departure began to be known and noised abroad, the Kings officers came to Canturbury to seize upon his goods in the Kings behalfe. But as it chanced, the night before their coming Becket being returned and found at home, they did not proceed in their purpose.

Becket entre-  
wrested against  
the Kings  
lawes to fly out  
of the realme.

Becket taun-  
ted of the king.

Upon this, the archbishop (understanding the King soe bent against him, and the seas not to serve him) made haste to the Court lying then at Woodstocke, where the King received him (after a certaine manner) but nothing so familiarly as he was wont, taunting him jestingly and merrily, as though one realme were not able to hold them both. Becket (although he was permitted to goe and come at his pleasure to the Court) yet could not obtaine the favour that he would, perceiving both in himselfe, and confessing no lesse to others, how the matter would fall out, so that either he should be constrained to give over with shame, or stoutly stand to that which he had so boldly taken in hand. The archbishop of Yorke in the meane time (going betwixt the King and the archbishop) laboured to make a peace and love betwixt them; but the King in no case would be reconciled, unless the other would subscribe to his lawes. So the while, neither the King would otherwise agree, nor yet the archbishop in any wise would subscribe, there was a foule discord; where the fault was, let the reader here judge betweene them both. The King for his regall authority thought it much that any subject of his should stand against him. The archbishop againe (bearing himselfe bold upon the authority, and especially upon the letters of the Pope lately written to him) thought him strong enough against the King and all his realme. Againe, such was his quarrell for the maintenance of liberties and glory of the Church, that he could lacke no letters on and favourers in that behalfe, in so sweet a cause amongst the clergy. What herefore the archbishop (trusting to these things) would give no place, but by vertue of his apostolicall authority gave censure upon these lawes and constitutions of the King, condemning some, and other some approving for good and catholike, as is before declared. Besides this, there came also to the King Rotocus archbishop of Rothomage (sent from the Pope) to make peace betweene the King & Canturbury: whereunto the King was well content, so that the Pope would agree to ratifie his ordinances. But when that could in no wise be obtained at the Popes hands, then the King being stopped & frustrate of his purpose by reason of Becket's apo-

stolike legacy (being Legatus à latere) thought good to send up to the Pope, and so did, to obtaine of him, that the same authority of the apostolike legacy might be conferred to another after his appointment, which was the archbishop of Yorke: but the Pope denied. Notwithstanding at the request of the Kings clergy, the Pope was content that the King should be Legat himselfe; whereat the King tooke great indignation (as Hobeden writeth) so that he sent the Pope his letters againe. Here the Pope was perplexed on both sides.

The King to  
be the Popes  
Legate.

If he should have denied the King, that was too hot for him: for the Pope useth alwaies to hold in with Kings howsoever the world speedeth. Againe, if he should have forsaken such a Churchly chaplen (the cause being so sweet and so gainfull) that should have bin against himselfe. What did he then? Here now commeth in the old practise of popish prelacy, to play with both hands: privately he conspireth with the one, and openly dissembleth with the other. First he granted to the Kings ambassadors their request, to have the Legate removed, and to place in that office the archbishop of Yorke, to his owne contentation; and yet notwithstanding (to tender the cause of Thomas Becket) he addeth this promise withall, that the said Becket should receive no harme or damage thereby. Thus the Pope craftily conveying the matter betweene them both, gladly to further the archbishop for his owne advantage, and yet loth to deny the King his displeasure, writeth to the King openly, and also secretly directeth another letter to Becket: the contents whereof here follow.

The crafty dil-  
lusion of  
the Pope.

#### Alexander the Pope, to Thomas Arch- bishop of Canturbury.

Although we, condescending to the Kings request, have granted the gift of our Legacy after his mind from you: yet let not your mind thereby be discomfited, nor brought into sighs of despaire. For before that we had granted that, or gave our consent thereunto, the Kings ambassadors firmly promised in the word of truth (ready also to be sworn upon the same, if I would so have required) that their letters also which he had obtained, should not be delivered to the archbishop of Yorke without our knowledge and consent therein. This is certaine, and so periwade your selfe boldly, without any scruple, doubt or mistrust, that it was never my mind or purpose, nor ever shall be (God willing) to subdue you or your Church under the obedience of any person, to be subject to any, save onely to the Bishop of Rome. And therefore we warne you and charge you, that if you shall perceive the King to deliver these foresaid letters, which we trust he will not attempt without our knowledge to doe; forthwith by some trusty messengers or by your letters you will give us knowledge thereof: whereby we may provide upon the same both for your person, your Church, and also your City committed to you, to be clearly exempt by our authority apostolicall, from all power and jurisdiction of any legacy.

The Popes le-  
gacy letters to  
Becket.

Upon these letters and such others (as is said before) Becket seemed to take all his boldnesse to be so stout and sturdy against his Prince, as he was. The Pope (beside these) sent secretly a chaplen of his, and directed another letter also unto the King, granting and permitting at his request, to make the archbishop of Yorke Legate apostolicall.

The King (after he had received his letters sent from the Pope) began to put more strength to his purposed proceedings against the archbishop, first beginning with the inferiours of the clergy, such as were offenders against his lawes: as fellows, robbers, quarrellers, breakers of peace, and especially such as had committed homicide and murders, whereof more then an hundred at that time were

More then an  
hundred mur-  
ders done by  
the clergy.

probed

Ex Rogero Ho-  
red. pri. parte  
historie conti-  
nuate post Be-  
lam.



*Gulielm. Neuburg.* probed upon the Clergie (as witnesseth Gulielm. Neuburgensis, in his booke De gestis Anglorum, lib. 2. cap. 16.) urging and constraining them to be arraigned after the order of the Law temporall, and justice to be ministered to them according to their deserts: as first to be deprived, and so to be committed to the secular hands. This seemed to Becket to derogate from the liberties of holy Church, that the secular power should passe in causes criminal, or sit in judgement against any Ecclesiastical person. This Law, the roisters (then of the Clergie) had picked and forged out of Anacletus & Guarinus, by whose falsly alleged and pretended authority, they have deduced this their constitution from the Apostles, which giveth immunity to all Ecclesiastical persons to be free from secular jurisdiction. Becket therefore, like a valiant champion (fighting for his liberties, and having the Pope on his side) would not permit his Clerks intimated otherwise to be convicted, than before Ecclesiastical Judges, there to be examined and deprived for their offence, and no secular Judge to proceed against them: so that after their deprivation, if they should incur the like offence againe, then the temporall Judge to take hold upon them, otherwise not. This obstinate and stubborn rebellion of the Archbishop stirred up much anger and veneration in the King, and not onely in him, but also in the Nobles and all the Bishops (for the greater part) that almost hee was alone a wonderment to all the Realme.

*Becket cited to Northampton.* The Kings wrath daily increased more and more against him (as no marvell it was) and caused him to be cited up to appeare by a certaine day at the towne of Northampton, there to make answer to such things as should be laid to his charge. So when the day was come (all the Peeres and Nobles, with the Prelates of the Realme upon the Kings proclamation being assembled in the castle of Northampton) great fault was found with the Archbishop, for that he (personally cited to appeare) came not himselfe, but sent another for him. The cause why hee came not, Hobben assigneth to be this: for that the King had placed his Horse and horsemen in the Archbishopps lodging (which was a house there of canons) wherewith hee being offended, sent word againe that hee would not appeare, unlesse his lodging were voided of the Kings horsemen, &c. Whereupon (by the publike sentence as well of all the Nobles, as of the Bishops) all his moveables were adjudged to be confiscat for the King, unlesse the Kings clemency would remitt the penalty. The stubborn Archbishop againe (for his part) quarrelling against the order and forme of the judgement, complaineth: alleging for himselfe (saying he is the pimate, and spiritual father, not onely of all other in the Realme, but also of the King himselfe) that it was not convenient that the father should be so judged of his children, nor the Pastor of his flock so condemned: saying moreover, that the ages to come should know what judgement was done, &c. But especially hee complaineth of his fellow-bishops (when they should rather have taken his part) who did sit in judgement against their Metropolitane. And this was the first dates action.

The next day following, the King laid an action against him in the behalfe of one that was his Parson (called John) for certaine injuries done to him, and required of the said Archbishop the repaying againe of certaine money, which hee (as is said) had lent unto him being Chancelor, the sum whereof came to 500. marks. This money the Archbishop denied not but he had received of the King, holweith, by the way and title of a gift as hee tooke it, though hee could bring no probation thereof. Whereupon, the King required him to put in assurance for the payment thereof: wherewith the Archbishop making delays (not well contented at the matter) was so called upon, that either hee should be countable to

the King for the money, or else hee should incur present danger, the King being so bent against him. The Archbishop being brought to such a strait, and destitute of his owne suffragans, could here by no meanes have escaped, had not five persons of their owne accord stepped in, being bound for him, every man for 100. marks a piece. And this was upon the second day concluded.

The morrow after, which was the third day of the Councell, as the Archbishop was sitting below in a certain conclave with his fellow-bishops about him, consulting together, the doores fast locked to them, as the King had willed and commanded, it was propounded unto him in the behalfe of the King, that hee had divers Bishopricks, and Abbarikes in his hand which were vacant, with the fruits and revenues thereof due unto the King for certaine yeeres, wherewith hee had rendered as yet no account to the King: wherewith it was demanded of him to bring in a full and cleare reckoning of the same. This, with other such like, declared to all the Councell, great displeasure to be in the King, and no lesse danger toward the Archbishop.

### The advice of the Bishops for Thomas Becket.

Thus, while the Bishops and Prelates were in councell, advising and deliberating what was to be done, at length it came to votes, every man to say his mind, and to give sentence what were the best way for their Archbishop to take. First began Henry Bishop of Winchester, who then took part with Becket so much as hee durst for feare of the King, who said, he remembered that the said Archbishop, first being archdeacon, and then Lord Chancellor, at what time as he was promoted to the Church of Canturbury, was discharged from all bonds and reckonings of the temporall court, as all the other Bishops could not but beare record to the same.

Next spake Gilbert, Bishop of London, exhorting and motioning the Archbishop, that hee should call with himselfe to mind from whence the King tooke him, and set him up; what, and how great things he had done for him; also that hee should consider with himselfe the dangers & perils of the time, and what ruine hee might bring upon the whole Church (and upon them all there present) if he resisted the Kings mind in the things hee required. And if it were to render up his Archbishopprike (although it were ten times better than it is) yet he should not stick with the King in the matter. In so doing it might happen, the King seeing that submission & humility in him, would release him peradventure of all the rest. To this the Archbishop answering, Well, well (saith he) I perceive well enough my Lord, whither you tend, and whither about you goe. Then spake Winchester, inferring upon the same: This forme of counsell (saith he) seemeth to me very pernicious to the Catholike church, tending to our subversion, and to the confusion of us all. For if our Archbishop and pimate of all England do lean to this example, that every Bishop should give over his authority and the charge of the flocke committed to him, at commandment and threatening of the Prince; to what state shall the Church be brought then, but that all should be confounded at his pleasure and arbitrement, and nothing shall stand certaine by any order of Law, and so as the Priest is, so shall the people be?

Bilary the Bishop of Chichester replyeth againe to this, saying: If it were not that the instance and the great perturbation of time did otherwise require and force us, I would thinke this counsell here given were good to be followed. But now seeing the authority of our canon faileth, and cannot serve us, I judge it not best to goe so strictly to worke, but so to moderate our proceedings, that dispensation with sufferance may win that which severe correction may

Becket required to give an account.

The verdict of Winchester.

The counsell of the Bishop of London.

Canturbury.

Winchester.

Chichester.

Moderate counsell.

The Archbishop condemned in the countcell of Northampton in the loss of all moveables.



may destroy. Wherefore my counsell and reason is, to give place to the Kings purpose for a time, lest by over hasty proceeding, we exceed so farre, that both it may rebound to our shame, and also we cannot rid our selves out againe when we would.

Lincolne.

Whiche to the same end spake Robert the Bishop of Lincolne after this manner: Seeing (saith he) it is manifest that the life and blood of this man is sought, one of these two must needs be chosen; that either he must part with his Archbishopricke, or else with his life. Now what profit he shall take in this matter of his Bishopricke, his life being lost, I doe not greatly see.

Excester.

Next followed Bartholomew Bishop of Excester with his advice, who inclining his counsell to the state of the time, confirmed their sayings before, affirming how the daies were evill and perillous; and if they might so escape the violence of that raging tempest under the cover of bearing and relenting, it were not to be refused. But that, he said, could not be, except strict severity should give place to tractability; and so the instance and condition of time then present required no lesse, especially seeing that persecution was not generall, but personall and particular; and thought it more holy and convenient, one head to run into some part of danger, then the whole Church of England to be subject and exposed to inconvenience inevitable.

The answer of Roger Bishop of Worcester was devised in a double sentence, neither affirming the one, nor denying the other, whose saying was this: That he would give answer on neither part; for if I (saith he) should say that the past: all function and cure of soules ought to be relinquished at the Kings will or threatening, then my mouth shall speake against my conscience to the condemnation of mine owne head. And if I shall give againe contrary counsell to resist the Kings sentence, here be they that will heare it, and report it to his grace, and so I shall be in danger to be thrust out of the Synagogue, and for my part to be accounted amongst the publicke rebels, with them to be condemned: wherefore neither doe I say this, nor counsell that.

Worcester.  
Becket the  
Archbishop res-  
pith against  
the Bishops.

And this was the consultation of the Bishops in that place, assembled together by the Kings commandement. Against these voyces and censures of the Bishops, Becket the Archbishop replieth againe, expostulating and checking them with rebukefull words. I perceiue (saith he) and understand ye goe about to maintaine and cherish but your owne cowardlinesse under the colourable shadow of suffrance: and under pretence of dissembling softnesse to choake the liberty of Christs Church. Who hath thus bewitched you, insatiable Bishops? What meane ye? Why doe ye so, under the impudent title of forbearing, beare a double heart, and cloake your manifest iniquity? What call ye this bearing with time, to the detriment of the Church of Christ? Let termes serve the matter. Whypervert you the matter that is good with vocables and termes untrue: For that ye say we must beare with the malice of time, I grant with you: but yet we must not heape sin to sin. Is not God able to help the state and condition of his Church, but with the sinfull dissimulation of the Teachers of the Church? Certes God is disposed to tempt you. And tell me (I pray you) whether should the Governours of the Church put themselves to dangers for the Church in time of tranquillity, or in time of distresse? We will be ashamed to deny the contrary, but in distresse. And now when the Church lying in so great distresse and vexation) why should not the good Pastor put himselfe into perill therefore: For neither doe I thinke it a greater act or merit for the ancient Bishops of the old time, to lay the foundation of the Church then with their blood, than now for to shed our blood for the liberties of the same. And to tell you plaine, I thinke it not safe for you to swarve from an ex-

ample which you have receiued of your holy Elders. After these things were spoken, they sat all in silence a certaine space, being locked in together. At length (to find a shift to cause the doze to be opened) I will (saith the Archbishop) speake with two Carles which are about the King, and named them who they were. Who (being called) opened the doze and came in with haste, thinking to heare some thing which should appeale the Kings mind. To whom the Archbishop spake in this manner: As touching and concerning the matters betwene the King and us, we have here conferred together. And forsomuch as we have them not present with us now, which knew moze in the matter then we do (whose advice we would be glad to follow) therefore we crabe so much respite as till the next day following, and then to give our answer unto the King. With this message two Bishops were sent to the King, which was the Bishop of London, and the Bishop of Rochester.

London (to help the matter, and to set quietnesse, as I take it, adding something more to the message) said to the King, that the Archbishop crabe a little delay of time to prepare such writings and instruments, wherein he should set forth and declare his mind in accomplishing the Kings desire, &c. Wherefore two Barons were sent to him from the King to grant him that respite or stay; so that he would ratifie that which the messengers had signified to the King. To which the Archbishop answereth, that he sent no message as was intimate in his name: but only that the next day he would come and give answer to the King, in that which he had to say. And so the convocation of the Bishops was dissolved and dismissed home: so that the most part of them that came with the Archbishop and accompanied him before (for feare of the Kings displeasure) severed themselves from him. The Archbishop thus forsaken and destitute (as his story saith) sent about for the poyse, the lame, and the halt, to come in and furnish his house, saying, that by them he might sooner obtaine his victorie, then by the others which had so slipped from him.

On the next day following, because it was Sunday, nothing was done. So the day after, which was the second sery, the Archbishop was cited to appeare. But the night before (being taken with a disease called Passio iliaca, the colique) as that day he kept his bed, and was not able, as he said, to rise. Every man supposing this to be but a fained sickness, as it seemed no lesse, certaine of the chiefe Nobles were sent to try the matter, and to cite him to the Court: namely, Robert Earle of Leicester, and Reginald, Earle of Debonthire. To whom the Archbishop answered, that as that day he was so diseased, that he could not come, yea, though he were brought in an ho:stler. So that day passed over. The morrow after, certaine that were about him, fearing no lesse but that some danger would happen to him, gave him counsell in the morning to have a Halls in the honour of the holy Martyr S. Steven, to keep him from the hands of his enemies that day. When the morrow was come (being Tuesday) there came to him the Bishops and Prelats, counselling and persuading him covertly by insinuation (for apertly they durst not) that he would submit himselfe with all his goods (as also his Archbishopricke) to the will of the King, if peradventure his indignation by that means might allwaie. Adding moreover, that melle he would so doe, perjury would be laid against him: for that he being under the oath of fidelity to keep the Kings lawes and ordinances, now would not observe them. To this Becket the Archbishop answereth againe: Wherein, ye see and perceiue well how the world is set against me, and how the enemy resisteth and seeketh my confusion. And although these things be dolorous and lamentable, yet the thing that grieveeth me most of all, is this: The finnes of mine

church, beca-  
that Bishops  
may not be a  
bove Kings  
and Princes

Becket be-  
cause and for-  
taken.

Becket taken  
with sickness  
when he should  
appeare.

A masse of S. S.  
Steven to save  
him from his  
enemies.

Becket's an-  
swer to the  
Bishops.

A great distresse  
growne in the



mine owne mother be pricks and thornes against me. And albeit I do hold my peace, yet the posterity to come will know and report how cowardly you have turned your backs, and have left your Archbishop and Metropolitan alone in his conflict, and how you have sitten in judgement against me (although unguilty of crime) now two daies together, and not onely in the civill and spirituall Court, but also in the temporall Court ready to doe the same. But in generall, this I charge and command (as the vertue of pure obedience, and in perill of your order) that ye be present personally in judgement against me. And that ye shall not faile so to doe, I here appeale to our mother (the refuge of all such as be oppressed) the Church of Rome: and if any secular men shall lay hands upon me (as it is rumored they will) I straitly inioyne and charge you in the same vertue of obedience, that you exercise your censure Ecclesiasticall upon them, as it becommeth you to doe for a Father and an Archbishop. And this I do you to understand, that though the world rage, and the enemy be fierce, and the body trembleth (for the flesh is weak) yet God so favouring me, I will neither cowardly shrink, nor yet vilely forsake my flocke committed to my charge, &c.

But the Bishop of London, contrary to this commandment of the Archbishop, did incontinent appeale from him. And thus the Bishops departed from him to the Court, save only two, Henry of Winchester, and Joceline of Salisbury, who returned with him secretly to his chamber, and comforted him. This done, the Archbishop (which yesterday was so sore sicke that he could not stirre out of his bed) now addresseth him to his masse of S. Stephen with all solemnity, as though it had bene an high festiual day, with his Metropolitan pall, which was not used but upon the holy day to be woone, &c. The office of the masse began, Sederunt Principes & aduersum me loquebantur: that is, Princes sat and spake against me, &c. (the Kings servants being also there and beholding the matter.) For this masse Gilbert Bishop of London accused Becket afterwarde, both for that it was done, Per artem magicam, & in contemptum regis (as the words of Hobeden purport) that is, both by art of magicke, and in contempt of the King, &c.

The masse being ended, the Archbishop (putting off his pall, his mitre and other robes) proceeded to the Kings court: but yet not trusting, peradventure, so greatly to the strength of his masse (to make the matter more sure) he taketh also the sacrament privately about him, thinking himselfe thereby sufficientely defended against all bugs. In going to the Kings chamber (there to attend the Kings comming) as he entered the doore, he taketh from Alexander his crossier, the crosse with the crosse staffe, in the sight of all that stood by, and carrieth it in himselfe, the other bishops following him, and saying, he did otherwise than became him. Amongst others Robert Bishop of Hereford, offered himselfe to beare his crosse, rather then he should so do, for that it was not comely; but the Archbishop would not suffer him. When said the Bishop of London unto him: If the King shall see you come armed into his chamber, peradventure he will draw out his sword against you, which is stronger then yours, and then what shall this your account profit you? The Archbishop answereth againe: If the Kings sword doe cut carnally, yet my sword cutteth spirituallly, and striketh downe to hell. But you, my Lord, as you have plaide the fowle in this matter, so you will not yet leaue off your folly for any thing I can see; and so he came into the chamber. The King hearing of his comming, and of the manner thereof, carried not long, but came where Becket was set in a place by himselfe with his other Bishops about him. First, the cryer called the Prelats and all the Lords of the temporality together. What being done (and every one placed in

his seat according to his degree) the King beginneth with a great complaint against the Archbishop for his manner of entering into the Court, not as (saith he) a subject into a Kings Court; but as a traytor, shewing himselfe in such sort as hath not bene seen before in any Christian Kings court, professing christian faith. To this all there present gave witness with the King, affirming him alwaies to be a haire and proud man, and that the shame of his sad doo not only rebound against the Prince himselfe, but also against his whole Realme. Whereupon, they said that this had so happened to the King, for that he had done so much for such a beast, advancing him so highly to such a place and roome next under himselfe. And so all together with one cry, called him traytor on every side, as one that refused to give terren honour to the King, in keeping (as he had woone) his Lawes and Ordinances, at whose handes also he had receiued such honour and great preferments: and therefore he was well worthy (said they) to be handled like a perjured traytor and rebell. Whereupon great doubt and feare was what should befall him. The Archbishop of Dorke, comming downe to his men, said, he could not abide to see what the Archbishop of Canturbury was like to suffer. Likewise, the tipstaves, and other Ministers of the assembly, comming downe with an outcry against him, crossed them to see his haughty stubbornnesse, and the businesse there was about him. Certain there were of his disciples sitting at his feet, comforting him softly, and bidding him to lay his curse upon them. Others (contrary) bidding him not to curse, but to pray and forgive them; and if he lost his life in the quarrell of the Church and the liberty thereof, he should be happy. Afterward, one of them, named Iohannes Stephani, desired to speak something in his eare; but could not be suffered by the Kings Marshall, who forbade that any man should have any talk with him. When he became he could not otherwise speake to him) wrought by signes, making a crosse, and looking up with his eyes, and wagging his lips, meaning that he should pray, and manfully stand to the cause. In the meane time commeth to him Bartholomew Bishop of Excester, desiring him to have regard and compassion of himselfe, and also of them, or else they were all like to perish for the hatred of him: for there commeth out (saith he) a precept from the King that he shall be taken, and suffer for an open rebell, that hereafter taketh your part. It is said moreover that Jocelinus Bishop of Salisbury, and William Bishop of Norwich are to be had to the place of execution, for their resisting and making intercession for the Bishop of Canturbury. When he had thus said, the Archbishop (looking upon the said Bishop of Excester) A void hence from mee, saith he, thou understandest not, neither dost favour those things that be of God.

The Bishops and Prelats then going aside by themselves from the other Nobles, the King to permitting them to do, took counsell together what was to be done. Here the matter stood in a doubtfull perplexity, for either must they incur the dangerous indignation of the King, or else with the Nobles they must proceed in condemnation against the Archbishop for resisting the Kings sanctions, which thing they themselves neither did favour. In this strict necessity, they, devising what way to take, at length agreed upon this; that they with a common assent should cite the Archbishop to the See of Rome upon perjury: and that they should oblige and bind themselves to the King with a sure promise, to work their diligence in depoling the Archbishop, upon this condition, that the King should promise their safety, and discharge them from the perill of that judgement which was towards them. So all the Bishops, obliging themselves thus to the King, went forth to the archbishop, of whom one speaking for the rest (which was Hilary Bishop of Chichester) had these words:

Becket called traytor of the King and all his Nobles.

A blind state for the proud libertie of the Church.

Who so taketh Becket's part is counted a rebell.

Becket cited to Rome upon perjury by the Bishops.

Once

Becket appealeth to Rome.

London appealeth from the Archbishop.

A Masse to be done always perpetually.

Becket carrieth with him the sacrament going to the King.

Hobeden referreth not this saying to the Bishop of London, but to the Archbishop of Dorke.



Becket con-  
demned of  
perjury.  
Becket cited  
to Rome.

Once you have been our Archbishop, and so long we were bound to your obedience; but now for as much as you, once swearing your fidelity to the King, doe resist him, neglecting his injunctions and ordinances, concerning and appertaining to his terren honour and dignity; we here pronounce you perjured, neither be we bound to give obedience to an Archbishop thus being perjured, but, putting out selves and all ours in the Popes protection, we doe cite you up to his presence. And upon the same, they assigned him his day and time to appeare. The Archbishop answering againe, said, hee heard him well enough, and upon this sendeth up to Rome in all haste to the Pope, signifying to him by letters, the whole matter, how, and wherefore, and by whom hee was cited, To whom the Pope directed againe his letters of comfort (as he had done divers before) the copy whereof here, ensueth.

Pope Alexander to Thomas Archbishop  
of Canturbury.

YOur brotherly letters, which you directed to us, and such other matters which your messenger by word of mouth hath signified unto us, we have diligently heard the reading thereof: and thereby fully understand the grievous vexations and dolorous griefes wherewith your mind is daily incumbered: by reason whereof, we, hearing and understanding, are not a little disquieted in our spirit for your sake: in whose prosperities we doe both gladly rejoyce, and no lesse doe sorrow in your adversities as for our most deare brother. You therefore (as a constant and wise man) remember with your selfe that which is written: The Apostles departed away (rejoycing) from the face of the Councell, &c. With like patience doe you also sustaine that mans molestations, and let not your spirit be troubled therein more then needeth, but receive in your selfe consolation: that we also together with you may be comforted in the Lord, who hath preserved you to the corroborati- on of his Catholique and Christian verity, in this distresse of necessity: and from whom also it hath pleased him to wipe away the blot of such things which have bene unorderly of you committed, and here to punish the same through sundry afflictions: whereby (in the strict judgement of God) they might not be called to account hereafter. But henceforth let not this much grieve you: neither let your heart be so deject or timorous in the matter (for that you are cited up to the Apostolike See) which to us is both gratefull and accepted. And this we will you, that if they which have cited you shall chance to come; draw not you backe, but follow the appeale, if you please, and spare not, all doubt and delay set apart: for the authority of the Church, tendering this your constancy, may not doe that which may put you in feare, or doubt. But our diligence shall be, with all labour and study, to conserve the right and preheminance, God willing, of that Church committed to you, so much as in us lyeth (saving our justice and equity) as to one whom, in working for the Church, we find to be both a constant and a valiant champion. Further, this I brotherly require you, to repaire unto the Church of Canturbury: and retaining but a few Clerkes about you (such only as serve your necessity) make no excurses out (as little as you can) in that country. But in this especially I thought to premonish you, that in no case, neither for feare, or any adversity, whatsoever may happen, you be brought to renounce and give up the right and dignity of your Church. Written at Sene, the seventh before the kalends of November,

As the Archbishop was thus cited up to Rome, sitting with his crosse waiting in the court, neither giving place to the Kings request, nor abashed with the clamour of the whole court against him, calling

him traitor on every side, neither following the advertisement of his fellow-bishops, at length the King by certaine Barons and Barons, sent commandement to him (Robert Earle of Leicester doing the message) that he should without delay come and render a full account of all things that hee had received, as the profits and revenues of the Realme, in the time hee was Chancellor, and specially for the 30000. marks, for the which he was accountable to the King. To whom the Archbishop answereth againe; the King knew how oft he had made his reckoning of those things which now were required of him. Further and besides, Henry his son and heire of his Realme, with all his Barons, and also Richard Lucy, chiefe Justice of England told him, that hee was free and quit to God and to holy Church from all receipts and computations, and from all secular exactions on the Kings behalfe. And so he, taking thus his discharge at their hands, entred into his office; and therefore other account besides this hee would make none. When this word was brought to the King, hee required his Barons to doe the Law upon him, who, so doing, judged him to be apprehended & laid in prison. This done, the King sendeth to him Reginald, Earle of Cornwall and Devonshire, and Robert, Earle of Leicester, to declare to him what was his judgement. To whom the Archbishop answereth, Heare, my Son and god Earle, what I say unto you: how much more precious the soule is than the body, so much more ought you to obey me in the Lord, rather than your terren King. Neither doth any law or reason permit the children to judge or condemne their father. Wherefore, to avoid both the judgement of the King, of you, and all others, I put my selfe only to the arbitrement of the Pope, under God alone to be judged of him, and of no other; to whose presence here before you all I do appeale, committing the ordering of the Church of Canturbury, my dignity, with all other things appertaining to the same, under the protection of God and him. And as for you, my brethren and fellow-bishops, which rather obey man than God, you also I call and cite to the audience and judgement of the Pope, and depart henceforth from you, as from the enemies of the Catholike Church, and of the authority of the Apostolike See.

While the Barons returned with this answer to the King, the Archbishop passing through the throng taketh unto him his pall, holding his crosse in one hand, and his byle in the other, the Courtiers following after, and crying, Traytor, traitor, tarry and heare thy judgement. But he passed on till he came to the uttermost gate of the Court, which being fast locked, there he had ben staide, had not one of his servants called Peter, surnamed Demundoxio, finding there a bunch of keyes hanging by, first probed one key, then another, till at last, finding the true key, he had opened the gate, and let him out. The Archbishop went straight to the house of canons, where hee did lie, calling unto him the poore, where they could be found. When supper was done, making as though he would goe to bed, which hee caused to be made betwixt two altars, privily while the King was at supper, hee prepared his journey secretly to escape away; and changing his garment and his name, being called Dernan, first went to Lincolne, from thence to Sandwich, where he tooke ship, and sailed into Flanders, & from thence journeyed into France, as Hovedenus saith. Albert Alanus, differing something in the order of his flight, saith, that he departed not that night; but at supper time came to him the Bishops of London and Chichester, declaring to him, that if hee would surrender up to the King his two manors of Wotton and Wingham, there were hope to recover the Kings favour, and to have all remitted. But when the Archbishop would not agree thereunto, so much as those manors were belonging to the Church of Canturbury, the King hearing thereof

Becket called to a full account.

Ex Rogero Hovedeno.

Becket induged to be laid in prison.

Ex quadrupartib. lib. 1. cap. 38.

Becket appeareth to the Pope.

Becket thinketh not the protection of God sufficient without the Pope.

Becket flieth out of the court

Becket changeth his name, and is called Dernan. Histories differing something in the order of his flight.



thereof, great displeasure was taken, in so much that the next day Becket was faine to send to the King two Bishops and his Chaplaine for leave to depart the Realme. To the which message the King answered, that he would take pause thereof till the next day, and then he should have an answer. But Becket not tarrying his answer, the same day conbowed himselfe away secretly, as is aforesaid, to Ludovicus the French King. But before he came to the King, Gilbert the Bishop of London, and William the Earle of Arundell, sent from the King of England to France, prevented him: requiring the said French King in the behalfe of the King of England, that he would not receive, nor retaine in his dominion the Archbishop of Canturbury. Moreover, that at his instance he would be a meane to the Pope, not to shew any familiarity unto him. But the King of England in this point seemed to have more confidence in the French King, than knowledge of his disposition. For thinking that the French King would have bene a good neighbour to him, in trusting him too much he was deceived. Neither considered he with himselfe enough the manner and nature of the Frenchmen at that time against the Realme of England: who then were glad to seeke and take all manner of occasions to doe some act against England.

And therefore Ludovike the French King, understanding the matter, and thinking (percase) thereby to have some vantage against the King and Realme of England, by the occasion hereof, contrary to the Kings letters and request, not only harboureth and cherisheth this Derman, but also (writing to the Pope by his Almoner and brother) intreateth him (upon all lobes, as ever he would have his labour) to tender the cause of the Archbishop Becket. Thus the Kings Ambassadors repulsed of the French King, returned; at what time he sent another ambassage (upon the like cause) to Alexander the Pope then being at Sene in France. The Ambassadors sent on this message were Roger Archbishop of Poike, Gilbert Bishop of London, Henry Bishop of Winchester, Hilary Bishop of Chichester, Bartholomew Bishop of Excester, with other Doctors and Clerks: also William Earle of Arundel, with certain more Lords and Barons, who comming to the Popes Court were friendly accepted of certaine of the Cardinals; amongst the which Cardinals rose also dissention about the same cause. Some judging that the Bishop of Canturbury in the defence of the liberties of the Church (as in a good cause) was to be maintained. Some thinking againe, that he (being a perturbur of peace and unity) was rather to be bridled for his presumption, than to be fostered and incouraged therein. But the Pope partly bearing with his cause (which only tended to his exaltation and magnificence) partly againe incensed with the letters of the French King, did wholly incline to Becket, as no marvell was. Wherefore the next day following, the Pope sitting in consistory with his Cardinals, the Ambassadors were called for to the hearing of Becket's matter; and first beginneth the Bishop of London; next, the Archbishop of Poike; then Excester; and the other Bishops every one in their order to speake. All these Orations being not well accepted of the Pope, and some of them also disdained, the Earle of Arundell perceiving that (and somewhat to qualifie and temper the matter to the Popes cares) began after this manner.

Although to me it is unknowne (saith he) which am both unlettered and ignorant, what is that these Bishops here have said, neither am I in that tongue so able to expresse my mind as they have done: yet being sent and charged thereunto of my Prince, neither can nor ought I but to declare (as well as I may) what the cause is of our sending hither: not (truly) to contend or strive with any person,

nor to offer any injury or harme unto any man (especially in this place) and in the presence here of such an one unto whose becke and authority all the world doth stoope and yeeld. But for this time is our legacy hither directed, to present here before you, and in the presence of the whole Church of Rome, the devotion and love of our King and Master, which ever hee hath had, and yet hath still toward you. And that the same might the better appeare to your excellency, he hath assigned and appointed to the furniture of this legacy, not the least, but the greatest, not the worst, but the best and chiefest of all his subjects; both Archbishops, Bishops, Barles, Barons, with other Potentates more, of such worthinesse and parentage, that if he could have found greater in all his Realme, he would have sent them, both for the reverence of your person, and of the holy Church of Rome. Over and beside this, I might adde more (which your sanctitude hath sufficiently tried and proved already) the true and hearty fidelity of this our King and Sovereigne toward you, who (in his first entrance to his kingdome) wholly submitted himselfe, with all that is his besides, to your will and pleasure. And truly, to testifie of his Majesty how he is disposed to the unity of the catholike Faith: we believe there is none more faithfull in Christ than he, nor more devout to God, nor yet more moderate in keeping the unity of peace whereunto he is called. And as I may be hold this to protest for our King and Master, so neither doe I affirme the Archbishop of Canturbury to be a man destitute or unfurnished with gifts and ornaments in his kind of calling, but to be a man both sage and discreet in such things as to him appertaine, save only that he seemeth to some more quicke and sharp than needeth. This blot alone if it were not, and if the breach betweene our King and him had not so happened, both the regiments together (of the temporality and spirituality) might quietly have flourished one with the other in much peace and concord, both under a Prince so worthy, and a Pastor so vertuous. Wherefore (the case so standing as it doth) our message hither, and our supplication to your vigilant prudence is, that (through your favour and widdome) the necke of this dissension may be broken, and that reformation of unity and love (by some good means) may be sought.

This Oration of his, although it was liked of them for the softnesse and moderation thereof, yet it could not so perswade the Romish Bishop to descend to their sute and request: which sute was, to have two Legats or Arbitrers to be sent from his Popish side into England, to examine and take up the controvertise between the King and the Archbishop. But the Pope, incensed as is said before, would not grant to their petition: for so much as it should be (saith he) prejudiciall and tending to the oppression of the Archbishop to grant unto it, he being not present. And therefore hee willed them to tarry his comming up; otherwise hee being absent, hee would not (he said) in any case proceed against him. But they, alleging againe their time to be expired, appointed unto them of the King, having besides other lets and causes as they alleged, said, that they could not there wait for the comming of Becket, but returned backe, their cause frustrated, without the Popes blessing to the King. Within foure daies after Becket commeth to the Popes Court, where he prostrating himselfe at his feet, brought out of his bosome a scroll containing the customes and ordinances of the King, before mentioned. The Pope receiving the foresaid scroll, and reading it in the open hearing of his Cardinals, condemned and accursed the most part of the said becket's of the King, which hee called Consuetudines avitas, that is, his grandfather's ordinances. Besides this, the Pope moreover blameth Becket, for that he so much yielded to them at

The French King supports Becket against the King of England.

Ambassadors sent to the Pope.

The Pope tells Becket's cause against the King.

Becket complained of the King to the Pope.

The Oration of the Earle of Arundell to the Pope.



Repentance for  
his bad doing.

at the beginning, as hee did: yet notwithstanding (because hee was repentant for his unadvised fact) he was content to absolve him for the same, and the rather, because of his great troubles, which hee for the liberties of holy Church did sustaine, and so with great labour for that day dismissed him.

The next day (Alexander the Pope assembling his Cardinals together in his secret chamber) appeareth before them Archbishop Becket, having this Oration to the Pope and his Popelings, which here I thought to set out in our vulgar English tongue (translated out of Latine) to the intent that the posterity hereafter may understand either the vaine superstition or vile flattery of the Churchmen in those daies, who, being not contented with their own naturall Prince and King given them of God, must seeke further to the Pope; thinking no Ecclesiasticall living to be given, which is not taken at his hands. The words of his Oration be storied rightly thus.

### The Oration of Becket resigning his Bishopricke to the Pope.

Fathers and Lords, I ought not to lie in any place, much lesse before God, and in your presence here. Wherefore, with much sighing and sorrow of heart, I grant and confesse, that these perturbations of the Church of England be raised through my miserable fault. For I entered into the fold of Christ, but not by the doore of Christ; for that, not the canonical election did call me lawfully thereunto, but terrour of public power drove me in. And albeit I against my will tooke this burthen upon me; yet not the Will of God, but mans pleasure placed me in the roome. And therefore no marvell though all things have gone contrary and backward with me. And as for the resigning up againe thereof; if I had so done, and given up to their hands the privilege of my Bishoply authority, which I had granted to me at the commandement of the King (so as my fellow-bishops did instantly call upon me to doe) then had I left a pernicious and dangerous example to the whole Catholike Church. By reason whereof I thought to deferre that unto your presence. And now therefore (recognising with my selfe my ingresse not to be canonical, and therefore fearing it to have the worde end; and againe pondering my strength and ability not to be sufficient for such a charge) lest I should be found to sustaine that roome to the ruine of the flocke, to whom I was appointed a Pastor unworthy: I render up to your fatherly hands the Archbishopricke here of Canturbury, &c. ¶ And so putting off his ring from his finger, and offering it to the Pope, he desired a Bishop for the Church of Canturbury to be provided: seeing he thought not himselfe meet to fulfill the same, and so (with teares, as the story saith) he ended his Oration.

This done, the Archbishop was bid to stand apart. The Pope conferring upon this with his Cardinals, about the resignation of Becket, what was best to be done: Some thought it best to take the occasion offered, thinking thereby the Kings wrath might easily be alluaged, if the Church of Canturbury were assigned to some other person; and yet the said Becket otherwise to be provided for notwithstanding. Contrary, others againe thought otherwise, whose reason was: If hee (which for the liberties of the Church, had ventured not only his goods, dignity and authority, but also his life) should now at the Kings pleasure be deprived; like as it might be a president hereafter to others in resisting their King in like sort, if this cause were maintained; so contrariwise, if it quailed, it should be an example to all others hereafter, none to resist his Prince in the like case. And so might it redound not only to the weakening of the state of the Catholike Church, but also to the derogation of the Popes authority. Lastly, this

sentence at length prebaild: and so Becket receiveth his pastozall office of the Popes hand againe, with commendation and much labour. But for so much as he could not be well placed in England; in the mean while the Pope sendeth him with a monks habit into the Abbey of Pontiniake in France, where he remained two yeeres; from thence he removed to Senon, where he abode five yeeres. So the time of his exile continued seven yeeres in all, &c.

10 Upon this, the King being certified by his Ambassadors of the Popes answer, how his favour inclined more to Becket than to him, was moved (and worthily) with wrathfull displeasure. All he, upon the same sailing from England unto Rome, maner, directed over certain injunctions against the Pope, and the Archbishop of Canturbury, as were recited afore. The contents whersof were declared to be these:

If any person should be found to bring from the Pope, or from the Archbishop of Canturbury, &c.

20 Of these, and such other injunctions, Becket specifies partly in a certaine letter, waiting to a friend of his in this manner:

Thomas Archbishop of Canturbury, to his well beloved friend, &c. Be it knowne to your brotherly goodnesse, that wee, with all ours here (by Gods grace) are safe and in good health. Having a good hope and trust to your faithfull amity, I charge you and require you, that either by the bringer hereof, or by some other, (whom yee know faithfull and trusty to our Church of Canturbury, and to us) you write with all speed what is done. As touching the Kings decrees here set out, these they be: That all havens and ports should be diligently kept, that no letters of the Popes interdict or curse be brought in. And if religious men bring them in, they shall have their feet cut off; if he be a Priest or Clerke, he shall lose his privie members; if he be a lay-man, let him be hanged; if he be a leper, let him be burned. And if any Bishop, for feare of the Popes interdict, will depart; besides his staffe onely in his hand let him have nothing else. Also the Kings will is, that all schollers and students beyond the Seas shall repaire home; or else lose their Benefices. And if they yet shall remaine still, they shall lose the liberty of all returning. Further, if any such Priests shall be found, that for the Popes suspence or interdict will refuse to sing, they shall lose their privie members. In summe, all such Priests as shew themselves rebels to the King, let them be deprived of their Benefices, &c.

Besides these and such like injunctions, it was also set forth by the Kings proclamation, An. 1166. that all manner of persons, both men and women, whosoever were found of the kindred of Thomas Becket, should be exiled, without taking any part of their goods with them, and sent to him where hee was: which was no little vexation to Becket to behold them. Moreover, for so much as he then was lying with Mariane Abbat of Pontiniake, to whom the Pope, as is aforesaid, had commended him, therefor the King writing to the same Abbat, required him not to retain the Archbishop of Canturbury in his house: for if he did, he would drive out of his Realme all the Monks of his order. All hereupon Becket was enforced to remove from thence, and went to Lewis the French king; by whom he was placed at Senon, and there found of him the space of five yeeres as is above mentioned.

In the meane time, messengers went daily with letters betwene the King and the Pope, betwene the Pope againe and him, and so between the Archbishop and others. All herof if the reader (peradventure) shall be desirous to see the copies, I thought here to expresse certaine of them, to satisfie his desire: First beginning with the epistle of Becket, complaining

Becket in banishment seven yeeres.

The Kings decrees.

Anno 1166.

Becket's kindred banished.

These Monks were of the Cistercian order.

Becket complaining of his Prince to the Pope.

Becket's argument: the Pope brought him not in but the King. Ergo, God brought him not in.

And why might ye not (O Becket) resigne it as well to his hands of whom ye tooke it?

A consultation betwene the Pope and the Cardinals about Becket's matter.



ning of his Prince to the Pope, in manner and forme as followeth.

The copie of an Epistle sent of Thomas  
Becket to Pope Alexander.

TO your presence and audience I flie, most holy father, that you, who hath bought the liberty of the Church with your so great danger, might the rather attend to the same (either being the onely or chiefest cause of my persecution) using and following therein the example of you. It grieveth mee that the state of the Church should fall to any decay, and that the liberties thereof should bee infringed through the avarice of Princes. For the which cause I thought to resist betime that inconvenience beginning so to grow. And the more I thought my selfe obliged to the same my Prince (unto whom next under God I am most chiefly bound) the more boldnesse I tooke to me, to withstand his unrightfull attempts; till such as were on the contrary part, my adversaries, prevailed, working my disquietnesse, and incensing him against mee. Whereupon, as the manner is amongst Princes, they raised up against me citations and slanders, to the occasion of my persecution: but I had rather to bee proscribed, then to subscribe. Besides this, I was also called to judgement, and cited before the King to make answer there as a laie person, to secular accounts: whereas they whom I most trusted did most forsake mee. For I saw my fellow brethren the Bishops, through the instigation of some, ready to my condemnation. Whereupon all being set against mee, and I thus oppressed on every side, I tooke my refuge to appeale unto your goodnesse, which casteth off none in their extremities; being readie to make my declaration before you, that I ought neither to bee judged there in that place, nor yet of them. For what were that (father) but to usurpe to themselves your right, and to bring the spiritualtie under the temporalte? Which thing (once begun) may breed an example to many. And therefore so much the more stout I thought to bee in withstanding this matter, how much more prone and proclive I saw the way to hurt, if they might once see us to bee faint and weake in the same. But they will say to mee here againe: Give to Caesar that which belongeth to Caesar, &c. But to answer againe thereunto, albeit wee are bound to obey our King in most things, yet not in such manner of things, whereby hee is made to bee no King: neither were they then things belonging to Caesar, but to a tyrant. Concerning the which points, these Bishops should, not for mee only, but for themselves, have resisted the King. For if the extreme judgement be reserved to him which is able to judge both bodie and soule: is it not then extreme pride for men there to judge, which judge but by themselves? If the cause of the Bishops and of the Clergie, which I maintaine, be right: why be they set against me? why doe they reprehend mee? For if that I appealed to him, before whom either it was not lawfull, or else not expedient for mee to doe: what seeme they by this, but either to blame mee causelesse, or else to distrust your equitie? For mee to be convicted before your holinesse, it had bene a double confusion. Or wherein have I deserved to bee persecuted of them, for whose cause I have set my selfe to stand in their behalfe? And if they had willed, I had prevailed; but it is ill with the head, when he is left of his members and forsaken: as if the eyes should take the tongue to speake against the head. If they had had eyes to have fore-seene the matter, they might understand themselves to speake their owne destruction: and that the Princes did use their helpe but to their owne servitude. And what so great cause of hatred had they against mee, to procure their owne undoing in undoing of mee? So while they neglected spirituall things in stead of temporall, they have lost

them both. What should I speake more of this, that I repugning them and appealing to your audience; yet notwithstanding they durst presume to stand in judgement and condemnation against me, as children against their father? Yea, and not against mee only, but against the universall Church of God, conspiring together with the Prince being with mee offended. And this suspition might also as well pertaine to you holy father. But to this they will say, that they owe their dutie and service unto the King, as their Lord, to whom they are bound upon their allegiance. To whom I answer, that to him they stand bound bodily, to me spiritually. But to whom ought they rather to stand bound, then to themselves? And were it not better to sustaine the losse of corporall, then of spirituall things? But here they will say againe: At this time the Prince was not to be provoked. How subtilly doe these men dispute for their owne bondage? Yea, they themselves provoke him by their owne excesse, ministering wings unto him to fight against them; for hee would have rested, if they had resisted. And when is constancie more to bee required, then in persecution? Be not a mans chiefe friends most tried in persecution? If they give over still, how shall they obtaine the victorie? Sometimes they must needes resist. Condescend not therefore (holy father) to my exile and persecution. And remember, that I also once was a great man, in the time when it was; and now for your sake thus injuriously I am intreated. Use your rigour and restraime them, by whose instigation the name of this persecution began. And let none of these things be imputed to the King, who rather is to be counted the repaire than the author of this businesse.

Besides this Epistle sent unto the Pope, he writeth also another Letter, sent to the King in Latine; the tenor whereof he that is disposed to reade, may peruse in our former edition, with the notes adjoined withall.

Besides which Epistle to the King in Latine, he sent also one or two more to the said King Henry the second, much after the like rate and sort: the one thus beginning: *Loqui de Deo, libera mentis est & valde quiete. Inde est quod loquar ad dominum meum, & utinam ad omnes pacificum, &c.* Which Epistle, for that I would not overcharge the volume of these histories with too much matter superfluous, I thought here to omit. The other he sent afterwards, whereof the words be these.

50 Another Letter of Becket Archbishop of  
Canterbury sent to the King.

TO his Lord and friend Henrie, by the grace of God, King of England, Duke of Normandie and Aquitaine, Earle of Anjou: Thomas by the same grace, humble minister of the Church of Canterbury (sometime his temporally, but now more his in the Lord) health and true repentance with amendment. I have long looked, that the Lord would looke upon you, and that you would convert and repent, departing from your perverse way; and cut off from you your wicked and perverse counsellors, by whose instigation, as it is thought, you are fallen into that deepe, whereof the Psalme speaketh, A sinner when hee commeth to the depth of mischiefs, is without care or feare. And albeit wee have hitherto quietly suffered and borne, considering and earnestly looking if there would any messenger come that would say: Your Sovereigne Lord the King, which now a long time hath erred and bene deceived, and led even to the destruction of the Church, through Gods mercy with abundant humilitie doth now againe make speed for the deliverance of the Church, and to make satisfaction and amendment: Yet notwithstanding, we cease not, day by day, continually to call upon almighty God with most humble devotion: that, that which wee have

If ye meane by  
Carthusian, it is  
such as pertaine  
to the spirituall  
part of man, &  
not to the  
bodily part, but  
such as which  
pertaine to the  
materiall part  
rather are things  
more corporall  
than spirituall  
riches, true friends  
but they cause  
materiall not a  
true perfection

To keepe under  
the power of vice  
is no cause  
efficient to bring  
us a Prince.

A a long



long desired for you and by you, wee may speedily obtaine with abundant effect. And this is one point; that the care of the Church of Canterburie, whereunto God hath presently appointed us. (albeit unworthy) you being King, doth specially constrainee mee (in that as yet wee are detained in exile) to write unto your Majestie letters commonitorie, exhortatorie, and of correction. But I would to God they were fully able to correct, lest that I bee too great a cloker of your outrages (if there be any) as indeed there are: for the which wee are not a little sorry. I meane specially of them which are done by you in every place, about the Church of God and the ecclesiasticall persons, without any reverence either of dignitie or person; and lest also that I appeare negligent to the great danger of my soule: for without doubt hee beareth the offence of him which doth commit any offence, who neglecteth to correct that, which another ought to amend. For it is written, Not onely they which doe commit euill, but also they which consent thereunto are counted partakers of the same. For they verily doe consent, which, when they both might and ought, doe not resist, or at the least reprove. For the error which is not resisted is allowed, and the truth when it is not defended is oppressed: neither doth it lacke a privie note of societie in him, which ceaseth to withstand a manifest mischief. (2) For like as, most noble Prince, a small citie doth not diminish the prerogative of so mightie a kingdome as yours is: so your royal power ought not to oppresse or change the measure of the religious dispensation. For it is provided alwayes by the lawes, that all judgements against priests should proceed by the determination of priests. For whatsoever Bishops they are, albeit that they doe erre as other men doe (not exceeding in any point contrary to the religion of faith) they (3) ought not, nor can in any case bee judged of the secular power. Truly, it is the part of a good and religious Prince to repara the ruinous Churches, to build new, to honour the Priests, and with great reverence to defend them, after the example of the godly Prince of most happy memory (4) Constantinus, which said, when a complaint of the clergie was brought to him, You (said hee) can bee judged by no secular Iudge, which are reserved to the onely judgement of God. And for so much as wee doe reade that the holy Apostles and their successours, appointed by the testimonie of God, commanded that no persecution nor troubles ought to bee made, nor to envie those which labour in the field of the Lord, and that the stewards of the eternall King should not bee expelled and put out of their seates: who then doubteth, but that the priests of Christ ought to be called the fathers and masters of all other faithfull Princes? Is it not a miserable madnessse then, if the sonne should goe about to bring the (5) father under obedience? or the scholler his master? and by (6) wicked bonds to bring him in subjection, by whom hee ought to beleve that hee may bee bound and loosed, not onely in earth, but also in heaven? If you bee a good and a catholike King, and will be such a one as we hope, or rather desire you should bee, (if it bee spoken under your licence) you are the childe of the Church, and not the ruler of the Church. You ought to learne of the priests, and not to teach them; you ought to (7) follow the priests in ecclesiasticall matters, and not to goe before them; having the priviledge of your power given you of God to make publicke lawes, that by his benefit you should not be unthankfull against the dispensation of the heavenly order, and that you should usurpe nothing, but use them with a wholesome disposition.

Wherefore in those things, which, contrary unto that you have, through your malicious counsell rather then by your owne minde, wickedly usurped,

with all humilitie and satisfaction speedily give place, that the hand of the most high bee not stretched out against you; as an arrow against the marke. For the most high hath bended his bow openly to shoote against him, that will not confesse his offences. Bee not ashamed (whatsoever wicked men say unto you, or that traytors doe whisper in your eare) to humble your selfe under the mightie hand of God. For it is hee which exalteth the humble, and throweth downe the proud; which also revengeth himselfe upon Princes: hee is terrible, and who shall resist him? You ought not to have let slip out of your memorie, in what state God did finde you; how hee hath preferred, honoured, and exalted you; blessed you with children, enlarged your kingdome; and established the same in despite of your enemies. In so much that hitherto, in a manner, all men have said with great admiration, that this is hee whom God hath chosen. And how will you reward, or can you reward him for all these things which hee hath done unto you? Will you, at the provocation and instance of those which are about you, that (8) persecute the Church and the Ecclesiasticall ministers, and alwayes have according to their power persecuted them, rendring evill for good, bringing oppressions, tribulations, injuries, and afflictions upon the Church and churchmen, doe the like? Are not these they of whom the Lord speaketh: hee that heareth you, heareth mee; hee that despiseth you, despiseth mee; and hee that toucheth you, toucheth the apple of mine eye? Verily forsaking all that thou hast, take up thy crosse, that thou mayest follow thy God our Lord Iesus Christ. Yet will it scarcely be, or not at all, that thou shalt appeare a thankfull recompencer of the benefits received at his hand. Search the Scriptures with such as are learned, and you shall understand: that (9) Saul, albeit hee was the elect of the Lord, perished with his whole house, because he departed from the wayes of the Lord.

Ozias also King of Iuda, whose name is spoken of and spread over all, through the manifold victories given him of God, his heart was so puffed up to his destruction, because the Lord did helpe and strengthen him in every place, that hee, contemning the feare and reverence of the Lord, would usurpe unto himselfe that which was not his office, that is to say, the priesthood, and to offer incense upon the altar of the Lord; for the which hee was stricken with a leprosie, and cast out of the house of the Lord. Many other Kings and holy men of great substance, because they have walked above their estate in the maners of the world, presuming to rebell against God in his ministeries, have perished: and at the last, they have found nothing of their substance in their power. Also King Achaz, because hee did usurpe the office of priesthood, was likewise stricken with a leprosie by God.

Oza also, albeit hee was not King, yet for so much as hee touched the Arke and held it, when it would have fallen by the unrulinesse of the oxen, which thing pertained not unto him; but unto the ministers of the Church, hee was stricken by the wrath of God and fell downe by the Arke. O King, it is a famous proverbe: that A man, forewarned by another mans misfortune, will take the better heed unto himselfe. For every man hath his owne businesse in hand, when his neighbours house is on fire.

Dearely beloved King, God would have the disposing of those things, which pertaine unto the Church, to belong only unto priests, and not unto the secular power. Doe not challenge unto thy selfe therefore another mans right, neither strive against him by whom all things are ordained; lest thou seeme to strive against his benefits, of whom thou hast received thy power. For by the common (10) lawes, and not by the secular power, and by the Bishops and Priests, almightie God would have



have the Clergie of the Christian religion to bee ordered and ruled. And Christian Kings ought to submit all their doings unto Ecclesiasticall rulers, and not to preferre themselves : for it is written, that none ought to judge the Bishops but onely the Church, neither doth it pertaine unto mans law to give sentence upon any flesh. Christian Princes are accustomed to bee obedient unto the statutes and ordinances of the Church, and not to preferre their owne power. A Prince ought to submit himselfe unto the Bishops, and not to judge the Bishops : for there are two things wherewith the world is chiefly governed ( that is to say ) the sacred authoritie of Bishops, and royall power. (11) In the which, the Bishops charge is so much the more waightie, in that they shall at the later judgement render account even of the Kings themselves. Truly you ought to understand, that you depend upon their judgement, and cannot reduce them unto your owne will : for many Bishops have excommunicated both Kings and Emperours. And if you require an especiall example thereof, Innocentius the Pope did excommunicate Arcadius the Emperour, because hee did consent that John Chrysostome should bee expelled from his seat : and Saint Ambrose also did excommunicate (12) Theodosius the great Emperour for a fault which seemed not so waightie unto other priests) and shut him out of the Church : who afterwards by condigne satisfaction was absolved.

There are many other like examples. For David, when hee had committed adulterie and murther, the Prophet Nathan was sent unto him by God to reprove him, and hee was soone corrected. And the King ( laying aside his Scepter and Diadem, and setting apart all princely majestie ) was not ashamed to humble himselfe before the face of the Prophet, to confesse his fault, and to require forgiveness for his offence. What will you more ? Hee being stricken with repentance asked mercie, and obtained forgiveness. So likewise you ( most beloved King and reverend Lord ) after the example of this good King David, of whom it is said, I have found a man after mine owne heart, with a contrite and humble heart turne to the Lord your God, and take hold of repentance for your transgressions. For you have fallen and erred in many things, which yet I keepe in store still, if ( peradventure ) God shall inspire you to say with the Prophet, Have mercie on me, O God, according to thy great mercie, for I have sinned much against thee, and done ill in thy sight. Thus much I have thought good to write to you my deare Lord at this present, passing other things in silence, till I may see whether my words take place in you, and bring forth fruites worthy of repentance ; and that I may heare and rejoyce with them that shall bring mee word and say ; O King, thy sonne was dead, and is alive againe ; was lost, and is found againe. But if you will not heare me, looke where I was wont

before the majestie of the body of Christ to pray for you in abundance of teares and sighes ; there in the same place I will cry against you, and say ; Rise up Lord and judge my cause, forget not the rebukes and injuries which the King of England doth to thee and thine ; forget not the ignominie of thy Church, which thou hast divided in thy blood. Revenge the blood of thy Saints which is spilt, revenge, O Lord, the afflictions of thy servants of whom there is an infinite number. For the pride of them which hate and persecute thee is gone up so high, that we are not able to beare them any longer. Whatsoever your servants shall doe, all those things shall be required at your hands : for hee seemeth to have done the harme, which hath given the cause thereof. Doubtlesse, the Sonne of the most high, except you amend and cease from the oppressing of the Church and Clergie, and keepe your hand from troubling of them, will come in the rood of his furie, at the voyces of such as cry to him, and at the sighes of them that be in bands ; when the time

shall come for him to judge the unrighteousnesse of men in equitie and severitie of the holy Ghost. For he knoweth how to take away the breath of Princes, and is terrible among Kings of the earth. Your deare and loving grace I wish well to fare. Thus fare yee well againe and ever.

Certaine notes or elenchs upon this Epistle : which by the figures you may finde out, and their places.

1 The scope of this Epistle is this, to prove that Bishops and Priests ought not to come under the covert and controulement of temporall power.

2 This similitude holdeth not. For, though the smallnesse of a citie blemisheth not the prerogative of a kingdome, yet the evillnesse and rebellion of a citie doth woorthily blemish his owne prerogative.

3 So saith the Popes decree, Dist. 10. but the scripture of God importeth otherwise. Abiathar the priest was deposed of king Salomon, not for any heresie, but for other causes, 3. Reg. 12. Jonathan tooke his priesthood of king Alexander : and Simon of Demetrius, 1. Macch. 7. Christ offered tribute to Cesar for him and for Peter. Also Peter saith, We be subject to every humane creature ; and it followeth, whether it be to the kings as to the chiefe, &c. Item Pope Leo submitted himselfe to Ludovicus the Emperour with these words : And if wee doe any thing incompetently, and doe swerve from the path of righteousness, wee will stand to your reformation, or of them whom you shall send, *Quart. 2. Hist. 7.*

4 Notwithstanding, the said Constantinus, writing to the Bishops congregated at Nizus, first chideth them, then commandeth them to resort unto his presence, to have their cause judged and decided. *Trip. hist. lib. 3. cap. 7.*

5 The father under obedience, &c. If fatherhood goe by age, I suppose that king Henrie was elder then Becket. If fatherhood consist in authoritie, I judge the authoritie of a king to be above the authoritie of an Archbishop. If the Sea of Canterbury make the fatherhood, yet had Becket no cause to claime fatherhood over the king, seeing the sonne ordained the father (that is) seeing the king made him his Archbishop, and he made not him his king.

6 By wicked bonds. All is wicked with the papists, that bringeth them in subjection to their Princes.

7 Ecclesiasticall matters be such, as properly belong to doctrine and divine knowledge, for the institution of the soule, and information of conscience. In which both princes and subjects ought to follow the Pastor, so long as they goe truly before them without error, or else not. But what maketh this for the lands and liberties of Churchmen ?

8 Punishment due to malefactors and rebels is not to be called persecution, but due correction.

9 Saul brake the commandement of God and was rejected. Ahas contrary to the commandement of God tooke the office of a priest, and was stricken. Aza against the expresse word of the law put his hand to the Arke, and was punished. But what expresse word had King Henry, why he should not correct and punish rebellious Bishops, and wicked priests within his owne realme : wherefore these similitudes accord not. As for Ahas, hee was not so much punished for taking the priests office, as for spoiling the Temple of the Lord, and offering to idols.

10 Common lawes. S. Austin writing to Boniface saith thus : Whosoever obeyeth not the lawes of the Emperour, being made for the veritie of God, procureth to himselfe great punishment. For in the time of the Prophets, all the Kings which



did not forbid and subvert all such things as were used of the people against the law of God, are rebuked. And such as did withstand them, are commended above the rest. August.

11 **Alidorus hath these words:** Let temporall Princes know that they must render account to God for the Church, which they have at the hands of God to governe, &c.

12 **The case of Arcadius, Theodosius, Dami,** and of this King, as touching this matter, hath no similitude. In them was murther: this King doth nothing but claime that which is his due. And though by the spirituall sword those Kings were resisted: yet it agreeth not therefore, that the persons of them which haue the use of the spirituall sword are aboute the persons of them which haue the temporall sword.

Besides these letters of the Archbishop sent to the King, the Pope also in the same cause writeth to the King, beginning after this sort: Alexander papa ad Henricum regem. Et naturali ratione, & forma juris distante, providentiam tuam credimus edoctam fuisse, quod quanto quis ab aliquo maiora suscepisse dignoscitur, tanto ei obnoxior, & magis obligatus tenetur, &c. The whole tenor of the letter as he wrote it to the King I would here expresse, but for protracting of the time and straitnesse of roome, hauing so many things else in this story (by the grace of Christ) to be comprehended. But the Letter tendeth to this effect: to exhort and charge the King to shew favour to Thomas Becket. Where, in the proesse of the Epistle, it followeth in these words: Ea propter severitatem tuam per apostolica scripta rogamus, monemus, & exhortamur in Domino; necnon in remissione peccatorum ex parte Dei omnipotentis, & beati Petri principis apostolorum, autoritate nostra injungimus, ut memoratum archiepiscopum pro Deo & ecclesia sua, & honore tuo, necnon & totius regni tui, in gratiam & favorem tuum recipias, &c. That is, Therefore wee doe desire, monish, and exhort your honor by these our apostolicall writings, and also injoyne you upon the remission of your sinnes, in the behalfe of almightie God, and of S. Peter, prince of the Apostles, by our authoritie, that you will receive againe the foresaid Archbishop into your favour and grace, for the honour of God, his Church, and of your owne realme, &c. Thus haue you heard the Popes intreating Letter. Now here is another Letter sent unto the foresaid King, wherein he doth menace him, as in the tenour thereof here followeth.

Bishop Alexander, servant of the servants of God,  
to King Henrie, king of England, health and  
blessing Apostolicall.

**H**ow fatherly and gently wee have oft-times intreated and exhorted both by Legats and Letters your princely honour, to be reconciled againe with our reverend brother Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury, so that hee and his may bee restored againe to their Churches and other possessions to them appertaining, your wisdom is not ignorant, seeing it is notified and spread almost throughout all Christendome. For so much therefore as hitherto we could not prevail with you, neither move nor stirre your minde with faire and gentle words, it lamenteth us not a little, so to bee frustrate and deceived of the hope and expectation which wee had conceived of you. Especially seeing we love you so dearly, as our owne dearely beloved sonne in the Lord, and understand so great jeopardy to hang over you.

But for so much as it is written, Crie out and cease not, lift up thy voyce like a trumpet, and declare to my people their wickednesse, and their sinnes to the house

of Jacob; Also for so much as it is in Solomon commanded, that the sluggish person should bee stoned with the dung of oxen: wee have thought good therefore, not to forbear or support your stubbornnesse any longer against justice and saluation. Neither that the mouth of the foresaid Archbishop should bee stopped from henceforth any more; but that hee may freely prosecute the charge of his office and dutie, and revenge with the sword of Ecclesiasticall discipline, the injuries both of himselfe, and of his Church committed to his charge.

And here I have sent unto you two Legats, Petrus de ponte Dei, and Bernardus de Corilio, to admonish you of the same. But if yee will neither by us bee advertised, nor give eare unto them in obeying: it is to be feared (doubtlesse) lest such things as they shall declare to you from us in our behalfe may happen and fall upon you. Dated at Benevent, the ninth day before the kalends of June.

To answer these Letters againe, there was another certaine writing drawne out and directed to the Pope, made by some of the Clergie, as it seemeth: but not without consent of the King, as by the title may appeare, inueyning and disposing the misbehaviour of the Archbishop. The tenour wherof here followeth, and beginneth thus:

### An answer to the Pope.

**T**ime now requireth more to seeke helpe then to make complaints. For so it is now, that the holy mother church (our sinnes deserting the same) lieth in a dangerous case of great decay, which is like to insue, except the present mercy of the Lord support her.

Such is the wickednesse now of schismatickes, that the father of fathers Pope Alexander (for the defence of his faith, and for the love of righteousnesse) is banished out of his countrey: not able to keepe free residence in his owne proper Sea, by reason of the indurate heart of Frederike the Pharaiah.

Further and besides, the Church also of Canterbury is miserably impaired and blemished, as well in the spirituall as in the temporall estate: much like to the ship in the sea, being destitute of her guide to led in the floods, and wrestling with the windes, while the pastor being absent from his portance, dare not there remaine through the power of the King. Who being overwise (to the jeopardy of himselfe, his Church, and us also) hath brought and intangled us likewise with himselfe in the same partaking of his punishments and labours, not considering how we ought to forbear, and not to resist superiour powers. And also he sheweth himselfe to be unkind which with all our affections beare the burthen with him of his afflictions, not ceasing yet to persecute us which stand in the same condemnation with him. For, betwixt him and our soueraign prince, the king of England, arose a certaine matter of contention, whereupon they were both agreed, that a day should be appointed, to haue the controvercie discussed by equitie and justice.

The day being come, the King commanded all the Archbishops, bishops, and other prelates of the church to be called in a great solemne frequence: so that the greater and more generall this Councell was, the more manifest the defection of this stubbornne malice should appeare and be espied.

At the day therefore above mentioned this trouble of the realme and of the church presenteth himselfe in the sight of our catholike King: who, not trusting the qualitie and condition of his cause, armeth him with the armour of the crosse, as one which should be brought to the presence of a tyrant. By reason whereof, the Kings maiestie being somewhat agrieved (yet because he would bee deliuered from

Answer to the Popes Letter  
Frederike hath  
ly compared to  
Pharaah, but  
this was to  
claw the Pope  
withall.



all suspicion) committeth the matter to the hearing of the Bishops. This done, it rested in the Bishops to decide and cease this contention, and to set agreement betwene them, removing all occasion of dissension. Which thing they going about, this foresaid Archbishop commeth in, forbidding and commanding, that no man proceed in any sentence of him before the King.

This being signified to the Kings hearing, his minde was grievously provoked thereby to anger: whose anger yet notwithstanding had bene easily allwaged, if the other would have submitted himselfe, and acknowledged his default. But he adding stubbornnesse to his trespasses, through the quantitie and greatnesse of his erreille was the author of his owne punishment, which now by the law civill he susteineth, and yet shameth to craue pardon for his desert at the Kings hand; whose anger he feared not to stirre up, in such a troublesome time of the persecution of the church, greatly against the profit of the same, augmenting and increasing thereby the persecution which now the Church lyeth under. Much better it had ben for him to have tempered himselfe with the bydle of moderation, in the highest estate of his dignitie, lest in exceeding too farre in straining the strict points of things by overmuch presumption, peradventure through his presumption, being not in meane and tolerable things, he might fall from higher. And if the detriments of the Church would not moue him: yet the great benefits and preferments of riches and honours ought to perswade him, not to bee so stubbornne against the King. But here peradventure his friend and our adversary will object, that his bearing and submitting to the king in this behalfe were prejudiciall against the authoritie and See apostolicall. As though hee did not or might not understand, that although the dignitie of the church should suffer a little detriment in that judgement: yet he might and ought to have dissembled (for the time) to obtaine peace unto the Church. He will object againe, alledging the name of father, that it soundeth like a point of arrogancy, for children to proceed in judgement of condemnation against the father; which thing is not convenient. But he must understand againe, that it was necessary that the obedience and humility of the children should temper the pride of the father; lest afterward, the hatred of the father might redound upon the children. Wherefore by these premises your adversary may understand, that the action of this our adversary ought to fall downe, as voyde, and of none effect, who onely upon the affection of malice hath proceeded thus against vs, having no iust cause nor reason to ground upon.

And for so much as the care and charge of all churches (as ye know) lyeth upon vs, it standeth vs upon, to provide concerning the state of the Church of Canterbury, by our diligence and circumspection: so that the said Church of Canterbury, by the erreille of his pastore, be not driven to ruine or decay.

By this epistle it may appeare to the reader thereof, that Becket (being absent from England) went about to worke some trouble against certaine of the clergie and the laitie (belike) in excommunicating such as he tooke to be his euill willers.

Now to understand further what his working was, or who they were whom he did excommunicate, this letter, sent to William Bishop of Norwich, shall better declare the matter.

### A letter of Becket to the Bishop of Norwich.

He bindeth himselfe to the penaltie of the crime, whosoever receiving power and authoritie of God, useth and exerciseth not the same with due severitie, in punishing vice: but winking and dissembling, doth minister boldnesse to wicked doers,

maintaining them in their sinne. For the bloud of the wicked is required at the hand of the Priest, which is negligent or dissembling. And as the Scripture saith, Thornes and brambles grow in the hands of the idle drunkard. Wherefore, lest (through our too much sufferance and dissembling) the transgressions of manifest evill doers should also be laid to our charge, and redound to the destruction of the Church through our guiltie silence; we therefore following the authoritie of the Popes commandement, have laid our sentence of curse and excommunication upon the Earle Hugo: commanding you throughout all your diocese publicly to denounce the said Earle as accursed, so that, according to the discipline of the Church, hee be sequestred from the fellowship of all faithfull people. Also, it is not unknowne to your brotherhood, how long wee have borne with the transgressions of the Bishop of London; who, amongst other his facts, I would to God were not a great doer, and fauour of this schisme, and subverter of the rites and liberties of holy Church. Wherefore wee, being supported with the authoritie of the Apostolike See, have also excommunicated him; besides also the Bishop of Salisbury, because of his disobedience and contempt: and others likewise, upon divers and sundrie causes, whose names here follow subscribed: Hugo Bernards sonne, Rodulph of Brock, Robert of Brock a clerke, Hugo de S. Cleare, and Letardus a clerke of Norfolk, Nigelus of Scacavill, and Richard Chapleine, William of hasting, and the Frier which possesseth my Church of Monchot. Wee therefore charge and command you by the Authoritie Apostolicall and ours, and in the vertue of obedience, and in the perill of salvation, and of your order; that ye cause these openly to bee proclaimed excommunicate, throughout all your Diocese, and to command all the faithfull to avoide their company. Fare yee well in the Lord. Let not your heart bee troubled, nor feare: for wee stand sure through the assistance of the Apostolike See, God being our borow against the pretended shifts of the malignant sort, and against all their appellations. Furthermore, all such as have bene solemnely cited of us shall sustaine the like sentence of excommunication, if God will, on the ascension day: unless they shall otherwise agree with me. That is to wit, Gefrey Archdeacon of Canterbury, and Robert his vicar, Rice of Wilcester, Richard of Lucie, William Gifford, Adam of Cherings, with such others more: which either at the commandement of the King, or upon their owne proper temeritie, have invaded the goods and possessions either appertaining to us, or to our clerkes about us. With these also wee doe excommunicate all such as be knowne, either with aide or counsell, to have incited or set forward the proceeding of our King against the liberties of the Church, and exiling of the innocents. And such also as bee knowne to impeach or let by any manner of way the messengers (sent either from the Pope, or from us) for the necessities of the Church. Fare you well againe and ever.

Hitherto hast thou scene (gentle reader) divers and sundry letters of Thomas Becket, whereby thou maist collect a sufficient historie of his doings and demeanour, though nothing else were said further of him, concerning his lustre and haughtie behaviour, about that which befamed either his degree or cause which he tooke in hand. And here peradventure I may seeme in the storie of this one man to tarrie too long, having to write of so many others better then it: yet for the weaker sort, which have counted him, and yet doe count him for a saint, having in themselves little understanding to judge or discern in the causes of men, I thought to adde this letter more, wherein he complaineth of his king to a foreyn power, doing what in him did lie, to stirre for

The Bishop of London excommunicate. This Hugo was excommunicated because he set in the Deane of Saltsburie without the licence of him, being then beyond the seas.

Becket a subtle and treacherous man, who no martyr.

A letter of Becket to the Bishop of Norwich.



his owne cause mortall warre to the destruction of many. For suppose wrong had bene offered him of his prince, was it not enough for him to die? What cause had he for his owne private reuenge, to let potentates in publike discord? Now hauing no iust cause, but rather offering iniurie in a false quarell, so to complaine of his prince; what is to be said of this, let every man iudge which best this letter.

An epistle of Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury to Pope Alexander.

*A Mantissimo patri & D. Alexandro, Dei gratia summo ponti. Thomas Cant. ecclesie humilis minister, debitam & deuotam obedientiam, &c.*

In English thus.

A lechious complaint of Becket to the Pope against his King.

To our most loving Father and Lord, Alexander by the grace of God Bishop, Thomas the humble minister and servant of the Church of Canterbury due and reverend obedience. Long enough and too long most loving father have I forborne, still looking after the amendment of the King of England, but no fruit have I reaped of this my long patience: nay rather, whilest that unwisely I doe thus forbear, I augment and procure the detriment and diminishing of mine authoritie, as also of the Church of God. For oftentimes have I by devout and religious messengers invited him to make condigne satisfaction, as also by my Letters (the copies whereof I have sent you) intimated and pronounced Gods severitie and vengeance against him, unlesse he repent and amend. But hee (that notwithstanding) groweth from evill to worse, oppressing and conculcating the Church and sanctuary of God; persecuting both mee and those which take part with mee: in so much that with fearefull threatening words his purpose is to terrifie such, as (for Gods cause and mine owne) seeke any way to relieve and helpe mee. Hee wrote also Letters unto the Abbat of the Cistercian order, that as hee favoured the Abbacie of that his order (which was in his power, said hee) hee would not accept mee into the fellowship thereof, nor doe any thing else for mee. What should I use many words? So much hath the rigour and severitie as well of the King as of his Officers, under our patience and sufferance, shewed it selfe; that if a great number of men, yea, and that of the most religious sort, should shew unto you the matter as it is indeed (and that upon their oath taken) I partly doubt whether your holiness would give credit unto them or not. With heaviness of minde therefore I considering these things, and beholding as well the perill of the King as of our selfe, have publicly condemned not onely those pernicious customes, but all those perversities and wicked doings whereby the Church of England is disturbed and brought to confusion; as also the writing whereby they were confirmed; excommunicating generally as well the observers and exactors thereof, as also the inventors and patrons of the same, with their favourers, counsellours, and coadjutors whatsoever, either of the Clergie or Laity, absolving also our Bishops from their oath, whereby they were to strictly injoynted to the observation of the same. These are the articles which in that writing I have principally condemned. First, that it is inhibited to appeale unto the Sea Apostolicke for any cause, but by the Kings licence. That a Bishop may not punish any man for perjurie, or for breaking of his troth. That a Bishop may not excommunicate any man that holdeth of the King *In capite*. or else interdict either their lands or offices without the Kings licence. That clerkes and religious men may be taken from us to secular judgement. That the King or any other iudge may heare and decide the causes of the Church and rites. That it shall not be lawfull for any Archbishop or Bishop to goe out of the Realme, and to come at the Popes call without the Kings licence; and divers others such as these. Namely al-

so I have excommunicated Iohn of Oxeфорд, who hath communicated with the schismaticke and excommunicate person (Reginald Coloniensis) the which also, contrary to the commandement of the lord Pope and ours, hath usurped the deany of the Church of Salisbury, and hath (to renew his schisme) taken an oath in the Emperours court. Also I have denounced and excommunicated Richard of Worcester, because he is fallen into the same damnable heresie, and communicated with that famous schismaticke of Cullen; devising and forging all mischiefes possible, with the schismaticke and Flemings, to the destruction of the Church of God, and especially of the Church of Rome, by composition made by the King of England and them. Also Richard de Lucy, and Joceline de Bailleol, which have furthered the favourers of the Kings tyrannie and workers of their heresies. Also Ranulph de Broc, and Hugo de Sancto Claro, and Thomas the sonne of Bernard, which have usurped the possessions and goods of the Church of Canterbury without our licence and consent. Wee have also excommunicated all those, which without our licence doe stretch out their hands to the possessions and goods of the Church of Canterbury. The King himselfe we have not yet excommunicated personally, still waiting for his amendment: whom (notwithstanding) wee will not deferre to excommunicate, unlesse hee quickly amend, and bee warned by that hee hath done. And therefore that the authority of the Sea apostolicke, and the libertie of the Church of God, which in these parts are almost utterly lost, may be by some meanes restored, it is meet and very necessary that what we have herein done, the same bee of your holiness ratified, and by your letters confirmed. Thus I wish your holiness long to prosper and flourish.

By this Epistle, he that listeth to understand of the doings and quarrels of Becket, may partly iudge what is to be thought thereof. Which his doings although in some part they may bee imputed either to ignorance of munde, or blindness of zeale, or humane fragilitie; yet in this point, so bely to complaine of his naturall prince, for the zeale of the Pope, he can by no wise be defended. But such was the blindness then of the prelates in those dayes, who measured and esteemed the dignitie and liberties of Christs church by no other thing, then onely by goods and possessions flowing and abounding in the clergie; and thought no greater point of religion to be in the Church, then to maintaine the same. For the which cause they did most abominably abuse christi-an discipline and excommunication of the church at that time; as by this foresaid Epistle may appeare. And what marvell if the acts and doings of this archbishop seeme now to be in these dayes both fond and strange: seeing the suffragans of his owne Church and clergy, writing to him, could not but reprehend him, as in this their Epistle translated out of Latine into English may be seene.

Becket reprehended for complaining of his King

Excommunication abused in private reuenge about lands and possessions.

An effectuell and pithy Letter, full of reason and perswasion, sent from all the suffragans of the church of Canterbury to Thomas Becket, Their Archbishop.

*Quia vestro (pater) in longinquo discessu inspirata rei ipsius novitate turbata sunt; vestra sperabamus humilitate, &c.*

In English thus:

Such troubles and perturbations as happened through the strangeness of your departure out of the Realme, wee hoped by your humilitie and prudence should have bene reduced againe (Gods grace working withall) into a peaceable tranquillitie. And it was no little joy to us, to heare so of you in those parts where you are conversant, how humbly you there behaved your selfe, nothing vaunting your selfe against

The letters of the Bishops to Becket.

Godly articles condemned by Becket.

1  
2  
3  
4  
5  
6



against your Prince and King, and that you attempt no risings or wrestlings against his kingdom, but that you beare with much patience the burthen of povertie, and gave your selfe to reading and prayer, and to redeeme the losse of your time spent, with fasting, watchings, and teares; and so, being occupied with spirituall studies, to tend and rise up to the perfection of vertue, &c. But now, through the secret relation of certaine, wee heare (that we are forry of) that you have lent unto him a threatning letter, wherein there is no salutation premised. In the which also yee pretend no intreating nor prayers for the obtaining of favour; neither doe use any friendly manner in declaring what you write; but menacing with much austeritie, threaten to interdict him, and to cut him from the societie of the Church. Which thing if you shall accomplish with like severitie, as in words yee threaten to doe, you shall not only put us out of all hope of any peace, but also put us in feare of hatred and discord without measure, and without all redresse amongst us. But wisdom will consider before the end of things; labouring, and endeavouring to finish that which shee wisely beginneth. Therefore your discretion shall doe well diligently to forecast and consider whereto yee tend; what end may ensue thereof, and whereabout yee goe. Certes we (for our parts) hearing that wee doe heare, are discouraged from that wee hoped for, which, before having some good comfort of tranquillitie to come, are cast from hope to despaire: so that while one is drawne thus against another, almost there is no hope nor place left to make intreaty or supplication. Wherefore writing to your fatherhood, we exhort and counsell you by way of charitie, that you adde not trouble to trouble, and heape injurie upon injurie: but that you so behave your selfe, that all menaces set aside, ye rather give your selfe to patience and humility, and to yeeld your cause to the clemency of God, and to the mercy of your Prince; and in so doing you shall heape coles of charity upon the heads of many. Thus charity shall bee kindled, and that which menacings cannot doe (by Gods helpe and good mens counsell) pitie peradventure and godlinesse shall obtaine. Better it were to sustaine povertie with praise, then in great promotions to bee a common note to all men. It is right well knowne unto all men, how beneficiall the King hath bene unto you, from what basenesse to what dignitie hee hath advanced you, and also into his owne familiaritie hath so much preferred you, that from the North Ocean to the mount Perineus hee hath subdued all things to your authority: in so much that they were amongst all other accounted for men right fortunate, whosoever could find any favour with you.

And furthermore, lest that your estimation should bee overmatched by any nobilitie, hee (against the minde of his Mother, and of his Realme) hath placed and ratified you substantially in Ecclesiasticall dignitie, and advanced you to this honour wherein yee stand: trusting through your helpe and counsell to raigne more safely and prosperously. Now, if hee shall finde disquietnesse, wherein hee trusted to have quietnesse; what shall all men say or thinke of you? What recompence or retribution shall this bee thought to be for so many and great benefits taken? Therefore (if it shall please you) yee shall doe well to favour and spare your fame and estimation, and to overcome your Lord and Sovereigne with humilitie and charitie. Whereunto if our advertisement cannot move you; yet the love and fidelitie you beare to the Bishop and holy Church of Rome ought to incline you thereunto, and not to attempt any such thing, whereby the troubles of the Church our mother may increase, or whereby her dolour may be augmented in the losse of them, whose disobedience now shee doth bewaile. For what if it so happen through provocation, that the King (whom all his subjects and kingdomes obey) should relinquish

the Pope, which God forbid: and should denie all obedience to him, as hee denieth to the King helpe or aide against you? what inconvenience would grow thereof? And thinke you, hee hath not great instigations, supplications, gifts, and many faire promises so to doe? Yet hee (notwithstanding) abideth firme hitherto in the rocke, despising with a valiant minde all that the world can offer. This one thing feareth us, lest his mind (whom no worldly offers can assaile, no glory, riches, nor treasure can overturne) onely through indignation of unkindnesse be subverted. Which thing if it chance to happen through you, then may you sit downe and sing the song of the lamentation of Jeremy; and weepe your belly full.

Consider therefore, if it please you, and foresee well with your selfe, this purpose of yours, if it proceed, how hurtfull and perillous it will be: not only to the Pope, and to the holy Church of Rome, but also to your selfe most especially. But some peradventure about you, of haughtie and high minded stoutnesse, more stout percase then wise, will not suffer you to take this way, but will give you contrary counsell, to prove rather and declare what ye are able to doe against your Lord and Prince, and to practise against him and all his the uttermost of your power and authoritie; which power and authoritie of yours, to him that offendeth, is fearefull; and to him that will not amend, terrible. Such counsell as this, some peradventure will whisper in your eare. But to these againe this wee say and answer for our King; whom notwithstanding to be without fault wee doe not as firme: but yet alwayes, that he is ready to amend and make satisfaction, that we speake confidently and protest in his behalfe.

The King, appointed for the Lords annointed, provideth for the peace of his subjects all that he is able: and therefore to the intent hee may conserve this peace in his Churches and amongst his subjects committed to him, hee willet and requireth such ordinances due to Kings, and exhibited to them before time, also to be exhibited to him. Wherein if there hath any contradiction sprung betwixt him and us, hee being thereupon convented, and admonished from the Pope by the reverend Bishops of London and Hereford, brast not out into any defiance: but meekly and humbly answered, that whereinsoever the Church or any ecclesiasticall person can shew himselfe grieved, he would therein stand to the judgement of the Church of his kingdom. Which also he is ready no lesse to performe indeed, thinking nothing more sweet unto him then to bee admonished of his fault, if hee have offended the Lord, and to reforme the same; and not onely to reforme and amend his fault, but also to satisfie it to the uttermost, if the law shall so require him. Wherefore, seeing hee is so willing to recompence and satisfie the judgement of the Church in all things appertaining to the Church; refusing no order that shall be taken, but in all things submitting his necke to the yoke of Christ: with what right, by what canon or reason can you interdict him, or use excommunication against him? It is a thing laudable and a vertue of great commendation in wise men, wisely to goe with judgement and reason, and not to bee carried with pufes of hastie violence. Whereupon this is the onely and common petition of us all, that your fatherly care will diligently provide for your flocke and sheepe committed to you; so that they miscarry not, or runne to any ruine through any inconsiderate or too much headie counsell in you: but rather, through your softnesse and sufferance, they may obtaine life, peace and securitie. It doth move us all, that we heare of late to be done by you against the Bishop of Salisburie, and the Deane of the same Church, prosperously, as some men suppose; against whom you have given out the sentence of excommunication and condemnation, before any question of their crime was; following therein, as seemeth

The commendation of King Henry the second, for his meeknesse and moderation.



more the heat of hastinesse then the path of righteoufnesse. This is a new order of judgement, unheard of yet to this day in our Lawes and Canons, first to condemne a man, and after to inquire of the fact committed. Which order lest you should hereafter attempt to exercise in like manner against our soveraigne and King, or against us and our Churches, and parishes committed to us, to the detriment of the Pope, and the holy Church of Rome, and to the no little confusion of us all: therefore we lay here against you, for our selves, the remedy of appellation. And as before, openly in the publike face of the Church with lively voyce wee appealed to the Pope for certaine perils that might have happened: so now againe in writing wee appeale to the same, assigning the terme of our appellation the day of the Lords ascension. Most humbly and reverently beseeching your goodnesse, that you, taking a better way with you in this matter, will let your cause fall, sparing herein both the labours and charges, as well of your selfe, as ours also. And thus we wish you right well to fare, reverend in the Lord.

**The rescript or answer againe of Thomas Becket to all his suffragans, not obeying but confuting their counsell sent.**

**F**raternitatis vestra scriptum (quod tamen prudentia vestra communi consilio non facile credimus emanasse) nuper ex insperato suscepimus, &c.

Your brotherly letters sent, albeit not by the whole assent of your wisdomes written, as I suppose, of late I received upon a sudden, the contents whereof seeme to containe moze sharpe than solace. And would to God they proceeded moze of sincere zeale of goodnesse or affection of charity, then of disobedience or froward wilfulnesse. For charity seeketh not the things that be her owne, but which appertaine to Iesus Christ. It had bene your dutie (if there be truth in the gospel, as most undoubtedly there is) and if you would faithfully haue accomplished his businesse whole person you represent, rather to haue feared him, which can cast both body and soule to hell; then him whose power extendeth no further then to the body; rather to haue obeyed God then man, rather your father then your master or lord, after the example of him who was to his father obedient unto the death, which died for vs, leaving vs example to follow his steps. Let vs die therefore with him, and lay down our liues for the deliuerance of his Church out of the yoke of bondage, and tribulation of the oppressor. Which Church he hath founded, and whose libertie he hath procured with his owne proper blood: lest if we shall doe otherwise, it may happily fall upon vs which is written in the Gospel, Who so loueth his owne life more then me, is not worthy of me. This yee ought to know, that if it be right which your capitaine commandeth, your duty requireth to obey his will; if not, yee ought then rather to obey God then men.

One thing I will say (if I may be so bold to tell it unto you) I haue now suffered and obtained a long space, waiting if the Lord had giuen you to take a better heart vnto you, which haue turned cowardly your backs in the day of battell; or if any of you would haue returned againe to stand like a wall for the house of Israel; at least if he had but shewed himselfe in the field, making but the countenance of a warrior against them, which cease not daily to infect the lambe of God, I waited, and none came; I suffered, and none rose up; I held my peace, and none would speake; I dissembled, and none would stand with me in like semblance: wherefore seeing I see no better forwardnesse in you, this remaineth onely, to enter action of complaint against you, and to cry against mine enemies; Rise ye up O Lord, and iudge my cause, reuenge the blood

of the church which is waisted & oppressed. The pride of them which hate his liberty riseth vp neuer, neither is there any that doth good, no not one. Would God, brethren beloved, there were in you any mind or affection to defend the liberty of the church: for she is builded vpon a sure rocke, that although she be shaken, yet she cannot be ouerthrowne. And why then seeke ye to confound me? Say rather your selues in me, then me in you: A man which hath taken vpon me all the perill, haue sustained all the rebukes, haue sustained all the injuries, haue suffered also for you all, to very banishment.

And so it was expedient, one to suffer for that church, that thereby it might be released out of seruitude. These things discourse you simply with your selues, and weigh the matter. Attend I say diligently in your mindes for your parts, that God for his part removing from your eyes all maiestie of rule and imperie, as he is no acceptor of persons, may take from your hearts the baile, that ye may understand and see what ye haue done, what ye intend to doe, and what ye ought to doe. Tell me which of you all can say, I haue taken from him, since the time of my promotion, either ore or asse. If I haue defrauded him of any perry, if I haue misjudged the cause of any man wrongfully, or if by the detriment of any person I haue sought mine owne gaine, let him complaine, and I will restore him fourefold. And if I haue not offended you, what then is the cause that ye thus leaue and forsake me in the cause of God? Why bend ye so your selues against me in such a cause, that there is none moze speciall belonging to the church?

Brethren, seeke not to confound your selues and the church of God (so much as in you is) but turne to me, and you shall be safe. For the Lord saith, I will not the death of a sinner, but rather he should conuert and liue. Stand with me manfully in the war, take your armor, and your shield to defend me. Take the sword of the word of the mighty God, that wee altogether may withstand moze valiantly the malignant enemies, such as goe about to take away the soule of the church, which is her libertie: without which libertie she hath no power against them that seeke to inuade to their inheritance, the possession of Gods sanctuarie. If ye will heare and follow me, know ye that the Lord will be with you, and with vs all in the defence of the liberty of his Church. Otherwise if ye will not, the Lord iudge betwixt mee and you, and require the confusion of his Church at your hands. Which church, whether the world will or no, standeth firmly in the word of the Lord, whereupon she is builded, and euer shall, till the houre come that shee shall passe from this world to the father; for the Lord euer doth support her with his hand.

Wherefore to returne to the matter: Brethren remember well with your selues (which thing yee ought not to forget) what danger I was brought vnto, and the Church of God also while I was in England, at my departing out of England, and after my departure from thence also; in what danger it standeth at this present day, but especially at that time, when as at Northampton Christ was iudged againe in my person, before the judgement seat of the high president. Who euer heard the Archbishop of Canterbury (being troubled for injuries done to him and to his church, and appealing to the Pope of Rome) to be iudged, condemned, appealed, and put to his iuries, and that of his owne suffragans? Where is this lawe, or the authoritie (nay rather perueritie) of this canon heard of? And why yet blame ye not at this your enmitie? Why are ye not confounded? Why doth not this confusion worke in you repentance, and repentance bring you to due satisfaction before God and men? For these and such other injuries done to God and to his church, and to me for Gods sake (which with a good

The Church of Christ cannot be overthrowne. Ergo, Becket ought not to be resisted.

Seruitude and liberty of the church wrongfully desired. The words of holy Scripture clearly apply.

Turne to me? Say mine thou to the Lord and thou shalt be saved.

The soule of the church is the libertie of the church, saith Becket.

Scriptures in words rightly alleged, but badly applied.

I denie your minor pp. 282.

Understanding words of high presumption. Christ is not iudged in the person of any traitor.

conscience



Conscience made where it was.

For he leaueh out here the manner of his coming to the court, and the humilitie of his behauior.

conscience I ought to suffer, because that without danger of soule I ought not to dissemble them) I chuse rather to absent my selfe for a season, and to dwell quietly in the house of my Lord, then in the tabernacle of sinners, untill the time that (their iniquitie being complicate) the hearts of the wicked, and the cogitations of the same shall be opened. And these injuries were the cause both of my appeale from the King, and of my departure from thence, which ye do terme to be sudden. But if ye will speake the truth which ye know, it ought no lesse then to be sudden: lest (being foreknown) it might haue been prevented and stopped. And as God turned the matter, it happened for the best, both for the honour of the King, and better safety of them, which (seeking my harme) should haue brought slander to the King. If such troubles followed upon my departing as ye say, let them be imputed to him which gaue cause, the fault is in the worker, not in the departer; in him that pursueth, not in him that auoideth injuries. What would ye more? I presented my selfe to the Court, declaring both the causes of my coming and of my appeale, declaring also the wrongs and injuries done to me and to my Church, and yet could haue no answer: neither was there any that laid any thing against me, before we came to the King. Thus while we stood waiting in the Court, whether any would come against me or not, they sent to my officials; charging them not to obey me in my temporalities, nor to owe any seruice to me or to any of mine. After my appellation made in the Court, my Church was spoiled: we and they about vs depriued of our goods, outlawed both of the Clergy and of the laitie, men, women, and infants; the goods of the Church, that is, the patrimony of the crucifix, consecrate, and part of the money turned to the kings use, part to your owne coffers. Brother Bishop of London, if this be true that ye heare of you, and that to the use of your owne Church ye conuert this money, we charge you and require you forthwith by vertue of obedience, that within forty dayes after the sight of these letters, all delay and excuse let aside, ye restore againe within the time aforesaid, all such goods and parcels as you haue taken away: for it is contrary and contrary to all law, one Church to be enriched with the spoyle of another Church. If ye stand upon the authority that let you a worke, you must vnderstand, that in matters concerning the church goods, he can giue no lawfull authority, which committeth violent injury.

What authority and what Scripture giueth this prerogative to princes upon church goods, which you would attribute to them? What will they say for them the remedy of appeale? God forbid. It were euill with the Church of God, if when the sacrilegious exortioner hath violently invaded other mens goods (especially the goods of the Church) he should after defend him with the title of appeale.

Do not brethren so confound altogether the right of the Church and of the temporal regiment: for these two are much different, one resoluing his authority of the other. Reade the Scriptures, and you shall finde what and how many Kings haue perished for taking vpon them the Ecclesiastical office. Therefore let your discretion prouide, lest for this your doing Gods punishment light vpon you: which if it come, it will be hard for you very easily to escape. Prouide also and see to your King, whose fauour ye preferre before the wealth and profit of the Church, lest it happen (which God forbid) that hee doth perill withall his soule, after the example of them which for the like crime were plagued. And if you cease not off from that ye begin, with what conscience can I dissemble or forbear, but must needs punish you? Let him dissemble with you who lieth (hauing authority so to doe, truly I will not) there shall be no dissimulation found in me. And where you write in your letters concerning my promotion, that it was against the

boyce of the whole realme, and that the Church did reclaime against it; what should I say to you, but that which ye know right well: The lie, which the mouth doth willingly speake, killeth the soule: but especially the words of a Princes mouth ought euer to goe with veritie. As touching this matter, I appeale to your owne conscience, whether the forme of my election stood not fully with the content of them all to whom the election belonged, hauing also the assent of the Prince by his soune, and of them which were sent thereto. And if there were some that repugned the same, hee that was troubled and is guilty, let him speake.

Ye say moreover, that I was exalted and promoted from a base and low degree to this dignitie by him. I grant that I came of no royal or kingly blood: yet notwithstanding I had rather be in the number of them, whom vertue of mind then of birth maketh noble. Peradventure I was borne in a poore cottage, of poore parentage; and yet through Gods clemency, which knoweth how to worke mercy with his seruants, and which cherissheth the humble and low things, to confound the high and mighty, in this my poore and low estate, before I came to the Kings seruice, I had abundantly and wealthily to liue withall (as ye know) amongst my neighbors and friends. And David euen from the shepheard was taken up and made a King; Peter of a fisher was made a prince of the church; who, for his blood being shed for the name of Christ, deserved to haue in heauen a Crowne, and in earth name and renoune: would to God we could do the like! Let be the successors of Peter, and not of Kings and Emperours.

And where ye come to charge me (by insinuation) with the blot of ingratitude: This I answer: There is no offence capitall or infamous, while it proceed from the heart and intention. As if a man commit a murder unwillingly, although he be called a murder, yet he is not thereby punishable: and so, although I owe my duty and seruice with reuerence to my King, yet if I haue forborne him as my Lord, if I haue warned him, and talked with him fatherly and gently as with a sonne, and in talking with him could not be heard: if therefore, I say, being enforced therunto, and against my will, I doe exercise vpon him the seruice of due seruente, in so doing I suppose I make rather with him then against him, and rather deserve at his hand thanks for my correction, then note or suspicion of unkindness or punishment for the fact. Sometimes a man against his will receiveth a benefit. As when necessity causeth a man to be restrained from doing that which he ought not to doe: he that doth so restrain him, though he stop him, doth not hurt him, but rather profiteth him for his soules health. Another thing, that defendeth vs from ingratitude, is our father and patron Christ, which in that he is our father, to whom we as children owe obedience, then are we bound as children by necessity to obey his commandment, in warning the euill doer, in correcting the disobedient, and in rebuking the obstinate: which if we doe not, we run into danger to haue his blood required at our hands. See let forth likewise and shew, what losse we thereby may sustaine of our temporalities. But ye speake no word of the losse of our soules.

Moreover, as concerning the departure of the King from the homage of the church of Rome which in your letters ye seeme to pretend, or rather threaten: God forbid, I say, that the destruction or fault of our King should euer warne away from the obedience and reuerence of the Church of Rome, for any temporal commodity or uncommodity: which thing to doe is very damnable in any private subject, much more in the Prince which owne many other with him: therefore God forbid, that euer any faithfull man should once thinke so hainous a deed. And you according to your discretion take heed lest the words

They be the successors and sons of saints, not that hold the places of saints, but that doe the works of saints.

If the King haue been an adulterer or tyrant against the true doctrine of preaching of Christ, then might this reason serue, and God more to be obeyed then man. How where did Becket learne that the King in his temporal right was not to be obeyed?

Becket leaueh here more skillfull of his matter booke then of the booke of holy scriptures, otherwise he might see it no new thing in the old law for Kings to depriue Priests, and to place whom they would. Kings in the old law did not intermeddle with the Priests office in some things that were forbidden: as when they did violate, if he came of Achan and Dathan the old rebellious, then were they punished.



of your mouth infect any person or persons therein, occasioning them by your words to such dangers and damnable matter, like to the golden cup which is called the cup of Babelon, which for the outward gold no man will refuse to drinke of, but after they have drinke thereof, they are poisoned.

And where ye lay to my charge for the suspending of the reverend father the Bishop of Salisbury, & for excommunicating of John dean of the same Church for a schismaticke (by knowledge and procelle had of the matter) to this I answer: that both these are justly and condignly excommunicate, and if ye understand perfectly the condition of the matter, and the right order of judgements, ye will say no lesse. For this standeth with good authoritie (as ye know) that in manifest and notorious crimes, this knowledge and order of proceeding is not requisite. Depend with your selves diligently, what the Bishop of Salisbury did concerning the Deanery, after that he was prohibited of the Pope and of us, under paine of excommunication: and then shall you better understand that, upon so manifest disobedience, suspension did rightly follow, as ye reade in the decree of S. Clement, saying: If they doe not obey their prelates, all manner of persons of what order so ever they be, whether they shall be Princes of high or low degree and all other people, shall not onely be infamed, but also banished from the Kingdome of God, and the fellowship of the faithfull. As concerning John of Wyke, this we say, that excommunication cometh divers waies. Some are excommunicate by the law denouncing them excommunicate. Some by the sentence of the Prelat. Some by communicating with them which are excommunicated. Now he that hath fallen into this damnable, heresie in participating with schismatickes, whom the Pope hath excommunicated, hee draweth to himselfe the spot and leprosie of like excommunication. Wherefore, seeing hee (contrary to the Popes expresse commandement and cures, being charged under paine of excommunication to the contrary) tooke upon him the Deanery of Salisbury, we have denounced him, & hold him excommunicate, and all his doings we disannull by the authoritie of the eight synod, saying: If any man either privately or apertly shall speake, or communicate with him that is excommunicated, hee draweth unto himselfe the punishment of like excommunication. And now for so much as you brother Bishop of London which ought to know that saying of Gregorie the tenth: If any Bishop shall consent to the nomination of Priests, Deacons, &c. within his precinct, for reward, favour, or petition, or doth not by authority of his office correct the vice, let him be suspended from his office. And againe that saying of Pope Leo, which is this: If any bishop shall institute or consecrate such a Priest as shall be unmete and inconvenient, if he scape with the lesse of his owne proper dignitie, yet he shall lose the power of instituting any more, &c.

Wherefore, for so much, I say, as you, knowing this, have double wise offended against the sentence of these canons, we command you, and in the virtue of obedience injoyne you, that if it be so; within thys moneths after the receipt hereof, you will submit and offer your selfe to due correction and satisfaction to the councell of our fellow Bishops, for these your so great excelles; lest others through your example run into the like offence, and we be constrained to procede against you with severer sentence.

Finally (in closing up of your letter) where ye bring in for your appellation against me, a safeguard for you, which rather indeede is an hinderance to you, that we should not procede against the invaders of the Church goods, nor against the King in like sentence, as we have done against the Bishop of Salisbury (as ye say) and his Deane. To this I answer: God forbid that we have, or else should hereafter

proceede or doe any thing against the King or his land, or against you or your Churches, inordinately or otherwise then is convenient. But what if you shall excede in the same or like transgression, as the Bishop of Salisbury hath done? Thinke ye then your appellation shall helpe you from the discipline of our severitie, that ye shall not be suspended? Hark ye diligently whether this be a lawfull appeale, and what is the forme thereof. We know that every one that appealeth, either doth it in his owne name, or in the name of another: if in his owne, either it is for some grievance inferred already, or else for that he feareth after to be inferred against him. Now concerning the first, I am sure there is no grievance that you can complaine of as yet (God be thanked) that you have received at my hand, for the which you should appeale from me: neither have you (I trust) any cause speciall against me to do so. If ye doe it for feare of any thing that is to come, lest I should trouble you and your Churches: consider whether this be the feare that ought to fall in constant men, or whether this be the appeale which ought to suspend or stay our power and authoritie that we have upon you and your Churches. It is thought therefore of wise men (and we also judge no lesse) your appeale to be of no force.

First, for that it hath not the right forme of a perfect appellation, and also because it is not consonant to reason, and lacketh order and helpe of the law.

Furthermoze, if your appellation be in another mans name, either it is for the King (as most like it is) or for some other. If it be for the king, then you ought first to understand, that appellations are wont to be made to repell, and not to inferre injury: or to release such as be oppressed, that they should not be oppressed any more.

Wherefore if any man shall enter any appellation (not trusting to the surety of his cause, but to delay the time, that sentence be not given upon him) that appellation is not to be received. For what state will there be of the Church, if the liberty thereof of being taken away, the goods of the Church spoiled, the Bishops driven from their places, or at least not received with full restitution of their goods, the invaders and spoilers thereof may defend themselves by appealing, thereby to save themselves from the penalty of their desert?

What a ruine of the church will this be? See what ye have done, and what ye lay. Wee you not the vicars of Christ representing him in earth? Is it not your office to correct and bryde ill-doers, whereby they may cease to persecute the Church? And is it not enough for them to be fierce and to rage against the Church, but that you should take their part, letting your selves against us, to the destruction of the Church? Who ever heard of so monstrous doings? Thus it shall be heard and said of all nations and Countries, that the suffragans of the church of Canterbury (which ought to stand with their metropolitans unto death in defence of the Church) now goe about by the Kings commandement, so much as in them doth lie, to suspend his authoritie, lest he should exercise his discipline of correction upon them that rebel against the Church. This one thing I know, that you cannot sustaine two sorts of persons at once, both to be the appeale makers, and to be appealed by your selves. You be they which have made the appellation, you be they against whom the appellation is made. Is there any more Churches then one, and the body of the same? And how meete were it then, that you, being the members of the Church, should hold together with the head thereof? I am afraid, brethren, lest it may be said of us; These be the Priests which have said, Where is the Lord? And having the law do not know the law. Furthermoze, this I suppose you (being discreet men) are not ignorant of, that such as enter any appellation there, are not wont to be heard, unless the matter of their

Discussing of a true appellation.

The forme of a true appellation

One person can not both bee it appeale-maker and the partie appealed.

Take heed: ye make all if ye open that doore.

This John was called a schismaticke, because he tooke part with Reginald Archbishop of Cullen and the Emperour against Alexander the Pope.

Clement's decree.

Divers waies of excommunication.

The councell speaketh of such which be worthy excommunicated. This Gregorie otherwise called Ambrosius was he that first tooke away Priests marriage, condemning all Priests for fornicators which had wives.



appellation either belongeth to themselves, or except speciall commandement force them thereunto, or else wlesse they take another mans cause vpon them. First, that it belongeth nothing vnto you, it is plaine: for so much as the contrary rather pertaieth vnto your dutie; that is, to punish and to correct all such as rebell against the Church. And if he which subuerteth the liberty of the church, and inuadeth the goods thereof (converting them to his owne use) be not heard appealing for his owne defence, much lesse is another to be heard appealing for him. And therefore, as in this case neither hee can appeale for himselfe, nor yet command you so to do; so neither may you receive the commandement to appeale for him.

Thirdly, as touching the taking of another mans cause or businesse vpon you: to this I say and affirme, that ye ought in no manner of wise so to doe, specially seeing the matter pertaieth to the oppression of the church, and whereupon issueth great damage to the same.

And therefore, seeing it neither appertaineth to you, neither ought ye to receiue any such commandement, nor yet to take vpon you any such cause as that is, your appeals is neither to be heard, nor standeth with any law. Is this the deuotion and consolation of brotherly loue which you exhibit to your metropolitan, being for you in exile? God forgiue you this clemency. And how now? Will ye take for your letters and messengers to be gently receiued here of vs? Neither doe I speake this, as though there were any thing in hand betwixt your part and ours, or that we haue done any thing inordinately against the person of the King, or against his land, or against the persons of the Church, or intend (by Gods mercie) so to doe. And therefore we say briefly and affirme constantly, that our Lord the King cannot complaine of any wrong or injury to be done vnto him, if he (being often called vpon by letters and messengers to acknowledge his fault, neither will confesse his trespass, nor yet come to any satisfaction for the same) haue the censure of severitie by the Pope and by laid vpon him: for no man can say that he is vniuilly intreated, to whom the law doth justly punish. And briefly to conclude, know you this for certaine, that extortioners, inuaders, detainers of the Church goods, and subverters of the liberties thereof, neither haue any authoritie of the law to maintaine them, neither doth their appealing defend them, &c.

A brieue censure vpon the former rescript of Becket to his suffragans, in the page before, with a generall resolution of the reasons therein contained.

If the King of England had bene an idolater, contentious, an adulterer, an incestuous person, a murderer, with such like; then the zeale of this Archbishop (threatning the King and such as tooke his part) had deserved praise in this epistle, and the scripture would haue borne him out therein. For these and such causes should Bishops prosecute the authority of the Gospell against all persons. But the matter standing onely vpon Church goods, liberty (or rather licentiousnesse of Priests) making of Deanes, titles of Churches, superiority of Crowning the King, with such other: to stand so stiff in these, is not to defend the Church; but to rebell against the King. Again, if the principles, which hee here groundeth vpon, were true; to wit, that the Pope were to be obeyed before Princes, that the liberty of the church standeth vpon the immunitie of Priests exempted from Princes lawes, or vpon ample possessions of the Church: or that the Popes law ought to preuaile in all forren Countreies, and to binde all princes in their owne dominions; or that the sentence of the pope and his popelings (how or by what affection

soeuer it is pronounced) may stand by the vndoubted sentence of God: then all the arguments of this epistle dee procede and conclude well. But if they stand not ratified vpon Gods Word, but tottering vpon mans traditions; then whatsoever hee inferreth or concludeth thereupon (his assumption being false) cannot be true, according to the schoole-laying; One inconuenience being granted in the beginning, innumerable follow thereupon. So in this epistle it happeneth, as is aboue noted, that the major of this man is true, but the minor is cleane false, and to be denied.

The letter of Matild the Emperesse, and mother of the King, to Thomas Becket.

MY Lord the pope commanded me, and vpon the forgiveness of my sinnes injoynd me, that I should be a mediator and means of peace and concord betwene my sonne and you, by reconciling of your selfe to him, whereunto (as you know) you requested mee. Wherefore the earnestest and with more affection (as well for the diuine honour as for holy Church) I tooke the enterprise vpon mee. But this by the way. I assure you, that the King, his Barons, and counsell, taketh it grieuously; that you, whom he intirely loied, honoured and made chieftest in all his Realme, to the intent to haue more comfort and better trust in you, should thus (as the report is) rebell, and stirre his people against him. Yea and further, that as much as in you lyeth, you went about to disinherit him, and deprime him of his Crowne. Vpon the occasion whereof, I sent vnto you our trustie and familiar seruant Laurence Archdeacon, by whom I pray you that I may vnderstand your minde herein, and good will toward my sonne: and how you meane to behaue your selfe (if my prayer and petition may be heard of him in your behaue) toward his grace. But this one thing I assure you of, that vnlesse it be through your great humilitie and moderation, evidently in you appearing, you cannot obtaine the fauour of the king. Herein what you meane to doe, I pray you send me word by your proper letters and messengers.

But to procede further in the order of the history. After these letters sent to and fro, the yeare of our Lord 1169. which was the fifteenth year of the reign of King Henry the second, the King misdeubting and fearing with himselfe, that the archbishop would procede (or errede rather) in his excommunication against his own person (to preuent the mischief) made his appeale to the presence of the Pope, requiring to haue certaine legats sent downe from Rome from the Popes side, to take vp the matter betwene the Archbishop and him; requiring moreover that they might also be absoled that were interdicted. And hereupon two Cardinals, being sent from Alexander the Pope with letters to the King, came to Normandy: where they appointed the Archbishop to meete them before the King vpon saint Mathews day. But the Archbishop, neither agreeing with the day nor the place, delayed his coming till the eight day after, neither would goe any further then to Gisors where the two Cardinals and the archbishop, with other Bishops conuening together, had a certaine intreatie of peace and reconciliation but it came to no conclusion. The contents of which intreatie or action, because it is sufficiently contained in the cardinals letters, who were called Gulielmus and Willelmus, written to the Pope, it shall require no further labour, but to shew out the words of the letter, where the summe of the whole may appeare; The words of the letter be these.

The

Though the Popes law will or defend them, or the law of Becketts rescript will not.

Annos 1169.



The copie of the Epistle written and sent  
by two Cardinals to the Pope, concerning  
the matter of the Archbishop  
Becket.

William and Otto, Cardinals of the Church of  
Rome, to Alexander the Pope, &c. Comming to  
the land of the King of England, we found the con-  
trouersie betwixt him and the Archbishop of Canter-  
bury more sharpe and vehement then we would.  
For the King, and the greater part of them about  
him, said, that the Archbishop had stirred up the  
French King grievously against him; and also the  
earles of Flanders his kinsman (who bare no displea-  
sure to him before he made his open aduersary, rea-  
dy to warre against him, as is by diuers evidences  
most certaine. Thus when we came to Cadomus  
first to the Kings speech, we gaue the letters of your  
fatherhood to his hands: which after that he had re-  
ceined and considered (bringing forth withall other  
letters received from you before, something diuers  
and altering from these which he receiued of vs) hee  
was moued and stirred with no little indignati-  
on, saying; that the Archbishop, after our depar-  
ture from you, had receiued of you other contra-  
ry letters, by the vertue whereof hee was exempt-  
ed from our iudgement, so that he should not  
be compelled to answer vs. Whereupon, the said  
King to vs added and affirmed, and so did the  
Bishops there present, testifying the same, that  
concerning the old and ancient customes of his  
progenitours (whereof complaint was made to  
you) all that for the most part was false and un-  
true which was intimate to you; offering further  
to vs, that if there were any such customes or lawes  
in his time, that seemed prejudiciall or disagreeable  
to the statutes of the Church, he would willingly  
be content to riuoke and disanull the same. Whereup-  
on we with other Archbishops, Bishops and Abbats  
of the land, hearing the King to be reasonable, labored  
by all the meanes we might, that the King should not  
bitterly breake from vs, but rather should incline  
to vs to haue the matter brought before vs betwixt  
him and the forenamed Archbishop. By reason  
whereof, we directed out our owne Chaplains with  
letters unto him, appointing him both time and  
place where safely he might meete with vs in the  
feast of Saint Martine. Perceiuing hee, preten-  
ding certaine excuses, made his dilatorie, drawing  
off the time from the day of S. Martine to the  
octaues following, which thing stirred the Kings  
heart more then is to be thought.

Thus although we offered to the Archbishop safe  
comming, yet when hee refused to meete us in the  
borders of the King, we, to satisfie his minde, con-  
descended to meet him within the land of the French  
King, in the place where he himselfe appointed, be-  
cause there should bee no let in us, whereby to stop  
his profit. After we had entered communication, we  
began to exhort him, all that we could, to submit  
and humble himselfe to his sovereign and king, who  
had heaped him with such beneficts and dignities;  
whereby matter might be given us to further occa-  
sion of reconciling them together. Her, being thus  
moued and exhorted by us, departed aside to consult  
with his counsell upon the matter. At length af-  
ter counsell taken, hee commeth againe answer-  
ing in this manner: that hee would submit and  
humble himselfe to the King, Salvo honore Dei, &  
ecclesie libertate, salva etiam honestate personarum suarum  
& possessionibus ecclesiarum: & amplius, sua & suo-  
rum in omnibus salva iustitia, &c. That is: Saving  
the honor of god, and liberty of the church, saving  
also the honesty of his person, and possessions of  
churches: and moreover, saving the justice of him  
and of all his in all things, &c. After which commu-  
nication had amongst us, we were moued and required  
him more instantly, that he would come to the spe-

cialties, when as yet he had brought nothing in, ei-  
ther which was certaine or particular. Likewise we  
demanded of him, if he would, in all such things con-  
tained and comprehended in our letters, stand and  
submit himselfe to our letters, so as the King and the  
Bishops before were contented to doe. To the which  
he answering againe, said; that hee had receiued  
from you a commandement, not to answer before  
he and all his were restor'd full to all their posses-  
sions; and then hee would so proceede in the matter,  
according as he should receive commandement from  
the See apostolicall.

Thus we breaking off communication, seeing  
that he neither would stand to judgement, nor come  
to conformitie, we thought to make relation thereof  
to the King, and so did: declaring that which hee had ex-  
pressed to us; yet not uttering all, but keeping backe  
a great part of that which we had heard and seene.  
Which when the King & his nobles had understan-  
ding of, he affirmed to us againe; that hee therein  
was cleared so much the more, for that the Archbi-  
shop would not stand to their judgement, nor abide  
their triall. After much heaviness and lamentation  
of the King, the Archbishop, Bishops, and Abbats of  
the realm requiring of us, whether we had any such  
power, by vertue of our communion, to withstand  
him and proceede against him; and perceiving that  
our authoritie would not serue thereunto, and fear-  
ing lest the foresaid Archbishop, refusing all order of  
judgement, would worke againe disquietnesse to  
some noble personages of the realm: and seeing our  
authoritie could not extend so far to helpe them a-  
gainst him (taking a consultation among them-  
selves) agreed together with one assent, to make  
their appellation to your audience, preferring accor-  
dingly the terme of their appeale.

And this is the epistle of these two cardinals  
sent to the Pope: wherein may sufficiently appeare  
all the discourse and manner of that assembly (al-  
though particularly every thing be not expressed)  
concerning the talke betwixt the cardinals and the  
Archbishop. As when that William (who of the two  
cardinals was the more eloquent) amongst other  
communication had reasoned long with him as con-  
cerning the peace of the church: which Becket said  
he preferred above all things. Tell then (saith the  
cardinal) seeing all this contention betwene the  
King and you riseth vpon certaine lawes and cus-  
tomes to be abrogated, and that you regard the peace  
of the church so much: then what say you? Will you  
renounce your Bishopricke, and the King shall re-  
nounce his customes? The peace of the church now  
lyeth in your hands, either to retaine or to let goe;  
what say you? To whom he answereth againe, that  
the proportion was not like. For I, saith he (saying  
the honour of my church and my person) cannot re-  
nounce my Bishopricke. Contrary, it standeth the  
King vpon, for his soules health and honour to re-  
nounce these his ordinances and customes. Which  
thing hee thus perceiued; because the Pope had con-  
demned these customes, and he likewise with the  
church of Rome had done the same, &c.

The talke betwene the French King,  
the King of England, and Becket.

After the cardinals were returned, the French  
King seeing the King of England disquieted and  
solicitous to haue peace (or at leastwise pretending  
to set an agreement betwixt them) brought the mat-  
ter to a communication among them. In which com-  
munication the French king made himselfe as im-  
pire betwene them. The King of England, hearing  
that the Archbishop would commit himselfe to his  
arbitrement, was the more willing to admit his  
presence. Whereupon, many being there present,  
the archbishop, protesting himselfe at the kings feet,  
declared

Becket stirring  
up the French  
king against the  
King of Eng-  
land.

Becket would  
neither stand  
indgement nor  
triall.

A communica-  
tion betwene  
Becket and the  
cardinals.

Becket loveth  
better his Bish-  
prie then the  
peace of the  
church, for all  
his gate talks.

Becket's addi-  
tion.



declared unto him kneeling upon his knees, that he would commit the whole cause, whereof the dissenti-  
on rose betweene them, unto his owne arbitrement;  
adding thereto (as he did before) Salvo honore Dei;  
That is, Saving the honour of God. The king (as is  
said before) being greatly offended at this word,  
hearing and seeing the stiffness of the man sticking  
so much to this word Salvo honore, &c. was highly  
therewith displeased, rebuking him with many grie-  
vous words as a man proud and stubborne, and also  
charging him with sundry and great benefites besto-  
wed upon him, as a person unkinde, and forgetting  
what he had so gently done and bestowed upon him.

And speaking to the French king there present:  
Sir (if it please you, saith the king of England)  
whatsoever displeaseth this man, that he saith to be  
contrary to the honour of God. And so by this  
meanes he will vendicate and challenge to himselfe  
both that is his and mine also. And yet not withstan-  
ding, for that I will not seeme to doe any thing con-  
trary or prejudiciall to Gods honour, this I offer him:  
Where haue bene kings in England before, both of  
greater and lesse puissance then I am; Likewise  
there haue bene Bishops of Canterbury many  
both great and holy men: That the greatest and  
most holy of all his predecessours before him hath  
done to the least of my progenitors and predecessours  
before me, let him doe the same to me and I am con-  
tent. They that stand by, hearing these words of  
the king, cried all with one voyce, The king hath  
debased himselfe enough to the Bishop. The archbi-  
shop staying a little at this with silence, What (saith  
the French king to him) my Lord archbishop, will  
you be better then those holy men? will ye be grea-  
ter then Peter? what stand you doubting? Here  
now haue you peace and quietnes put in your owne  
hands, if ye will take it. To this the Archbishop an-  
swered againe: Truth it is (saith he) my predecess-  
ours before mee were much both better and greater  
then I, and of them every one for his time (although  
he did not extirpe and cut off all) yet something they  
did plucke up and correct, which seemed aduerse and  
repugnant against Gods honour. For if they had  
taken all together away, no such occasion then had  
bene left for any man to raise by this fire of temp-  
tation now against us, as is here raised to pious vs  
withall; that we, being so proued with them, might  
also be crowned with them, being likewise parta-  
kers of praise and reward, as we are of their labour  
and travell. And though some of them haue bene  
slack, or excused in their duty doing, in that we are  
not bound to follow their example.

Peter, when he denied Christ, we therefore re-  
buke him; but when he resisted the rage of Herod,  
therein we commend him. And therefore because  
he could not find in his conscience to consent unto  
that he ought in no wise to dissemble, neither did he,  
by reason thereof he lost his life. By such like oppres-  
sions the church hath alwayes growne. Our foresa-  
thers and predecessours, because they would not dis-  
semble the name and honor of Christ, therefore they  
suffered. And shall I, to haue the fauour of one  
man, suffer the honor of Christ to be suppressed? The  
nobles standing by (hearing him thus speake) were  
greatly grieved with him, noting in him both arro-  
gancy and wilfulnesse, in perturbing and refusing  
such an honest offer of agreement. But specially one  
among the rest was most grieved, who there openly  
protested, that seeing the Archbishop so refused the  
counsell and request of both the kingdomes, he was  
not worthy to haue the helpe of either of them; but  
as the kingdome of England had reſected him, so  
the realme of France should not receiue him.

Alanus Herbertus, and certaine other of his  
chapleins that committed to storie the doings of Bec-  
ket, doe recorde (whether truly or no I cannot say)  
that the French king sending for him, as one much  
grieving and lamenting the words that he had

spoken, at the coming of Becket did prostrate  
himselfe at his feet; confessing his fault, in giving  
counsell to him in such a cause (pertaining to the ho-  
nor of God) to relent therein and to yield to the  
pleasure of man: wherefore, declaring his repen-  
tance, he desired to be absolved thereof. So that af-  
ter this, the French king and Becket were great  
friends together; insomuch that king Henry sen-  
ding to the king to intreat him, and desire him that  
he would not support nor maintaine his enemy  
within his realme, the French king utterly denyed  
the kings request, taking part rather with the arch-  
bishop then with him.

Besides these quarrels and grudges betwixt the  
king and the archbishop aboue mentioned, there fol-  
lowed yet moreouer another, which was this: Short-  
ly after this communication recited betweene the  
king and Becket, the king of England returning  
again from Normandy into England (which was  
the yere of our Lord 1170, and the sixteenth yere  
of his raigne) about Whitsunne, kept his court of  
parliament at Westminster; in the which parlia-  
ment he (through the assent both of the clergie, and  
the Lords temporall) caused his sonne Henry to be  
crowned king. Which coronation was done by the  
hands of Robert Archbishop of Porke, with the as-  
sistance of other Bishops ministring to the same,  
as Gilbert of London, Joseline of Salisbury, Hu-  
go of Duresme, and Walter of Rochester. By rea-  
son whereof Becket of Canterbury, being there  
neither mentioned nor called for, toke no little dis-  
pleasure; and so did Ludonike the French king,  
hearing that Margaret his daughter was not also  
crowned with her husband: whereupon he, gathering  
a great army, forthwith marched into Normandie.  
But the matter was soone compassed by the king of  
England, who sending his sonne into him in Nor-  
mandie, intreated there and concluded peace with  
him, promising that his sonne should be crowned as  
gaine, and then his daughter should be crowned also.  
But the archbishop, not ceasing his displeasure and  
emulation, sent unto the pope, complaining of these  
four bishops, especially of the archbishop of Porke;  
who durst be so bold in his absence, and without his  
knowledge of his licence, to intermeddle to crowne  
the king, being a matter proper and peculiar to his  
jurisdiction. At the instance of whom, the Pope sent  
downe the sentence of excommunication against  
the Bishop of London. The other three Bishops with  
the archbishop of Porke he suspended, with sentence  
and letters thereof, for assuming prokrie, I here  
omit.

Besides these foresaid Bishops excommunicated,  
diuers other clerkes also of the court he cited to ap-  
peare before him, by vertue of his large commission  
which he gat from the Pope, to whom they were  
bound to obey, by reason of their benefices. And  
some he commanded in vertue of obedience to ap-  
peare, in paine of forfeiting their orders and benefi-  
ces. Of which when neither soyt would appeare, he  
cursed them openly. And also some lay men of the  
court and the kings familiars (as intruders and vio-  
lent with-holders of Church goods) he accursed;  
as Richard Lucie, and Joseline Balliot, and Ralph  
Brooke which toke bells and goods that belonged to  
the church of Canterbury; and Hugh Wentcleare;  
and Thomas the son of Bernard, and all that should  
hereafter take any Church goods without his con-  
sent; so that almost all the court was accursed ei-  
ther by name, or as partakers.

This being done, the Archbishop of Porke with  
the foresaid bishops resorted to the king with a grie-  
uous complaint, declaring how miserably their case  
stood, and what they had sustained for fulfilling his  
commandement. The king, hearing this, was high-  
ly moued, as no maruell was. But what remedy?  
The time of the ruine of the pope was not yet come,  
and

Anno 1170.

The Bishop of London excommuni-  
cated with  
four other Bi-  
shops suspended.

The card of the  
kings wrath a-  
gainst Becket.

erher commeth  
with his old  
willion.

alvo honore

erher charged  
the unkinde  
the

The Bishop offer  
to Becket both  
honorable and  
reasonable.

The words of  
the French  
king.

This may, if it  
had been opened  
with a good mi-  
nor, had made a  
good argument.

Ex Quadell.  
80.



and what prince then might withstand the injurious violence of that Romish Potestate?

In the mean season the French king for his part, his clergie and courtiers likewise slacke no occasion to incite and sollicite Alexander the Pope against the king of England to excommunicate him also: for the king thereby and thinking to haue some vantage against the realme. Neither was the king ignorant of this, which made him more ready to apply some agreement of reconciliation. At length came downe from the Pope two legats (the archbishop of Rothomage and the Bishop of Bauern) with direction and full commission either to driue the king to be reconciled, or to be interdicted by the Popes censures out of the Church. The king understanding himselfe to be in greater straits then he could auoide (at length through the mediation of the French king and of other Prelates and great Princes) was content to yield to peace and reconciliation with the Archbishop, whom he receiued both to his fauour, and also permitted and granted him free returne to his Church againe. Concerning his possessions and lands of the Church of Canterbury, although Becket made great labour therefore, yet the king (being then in Prorogand) would not grant him them, because he should repaire to England, to see how hee would there agree with his subjects.

Thus peace after a fast concluded betwene the king and him, the Archbishop, after sixe yeere of his banishment, returned to England, where hee was right joyfully receiued of the church of Canterbury; albeit of Henry the yong king he was not so greatly welcommed. In so much that coming up to London to the king, he was returned backe to Canterbury, and there hid to keepe his house. Roger Houeden maketh mention in his chronicle, that the Archbishop (upon Christmas day) did excommunicate Robert de Bzoke for cutting off the taile of a certaine horse of his the day before. In the meane time the foure Bishops before mentioned, whom the Archbishop had excommunicate, sent to him, humbly desiring to be released of their censure. To whom when the Archbishop would not grant clerely and simply without cauels and exceptions, they went euer to the king, declaring vnto him and complaining of their miserable state and incourteous handling of the Archbishop. Whereupon the king conceived great sorrow in his minde, and displeasure toward the partie. In so much that hee lamented oft and sundry times to them about him, that (amongst so many that he had done for) there was none that would reuenge him of his enemy. By occasion of which words, certaine that were about the king to the number of foure (bearing him thus to complaine and lament, adressed themselves in great heate of harte to satisfie the grieved minde and quarrell of their Prince: who within foure dayes after the said Christmasse day (saying euer into England, and hauing a toward and prosperous winde in their journey, being in the deepe of winter) came to Canterbury, where Becket was commanded to keepe. After certaine aduiseements and consultations had among themselves; they preased at length into the palace where the Archbishop was sitting with his company about him: first to assay him with words, to see whether hee would relent to the kings minde, and come to some conformance. They brought to him (said they) commandement from the king, which whether he had rather openly there in presence, or secretly to be declared to him, they bad him chuse. When the company being bid to auoide, as hee sat alone, they said, You are commanded from the king beyond the sea, to repaire to the king his son here, and to doe your duty to him, swearing to him your fidelitie for your baronage and other things, and to amend these things wherein you haue trespassed against him. Whereupon the archbishop denyng to sweare, and perceiuing their intent, called in his

company againe, and in multiplying of words to and fro, at length they came to the Bishops which were excommunicate for the coronation of the king whom they commanded in the kings name he should absolue and set free againe. The Archbishop answered, that he neither suspended nor excommunicated them, but the Pope; wherefore, if that were the matter that grieved them, they should resort to the Pope, he had nothing to doe with the matter.

Then said Reginald one of the foure; Although you in your owne person did not excommunicate them, yet through your instigation it was done. To whom the Archbishop said againe; And if the Pope (said he) sending the injuries done vnto me and my Church, wrought this reuenge for me, I confesse it offendeth me nothing. Thus then (said they) it appeareth well by your owne words, that it pleaseth you right well (in contempt and contumelie of the Kings maiestie) to sequester his Bishops from their ministry, who at the commandement of the king did serue in the coronation of his sonne. And seeing you haue so presumed thus to stand against the exaltation of this our Soueraigne, our new king, it seemeth likely that you aspired to take his crowne from him, and to be exalted king your selfe. I aspire not (said hee) to the crowne and name of the king, but rather if I had foure crownes (to giue him more) I would set them all vpon him; such good will I do beare him, that only his father the king excepted, there is none, whose honour I more tender and loue. And as concerning the sequestering of those Bishops, this I giue you to understand, that nothing was done in that behalfe without the knowledge and assent of the king himselfe: To whom when I had made my complaint, at the feast of Marie Magdalen, of the wrong and iniurie done to me and my church therein; he gaue me his good leaue to obtaine at the Popes hand such remedie as I could, promising moreover his helpe to me in the same. What is this, quoth they, that thou saiest? Makest thou the king a traitor, and a betrayer of the king his owne sonne? that when he had commanded the Bishops to crowne his sonne, hee would giue thee leaue afterward to suspend them for so doing? Certes it had bene better for you not to haue accused to the king of this proditiou. The archbishop said to Reginald, that he was there present at that time, and heard it himselfe. But that he denied, and swore it was not so. And thinke you (say they) that wee the kings subjects will or ought to suffer this? And so approaching nearer him, they said he had spoken enough against his owne head: whereupon followed great exclamation and many threatening words. Then said the Archbishop, I haue since my coming ouer sustained many injuries and rebukes, concerning both my selfe, my men, my catell, my wiues, and all other goods: notwithstanding, the king (writing euer to his sonne) required him that I should liue in safetie and peace, and now, beside all others, you come hither to threaten me. To this Reginald answering againe, said: If there be any that woorketh you any iniurie otherwise then right is, the law is open; why doe you not complaine? To whom, said Becket, should I complaine? To the yong king, said they. Then said Becket, I haue complained enough if that would helpe, and haue sought for remedie at the kings handes, so long as I could be suffered to come to his speech: but now seeing that I am kept from that, neither can I find redresse of so great vexations and injuries as I haue and doe daily sustaine, nor can haue the benefit of the law or reason; such right and law, as an Archbishop may haue, that will I exercise, and let for no man. At these words one of them, bursting out in exclamation, cried, He threatneth, he threatneth. What? will he interdict the whole realme and vs altogether? Nay that he shall not, saith another; he hath interdicted too many already. And againe

Becket returned out of his banishment.

Ex Roger Houeden.

The words of the king which were the cause of Becket's death.

At the papists will needs measure the success of things by seasons and weather, then must they by that reason condemn the cause of Becket, his adherers having such forwardness of weather in doing their feat.

The talke betweene the foure souldiers and Thomas Becket.



drawiug more nere to him, they protested and denounced him to haue spoken words to the jeopardie of his owne head. And so departing in great furie, and with many high words, they rushed out of the doores; who, by the way returning to the Monks, charged them in the Kings name to keepe him forth comming, that he should not escape away. What, quoth the Archbishop, thinke ye I will see away? Nay, neither for the king, nor any man aliue, will I sit one foot from you. So, say they, thou shalt not auoid, though thou wouldest. And so they departing with many words, the Archbishop followeth them out of the chamber doore, crying after them, Here, here, here shall you find me; laying his hand vpon his crowne.

The names of these foure souldiers aboue mentioned were these, the first Reginald Boreton, the second Hugh Porteuill, the third William Thacie, and the fourth Richard Wato; who, going to haue selle themselves, returned the same day againe: but finding the hall doore of the palace of Canterburie shut against them, they went to an inward backe doore leading into the orchard; there brake they vp a window and opened the doore, and so issued into the place. The Monks (being about euensong time) had got the Archbishop into the church; who, being perswaded by them, caused his crosse to be bozied before him, and so through the cloister, by a doore which was broken vp for him, he proceeded into the quire. The harness men following after at length came to the Church doore, which doore the Monks would haue shut against them: but, as the Monks saith, the Archbishop would not suffer them. So they approaching into the Church, and the Archbishop meeting them vpon the staires; there he was slaine, every one of the foure souldiers striking him with his sword into the head; who afterward flying into the north, and at length with much adoe obtaining their pardon of the pope by the kings procurement, as some stories record, went to Ierusalem.

Thus you haue heard the life and death of this Thomas Becket, of whom what is to be judged, let his owne acts and facts declare. And albeit the scripture ought to bee the onely rule to vs to iudge all things by, yet if any shall require further testimony, partly to satisfie their mindes therein, yet shall heare the judgements of certaine men, in yeres and times almost as ancient as himselfe, what they write and affirme of him.

And first to begin with the testimony of one of his owne religion, and also not far (as it appeareth) from his owne time, who, writing of his martyrdome and miracles, thus testifieth of the judgement and sentence of diuers concerning his promotion and behaviour. The chronicle being written in Latine, and hauing the name of the author cut out, thus beginneth: Quoniam verò multi, &c. And in the first booke and eight chapter it followeth in this manner: Nonnullis tamen idcirco promotionem ejus vitium est fuisse minus canonicam, quòd ad eam magis operata est regis instantia, quam cleri vel populi vota. Prasumptionis quoque vel indiscretionis fuisse notatum est, quòd qui remum tenere vix idoneus videbatur, primum gubernaculi locum suscepit, &c. Et mox: Magis etiam secularia tum sapiens, tum sanctum tantæ dignitatis fastigium non horrens tenuisse, sed citroneus ascendisse creditus. Aliter Dei amicus, Moses, &c. With much more as in Latine insureth, which for the English reader here followeth translated. Diuers notwithstanding there bee, which as touching his promotion, suppose the same not to bee canonicall. For that it was wrought rather by the instance of the King (thinking him to bee a man readie and inclinable to his utilitie) then by the assent either of the Clergie or of the people. Further it is noted in him for a point of presumption, and lacke of discretion, for that he, being scarce worthie to take

the ore in hand and play the boatwaine, would take vpon him to sit at the helme, and guide the ship: namely in that Church, where the Covent, being in gesture and vesture religious, be wont to haue their prelate taken out of the same profession. Whereas he, scant bearing the habit of a Clerke, and going in his changes and soft apparell, is more conuersant among the delicate rustlers in the Court, favouring rather of worldly things, not refusing moreover without any dread to cline up to the high preferment of such an holy dignitie, but rather willingly of his owne accord to aspire to it. Moses we read did otherwise, who being the friend of God, and sent of him to conduct his people Israel out of Egypt, trembled at the message, and said: Who am I Lord, that I should goe to Pharaon, and bring thy people Israel out of Egypt? And againe, I pray thee (saith he) O Lord, I am nothing eloquent, send him whom thou wilt send. Likewise Ieremias also, being sent of the Lord to prophesie against Ierusalem, was abashed to take the office vpon him, answering againe with much dread of heart; A, a, a, Lord, I cannot utter my mind, for I am a child.

After like manner we read of the saints of the new Testament, whereof many were preferred oftentimes to their bishopricks and functions of the church by more forcement and compulsion of others rather then by their owne wills. So was blessed Crispin, after his flight and going away, brought backe againe, and placed in the Sea and chaire of Rome. Likewise Saint Ambrose soze against his mind; who also, of purpose accusing and confessing his owne defects, because hee would be revealed: yet by the commandement of Valentinian the Emperour was enforced to take the burthen vpon him, which he could by no wise shake off. Martin in like sort, not knowing of any such matter, was circumvented by a certaine goodly fraine and wile of the citizens, before hee could be brought to his consecration; which hee did not so much take, as hee was thrust into it with much pensiveness and sorrow of heart. By these and such other examples this chan- cello likewise should haue rather excused himselfe as vnworthie and vnnixt for that roome, then being himselfe more willing to refuse then to take it. And the which this Archbishop is judged to doe cleane contrary, &c. Hæc ex chronico, cui titulus, De passionibus, & miraculis beati Thomæ.

And although scarcely any testimony is to be taken of that age (being all blinded and corrupted with superstition) yet let vs heare what Neuburgensis an ancient historiographer saith, who, in the daies of the sonne of this king Henrie the second, prosecuting his historie vnto King Richard the first, hath these words, writing of Thomas Becket: Sanè cum plerique soleant in his quos amant & laudant affectu quodam propensiori, sed prudentia pariori, quicquid ab eis geritur approbare: plane ego in viro illo venerabili, ea quæ ita ab ipso acta sunt, quum nulla exinde proveniret utilitas, sed fervor tantum accenderetur regius, ex quo tot mala postmodum pullulasse noscuntur, laudanda nequaquam censuerim, licet ex laudabili zelo processerint: sicut in beatissimo apostolorum principe, quòd gentes suo exemplo iudaizare coegit; in quo eum doctor gentium reprehensibilem declarat fuisse, licet cum constet laudabili hoc pietate fecisse, &c.

#### That is in English,

Whereas many bee wont, in them whom they love our praise (judging them more by affection then prudence) to allow and approve whatsoever they doe, yet for mee to judge vpon this reverend man, verily I thinke not his doings and acts to bee praiseworthy, or to bee allowed; for so much as thereof came no utilitie, but onely the anger and stirring up of the King: whereupon afterward sprung so great mischiefs (although the thing that hee did might proceed of a certaine laudable zeale) like as in the blessed prince of the Apostles, in that he taught the

Ambition noted in Becket, in not refusing, but taking his promotion.

Bishops against their wills thrust into their bishopricks.

Ex chronico Neuburgensis.

Acta Becketi improbat.

The front beate of Becket.

Anno 1171.

The death of Thomas Becket.

What is to be thought of the death of Thomas Becket.

What is to be thought of the death of Thomas Becket.

The promotion of Becket judged not canonicall.

Becket charged with presumption and lacke of discretion.



Gentiles by his example to play the Jewes, Paul the doctor of the Gentiles did declare him therein to be re-bukeable, albeit it cannot be denied, but that hee did it of a good affection, &c.

**And in the same author, in another place it followeth to the like effect, in these words:** Litteras has in Angliam ad suspensionem episcoporum pramissas ipse sequebatur, zelo iustitiæ fervidus; verum an plenè secundum scientiam novit Deus. Nostræ enim parvitati nequaquam conceditur, de tanti viri actibus temerè judicare. Puto enim quod in molli adhuc teneraque regis contordia minus providè egisset, & ea quæ sine fidei christianæ periculo tolerari potuissent, ratione temporis & compensatione pacis dissimulanda dixisset, juxta illud propheticum: Prudens in tempore illo tacebit, quia tempus malum est. Itaque, quod à venerabili pontifice tunc actum est, nec laudandum esse judico, nec vituperare præsumo: sed dico, si vel modicè in hujusmodi à sancto viro per zeli, immoderatiorem impetum est excessum, hoc ipsum est sacræ, quæ consecuta nolit, igne passionis excoctum. Ita quippe sancti viri vel amandi vel laudandi sunt à nobis, qui nos illis longè impares esse cognoscimus, ut ea, in quibus homines fuerunt, vel fuisse noscuntur, nequaquam vel amemus vel laudemus: sed ea tantum, in quibus eos sine scrupulo imitari debemus. Quis enim eos dicat in omnibus, quæ ab ipsis fieri esse imitabiles? Non igitur in omnibus, quæ faciunt, sed sapienter & cautè debent laudari, ut sua Deo prærogativa servetur, in cujus utique laudibus nemo potest esse nimius, quantumcunque laudare conetur, &c.

#### That is in English:

The Letters which were sent before for the suspending of the Bishops, hee pursued with burning zeale of justice; but whether according to knowledge God knoweth it. It is not for my rude and slender wit to judge of the doings of such a person. But yet this I suppose, that hee did not behave himselfe so circumspectly as he ought, considering the time; and that the concord betweene him and the King as yet was but soft and tender. Who for the consideration of the time, and for the recompence of peace, might have forborne or dissembled such things, which without any perill of Christian religion might bee tolerate well enough, according to the propheticall saying; A wise man in that time will keepe silence, because the time will not serve him. Wherefore, as the doings of that reverend prelat I judge in that behalfe not to be commended, so neither doe I presume to discommend them. But this I say, that if that holy man, through immoderate violence of zeale, did exceed in a part therein, the same was excocted againe, and purged by the fire of his suffering, which afterward infused. And so farre holy men are to bee loved or praised of us, which know our selves much inferiour to their vertues; that in such things wherein they have bene men, and also knowne to be men, therein wee neither hold with them nor commend them; but onely in such things wherein without all danger or scruple wee ought to imitate them. For who is able to say, that they are to be imitated in all that they doe? And therefore are not to be esteemed and praised in all things generally whatsoever they doe, but considerately and with advisement, wherein they deserve praise, so that the only prerogative in this behalfe bee reserved to God, in whose praise no man can exceed, how fervent soever hee be in his praising, &c.

**And heare yet more what the said author writeth in the same cause of the Kings wrath and Becket's faults:** Plusquam centum homicidia à clericis commissæ sub Henrico secundo dicuntur. In quibus ple-

millia talium, tanquam innumeras inter pauca granæ paleas ecclesiæ Anglicanæ contineat; tamen quàm paucos à multis retro annis clericos in Angliā contigit officio privari. Nempe episcopi dum defendendis magis clericorum libertatibus vel dignitatibus, quam eorum vitiis corrigendis refecandisque invigilant, arbitrantur obsequium se præstare Deo & ecclesiæ, si facinorosos clericos, quos pro officii debito canonicæ vigore censuræ coercere debeant, contra publicam teneantur disciplinam. Vnde clerici, qui in sortem Domini vocati, tanquam stellæ in firmamento cœli posita, vita & verbo lucere debent super terram, habentes pro impunitate agendi quodcumque libuerit, licentiam & libertatem, neq; Deum, cujus iudicium tardare videtur, neque homines potestatem habentes reverentur, cum & episcopalis circa eos sollicitudo sit languida, & seculari eos jurisdictione sacri eximat ordinis prærogativa.

#### In English:

More then an hundred murthers are said to bee committed by the Clergie under King Henry the second: in punishing of whom the King was somewhat too vehement. But the fault, saith hee, of this immoderate dealing of the King resteth most in the Bishops of our time, for so much as the cause thereof proceedeth of them. For where it is decreed and commanded by the canon law (concerning the spirituall men of the Clergie) that not onely such as bee notorious, but such as bee spotted with lighter crimes should bee degraded, whereof wee have so many thousands, and whole swarms of such now in England, as innumerable chaffe among the little good graine; yet how few doe wee see these many yeeres in England, deprived of their office? For why? The Bishops while they labour more to maintain the liberties and dignities of churchmen, then to correct their vices, thinke they doe God and the Church great service, if they relceue and defend the enormities of the church-men against publike discipline, whom they ought rather to punish by the vertue of the censure Ecclesiasticall. Whereupon the churchmen, such as bee sorted peculiarly to the Lord, and ought like starres to shine in earth by word and example, taking licence and libertie to doe what they lust, neither reverence God (whose judgement seemeth to tarrie) neither men set in authoritie: when as both the Bishops are slacke in their charge doing, and also the prerogative of their order exempteth them from the secular jurisdiction, &c. And thus much out of *Peurburgensis*.

**To this matter also pertaine the words of Celsæ** *Ex Celsæ*  
*rius the Monk in his eight booke of dialogues and monacho,*  
*sixty ninth chapter, about the eightie fourth yeere after lib. 8. dialo.*  
*the death of Thomas Becket, which was the yeere cap. 69.*  
*of God 1220. whose words in summe come to this*  
*effect: Questio Parisiis inter magistros ventilata fuit,*  
*utrum damnatus an salvatus esset ille Thomas. Dixerat*  
*Rogerus tunc Normanus, fuisse illum morte ac damna-*  
*tionem dignum, quod contumax esset in dei ministrum*  
*regem. Protulit contra Petrus Cantor Parisiensis, quod*  
*signa salvationis & magnæ sanctitatis essent ejus mira-*  
*cula: & quod martyrium probasset ecclesiæ causa, pro*  
*qua mortem subierat, &c.*

#### In English:

There was a question moved among the masters of Paris, whether Thomas Becket was saved or damned. To this question answereth Roger a Norman, that hee was worthy death and damnation, for that hee was so obstinate against Gods minister his king. Contrary, Peter Cantor a Parisian disputed, saying and affirming, that his miracles were great signes and tokens of salvation, and also of great holinesse in that man: affirming moreover, that the cause of the Church did allow and confirme his martyrdome, for the which Church he died, &c.

**And thus haue ye the judgement and censure of the schoole of Paris touching this question, for the saving of Thomas Becket. In which judgement**

*Whether Thomas Becket be saved or damned.*

*If God in these latter dayes giueth no miracles to glorifie his owne name: much lesse will he giue miracles to glorifie Thomas Becket.*



for so much as the greatest argument resteth in the miracles wrought by him after his death; let us therefore pause a little upon the same, to trie and examine these his miracles. In the triall whereof we shall find one of these two to be true; that either if they were true, they were wrought not by God, but by a contrary spirit, of whom Christ our Lord gueth us warning in his Gospell, saying; Whose coming shall bee with lying signes and wonders, to deceive if it were possible the elect, Matth. 24. or else we shall find that no such were ever wrought at all, but fained and forged of idle Monkes and religious bellies, for the exaltation of their churches, and profit of their pouches; which thing indeed seemeth rather to be true, and no lesse may appear by the miracles themselves, let forth by one of his owne Monkes, and of his owne time; who in due solemne bookes hath comprehended all the revelations, vertues and miracles of the Archbishop; the which bookes (as yet remaining in the hands of William Stephanson citizen of London) I have scene and perused; wherein is contained the whole summe of all his miracles, to the number of 270. being so far off from all truth and reason, some ridiculous, some monstrous, vaine, absurd, some also blasphemous, and some so impudent, that not onely they deserve no credit, (altogether sauntering of mere forgery) but also for very shame will abash an honest pen to write of them. First, if miracles serve for necessitie and for infidels, what cause or necessitie was there (in a Christian realme having the word of God) for God to worke such miracles after his death, who neuer wrought any in all his life? Then to consider the end of these miracles, whither doe they tend, but onely to bring men to Canterbury, with their vovyes and offerings to enrich the convent?

Before the number of these miracles, which be said to be so many that they lose their owne credit; what disease is there belonging to man or woman, in the curing whereof some miracle hath not bin wrought by this *Δαυατῆρος*, as feavers, fistula, the gout tooth-ach, pallie, consumption, falling sickness, leprosie, head-ach, broken armes, maimed legs, swelling throttes, the raising up of the dead which have bene two dayes departed, with infinite others. And as all these have been healed (for the most part) by one kind of salve (as a certaine Panacea) which was, with the water onely of Canterbury, like as a cunning Smith, which would open with one key all manner of locks; so againe in reading of the storie of these miracles ye shall find the matter so conceived, that the power of this dead saint was neuer twice shewed on any one disease, but every diuers disease had a diuers miracle.

To recite in order all these prodigious revelations and fantasticall miracles, falsely imagined and ascribed to this archbishop, were nothing els but to write a legend of lies, and to occupie the people with trifles. Which because it pertaineth rather to the idle profession of such dreaming Monkes and cloisterers, that haue nothing els to maintaine their religion withall; I will not take their profession out of their hands. Wherefore to omit all such vaine and lying apparitions and miracles, as how this angry saint (three dayes after his death) appeared by vision at the altar in his pontificalibus, commanding the quire not to sing, but to say this office of his masse: Exurge, quare obdormis Domine, &c. Which vision the author himselfe of the booke doth say hee did see. To omit also the blasphemous lie, how in another vision the said Archbishop should say, that his blood did cry out of the earth to God, more then the blood of Iust Abell. Item, in another vision it was shewed to a Monke of Lewis, how S. Thomas had his place in heauen appointed with the Apostles, above Stephan, Laurence, Vincent, and all the other Martyrs. Whereof this cause is removed, for that S. Stephan, Laurence, and such

others, suffered onely for their owne cause: but this Thomas suffered for the universall Church. Item, how it was shewed to a certaine young man (Damas by name) twelve yeeres before the death of this Becket, that among the Apostles and martyrs in heauen there was a vacant place left for a certaine priest, as he said, of England, which was creditably supposed to be this Thomas Becket. Item, how a certaine knights sonne, being two dayes dead, was revived againe so sone as he had the water of Canterbury put in his mouth, and had by his parents foure pieces of siluer bended, to be offered in Canterbury in the childes behalfe. All these, I say, with such other like to omit (the number whereof cometh to an infinite varietie) onely this one storie, or another that followeth, shall suffice to expresse the vaine and impudent forgery of all the rest.

In the fourth booke of this fabulous author, and in the third chapter, a miracle is there contained of a certaine countie man of Bedfordshire in Kings Weston, whose name was Cilwardus; which Cilwardus, in his darkennesse busling into another mans house which was his debtor, took out of his house a great whetstone, and a paire of hebbing gloves. The other partie seeing this value not sufficient for his condemnation (by the counsell of the towne-clerke) entred an action of felonie against him for other things besides, as for stealing his wimble, his arc, his net, and other clothes. Whereupon Cilwardus being had to the Gaole of Bedford, and afterward condemned for the same, was judged to have both his eyes put out, and also those members cut off, which nature with secret shame hath covered. Which punishment by the malice of his aduersarie being executed upon him, he, lying in great danger of death by bleeding, was counselled to make his prayer to this Thomas of Canterbury. Which done (saith the miracle) there appeared one to him by night, in white appavell, bidding him to watch and pray, and put his trust in God and our Lady, and holy S. Thomas. In conclusion, the miracle thus fell out: The next day at evening the man, rubbing his eye lids, began to see his eyes to be restored againe: first in a little, after in a greater measure, so that one was of a gray colour, the other was of blacke; and here was one miracle rung. After this followed another miracle also upon the same person: for going but the space of foure miles, when his eyes were restored, he chanced (in like manner) to rub the place where his secret parts were cut off, and immediately on the same his Pen-denda (to use the words of my storie) were to him restored, Principio parva quidem valde, sed in majus proficiencia, which he permitted every one to see that would, and shamed not to denie. In so much that he, coming up to S. Thomas, first at London was received with joy of the Bishop of Durham; who, then sending to the burgers of Bedford for the truth of the matter, received from them a gaine letters testimoniall, wherein the citizens there (saith this fabulous fellow) confirmed first to the Bishop, then to the Convent of Canterbury, the relation of this to be as hath bene told. This one miracle (gentle reader) so shamelesse and impudent, I thought here to expresse, that by this one thou mightest judge of all the residue of his miracles; and by the residue thereof mightest judge moze cuer of all the filthy wickednesse of all these lying Monkes and cloisterers, which count it a light port to impudent-ly to deceive the simple soules of Christs Church with trifling lyes and dreaming fables. Wherefore (as I said) if the holy sainting of Thomas Becket standeth upon no other thing but upon his miracles, what credit is to be given thereto? and upon what a weake ground his lyne so long hath stood, by this may easily be scene. Furthermore, another fable as notable as this, and no lesse worthy of the whetstone, we read in the storie of Gervahus: That the

A place prepared in heauen for Becket twelve yeeres before his death.

An impudent and a lying miracle.

Ex historia monachi Cant. de miraculis b. Thomae.

A blasphemous vision.

A false and impudent miracle.

ber de miculis b. nome, aure o quodam antuar.

Biracles of Becket considered.

Aqua Cantuariensis.

Staying at the masse forbidden by Thomas Becket after his death. A blasphemous lie.

Becket above the martyrs in heauen.



mas Becket appearing to a certaine priest, named Thomas, declared to him that he had to broughe to passe, that all the names of the Bishops of the Church of Canterbury, with the names of the priests and clerkes, and with the families belonging to that cite and Church of Canterbury, were written in the booke of life. Ex Gervaf. fol. 6.

But whatsoeuer is to be thought of his miracles, or howsoever the testimonie of the schoole of Paris, or of these ancient times, went with him or against him: certaine it is, that this anthem or collect, lately collected and pruned in his praise, is blasphemous, and derogateth from the praise of him to whom only all praise and honour is due, where it is said;

Tu per Thomæ sanguinem, quem pro te impendit,  
Fac nos Christe scandere, quo Thomas ascendit.

That is:

For the blood of Thomas,  
Which he for thee did spend,  
Grant us (Christ) to clime,  
Where Thomas did ascend.

Wherein is a double lie contained: first, that he died for Christ; secondly, that if he had so done, yet that his blood could purchase heaven. Which thing neither Paul nor any of the Apostles durst ever challenge to themselves: for if any mans blood could bring us to heaven, then the blood of Christ was shed in vaine.

And thus much touching the testimonie or censure of certaine ancient times concerning the cause of Thomas Becket. In the explication of whose historie I haue now stood the longer (exceeding peradventure in ouer much prolixitie) to the intent that his cause being fully opened to the world, and duly weighed on euery part, mens mindes (thereby long deceived by ignorance) might come vnto the more perfect certaintie of the truth thereof, and thereby judge more surely what is to be received, and what to be refused. Where by the way is to be noted out of the testimonie of Rob. Crikeladensis, which in him I find; that the peeres and nobles of this land, nere about the king, gaue out in strait charge vpon pain of death and confiscating of all their goods, that no man should be so hardie as to name Thomas Becket to be a martyr, or to preach of his miracles, &c. Ex Crikeladensi.

After the death of Thomas Becket, the king fearing the Popes wrath and curse to be laid vpon him (whereunto Ludouick the French king also helped what he could to set the matter forward) sent to Rome the Archbishop of Rothomage, with certaine other Bishops and archdeacons vnto the Pope with his excuse, which the pope could in no wise heare. And after other messengers being sent (whom some of the Cardinals received) it was shewed to them that on Goodfriday (being then nere at hand) the Pope of custome was used to asseile or to curse, and that it was noised how the king of England with his Bishops should be cursed and his land interdicted, and that they should be put in prison. After this, certaine of the Cardinals shewed the Pope, that the messengers had power to sweare to the Pope that the king should obey his punishment and penance: which was taken both for the king and the Archbishop of Poike. So that in the same day the Pope cursed the dooers, with such as were of their consent, that either aided or harboured them. Concerning these doers it is touched briefly before, how they lying in Chertborough fled into Poikshire; who, after hauing in penance to goe in their linnen clothes barefoot (in fasting and prayer) to Jerusalem, by reason of this hard penance are said to die in few yeeres after.

The kings Ambassadors lying, as is said, in Rome, could find no grace nor fauour a long time at the Popes hands. At length with much adoe it was

agreed, that two Cardinals should be sent downe to inquire out the matter concerning them that were consenting to Becket's death. The king perceiving what was preparing at Rome, neither being yet certaine whereto the intent of the Pope and coming downe of the Cardinals would tend: in the meane time addressed himselfe with a great power to enter into Ireland, giuing in charge and commandement, as Hoveden writeth, that no bringer of any Brieve or letter should come ouer into England, or passe out of the Realme (of what degree or condition soeuer he were) without speciall licence, and assurance that he would bring nothing that should be prejudiciall to the Realme.

This order being set and obtained, the king with 400. great ships taketh his journey to Ireland, where he subdued in short time the whole land vnto him, which at that time was governed under diuers kings to the number of five: of whom foure submitted themselves vnto the said king Henrie; onely the fifth, who was the king of Conada, denied to be subdued, keeping him in woods and marthes.

In the meane season, while the king was thus occupied in Ireland, the two Cardinals that were sent from the Pope (Theobaldus and Albertus) were come to Normandie. Vnto whom the king the next yeere following resorted about the moneth of October, in the yeere 1172. But before (during the time of the kings being in Ireland) the Bishop of London, and Joceline Bishop of Salisbury had sent to Rome, and procured their absolution from the pope. The king returning out of Ireland, by Wales, into England, and from thence to Normandy, there made his purgation before the Popes Legats, as touching the death of the foresaid Becket; to the which he swore he was neither aiding nor consenting, but onely that he spake rigorous words against him, for that his knights would not auenge him against the said Thomas; for the which cause this penance was enjoined him vnder his oath.

First, that he should send so much into the holy land, as would find two hundred knights or souldiers for the defence of that land.

Also, that from Christmas day next following he should set forth in his owne person to fight for the Holy land, the space of thre yeeres together, unless he should bee otherwise dispenced withall by the Pope.

Item, that if he would make his journey into Spaine (as his present necessitie did require) there he should fight against the Saracens, and as long time as he should there abide, so long space might he take in prolonging his journey toward Jerusalem.

Item, that he should not hinder, nor cause to be hindered by him, any appellations made to the Pope of Rome.

Item, that neither he nor his sonne should depart or disseuer from Pope Alexander, or from his catholike successors, so long as they should recount him or his sonne for kings catholike.

Item, that the goods and possessions taken from the church of Canterbury should be restored againe (fully and amply) as they stood the yeere before Thomas Becket departed the Realme; and that free libertie should be granted to all such as were outlawed for Becket's cause to returne againe.

Item, that the foresaid customes and decrees, by him established against the Church, should be extinct and repealed (such onely except that concerned his owne person, &c.) besides other secret fastings and aimes enjoined him.

All these former conditions the king with his son did both agree vnto, debasing himselfe in such sort of submission before the two Cardinals: by the occasion whereof, the Cardinall took a little glory, using this verse of the Psalm; Qui respicit terram, &c. facit eam tremere; qui tangit montes & fumigant: 50. That is: Which looketh vpon the earth, & maketh it

The blasphemous anthem of Thomas Becket.

Ireland first subdued to England.

{ Anno }  
1172

The Kings penance for the death of Becket

The King sent to Rome.

Ex libro annotationum historiarum manu scripto. I. S. Kent.

The penance of the four knights.

Ex. Quadri  
facit eam tremere; qui tangit montes & fumigant: 50.



to tremble; which toucheth the hills, & they smoke, &c. Moreover, it is mentioned in histories of the said king, that, a little after William King of Scots with his armie had made a rode into the realme, he, returning out of Normandie into England, came first to Canterbury; who by the way (so soone as he came to the sight of Becket's Church) lighting off his horse, and putting off his shoes, went barefoot to his tombe, whose steps were found bloudy through the roughnesse of the stones. And not only that, but also he received further penance, by every Monk of the cloister, certaine discipline of a rod. By which so great dejection of the king (if it were true) thou maiest see the blind and lamentable superstition and ignorance of those daies. If it were punished (as might so be in time of warre, to get the hearts of the people) yet maiest thou learned reader see what slavery kings and princes were brought into at that time under the Popes clergy. The same yere (as Hoveden writeth) which was 1174, the whole cite of Canterbury was almost all consumed with fire, and the said minster church cleane burnt.

The next yere ensuing, which was 1175, a contention of Bishops was holden at Westminster by Richard Archbishop of Canterbury. In which conventicle all the Bishops and Abbats of the province of Canterbury and of Poike, being present, determined (as it had done a little before in the daies of king Henry the first, Anno 1113.) about the obedience that Poike should doe to Canterbury: that is, whether the Archbishop of Poike might beare his crosse in the diocese of Canterbury or not, whereof something was touched before in the former protest of this historie. Also about the Bishoppicke of Lincoln, of Chichester, of Worcester, and of Hereford, whether these churches were under the jurisdiction of the Sea of Poike or not, &c. Upon these and other like matters rose such controuersie betwene these two Seas, that the one appealed the other to the presence of the Bishop of Rome.

In these and such like causes, how much better had it bene if the supremacie had remained more neere in the kings hands at home. Whereby not onely much labour and trauell had bene saved, but also the great and wastfull expences bestowed at Rome might with much more fruit and thanke have been converted to their cures and flockes committed unto them, & also percase their cause no lesse indifferently heard, at least more speedily might haue bene decided. But to the purpose againe. In this controuersie diuers of the Bishops of Poikes clergy, such as were of Gloucester, belonging to the church of S. Oswald, were excommunicate by the archbishop of Canterbury, because they, being summoned, refused to appeare before him, &c. At length the same yere, which was 1175, there was a cardinal sent downe from Rome by the kings procurement, who studied to set a peace betwene the two Archbishops. Whereupon this way of agreement was taken (by the meanes of the king) at Winchester, that as touching the church of S. Oswald at Gloucester, the Archbishop of Canterbury should cease his claime thereof, molesting the Sea of Poike no more therein: also should absolue againe the clerkes thereof whom he had excommunicated before. And as concerning the bearing of the crosse and all other matters, it was referred to the Archbishop of Rothomage, and of other bishops in France, so that for five yeres a league or truce was taken betwixt them, till they should haue a full determination of their cause.

The next yere following, the foresaid king Henry the second (diuiding the realme of England into five parts) ordained upon every part three iustices of assise. The circuit or limitation of which iustices was thus disposed. The first upon Norfolk, Suffolke, Canteburghshire, Huntingdonshire, Bedfordshire,

Buckinghamshire, Essex, Hertfordshire. Two upon Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Stamfordshire, Warwickshire, Northamptonshire, Leicestershire. Three upon Kent, Surrey, Southhamptonshire, Southey, Warkshire, Dorsetshire. Foure upon Herefordshire, Gloucestershire, Worcestershire, Salopshire. Five upon Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, Summerlastshire, Denonshire, Cornwall. Six upon Gierkehire, Richmondshire, Lancaster, Copland, Westmerland, Northumberland, Cumberland.

In the which yere also Richard Archbishop of Canterbury made three Archdeacons in his diocese, whereas before there was but one. About which time also it was granted by the king to the Pope Reginald, that a clerke should not be called before a temporal Judge, except for offence in the fozeell, or for his lay fee that he holdeth.

Item, that no archbishoppicke, bishoppicke, or abbey should remaine in the kings hands ouer one yere without great cause. It chanced the same yere that this was done, there was at Canterbury one elected to be Abbat in the house of S. Austine named Albert, who made great labour and sute vnto the Archbishop that he would come to his Church, and there consecrate him abbat of S. Austins. To whom the Archbishop sent word againe, that he was not bound to come to him, but rather the other should repaire to the metropolitan Church of Canterbury, there to receive his consecration. Whereupon (controuersie rising betwene them) the foresaid new elected appealed vp to the audience of the Pope, and so laboured by himselfe to Rome. Where he so handled the matter (by what meanes I cannot tell, unless with his golden bottell, wherewith he quenched the Popes thirstie soule, for Abbats neuer trauell lightly without fatte purses to Rome) that with short dispatch he procured letters from Alexander the pope, to Roger Bishop of Worcester, signifying to him, that he had giuen in charge and commandement to the Archbishop of Canterbury (in the behalfe of his deare sonne Albert) that hee should consecrate him within his owne Monastery: which monastery properly and solely without mediation belonged to the jurisdiction of Rome, and so likewise should doe to his successors after him, without any exaction of obedience of them. Which thing, further hee said, if the Archbishop would refuse to do within the terme appointed, that then hee be the foresaid Bishop of Worcester should (by the authority committed vnto him) execute the same, all manner of appellation or other decree, whatsoever should come, notwithstanding. This letter being obtained, the abbat that would be, returneth home, supposing with himselfe all things to be sure. The Archbishop understanding the cause, and seeing himselfe be so straitly charged, and yet loth to yeld and stoope to the Abbat, took to him policy where authority would not serue: and both to saue himselfe, and yet to disappoint the Abbat, hee watcheth a time when the Abbat was about businesse of his house. And comming the same time to the Monastery, as he was commanded to doe, with all things appointed, that so such a businesse appertained, hee called for the Abbat, pretending no lesse then to giue him his consecration. The Abbat, being called for, was not at home: the Archbishop, faining himselfe not a little grieved at his labour and good will so lost, departed: as one in whom no ready diligence was lacking, if in case that the Abbat had bene at home. Whereupon the Abbat, being thus disappointed, was faine to fill his silver flagons afresh, and make a new course to Rome to his father the Pope, of whom hee received his consecration, and so came home againe, with as much wit as he went forth, but not with so much money peradventure as hee went withall.

We haue declared a little afore touching the acts and doings of this pope Alexander the third, how he

King Henry the second goeth on pilgrimage with bloudy steps to Thomas Becket's tombe.

Ex Rogero. Hovedeno. Quadringo. & alia.

Anno 1174

The cite of Canterbury almost consumed with fire.

Ex Hovedeno, parte 1. continuatae historiae.

Anno 1175

Controuersie betwene the Sea of Canterbury and the Sea of Poike. Archbishop of Poike appeared the Archbishop of Canterbury to the Bishop of Rome.

The clerkes of S. Oswald in Gloucester excommunicated.

Agreement betwene the Archbishop of Canterbury and of Poike.

Anno 1176

Justices of assise diuided into five circuits.

Ex epitome Marti. Paris. & aliarum historiarum.

A frivolous contention betwene the Archbishop and the Abbat of Canterbury. Where was here the precept of the Gospel: He that will be greatest amongst you, let him be an vnderling to others. The error of the Popes letter to the Bishop of Worcester.



Houedenus,  
Gisburgenfis.

Anno  
1177

had brought the Emperours head vnder his foote in Saint Markes church at Venice: at which time and place peace was concluded, and a composition made between the Pope and the said Frederike the Emperour. Which pacification Rogerus Houedenus, and Gualterus Gisburgenfis, referre to this time, being the yeres of our Lord 1177, bringeing in two several letters sent from the said Pope Richard, bishop of Canterbury, and to Roger Archbishop of Yorke, and Hugh Bishop of Duresme. Out of the which letters, so much as serveth to our purpose, I haue taken and here inserted.

The Letter of Pope Alexander, sent to Roger Archbishop of Yorke, and to the Bishop of Duresme.

Alexander servant of the servants of God, to his reverend brethren Roger Archbishop of Yorke, and Hugh Bishop of Duresme greeting and apostolical blessing. The obsequie and service of your kind devotion, which hitherto you are knowne to have given both devoutly and laudably to us and to the Church, requireth that we should describe to you, as to our speciall friends, the prosperous successe of the Church, and to let you know, as spirituall children of the Church, what hath happened to the same. For meete it is, convenient, and also honest, that you, whom we have had so firme and sure in our devotion, should now be cherished and made joyous in the prosperity of us and of the Church. And about the end of the Epistle it followeth thus:

The next day following, which was the feast of S. James (the said Emperour so requesting) we came to the foresaid Church of S. Marke, there to celebrate our solenne masse, where (as we were comming in the way) the said Emperour met us without the church, and placing us againe on his right hand, he brought us so into the said Church. After the masse was done, placing us againe on his right hand, hee brought us to the Church doore. And moreover, when we should take our palfrie, hee held our stirrup, exhibiting to us such honour and reverence, as his progenitors were wont to exhibit to our predecesours. Wherefore these shall be to incite your diligence and studie towards us, that you rejoyce with us and the Church in these our prosperous successes, and also that you shall open the same effect of peace to other devout children of the Church: that such as be touched with the zeale of the house of the Lord, may congratulate and rejoyce also in the Lord for the great working of peace which he hath given. Given at Venice, in the deepe river, the fixe and twentieth of Iuly.

This yere the contention renewed againe, spoken of a little before, betwene the two Archbishops of Yorke and Canterbury, the occasion whereof was this: The manner and practise of the Pope is, when he beginneth to lacke money, he sendeth some limiting Cardinall abroad to fetch his harvest in. So there came this yere into England (as lightly few yeres were without them) a certaine Cardinall from Rome, called Hugo, or as Houedenus nameth him, Hugonin, who would needes keepe a counsell at Westminster. To this counsell resorted a great confluence (about middle of Lent) of Bishops, Abbates, Priors, Doctors, and such others of the clergie. As every one was there placed in his order, and after his degree, first cometh the Archbishop of Yorke named Roger, who (thinking to prevent the other Archbishop) came something sooner, and straightway placed himselfe on the right hand of the Cardinall. Richard the Archbishop of Canterbury, following shortly after, and seeing the first place taken up, refuseth to take the second, complaining of the Archbishop of Yorke, as one prejudiciall to his See. So while the one would not rise, and the other part not sit downe, there rose no small contention

betwene them two. The Archbishop of Canterbury claimed the hyper seat by the preheminnence of his Church. Contrary, the Archbishop of Yorke alledged for him the old decrees of Gregorie, whereof mention is made before. By which this order was taken betwene the two Metropolitans of Canterbury and Yorke, that which of them two should be first in election, he should have the preheminnence in dignitie, to goe before the other. Thus they contending too and fro, wared so warme in wordes, that at last they turned to hot blowes. How strong the Archbishop of Yorke was in reason and argument I cannot tell; but the Archbishop of Canterburie was stronger at the armes end: whose servants being more in number (like valiant men) not suffering their master to take such a foile, so prevailed against Yorke (sitting on the right hand of the Cardinall) that they pluckt him downe from the hand to the foot of the Cardinall upon the ground, treading and trampling upon him with their feet, that marvel it was he escaped with life. His casule, chimer, and rochet were all to bee rent and torne from his backe. Here no reason would take place, no debating would serve, no praying could be heard, such clamour and tumult was there in the house among them, much like to the tumult which Virgil describeth:

Ac veluti in magno populo, cum saepe coorta est  
Seditio, saevitque animis ignobile vulgus,  
Iamque faces & saxa volant, furor arma ministrat.

Now as the first part of this description doth well agree, so some peradventure will looke againe, that according to the latter part also of the same, my lord Cardinall with sagenesse and grauitie (after the manner of the old Romans standing up) should haue ceased and allaid the disturbance, according to that which followeth in the Poet:

Tum pietate gravem meritis si forte virum quem  
Conspexere, silent, arrestisque auribus astant:  
Ille regit mentes dictis, & peiora mulcet, &c.

But what did the noble Roman Cardinall: Liks a pretty man of his hands (but a prettier man of his face) standing up in the midst, and seeing the house in such a boyle, committed himselfe to flight, and (as Houedenus writeth) Abscondit se a facie illorum. The next day after the archbishop of Yorke bringeth to the Cardinall his rochet, to beare witnesse what injury and violence he had sustained; appealing and crying up the Archbishop of Canterbury with certaintie of his men to the Bishop of Rome. And thus the holy counsell (the same day it was begun) brake up and was dissolved.

Under the reigne of this king Henry the second, the dominion and crowne of England extended so farre as hath not bene seene in this Realme before him; whom histories record to possesse under his rule and jurisdiction, first, Scotland, to whom William king of Scots, with all the Lords temporall and spirituall, did homage both for them and for their successors (the seale whereof remaineth in the Kings treasury) as also Ireland, England, Normandie, Aquitan, Cant, &c. To the mountaines of Pireneis, which be in the uttermost part of the great ocean in the Brittain Sea, being also protector of France; to whom Philip the French king yielded both himselfe and his realme wholly to his governance, in the yere of our Lord 1181. Moreover, he was offered also to be the King of Jerusalem by the patriarch and master of the hospitall there: who, then being distressed by the Soldan, brought him the keyes of their citie, desiring his aide against the infidels: which offer hee then refused, alledging the great charge which he had at home, and the rebellion of his sons, which might happen in his absence.

The large dominion of King Henry the second.

Homage of Scotland to King Henry the second.

King Henry the second protector of France.  
King Henry chosen king of Jerusalem and Jerusalem.

Contention betwene two Archbishops who should sit on the right hand of the Cardinall.



And here the old histories find a great fault with the king for his reftall; declaring that to bee the cause of Gods plagues, which after infued vpon him by his children, as the patriarch in his oration (being offended with the king) prophesied shouldso happen to him for the same cause. Which story, if it be true, it may be a lesson to good Princes, (not to deny their necessary helpe to their distressed neighbors, especially the cause appertaining vnto God.

The wisdom, discretion, manhood, and riches of this Prince was so spread and renowned from all quarters, that messagers came from Emmanuell Emperour of Constantinople, Frederike Emperour of Rome, and William Archbishop of Treuers in Almaine, the Duke of Saxon, and from the Earle of Flanders, and also from the French king (vpon determination of great questions and strifes) to aske counsell and determination thereof of this King Henry, as of one most wise, and scholemaster of all wisdoms and doubts. Moreover, Alphonsus King of Castile, and Sancius King of Nauerne, being in strife for certaine Castles and other possessions, submitted them of their free accord and by their oath to abide the award of this King Henry; who made award and pleased them both; whereby it is to be presupposed that this King, to whom other Princes did so resort, as to their arbitrer and decider, did not attend either to any sloth or vicious living. Wherefore it may seeme that the acts of this Prince were not so vicious as some monkish writers doe describe.

Among many other things in this King memorable, this one is to be noted (follow it who can) that he reigning five and thirty yeeres, and hauing such warres with his enemies, yet neuer vpon his subjects put any tribute or tax, nor yet vpon the spiritualty, first fruits and appoyntments of benefices. Whelike they were not knowne, or else not used. And yet his treasure after his death (weighed by King Richard his sonne) amounted to aboue nine hundred thousand pounds, besides jewels, precious stones, and household furniture. Of the which substance eleuen thousand pounds came to him by the death of Roger Archbishop of Exeter, who had procured a bull of the pope, that if any priest died within his prouince without testament, then he should haue all his goods. And shortly after the Archbishop died, and the king had all his goods, which extended (as is said) to eleuen thousand pounds besides plate, in the yeere of our Lord God 1181.

But as there is no felicitie or wealth in this mortal world so perfect, which is not darkened with some cloude of incumbrance and aduersitie: so it happened to this King, that among his other princely successours, this incommoditie followed him withall, that his sonnes rebelled and stood in armour against him, taking the part of the French king against their father. First, at the coronation of Henry his sonne, whom the father joynd with him as king, he being both father and king, tooke vpon him (that not withstanding) but as a steward, and set downe the first dish as sewer vnto his sonne, renouncing the name of a king. At what time the foresaid archbishop of Exeter, sitting on the right hand of the young king, said: Sir, ye haue great cause this day to joy, for there is no prince in the world that hath such an officer this day, &c. And the young king disdainning his words, said: My father is not dishonored in this doing, for I am a king and a Quenes sonne, and so is not he: and not onely this, but after hee also persecuted his father; and so in his youth, when hee had reigned but a few yeeres, died: teaching vs what is the price and reward of breaking the iust commandment of God.

After him likewise Richard his sonne (who was called Richard coeur de lion) rebelled against his father, and also John his youngest sonne did not much regenerate from the steps of his brethren. In so much

that this foresaid Richard (like an unkinde childe) persecuting and taking part against his father, brought him to such distress of body and mind, that for thought of heart he fell into an ague, and within foure dayes departed, after he had reigned five and thirty yeeres: whose corps as it was carried to be buried, Richard his sonne, coming by the way and meeting it, and beginning for compassion to wepe, the blood brast incontinent out of the nose of the king at the coming of his sonne; giuing thereby a certaine demonstration how he was the onely authoz of his death.

After the death and raigne of which king, his children after him (mostly rewarded for their unnaturallnesse against their father) lacking the successe which their father had, lost all beyond the Sea that their father had got before.

And thus much concerning the raigne of Henry the second, and the death of Thomas Becket, whose death (as is aforesaid) happened in the dayes of pope Alexander the third, which Pope usurping the keyes of ecclesiasticall regiment one and twenty yeeres (or as Gisburnensis writeth, thre and twenty yeeres) gouerned the church with much tumult: striving and contending with Frederike the Emperour, not shaming, like a most proud Lucifer, to tread with his foote vpon the necke of the said Emperour, as is aboue described.

This Pope among many other his acts had certaine counsels (as is partly before touched) some in France, some at Rome in Lateran; by whom it was decreed, that no Archbishop should receiue the pall, vntill he should first sweare. Concerning the solemnity of which pall, for the order and manner of giuing and taking the same with obedience to the Pope, as it is contained in their owne words; I thought it good to set it forth vnto thee, that thou mayest well consider and vnderstand their doings therein.

The forme and manner how and by what words the Pope is wont to giue the pall vnto the Archbishop.

*AD honorem omnipotentis Dei, & beatae Mariae virginis, & beatorum Petri & Pauli, & animarum nostrorum N. papa, & sanctae Romanae ecclesiae, necnon N. ecclesiae tibi commissae, tradimus tibi pallium de corpore beati Petri sumptum, plenitudinem pontificalis officii, ut vtiaris eo in fratre ecclesiam tuam certis diebus, qui exprimentur in privilegiis tibi ab apostolica sede concessis.*

That is in English:

To the honour of Almighty God, and of blessed Marie the virgin, and of blessed Saint Peter and Paul, and of our Lord Pope N. and of the holy Church of Rome, and also of the Church of N. committed to your charge, we giue to you the pall taken from the body of S. Peter, as a fullnesse of the office pontificall, which you may weare within your owne Church vpon certaine dayes, which bee expressed in the priuiledges of the said Church, granted by the Sea apostolike.

Notes vpon the same.

To the honour, &c. With what confidence durst the Pope couple the honour of almighty God, and the honour of Mary, of Saint Peter, and of the Pope, and of the Romish Church all together, if he had not bene a presumptuous Lucifer, equalling himselfe not onely with such saints, but also euen with him which is God alone; to be blessed for ever?

Taken from the body, &c. If S. Peters body bee not all consumed, let him shew it if hee can. If hee cannot shew it, how then is this pall taken from the body of S. Peter? Or if he meane it to be of S. Peters

King Henry the second persecuted by his sonnes.

The death of King Henry the second, showing the king being dead, blest at the coming of his son.

Annō 1179.

Giuing of the pall.

owns

Did not to bee denied to our neighbours, the cause being goodly.  
Ex Polychro.  
Ex Giraldo Cambrensi.

King Henrie chosen arbitrer by two Kings.

The treasure of King Henry the second.

A courteous Archbishop.

The death of King Henry the second.



owne wearing. then belike S. Peter had a goodly war-drope of palles, when every Archbishop in all Christendome receiveth from the Pope a diuers pall.

As a fulnesse of the office, &c. Rather he might say, the fulnesse of his owne purse, when as Archbishops paid so sweetly for it. In so much that Iacobus the Archbishop of Mentz, as is aboue touched a little before in the council of Basill, where the price was wont to be but a thousand florens, could not obtaine it without fixe and twenty thousand florens.

Vpon certaine dayes, &c. This difference there was betwene the Pope and other Archbishops: for the Pope might weare the pall at all times and in all places at his pleasure. Archbishops might not weare it but vpon certaine dayes, & in their church only within their province. Moreouer this pall should not be asked but with great instance, and within three moneths, without which pall he is not to be named Archbishop, but may be depozed, hauing it not after three moneths: and the same pall must also be buried with him when he dieth; and when it is giuen, some priuiledge must be giuen withall, or the old remed.

In like manner proceedeth the oath of euery Bishop swearing obedience to the Pope, in like words as followeth.

**E**GO N. episcopus N. ab hac hora in antea fidelis & obediens ero beato Petro, sanctaeque apostolica Romanae ecclesiae, & domino meo D. N. papa. suisque successoribus canonice intrantibus. Non ero in consilio, seu auxilio, consensu, vel facto, ut vitam perdant aut membrum, seu capiantur mala captione. Consilium vero quod mihi credituri sunt, per se aut per nuntium, seu literas eorum, me sciente nemini pandam. Papatum Romanum & regalia S. Petri adiutor eis ero ad retinendum & defendendum salvo meo ordine, contra omnem hominem. Legatum apostolicae sedis in eundo & redeundo honorifice tractabo, & in suis necessitatibus adiuvabo. Vocatus ad synodum veniam, nisi praepeditus fuero canonica praepeditione. Apostolorum limina singulis triennii visitabo, aut per me, aut per meum nuntium, nisi apostolica absoluar licentia. Possessiones vero ad mensam mei episcopatus pertinentes non vendam, neque donabo, neque oppignorabo, neque de novo infundabo, nec aliquo modo alienabo in consilio Rom. pontifice: sic me Deus adiuvet, & sancta Dei Evangelia.

That is in English,

I N. Bishop of N. from this houre henceforth, will be faithfull and obedient to blessed S. Peter, and to the holy apostolike church of Rome and to my Lord N. the Pope. I shall be in no counsell, nor helpe either with my consent or darde, whereby either of them or any member of them may be impaired, or whereby they may be taken with any euill taking. The counsell which they shall commit to me either by themselves or by messenger, or by their letters, wittingly or willingly I shall utter to none to their hinderance and damage. To the retaining & maintaining the papacy of Rome, and the regalities of S. Peter, I shall be an aider (to mine order bee saued) against all persons. The legat of the apostolike See both in going and coming I shall honorably intreate and helpe in all necessities. Being called to a synod I shall be ready to come, unless I be let by some lawfull and canonically impeachment. The palace of the apostles every third yeare I shall visite either by my selfe or my messenger, except otherwise being licensed by the See apostolike. All such possessions as belong to the table and diet of my Bishopricke, I shall neither sell, nor giue, nor lay to mortgage, nor lease out, nor remoue away by any manner of meanes without the content and knowledge of the Bishop of Rome: so God helpe me and the holy Gospels of God.

A note vpon the same.

¶ Hereby thou hast by the way (gentle reader) to note and consider, among other things which here may be vnderstood, that since the time the oath began to be laid and thrust vpon Bishops, all general counsels began to lose their libertie. For how could any freedome remaine for men to speake their knowledge in redresse of things, being by their oath so bound to the Pope to speake nothing but on his side, to maintaine the papacie, and the Church of Rome in all times and places? Coniecture by thy selfe (Christian reader) what is more hereby to be considered.

Besides this, it was also decreed, in the said council at Rome of 310. bishops, by Pope Alexander that no man should haue any spirituall promotion, except hee were of lawfull age, and bozne in wedlocke. That no parish Church should be boyde aboue five moneths. That none within orders should meddle with temporall businesse. That Priests should haue but one benefice, and that the Bishop should be charged to finde the Priest a living till he be promoted.

That open vsurers should not communicate at Easter, nor be buried within the Church yard.

That nothing should bee taken for ministering sacraments, or burying.

Item, that euery Cathedral church should haue a master to teach children freely, without taking any thing for the same.

In this council the bow of chastitie was obstructed and laid vpon Priests. Thomas Becket also and Bernard were canonized for saints.

During the raigne and time of this King Henry the second, the citie of Norwich was destroyed and burnt, by the men of Flanders. Also the towne of Leicester. Nottingham wasted and the burgeses slaine by the Earle of Ferrers. The towne of Warwick destroyed by the Scots. The King of Scots was taken in warre by Englishmen in the yeare of our Lord 1174. The towne of Huntington taken and burned. The towne of Canterbury by casualty of fire burnt with all the Churches, specially with the trinity Church where Becket was worshipped. An. eod. The yeare of our Lord 1170. William King of Scots, with David his brother, and all the Barons of the Realme, did homage to the King of England. Ireland made subject to England. Decreed in a council in Normandy, that no boyes or children should possesse any benefice. A council of Lateran was holden at Rome, where were three and thirty Articles concluded, Anno 1179. The French king came in Pilgrimage to Thomas Becket; the King of England meeting him by the way, An 1184. After the death of Richard Archbishop of Canterbury, who followed after Thomas Becket, succeeded Baldwinus; who, of a Cistercian monke being made Bishop, is said neuer to eate flesh in his life.

Whom a certaine poore woman, bare and leane, meeting him in the streete, desired to know of him whether it were true that was said of him, that he neuer did eate flesh. Which thing when he had affirmed to be true: say (saith she) that is false, for you haue eaten my flesh into the bone: for I had but one cow wherewith I was sustained, and that haue youe Deanes taken from me. True, true, said the Bishop, and thou shalt haue another cow as good as that, &c. Iornalenf.

Moreouer in the raigne of the said King Henrie, about the yeare of our Lord 1178. I finde in the story of Roger Houeden and others, that in the citie of Tholouse was a great multitude of men and women whom the Popes commissioners, to wit, Peter Cardinal of saint Chrysogen, and the Popes Legate with the Archbishops of Narbon and Bituricensis, Reginald Bishop of Sathe, John Bishop of Poitiers,

The bow of chastitie laid vpon Priests.

Baldwinus Archbishop of Canterbury.

Ex libro graminum nationis Germanicae.

The solemn oath of Bishops made to the Pope.

Saluo meo ord. This was the clause that made Becket to be banished and to be slaine.

And how he not chose Bishops then perjured, which at the death of D. Becket, let and let out a great part of their possessions from their successors.



uisa, Henry Abbat Clareuallensis, &c. did persecute and condemne for hereticks; of whom some were scourged naked, some chased away, some compelled to abjure. Concerning whole articles and opinions I haue no firme ground to make any certaine relation, for so much as I see the papists many times to falsie in their quarrelling accusations, vntruely collecting mens sayings, not as they meant, and meaning not as they said: but wresting and deprauiing simple mens assertions after such a subtill sort as they list themselves to take them. But this I finde, how one of the said commissioners or inquisitors (Henry the Abbat) in a certaine letter of his wrote thus of them: Nam & panem sanctum vite eternæ, sacerdotis ministerio in verbo Domini consecratum, non est corpus Domini, novo dogmate contendebat asserere. That is, after a new opinion he affirmed, that the holy bread of eternall life, consecrated by the ministry of the priest, was not the body of the Lord, &c.

In the time of this Alexander sprang vp the doctrine and name of them which were then called Pauperes de Lugduno, which, of one Malbus a chiefe Senator in Lyons, were named Waldenses; Item Leonista & Insabbatati; about the yere of our Lord 1109. (as Lazardus writeth) An. 1170.

Not long before this time (as is expressed aboue) rose vp Gratianus master of the decrees, and Petrus Lombardus master of the sentences, both archpillars of all papistrise; after whom followed also two as euill, or worse then hey, Francisus and Dominicus, maintaining blind hypocrisie no lesse then the other maintained proud prelacie. As these laboured one way by superstition and worldly advancement to corrupt the sinceritie of Christian religion: so it pleased Christ the contrary way, labouring against these, to raise vp therfore the said Waldensians, against the pride and hypocrisie of the others.

Thus wee neuer see any great corruption in the Church, but that some sparkle of the true and cleare light of the Gospell yet by Gods prouidence doth remaine; whatsoeuer doctor Augustinus, Keinerius, Syluius, Cranzius, with others in their popish histories doe write of them (defaming them through mis-report) and accusing them to Magistrates, as disobedient to orders, rebels to the catholike church, and contemners of the virgin Mary: yet they that carry iudgement indifferent, rather trusting truth then waivering with times, in waighing their articles, shall finde it otherwise; and that they maintained nothing else but the same doctrine which is now defended in the Church. And yet I suppose not contrary, but as the papists did with the articles of Wickliffe and Hus, so they did in like manner with their articles also, in gathering and wresting them otherwise then they were meant.

The history of the Waldenses, concerning their originall and doctrine, with their persecutions.

The first originall of these Waldenses came of one Malbus, a man both of great substance, and no lesse calling in the citie of Lyons: the occasion wherof is declared of diuers writers thus to come: About the yere of our Lord 1160. it chanced that diuers of the best and chiefe heads of the citie of Lyons, talking and walking in a certaine place after their old accustomed manner, especially in the summer time, conferred and consulted together upon matters, either to passe over time, or to debate things to be done. Amongst whom it chanced one (the rest looking vpon) to fall down by sudden death. In the number of whom this foresaid Malbus, there being amongst them, was one: who beholding the matter more earnestly then the other, and terrified with so heauie an example, being (as is said) a

rich man, and Gods holy spirit working withall, was stricken with a deepe and inward repentance, whereupon followed a new alteration with a carefull studie to reforme his former life. In so much that first he began to minister large almes of his goods to such as needed. Secondly, to instruct himselfe and his familie with the true knowledge of Gods word. Thirdly, to admonish all that resorted to him by any occasion, to repentance and vertuous amendment of life. Whereby partly through his large giuing to the poore, partly through his diligent teaching and wholesome admonitions, more resort of people daily frequented about him; whom when he did see ready and diligent to learne, he began to giue out to them certaine rudiments of the Scripture, which he had translated himselfe into the French tongue: for as he was a man wealthy in riches, so he was also not vnlearned.

Although Lazardus, Wolateranus, with others, note him utterly vnlearned, and charge him with ignorance, as who should procure others to write and translate for him: by others, that haue seene his doings yet remaining in old parchment monuments, it appeareth he was both able to declare and translate the bookes of Scripture, and also did collect the Doctors mind vpon the same.

But whatsoeuer he was (lettered or vnlettered) the bishops and prelates seeing him so to intermeddle with Scriptures, and to haue such resort about him, albeit it was but in his owne house vnder priuate conference, could not abide, either that the Scriptures should be declared of any other, neither would they take the paines to declare it themselves. So being moued with great malice against the man, they threatened to excommunicate him if he did not leaue so to doe. Malbus seeing his doing to be but godly, and their malice stirred vp vpon no just nor godly cause, neglecting the threatnings and frettings of the wicked, said, that God must be obeyed more then man. To be briefe, the more diligent he was in setting forth the true doctrine of Christ against the errors of Antichrist, the more maliciously their fiercenesse increased. In so much that when they did see their excommunication to be despised and would not serue; they sealed not with prison, with sword and banishment to persecute, till at length they had driuen both Malbus and all the fauourers of his true preaching out of the citie.

Whereupon came first their name, that they were called Waldenses, or Pauperes de Lugduno, not because they would haue all things common amongst them, or that they, professing any wilfull puertrie, would imitate to liue as the Apostles did (as Syluius did falsly belieue them) but because they, being thrust out both of countrey and goods, were compelled to liue poorely whether they would or no. And thus much touching the first occasion and beginning of these men, and of the restoring and maintaining of the true doctrine of Christs Gospell, against the proud proceedings of popish errors. Now concerning their articles, which I finde in order and in number to be these:

Solis sacris literis credendum esse in his quæ ad salutem, &c. That is; Onely the holy Scripture is to be belaued in matters pertaining to saluation, and no mans writing, or man besides.

2 All things to be contained in holy Scripture necessary to saluation, and nothing to be admitted in religion, but what onely is commanded in the word of God.

3 To be one onely Mediator; other Saints in no wise to be made mediators, or to be inuocated.

4 To be no Purgatorie, but that all men either by Christ are justified to life, or without Christ be condemned: and besides these two neither any third or fourth place to be.

5 That all Pastors, namely such as bee sent for the

The true nature of Antichrist, neither himselfe to further the word, nor suffer others to do it.

The articles of the Waldenses.

Waldenses seu pauperes de lugduno. Leo. 1160. Sabba. 1111.

Four archpillars of proud papistrise.

The historie of the Waldenses or Albigenses.



the dead, bee wicked and to be abrogate.

6 All mens traditions to be reſected, at leaſt not to be reputed as neceſſary to ſalvation, and therefore this ſinging and ſuperfluous chanting in the chancel to be left: conſtrained and preſcribed ſaſts bound to daies and times, difference of meates, ſuch varietie of degrees and orders of Priests, Friars, Monks, and Puns, ſuperfluous holy daies, ſo many ſundry benedictions and hallowing of creatures, bowes, peregrinations, with all the rabblement of rites and ceremonies brought in by man, to be abolithed.

7 The ſupremacie of the Pope ſurping about all Churches, and eſpecially about all politicke realmes and governments, or for him to occupie or ſurpe the iuriſdiction of both the ſwordes, to bee denied; neither that any degree is to be received in the Church, but onely Priests, Deacons, and Biſhops.

8 The Communion under both kindes to be neceſſary to all people, according to the institution of

9 Item, the church of Rome to bee the very Babylon ſpoken of in the Apocalypſe: and the Pope to bee the fontaine of all error, and the very antichriſt.

10 The Popes pardons and indulgences they reſect.

11 The marriage of Priests, and of Eccleſiaſtical perſons, to bee godly and alſo neceſſary in the Church.

12 Such as heare the word of God, and haue a right faith, to bee the right Church of Chriſt. And to this Church the keyes of the church are to be giuen, to drive away wolues, and to inſtitute true paſtors, to preach the word, and to miniſter the ſacraments.

Theſe be the moſt principall articles of the Waldenſes; albeit ſome there be, that adde moze to them: ſome againe diuide the ſame into moze parts; but theſe be the principall to which the reſt be reduced.

The ſame Waldenſes, at length exiled, were diſperſed in diuers and ſundry places, of whom many remained long in Bohemia; which writing to their king Ladislaus, to purge themſelves againſt the ſlanderous accuſations of one doctor Auſtin, gaue by their confeſſion with an apologie of their chriſtian profeſſion: defending with ſtrong and learned arguments the ſame which now is received in moſt reformed Churches, both concerning grace, faith, charitie, hope, repentance, and woorkes of mercie.

As for Purgatorie, they ſay that Thomas Aquinas is the author thereof.

Concerning the Supper of the Lord, their faith was, that it was ordained to bee eaten, not to bee ſhewed and worſhipped; for a memoriall, not for a ſacrifice; to ſerue for the preſent miniſtration and not for reſervation; to be received at the table, not to be carried out of the doores: according to the ancient uſe of the primitive Church, when they uſed to communicate ſitting. And this they proue both by an old Chronicle called Chronica geſtorum, as alſo by ancient Writen upon the third booke of Poſes, bringing in his wordes, which be theſe, prouing that this Sacramentall bread ought not to be reſerued: Quicunque hunc panem coena Chriſti ſecunda vel tertia die ſumpſerit, non benedicitur anima ejus, ſed inquinabitur. Propterea Gabaonites, quia antiquos panes, &c. That is, Whosoever receiveth this bread of the ſupper of Chriſt upon the ſecond or third day after, his ſoule ſhall not be bleſſed, but polluted. Wherefore the Gabaonites, becauſe they brought old bread to the children of Iſrael, it was injoyned them to carry wood and water, &c.

Doctor Auſtin, (of whom mention is made before) diſputing againſt them about this matter of the holy Eucharist, vgeth them with this interrogation; whether it be the ſame Chriſt (preſent in the ſacrament) which is preſent at the right hand of the Father: If it be not the ſame Chriſt, how is it true in

the Scripture, Vna fides, unus Dominus noster Iesus Christus. One faith, one Lord Iesus Chriſt: If it be the ſame Chriſt, then how is he not to be honoured and worſhipped here as well as there?

To this the Waldenſes answer againe, and grant that Chriſt is one, and the ſame with his naturall body, in the Sacrament, which hee is at the right hand of his Father, but not after the ſame exiſtence of his body. For the exiſtence of his body in heaven is perſonall and locall, to be apprehended by the faith and ſpirit of men. In the Sacrament the exiſtence of his body is not perſonall or locall, to be apprehended or received of our bodies, after a perſonall or corporall manner, but after a ſacramentall manner; that is, where our bodies receive the ſigne, and our ſpirit the thing ſignified. Moreover, in heaven the exiſtence of his body is dimenſive and complete with the full proportion and quantitie of the ſame body wherewith hee aſcended. Here, the exiſtence of his complete body with the full proportion, meaſure, and ſtature thereof, doth not, neither can ſtand in the Sacrament. Briefly, the exiſtence of his body in heaven is naturall, not ſacramentall; that is, to be ſene and not remembered: Here it is ſacramentall, not naturall; that is, to be remembered, not to be ſene.

That answer being made to the capitiouſ propoſition of D. Auſtin, the Waldenſes (retoyng the like interrogation to him againe) demand of him to answer them in the like objection: whether it be all one Chriſt ſubſtantially and naturally, which ſitteth in heaven, and which is under the formes of bread and wine, and in the receivers of the ſacrament: If he grant it to be, then they bid him ſay, ſaying Chriſt is as well in the Sacrament as in heaven, and as well in the receiver as in the ſacrament, and all one Chriſt in ſubſtance and nature; why then is not the ſame Chriſt as well in the breaſt of the receiver to be worſhipped, as under the formes of bread and wine in the ſacrament; ſaying hee is thereafter a moze perfect manner in man, then in the Sacrament: for in the Sacrament hee is but for a time, and not for the Sacraments ſake, but for the mans cauſe: In man hee is not for the Sacraments cauſe, but for his owne; and that not for a ſeaſon, but for ever, as it is written; Qui manducat hunc panem vivet in aeternum, That is, Hee that eateth this bread ſhall live for ever, &c.

Moreover and beſides, ſaying tranſubſtantiation is the going of one ſubſtance into another: they queſtion againe with him, whether the formes of bread and wine remaining, the ſubſtance thereof be changed into the whole perſon of our Lord Chriſt Iesus, that is, both into his body, ſoule, and divinitie, or not into the whole Chriſt: If he grant the whole; then ſay they, that is impoſſible (concerning the divinitie) both to nature and to our faith, that any creature can be changed into the Creator. If he ſay the bread is changed into the body and ſoule of Chriſt, not to his divinitie, then hee ſeparateth the natures in Chriſt. If he ſay into the body alone; not the ſoule, then he ſeparateth the natures of the true manhood, &c. and ſo it cannot be the ſame Chriſt that was betrayed for vs; for that hee had both body and ſoule. To conclude, to what part ſoever he would answer, this doctrine of tranſubſtantiation cannot bee defended without great inconvenience of all ſides.

And beſides, Cneas Sylvius writing of their doctrine and aſſertions (perchance as he found them, perchance making worſe of them then they taught or meant) reſpoſeth them after this manner, which I thought here to ſet out as it is in the Latine.

Romanum præſulem reliquis episcopis parem eſſe. Inter ſacerdotes nullum diſcrimen. Presbyterum non dignitatem ſed vitæ meritum eſſicere potiorum.

In Engliſh.

The Biſhop of Rome to be equal with other Biſhops.

That is, a capitiouſ queſtion in, conſidering on both ſides an inconvenience.

The answer of the Waldenſes.

What it is to receive after a Sacramentall manner.

Natural. Sacramentall.

An other Dilemma against tranſubſtantiation.

This article ſeemeth to be given by of them in Bohemia long after, for Indulgences came not in before Bonifacius the eighth.

Thomas Aquinas first founder of Purgatorie.

Ex Ortuino Gratia.

Chronica geſtorum. Origen ſuper tertium librum Moſis.

The Sacramentall bread ought not to be kept or reſerved.

Part of the diſputation betweene doctor Auſtin and the Waldenſes. Dilemma.

Aeneas Sylvius Bohemica hiſtoria de Waldenſium dogmatibus.



shops. Amongst priests to be no difference of degree. No priest to be reputed for any dignitie of his order, but for the worthinesse of his life.

The soules of men departed either to enter into paine euertlasting, or euertlasting joy. No fire of purgatorie to be found. No pray for the dead to be vaine, and a thing onely found out for the lucre of priests.

The images of God (as of the Trinitie) and of saints to be abolished. The hallowing of water and palmes to be a more idle. The religion of begging friers to be found out by the diuel. That priests should not inuoch riches in this world, but rather follow pouerty, being content with their tithes, and mens deuotion. The preaching of the Word to be free to all men called therewith.

That no deably sinne is to be tolerated, for what soeuer respect of a greater commoditie to inue thereupon. The confirmation which Bishops exercise with oyle, and extreme unction, are not to be counted amongst the sacraments of the Church. A particular confession to be but a toy, to suffice for euery man to confesse himselfe in his chamber to God. Baptisme ought to be ministred onely with pure water, without any mixture of hallowed oyle. The temple of the Lord to be the wide world. The maiestie of God not to be restrained more within the walls of Temples, Monasteries, and Chappels, so that his grace is rather to be found in one place than in another.

Priests apparell, ornaments of the high Altar, vestiments, corporaces, chalices, patins, and other church-plate, to serue in no stead. For the difference and respect of the very place, to make no matter, where the priest doth consecrate, or doth minister to them which doe require. To be sufficient to vse onely the Sacramentall words without all other superstitious ceremonies.

The suffrages of saints, raigning with Christ in heauen, to be craued in vaine; they being not able to helpe vs. In saying or singing the houres and matins of the day, the time to be but lost. A man ought to cease from his labour no day, but onely upon the Sunday.

The feasts and festiuals of Saints ought to be rejected. Item, such fasts as be coaded, and ensigned by the Church haue no merit in them.

The assertions of the Waldenses being thus articulated out by Cneas Syluius, I thought to giue them abroad in English as they are in Latine: to the intent that as they are the lesse to be doubted, being set out of a Popes pen; so we may the better know both them hereby what they were, and also vnderstand how this doctrine, now preached and taught in the Church, is no new doctrine, which here we see both taught and persecuted almost 400. yeres agoe. And as I haue spoken hitherto sufficiently concerning their doctrine; so now we will briefly somewhat touch of the order of their life and conuersation, as we finde it registred in a certaine old written booke of inquisition.

### Ex inquisitorio quodam libello.

Modus autem Waldensium talis est, &c. The whole proccesse commeth to this effect in English. The manner of the Waldenses is this, They, kneeling upon their knees, leaning to some banke or stay, doe continue in their prayers with silence so long as a man may say thirtie or forty times Pater noster. And this they doe euery day with great reuerence, being amongst themselves, and such as bee of their owne religion, and no strangers with them, both before dinner and after; likewise before supper and after; also what time they goe to bed, and in the morning when they rise, and at certaine other times also, as well in the day as in the night. Item, they be no other prayer but the prayer of the Lord; and

that without any Ave Maria, and the Crede, which they affirme not to be put in for any prayer by Christ, but onely by the Church of Rome. Albeit they haue and vse the seven articles of faith concerning the diuinitie, and seven articles concerning the humanity, and the ten commandments, and seven woorkes of mercy, which they haue compiled together in a compendious booke, glooping much in the same, and thereby offer themselves ready to answer any man for their faith.

Before they goe to meat they haue their grace, Benedicite, Kyrie eleyson, Christe eleyson, Kyrie eleyson, Pater noster. Which being said, then the elder amongst them beginneth thus in their owne tongue: God, which blessed the five barley loaves and two fishes in the desert before his disciples, blesse this table and that is set upon it, or shall be set upon it: In the name of the Father, of the Sonne, and of the holy Ghost, Amen. And likewise againe when they rise from meate, the senior giueth thanks, saying the words of the Apocalypse: Blessing, and worship, and wisdom, and thanksgiving, honour, vertue, and strength to God alone for ever and ever, Amen. And addeth mozeouer, God reward them in their bosome, and be beneficiall to all them that be beneficiall to vs, and blesse vs. And the God, which hath giuen vs corporall feeding, grant vs his spirituall life, and God be with vs, and we alwaies with him. To which they answer againe, Amen. And thus saying grace, they hold their hands vprward, looking vpto heauen. After their meate and grace said, they teach and exhort amongst themselves, consering together vpon their doctrine, &c.

In their doctrine and teaching they were so diligent and painfull, that Reinerius a writer about their time (an extreme enemy against them) in a long proccesse, wherein he describeth their doctrine and teaching, testifieth, that he heard of one which did know the partie, that a certaine hereticke (saith he) onely to turne a certaine person away from our faith, and to bring him to his (in the night, and in the winter time) swam over the riuer called Jbis, to come to him, and to teach him. Moreover, so perfect they were then in the scriptures, that the said Reinerius saith, he did heare and see a man of the countie vnlettered, which could recite ouer the whole booke of Job word by word, without booke, with diuers others which had the whole new Testament perfectly by heart.

And although some of them rather merrily than unskillfully expounded the words of I Ioan. Sui non Pius videtur receperunt eum, Swine did not receiue him; yet locus in laici were they not so ignorant and void of learning, nor vos sacerdos, yet so few in number, but that they did mightily prevaille, in so much that Reinerius hath these words; Non erat qui eos impedire auderet propter potentiam & multitudinem fautorum suorum. Inquisitioni & examinationi saepe interfui, & computata sunt 40 ecclesie, quae haeres infecta fuerunt, ac in una parocchia Cammach fuerunt decem eorum scholae, &c. That is, Where was none durst stop them for the power and multitude of their fauourers. I haue often bene at their inquisition and examination, and there were numbered forty churches infected with their heresie, in so much that in one parish of Cammach were ten open scholles of them, &c. Hec ille.

And the said Reinerius, when he hath said all he can in departing and impugning them, yet is driven to confesse this of them, where he doth distine their sect from other sects, and hath these words; Hec vero Leonistiarum secta magnam habet speciem pietatis, eo quod coram hominibus iuste vivant, & bene omnia de Deo credant, & omnes articulos, qui in simbolo continentur; solam Romanam ecclesiam blasphemant, & oderunt: What is, This sect of Leonists hath a great shew of holinesse, in that both they liue justly before men, and be true all things

The manner of grace being met.

Their grace after meate.

Reinerius an old inquisitor against the Waldenses.

The power and multitude of Waldenses.

Waldenses in all other points sound, but only for holding against the church of Rome. Ex Orthodoxis Gratia.

The temple of the Lord, that is, the proper habitation wherein God most properly dwelleth and looketh. That is, the very place maketh not the ministracion of holie things richer more or less holie.

De moribus & consuetudine Waldensium.



will of God, and hold all the articles contained in the Creed; onely they doe blaspheme the Romish church and hate it.

Now to touch somewhat their persecutions. After they were driven out of Lyons, they were scattered into diuers and sundry places (the providence of God so disposing) that the sound of their doctrine might be heard abroad in the world. Some, as I said, went to Bohemia, many did flee into their provinces of France, some into Lombardy, others into other places, &c. But as the crosse commonly followeth the veritie and sincere preaching of Gods word, so neither could these be suffered to live in rest. There are yet to be seene the consultations of lawers, Archbishops and Bishops of France, as Narbonensis, Arelatensis, Aquisensis, and Albanensis, devised amongst themselves, which yet remaine in writing, for the abolishing and extirping of these Waldenses, written about thre hundred yeres agoe; whereby it appeareth that there was a great number of them in France.

Besides, there was a whole counsell kept in Avinion about thre hundred fifty and five yeres before, and all against these Waldenses, the which also were condemned in another counsell at Rome before that.

What great persecutions were raised by against them in France by these four Archbishops before mentioned, it appeareth by their writings; whereof I will recite some of their words, which towards the end be these; Quis enim est solus ille peregrinus, qui condemnationem hereticorum Waldensium ignoret à longe retrò annis factam, tam famosam, tam publicam, tot & tantis laboribus, expensis & sudoribus fidelium infecutam, & tot mortibus ipsorum infidelium solenniter damnatorum, publicè, punitorum tam fortiter sigillatam? &c. What is such a stranger that knoweth not the condemnation of Waldenses the hereticks, done and past so many yeres agoe, so famous, so publicke, followed upon with so great labours, expenses, and trauele of the faithfull, and sealed with so many deaths of these infidels, so solemnely being condemned and openly punished? Whereby we may see persecution to be no new thing in the church of Christ, when antichrist so long before (even 300 yeres) began to rage against these Waldenses. In Bohemia likewise after that, the same called by the name of Habonits (as Solinus recordeth) suffered no little trouble. But neuer persecution was stirred up against them, or any other people more terrible, then was in these later yeres in France by the French king, in the yere of our Lord one thousand five hundred forty five, which lamentable story is described in Sleidan, and hereafter, in the proesse of his booke, as wee come to the order of yeres, shall be set forth (by the grace of Christ) more at large. In the which persecution is declared in one towne Cabiera, to be slaine, by the captaine of Sathan Sinerius, eight hundred persons at once, without respect of woman or children of any age; of whom forty women, and most of them great with childe, thrust into a barne, and the windowes kept with pikes, and so fire set to them, were all consumed. Besides in a caue not farre from the towne Dullium, the number of five and twenty persons with smoke and fire were the same time destroyed. At Berindolum the same tyrant (seeing all the rest were fled away) finding one young man, caused him to be tied to an olive tree, and to be destroyed with torments most cruelly: with much other persecution, as shall appeare hereafter, in the historie translated out of Sleidan into English.

But to returne againe to higher times, from whence me digressed. Besides that, Sinerius above mentioned speaketh of one in the towne of Cheron, a glouer, which was brought in this time to examination, and suffered. There is also an old monument of proesse, wherein appeareth foure hundred forty

and thre to be brought to examination in Domerania, Sarchia, and places thereabouts, about the yere of our Lord one thousand thre hundred ninety and one.

And thus much touching the origine, doctrine, and the lamentable persecutions of the Waldenses: who, as is declared, first began about the time of this king Henry, the second of that name.

#### 10 Other incidences happening in the raigne of this Henrie the second.

Concerning the first origine of the Waldenses, springing in the dayes of this king, is sufficiently hitherto declared. Now remaineth in the like order of time, to say also such other incidences as chanced under the raigne of the said king, not worthy to be observed, keeping the order of the time so nere as we may, and as authoys doe giue unto us.

Mary, the daughter of king Stephen, being the Abbess of Kanste, was married in this kings dayes to Matthew earle of Bullen, which marriage Thomas Becket did worke against, and did dissolve; by reason whereof he procured himselfe great displeasure with the said Carle, &c. An. 1161. Ex Chronico bibliothecæ Carienfis.

The same yere a certaine childe was crucified of the Jewes in the towne of Clorester, An. 1161. Tormalens. After the same manner the wicked Jewes had crucified another childe before in the city of Norwich, in the dayes of king Stephen, in the yere of our Lord 1145.

A collection was gathered through all England and France, two pence of euery pound, for the succour of the East Christians against the Turkes, in the yere of our Lord 1167. Ex eodem.

Babylon was taken and destroyed, and neuer since repaired, by Almaricus king of Hierusalem, An. 1170. Ex vetusto manuscripto exemplari historie Carienfis.

In the yere 1173, almost all England was diseased with the cough, Ex vetusto Chron. accephalo. About which yere also, William king of Scots was taken in battell and imprisoned in England.

Great war happened in Palestina, wherein the citie of Ierusalem with the crosse and king of the citie, and others of the temple, was taken of the Saracens, and most part of the Christians there either slaine or taken. Cruell murder and slaughter there was used by the Turke, who caused all the chiefe of the Christians to be brought forth, and beheaded before his face. In so much, that Pope Urbanus the third for sorrow died, and Gregorie the eighth, next pope after him, liued not two moneths. When in the daies of pope Clement the third, newes and sorrow growing daily for the losse of Palestina and destruction of the Christians, king Henry of England, and Philip the French king, the Duke of Burgundy, the earle of Flanders, the earle of Campana, with diuers other Christian Princes with a generall consent, upon Saint Georges day, took the marks of the crosse upon them, promising together to take their voyage into the holy land. At which time the Scorieslay the king of England received first the red crosse, the French king to ke the white crosse, the Earle of Flanders to ke the green crosse, and so likewise other princes diuersly diuers colors, thereby to be discerned euery one by his proper crosse.

But king Henry (after the thre yeres were expired, in which hee promised to performe his voyage) sent to the pope for further delay of his promise, offering to the same to erect thre monasteries, which thing hee thus performed; In the church of Waltham hee thrust out the secular Priests, and set in Monks for them. Secondly, hee repaired againe and brought in the Priests of Amesbury, which before were

The crosse commonly followeth the word.

Waldenses persecuted more then 300 yeres agoe by antichrist.

Incidents in the raigne of king Henrie the second.

Becket a dissoluer of marriages.

Two children crucified by the Jewes.

Babylon utterly destroyed.

The holy cross taken with the city of Ierusalem by the Saracens: persecution of the Turkes against the Christians.

A voyage against the Turkes.

How the difference of the crosses first came in among Christian princes.

The kings promises fulfilled to the pope.

Antichrist with whom he first began his persecution.

An horrible murder of Christs holy martyrs.

Sinerius an horrible persecutor.

A glouer suffered martyrdom in Cheron.

443 brought to examination.



were excluded for their incontinent life. And thus performed hee his promise made before to the Pope, Anno 1173.

The king of Scots did his homage and allegiance to the king of England and to his sonne, and to his chiefe Lords; promising that all the Carles and Barons of Scotland should do the like with their posterity. Item, all the bishops and abbats of the church of Scotland promised subjection and submission to the Archbishop of York, in the yere of our Lord, 1175. Nicol. Trivet.

The custome was in this realme, that if any had killed any clerke or priest, he was not to be punished with the temporall sword, but only excommunicated and sent to Rome for the Popes grace and absolution. Which custome in the daies of this king began first to be altered by the procurement of Richard Archbishop of Canterbury, in the yere of our Lord 1176. Trivet.

London bridge first began to be made of stone by one Peter, priest of Colechurch, in the yere 1176. Ex Chron. cujus initium: in diebus sanctissimi regis Edvardi, &c. Ex Biblioth. Cariensis.

S. William of Paris was slain of the Jewes on Thursday; wherefore the Jewes were burned, and he comited a Saint, Anno 1177.

Ireland subdued to the Crowne of England by this king, An. 1177. Ex variis Chron.

Under the reign of the said king Henry, about the five and twentieth yere of his raigne, Ludouicus the French king, by the vision of Thomas Becket appearing unto him in his dreame, and promising to him the recovery of his sonne, if he would resort unto him at Canterbury, made his journey into England to visit S. Thomas at Canterbury with Philip Earle of Flanders: where he offered a rich cup of gold, with other precious Jewels, and one hundred vessels of wine yearly to bee given to the Couent of the church of Canterbury; notwithstanding the said Philip in his returne from England, taking his journey to Paris to visit Saint Denis, in the same his pilgrimage was stricken with such cold, that he fell into a pilsie, and was benumbed of the right side of his body, Anno 1178. Iornalenfis, & alii.

Stephanus episcopus Redomonis was wont to make many rimes and gaudy prose to delight the cares of the multitude; to whom a little before his death this verse was sounded in his eare: Desine ludere temerè, nitere properè surgere de pulvere: An. 1178. Nic. Trivet.

Abingenes denied transubstantiation in the Sacrament of Christs body and blood about the cite of Wholouse; also that matrimony was not a sacrament, &c. in the yere of our Lord, 1178. ibidem.

King Henry separated himselfe from his wife Elenor, and held her many yeres in prison, as some thinke, for the loue of Hofamund. Which seemeth to me to be the cause why God afterward stirred all his forces vp to warre against him, and to worke him much sorow, in the yere 1179. Nic. Trivet. Notwithstanding the said Elenor was shortly after reconciled to him.

Saint Frideswide was translated into Oxford in the yere 1179.

In the yere 1180. there came to the Councell of Pope Alexander one Pisanus Burgundio, a man very cunning both in Greeke and Latine, which brought and presented to the Councell the homilies of Chrysostome upon the gospel of S. John, translated out of Greeke into Latine, and said that he translated likewise a great part of his exposition upon Genesis, saying moreover, that the said Chrysostome had made expositions in Greeke upon the whole old Testament and also the new in the yere 1180.

The monkes of Charterhouse first entered into this land, in the yere 1180.

In the yere 1181. Richard Besh, Bishop of Co-ventrie, before his death renounced his bishopricke, and became a canon in the Church of S. Thomas by Stafford. Ex chronico peructulto, cui initium, in diebus sanctis. regis, &c.

About the latter time of this king Henry, one Hugo, whom men were wont to call Saint Hugh of Lincoln, borne in Burgundy, and Prior of the monkes of Charterhouse, was preferred by the king to the bishopricke of Lincoln, who after his death is said to doe great miracles, and therefore was comited a Saint: An. 1186. Flores hist.

Baldwinus, Archbishop of Canterbury, began the building of his new house and Church of Lambeth; but, by the letters of Clement the third, he was forbidden to proceed in the building thereof: An. 1187. Trivet.

I doe find likewise in the foresaid written Chronicle remaining in the hands of one William Carle citizen of London, that this forenamed king, Henry the second, gave to the court and church of Rome for the death of Thomas Becket, forty thousand markes of silver, and five thousand markes of gold, in the yere of our Lord, 1187.

Hention was made a little aboue of Almarike king of Ierusalem, which destroyed Babylon, so that it was neuer after to this day restored, but lyeth waste and desolate, wherein was fulfilled that, which in the Prophets in so many places was threatened to Babylon before. This Almarike had a son named Baldwin, and a daughter called Sibylla. Baldwin from the beginning of his raigne was a leper, and had the falling sicknesse, being not able for feebleness of body (although valliant in heart and comacke) to satisfie that function.

Sibylla his sister was first married to one Wilhermus, Barquesse of mount Ferrat, by whom shee had a sonne called also Baldwinus. After him, shee was married to another husband, named Guido de Azimaco Earle of Ioppe and of Alalon. Upon this it befell, that the foresaid Baldwin the leper, son of Almaricus, being thus feeble and infirme, as is said, called his nobles together, with his mother and the patriarke, declaring to them his inability, and by the contents of them committed the undergouvernement of the cite unto Guido the husband of Sibylla his sister. But he being found insufficient, or else not luckie in the gouernment thereof, the office was translated to another named Ratmundus Earle of Tripolis. In the meane time, the Soldan with his Saracens mightily preuailed against the Christians, and ouer-ran the countrie of Palestine, in which mean time, Baldwin the king departed. Whereby the kingdom fel next to Baldwinus, the son of Sibylla by her first husband Wilhermus; the which Baldwinus, being but five yers old, was put to the custody of Ratmundus aforesaid. He also in his minority, before he came to his crowne, died: whereby the next succession by descent fell to Sibylla the wife of Guido aboue mentioned. The pæres and nobles, joyning together in counsell, offered unto the said Sibylla, as to the lawfull heire to the crowne, that she should be their Quene, with this condition, that she should sequester from her by solemn diuorcement the foresaid Guido her husband; but she refused the kingdome offered to her on that condition, till at last the magistrates, with the nobles in generall, granted unto her, and by their oths confirmed the same, that whomever she would chuse to be her husband, all they would take and obey as their king. Also Guido her husband, with like petition among the rest, humbly requested her, that the kingdome for his sake, or for his private losse, might not be destitute of gouernment. At length shee, with teares consenting to their intreaty, was contented, & solemnly was crowned their Quene, who after the manner again received their fidelity by their oth. Whereupon Guido, without all hope both of

The bishop of Co-ventrie voluntarily renounced his bishopricke.

S. Hugh of Lincoln.

R. Venies gift to the church of Rome for the death of Becket.

A worthy story of Sibylla and Guido, in the misale.

A worthy example of a true wife to her husband.

A worthy example in Guido of a true subject to the Common-wealth.



A singular exam-  
ple of prudence  
in a prince, and  
fidelity in a wife.

wife and kingdome, departed home quietly to his owne. This done, the Queene, assembling her states and prelates together, entered false with them about the chusing of the king, according to that which they had promised and sworne vnto her, and to obey him as their king, whom she would name to be her husband. Thus whilst they were all in great expectation, waiting every man whom she would nominate; the Queene with a loud voyce said to Guido that stood amongst them: Guido my lord, I chuse thee for my husband, and yielding my selfe and my kingdome vnto you, openly I protest you to be the king. At these words all the assembly, being amazed, wondered that one simple woman so wisely had beguiled so many wise men. And worthy was she, no doubt, to be commended and extolled for her singular vertue, both of faithfull chastitie and high prudence: so tempering the matter, that both she obtained to her husband the kingdome, and retained to her selfe againe her husband, whom she so faithfully loved: An. 1186. Ex historia manuscripta, cui initium, Rex Pictorum; ex bibliotheca Carienti matuata.

As I haue hitherto described the publike acts of king Henry, so now I meane to touch something of his priuate conditions. He was of meane stature, eloquent and learned, manly and bold in chivalry, fearefull of the instabilitie and chance of war, more lamenting the death of his souldiers dead, then louing them aliuie; none more courteous and liberall for the obtaining of his purpose; in peace and tranquillitie none more rough; stubborn against the stubborn, sometimes merciful to those whom he had vanquished, strict to his household seruants, but liberall to strangers; publike of publike things liberall, sparing of his owne; whom once he took a displeasure against, hardly or neuer would he receive againe to fauour; somewhat lauish of his tongue, a willing breaker of his promise, a lover of his ease, but an opposer of his nobilitie; a severe reuenger and furtherer of justice, variable of word, and crafty in his talks, an open adulterer, a neuer either of discord amongst his children: moreover, the papists bearing him (for Thomas Becketts quarrell, and such like, as may be gathered) no good will, terme him to be an aduersary of the faith, the mall and beeste of the Church.

Also in the chronicle intituled Sca'la mundi, I find of him, that he followed the steps, manners, and conditions of Henry the first his grandfather, in euery point. He preferred firme peace, and executed strict justice through all his dominions. He loved marvellous well his subjects: and againe those that were transgressors either to his crowne or person, he most severely punished.

Moreover, in a certaine historie intituled De regibus Anglie, I finde that this king was sundrie times admonished to reforme and amend his life, and first by one that was an old man in the castle of Cardif in Wales, at that time of the yeere called Dominica in albis, the eighth day after Easter: where also after that he had heard masse, and was going to take his horse, there stood a certaine man by him, somewhat yellowish (his haire being rounded, leane and ill fauoured) hauing on a white coat, and being barefote, who looked vpon the king, and spake on this wise: Good old king: (that done, thus he proceeded) the king salueth you and his blessed mother; John Baptist, and Peter straitly charge you, that vpon the Sundayes throughout all your dominions there be no buying and selling of other seruile businesse (those onely except which appertaine to the preparation of meate and drinke) which thing although thou shalt obserue, whatsoeuer thou takest in hand, thou shalt happily finish and bring to passe. When spake the king in french vnto the knight that held his horse by the bridle; Aske of this churle whether he dreamed this or not. And in the meane while that the knight should haue interpreted the kings words

and message, he spake before and said. Whether this be a dreame or not, marke well what day this is; for unless that thou do these things and amend thy life, such newes shalt thou heare within these twelue moneths, that will make thee lament and mourne till thy dying day. And when these words were spoken, the man vanished out of his sight; and within one yeere next after, Henry, Gaufrid, and Richard his sonnes, forsooke him their father, and to be part with the french king. The king of Scots, the Earle of Chester, and Earle of Leicester, made an insurrection against the king. Many other premonitions were giuen also to the king, but all these did hee little esteeme. The second, which did admonish him, was a certaine Irishman, giuing him certain secret signes. And thirdly, a certaine knight of Ffindeseie, named Philip de Gasterbie, saying with him ouer into France, declared vnto the king in Normanby seven articles, which he should amend. Which thing if he would doe, he should raigne seven yeeres most honourably, and should take the holy crosse from his enemies: or else he, in the fourth yeere, should die in a great ignominie. The three first things were these, which he at his coronation swore to obserue, that is, to defend the Church, to maintaine good lawes, and to condempne no man to death without iudgement. The fourth was, for the restoring of inheritance wrongfully taken; the fifth was in doing justice without reward; the sixth was of ministers and officers wages and stipends; the seventh was of expelling the Jewes, leauing them some money to depart withall. But the king not amending his life, there rose vp against him three strong enemies: that is to say, his three sons with the french king. But after that the king forsooth had gone on pilgrimage to the martyrs tombe barefote, William king of Scots, and the Carles of Chester and Leicester were taken at Alnewike.

In the five and thirtieth yeere of his raigne, being in the Castle of Chuen in Pontandie, he died; at whose death those that were present, were so grieved of the people, that they left the body of the king naked, and not so much could be found as a cloth to couer it, till that a page comming in, and seeing the king so ignominiously lie, threw his cleake vpon his nether parts: wherein, sayth the author, was berisod the surname which from his youth he bare, being called Henry Court Mantill.

### King Richard.

In this yeere of the Lord ahoue recited, which was 1189. king Richard the eldest sonne of Henry the second, succeding his father, entered his crowne; at which time pope Clement sat at Rome, succeding after Gregory, which died a little before with sorrow for the losse of the holy crosse.

During the time of whose coronation it befell, that notwithstanding the king, the day before his coronation, by publike edict commanded both the Jewes and their wiues not to presume either to enter the church, or else his palace, during the solemnization of his coronation, amongst his nobles and barons, yet (whilst the king was at dinner) the chiefe of the Jewes, with diuers other of his Jewish affinitie and superstitious set, against the king his prohibition, together with other prelates, entered the court gates. Whereat a christian man being offended, stricke one of them with his hand or fist, and bad him stand further from the court gate, as the king had giuen in commandement: whereupon ample others also following, being displeased against the Jewes, offered them the like contumely. Others also, supposing that the king had so commanded indeed, as vnto the authoritie of the king, fell vpon all the Jewes that stood by without the court gate. And first they beat them with their fists, but

The second and  
third admonition  
vnto the king to  
reforme his life.

The kings be-  
cropp was fallen  
imputed to the  
cause of his pil-  
grimage.

The death of  
King Henry the  
second.

Anno  
1189  
King Richard  
crowned.

The kings re-  
straint, that no  
Jew should en-  
ter the palace  
nor church du-  
ring his coro-  
nation.

The king ad-  
monished to  
amend his life.

Sunday to be  
free from buying  
and selling.



but afterwards they took up stones and such other things as they could get, and threw at them, and beat them therewith: and thus driving them from the Court gates, some of them they wounded, some they slew, and some they left for dead.

There was amongst this number of the Jewes, one which was called the blessed Jew of Poike, which was so sore wounded and beaten with the rest, that, for feare of his life, he said he would become a Christian, and was indeed of William the Prior of the Church of S. Mary of Poike baptised; whereby he escaped the perill of death he was in, and the persecutors hands. In the meane while, there was a great rumor spread throughout all the cite of London, that the King had commanded to destroy all the Jewes. Whereupon as well the citizens as innumerable people more, being assembled to see the Kinges coronation, armed themselves and came together. The Jewes thus being for the most part slain, the rest fled into their houses, where for a time, though the strong and sure building of them, they were defended. But at length their houses were set on fire, and they destroyed therein.

These things being declared to the King, whilst he with his Nobles and Barons were at dinner, he senteth immediately Ranulfe de Glanville, the Lord high steward of England, with divers other noble men to accompany him, that they might stay and refrain these so bold enterprises of the Londoners; but all was in vaine: for in this so great a tumult, none there was that either regarded what the nobility said, or else any whit reuerenced their personages, but rather with stern looks and threatening words advised them (and that quickly) to depart. Whereupon they, with good deliberation thinking it the best so to doe, departed; the tumult and insurrection continuing till the next day. At which time also the King, sending certaine of his officers into the city, gave them in commandement to apprehend and present some such as were the chiefest of the malefactors: of the which, three were condemned to be hanged, and so were; the one, for that he had robbed a Christians house in this tumult, and the other two for that they fired the houses, to the great danger of the cite. After this, the King sent for him that from a Jew was converted to Christianity, and in the presence of those that saw where he was baptised, the King asked him whether he was become a Christian or not? He answering the King, said, No: but, to the intent he might scape death, he promised to doe whatsoeuer the Christians would have him. When the King asked the archbishop of Canterbury (other archbishops and bishops being present) what were best to be done with him? Who brauely answering said; If he will not be a man of God, let him be a man of the diuell: and so reuolted he againe to Iudaisme.

When the King lent his wits to the Sheriffes of every County, to inquire for the authors and stirrers of this outrage. Of whom three were hanged, diuers were imprisoned. So great was then the hatred of Englishmen against the Jewes, that as soone as they began to be repulled in the Court, the Londoners, taking example thereof, fell upon them, set their houses on fire, and spoiled their goods. The Country againe, following the example of the Londoners, sensibly did the like. And thus the yeere, which the Jewes took to be their Iubile, was to them a yeere of confusion: in so much, as in the cite of Poike, the Jewes obtaining the occupying of a certaine Castle for their preservation, and afterward not willing to restore it unto the Christians againe, when they saw no other remedy but by force to be vanquished, first they offered much money for their liues; when that would not be taken, by the consell of an old Jew amongst them, every one with a sharpe razor cut anothers throat, whereby a thousand and five hundred of them were at that present

destroyed. Neither was this plague of theirs undeserued; for euery yeere commonly their custome was to get some Christian mans child from the parents, and on Goodfriday to crucifie him in despite of our religion. Ex Chron. Westm.

King Richard, after the death of his father coming into remembrance of himselfe, and of his rebellion against his father, sought for absolution of his trepasse, and, in part of satisfaction for the same, agreed with Philip the French king, about Easter next ensuing, to take his boyage with him for the recovery of Christ his patrimony, which they called the Holy land. Whereupon the said King Richard immediately after his coronation, to prepare himselfe the better towards his journey, let to sale diuers of his Manors, whereof Godfrey Lucy then bishop of Winchester bought a couple for twoutousand markes, to wit, Mergrau and Helenge. The Abbat of Wury bought another for a thousand markes, called Middlesey. Hugh Bussy Bishop of Durham bought the lordship of Seggesfield, or Sedberga with the wapentake, and all the appurtenances thereto belonging: he bought also the earldome of northumberland; whom when the King should solemnize after the manner of secular Carles, merrily with a mocking jest, he (said he) of an old Bishop I haue made a young Carle. And because the said bishop had professed before by a solenne vow to visit the holy land; to be releafed of his vow, he compounded with the Pope for a great summe of money therfore, and moreover gave to the King a thousand markes to remaine at home, as the chiefe iustice of England. Duer and besides, the King set out all that he had to sale, woods, castles, townships, lordships, earledomes, baronages, &c. ordaining also diuers new Bishops, and not without some advantage (as appeared) to his purse, farning moreover his old seale to be lost, that they which had lands to hold, might be driuen to renew their writings againe by the new seale, whereby great substance of money was gained.

About all this, by the commandement of Pope Clement the third, a tenth also was crated of the whole realme, in such sort, as the Christians should make to the King 70000. pounds, the Jewes 60000. Ex Geru. fol. 134. King Richard, after his coronation, sent certaine Carles and Barons unto Philip the French king in the time of his Parliament at S. Denis, desiring him to remember his promise made for the recovery of Christ his holy patrimony out of the Saracens hands. Unto whom he sent word againe in the moneth of December, certifying him how he had bound himselfe by solenne oath, depoling upon the Evangelists, that he, the next yeere following about the time of Easter, had certainly preferred to aduise himselfe towards that journey; requiring him likewise not to faile but to be ready at the terme aboue limited, appointing also the place where both the Kings should meete together.

The next yeere then ensued, which was 1190. in the beginning of which yeere, upon Twelfe euen, fell a foule northerne brawle, which turned well nere to a fray, betwene the Archbishop new elected of the church of Poike, and his company on the one side, and Henry deane of the said church with his catholike partakers on the other side, upon occasion as followeth: Gaufrius or Geffrey, some to King Henry the second, and brother to King Richard, whom the King had elected a little before to the archbishopricke of Poike, upon the euen of Epiphany, which we call Twelfe day, was disposed to heare Cuenlong with all solemnity in the Cathedral church; hauing with him Canon the chanter, with diuers canons of the Church. Who carrying something long, belike in adorning and attiring himselfe, in the meane while Henry the deane and Bursardus the treasurer, disdaining to carry his com-

A miserable and detestable destruction of the Jewes.

Anno 1189

The constant agreement of Bishops noted in hitherto great boldness.

Seignior to get money.

A tenth gathered through all England.

King Philip and King Richard concluding to trauell to the holy land.

Anno 1190

A northerne brawle in the cathedral church of Poike, betwene the new Archbishop and the Deane.

A Jew through rare was bayed.

The Jewes in London flaine, and their houses set on fire.

The small regard of nobility had in tumults and disorders.

A new Christian reuolted to an old Jew.

An unadvised answer of an Archbishop.

Ex Chron. Westm. cui initium, Accusatus cum Alio, &c.



Henry Deane of  
Pozke and Bur-  
card began ser-  
vice, not carrying  
for their Arch-  
bishop.

The Deane and  
treasurer would  
not cease euen-  
song at the arch-  
bishops com-  
mandement.

The archbishop  
began with euen-  
song againe be-  
ing halfe done  
before.

The treasurer  
putt out the  
candles at  
euen-song.

The Popes  
church can doe  
nothing without  
candle light.

The deane and  
church can doe  
nothing without  
candle light.

The stoutnesse  
of the deane and  
treasurer, in not  
submitting  
themselves to  
the Archbishop.

The people in-  
censed against  
the Deane of  
Pozke and his  
carrage.

Ex Chron. -  
anonymo, cui  
initium: An-  
no gratia.  
King Richard  
preparing to  
warne his  
countrie.  
William Bishop  
of Ely the  
Kings chancel-  
lor, and such  
bishop of Dur-  
ham made chiefe  
overseers of the  
Kealine in the  
Kings absence.  
William bishop  
of Ely made the  
Popes Legat in  
England and  
Scotland.

ming, with a bold courage lustily began their holy  
euen-song, with singing their psalmes, rustling of  
cantant, and merrry piping of organs. Thus this  
catholike euen-song with as much deuotion begun,  
as to Gods high seruice proceeding, was now  
almost halfe complete, when as at length (they  
being in the midst of their mirth) commeth in  
the new elect with his traine and gardenians, all  
full of wrath and indignation, for that they durst be  
so bold, not waiting for him, to begin Gods seruice,  
and so effronies commanded the quier to stay and  
hold their peace. The chanter like wise by vertue of  
his office commanded the same. But the Deane and  
treasurer on the other side willed them to proceed;  
and so they sung on and would not stint. Thus the  
one halfe crying against the other, the whole quier  
was in a roze, their singing was turned to scolding,  
their chaunting to chiding; and, if in stead of the or-  
gans they had had a drum, I doubt they would haue  
sufesaid by the eares together.

At last, through the authority of the Archbishop  
and of the chanter, the quier began to surcease and  
give silence. When the new elect not contented with  
that had bene sung before, with certaine of the quier  
began the euen-song new againe. The Treasurer,  
upon the same, caused by vertue of his office the can-  
dles to be put out: whereby the euen-song, hauing  
no power further to proceed, was stopped forth-  
with. For, like as without the light and beames of  
the Sunne there is nothing but darknesse in all the  
world; euen so you must vnderstand the Popes  
church can see to doe nothing without candle-light,  
albeit the Sun doe shine neuer so cleare and bright.  
This being so, the Archbishop, thus disappoynted  
at every side of his purpose, made a grieuous  
plaint, declaring to the clergie and to the people,  
what the Deane and Treasurer had done; and so  
upon the same suspended both them and the Church  
from all diuine seruice, till they should make to him  
due satisfaction for their trespasses.

The next day, which was the day of Epiphany,  
when all the people of the citie were assembled in the  
cathedral Church, as their manner was, namely in  
such feasts, devoutly to heare diuine seruice (as they  
call it) of the Church, there was also present the arch-  
bishop and the chanter, with the residue of the cler-  
gie, looking when the Deane and Treasurer would  
come and submit themselves, making satisfaction  
for their crime. But they, still continuing in their  
stoutnesse, refused so to doe, exclaiming and offering  
contumacious words against the Archbishop and  
his partakers. Which when the people heard, they  
in a great rage would haue fallen vpon them: but  
the Archbishop would not suffer that. The Deane  
then and his fellows perceiving the fure of the peo-  
ple for feare, like pretie men, were faine to flee, came  
to the tombe of S. William of Pozke, some ranne  
vnto the Deanes house, and there thounded them-  
selves, whom the Archbishop then accursed. And so  
for that day the people returned home without any  
seruice. Ex veteri chronico manuscripto, cui initium,

Anno gratia millesimo, &c.  
After this, King Richard, preparing to set all  
things in an order before his going, committed the  
whole government of the Kealine principally to  
William, Bishop of Ely, his chancelor, and to Hugh  
bishop of Durham, whom he ordained to bee the  
chiefe iustice of all England in his absence, the one  
to haue the custody of the towre, with the our right  
of all other parts of the land on this side of Hum-  
ber, the other (which was the bishop of Durham) to  
haue charge vpon all other his Deminions beyond  
Humber, sending moreover vnto pope Clement in  
the behalfe of the foresaid William bishop of Ely,  
that he might be made the Popes Legat through all  
England and Scotland; which also was obtained.  
Thus the Bishop being advanced in high authority,  
to furnish the king towards his setting forth, pro-  
-

dueth out of every citie in England two pallfries,  
and two sumpters, and also out of every Abbey one  
palfrey and one sumpter.

These things and other thus set in a stay, the king  
according to his former appointment, about the  
time of Easter, sailed into France, where the  
French king and he conferring together, because  
they could not make ready at that time of Easter,  
concluded to take a longer day, prozequing their  
beyage till after Midsummer. In which meane  
time, the king occupying himselfe in redressing and  
stablishing such things as further were to be orde-  
red, there determined that Gaufridus and John his  
kzetheren, should not enter into England in thre  
yeres after his departure; neuerthelste he relea-  
sed that bond afterward to his brother John. When  
he appointed the Captaines and Constables cuer his  
name, and set lawes to be obserued in his journey  
vpon the seas, but especially his care was to make

Captaines and  
Constables of  
the Kings nauie  
appointed.

10 vnitie and concord betwene parties that were at  
variance, and to set them together at one. At which  
time the long contention began also to be appeased,  
which so many yeres had continued betwene Wal-  
terus Archbishop of Canterbury, & his Ponkes of  
Christs church: the discourse whereof, although it be  
somewhat tedious to be set forth at large, being e-  
nough to make a whole tragedie; yet to the intent  
the age now present may see what great confus-  
and disquietnesse, vpon what little tridies, haue bene  
20 stirred vpon, what little peace and vnitie hath bene not  
only in this Church, but commonly in all other  
Churches vnder the Popes catholike regiment; I  
thought it not labour ill bestowed, somewhat to in-  
termeddle in opening to the eyes of the reader the  
consideration of this matter. Wherein first is to  
be vnderstood, that the archbishops of Canterbury,  
commonly being set by by the Pope, especially since  
the time of the conquest, haue put the kings of this  
land to much sorrow and trouble, as appeared by  
40 William Rufus and Lanfranke, and also Anselme;  
by Henry the first and Anselme; king Stephen and  
Theobald; Henry the second and Becket, &c. For  
which the kings of this land haue used the more  
rare and circumspection, to haue such Archbishops  
placed in the Seas, either should stand with them,  
or at the least, should not be against them.

The long con-  
tention betwene  
Walterus arch-  
bishop of Can-  
terbury and the  
Ponkes of  
Christs Church.

Archbishops of  
Canterbury  
commonly were  
wont to make  
the Kings of  
England much  
sorrow.

Kings of Eng-  
land euer care  
full about the  
chiding of the  
Archbishop, and  
wherefore.  
Ex Chron.  
Gervas.

Now to the purpose of our matter intended:  
First, after Lanfrancus, who was archbishop twen-  
ty yeres, the Sea standing vacant five yeres, suc-  
ceeded Anselmus, and sat seuentene yeres; after  
whom the Sea standing vacant foure yeres, succe-  
50 ded Rodolphus and continued nine yeres, then  
followed William, who sat twelue yeres, and died  
in the yere 1137. after whom came Theobaldus  
in the time of king Stephen. This Theobaldus, be-  
ing no great fauourer of the monkish generation, fell  
out with Jeremias, Prior of the house of Canter-  
bury, for certaine causes betwene them; for which  
the Archbishop, taking the maske against the Prior,  
60 would lay the sentence of interdiction against him.

De 15. as thus  
reckon.

The prior seeing that to save himselfe, made his ap-  
peale to Pope Innocent. The Archbishop, prouoked  
the more by that, deposed him from the priorship, and  
placed one Walter in his roome. Jeremias not  
withstanding, making his complaint and appeale  
to Rome, obtained letters from the Pope to Henry  
Bishop of Winchester being the Popes Legat; by  
the vertue whereof, he against the heart of the arch-  
bishop was restored, and Walter displaced. Neuer-  
70 thelesse, the said Jeremias, not willing there to conti-  
nue with displeasure of the archbishop, shortly after  
of his owne accord renounced his priory, and Wal-  
ter againe was receiued in his stead. Not long af-  
ter this followed the generall councill at Rheims,  
in the yere 1140. At the which councill Theobald Concilium  
contrary to the commandement of the king would Rheims.  
nades resort, to shew his obedience to the Pope. In 1140.  
Wherefore at his returning home againe, the king  
tooke

Jeremias the  
prior of Can-  
terbury appea-  
led to Pope  
Innocent.

Jeremias the  
prior deposed by  
the archbishop.  
Jeremias restored  
to his place  
againe by the  
Pope.



tooke such displeasure with him, that within a while after the archbishop was driven to avoid the realme, and fled into France; where he, by censure of interdiction, suspended diuers Churches and religious houses which refused to come to the counsell; and also hearing how the king had seized upon all his goods, hee interdicted likewise all the kings lands, whatsoeuer belonged to the crowne: so that the king in conclusion was faine to compound with him, and fall to agreement, which was about the yere 1148. Ex Gervasio.

After this, in the yere of our Lord 1151. after the death of Hugh abbat of S. Austens in Canterbury, Siluester was elected by the Couent to bee their Abbat in the reigne of king Stephen. Which Siluester when he came into Theobald the archbishop to make his profession of subiection vnto him, and to receiue of him consecration; the Archbishop was contented, so that the Abbat would come to Christs Church in Canterbury, and there make his profession. But to this Siluester in no case would grant to take his consecration there; but else in any other Church, wheresoeuer the Archbishop would, he was contented. Whereunto when the archbishop in no wise would agree, Siluester making a great bag of money, went to Rome where he obtained of the Pope for money (for what cannot money doe at Rome?) letters that the Archbishop should consecrate the Abbat in his owne church of S. Austen, and also not exact of him any profession of canonical subiection. Whereupon the Archbishop was compelled against his will to come to the Abbats church, and there at the Popes commandement to consecrate him simply, and without any further profession to be required.

Then Walter, prior of Christs church in Canterbury, seeing that, and perceiuing how prejudiciall and derogatory the example thereof would be to the honour and majesty of their church, though counsell of his brother went thither: and notwithstanding the dares were straitly watched and kept; yet by means hee at last got in. And as he saw the Archbishop attired in his pontificalibus, ready to minister consecration to the Abbat, he stepped straight to the Archbishop, and effronter appealeth him to Rome, for the great injury wrought against the church of Canterbury; forbidding him in the name of him to whom hee appealeth, not to proceed any further. And so this holy consecration was for the present time staid. For the which Siluester with a new purse of money was faine to trauell and trot againe to Rome, where hee complaining of the archbishop, and accusing him of contempt of the Pope, in not executing the commandement sent downe, obtained againe new letters with more effectfull charge to the foresaid Archbishop, that hee without any profession, simply should giue to Siluester his consecration in his owne church, *Omni occasione & appellatione remota*. All manner of stay, or let, or appellation to the contrary notwithstanding. And so in conclusion, the Abbat contrary to whatsoeuer the Archbishop and all the Penites of Canterbury could doe, was in his owne church made Abbat, and had the victory for that time. Notwithstanding, the Archbishop left not the matter so, but within sue yeres after obtained of pope Adrian, that Siluester should make profession of his obedience to the Archbishop, and so he did. Ex Gervasio.

In few yeres after this, died king Stephen, Anno 1154. and after him Theobald the Archbishop, Anno 1159. after he had sat there twenty yeres: after whom though the instant procurement of king Henry the second, was placed Thomas Becket, the kings chancellor, Anno 1162. of whose furious rebellion against the king, because sufficient hath been said before, it shall not need to make a double labour now about the same.

After the death of Becket, much adoe there was

betwene king Henry and Doo prior of Canterbury about the election of a new Archbishop. For the king seeing the realme so oftentimes incumbered by these popish archbishops, and fearing lest the monks of Canterbury should elect such another as would follow the steps of Thomas Becket, most humbly with ear in hand, and curtesie of knee, desired Doo the Prior, that at his request, and for contentation of his minde, such a one might be elected whom hee would appoint (appointing and naming a certaine bishop, which was a good simple man after the kings liking) but the Prior dissimblingly answering the king againe, that he neither could nor would without the consent of his Couent giue promise to any man: in fine, contrary to the kings so humble request, agreed to the election of another, which was the prior of Dover, called Richard, Anno 1173. who continued in that See eleuen yeres.

And here was renewed againe the like variance betwene this Archbishop and Roger Abbat of the Austen monks in Canterbury, as was before mentioned betwene Theobaldus and Siluester. For when the said Roger, after his election to be Abbat, must needs take his consecration at the archbishops hand, neither would the Archbishop grant it vnto him, unless he made profession of obedience, according to the ancient custome of his predecessors: then Roger consulting with his Monkes, first denyed to do so, but at length was contented, so it might not be done in the Archbishops church: but in any other church where he would, under writing this clause withall, *Salvis utrinque ecclesie privilegiis*; that is, Sauiug the priuiledges of both Churches. To this the archbishop said againe, first that he should make his due and canonical profession, and that he should not come to him with writing: or underwriting, but should say in his heart, *Salve sancta parens*, or *Salve festa dies*, not *Salvis privilegiis*, or any such like thing. Whereunto when the Austen monkes in no case would consent, nor the Archbishop otherwise would grant his benediction: Roger the abbat was faine to pass to Rome, and there to bring the archbishop in hatred in the court of Rome, made his abbeys tributary to Pope Alexander.

The pope well contented with this, not only granted the Abbat his desire, but also in continuely of the archbishop, dubbed the abbat with all such ornaments as to a prelat appertaine: and so in the yere 1178. sent home the abbat triumphantly with his ring and mitre, and other ensignes of vicarage, with letters also to the Archbishop, injoining him immediately upon the sight thereof to consecrate the abbat in his owne church, and without making any profession. Although with these letters the Archbishop was shrewdly pressed, yet notwithstanding his stout heart would not scope for this; but he laid his appeale against the same, and so the consecration for that time was suspended.

Then Roger for his more defence, getting the kings letters, trauelled up the second time to Rome, where grievously he complained to Pope Alexander of the archbishop. At the same time a generall council was summoned to be kept at Lateran, where Richard the foresaid Archbishop was also looked for amongst other Bishops to be present. Who then came as farre as Paris; but, being there, durst approach no further, and so retired home againe. Whereupon the Pope being offended with his contempt, without any more delay exalted the Abbat with his owne consecration, and inuested him with all pomp and glorie; howbeit providing before that the said consecration should redound to no prejudice against the liberties of the mother Church of Canterbury, and so upon the same wrote to the archbishop his letters of certifiact with this addition annexed, *Salvo iure & dignitate Cant. ecclesie*: that is to say, Sauiug the liberties and dignitie of the church of Canterbury, &c.

After

Doo prior of Canterbury.

Richard prior of Dover elected Archbishop of Canterbury, Anno 1173.

Another serious contention betwene Richard archbishop, and Roger abbat of the Austen monks in Canterbury about profession of obedience.

Roger abbat of S. Austen, maketh his house tributary to pope Alexander, Anno 1177.

Roger the abbat returneth home with triumph.

Appellation of the archbishop.

Councilum Lateranum sub Alexandro papa.

Roger abbat of S. Austen traueleth up againe to Rome, Roger abbat consecrated at Rome by the Pope.

A serious strife between Theobald archbishop, and Siluester abbat of S. Austens about the place, in what church the abbat should take his consecration.

Siluester goeth vnto Rome.

The monks of Christ Church sturue against the monks of S. Austen in Canterbury for the honour of their house. Walter prior of Christs church appealeth the archbishop vnto Rome.

Siluester returneth againe to Rome.

Siluester consecrated abbat in his owne church, whether the archbishop would or not.



After the councill ended, Roger the Abbat returneth home, although with an empty purse, yet full of victory and triumph. The Archbishop, againe thinking to worke some grievance to the Aussen Monkes, had procured in this meane time letters from Pope Alexander unto the Bishop of Durham, and abbat of saint Albons, that they should cause the said Roger, abbat of the Aussen monkes, to shew unto the archbishop all the old priuiledges of his house; which indeed, being shewed, seemed to be rased and new written, with bulls of leade, not after the manner nor stile of that age, nor pretending any such antiquitie as should seeme to reach from the time of Aussen, but rather newly counterfeited.

All this notwithstanding, the Abbat, bearing him bold upon the Popes fauour, ceased not still to disquiet and ouercrow the Archbishop by all wayes he could, in exempting all his priests and lay men, belonging to his iurisdiction, from the Archbishops obedience; for bidding also that any of his should come to his Chapters or Synods, or feare any sentence of his curse or excommunication. Whereupon the Archbishop, about the month of November the same yeere, sayling ouer to Normandie where the king was, thought to take his iourne to the pope to complaine of the abbat: but being stayed by the king, he was not suffered to passe any further, the king labouring what he could, to bring them to agreement. Neuertheless the Pope and his Romans (with many thopp) Aurum & argentum magis quam iusticiam ficientes, seditiones inter eos & litigia commovebant; that is, Caring more for gold and siluer, then for justice, still stirred coles of sedition and debate betwene them. Ex historia Gervasi.

The next yeere after this ensuing, which was the yeere of our Lord 1184, died Richard the archbishop aforesaid, in the eight and thirtieth yeere of King Henry the second. After whose decease much trouble happened about the election of a new archbishop, betwene the king and Monkes of Canterbury. And now to enter here into the storie of Baldwin about mentioned: first the king sent to the Monkes, that they should consider with themselves about the election of their archbishop, and to be ready against the time that he would send for them to the court. Upon this the Couent, gladly assembling together, agreed in themselves upon one, whom they thought chiefly to prefer: yet naming foure more, that if the king would refuse one, the other yet might stand. Now the practise in the Monkes was, first to keepe the election onely in their owne hands, as much as they could. And secondly, euer to giue the election either to some Prior or Monke of their owne house, or to some Abbat or bishop, which sometimes had bene of their company. Whereby, as much inconuenience and blinde superstition was bred in the Church of England; so the same disliked both the king and the Bishops not a little.

As this past on, the king, when he saw his time, willed the monkes of Canterbury to be cited or sent for, to vnderstand what they had concluded in their election. Whereupon the monkes sent vp their prior called Alanus with certaine other Monkes to Reading, where the king then lay, about the month of August. Who at first were courteously entertained; but after the king had intelligence whom they had nominated and elected, they were sent home againe with cold chere, the king willing them to pray better, and to aduise more earnestly upon the matter amongst themselves. Alanus the prior with his fellows thus departed; who comming home, in conclusion, so concluded amongst themselves, that they would remit no jot of their liberties to the king, without the popes consent and knowledge. The king vnderstanding hereof, sent his ambassadours likewise of the Pope, for the fortifying of his cause, being in the meane time grievously offended with the Prior, saying, that he was proud, and would make

Archbishop whom he liked, and would be the second Pope in England, &c.

Not long after this, as these letters were sent up to Rome, the king sent for Alanus the Prior, and more of the monkes to come to him: whom he intreateth, desiring them in gentle speech, that they would shew so much gentleness and fauour to him being their Lord and king, as becommeth his friends and subjects to doe, as to confer with the Bishops of the realme about this matter, and to take some better counsell, so as might redound to Gods glory, his honour, and wealth of the publike State: with other like words to the same effect.

To whom when the Prior had answered againe with thanks and due reuerence, according to the kings request, the bishops and monkes went to confer together about the matter. And first, the bishops marvelled why the monkes should exclude them out of the election, seeing they were protected and suffragans to the said church of Canterbury: Neither is there any prince, quoth the bishop of Bath, that will refuse our counsell. Where be some counsels, said the Monkes, wherewith you may be called: but as touching the doing of this election, it pertaineth not unto you, further then to publish onely and denounce the party whom we haue chosen. The bishop of London then asked, if they had already made an election. No election, said the Prior, as yet, but onely wee haue denominated the persons. When haue ye proceeded further, quoth he, then ye ought, hauing commandment from the Pope, not to proceed without us. And with that was brought forth the Popes letter, commanding that within forty dayes the Bishops of England, and the Prior, and couent of Canterbury should elect an able and fit person to their archbishop. About the scanning of these letters was much ado. The bishops said, they were first named, and therefore ought to haue most interest in this election. The Monkes said againe, that they also were not excluded, and required to haue a transcript of the letter, whereof much doubt was made.

After long concertation, when they could not agree, the king, comming betwene them both, called away the bishops from the monkes, supposing, by separating the one from the other, to draw both parties to his sentence. But that would not be; for the monkes, standing to their liberties, would lose no preheminance of their church, still alleging how by the ancient priuiledges of the Church of Canterbury, the couent should chuse their pastor and bishop, and the Prior was but to publish and denounce the person. The Bishops againe replied, that it was their right to appoint their Archbishop and metropolitans, which were bishops and suffragans; and namely the Bishop of London also being Dean of the said Church of Canterbury. The king then as umpire betwene them, yet fauouring rather the side of the Bishops, desired them to agree together in peace. When that would not puenale, he set the Lord Steward, and other noble men to intreate the Prior to draw to some agreement: at least to bee contented with this forme of election, which was, that the Bishop of London or some other Bishops should declare the election in these words:

We Bishops, and the Prior and Couent of Christs Church in Canterbury, with the assent of our Lord the King, doe chuse such a person to be Archbishop, &c. Or else thus; that the Prior should pronounce forth the election in these words, saying: The Bishops of England, and I Prior, and the Couent of Canterbury, with the assent of our Lord and King, doe chuse such a person, &c.

Upon this, the Prior said he would consent with his Couent. Who with much ado were content to grant to the kings desire; but afterward being required to put downe the same in writing, that they

The king sent down to Rome against the monkes. The kings sent the words to the monkes.

Bishops of England claime to haue interest in the election of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

The Popes letter, commanding the Bishops of the Realme with the Prior and Couent to chuse the Archbishop.

The king separated the Bishops from the Monkes.

The monkes will lose no preheminance of their Church.

The forme of election of the Archbishop for hermeane the Bishops and the monkes of Canterbury.

The Bishops and monkes could not agree about the forme of election.

The house of the Aussen monkes in Canterbury not able to shew for them any deeds or writings of antiquity.

Ex hist. Gervasi. Richard the Archbishop, going towards Rome to complaine of the abbat, was stayed by the king.

A catholike practise of the Romish court to set men together at variance that they might get their money.

Trouble in choosing the Archbishop of Canterbury after the death of Richard.

Monkes of Canterbury sent for by king Henry the second about choosing of their Archbishop.

Monkes of Canterbury partiall including their Archbishop.

Monkes of Canterbury againe sent for to the king about their election.

Alanus Prior of Canterbury. The king offered with the prior and monkes of Canterbury. The stubbornness of the monkes against the king.



The election of the Archbishop referred to the month of December, An. 1184.

refused to doe: yet notwithstanding relented at last to the king. But when the bishops made excuses for the absence of their fellow bishops, so the matter for that time staid; and the king, lending home the monkes againe to their house in peace, deferred that business to a further day, which was till the first day of December: commanding the prior with his fellows the same day not to faile, but to be at London about the chusing of the Archbishop.

The kings intent to the monkes of Canterbury to agree and ioyne with the bishops.

As the day prefixed came, the prior with his company were also present, who giving attendance all that day and the next day also following, so were driven off till the third day after. At length the Lord Steward, with other nobles of the realme, were sent unto them from the king to declare, that where as the king before had divided the Bishops from the monkes, that they both might haue their election by themselves, after the forme of a bill which was put downe in waiting: now the minde of the king was, that the monkes, taking another way, should ioyne with the Bishops, and so, hauing the matter in talke together, should proceede ioyntly in the election.

Against this many things were alledged by the prior and his mates, complaining much upon the Bishops, which said that the bishops had neuer holden with the kings against the liberties of their church and archbishops. As first they stood against Anselme for king William; then against Theobald for king Stephen; after that, against Thomas Becket for king Henry; and, after him, did supplant the election of Richard their Archbishop: and now againe went about to practise and work against this their election present, &c. At last the prior with his fellows, concluding, desired they might speake with the king himselfe. Who, effronces comming unto them, willed them as good men to bee contented, and goe talke with the Bishops about the election; promising that whom they agreed upon, hee also would grant his assent unto the same. To whom when the prior againe had objected the writings that before were made: Truly it is (said the king) such writings were made, but I neither may nor will goe against the counsell of my realme; and therefore agree, said he, with my Bishops and Abbats, and remember that the voyce of the people is the voyce of God.

The kings words to the monkes of Canterbury.

The monkes of Canterbury compelled against their wills to ioyne with the Bishops touching the election of the Archbishop.

Upon this the Prior with his monkes, seeing no other remedy, went to the bishops to conferre, according to the king his request, about the election; who then were willed by the Bishops to nominate whom they would, and the Bishops would likewise name theirs. So that when the Prior, with his complices, had named thax, after their chusing the Bishops, said they would nominate but one; and so did, which was the Bishop of Worcester, willing the Prior to goe home, and to conferre with his count about the same. To whom shortly after the Bishops sent certaine Decretals, to signifye to the count, that they, according to the Popes letters, should repaire to the bishops concerning the election of the Archbishop; also declared moresouer to them, that the persons whom they had named were good men: but hee whom they had to nominate was a more worthy man, whom they both had nominated, and also would elect. The monkes, maruelling hereat, sent two monkes with the Archdeacon of Canterbury to the king.

The Bishops of the realme make their election of the Archbishop without the monkes of Canterbury.

Whis done, immediately after the returne of the parties, the Bishops caused all the bells of the citie to be rung, and Te Deum to be sung for the Archbishop new elect. Whereof when the two monkes brought tidings to the count at Canterbury what was done at London, they were all in a marvellous dumpe. The king hearing this, and perceiving the distresse of the monkes, in all haste sent messengers to Canterbury with gentle words, to wille the prior to come to the king, and certifie him of the purpose of his monkes: unto whom the prior, effronces being come, declareth in the name of the whole count,

that in no case he, nor the monkes would ever while the world stood, agree to that election of the bishops; unless the king in his owne person would come to Canterbury, and there openly, before the whole count, protest by his owne mouth the foresaid election to be brought and boyde: and so, returning to London againe, openly likewise before the clergie and the people would repudiate and reiet the same: and furthermore, that the parties also elected should openly in the same place protest and say, that hee neither would nor ought to take that function upon him, unless hee entred by the consent of the prior and count of Canterbury: and all this to be done in the same place where the Bishops had made their election before: and so peradventure (said they) at the kings so earnest sute and request, they would gratifie his will, and ratifie the said election with the voyces of their consent. To make the storie short, after great hold becomme the secular clergie on the one side, and the regular order on the other side, and after the kings indignation against the prior, and the swooning of the prior before the king, at length the king to take up the matter, and to saue the priors life, was faine to performe in his owne person all those conditions above prescribed by the monkes. Ex Geruall. fol. 100.

Conditiona prescribed to the king by the monkes of Canterbury, for the ratification of the Archbishop made by the Bishops.

Baldwin Bishop of Exeter elected Archbishop of Canterbury An. 1184.

And thus haue we heard the tragicall election of the Bishop of Worcester, named Baldwin, made Archbishop of Canterbury. Now what a trouble some time the said Baldwin had with the monkes in governing the church of Canterbury, here followeth likewise not unworthy to be considered.

#### The troubles betweene Baldwin Archbishop of Canterbury, and the monkes of the same Church.

In the first yere the Archbishop shewed himselfe friendly and louing to the monkes: the next yere following he began to appeare somewhat rough vnto them. The manner then was of the house of Christs church, toward the time of the Nativity and of Easter, to receiue certaine presents or gifts of their farmers or tenants, which the cellarer should take and lay by. Those presents the Archbishop began first to intercept from the monkes; and to bestow them vpon his secular clerkes. After this hee tooke those churches or benefices (which the monkes claimed as proper to themselves) and placed in them thre of his chaplens. After this hee inueroched to his hands certaine tenements, reuenues, and vicuals, belonging before to the monkes (as they said) and committed the custody thereof to certaine of his owne clerkes and household seruants.

The next trouble and contention betweene Baldwin archbishop and the monkes of Canterbury.

The monkes which had borne so much with the Archbishop before, seeing this, could forbear him no longer, but needs would make there appeale against him. The Archbishop, not much regarding that, wared thereby more fierce against them; in so much that such farines and tenements as he before had let alone, now hee receiued to his owne occupying, with many other grieuances wherewith hee greatly vexed the monkes so that thre Abbats were faine to come and reconcile the Archbishop and the monkes: which reconciliation was this, that the monkes should let fall their appeale, and the Archbishop should restore againe to them their farines and tenements. As touching the benefices and the presents, the Archbishop still kept them in his hands for a further trial of their obedience and patience. Nevertheless, some there were of the ancient monkes which in no case would giue ouer the foresaid appeale, before the Archbishop made a full restitution of all together.

The monkes of Canterbury appeale to the Pope against their Archbishop. Reconciliation betweene the Archbishop and the monkes, which did not long hold.

After this agreement, such as it was, betweene the monkes him, the Archbishop came after sent by to Rome one of his chaplens (unto whom hee had giuen one of the benefices afore mentioned) partly for

The Archbishop ap- pealeth to the Pope.



confirmation of his benefice, partly also to obtaine licence for the archbishop to build a church, which he intended to erect of secular priests nere unto the towne of Canterburie. Which being obtained of the Pope, the archbishop, not a little glad thereof, began now more and more to warre fierce against the monkes, not onely in taking from them their churches and oblations, but also in aggravating the whole state of their house, which he intended either to subvert, or greatly to diminish, to plucke downe the pride and stubbornesse of the monkes. Wherefore taking with him certaine other Bishops (whom he knew bare no good will to that monikish generation) he went to the King, declaring how he had a good purpose in his minde to erect a new and a solemne church, in the honor of S. Thomas of Canterburie, of secular priests or canons; and therefore desired of the King to haue his fauourable licence to the same. The King right well perceiving the purpose of the archbishop whither it tended, as to the building of the stricken monkes, was the more willing to giue assent, if he were not also the chiefe worker of that matter himselfe.

The intent of the Archbishop in planting of that new church, was, to found there diuers prebends, and to make both the King, and euery Bishop being his suffragans, prebendaries thereof, so that euery one of them should confer one prebendship to the same foundation; minding there to consecrate Bishops, to make his chrysmatory, to celebrate his synod, and to administer all other things belonging unto the function of his See, and the same to be called Warkington church. The monkes, not ignorant how the Archbishop prauely intended the desolation and subuersion of their house and liberties, consulting vpon the matter, determined at length among themselves to appeale to the See of Rome, namely for these three causes against the Archbishop: first, for spoiling them of their gifts and oblations: secondly, for depriving them of their churches and benefices: and thirdly, for erecting a new foundation of secular canons, to the derogation and ouerthrow of their religious order; giuing admonition to the Archbishop before by their monkes sent to him of this their appellation. To whom the Archbishop answered, that the foundation, which he went about, was to no derogation, but rather to the fortification and honour of their house. Who answered againe, that it was, and could not other wise be, but to their subuersion. And what should let me then (said the archbishop) but I may build in mine owne ground what I will? No (said they) no ground of yours, but your ground is our ground, as all other things that you haue by right are ours, for so much as you haue them not of your selfe, but of the church and for the churches cause. All which things haue bene giuen neither to you, nor to the Archbishops, but vnto the church of Christ: and therefore (said they) all such as appertaine vnto vs inwardly and outwardly, with the persons also, and the whole state of our church we submit vnder the Popes protection, and now here make our appeale to the See apostolike, assigning also the terme when to prosecute the same.

The Archbishop receiuing this appellation, and saying that he would answer to the same either by himselfe, or by his respondent, within three dayes after, which was the sixteenth of December, came to Canterburie: where the monkes vnderstanding how he was in minde to place new secular priests in the church of S. Stephan, where the monkes had serued before, came to the church to stop the proceeding of the Archbishop by way of appeale. Whereof the Archbishop hauing warning before deferred the matter till the next day after. On which day the monkes, againe being sent by Honorius the prior into the church charged the Archbishop in the name of Almighty God, and by vertue of their appeale made to the Apostolike See, to surcease those his

doings; charging also the parson of the church in no wise to suffer those secular clerkes to be admitted into the church. All which yet notwithstanding the Archbishop proceeded in his business. And first, placing in his clerkes, he suspendeth the prior from his administration. Then he adueth the porters of the gate, vpon their oath, to let none of the monkes passe out of the house without his licence. The monkes likewise he commanded, by vertue of obedience, not to tray any where abroad without his leave. And furthermore, one of the foresaid monkes, which serued the appeale against him, he utterly banished from that couent. Upon this, the day next following, Honorius the prior trusting (saith the story) on God, and saint Thomas, took his way to Rome, sent in commission by the couent, to prosecute the appeale against the Archbishop.

In this meane season a new warre began betwene the said Archbishop and the Monkes, about their rents and reuenues, which the Archbishop would haue committed to the receiuing and keeping of these Monkes, but the subprior Gessery, with the couent, in no case would suffer that: whereabout there was a soule stirre. The Archbishop, craving the aid of the King, first had these Bishops sent down to him, of Couentrie, Norwich, & Worcester. Who, being instant with the Monkes to submit their cause into the Kings hands, like as the Archbishop had done, they utterly refused it; especially seeing they had already referred the whole state of their cause to the determination of the apostolical See. The King seeing no other remedie, came himselfe with the Archbishop into the chapter house: where he commanded first the doores to be kept fast, that none should enter but which by name were called for. Amongst whom were two Bishops, to wit, of Norwich and Durham, and one Petrus Blesensis a learned man (whose pillles he yet extant in libraries) a chiefe worker in this matter against the Monkes. Then was called in Gessery the subprior, with a few other Monkes whom he brought with him. The King then first talking with the Archbishop and his companie, and afterwards with the Monkes, labored to intreate them that they would let fall their appeale, and so stand to the arbitrement of him and of the Bishops, concerning the cause which was betwene the Archbishop and them in trauers.

To this the Monkes answered, that these were good words, but serued not for that time for so much as their cause was already translated to the court of Rome, and now was presently in hearing before the Popes holiness: and therefore they could not, ne would doe that iniurie to their lord Pope, to refuse him, and to put the matter vnto the iudgement of any other. When was it required of the Monkes, that they would put the matter in compromise, in case the prior would consent thereto: vpon this intent, that if the prior consented and the Monkes not, then should they run in contempt and disobedience: or if the Monkes would consent, and the prior not, then should the prior be excluded the realme. The wilie Monkes, being not unprouided of this subtiltie, made their answer, that seeing they had sent their prior forth in their commission, it should not with their honesty to giue any determinate consent, without the knowledge and before the returne of the said prior: unless the Archbishop first would promise to make full restitution of all that he had wrongfully tooke from them. When the King could get no other answer of the Monkes, neither could moue the Archbishop to release the sentence of their suspension, unless they would confesse and knowledg their fault, he, so parting from them, passed ouer into France.

Not long after this came a messenger from Rome, bringing letters from Pope Urban to the Archbishop, wherein the Pope considering and considering (as he said) the enorme grieuances done against

clerks in the church of S. Stephan in Canterburie. The prior of Canterburie suspended.

An other garbule betwene the monkes of Canterburie and their archbishop.

The king cometh into the chapter of Canterburie.

Petrus Blesens. a great doer against the monkes.

The king doeth treat peace betwene the monkes and the archbishop.

The monkes do not put their matter from the Pope to the Kings hearing.

The monkes refuse to the King.

The first letter of Pope Urban sent to Baldwin Archbishop of Canterburie.

The Archbishop goeth about to plucke downe the pride of the monkes of Canterburie.

Baldwin archbishop of Canterburie about to build a new church on the north side of Canterburie.

The purpose of the archbishop in building his new church at Canterburie.

Warkington church.

The monkes of Canterburie make their appeale against Baldwin their archbishop. These causes alleged against the archbishop by the monkes.

The monkes of Canterburie claime all the goods of the archbishop to be their owne.

The monkes put themselves and their house in the Popes protection.

Appellation against the archbishop.

Business betwene the monkes and the archbishop, placing secular



gainst the monks, straightly inioyned and commaunded him, within ten daies after the receiuing thereof, to release the sentence of his suspension against the prior and others of the said convent, and alld to retract and restore againe to the monks whatsoeuer he plucked from them since the tyme of their appeale first made. *Which in case he should denie, or forlacke the doing hereof, commision was giuen to three abbats, of Battell, of Jewerham, and of S. Austins, with ample authoritie to performe the same, &c.* The Archbishop remaining these letters brought to him by a monk of the foresaid house, first made his excuse, that the Pope was misinformed. But the monks not contented with that excuse, when they would needs know what answere he would make to the Popes Nuncio: his answere was, that hee had yet ten daies giuen him of the Pope. In which meane time the archbishop went to London, and there in the church of Saint Paul consecrated his holy oyle and creame (making one of the Popes seuen sacraments) which was grievously taken in the church of Canterbury. At last the ten daies being ended, when the archbishop refused to accomplish that which was in the Popes letter inioyned him, the three Abbats also, said, to execute the Popes commandement, came at their day assigned to Canterbury, and there assailed all such as the Archbishop before had suspended, and in the end certified Pope Urban by letters what they had done.

The Archbishop hearing this, within foure daies after, sent two of his clerkes, which appealed the three Abbats aforesaid vnto Rome; and he himselfe in the meane time prepared busily for the building vp of his Church, sending to all churches in England, vpon releasement of their sinnes, to conserue vnto the same: and to make the more haste, for lacke of free stone he made vp his building with timber, and such other stufie as he could get.

The Prior Honorius all this while remained still at the court of Rome, giuing attendance vpon the Pope; wher hauing intelligence of the Archbishops doings, procured another letter of Pope Urban to the whole clergie of England, straightly inioyning them, that none should conserue to the new seaterment of Baldwin Archbishop of Canterbury. To these letters the Archbishop shewed such reuerence, that where before he had planted his chappell of wood and bowdes, now he prouised the same to be builded of lime and stone.

By this time Petrus Blesensis, with other messengers of the Archbishop, seeing Honorius the prior to be gone from the court of France, resorted to the court of Rome, bringing with them letters of credit from the king, from the Archbishop and also from other bishops of the realme: but the Pope, reading onely the kings letters, and the Archbishops, the residue hee cast into a window by, saying hee would reade them at further leisure. When the pope giuing audience in his consistorie to heare their cause, first came in Petrus Blesensis with the agents of the Archbishop, exhibiting their letters and propounding their requests to the Pope, which were, that restitution should be made by the monks to the Archbishop, wherein they had injured him. Item, that the things, which had bene granted before to the prior in that court, might be called in againe. Thirdly, that the Archbishop might haue licence to proceed in building his colledge of canons, &c. After this was called in M. Pillius, the attorney for the monks of Canterbury. Who, alledging many great things against the Archbishop for his contempt and disobedience to the Popes precepts, required that he should make restitution to the monks for his injuries done to them; and also that his new foundation of secular canons, tending to the overthrow of the conuentual church of Canterbury, should be utterly rased and throwne downe to the ground. Thus betwene these parties pleading and

repleaing one against the other, much hard words there was, but in conclusion for all the kings letters, and for all that the archbishop and bishops could doe, the matter went on the monks side. So that there was no remedie, but the Pope would needs haue the Archbishops new building come downe, and the monks to be restored againe to their full possessions. The execution whereof was committed to the three Abbats aforesaid, to wit, of Battell, of Jewerham, of S. Austins in Canterbury, and to Geoffrey subprior of Canterbury.

Which things being thus determined at Rome, then Raubrich Glanville, Lord steward of England, waiting to the said Abbat of Battell, and to the subprior and couent of Canterbury, commaunded them in the kings name, and vpon their oath and fealties giuen vnto him, that they nor any of them doe proceed in this contention betwene the monks and the Archbishop of Canterbury, before they come and talke with him, there to know further of the kings pleasure: and furthermore charging the couent of Canterbury not to enter further in any excommunications as concerning the Archbishops matters; and also citing the subprior of the said house, to appeare before him at London, at the feast of S. James the same yere, which was 1187. Notwithstanding he, excusing himselfe by sickness sent two monks in his stead, and so kept himselfe at home. To whom commandement was giuen, that the monks of Canterbury within fiftene daies should saile ouer to Normandy to the king, and there shew the tenors and euidences of their priuiledges: and also that such stewards and bailiffes whom they had placed in their farmes and lordships, contrarie to the will of the Archbishop, should be removed. And likewise the three Abbats in the kings name were commaunded, in no wise to execute the Popes commandement against the Archbishop. Not long after this the Archbishop wrote shipping at Dover, and went ouer to the king, where hee ordained three principall officers ouer the monkes of Christs church: the sacrist, the cellarer, and the chamberlaine, contrarie to the will of the couent, with other grieuances more, whereby the monks were not a little offended, so that vpon the same they made a new appellation to the Pope. Whereupon Pope Urban, by the setting on of Honorius the prior, who was now come againe to the court, wrote to him another letter after a sharper and more vehement sort, to the effect as followeth.

The tenor of Pope Urbans letters to Baldwin Archbishop of Canterbury.

*Vrbannus Episcopus, seruus seruorum Dei, Baldwin Cantuar. archiepiscopo & apostolica sedis legato, salutem & apostolicam benedictionem, &c.*

In that wee haue borne with your brotherhood hitherto, and haue not proceeded in such grievous manner against you, as wee might, although being thereto greatly prouoked: the chiefest cause was this, that wee supposed your heart would haue relented from the oppression of the conuentual church of Canterbury committed vnto you; if not for our reuerence, which you seeme to haue contemned more than became you, yet at least for feare of Gods iudgement. For well wee hoped, our conscience perswading vs to the same, that after you had obtained that high state and dignitie in the Church of England, you would haue bene an example to others of obedience and reuerence to be giuen to the Sea apostolike, of all ecclesiasticall persons. Wherefore at the first beginning both of our and also of your promotion, we did not spare to aduance and honour you as wee haue done few others besides, thinking no lesse, but that wee had found a faithfull friend of the Church, for our honour. Wherein we perceiue now (which maketh vs not a little to mar-

Petrus Blesensis  
Agent for the Archbishop of Canterbury.

The Pope not only on the monks side against the king, the Archbishop, and the Bishops of the realme, but hee also created a conuentio by R. Glanville in the kings name not to proceed against the Archbishop.

Bonds of Canterbury  
commanded to shew their priuiledges to the king.

Certaine officers put in the house of Christs church against the monks wills

Another appellation of the monks against the Archbishop

The copie of Pope Urbans letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Note how the Popes stand against these monks.

The popes expectation deceiued in the Archbishop of Canterbury.

well)

The answere of the Archbishop to the Popes letter.

The archbishop maketh his oyle and creame at London.

Three abbats assaile the monks of their dependence.

The archbishop appealeth vnto the three Abbats to Rome. The Archbishops new church made of wood.

A letter of Pope Urban against the Archbishop.

The Archbishops messengers come to the Popes court.

Letters of the king, the archbishop and of other Bishops to the Pope.

M. Pillius an attorney in the Popes court for the monks of Canterbury.



well) our expectation greatly deceived. And whom we well trusted to be a sure stay for the maintenance of our estate, him now we finde a persecutor against vs in our members.

For whereas we sundry times haue written to you in the behalfe of our brethren, and the church committed to your charge, that you should desist from disquieting them, and not vex or disturbe their liberties, at least for reuerence of vs: you not onely in this, but in other things more (as commonly is reported of you in all places) set at light our letters, and appellations made vnto the apostolicall Sea. What you haue wrought against them after their so manifold appellations laid vnto vs, and our inhibitions againe vnto you, wee are ashamed to vtter. But reuolue and consider in your minde, if ye haue well done, and aduise in your owne conscience what you haue done. We for our part because we neither may ne ought with deafe eares to passe ouer the clamours of the brethren, and such contempt of the apostolike Sea; although our biddings and warnings giuen to you seeme to be all in vaine, yet notwithstanding wee send our mandates againe vnto your brotherhood, in these apostolicall writings, districly and in vertue of obedience commanding you, that whether you be present in your church, or absent; all that notwithstanding, whatsoever you haue done in building of your chappell (which youurie haue erected) after the time of their appeale made to vs, or our inhibition sent to you, you faile not of your proper costs and charges to demolish; vndoing againe, and making voide, whatsoever ye haue begun and innouated concerning the institution of the canons, and other things belonging to the erection of the said chappell; accounting moreover and reputing the place where the chappell was, to be accursed and prophane; and also that all such, whofoeuer haue celebrated in the same place, shall stand suspended till the time they appeare before our presence. Commanding furthermore, that all those monkes, whom you haue presumed to remove from their office or to excommunicate, since the time of their appeale made, you restore and assaile againe, rendring also and restoring all such farmes, manors, tenements, and oblations as you, after their appeale made, haue inueigled from them; and finally, that you innouate nothing touching the state of that monasterie, during the time of this controuersie depending before vs. Giuing you to vnderstand that in case you shall continue in your stubbornesse and rebellion vpon this present warning, or deferre the execution of this precept thirtie daies after the receiuing hereof, wee shall appoint others to execute the same; inioyning also your suffragans that as you shall shew your selfe disobedient and rebelling to vs, so they all shall refuse likewise to giue any obedience or reuerence vnto you, &c.

Giuen at Ferrara, 5. non. Octob.

Another letter besides this the Pope alſo sent to the thre Abbats aforesaid for the correction of the enormities. Likewise another letter was sent to King Henry the second, wherein the Pope inuoguet and requereth him, vpon remission of his sinnes, not to dissemble and beate with the Archbishop in his oppression of his monkes, but to helpe that those things may be amended, where he hath trespassed against them.

These pontificall letters were writtten, An. 1187. the third day of October; and in the nineteenth day after, the same moneth, the said pope Urban died. In the which yeere, and about the which month, Waldwin king of Ierusalem was taken with many noble men of Solban the Saracen: and Ierusalem lost, after that it had bene in the possession of the Christians, and so continued the space of eightie eight yeares, and eightie dayes, from the time that

Godfridus Bolonius did first winne it from the infidels.

After the receiuing of those letters of Pope Urban aforespecified, both the King and Archbishop, with all the bishops of the realme were maruellously quailed, glad now to please, and speake faire to the monkes, promising all things to be done and restored to them after the best sort. Neither was the King now and Archbishop so submisſe; but the monkes on the other side were as hyag and iocant, being fully assured that all now was their owne. In the narration of which hystorie (as it is set in Cerauius at large) this we haue to note by the way, in what feare and thalboorne things in those daies were vnder the Pope, who could not be masters ouer their owne subiects, but that euery pib monke, or pelling Prior, vpon vertue of their appeale to the court of Rome, and making their house tributarie to the Pope, was able not onely to match, but to giue checkmate vnto the best King christened, as not in this story onely may appeare.

It followeth then in the storie of these monkes, that as they were thus in the midst of their ioy and iollity, suddenly commeth newes of the death of Pope Urban their great Calipha, and also how that Gregory the eight was placed in his roome, who was a speciall friend and fauourer of the Archbishop; which as it did greatly incourage the King and the Archbishop, so the monkes on the other side were as much discomfited, so that now all was turned vpside downe. For whereas the King and the Archbishop before thought they had lost all, and were glad to compound with the monkes and to seeke their fauour: now were the monkes on the contrary side saine to crouch to the King, and glad to haue a good countenance; who then restoring to him, and finding him altered both in word and gesture, desired he would confirme & grant that which of late before he had promised. To whom it was answered againe by the King, that seeing the archbishop had granted to them their sacrist, their chamberlaine, and their cellerar, they should haue no more restored of him; neither would he suffer the liberties and priuiledges of the Archbishop to be impaired or take any wrong. And touching the new chappell of S. Thomas (said he) whereabout ye strue so long, with the canons and other buildings belonging thereto, the same I receiue into my hands, so that none shall haue any thing to doe therein but my selfe, &c. In like manner of the Archbishop such another like answer they receiued, and of Bishops little better. So the monkes, sent away with a sea in their eare, went home againe out of Poymandie to their cell.

Now the Archbishop, hauing the monkes where he would, wrought them much grienance; but that continued not very long. For within two months after, and lesse, died Pope Gregory the eight, about the sixtenth day of December following. After whom succeeded pope Clement the third, who, following the steps of Urban, bent all his power with the monkes against the Archbishop, sending diuers precepts and mandats in the next yeare following, which was the yeare 1188. with an imperious letter, willing and commanding him to desist from his oppression of the monkes, and to shew vnto them his new chappell. Whereupon the Archbishop made his appeale and minded to goe to Rome, but was called backe of the King being ready to saile ouer. In the which yeare Honorius the Prior died at Rome of the plague, which was some helpe and comfort to the Archbishop, for whom the Archbishop made Roger Prior, against the wils of the couent. After this, about the latter end of the same yeare, Pope Clement sent downe his legat called Radolphus a Cardinall, to Canterbury with another letter more sharply writtten to the same effect vnto the Archbishop. Ex. hui. Gerual.

The King and Archbishop glad to agree with the monkes, who were the upper hand ouer the Archbishop.

The miserable subiection of King's vnder the Pope to be noted.

Calipha is the high priest of the Saracens sitting in Damascus, vnto whom all the Sultans were subiect, as our princes now are to the Pope.

The King was more to the monkes of Canterbury.

Pope Gregory the eight died. Pope Clement the third.

Pope Clement's letters to the Archbishop.

Honorius Prior of Canterbury died at Rome.

The second letter of Pope Clement to the Archbishop.

Further.

The Pope excommunicated both Baldwin for contempt of his Sea.

The Archbishop commanded by the Pope to shew howe the building of his new church, of his owne costs and charges.

The Archbishop commanded to restore and assaile the monkes whom he did depriue and excommunicate.

The Archbishop threatened by the Pope.

The Pope inuoguet to the abbats, and alſo to the King.

Pope Urban died. Godfridus king of Ierusalem taken with many nobles taken of the Saracens, and the citie won.



Admirie the  
second death  
of King Richard  
he had ioynd  
with the Arch-  
bishop.

Agreement be-  
tweene the  
Archbishop and  
Monks of Can-  
terbury upon  
what conditions.

Ex lib. anony-  
no. & ex lib.  
Gervasio mo-  
nachi Cantua-  
riensis.

Archbishop of  
Canterbury  
Archdeacon of  
the Bishop of  
Rochester land  
in Lambeth to  
with his house  
upon.  
Baldwin arch-  
bishop of Can-  
terbury built  
his house at  
Lambeth.

Three things to  
be observed in  
this story of  
Canterbury  
Monks about  
rehearsed.

Furthermore, in the yere next after, which was 1189. he wrote also the third letter to him. In the which yere also died King Henrie the second, after whom succeeded King Richard his sonne, who, forning likewise with the Archbishop, tooke his part strongly against the said Monkes. At last, after much adoe on both parts, and after great disturbance, and imprisoning diuers of the monkes, King Richard preparing his voyage towards Ierusalem, and desiring first to set peace betwene them, consulted and agreed with the Bishops and Abbats about a small concord in this matter, betwene the Archbishop and Monkes of Canterbury; which at length on both parts was made, vpon these conuentions which follow:

1. First, that Roger Posis should bee deposed, whom the Archbishop had made prior against their wills: whom the king then at the request of the archbishop promoted to bee Abbat of Eulham. 2. Item, that the Archbishop should plucke downe his chappell, which he builded in the suburbs of Canterbury, against the mindes of the Monkes. 3. Item, that the foresaid Monkes should make profession of their obedience and subiection to the Archbishop, as they had done to his other predecessors before him. 4. Item, as touching all other complaints and injuries (except onely the chappell, and deposition of Roger Posis the prior) the Monkes should stand to the arbitrement of the King, of the Archbishop, and the Prelats. 5. Item, that the Monkes, kneeling downe before the king in the chapter house, should aske the archbishop forgiveness. Which being done, they went all together to the Church, and sang Te Deum for this reformation of peace. Ex veteri chronico manuscripto, & ex Gervasio.

The next day after the Archbishop, comming into the chapter, restored to the Couent their manors and farmes againe: also hee discharged the Prior which he had made before; desiring them likewise, that if he had offended them either in word or deed, they would from their heart remit him. This reconciliation being made betwene the Archbishop and the Couent, then the Archbishop going about to dissolue the building of his new Church, though he changed the place, yet thought not to change his intent, and therefore making exchange of lands with the Bishop and Monkes of Rochester, purchased of them their ground in Lambeth, An. 1191. Which done, he came to his clerkes whom he had placed to be canons in his new college of Wakington, and also willed them to remoue all their goods and furniture to Lambeth ouer against Westminster, where he erected for them another church, and there placed the said canons. About which Colledge of Lambeth afterwards much trouble likewise ensued, by the stirring of the said Monkes of Canterbury, in the time of Hubert the Archbishop in the reigne of the said King Richard, and in the yere of our Lord 1196. Furthermore, after the deposing of Roger Posis Prior of Canterbury aforesaid, Baldwin the Archbishop, inforced to grant them another Prior by the assent of the king and of the Couent, assigned Diernus to be their Prior, who had taken part before with the Archbishop; but the Monkes, not pleased with him, after the death of Baldwin the Archbishop remoued him againe.

And thus haue you the feroious discourse of this catholike tragemie, betwene the Monkes of Canterbury and their Archbishop, scarce worth the rehearsall: notwithstanding, this I thought to giue the reader to see of purpose, first to shew forth unto the world the frowardness of this monkish generation, who professing profound humilitie in their coats, what little humilitie they had in their heart, what pride and arrogancie in their conuersation, and what hypocritic in their religion, this one example among a thousand others may giue some experience. Secondly, that the posteritie now may

see, how little Kings could then doe in their owne Realmes for the Pope. And thirdly, to the intent it may more notoriously appeare to all readers, what strife and debate, what dissention and diuision, what little vnlike and concord hath alwayes followed the Popes catholike church, wherefoeuer the corrupt religion and vsurped ambition of the Pope preuailed.

For, not to speake onely of this monkish house of Canterbury, what Church cathedrall, collegiat, or conuenticall: what Sea, church, monastery or chappell was vnder all the Popes gouernment, but euer there happened some variance, either betwene the king and the archbishop, as betwene King William and Lanfranke, King Henry the first and Anselme, King Stephan and Richard, King Henry the second and Becket, King John and Stephan Langton, King Henry the third and Boniface, &c: Or else betwene Archbishop, and Archbishop, for making possession, for carrying the crosse, for sitting on the right hand of the Popes legat, &c: Or else betwene archbishops and their suffragans, or betwene Archbishops and their Couents, or betwene Bishops and Monkes, betwene Deane & Chapter, betwene Monkes and secular priests, Monkes of one sort against another, friers of one order against another, students against friers, townsmen against scholars, &c: As for example: What discord was betwene the Archbishop of Canterbury and Richard Archbishop of Poike, betwene Lanfrancus and Archbishop Thomas, betwene Theobald Archbishop of Canterbury, and Siluester Abbat of S. Austins, betwene Walter of Christs Church and Siluester Abbat aforesaid, betwene William Archbishop of Canterbury, and Jeremias Prior of Canterbury, Anno, 1144. betwene the Monkes of Canterbury and who their Prior for translating the reliques of Dunstan, betwene King Stephan and Roger Bishop of Salisbury, the Bishop of Lincoln and Roger Bishop of Ely his sonne, Anno 1128. betwene Pope Innocent and Anacletus the space of seven yeres, the Cardinals for money (saith Gervasius) sometime holding with the one, sometime with the other; at last the election was determined by a fore battell betwene Lotharius Emperour, and Rogerius Duke of Apulia, An. 1137. also betwene Pope Innocent the fourth and Frederike Emperour the second, betwene King Henry the third and William Hale Bishop of Winchester, when the king had the gates of Winchester toke to be shut against him, Anno 1250. betwene Boniface Archbishop of Canterbury, and canons of S. Paul: Item betwene the said Boniface and Monkes of S. Bartholomew, who sat there in harness in his visitation, An. 1250 betwene the Abbat of Westminster and Monkes of the same house, Anno 1251. Item, betwene the foresaid William Hale Bishop of Winchester and Boniface Archbishop of Canterbury, for a priest of the hospitall in Southwarke, Anno 1252. betwene the said Boniface and canons of Lincoln after the death of Robert Grossehead, for giuing of Wrethends, Anno 1253. betwene the monkes of Couentry and Canons of Lichfield, for chusing their Bishop in the time of King Henry the third.

And what should I speake of the discord, which cost so much money betwene Edmund Archbishop of Canterbury and the monkes of Rochester, for chusing Richard Telandor to be their bishop, An. 1328. betwene Robert Grossehead Bishop of Lincoln and canons of the same house, for which both he and they were diuen to trauell to Rome, Anno 1244. betwene Gilbert Bishop of Rochester, Delegate to archbishop Baldwin and Robert the Popes Legat for sitting on the right hand of the legat in his consell at Westminster, Anno 1190. betwene the Abbat of Wardney and the said Grossehead about the visitation of their abbey, An. 1242. Item, betwene the Couent of Canterbury and the said Robert Bishop of Lincoln, Anno 1243. betwene Hugo bi-

Opposite in  
manere.

Kings mette  
it was under  
the Pope.

An concord was  
made in popish  
churches.

Examples pro-  
uincing what dis-  
cord and how  
little vnlike in  
the Popes  
church.

Ex Matth.  
Parif.

So vnlike in the  
Popes church.



Thop of Durham and Hubert Bishop of Sarum and Geoffrey Archbishop of York, An. 1189. betwene William Bishop of Ely the Kings chancelor and the canons of York, for not receiuing him with procession, Anno 1190. betwene the Abbat of Westminster and his convent of blacke Monkes, whom King Henry the third had much adoe to still and agree, Anno 1249. Item, betwene the foresaid bishop of Lincoln and the Abbat of Westminster; likewise betwene Nicolas bishop of Durham and John Abbat of S. Albons, Anno 1246. also betwene Hubert archbishop of Canterbury and the Monkes there for the house of Lambeth, Anno 1146: And what a stir was betwene the preaching friers and the gray friers mentioned in Matthew Paris for superiortie, Anno 1243: Also betwene the said gray friers, and the prelates and doctors of Paris about nine conclusions, condemned of the prelates to be erroneous:

Conclusions of the friers condemned for erroneous by the prelates of Paris. Ex Mat. Paris. fol. 167.

- 1 Concerning the diuine essence, that it cannot be sene of the Angels or men glorified.
- 2 Concerning the essence of the Holy Ghost.
- 3 Touching the proceeding of the holy Ghost, as he is loue.
- 4 Whether men glorified shall be In coelo empty, or In coelo crystallino.
- 5 That the euill angell at his first creation was euill and neuer good.
- 6 That there haue bene many verities from the beginning which were not of God.
- 7 That an Angell in one instant may bee in diuers places.
- 8 That the euill angell neuer had whereby hee might stand, no moze had Adam in his state of innocencie.
- 9 That he which hath Meliora naturalia, that is to say, more perfect strength of nature working in him, shall haue moze full measure of necessity to obtaine grace and glory. To the which articles the prelates answering, did excommunicate the same as erroneous, affirming that grace and glorie shall be giuen accordyng to that God hath elected and predestinate, &c. Ex Mat. Paris. fol. 167.

In like manner betwene the said Dominike friers, and the gray friers, what a braule and tumult was about the conception of our Lady, whether she was without originall sinne conceived or not, in the raigne of King Henry the seventh and King Henry the eight, in the yere of our Lord 1059. Adde mozeouer to these the foure and twenty haunous schismes, and not so few, which happened betwene Pope and Pope in the church and Sea of Rome. But what do I stand to recite the diuisions and dissensions of the popes church, which is as much almost as to reckon the sands of the Sea: For what church, chapter, or convent was in all that religion, which either had not some variance with themselves or with others? Upon which continuall strife & variance among them, the readers hereof may iudge of them and their religion as pleaseth them: in the meane time, my iudgement is this, that where such dissention dwelleth, there dwelleth not the spirit of Christ.

These things thus discoursed touching the tragical dissention betwene Baldwin the Archbishop, and the Monkes of Canterbury, now let vs proceed, by the Lorde assistance, in continuing of our storie. After King Richard had thus, as is declared, sett the Monkes and the Archbishop in some agreement, and had compoled such things as were to bee redressed within the realme, hee advanced forward his journey, and came vnto Turon, to meet with Philip the French king: and so after that went to Chelace, where the French king and he joining together, for the more continuance of their journey, assured themselves by sollemne oath, swearing fidelitie one vnto the other; the forme of whose oath was this: That either of them should defend and maintaine the honour of the other, and beare true fidelitie vnto him

of life, members, and worldly honour; and that neither of them should faile one the other in their affaires: but the French king should aide the king of England in defending his land and dominions, as hee would himselfe defend his owne cite of Paris, if it were besieged: and that Richard King of England likewise should aide the French King in defending his land and dominions, no otherwise then hee would defend his owne cite of Rone, if it were besieged, &c.

But how slenderly this oath did hold betwene these two kings, and by whose chiefe occasion first it fell asunder, the sequell of the historie (the Lord willing) shall declare hereafter.

Furthermoze, touching the lawes and ordinances appointed by this King Richard for his nanie, the forme thereof was this:

1 That whosoever killed any person on shipboard, should be tyed with him that was slain, and throwne into the Sea.

2 And if he killed him on the land, he should in like manner be tyed with the party slaine, and bee buried with him in the earth.

3 He that shall be conuicted by lawfull witnesse to draw out his knife or weapon, to the intent to strike any man, or that hath stricken any to the drawing of blood, shall lose his hand.

4 Also, he that striketh any person with his hand, without effusion of blood, shall bee plunged three times in the Sea.

5 Item, whoso speaketh any opprobrious or contumelious words, in railing or cursing one another, for so oftentimes as he hath so railed, shall pay so many ounces of siluer.

6 Item, a theefe, or felon that hath stolne, being lawfully conuicted, shall haue his head thorne, and boyling pitch poured vpon his head, and feathers or downe throwne vpon the same, whereby he may be knowne; and so the first landing place they shall come to, there to be cast by, &c.

These things thus set in a readinesse, King Richard sending his nauy by the Spanish Seas, and by the Straites of Iubafary betwene Spaine and Africa, to meet him at Marsilia, hee himselfe went (as is said) to Chelace, to the French king. Which two kings from thence went to Lyons, where the bridge over the flood Rhodanus with presse of people brake, and many both men and women were drowned. By reason whereof the two kings, for the cumbrances of their traines, were constrained to discontinue themselves for the time of their journey, appointing both to meet together in Sicilia; and so Philip the French king tooke his way to Genua, and King Richard to Marsilia, where he remained eight daies, appointing there his name to meete him. From thence crossing ouer to Genua, where the French king was, he passed forward by the coast of Italy, and entered into Cyber not far from Rome, where meeting with Ottomarus the cardinall and Bishop of Hostia, he did complaine greatly of the filthy money of the pope and the popes court, for receiuing seven hundred markes for consecrating the bishop Cenomanensis; also a thousand and five hundred markes of William the Bishop of Ely for his office legantine; and likewise an infinite summe of money of the bishop of Burdeaur, for acquitting him when he should be deposed for a certaine crime laid to his charge by his clergy, &c.

The seventh day of August, in the yere aforesaid, King Richard departed out of Marsilia, after he had there waited seven dayes for his nauie, which came not, and so hiring twenty galleies, and fenne great barkes, to ship ouer his men, sailed by the sea coast of Italy, and came to Naples, and so partly by hoyle and wagon, partly by the Sea passing to Falerum, he came to Calabria; where after that hee had heard his ships were arrived at Messina in Sicilia, he made the more speed; and so the three and twentieth of September sent to Messina, with such a noise

Discipline and orders set by King Richard for malefactors.

The French king and King Richard come to Lyons.

King Richard departed from Marsilia.

King Richard's complaine of the filthy money of the popes court.

King Richard departed from Marsilia.

The kings ship arrive at Messina.

Contention betwene friers about the conception of our Lady.

Continuall variance in the popes church.

{ Anno }  
1190

King Richard taketh his iorney toward the land of Jerusalem.

The oath and treaty betwene Philip second French king, and King Richard the first, touching the Holy Land.



The coming of King Richard to Messina.

a noyse of trumpets and shalmes, with such a rout and shew, that it was to the great wonderment and terror both of the frenchmen, and all others that did heare and behold the sight.

The french king lodged in Messina.

To the said towne of Messina the french king was come before the firste day of the same moneth of September, and had taken by the palace of Tancredus king of Sicilia for his lodging. To whom king Richard after his arrivall thither resorted, and when the two kings had communed together, immediately the same day the french king broke shipping and entered the Seas, thinking to saile toward the land of Jerusalem. But after he was out of the haven, the winde arising contrary against him, returned him backe againe to Messina.

The french king, when he came by the wind to Messina.

King Richard sheweth his sister Joane Queene of Sicilia to be him unto him.

King Richard setteth the monasterie of Griffons.

Discord between the citizens of Messina, and the English army.

The king could not stay the rage of the people.

Communication about peace among the kings.

A kindly becomen the citizens of Messina and the Englishmen.

The french king a bearer with strangers against the Englishmen.

harmie, so and so, and might well have saved the Kings partie, more then he, if it had so liked him.

This being knowne to the English host, how their fellows were slaine, and the frenchmen permitted in the citie, and that they were excluded, and the gates barred against them, being also stopped from buying of victuals and other things; they upon great indignation gathered themselves in armes, brake open the gates, & scaled the walls, and so, winning the citie, set by their flags with the English arms upon the walls. Which when the french king did see, hee was mightily offended, requiring the king of England, that the armes of France might also be set by and joyned with his: But king Richard to that in no case would agree. Notwithstanding, to satisfie his minde, hee was well contented to take downe his armes, and commit the custody of the citie to the Hospitallaries and Templars of Jerusalem, till the tunc that Tancred king of Sicilia and he should agree together upon conditions.

These things being done the fifth and sixth day of October, it followed then upon the eight day of the same moneth of October, that peace among the kings was concluded. In which peace first king Richard and Philip the french king renewed againe their oath and league before made concerning their mutuall aide and societie during all the time of that peregrination. Secondly, peace also was concluded betwene king Richard and Tancred king of Sicilia aforesaid with this condition, that the daughter of Tancred (in case king Richard should die without issue) should marry to Arthur Duke of Britaine, the Kings nephew and next heire to his crowne, &c. Whereof a formall chart was drawn and letters sent thereof to Pope Clement, being dated the ninth day of November.

In this meane time as these two Kings of France and England were thus wintering at Messina, Frederike Emperour first of that name (the same on whose necke Pope Alexander did tread in the church of Venice, laying the berse of the Psal. Super aspidem & basiliscum ambulabis, &c. whereof read before) and his sonne Conradus, with a mighty army of Almans and others, were coming by likewise toward the land of Jerusalem to the siege of Achor: where by the way the good Emperour through a great mischance, falling off his horse into a river called Salef, was therein drowned. After whose decease Conradus his sonne, taking the government of his armie, came to the siege of Achor; in which siege also hee died. Upon whose coming such a dearth followed in the campe, which lasted two moneths, that a loafe of bread, which before their coming was sold for one pennie, was afterward sold for three pounds: by reason whereof many Christian souldiers did there perish through famine. The chiefest food which the princes there had to feed upon was horse flesh. This famine being so miserable, some good Bishops there were in the campe, namely Herbert Bishop of Salisbury, with certaine other good Bishops, who, making a generall collection through the whole campe for the poore, made such a provision, that in this penury of all things, yet no man was so destitute and needy, but somewhat hee had for his reliefe: till within a few dayes after by the mercifull providence of God (who is the fader of all creatures) ships came unto them with abundance of corne, wine, and oyle.

The siege of this towne of Achor indured a long season, which as it was mightily oppugned by the Christians, so it was strongly defended by the Saracens, specially by the helpe of wilde fire, which the Latines call Gracum ignem, so that great slaughter there was on both sides. During the time of which siege, many noble personages and also bishops died, among whom was Conradus the Emperours sonne, Radulph Earle of Fougiers, the Earle of Perre, Robert Earle of Leicester, Baldwin Archbi-

The siege of the Achor.

Ignis Gracum, much used of the Saracens.



shop of Canterbury, with foure Archbishops, and diuers other Bishops, Abbats, earles, and also barons to the number of foure and thirtie, and not so few. All this while king Richard, and king Philip of France still kept at Messina in Sicilia, from the moneth of September till April, for lacke (I suppose) of wind or weather, or else for necessitie of repairing their ships. In which meane time king Richard hearing of Joachim Abbat of Curacio a learned man in Calabria (who was then thought to haue the spirit of prophesie, and told many things of a people that should come) sent for him, with whom he and his bishops had much conference about the coming and time of antichrist. This Joachim belike in his book and reuelations uttered some things against the Sea and pride of Rome: for the which he was lesse fauoured of the popes, and iudged an enemy to their Sea, and so by Pope Innocent the third was condemned with his bookes for an heretike, in his doctourous generall councill of Lateran, An. 1215, as ye may reade in Antoninus.

After this Henricus king of Almans, sonne of Frederike the Emperour, hearing of the deceale of his father, standing now to be Emperour, first resorteth to Henric Duke of Saronie, and to others, whatsoeuer his father before had taken from them. That done, he sent vnto Clement and his cardinals, promising in all things to confirme the lawes and dignities of the church of Rome, if they would grant him their assent to be Emperour. Whereupon Pope Clement, by aduice of the Romans, assigned him the tearme of Easter in the next yeere ensuing for his coronation. But before the Easter came, Pope Clement died, after he had sit thre yeeres, and about foure moneths: after whom succeeded Celestinus the thurd of whom more hereafter, God willing.

The time thus passing ouer in the moneth of February, the next yeere following, which was of the Lord 1191, king Richard sent ouer his gallees to Naples, there to meet his mother Glenor, and Berengaria the daughter of Sandius king of Navar, whom he was purposed to marry. And by that time were come to Vmoussum, vnder the conduct of Philip Earle of Flanders, and so proceeding vnto Naples, there found the kings ships, wherein they sailed to Messina. In this meane space king Richard shewed himselfe exceeding bounteous and liberall vnto all men. To the French king first he gaue diuers ships: vpon others likewise he bestowed rich rewards; and of his goods and treasure he distributed largely vnto his souldiers and seruants about him. Of whom it was reported that he distributed more in one moneth, then euer any of his predecessors did in a whole yeere: by reason whereof he purchased great loue and fauour, which not onely redounded to the aduancement of his faime, but also to his singular vse and profit, as the sequell afterward proued.

To proceed then in the progresse of king Richard, it followeth: In the first day of the moneth of March, he, leauing the citie of Messina, where the French king was, went to Cathmentum, a citie where Tancredus king of Sicilia then lay, where he was honourably receiued, and there remained with king Tancredus thre daies and thre nights. On the fourth day when he should depart, the foresaid Tancredus offered him many rich presents in gold and silver, and precious silkes; whereof king Richard would receiue nothing, but one little ring for a token of his good will. For the which king Richard againe gaue him a rich sword. At length when king Richard should take his leaue, king Tancredus would not to let him part, but needs would giue him foure great ships, and fiftene gallees: and further more, he himselfe would needs accompanie him the space of two dayes journey to a place called Tauernum.

When the next morning when they should take

their leaue, Tancredus declared vnto him the message, which the French king a little before had sent vnto him by the Duke of Burgundie, the contents whereof was this: That the King of England was a false traitor, and would never keepe the peace that was betweene them. And if the said Tancredus would warre against him, or secretly by night would inuade him, he with all his power would assist him; and joyne with him to the destruction of him and all his armie, &c. To whom Richard the king protested againe, that he was no traitor, nor euer was: and as touching the peace begun betweene them, the same should neuer be broken through him: neither could hee beleue, that the French king, being his good Lord and his sworne compartner in that voyage, would utter any such words by him. Which when Tancredus heard, he bringeth forth the letters of the French king sent to him by the Duke of Burgundie; affirming moreouer, that if the Duke of Burgundie would denie the bringing of the said letters, he was ready to trie with him by any of his dukes. King Richard receiuing the letters, and musing not a little vpon the same, returneth againe to Messina. The same day that king Richard departed, the French king cometh to Tauernum to speake with Tancredus, and there abode with him that night, and on the morrow returned to Messina againe.

From that same time king Richard, moued in stomacke against king Philip, neuer shewed any gentle countenance of peace and amitie, as hee before was wont. Whereat the French king greatly maruelling, and enquiring earnestly what should be the cause thereof, word was sent him againe by Philip earle of Flanders, what words he had sent to the King of Sicilia: and for the testimony thereof the letters were shewed which he wrote by the duke of Burgundie to the King of Sicilia. Which when the French king vnderstood, first he held his peace, as guiltie in his conscience, not knowing well what to answer. At length turning his tale to another matter, he began to quarrell with king Richard, pretending as though hee sought causes to breake with him, and to maligne him, and therefore he forged these lies (said he) vpon him, and all because he by that meanes would boide to marry with Alice his sister, according as hee had promised: adding moreouer, that if hee would so doe, and would not marry the said Alice his sister, according to his oath, but would marry another, hee would be an enemy to him and his, while hee liued.

To this king Richard said againe, that he could by no meanes marrie that woman, for so much as his father had carnall copulation with her, and also had by her a sonne: for proofe whereof he had there presently to bring forth diuers and sundry witnesses to the kings face, to testifie with him. In conclusion, though counsell and perswasion of diuers about the French king, agreement at last was made; so that king Philip did acquit king Richard from his bond of marrying his sister; and king Richard againe should be bound to pay to him euery yeere, for the space of five yeeres, two thousand markes, with certaine other conditions besides, not greatly materiall in this place to be deciphered. Thus peace being betweene them concluded, the eight and twentieth day of the said moneth of March, the French king, launching out of the haue of Messina, on the two and twentieth day after in Easter weeke came with his armie to the siege of Achn.

After the departure of the French king from Messina king Richard with his armie yet remaining behind, arrived Duene Glenor the kings mother, bringing with her Bernegera the king of Navars daughter to be espoused to king Richard. Which done, Glenor, leaving Bernegera behind her, departed, taking her journey toward Rome, to intreate the Pope for Gaufridus her other sonne a

Philip the French king traitorously seeketh the destruction of king Richard by secret letters sent to the king of Sicilia.

A faithful part of Tancredus king of Sicilia towards king Richard.

The first occasion of discord betweene the French king and king Richard.

King Richard chargeth the French king with falsehoods.

The French king quarrells with king Richard about marrying his sister.

Causes alleged why king Richard could not marrie with the French kings sister.

Agreement betweene the two kings, with the conditions touching the same.

The French king cometh to Achn.

Bernegera as some doe call her Bernegera daughter to the king of Navar brought to be married to king Richard.

King Richard conferreth with Joachim abbat about the coming of Antichrist.

Abbas Joachim condemned in the councill of Lateran, by Innocent the third.

Henricus sonne of Frederike standeth to the Emperour.

Pope Clement dieth. Celestinus the third Pope.

Anno 1191

The bountifull liberality of king Richard.

King Richard goeth from Messina, and cometh to Cathmentum.

The honourable entertainment of king Richard by Tancredus.



hatched by his  
other Eleonor.

Pope Celestine  
third.

ambitions re-  
venged of Ven-  
ice King of  
Venice, before  
I should be  
the Emperor  
the Pope.

the Pope of  
Rome in the full  
top of his pride.

Pope Celestine  
diedeth: and  
the Emperor  
th his text.

the Pope first  
th off: the Em-  
peror, returns  
ath his foot.

King Richard  
mourne from  
Sclania to  
Achon.

King Richard  
was taken with a  
sudden on the  
sea going to  
Achon.

King Richard  
was taken with a  
sudden on the  
sea going to  
Achon.

boue mentioned, to be consecrated in the archbis-  
shops of Poike, being before elected by the procure-  
ment of King Richard his brother, as ye heard. In  
which meane time, as Duene Eleonor was travel-  
ling toward Rome, Pope Clement above mentio-  
ned died about the fifth day of April, in whose name  
succeeded Pope Celestine the third. And the next  
day after his consecration came from Lateran to  
St. Peters Church, where the way meeteth him  
Henricus the Emperour, and Constantia his wife,  
with a great rout of armed souldiers: but the Ro-  
mans making fast their gates would not suffer  
them to enter their citie. Then pope Celestine, stand-  
ing upon the staires before the Church doore of St.  
Peter, received an oath of the said Henricus king  
of the Romans (his armie waiting without) that he  
should defende the Church of God and all the liberties  
thereof, and maintaine justice; also that he should  
restore againe the patrimonie of St. Peter full and  
whole, whatsoever hath bene diminished thereof;  
and finally, that he should surrender to the Church  
of Rome againe the citie of Tusculanum, &c. Upon  
these conditions and grants, then the pope took him  
to the church, and there appointed him for Emperour,  
and his wife for Empresse; who, there sitting in his  
chaire pontificall, held the crowne of gold betwene  
his feet, and so the Emperour, bowing downe his  
head to the Popes feet, received the Crowne, and in  
like manner the Empresse also. The Crowne thus  
being set upon the emperours head, the pope bestowed  
with his fat stroke it off againe from his head un-  
to the ground, declaring thereby that he had power  
to depose him againe, in case he so deserved. Then  
the Cardinals taking up the crowne, set it upon his  
head againe. Ex veteri Chronico manuscripto anony-  
mo, de gestis Richardi regis, cui initium: Anno gra-  
tie, &c. Item ex alio vetulatis Chronico manuscripto,  
cui initium: Aeneas cum Ascanio, &c.

Not long after the departure of King Philip from  
Sclania, which was in the moneth of March, King  
Richard in April following, about the twentieth day  
of the said moneth, sayling from the haven of Sclania  
with an hundred and fiftie great ships, and three  
and fiftie great gallees well manned and appointed,  
tooke journey towards Achon; who being upon the  
Seas on Good Friday, about the ninth houre rose a  
mighty south wind with a tempest, which disordered  
and scattered all his shippes, some to one place, and  
some to another. The King with a few ships was  
driven to the Ile of Creta, and there before the haven  
of Rhodes cast anchor. The ship that carried the  
Kings sister Duene of Sicilia, and Bernegera the  
King of Bauars daughter, with two other ships  
were driven to the Ile of Cyprus. The King making  
great mone for the ship of his sister, and Bernegera  
his wife that should bee, not knowing where they  
were become, after the tempest was overblowne,  
sent forth his gallees diligently to search the rest of  
his naue dispersed, but especially for the ship where  
in his sister was, and the maiden whom he should  
marry, who at length were found safe and merrie at  
the port of Limsem in the Ile of Cyprus. Notwith-  
standing the two other ships, which were in their  
company before in the same haven, were drowned,  
with diuers of the Kings seruants and men of war,  
ship, amongst whom was Sir Roger, called Galus  
Catulus, the Kings vicechancellor, who was found  
hauing the Kings seale hanging about his necke.  
The King of Cyprus was then Akisius (called also  
the Emperour of the Giffons) who toke and impris-  
oned all Englishmen which by shipwacke were  
cast upon his land: also inueigled into his hands the  
goods and prizes of them which were found drowned  
about his coasts, neither would suffer the ship wher-  
in the two Ladies were to enter within the port.

The tidings of this being brought to King Ri-  
chard, he in his great wrath, gathering his gallees  
and ships together, boorded the land of Cyprus,

where he first in gentle wise signifieth to King Akisius, how hee with his Englishmen, comming as  
strangers to the supportation of the holy land, were  
by distresse of weather driven upon his bounds, and  
therefore with all humble petition besought him in  
Gods behalfe, and for reuerence of the holy crosse,  
to let goe such prisoners of his which he had in cap-  
tivity, and to restore againe the goods of them which  
were drowned, which he detained in his hands, to be  
employed for the behalfe of their soules, &c. And thus  
the King once, twice, and thrice desired of the Em-  
perour. But hee, proudly answering againe, sent  
the King word, that he would neither let the cap-  
tives goe, nor render the goods of them which were  
drowned, &c.

When King Richard heard this, how little the  
Emperour Akisius made of his so humble and honest  
petition, and how nothing there could bee gotten  
without violent force, chafed he giueth comma-  
ndment though all his host, to put themselves in  
armour and to follow him, to reuenge such injuries  
received of that proud and cruel King of Cyprus;  
willing them to put their trust in God, not to mi-  
doubt but the Lord would stand with them, and giue  
them the full victory. The Emperour in the meane time  
with his people stood warding the sea coasts, where  
the Englishmen should arrive, with swords, bills,  
and lances, and such other weapons as they had, let-  
ting bows, stoles, and cheffes before them in stead of  
a wall. Howbeit but few of them were harnessed,  
and for the most part all vnexpert, and vnskilfull in  
the feats of warre. Then King Richard with his  
souldiers, issuing out of their ships, first set his bow-  
men before, who with their shot made a way for  
others to follow. The Englishmen, thus winning  
the land upon them, so fiercely pressed upon the  
Giffons, that after long fighting and many blowes,  
at last the Emperour was put to flight; when King  
Richard valiantly pursued, and slew many, and di-  
uers he tooke alive, and had gone nere also to haue  
had the emperour, had not the night come on and per-  
ted the battell. And thus King Richard with much  
spoil and great victory returning to the port towne  
of Limsem, which the townesmen had left for feare,  
found there great abundance of corne, wine, oyle,  
and victuals.

The same day after the victorie got, Joane the  
Kings sister, and Bernegera the maiden entered the  
port and towne of Limsem, with fiftie great ships,  
and fouretene galliots; so that all the while name,  
there meeting together, were two hundred fiftie  
four tall ships, and about thre score galliots. When  
Akisius the emperour, seeing no way for him to escape  
by the Sea, the same night pitched his tents five  
miles off from the English army, wearing that the  
third day after he would sure giue battell to King Ri-  
chard. But he preventing him before, suddenly, the  
same morning before the day of battell should be,  
setteth upon the tents of the Giffons early, they  
being vnawares and asleepe, and made of them a  
great slaughter; in so much that the Emperour was  
faine naked to run away, leaving his tents and pa-  
uillions to the Englishmen, full of horses and rich  
treasure, also with the imperiall standard, the lower  
part whereof with a costly streamer was couered  
and wrought all with gold. King Richard then re-  
turning with victory and triumph to his sister, and  
Bernegera, shortly after in the moneth of May  
next following, and the twelfth day of the same mo-  
neth, married the said Bernegera daughter of Kan-  
on King of Bauar, in the Ile of Cyprus at  
Limsem.

The King of Cyprus, seeing himselfe enuermat-  
ched, was driven at length to yeld himselfe with  
conditions, to giue King Richard twentie thousand  
markes in gold, for amends of such spoiles as hee  
had gotten of them that were drowned, also to re-  
store all his captives againe to the King, and fir-

King Richard  
makes out to  
the King of Cy-  
prus with a  
souldiers in  
captiuitie.

The distressed  
and proudnes  
of King Ri-  
chard.

King Richard  
chafed with  
men to fight  
against Akisius.

King Richard  
set forth upon  
Akisius King  
of Cyprus.  
The battell be-  
tweene the Em-  
perour of Cyprus  
and King  
Richard.

The towne of  
Limsem taken  
by King Richard.

The King of Cy-  
prus againe put  
to flight.

King Richard  
married Bern-  
egera daughter  
of the King of  
Bauar in the  
Ile of Cyprus.

Akisius King of  
Cyprus pressed  
himselfe to King  
Richard.



thermore in his owne person to attend vpon the King to the land of Ierusalem, in Gods seruice and his, with foure hundred hoxmen, and five hundred footmen: in pledge whereof hee would giue to his hands his castles, and his onely daughter, and would hold his kingdome of him. This done, and the Emperour swearing fidelitie to king Richard, before Guido king of Ierusalem, and the prince of Antioch (who were come thither to king Richard a little before) peace was taken, and Flakius was committed to the ward of certaine keepers. Notwithstanding shortly after hee, breaking from his keepers, was againe at defiance with the King. Whereupon king Richard, besetting the Island of Cyprus round about with ships and gallies, did in such sort preuaile, that the subjects of the land were constrained to yeld themselves to the King, and at length the daughter also of the Emperour, and at last the Emperour himselfe, whom king Richard caused to be kept in fetters of siluer and gold, and to be sent to the cite of Tripolis.

These things thus done, and all set in order touching the possession of the Ile of Cyprus, the keeping whereof he committed vnto Radulph sonne of Godfrey Lord chamberlaine, being then the first day of June; vpon the fifth of the said month, king Richard departed from the Ile of Cyprus with his ships and gallies towards the siege of Achon, and on the next morrow came vnto Cyprus; where, by procurement of the french king, he was constrained by the citizens to enter. The next day after, which was the sixth day of June, crossing the Seas, he met with a great Barke fraught with souldiers and men of warre, to the number of one thousand and five hundred; which pretending to be frenchmen, and setting forth their flag with the french armes, were indeed Saracens, secretly sent with wilde fire and certaine barrells of unknowne serpents, to the defence of the towne of Achon. Which king Richard at length perceiuing, estones set vpon them, and so vanquished them, of whom the most were drowned, and some taken alive. Which being once knowne in the cite of Achon, as it was a great discomfort vnto them, so it was a great helpe vnto the Christians for winning the cite. The next day after, which was the senenty of June, king Richard came to Achon, which at that time had been long besieged of the Christians; after whose coming it was not long, but the pagans within the cite seeing their walls to be undermined, and towres ouerthrowne, were driuen by composition to escape with life and lim, to surrender the cite vnto the two kings. Another great helpe to the Christians in winning the cite was this: In the said cite of Achon there was a secret Christian among the Saracens, who in time of the siege there vsed at sundry times to call ouer the walls, into the campe of the Christians, certaine bills written in Hebrew, Greeke, and Latine, where in he disclosed vnto the Christians from time to time the doings and counsels of the enemies, aduertising them how and by what way they should worke, and what to beware: and alwaies his letters began thus, In nomine patris, & filii, & spiritus sancti, Amen. By reason whereof, the Christians were much advantaged in their proceedings. But this was a great heauinesse vnto them, that neither hee would offer his name, nor when the cite was got could they euer understand who he was. Ex Chronico manuscripto, de gestis Richardi.

To make of a long siege a short narration, vpon the twelfth day of Iulie in the yere aforesaid, the princes and capitaines of the pagans vpon agreement reposed vnto the tent of the templaries, to common with the two kings touching peace and giuing vp of their cite, the forme of which peace was thus: That the kings should haue the cite of Achon freely and fully deliuered vnto them, with all which was within: and five hundred captiues of the Chi-

rians should be reposed vnto them, which were in Achon; also the holy crosse should be to them reposed, and a thousand Christian captiues, with two hundred hoxmen, whomeuer they themselves would chuse out of all them which were in the power of Saladine; ouer and besides they should giue to the kings two hundred thousand Miltants, so that they themselves would remaine as pledges in the kings hands for the performance hereof; that if in fortie dayes these foresaid euouants were not accomplished, they would abide the kings merite touching life and lim. These euouants being agreed vpon, the kings sent their souldiers and seruants into the cite, to take one hundred of the richest and best of the cite, to clothe them vp in towres vnder strong keeping, and the residue they committed to be kept in houses and streets, ministering vnto them according to their necessities: to whom notwithstanding this they permitted, that so many of them as would be baptised, and receiue the faith of Christ, should be free to goe whither they would. Whereupon many there were of the pagans, which for feare of death pretended to be baptised; but afterward, so soone as they could, reuolted againe to the Saladine. For the which it was afterwards commanded by the kings, that none of them should be baptised against their wills.

The thirtenth day of the said moneth of Iuly, King Philip of France, and King Richard, after they had obtained the possession of Achon, diuided betwene them all things therein contained, as well the people, as gold and siluer, with all other furniture whatsoever was remaining in the cite: who, in diuiding the spoyle, were so good caruers vnto themselves, that many knights, and Barons, with other souldiers, who had there sustained the whole trauell two yeres together about the siege, seeing the kings to take all vnto themselves, and their part to be but little, retracted themselves without the bittermost wrath, and there, after consultation had together, sent word to the kings, that they would leaue and forsake them, vntill they were made partakers also of the gaires for the which they had so long travelled. To whom answer was sent againe by the kings, that their wills should be satisfied. Howbeit because of long deferring of their promise, many constrained by povertie departed from them.

The twentieth day of Iuly King Richard, speaking with the french king, desired him that they two with their armies would binde themselves by oath to remain there still in the land of Ierusalem the space of three yeres, for the winning and recovering againe of those countries. But he would sweare (he said) no such oath: and so the next day after king Richard with his wife and sister entred into the cite of Achon, and placed there himselfe in the kings palace, the french king remaining in the houses of the templaries, where hee continued till the end of the moneth. So about the beginning of the moneth of August, Philip the french king, after that he and king Richard had made agreement betwene Guido and Conradus the Marques, about the kingdome of Ierusalem, went from Achon to Cyprus; notwithstanding king Richard and all the princes of the Christian army with great intreaty desired him to tarry, shewing what a shame it were for him to come so farre, and now to leaue undone that for which hee came; and on the thirde of August from Cyprus hee departed, leauing his halfe part of the cite of Achon in the hands of the foresaid Conradus Marques. After whose departure the pagans refused to keep their euouants made; who neither would restore the holy crosse, nor the money, nor their captiues, sending word to king Richard, that if he beheaded the pledges left with him at Achon, they would chop off the heads of such captiues of the Christians, which were in their hands. Shortly after this, the Saladine, sending great gifts to king Richard, requested the times

The king of Cyprus breaketh conditions with king Richard.

King of Cyprus againe submitte himselfe, and is kept in golden fetters.

King Richard taketh his iourney to Achon.

A thousand and four hundred Saracens sent to the rescue of Achon, vanquished on the sea by king Richard.

The city of Achon resided to the Christians.

An honest part of a secret Christian in the city of Achon.

The forme of peace concluded betwene the kings and the princes of Achon.

Covenants made in giuing up the cite of Achon.

Religion would be taught and not coerced.

The two kings diuide the cite of Achon with all the spoyle thereof betwene themselves.

Commonly seeing, who to taketh most paines, their part to be the least. Many of the Christian souldiers for need were constrained to depart from Achon.

King Richard requirerth of the french king to remaine three yeres with his army, but he would not.



times limited for beheading of the captives to be prozoured: but the king refused to take his gifts; and to grant his request. Whereupon the Saladine caused all the christian captives within his possession forthwith to be beheaded, which was the eighteenth day of August. Which albeit King Richard understood, yet would not he prevent the time afore limited for the execution of his prisoners, being the twentieth of August. Upon which day he caused the prisoners of the Saracens, openly in the sight of the Saladines army, to lose their heads: the number of whom came to 2500. save onely that certaine of the principall of them he reserved for purposes and considerations, especially to make exchange for the holy Crosse, and certaine others of the Christian captives.

After this, King Richard purposed to besiege the cite of Joppa; where, by the way betwene Achor and Joppa, nere to a towne called Asur, Saladine with a great multitude of his Saracens came fiercely against the kings rearward: but through Gods mercifull grace, in the same battell the kings warriors acquitted them so well, that the Saladine was put to flight (whom the Christians pursued the space of three miles) and lost the same day many of his nobles and capitaines, in such sort (as it was thought) that the Saladine was not put to such confusion forty yeeres before: and but one Christian captaine, called James Avernus, in that conflict was overthrowne. From thence King Richard, proceeding further, went to Joppa, and thento Acalon, where he found first the cite of Joppa forsaken of the Saracens, who durst not abide the kings coming. Acalon the Saladine threw downe to the ground, and likewise forsooke the whole land of Syria; though all which land the king had free passage without resistance, neither durst the Saracen prince encounter after that with King Richard. Of all which his achievements the said King Richard sent his letters of certifiat as well into England, as also to the Abbat of Clara Valle in France; well hoping that he (God willing) should be able to make his repaire againe to them by Easter next.

A brieve story of William Bishop of Ely, the Kings Chancellor.

As now to leave King Richard a while in the helde, let vs make a step into England, and looke a little what is done at home while the king was abroad, and so returne to the king againe. We heard before how King Richard, at his setting forth, committed the government of the realme to Hugo bishop of Durham, and to William bishop of Ely, so that to the Bishop of Durham was committed the keeping of the Castle of Windsor. The other, which was the Bishop of Ely, had the keeping of the tower of London, about which he caused a great ditch with a rampire to be cast, which is yet remaining. Furthermore, to these two Bishops the king also assigned foure other chiefe justices, which evenly with them should have the hearing and over sight of all causes, as well to the clergie as to the laitie appertaining: to wit, Hugh Bardolfe, William Barthall, Geoffrey Peterston, and William Buer. But the Bishop of Ely was the principall, or at least he that tooke most upon him who both was the kings chancellor, and bought with his money to be the popes legat through England, Ireland, and Scotland, as is before specified. Touching the excessive pride and pompe of which bishop, his ruffings outrageous, and fall most shamefull, it would make a long tragedie to discourse the whole circumstances at full: onely to demonstrate certaine specialities thereof for our present purpose, it may suffice.

First, this William called Longchampe, being thus advanced by the king to be his high Chancellor, and chiefe justice of the realme, & also the popes legat,

to shew abroad the authority of his legatship, began to suspend the canons, clerks, and Vicars of the church of S. Peter in Poike, because they received him not with procession: under which interdiction he held them, till they were faine at last both canons, clerks and vicars to fall downe at his foot, causing all their bells to be let downe out of the steeple. After this cometh Hugo Bishop of Durham, whom the king sent home out of Friesland with his letters; who, meeting with the aforesaid William Bishop of Ely in the towne of Ely, shewed him the kings letters, wherein was granted to him the keeping of Windsor Castle, and to be the kings justice from the river of Humber to the borders of Scotland. To the which letters the Chancellor answered, that the kings commandment should be done, and so brought him with him to Suwell; where hee tooke him and kept him fast, till hee was forced at last to surrender to him the Castle of Windsor, and other things which the king had committed to his custody; and moreover he was constrained to leave with the said Chancellor, Henry de Buteco his owne sonne, and Gilbert Leie for pledges and hostages of his fidelity, to be true to the king and the realme. And thus the Bishop of Durham, being set at liberty, went to his towne of Houeden; where after he had made his abode a few dayes, cometh thither Robert Longchampe the Chancelors brother, and William Statuill, with a great company of armed men sent by the Chancellor to apprehend him. But the said bishop of Durham, putting in sureties not to depart that towne without licence of the king and of the Chancellor, there still remained till he got letters to be sent to the king, signifying how hee was used. Whereupon the king, writing his letters from Gasconia to the Bishop of Ely, let the said Bishop of Durham free, and confirmed to him all the possessions and grants that he before had given him.

It is almost incredible to thinke how intemperately this Bishop and Chancellor misused himselfe, after the kings departure into Syria, in excelsie of pride, and in cruell exactions and oppressions of the kings subjects. First his fellow justices, whom the king joined with him for government of the realme, he utterly rejected and refused to heare their counsell, reputing none to be equall with him in all the realme. Neither was he contented with the authority of a prelate, but played both king and priest in the realme. All Castles, Lordships, Abbies, churches, and all other appropiations belonging to the right of the king, he claimed to himselfe. And by vertue of his Legatship, when he came to any bishops house, abby, priory, or any other religious house, he brought with him such a superfluity of men, hoxes, dogs, and hawkes, that the house was worse for it three yeeres after. For commonly he rode never under 1500 hoxes, of chaplains, Drutts, and other serving men waiting upon him. From the clergy and laity hee tooke away their Churches, their vovsons, their iuings and lands, to bestow upon his nephewes and other waiting chaplains to serve his vaine glory; or else converted them to his owne vse, to maintaine his pompe and vanitie. In getting and gathering of treasures hee had no measure; in mispending the same he kept no order. And that no vice should be wanting where such auarice taketh root, the monie, which hee wrongfully got, hee committed to the banks to be increased by vint. That wantonnesse and lasciuiousnesse was used in that so riotous life, the stories do shame to declare it. All ruffianly runnagates, idle bellies, and light persons; wheresoever he went, hanged upon his Court. To increase the vaine jollity of this royall Delate, there was lacking no kinde of muscical instruments and melodious noise; to refresh belike his wearied senses, to much beaten and macerated with continuall labor and study of hunting, hawking, and gaming; of preaching and reading I should have said.

William Longchampe Bishop of Ely, Lord Chancellor, and the popes legat. The church and bells of Poike suspended because the kings legat was not received.

Bishop of Ely getteth the Castle of Windsor from the Bishop of Durham.

Hugo Bishop of Durham becometh by William Bishop of Ely.

The excessive pride and enormities of William Bishop of Ely.

Bishop of Ely never rode under 1500 hoxes.

His vanity.

His lustre.

His riotous and delicate life.

As before.

Christian captives slain by the Saladine.

The Saracen Captives slain by King Richard.

The Saladine put to flight.

A noble victory by Gods power gotten by King Richard against the Saracens.

King Richard in possession of Syria.

The story of William the proud Bishop of Ely.

Ve iuste iudicant clerum & populum, verba hist.

Four chiefe justices with two bishops appointed over-seers of the realme in the kings absence.



The Bishop of  
the diocese  
both King and  
Queen.

Chiefly, this foresaid Prelat, bearing the authori-  
ty both of the King and of the pope, kept such a strice  
in England, that the whole realme was at his becke,  
with cap and knee crouching to him; neither durst  
any man rich or poore displease him, yea none in all  
the realme so noble or wealthy, but was glad to  
please him, accounting themselves happy if they  
might stand in his fauour. At his table all noble-  
mens children did serue and waite vpon him, with  
whom he coupled in marriages his neeces and kin-  
women. And when any, that stood waiting before  
him, durst once cast by his eyes, or did not demurely  
looke downeward vpon the ground, hee had a staife  
in his hand with a picke, wherewith he used to picke  
them, learning belike by the carter his father, which  
used at the plough or cart to digne his oxen. Fur-  
thermore, as kings use to haue their guard about  
them, so he became he would not also be vnguarded,  
refusing men of the English nation, had his wait-  
ters and waiters most of frenchmen and flen-  
nings.

William Bishop  
of Ely guarded  
with french-  
men and fle-  
nings.

Anno 7  
1191.  
A general com-  
plaint to the  
King of Wil-  
liam Bishop of  
Ely.

It happened after this, in the yere 1191, that a  
great discord rose betwene John earle of Worston  
the Kings brother, with other states of the realme,  
and the said William Bishop of Ely, so that auer-  
sally they all wrote ouer to the King concerning the  
misgouernment and enomities of the said Bishop.  
Which vnderstanding of the case, sent from Wessana  
into England, Walter Archbishop of Rome, and  
William Marshall earle, vnto the Bishop of Ely  
with letters; commanding him that in all his do-  
ings hee should associate vnto him the Archbishop of  
Rome, William Marshall, Geoffrey Peterfon, Wil-  
liam Bizer, and Hugo Wardolfe aboue mentioned.  
Who when they came into England, durst not deli-  
uer their letters, dreading the displeasure of the chan-  
celloz, for he despised all the commandements of the  
King, nor would suffer any fellow to ioyne with  
him in his kingdome.

Whereto haue you heard of the glorious vanity of  
this lordly legat and chancelloz of the realme: now  
ye shall heare of his shamefull fall, after his shame-  
lesse exaltation. For shortly after this followeth an  
other breach betwene the said earle John the Kings  
brother and him, about the besieging of the castle of  
Lincolne. Concerning the which castle the said John  
sent him word, that whelke hee raised his siege the  
sooner from thence, hee would send him away by  
force of sword. The Bishop, either not able to make  
his party good, or not daring to resist, thought best  
to fall to some composition with the earle, and so did.  
In which composition, hee was contented against  
his will, by mediation of diuers Bishops and others,  
to make surrender not only of the castle of Lincolne,  
but also of Nottingham, of Tickhill, of Wallingford,  
and many more, which were then committed to the  
custodie of sundry men of wealth and honour. And  
thus was that contrarie agreed, where in the Bi-  
shop of Ely began a little to be cut short.

It followed then not long after in the same yere,  
that another like business began to kinde betwene  
Geoffrey the Archbishop of Poike the Kings brother,  
and the foresaid glorious bishop of Ely vpon this oc-  
casion. He heard before how the King, at his setting  
out, left order that earle John and Geoffrey his bre-  
thren should not enter into the realme the space of  
thre yeres after his departure (howbeit his brother  
John was shortly after released of that bond) and  
also after that, how King Richard, being at Wessa-  
na, sent his mother Cleue to the Pope for his brother  
Geoffrey (elected before to the See of Poike) to be  
consecrated archbishop. Whereupon the said Geoffrey  
being consecrated throug licence of Pope Celestine  
by the Archbishop of Arun; the said Geoffrey, eft-  
soones after his consecration, desired no time, but  
would needs come into England. Whereof the Bi-  
shop of Ely hauing intelligence, sent him word be-  
ing at Willand in flanders, not to presume to ad-  
venture into the realme, contrary to his oath made  
to King Richard before; commanding moreover;  
that if he came, he should be apprehended. All which  
notwithstanding, the Archbishop letted not for all  
that, but needed would repaire to his Sea, and so  
arrived at Douer in the month of September,  
where the chancelloz men staid on the Sea side to  
apprehend him; but hee, by changing his apparell,  
and swiftnesse of his horse, escaped their hands, and  
came to the monkes house of Douer. But the chan-  
celloz men, whom hee sent to take him, beset the  
church of the monkes round about, so that in no  
wise he could auoyde their hands.

To make the story short: as the Archbishop on a  
day, when he had said masse, was standing at the al-  
tar, with his garments yet about him, the rude soul-  
diers hauing little good manners, and lesse deuotion,  
spared not boldly to rush into the Church, and there  
laid hands vpon the Archbishop as he stood; toke  
him, bound him, and dragged him through dirt and  
mire, and (as we use to say) through thick and thin,  
and so committed him to Matthew Clerke their con-  
stable to be kept: wherewith the people greatly disda-  
ined, seeing him that was a kings sonne, and the bro-  
ther of a King, so to be intreated. The hearing  
whereof, when it came to the eares of earle John  
his brother, hee being not a little offended there-  
with, sent to know of the chancelloz, whether this  
was his doing or not. To whom when the chancelloz  
sent answer againe, and stoutly confessed the fact to  
be his; then the earle sent commandement that his  
brother should bee deliuered, and so hee was. Who,  
then coming to London, made his complaint to  
the Earle his brother, and to other nobles of the  
realme of the injuries done to him by the chancelloz.  
Whereupon the earle sent for the foresaid chancelloz,  
and appointed a day peremptory for him to appeare  
before the whole body of the council, to make an-  
swere to such injuries as hee had done, both to the  
Archbishop of Poike, and also to the Bishop of Dur-  
ham aboue mentioned. But the chancelloz, drawing  
off the time with delays, would neither come nor  
send. When the Earle, with the Bishops about him,  
made their journey towards London, to haue the  
matter there handled in a great audience.

The chancelloz seeing that, withdrew himselfe  
from Windsor to the citie of London: where by the  
way it happened that the seruants of the Earle and  
of the chancelloz meeting did skirmish together. In  
which fray one of the Carles family was slaine, but  
yet his men had the better: and the chancelloz with  
his men were put to flight, and so fled to the tower,  
where they did hide themselves. The next day after  
(which was about the twelfth day of October Earle  
John the Kings brother and the archbishop of Rome,  
with all the bishops, earles and barons, and citizens  
of London assembled together in Pauls church;  
where many and great accusations were laid a-  
gainst the said chancelloz; so that in fine it was agre-  
ed in that assembly, that the said chancelloz should  
bee deposed; and in his place was substituted the  
Archbishop of Rome, according to the tenor of the  
Kings letters sent from Wessana; which was, that  
certaine other persons should be associated with the  
chancelloz for the gouernment of the realme; by  
whose counsell if he would not be directed, the arch-  
bishop of Rome should be set in his place, and hee to  
be deposed. The third day after this, the chancelloz  
firmly promised not to depart out of the realme be-  
fore hee had deliuered out of his hands all such ca-  
uses, the keeping whereof he committed to certaine  
foreiners and strangers: and for assurance thereof  
he gaue his two brethren and chamberlaine for pled-  
ges, and so went to Canterbury; where he said hee  
would take the crosse of a Pilgrim, and leave the  
crosse of his legatship.

Now when he was come to the castle of Douer,  
and there had remained a few dayes, contrary to his

The cruel  
handling of  
Geoffrey Arch-  
bishop of Poike,  
by the Bishop of  
Ely the Popes  
legat and chan-  
celloz of Eng-  
land.

Geoffrey Arch-  
bishop of Poike  
deliuered out of  
prison by com-  
mandement of  
Earle John his  
brother.

A skirmish be-  
tweene the ser-  
uants of the Bi-  
shop of Ely, and  
the seruants of  
Earle John.

The nobles ad-  
sembled in  
council against  
the Bishop of  
Ely.  
The Bishop of  
Ely chancelloz  
of the realme  
and legat deposed.  
The Bishop of  
Ely resigned  
his castles.

Another dissen-  
sion betwene  
John the Kings  
brother, and  
William Bishop  
of Ely.

Another broile  
betwene the  
chancelloz and  
Geoffrey Arch-  
bishop of Poike  
the Kings bro-  
ther.



The letter of  
Doye Celestine  
in the behalfe  
of the Bishop of  
Ely his legat.

The Bishop of  
Ely with the  
Kings letters  
cometh a  
gain into  
England.

colleat officio  
nach.



The French  
king returneth  
from Palesti-  
na.

Anno 7  
1193.  
King Richard  
returneth from  
Palestina.

turned home againe within short space. **W**ho, being returned againe, ellones invaded the countrey of Normandy, exciting also John the brother of King Richard, to take on him the kingdome of England in his brothers absence. **W**ho then made league (upon the same) with the French king, and did homage unto him, which was about the fourth yere of King Richard. **W**ho then being in Syria, and hearing thereof, made peace with the Turks for thre yeres. And not long after King Richard, the next spring following, returned also. **W**ho, in his returne, driven by distresse of weather about the parts of Sicilia, in a towne called Syracusa, was there taken by Limbold Duke of the same countrey, and so sold to the Emperour for 60000. markes; who, for no small joy thereof, writeth to Philip the French king these letters following.

The letter of the Emperour to Philip  
the French King concerning the taking  
of King Richard.

**H**enicus Dei gratia Romanorum imperator, & semper Augustus, dilecto & speciali amico suo Philippo, illustri Francorum regi salutem, & sinceræ dilectionis affectum. Quoniam imperatoria celsitudo non dubitat regalem magnificentiam tuam letiorem effici, de vniuersis, quibus omnipotentia creatoris nostri nos ipsos & Romanum imperium honorauerit & exaltauerit, nobilitati tuæ tenore presentium declarare diximus, quod inimicus imperii nostri, & turbator regni tui, rex Angliæ, quum esset in transiendo mare ad partes suas reuersurus, accidit ut ventus, rupta nauis sua in qua ipse erat, induceret eum in partes Hispaniæ, ad locum qui est inter Aquileiam & Venetias: Vbi rex, Dei permissione, passus naufragium, cum paucis euasit. Quidam itaque, fidelis noster comes Mainardus de Gooxæ, & populus regionis illius, audito quod in terra erat, & considerato diligentius qualem nominatus rex in terra promissionis prodicionem & traditionem, & proditoris suæ cumulum exercuerat, insecuti sunt, intendentes eum captiua, Ipso autem rege in fugam conuerso, ceperunt de suis octo milites. Postmodum processit rex ad Burgum in archiepiscopatu Salisburgensi, qui vocatur Frisum, ubi Fredericus de Berelou, rege cum tribus tantum versus Austriam properante, noctu sex milites de suis cepit. Dilectus autem consanguineus noster Limboldus, dux Austriæ, obseruata strata, saepe dictum regem iuxta Denam in villa viciniori in domo despecta captiuauit. Cum itaque, in nostra nunc habeatur potestate, & iple semper tua molestauit & turbationis operam præstitit, ea quæ præmissis nobilitati tuæ insinuare curauimus, scientes ea dilectioni tuæ beneplacita existeret, animo tuo vberissimam importare læticiam. Datum apud Richemount 5. calendas Ianuar.

King Richard, thus being traiterously taken and sold to the Emperour by the Duke of Austrike for 60000. markes, was there kept in custody a yere and thre moneths. In some stories it is affirmed, that King Richard, returning out of Asia, came to Italy with prosperous wind, where he desired of the Pope to be absolved from an oath made against his will, and could not obtaine it. And so setting out from thence towards England, passing by the countrey of Conradus the Marques, whose death (he being slaine a little before) was falsely imputed by the French king to the king of England, was there traiterously taken, as is before said, by Limboldus Duke of Austrike. Albeit in another story I find the matter more credibly set forth, which saith thus: That King Richard slew the brother of this Limboldus, playing with him at chesse in the French Kings Court. And Limboldus, taking his advantage, was the more cruell against him, and deliuered him, as is said, to the emperour; in whose custody he was detained during the time aboue mentioned, a yere

and thre moneths. During the which time the Kings indurance, the French king in the meane season stirred war in Normandy. And Carle John the Kings brother made fir and invaded England but the Barons and Bishops of the land mightily withstood him, and besieged him in the castle of Windsor: where they took from him all the Castles and munitions which before he had got. Thus the Carle seeing no hope to preuaile in England, and suspecting the deliuerance of the king his brother, made into France, and kept with the French king: at length it was so agreed and concluded with the Emperour, that King Richard should be released for an hundred thousand pounds; of the which money, part should remaine to the Duke of Austrike, the rest should be the Emperours. The summe of which money was here gathered and made in England of chalices, croses, spurnes, candlesticks, and other Church plate, also with publike contribution of frieries, Abbies, and other subiects of the realme. Whereof part was presently paid, and for the residue remaining, hostages and pledges were taken, which was about the fifth yere of his raigne. And then it was obtained of the Pope, that Priests might celebrate with chalices of latin and tin: and so it was granted and continued long after, which, mine author in his chronicle intituled Eulogium, doth testifie himselfe to haue bene. At what time this foresaid money was paid, and the hostages given for the ransome of this king. I haue an old story that saith, how the foresaid Duke of Austrike shortly after was plagued by God with thre sundry plagues: first, with burning of his chiefe townes; secondly, with the drowning of ten thousand of his men in a great flood, happening no man could tell how; thirdly, by turning all the eares of his corne-field into moornes; fourthly, by taking away almost all the nobles of his land by death; fifthly, by breaking his owne legges falling from his horse, which legges he was compelled to cut off with his owne hands, and after died upon the same: who then is said at his death to forgive King Richard fiftie thousand markes, and sent home the hostages that were with him. Ex variis chron. The booke intituled Eulogium, before mentioned, declareth thus, that the said Limboldus Duke of Austrike fell in displeasure with the Bishop of Rome, and died excommunicate the next yere after, being the yere one thousand one hundred ninety sixe.

Thus the said King Richard being ransomed, as hath bene declared, from the conuetus captivity of the Emperour, was restored againe, and made his repaire into England. At whose returne, Carle John his brother, resolving unto him with humble submission, desired to be pardoned of his transgressions. To whom King Richard answering againe: **W**ould God (saith he) this your trespassse, as it dieth with me in obliuion, so it may remaine with you in remembrance, and so gently forgane him. And after he had againe recovered his holdes and Castles, he caused himselfe to be crowned againe. Which done, he made his power against the French king, and drave him out of Normandy. After that, he turned his voyage against the Welshmen, and subdued them.

The next yere following, which was the yere 1197, Philip the French king brake the truce made betweene him and King Richard; whereupon the king was compelled to saile ouer againe to Normandy to withstand the malice of his enemy. About which time, my story recordeth of one called some Fulco, some say he was the Archbishop of Rone called Gnalter. This Fulco being then in England, and comming to the Kings presence, said unto him with great courage and boldnesse: **W**hen hast, O mighty king, thre daughters very vicious and of euill disposition; take good heede of them, and be timely provide for them good husbands; for by untimely bestowing of the same, thou shalt not encreas

Confederat of  
the French king  
and Carle John  
against King  
Richard.

Carle John be-  
sieged at  
Windsor.

Anno 7  
1195.  
Ex chronico  
cui titulus,  
Eulogium.

The last pre-  
sentment of  
God vpon the  
Duke of Aus-  
trike.

Anno 7  
1196.

The answer of  
God vpon the  
to his brother.

Anno 7  
1197

These daugh-  
ters of the ki-  
ng.



incurre great hurt and damage, but also utter ruine and destruction to thy selfe. To whom the King in a rage said. Thou lying and mocking hypocrite, thou knowest not where thou art, or what thou sayest: I thinke thou art mad, or not well in thy wits; for I haue neuer a daughter, as all the world knoweth, and therefore thou open thy get thee out of our presence. To whom Iulco answered, No, and like your grace, I lie not, but say truth: for you haue three daughters which continually frequent your Court, and wholly possesse your person, and such three whores and naughty packes as neuer the like hath bene heard of: I meane, mischieuous pride, greedy conerousnesse, and filthy luxury; and therefore as I say, O King, beware of them, and out of hand prouide marriages for them, lest in not so doing, thou utterly binde both thy selfe and all the whole realme.

The which his words the King toke in good part, with correction of himselfe, and confession of the same. Whereupon incontinently he called his Lords and Barons before him, vnto whom he declared the committing and monition of Iulco, who had willed him to beware of his three daughters, pride, auarice, and luxury, with counsell out of hand to marry them, lest further discommodity should ensue both to him and to the whole realme; whole good counsell (my Lords) I intend to follow, not doubting of all your contents thereunto. Wherefore here before you all, I giue my daughter swelling pride to wife into the proud Templars; my greedy daughter auarice to the cōsumous order of the Cistercian monkes; and last of all, my filthy daughter luxury to the riotous Prelates of the Church, whom I thinke to be very meete men for her; and so leuerally well agreeing to all their natures, that the like matches in this our realme are not to be found for them. And thus much concerning Iulco.

Not long after this, it befell that a certaine noble personage (lord of Aenonice in little Britaine, called domarus by name) found a great substance of treasure both of gold and silver hid in the ground, where of a great part he sent to King Richard, as chiefe Lord and Prince ouer the whole Countrey. Which the King refused, saying, he would either haue all, or none, for that hee was the principall chieftaine ouer the land. But the finder would not condescend to that. Wherefore the King laid siege to a Castle of his called Caluz, thinking the treasure to lie there. But the keepers and warders of the Castle, being themselves not sufficient to withstand the King, offered to him the Castle, desiring to depart with life and armor. To this the King would in no wise grant, but bid them to re-enter the Castle againe, and to defend it in all the forcible wise they could. It so befell, that as the King with the Duke of Sabant went about the Castle, viewing the places thereof; a souldier with him, named Wertandus Cozdown, stricke the King with an arrow in the arme, whereupon the yron remaining and festering in the wound, the King within nine dayes after died; who, because he was not content with the halfe of the treasure that another man found, lost all his owne treasure that hee had. The King, being thus wounded, caused the man that stricke him to be brought vnto him, and asked the cause of him why he so wounded him: Who answered him againe (as the story saith) that he thought to kill rather then to be killed: and what punishment soeuer he should sustaine, he was content, so that he might kill him which had before killed his father and brethren. The King, hearing his words, freely forgave him, and caused an hundred shillings to be giuen him. Albeit (as the story addeth) after the death of the King, the Duke of Sabant, after great tormentes, caused him to be hanged. Ex historia regis Richardi secundi, cui initium, De patre istius Brui, &c. The story of Gisburne saith that the killer of King Richard comming to the French King,

thinking to haue a great reward, was commanded to be drawne asunder with hoes, and his quarters to be hanged up.

Another story affirmeth, and Gisburne partly both testifie the same, that a little before the death of King Richard, three Abbats of the order Cistercian came to him, to whom he was contented. And when he saw them somewhat stay at his abolution, he had these words: that hee did willingly commit his body to the earth to be eaten of wormes, and his soule to the fire of Purgatory, there to be tormented till the judgement, in the hope of Gods his mercy. Ex Iornalens. Gisburn. & alius.

About the raigne of this King, the said Iornalensis maketh mention of Roger Archbishop of Dorke, which put out of his Church the monkes, and placed for them secular priests, saying, that he would rather with ecclesiastical benefices to be giuen to wanton Priests, then to abominable monkes; and that Thomas did liue neuer worse in all his life, then in building that house for monkes, &c. Another story I haue which saith, that this was the Bishop not of Dorke, but of Couentry.

The King not long after departed without issue, and Iohn his brother reigned after him: in whom although some vices may worthily be reprehended, especially for his incontinent and too much licentious life, yet was he farr from that deserveng, for the which he hath bene so ill reported of diuers writers: who, being led more with affection of popery, then with true judgement and due consideration, depraue his doings more then the sincere truth of the history will beare them. Concerning which history, after so many writers, we thought also to bestow a little labor, although in this matter we cannot be so long as I would, and as the matter requirith.

## King Iohn.

After the death of King Richard, called Coeur de lion, reigned his brother King Iohn the First. John Earle of Doxtan. Afterward the Archbishop put the Crowne on his head, and swore him to defend the church and to maintaine the same in her good lawes, and to destroy the ill. And except he thought in his minde to doe this, the Archbishop charged him not to presume to take on him this dignity. And on St. Iohn Baptists day next following, King Iohn sailed into Normandy and came to Rone, where he was royally received, and truce concluded betwene him and the French King for a time. And thither came to him the Earle of Flanders, and all other Lords of France that were of King Richards band and friendship, and were sworn vnto him.

Not long after this, Philip the French King made Arthur knight, and took his homage for Poze mandy, Britaine, and all other his possessions beyond the sea, and promised him helpe against King Iohn. After this, King Iohn and the French King talked together with their Lords about one houres space, and the French King asked so much land for himselfe and knight Arthur, that King Iohn would grant him none, and so he departed in wrath.

The same yere a legate came into France, and commanded the King in paine of interdiction, to deliuer one Peter out of prison, that was elect to a bishopricke; and thereupon he was deliuered.

And after that the legate came into England, and commanded King Iohn, under paine of interdiction, to deliuer the Archbishop whom he had kept as prisoner two yeres; which the King denied to doe, till he had paid him five thousand markes; because he took him in harnesse in a field against him, and swore him vpon his deliuerance, that he should neuer weare harnesse against any Christian man.

This time diuorce was made betwene King Iohn and his wife, daughter of the Earle of Gloucester;

Staine some of  
Lutgaroy.

Ex Iornal. Gil-  
burnens, &  
alius

Doinks put out  
and secular  
Priests received.

be that all  
would haue,  
shall all forgoe.

Conerous gre.  
bunelle plagued.

The death of  
King Richard  
the first.

King Richard  
souldeth him  
that kille him  
Ex biblio-  
thera  
Carlenfi.  
Ex Gualtero  
Hemingford  
monacho Gil-  
burnensi.

Arthur of  
Britaine.

A communic-  
non betwene  
the King of  
England and  
the French  
King.



Marriage in the third degree forbidden by the Pope.

Anno 1200

Her, because they were in the third degree of kindred. And after, by the counsell of the French King, King John wedded Isabel, daughter of the earle of Artois: and then Arthur of Britaine did homage to King John for Britaine and others.

At this time fell strife betwene King John and Geoffrey the Archbishop of Poys for diuers causes: first, because he would not suffer and permit the licence of Poys, in such affaires as hee had to doe for the King within his diocesse; secondly, because he did also excommunicate the said Sheriff; thirdly, because he would not take with him into Normandy, to make the marriage betwene Lewis the French Kings sonne, and his daughter.

Anno 1202

After this, in the yeere of our Lord 1202. Philip the French King (in a communication betwene King John and him) required that the said King John should part with all his lands in Normandy and Picautia which he had beyond the sea, unto Arthur his Nephew; and that incontinent, or else he would waere against him; and so he did. For when King John denied that request, the next day following the French King, with the said Arthur, set upon certaine of his townes and castles in Normandie, and put him to much inquietnesse. But hee (the Lord so providing, which is the giner of all vidoys) had such repulse at the Englishmens hands, that they, pursuing the Frenchmen in their flight, did follow them to their hold, and so enforced upon them, that not onely they tooke the said Arthur prisoner with many other of the Frenchmen, but also gaue such an ouerthrow to the rest, that none was there left to beare tidings home. This Arthur was nephew to King John, and son to Geoffrey which was the elder sonne to John. For King Henry the second (to make the matter more euident) had eight children, one William, which died in his childhood; the second, Henry, which died also his father being yet alive; the third Geoffrey earle of Britaine, which likewise deceased in his fathers daies, leaving behind him two children, Arthur and Isabella: the fourth, Richard Coeur de Lion, King; the fifth John now reigning, and three other daughters besides. The same Arthur, being thus taken in waere, was brought before the King at the Castle of Falaise in Normandy; who, being exhorted with many gentle words to leave the French King, and to incline to his uncle, answered againe stoutly and with great indignation, requiring the kingdome of England, with all the other dominions thereto belonging, to be restored to him, as to the lawfull heire of the crowne. By reason whereof, hee (prooking the Kings displeasure against him) was sent to the tower of Rome, where at length (whether by leaping into the ditch, thinking to make his escape, or whether by some other private hand, or by what chance else it is not yet agreed upon in stories) he finished his life. By occasion whereof, the foresaid King John was had after in great suspicion; whether justly or unjustly, the Lord knoweth.

Anno 1203. Normandy lost and gotten by the French King.

The yeere following, historiographers write, that King John, for lacke of rescue, lost all his holds and possessions in Normandy, through the force of the French King.

After these losses, came other troubles vpon him, with other as great or more great enemies (that is, with the Pope and his popelings) by occasion of choosing of the Archbishop of Canturburie, as in this history following by Christ his grace is to be declared.

Anno 1205. Striving for the election of the Archbishop of Canturburie.

The yeere of our Lord 1205. about the moneth of July, Hubert the Archbishop of Canturburie deceased: whose decease after it was in Canturburie to the monkes knowne, and after his body was yet committed to the earth; the younger sort of the monkes there gathered themselves together at midnight, and elected their superior Reginald, and without the Kings licence, or yet knowledge, priuily placed him in the metropolitall seat, singing Te Deum

at midnight. And because the King should not make their election void, they charged him by vertue of his oath to keepe all secret by the way, and to shew nothing what was done before he came to the Pope: but he contrary to his oath, so soone as he came into Flanders, opened abroad all the matter, and uttered their counsell: whereupon the monkes, being not a little grieved with him, sent him priuily into the court of Rome out of hand. The next day the elder monkes sent to the King, desiring him of his gracious licence canonically to chuse their Archbishop. The King most gently and fauourably granted their petition, requiring them instantly, and desiring that for his sake they would shew fauour to John Gray, then bishop of Norwich, as they did in dede, erecting him into that sea of their high primacie. Howouer, because the authority of Kings and Princes was then but small in their own dominions, without the Popes consent and confirmation to the same: he sent also to Rome of his owne charges to haue the foresaid election ratified by the Pope. The suffragans of Canturburie then (being not a little offended at these two elections) sent speedily to Rome to haue them both stopped; for that they had not been of counsell with them. And hereupon at the last grew a most prodigious tumult.

In this yeere the clergy grew so unruly, that they neglected their charge, and thereby incensed the Kings displeasure so foze against them, that he tooke order about the goods of such as in that case were faulty: as shall appeare more manifestly by that which followeth.

A letter of King Iohn touching the lands and goods of such clerks as refuse to celebrate diuine seruice.

Ex omnibus de Episcopatu Lincolnie clericis & laicis salutem. Sciatis quod a die lune proxime ante Floridam paschalis commensurus, &c.

In English.

The King to all clerks and lay people within the Bishopricke of Lincolne, greeting. Know yee that from Munday next before the feast of Easter, wee haue committed to William of Cornhill, Archdeacon of Huntingdon, and to Ioheline of Canuill, all the lands and goods of the Abbats and Priors, and of all the religious persons, and also of all clerks within the Bishopricke of Lincolne, which will not from that time celebrate diuine seruice. And wee command you, that from thence you assist them as our bailiffs, and beleue them in those things which they shall tell you priuately on our behalfe. Witnesse our selfe at Clarendon the eighteenth day of March, in the ninth yeere of our raigne,

The like was written to all within the bishopricke of Ely, so that hereby we see the dissolutenesse and wilfulnesse of those popish churchmen, whom conscience of discharging their dutie did so little moue, as that they thought vpon nothing lesse; sith the King was driven to use such aueritie and sharpnesse against them. But to proceede in this troublesome election; you shall vnderstand, that the next yeere after, the suffragans of the prouince of Canturburie on the one side, and the monkes of Canturburie on the other side, came afore the Pope with their brawling matter. First the monkes, presenting Reginald their superior, desired that their election might be confirmed. The suffragans likewise complained that the monkes would presume to chuse the archbishop without their consent, and therefore desired by diuers reasons the first election to be of none effect.

The Pope, deciding the matter betwene both, pronounced with the monkes; charging the suffragans and Bishops to meddle no more with that election, but to let the monkes alone. The monkes of Canturburie, now hauing the whole election in their

Turris Lond. Some thinke that Floridam paschalis is Palm Sundaye but Easter is rather thought to be meant thereby, the Spaniards at this day, call the same Florida.

Anno 1206

Details of the church had then more enough belike, than they could keepe place at Rome against their prince, which thing caused the princes after to shew such meane to out them thence.



Anno 1207.  
Diffention amongst the monks of Canterbury about the election of the Archbishop.

owne hands sell also at square among themselves, the younger sort with the elder. The younger sort, which had chosen Reginald their superior, would that election to stand. The elder sort of the Monkes replied againe, saying: That the first election was done by stealth, and by night, and by the younger part; also without the counsell of other Monkes. Duer and besides, it was done without the Kings licence or appointment, and without the due solemnity thereunto belonging.

And as concerning our election (said they) it was done in the cleare light of the day, by which it had authoritie in presence of our liege lord the King, and his counsell being willing to the same.

This allegation thus proponed, the suffragans proctor or man of law stood forth, and proued the former election to be good, and this later to be void and of no value, after this sort. Whether the first election (saith he) were iust or unjust, ye ought first by the law to haue condemned it afore ye should haue presumed to the second; but thus ye did not: therefore is this your later doing no election at all, and the first therefore is rather to be ratified then yours. When they had thus multiplied talke on both sides, with many frivolous allegations a long time, and could not agree upon one person; Pope Innocent condemned both their elections, commanding them to chuse Stephan Langton, then Cardinall of S. Chrysogon for their Archbishop. The Monkes then answered, that they durst not so doe without consent of their King, and for that it was prejudiciall to their ancient liberties. The Pope by and by (saith the text) as one in a furie, taking the words out of their mouthes, said thus unto them: Wee will you to know, that we haue full power and authoritie ouer the church of Canterbury; neither are we wont to tarry the consent of princes: therefore we command you, in paine of our great curse, that ye chuse him onely whom we haue appointed.

The Monkes at these words abashed and terrified, though they much murmured in their hearts, yet consented they all in one, and thereupon sang Te Deum. Onely doctor Helias Bantfield withdrew himselfe from that election; whom the King had sent for the admission of the Bishop of Norwich.

Thus was Stephan Langton (in the high church of Aiterby, by the Popes hand) made Archbishop of Canterbury.

This election thus past with the Popes grace and fauour, the said Stephan had in England amongst others that sollicit his cause to the King, a brother named Walter Simon Langton, who in tract of time also became Archbishop of Yorke, as appeareth in the course of this story, in the reigne of Henry the third, An. 1228. In this behalfe the King seemed tractable; so he might haue his seueraintie entire. Against the which, because the said Stephan had vowed to oppose himselfe, and the King disliked such demeanour, he sent abroad his Letters certificatory about the realme, therein giving intimation to all people of proud Stephan Langtons contumacie; the forme of the said Letters followeth.

Letters certificatory of King Iohn, touching the contumacie of Stephan Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury by the Popes election.

Tunis Lond. **R**ex omnibus hominibus &c. Sciatis quod magister Simon de Langton venit ad nos apud Winton die Mercurii proximo ante mediam quadragesimam, &c.

In English.

The King to all men, &c. Know yee that master Simon Langton came to us at Winchester, on the wednesday next before midlent, and in presence of our Bishops besought us that wee would receive his brother Master Stephan Langton to bee Archbishop of Canterbury. And when wee spake unto him tou-

ching the reservation and saving of our dignity unto us, he told us that he would doe no such thing for us, unless wee would wholly relie our selues upon his courtesie and gentleness. This therefore wee commanded, that you know euill and wrong to be done unto us in this behalfe: and we charge you, that you beleue those things which Reginald of Cornhill shall tell you on our part, touching the foresaid deed betwene us and the Bishops above named, &c. Witnesse the King at Winchester the fourteenth day of March, in the ninth yeere of his reigne.

Now, albeit the King tooke indignation at this proceeding in the election of Stephan, yet from thenceforth (saith Matthew Paris) the Pope could doe no lesse but mightily defend him from all vexation and danger; considering that he was his owne deare darling, and a childe of his owne creation.

Furthermore, upon this occasion Iohn conceived an exceeding displeasure against the clergy and Monkes of Canterbury (as hee had good cause) they doing so many euils against his princely prerogative. Without his licence they elected their archbishop, and put by the bishop of Norwich, whom he had appointed. They wasted a great part of his treasure for the warres; and, to bring all to the diuell, they made Stephan Langton their high metropolitane, whom he tooke for a grievous enemy to the whole realme, being alwayes so familiar with the French king. Wherefore in his anger he banished them out of the land, to the number of threescore and foure, for this their contumacie, and contempt of his regall power.

The Monkes of Canterbury thus being compelled, the King forthwith sendeth messengers to the Pope with his letters, wherein he doth sharply and expressly expostulate with the Pope. First, for that so vn-courteously he repulseth the election of the Bishop of Norwich, and set by one Stephan Langton, a man unknowne to him, and brought by amongst his enemies a long time in the kingdome of France, consecrating him Archbishop of Canterbury, and letting the other goe. Also (which is more) for that it redoundeth to the subuersion and derogation of the liberties appertaining to his crowne: for notwithstanding his consent past (being before of the Monkes not made prime, which should haue so done) yet he rashly presumed to promote and preferre another. Wherefore he cannot maruell (he saith) enough, that neither the said Pope, nor the court of Rome, doth consider and reuolue with themselves, how necessary his loue and fauour hath bene alwayes hitherto to the Sea of Rome, and that they consider not what great profit and renewelnes haue proceeded hitherto to them out of the realme of England; the like whereof hath not been receiued out of any other countrie besides on this side the Alpes. He addeth moreover and saith, that for his liberties hee will stand (if need bee) vnto death, neither can hee be so removed and shaken off from the election of the bishop of Norwich, which he saith to be so commodious to him and profitable. Finally, he thus concludeth, saying; that in case in this his request hee be not heard, hee will so prouide by the seas that there shall be no such gadding and courting any more ouer to Rome, suffering the riches of the land no more to be transported ouer, whereby he should be himselfe the lesse able to resist his enemies. And seeing he hath of his owne at home, archbishops, bishops, and other prelates of the Church (both of Englishmen and of others) sufficiently provided and instructed in all kind of knowledge: therefore he shall not need greatly to take for judgement and iustice further abroad.

When these came to the Popes intelligence, hee directeth Letters againe to the King in this forme;

Innocentius Pope, servant of the servants of God. The Popes Letters answering.  
To our welbeloued sonne in Christ the King of England Iohn.



It is pitie but  
this Pope should  
be honoured of  
Kings and  
Princes.

land, health, and Apostolicall blessing. Whereas wee have written to you heretofore, exhorting and intreating you after an humble, diligent, and gentle sort (concerning the Church of Canterbury) you have written to us againe after a threatening sort and upbraiding manner; both spitefully and also proudly. And whereas wee more, and above that our right and duty required, have borne and given to you: you againe for your part have given to us not so much as by right and duty you are bound to doe. And though your devotion, as you say, hath bene to us very necessarie, yet consider againe that ours also is not a little opportune and expedient for you. And whereas wee in such like cases have not shewed at any time the like honour to any Prince as wee have unto you, you againe have so much derogated our honour, as no Prince else hath presumed to doe besides you alone; pretending certaine frivolous causes and occasions, I cannot tell what, why you would not condescend to the election of Stephan Langton, Cardinall of S. Chrysogono, chosen by the Monkes of Canterbury; for that the said Stephan (as you say) hath bene conversant and brought up amongst your enemies, and his person is to you unknowne. But you know what is the proverbe of Salomon, The net is cast, but in vaine in the sight of the flying birds, &c.

A pitifull case  
that a King can  
not constitute an  
Archbishop with-  
in his owne  
realme, without  
his moost liketh.

With much other matter in the same Epistle, wherein he falleth into the commendation of Stephan Langton his cardinall, declaring how learned hee was in the liberall arts, and in diuinitie, in so much that he was prebendated at Paris; also come of an honest stocke, and an Englishman borne, and not unknowne to the king, seeing the king had written his letters thence to him before. Declaring moreover in the said letter, how the messengers of the king had perswaded him another cause; which was, for that the Monkes of Canterbury, which had to doe in the election, came not to him before for his consent. Declaring moreover in the said letter, how the said messengers of the king intreated in the kings behalfe, that forsomuch as the Popes letters, wherein the king was commanded to lend his prodox to Rome for the same matter, came not to the kings hand, neither did the Monkes direct any such letters or message to the king to haue his consent, therefore the pope, considering the same, would grant so much for the regard of the kings honour, that the Monkes of Canterbury should not proceed without the kings assent therein. And forsomuch as that hath not bene done as yet, therefore they desired some delay therein to be given, sufficient for the doing thereof. Whereunto hee said, that hee had granted and fulfilled their request, in sending his letters and messengers once or twice to the king for the same purpose, although he said it was not the manner of the Sea apostolike (who had the fulnesse of power over the church of Canterbury) to waite for princes consents in such elections, who then could not be suffered to doe that which they came for. Wherefore in knitting up his Letter, hee thus concludeth in these words:

And therefore seeing the matter so standeth, wee see no cause why wee should require or tarry for the Kings favour or consent any more therein, but intend so to proceed in this matter, neither inclining on the right hand, nor on the left, according as the canonically ordinances of the holy fathers shall direct us, that is, (all impediments and delays set aside) so to provide that the Church of Canterbury be not any longer destitute of her pastor. Wherefore bee it knowne to your discretion or kingly prudence, that for so much as this election of Stephan Langton hath orderly and concordly thus proceeded without fraud or deceit, upon a person meete for the same; therefore we will for no mans pleasure, neither may we without danger of fame and of con-

science deferre or protract any longer the consummation of the said election. Wherefore my welbelovéd sonne, seeing wee have had respect to your honour, above that our right and duty required: study to honour us so much as your duty requirerth againe, so that you may the more plentifully deserve favour, both at Gods hand and ours; lest that by doing the contrary, you bring your selfe into such a pecke of troubles, as afterwards you shall scarce rid your selfe of againe. For this know for a certaine, in the end it must needs fall out, that hee shall have the better, unto whom every knee (of Heavenly, Earthly, and infernall creatures) doth bow, whose turne I serve in earth, though I be unworthy. Therefore settle not your selfe to obey their perswasions, which alwayes desire your unquietnesse; whereby they may fish the better in the water when it is troubled; but commit your selfe to our pleasure, which undoubtedly shall turne to your praise, glory, and honour. For it should not be much for your safety in this cause to resist God and the Church, in whose quarrell that blessed martyre and glorious Bishop Thomas hath of late shed his blood; especially seeing your father and your brother of famous memory, then Kings of England, did give over those three wicked customes into the hands of the Legats of the Sea apostolike. But if you yeeld your selfe humbly into our hands, wee will looke that you and yours shall be sufficiently provided for, that no prejudice may arise hereupon to you-ward. Given at Lateran the tenth yeere of our popedom.

Thus haist thou (gentle reader) the glorious letter of the proud pope, I beseech thee marke it well. Point to the story.

After this Letter was sent out, not long after proceadeth a charge and commandement sent into England unto certaine bishops there, requiring them by authoritie apostolicall, that if the said King would not receive the said Bishop of Canterbury, and his Monke, then they should interdict him throughout all his realme. For the executing whereof four bishops were appointed by the usurped power of the Popes bulls: namely, William bishop of London, Cuthace bishop of Ely, Walter bishop of Winchester, and Giles bishop of Hereford. Which said four Bishops went unto the King, and shewed their commission from the Pope as is aforesaid, willing him to consent thereto, &c. But the said King refused the same, and would by no means grant to their request. Whereupon they, departing from his grace, went the morrow after the Annuntiation of our Lady, and pronounced the said generall interdiction throughout all England, so that the Church doozes were shut up with keyes, and other fastenings, and with walls, &c.

How when the King heard of this, he began to be moved against them, and tooke all the possessions of the four Bishops into his hands, appointing certaine men to keepe the livings of the clergy throughout the realme, and that they should enjoy no part thereof. Which being done, the Bishops (seeing the same) cursed all them that kept, or should meddle with Church goods, against the will of them that ought them: and understanding, for all that, that the King nothing regarded their doings, they went over sea to the Bishop of Canterbury, and informed him what had happened: who hearing the same, willed them againe to returne to Canterbury, and hee would come thither to them, or else send certaine persons thither in his stead, that should doe as much as if he were there himselfe. When when the bishops heard this, they returned againe to England, to Canterbury, which tidings came shortly to the King, that they were come againe thither. And because he might not himselfe traueill to them, hee sent thither Bishops, Carles, and Abbats to intreat them, that the Archbishop, whom hee had chosen, might be admitted;

Note the proceedings of this ambitious pope.

The Bishop he meaneth.

Princes must be subject to the Pope.

Four Bishops appointed to interdict the realme.

England intercepted by the Pope.

Discipline of the Church should be private revenge.



admitted; promising the prio; and all the monkes of Canterbury in his behalfe, that hee should neuer take any thing of the Church goods against the will of them that owe them; but would make amends to them of whom he had taken any such goods, and that the Church should haue all her franchises in as ample manner as in S. Edwards time the Confessor it had.

When the forme of agreement was thus concluded, it was ingrossed in a paire of Indentures; and the foresaid foure bishops to the one part thereof set their seales: and the other part the said Bishops, Carles, and abbats carried to Iohn the king. When the king saw the order thereof, hee liked it well, saying he would not agree to make restitution of the church goods. So he sent to the foure bishops againe that they should put out that point of restitution. But they answered stoutly that they would not put out one word. When the king sent word to the Archbishop by the foure Bishops, that he should come to Canterbury to speake with him, and for his safe conduct to come and goe againe at his will, hee sent his justices as pledges, Gilbert Beiteun, William de la Berenar, and John Lestiz. Which thing thus done, the archbishop Stephen came to Canterbury, and the king (hearing thereof) came to Chilharn, from whence hee sent his treasurer the Bishop of Winchester to him, to haue him put out of the indentures the clause of restitution aforesaid: who, denying to alter any word of the same, moued the king in such sort, that immediately it was proclaimed throughout England at the kings commandement, that all those that had any Church livings, and went ouer sea, should come againe into England by a certaine day, or else lose their livings for evermore. And further in that proclamation, hee charged all Sheriffes within the realme, to inquire if any Bishops, Abbats, Priors, or any other churchman (from that day forward) received any commandement that came from the Pope, and that they should take his or their body and bring it before him: and also that they should take into their hands, for the kings use, all the church lands that were given to any man through the Archbishop Stephen, or by the Priors of Canterbury from the time of the election of the Archbishop: and further charged that all the woods, that were the Archbishops, should be cut downe and sold.

When tidings came to the pope that the king had thus done, being moued thereby with fiery wrath, he sent to the king two legats (the one called Pandulph, and the other Durant) to warne him in the popes name that he should cease his doings to the holy Church, and amend the wrong hee had done to the Archbishop of Canterbury, to the priors and the monkes of Canterbury, and to all the Clergie of England. And further, that hee should restore the goods againe that he had taken of them against their will, or else they should curse the king by name: and to doe this, the Pope took them his letters in bulls patent. These two legats, comming into England, restored to the king to Northampton, where he held his parliament, and, saluting him, said they came from the Pope of Rome, to reforme the peace of holy Church. And first, said they, wee admonish you in the popes behalfe, that ye make full restitution of the goods and of the lands that ye haue rauished holy Church of; and that ye receiue Stephen the archbishop of Canterbury into his dignitie, and the priors of Canterbury and his monkes; and that ye yeld againe unto the Archbishop all his lands and rents without any withholding. And sir, yet moreouer that ye shall make such restitution to them, as the Church shall thinke sufficient.

Then answered the king, As touching the Priors and his monkes of Canterbury, all that ye haue said I would gladly doe, and all things else that you would ordaine; but as touching the Archbishop, I

shall tell you as it lieth in my heart. Let the Archbishop leaue his bishopricke, and if the Pope then shall intreat for him, peradventure I may like to giue him some other bishopricke in England, and vpon this condition I will receiue and admit him.

Then said Pandulph vnto the king, Holy church was wont neuer to degrade Archbishop without cause reasonable: but euer she was wont to correct Princes that were disobedient to her.

What? How now (quoth the king) threaten ye me? Nay, said Pandulph, but yee haue now openly told vs as it standeth in your heart; and now wee will tell you what is the popes will, and thus it standeth: Hee hath wholly interdicted and cursed you, for the wrongs you haue done vnto the holy Church and vnto the clergie. And for so much as ye will dwell still in your malice, and will come to no amendment; you shall vnderstand, that from this time forward the sentences vpon you giuen haue force and strength. And all those that with you haue communed before this time, whether that they be earles, barons, or knights, (or any other whatsoever they be) we assoile them safely from their finnes vnto this day: And from this time forward (of what condition soeuer they be) we accurse them openly, and specially by this our sentence, that doe commune with you. And we assoile moreover Carles, Barons, knights, and all other manner of men of their homages, seruices, and fealties that they should doe vnto you. And this thing to confirme, wee giue plaine power vnto the bishop of Winchester, and to the bishop of Norwich, and the same power we giue against Scotland vnto the Bishop of Rochester and of Salisbury: and in Wales we giue the same power to the bishops of S. David, and of Landaffe, and of S. Asse.

Also sir king (quoth Pandulph) all the kings, Princes, and the great Dukes christened, haue laboured to the Pope to haue licence to crosse them, selues, and to warre against the, as vpon Gods enemy, and win the land, and to make king whom it please the Pope. And we here now assoile all those of their finnes, that will rise against thee here in thine owne land.

When the king, hearing this, answered: What shame may ye doe more to me then this?

Pandulph againe: Wee say to you in Verbo Dei, that neither you, nor any heire that you haue, after this day shall be crowned. So the king said; By him that is almighty God, if I had knowe of this thing before ye came into this land, and that ye had brought me such newes, I should haue made you carry out these twelue moneths.

Then answered Pandulph; Full well wee thought, at our first comming, that ye would haue bene obedient to God and to holy Church, and haue fulfilled the popes commandement, which we haue shewed and pronounced to you, as we were charged therewith. And now ye say, that if ye had wist the cause of our comming, ye would haue made vs farre out a whole yere; who might as well say, that ye would haue taken a whole yeres respite without the popes leaue: but for to suffer what death ye can ordaine, we shall not spare to tell you all the popes message and will, that he gaue vs in charge.

In another chronicle I find the words between the king and Pandulph something other wise described; as though the king should first threaten him with hanging, if hee had foreknowe of his comming. To whom Pandulph againe should answer, that he looked for nothing else at his hand, but to suffer for the churches right. Whereupon the king, being mightily incensed, departed. The king, the same time being at Northampton, willed the Sheriffes and Bailiffes to bring forth all the prisoners there, that such as had defected should be put to death: to the intent (as some thinke) to make Pandulph afraid. Among whom was a certaine clerke, who for

Sentence of the popes curse pronounced against the king.

The Pope author of rebellion and disobedience of subjects towards their Prince.

Like masses, like man.

he inconste-  
re himselfe  
the popes  
sank the  
213.

Stephen Lang-  
on stout against  
his king.

The king moued  
against the Arch-  
bishop Langton.

Two Legats  
sent from the  
Pope.

Restitution re-  
quired of the  
king.



Wandulph was  
affraid then  
hurt.

counterfeiting the kings coine, was also condemn-  
ed to be hanged, drawne, and quartered; and more-  
over, by the King was commanded (thereby to an-  
ger Wandulphus the more, as may be thought) to be  
hanged by highest about the rest. Wandulphus hear-  
ing thereof, notwithstanding he somewhat began  
to feare lest he should be hanged himselfe; yet with  
such courage as he had, he went to the Church to set  
out booke, bell, and candle, charging that no man, un-  
der paine of accursing, should lay hands vpon the  
clerke. Vpon this the King and the Cardinall de-  
parted in no little anger. And Wandulph went to  
Rome, and reported to the Pope and the Cardinals  
what had bene done.

Then the pope summoned all the bishops, abbats,  
and clerkes of England to come and repaire vnto  
Rome, to consult what was to be done therein. This  
council began the first day of October. In the which  
council it was decreed by the Pope and his assen-  
bly, that John king of England should be accursed  
with all such as held with him, every day so long as  
that Council endured. Albeit this was not yet  
granted, that the people should be crossed to fight  
against him, because as yet he had shed no blood. But  
afterwards the said pope Innocent, seeing that king  
John by no means would stoop vnder his subiecti-  
on, nor vnder the rule of his popish Sea, he sent vnto  
the French king, vpon remission of all his sinnes,  
and of all that went with him, that he should take  
with him all the power he might, and so to invade  
the realme of England to destroy king John.

The popes great  
curse.

This occasion giuen, Pope Innocent yet once  
again commanded, in paine of his great curse, that  
no man should obey king John, neither yet keepe  
company with him: he forbade all persons to eat  
and drinke with him, to talke with him, to com-  
mune, or counsell with him; yea, his owne familiar  
household to doe him any kinde of seruice, either at  
bed or at board, in church, hall, or stable. And what fol-  
lowed thereof: The greater part of them, which af-  
ter such sort fled from him (by the ordinance of God)  
of diuers and sundry diseases the same yere died.  
And betwene both nations (English and French)  
fell that yere great amitie; but secret, subtil, and  
false, to the bitter betraying of England. Neither  
was the Pope content onely with this, but moreo-  
uer the said Pope Innocent gave sentence definitive  
(by counsell of his Cardinals) that king John should  
be put from his seat regall and deposed, and another  
put in his roome. And to the speedy execution there-  
of he appointed the French king Philip, promising  
to giue him full remission of all his sinnes, and the  
cleare possession of all the realme of England, to  
him and his heires, if he did either kill him or expell  
him.

The iust punish-  
ment of God  
vpon disobedient  
subiects.

The Pope found  
a murderer.

{ Anno }  
{ 1212 }

French ships  
taken by Eng-  
lishmen.

Peter the false  
prophet.

The next yere the French king began his at-  
tempt in hope of the crowne of England, being  
well manned with Bishops, Donkes, Prelates, and  
Priests, and their seruants to maintaine the same:  
bragging of the letters which they had received from  
the great men there. But behold the worke of God;  
the English nauie toke thre hundred of the French  
kings ships well laden with wheate, wine, meale,  
flesh, armour, and such other like, mate for the war:  
and one hundred they burnt within the haven, ta-  
king the peoples with them. In the meane time the  
priests within England had prouided them a cer-  
taine false counterfeited prophet, called Peter the false  
field of Boiz; who was an idle gadder about, and a  
prating merchant. This Peter they made to pro-  
phesie lies, removing his prophesies abroad, to bring  
the king out of all credit with his people. They noy-  
sed it daily among the commons of the realme, that  
Christ had twice appeared to this prophet of theirs  
in shape of a child between the priests hands, once at  
Bozke, another time at Pontret; and that he had  
breathed on him thrice, saying: Peace, peace, peace,  
and teaching many things which hee anon after de-

clared to the bishops, and bid the people amend their  
naughty liuing. Being capt alson in spirit (they said)  
he beheld the ioyes of heaven, and sorowes of hell.  
Forstant were there thre (saith the chronicle) among  
a thousand that liued Christianly. This counterfeited  
soothsater prophesied of king John, that he should  
raigne no longer then the Ascension day, within the  
yere of our Lord 1213. which was the fourteenth  
from his coronation; and this (he said) he had by re-  
uelation. Then was it of him demanded, whether  
he should be slain, or expelled, or should of himselfe  
giue ouer the crowne? He answered, that he could  
not tell. But of this he was sure (he said) that nei-  
ther he, nor any of his stocke or lineage should raigne,  
that day once finished. The king, hearing of this, la-  
ughed much at it, and made but a scoffe thereof.  
Truth (saith hee) it is but an idiot knaue, and such a  
one as lacketh his right wits. But when this foolish  
prophet had so escaped the danger of the kings dis-  
pleasure, and that he made no more of it; hee gat  
him abroad and pated thereof at large (as he was  
a very idle vagabond) and vied to fattle and talke  
more then enough: so that they which loued the king  
called him anon after to be apprehended as a male-  
factor, and to be thowne into prison, the king not  
knowing thereof.

The false prophet  
found a lie.

Anon after, the same of this phantasticall pro-  
phet went all the Realme ouer, and his name was  
knowne euery where (as foolishnesse is much regar-  
ded of people, where wisdom is not in place) speci-  
ally because he was then imprisoned for the matter,  
the rumour was the larger, their wonderings were  
the wantoner, their practising the foolishlier, their bu-  
sie talks and other idle occupings the greater. Con-  
tinually from thence (as the rude manner of people  
is) old gossips tales went abroad, new tales were  
invented, fables were added to fables, and lies grew  
vpon lies: so that euery day new slanders were rai-  
sed on the king, and not one of them true; rumors  
arose, blasphemies were spread, the enemies rejoy-  
ced, and traitors by the priests were maintained,  
and what likewise was furnished, or other subtiltie  
practised, all was then fathered vpon this foolish pro-  
phet. As thus saith Peter the false field, This hath  
hee prophesied, and, This shall come to passe; yea,  
many times when he thought nothing lesse. When  
the Ascension day was come, which was prophesied  
of before, king John commanded his regall tent to  
be spread abroad in the open field, passing that day  
with his noble council and men of honour, in the  
greatest solemnitie that euer hee did afore, solacing  
himselfe with musickall instruments and songs, most  
in sight amongst his trusty friends. When that day  
was past in all prosperitie and mirth, his enemies  
being confounded turned all to an allegoricall un-  
derstanding, to make the prophesie good, and said:  
He is no longer king, for the pope reigneth, and not  
he; yet reigned hee still, and his name after him,  
to proue that prophet a lier. Then was the king by  
his council perswaded that this false prophet had  
troubled all the realme, peruerfed the hearts of the  
people, and raised the commons against him. For  
his words went ouer the sea by the helpe of his pre-  
lates, and came to the French kings eare, and gaue  
vnto him a great encouragement to invade the land,  
he had not else done it so suddenly. But he was most  
foolishly deceived, as all they are and shall be that put  
their trust in such darke doolish dreames of hypo-  
crites. The king therefore commanded that hee  
should be drawne and hanged like a traitor.

The false pro-  
phet  
King John.

The false prop-  
hanger.

After that the popish prelates, monkes, canons,  
priests, &c. saw this their craftie iugling by their fa-  
ned prophet would not speed, notwithstanding they  
had done no little harme thereby; to helpe the mat-  
ter more forward, they began to trauell and practise  
with pope Innocent of the one side, & also with the  
French king on the other side, besides subtil frea-  
sons which they wrought within the realme, and by  
their



their confessions in the eare, whereby they both blinded the nobilitie and commons. The king thus compassed about on every side with enemies, and fearing the sequell thereof, knowing the conspiracies that were in working against him, as well by the Pope (in all that euer he might) as also by Philip the french king by his procurement: and mozeouer his owne people, especially his Lords and barons being rebelliously incited against him; as by the popes curses and interdictions against such as tooke his part, and by his absolutions and dispensations with all those that would rebell against him, commanding them to detain from him such homage, seruice, duties, debts, and all other allegiance that godly subjects owe and are bound to yield and giue to their liege lord and prince: All which things considered, the king, I say, in the thirtieth yeere of his raigne, for that the french king began to make harpeinuasion vpon him within his owne realme, sent speedy ambassadors to the pope (as to the fountain of all this his mischiefe pretended to worke and intreat his peace and reconciliation with him, promising to doe whatsoever the Pope should will him, and command him in the reformation of himselfe, and restitution of all wrongs done to holy Church, and to make due satisfaction therfore vnto all men that could complaine.

Then sent the Pope againe into England his Legate Pandulph with other Ambassadors: the king also at Canterbury (by Letters, as it should seme, certified from his owne Ambassadors) waited their coming. Where the thirtieth day of May the king receiued them, making vnto them an oath, that of and for all things wherein hee stood accused, he would make ample restitution and satisfaction. Vnto whom also all the lords and barons of England (so many as there were with the king attending the Legats coming) swaie in like manner, that if the king would not accomplish in euery thing the oath which hee had taken, then they would cause him to hold and confirme the same whether hee would or not (or by strength) to vie the authours words.

When submitted the king himselfe vnto the court of Rome, and to the pope, and resigning gaue vp his dominions and realmes of England and Ireland from him and from his heires for evermore that should come of him. With this condition, that the king and his heires should take againe these two dominions of the Pope to farme, paying yearly therfore to the court of Rome 1000. markes of silver. Then toke the king the crowne from his head, kneeling vpon his knees, in the presence of all his Lords and Barons of England, to Pandulph the Popes chiefe Legat, saying in this wise, Here I resigne vp the crowne of the realme of England to the popes hands, Innocent the third, and put me wholly in his mercy and ordinance. Then toke Pandulph the crowne of king Iohn, and kept it five dayes as a possession and seizon-taking of these two realmes of England and Ireland; confirming also all things promised by his charter obligatorie as followeth.

The copie of the Letter obligatorie that King Iohn made to the Pope, concerning the yeelding up of the Crowne and Realme of England into the Popes hands, for a certaine summe of money yearly to be paid.

To all Christian people throughout the world dwelling, Iohn by the grace of God King of England, greeting. To your Vniuersity knowne bee it, that for so much as wee have grieved and offended God and our mother church of Rome, and for so much as wee have need of the mercy of our Lord Iesus Christ: and wee may nothing so worthy offer, and competent satisfaction make to God and to holy Church (but if it were our owne body) as with our

realmes of England and of Ireland; then by the grace of the holy Ghost wee desire to meeke us for the love of him, that meeked him to the death vpon the crosse. And through counsell of the nobles, Earles, and Barons, wee offer and freely grant to God, and to the Apostles S. Peter and Paul, and to our mother Church of Rome, and to our holy father Pope Innocent the third, and to all the Popes that come after him, all the Realme, patronages of Churches of England and of Ireland, with all the appurtenances, for remission of finnes, and helpe and health of our Kings soules; and of all Christian soules. So that from this time afterward, wee will receive and hold of our mother Church of Rome as in farme, doing fealitie to our holy father the Pope, Innocent the third, and to all the Popes that come after him, in the manner above-said. And in the presence of the wise man Pandulph the Popes sooth-deacon, wee make liege homage, as if it were in the Popes presence and we before him were, and as if hee himselfe should have done all manner of things above said; and thereto wee bind us, and all that come after us, and our heires for evermore, without any gain-saying to the Pope, and eke the ward of the Church vacant. And in token of this thing ever for to last, wee will, confirme, and ordaine, that hee be our speciall renter of the foresaid realmes (saving S. Peter pence) in all things. To the mother Church of Rome paying by the yeere 1000. markes of silver at two times of the yeere for all manner customes that wee should doe for the said Realmes; that is to say, at Michaelmas and at Easter, that is, for England 700. markes, and 300. markes for Ireland; saving to us and to our heires, our Iustices and our other franchises. And all these things that before beene said, wee will that they bee firme and stable without end, and to that obligation wee and all our successeurs, and our heires in this manner beene bound, that if wee or any of our heires through any presumption fall in any point againe of these things above said (and hee beene warned and will not right amend him) hee shall then lose the foresaid realmes for evermore: and this charter of obligation and our warrant for evermore bee firme and stable without gain-saying. Wee shall from this day afterward be true to God and to the mother Church of Rome, and to thee, Innocent the third, and to all that commen after thee, and the Realmes of England and of Ireland we shall maintaine true lich in all manner points, against all manner of men, by our power through Gods helpe.

Upon this obligation the king was discharged, the second day of July, from that tyrannicall inter-diction, vnder which hee continued five yeeres and thre moneths. But before the releasement thereof, first he was miserably compelled (as hath bene declared) to giue ouer both his Crowne and Scepter to that Antichrist of Rome for the space of five dayes, and as his client, vassall, feudary, and tenant to receiue it againe of him at the hands of another Cardinal; being bound obligatorie, both for himselfe, and for his successeurs to pay yearly (for acknowledge thereof) 1000 markes for England and Ireland: Then came they thither from all parts of the realme so many as had their consciences wounded for obeying their liege king, as blind ideots, and there they were absolved, euery one of his owne Bishop, except the spirituall fathers, and ecclesiasticall souldiers, for they were compelled to seeke to Rome, as captiues referred to the popes owne fatherhood. In this new ruffling the king easily granted, that abbats, deans, and curats should be elected freely euery where; so that the lawes of the realme were truly obserued. But against that were the bishops, alledging their canonick decrees and rules synodall, determining the king therein to haue nothing to doe, but only to giue his consent after they had once elected. But among this hauen rabble, some there were which

The inter-diction  
blenise of the  
clergie against  
their naturall  
prince.

King Iohn submitteth himselfe to the Pope.

King Iohn intercedeth for peace with the Pope.

King Iohn submitteth himselfe and resigneth his crowne.

The draught of instrument obligatorie, wherein is Iohn resigning his kingdome to the Popes hands. Christ was offered a kingdome and would none of it, but the Pope doth not refuse it.



consented not to this wicked error: a sort also there were of the prelates at that time, which were not pleased that the lands interdiction should cease, till the king had paid all that which their clergie in all quarters of the realme had demanded, without reason: yea, what every launce sir John for his part demanded, even to the very breaking of their hedges, the breaking of their apples, and their other occasionall damages, which grew to an incredible summe, and impossible to be answered. Such was the outrageous cruell noise of that mischievous progenie of antichrist, against their naturall king.

Notwithstanding that which is offered afore concerning the bitter malice of the clergie against their prince, yet did the popes legat and cardinall Piccolani Tuscullanus much fauour his doings, and allow of his proceedings. Wherefore they reported of him that he was exceeding partiall, and regarded not their matters ecclesiasticall, as hee should haue done. For leauing the account of their restitution, he went with the kings officers, as the kings pleasure was, to the cathedrall ministers, abbeys, priories, deanries, and great churches vacant, and therefor the next incumbent alwayes he appointed two, one for the king, another for the parties. But upon him onely whom the king nominated, he compelled most commonly the election to passe: which vered them wonderfully. Upon this therefore they raised anew conspiracy against the kings person by helpe of their Bishops, seditious prelates, and such noble men as they had drawn to their parties. We beheld (saith Heyueden) about the same time many noble houses and assemblies diuided in many places. The fathers and the aged men stood upon the kings part, but the younger sort contrary. And some there were that for the loue of their kindred, and in other sundry respects forsooke the king againe. Yea the same went that time, saith he, that they were confederated with Alexander the Scottish king and Leolin the prince of Wales to worke him an utter mischief. A council at Wyford the Archbishop called, where at some would not tarry, considering the confusion thereof, the other sort, hauing very obstinat hearts, reuiled the king most spitefully behind his backe, and said that from thenceforth he ought to be taken for no gouernour offheirs. Their outrageous and frantike clamours so much preuailed in those daies, that it grew to a grievous tumult, and a most perilous commotion.

{ Anno }  
{ 1215 }

The council of  
Lateran holden  
by pope Inno-  
cent.

In the yere of our Lord 1215. as witnesseth Paulus Aemilius and other histories, Pope Innocent the third held a generall synod at Rome, called the council Lateran. The chiefe causes of that council were these: In the daies of this Innocent, heretike (as he calleth the truth of God, or the doctrine that rebuketh sinne) began to rise by very high, and to spread forth his branches abroad, by reason whereof many princes were excommunicated, as Also the Emperour, John the king of England, Peter king of Aragon, Ramund the Earle of Tholeuse, Aquitania, Sataloni, and such other like, as is afore said. So that it could be no otherwise, saith Heyueden, but with the sharpe are of the gospel (so called be the popes excommunications) they ought of necessitie to haue ben cut off from the church. Wherefore was this Council provided, proclaimed, and prelates from all nations thereunto called. And to colour those mischiefs which he then went about, he caused it by his Legats and Cardinals (very crafty merchants) to be noyed abroad, that his intent therein was onely to haue the church vniuersally reformed, and the holy land from the Turkes hands recovered. But all this was craft and falsehood, as the sequell thereof hath manifestly declared. For his purpose thereby was to suboue all princes, and to make himselfe rich and wealthie. For there hee made this antichristian act, and established it by publicke decree, that the Pope should haue from thence

forth the correction of all Christian princes, and that no Emperour should be admitted, except hee were sworn before, and were also crowned of him. He ordained moreover, that whosoever hee were that should speake euill of the Pope, hee should be punished in hell with eternall damnation: Conradus, Vrspergensis, Hieronymus, Marius. He promised confession to helpe these matters; he allowed their bread a pice to couer him; and a bell when he goeth abroad; and made the masse squall with Christs Gospel.

In this Council was first invented and brought in transubstantiation, of which Iohannes Scotus, Iohannes Secus, whom we call Duns, maketh mention in his fourth booke, writing in these words: The words of the Scripture might be expounded more easily and more plainly, without transubstantiation. But the Church did chuse this sence, which is more hard; being moved thereunto, as it seemeth, chiefly, because that of the Sacraments men ought to hold as the holy Church of Rome holdeth, &c. And in the same place he maketh mention of Innocentius the third.

Moreover, in the said Council was established and ratified the wretched and impious act, compelling priests to abiure lawfull matrimony. Whereupon these matters or verses were made the same time against him, which here follow under Avyitten.

Non est Innocentius, imò nocens verè,  
Qui, quod factò docuit, verbo vult delere;  
Et quod olim iuuenis voluit habere,  
Modò vetus pontifex studet prohibere.  
Zacharias habuit prolem & uxorem,  
Per virum quem genuit adeptus honorem;  
Baptizavit etenim mundi Salvatorem:  
Pereat qui tenet novum hunc errorem.  
Paulus coelos rapitur ad superiores,  
Vbi multas didicit res secretiores;  
Ad nos tandem rediens instruensque mores,  
Suas, inquit, habeant, quilibet uxores.  
Propter hæc & alia dogmata doctorem,  
Reor esse melius & magis decorum,  
Quisque suam habeat & non proximorum,  
Ne incurrat odium vel iram eorum.  
Proximorum sceminas, filias, & neptes  
Violare nefas est, quare nil deceptes:  
Verè tuam habeas, & in hac delectes,  
Diem ut sic ultimum tutius expectes.

Nocent, not innocent he is, that seeketh to deface,  
By word the thing, that he by deed hath taught men to embrace;  
Which being now a Bishop old, doth study to destroy  
The thing, which he a young man once did covet to enjoy.  
Priest Zacharie both had a wife, and had a childe also,  
By means of whom there did to him great prayse and honor grow;  
For he did baptise him which was the saviour of mankind:  
Ill him befall that holdeth this new error in his mind.  
Into the higher Heavens good Paul was lifted from below,  
And many secret hidden things he learned there to know:  
Return'd at length from them to us, and teaching rules of life,  
He said, Let each man have his owne and onely wedded wife.  
For this and other documents of them that learned be,  
Much better and more comely eke it seemeth unto me,  
That each should have his owne alone, and not his neighbours wife,  
Left with his neighbour he doe fall in hate and wrathfull strife.  
Thy neighbours daughters or their wives, or neeces to defile,  
Unlawfull is, therefore beware doe not thy selfe beguile.  
Have thou thine owne true wedded wife, delight in her alway,  
With safer ruinde that thou mayest looke to see the later day.

Now let us returne to king John againe, and marke how the priests and their adherents were plagued for their humble handlings of his majesties will. In the foresaid Council of Lateran, and the same yere, was Stephan Langton Archbishop of Canterbury excommunicated of Pope Innocent, with all those Bishops, prelates, priests, barons, and commons, which had bene of counsell with him in the



the former rebellion. And when the said Archbishop had made instant sute of him to be absolved, anone he made him this answer with great indignation: Brother mine, I sweare by saint Peter, thou shalt not forsoone at my hand obtaine the benefit of absolution: for why? thou hast not only done harme to the King of England, but also thou hast in a great many of things injured the Church of Rome here, and therefore thou shalt tarry my leisure. The Archbishop was also at that time suspended out of the Church, and commanded to say no masse at all, neither yet to exercise any other Ecclesiasticall office; because he would not at time convenient execute the Popes curse upon the rebellious Barons. With them the said Pope had bene so deeply offended and angered a little before, that the great Charter of the liberties of England (with great indignation and countenance most terrible) he rent and destroyed; by sentence definitive condemning it for ever; and by and by thereupon cursed all the other rebels, with Booke, Bell, and Candle. The greater captaines, of of them (with the Citizens of London) for that assaye were pronounced excommunicate by name, and remained still interdicted. They appealed then to the councell generall.

In the same yere 1215. were those great men also summoned to appeare at Rome in that generall synod, which would not consent to their Kings expulsion, nor yet tyrannicall deposing. Though they were called (they said) thereunto by the Archbishop of Canterbury and others, and required by oath to subscribe unto the same: yet could they not of their conscience doe it, because he had humbled himselfe, and allogranted to keepe peace with all men. Thus wast the whole realme miserably then divided into twofactions through malice of the Clergy: so strifes increased in the land every where. Yet were there of the Lords and gentlemen a great number at that time, that followed the King and allowed his doings. But they which were on the other side (not a little suspecting the state that they were in) fled speedily to the French King Philip: desiring him that he would grant to them his eldest sonne Lubouike, and they would elect him to be their King, and that without much tardiance. They besought him moreover, that he would send with him a strong and mighty power, such as were able to subdue him utterly, that they might (they said) be delivered of such a wicked tyrant. Such was the report that those most wicked Papists gave their Christian governour, appointed to them of God: whom they ought to have obeyed, though he had bene euill, even for very conscience sake: Rom. 13. And as certaine of the Lords and barons were busie to chuse the said Lubouike for their King, the Pope sent thither one Gualo the Cardinall of St. Martin to stay those rash and cruell attempts: charging the French King upon his allegiance, that he with all power possible should saunter, maintaine, and defend King Iohn of England, his feudary or tenant. The French King thereto made answer, as one not content with that arrogant precept; The Realme of England, said he, was neuer yet any part of Saint Peters patrimony, neither is it now, nor yet any time shall be hereafter. Thus spake he, for that he was in hope to obtaine it for his sonnes by treason of the Barons.

So Prince or potentate (said Philip the French King) may pledge or give away his kingdome, which is (beside the realme) the government of his whole common wealth, without the lawfull consent of his Barons, which are bound to defend the same. If the pope shall introduce or set up such a president in christianity, he shall at his pleasure bring all Christian Kinges, and their kingdomes to nought. I like not this example in these daies begun. I cannot therefore allow this fact of King Iohn of England: though he be my utter aduersary, yet I much lament

ment that he hath so indamaged his Realme, and hath brought that noble ground and Quene of provinces under miserable tribute. The chiefe Lords & men of his nobility standing by, when he uttered these words (being as it were in a fury) cryed with one voyce: by the blood of God, in whom we trust to be saued, we will stick in this article to the losing of our heads. Let the King of England doe therein what him liketh: no King may put his land under tribute, and so make his nobility captiue seruants. With that came in Lubouike the Kings eldest son, and said unto them all there present: I beseech you, let not my purposed journey: the Barons of England have elected me for their Lord and King, and I will not surely lose my right, but I will fight for it even to the very death, yea so long as heart shall stir within my brest: and I doubt not but I shall well obtaine it, for I haue friends among them. Whether the King stood still as if he had been in a dunpe, and answered neuer a word, but fared as though he had dissembled the matter. We like he misfrustrated something therein, as he might well enough; for all was procured by the Popes, that they might liue licentious in all wealth and freedom from the Kings yoke.

About the same time were such treasons and conspiracies wrought by the Bishops, priests, and monks throughout all the Realme, that the King knew not where to become or finde trusty friends: he was then compelled, by the vncertainty of his subjects, to trauell from place to place, but not without a great army of men, looking every day when his Barons and their confederates would cruelly set upon him. At last he came to Douer, and there looked for aid from other quarters, which loued him better then did his owne people. And thither resorted to him from Flanders, Habant, and Holland, on the one side, and from Guian, Gascoine, and Poitiers, on the other side, and from other Countries more, a wonderfull number of men. The report then went, that the Pope had written unto those countries, mightily to assist him for diuers considerations: one was, for that he had both submitted himselfe and his dominions unto his protection; another was, because he had taken upon him, a little before, the livery of the crosse, to winne againe Hierusalem: the third was, for that he had gotten by him the dominion of England and Ireland, and feared to lose both, if he should chance to decay. For the space of three monthes he remained in the ile of Wight, abroad in the aire to quiet himselfe for a time from all manner of tumults, and led there a solitary life among riuers and watermen; whereas he rather counted to die then to liue, being so traiterously handled of his Bishops & Barons, and not knowing how to be justly angered of them. Upon the purification day of our Lady therefore he took upon him the crosse or voyage against the Turkes, for recovery of Hierusalem, moued thereto rather for the doubts which he had of his people, then for any other deuotion else. And thus he said to his familiar seruants: Since I submitted myselfe and my lands (England and Ireland) to the Church of Rome (for now come to it) neuer thing prospered with me, but all hath gone against me.

In the next yere after 1216. was Simon Langton chosen Archbishop of Poike, but that election anon after was dissolved; for information was given to the Pope, that the said Simon was brother to Stephan Langton the Archbishop of Canterbury, which had been the occasion of all the tumults which were at that time in England. And the Pope had the more hate vnto him, for that he had brought him up of nought, and did finde him at that time so stubborne: wherefore he placed in his brothers place Walter Gray, the Bishop of Winchester.

In the same yere Gualo the Popes legat renewed his great curse upon Lewis the French Kings son, for

Bishops and Priests conspiring against the King.

Anno 1216.

Walter Gray Archbishop of Poike. Gualo the Popes Legat.

Stephan Langton suspended out of the Church.

Appeale to the generall councell.

The discord betweene the nobles and the King.

Gualo Cardinal sent into England.

The French King and his sonne reasoning about England.



for usurping upon King John: likewise upon Simon Langton, and Geruais Houbuge, for prouoking him to the same, and that with a wonderfull solemnity: for in that doing he made all the bells to be rung, the Candles to be light, the doyes to be opened, and the booke of excommunications or interdictions publickly to be read, committing them wholly to the Diuell for their continuacie and contempt. He also commanded the Bishops and curats to publish it abroad ouer all the whole Realme, to the terror of all his subjects. The said Simon and Geruais laughed him to scorn, and derided much his doings in that behalfe, saying, that for the iust title of Ludouike, they had appealed to the generall councill at Rome.

The magistrates of London, and Citizens of the same, did likewise vilipend and disdainfull mocks all that the Pope had there commanded and done. And in sight both of him and his legat, they kept company with them that were excommunicated, both at table and at Church, shewing themselves thereby as open contempters both of him and his lawes. Ludouike at London, taking himselfe for King, constituted Simon Langton for his high chancellor, and Geruais Houbuge for his chiefe preacher, by whose dayly preachings (as well the Barons as the Citizens themselves being excommunicated) he caused all the Church doyes to be opened, and the seruice to be sing: and the said Ludouike was in all points fit for their hands. About this time was Pandulphus (then Cardinall) collecting the Peter pence, an old pillage of the Pope, taking great pains therein. And for his great labours in those the affaires of holy Church, and for other great miracles besides, he was then made Bishop of Norwich, to the augmenting of his dignity and expences.

It chanced about this time, that the vicount of Melun (a very noble man of the Realme of France, which came thither with the Prince Ludouike) fell deadly sicke at London, and also moued in conscience to call certaine of the English Barons vnto him, such as were there appointed to the custody of that City, said vnto them: I lament your sorrowfull case, and pity with my heart the destruction that is comming towards you and your country. The dangerous snares which are prepared for your utter confusion are hidden from you; you doe not behold them, but take you heed of them in time. Prince Ludouike hath swozne a great oath, and vrsuene of his Carles and noble men are of counsell with him, that if he obtaine the crowne of England, he will banish all them from seruice, and depriue them of Lands and goods, as many as he findeth now to goe against their liege King, and are traytors to his noble person. And because you shall not take this tale for a fable, I assure you on my faith, lying now at the mercie of God, that I was one of them which was swozne to the same. I haue great conscience thereof, and therefore I giue you this warning. I pity poore England which hath been to noble a region, that now it is come to to extreme misery. And when he with teares had lamented it a space, he returned againe vnto them and said: My friends I counsell you earnestly to looke to your selues, and to provide the remedy in time, lest it come vpon you vnawares. Your King for a fealon hath kept you vnder, but if Ludouike preuaile, he will put you from all; of two extreme evils chuse the moze easie, and keepe that secret which I haue told you of good will. With that he gaue ouer and departed this life.

When this was once noised among the Barons, they were in great heauinesse, for they saw themselves intrapped every way, and to be in exceeding great danger. And this daily augmented that feare which then came vpon the Barons. They were extremely hated of the Pope and his Legats, and euery weeke came vpon them new excommunications. Daily detriments they had besides in their possessions and goods, in their lands and houses, coyne

and cattell, wines and children: so that some of them were diuven to such need, that they were enforced to seeke preyes and booties for sustaining their miserable liues. For looke whatsoever prince Ludouike obtained by his wars, either territories or Castles, he gaue them all to his Frenchmen in sight of their heads, and said that they were but traytors, like as they had warning afore, which grieved them worst of all. At the last they perceiving that they in seeking to auoid one mischief, were ready to fall into another much worse: they began to lay their heads together, consenting to submit themselves wholly with all humilitie vnto the mercie of their late soueraine and naturall liege Lord King John. And for that they were somewhat in doubt of their liues for the treason afore committed; many of the friends of them which were of most credit with him, made sute for them. So were a great number of them pardoned, after instant and great sute made for them. Here omit his recovery of Rochester Castle and City, with many other dangerous adventures against the foresaid Ludouike, both at London, Poike, Lincoln, Winchester, Norwich, and other places else, as things not pertaining to my purpose. And now I returne to my matter againe.

Into Suffolke and Dorset he consequently journeyed, with a very strong armie of men, and there with great mischief he afflicted them, because they had giuen place and were swozne to his enemies. After that, he destroyed the Abbeyes of Peterborough and Crowland, for the great treasons which they also had wrought against him, and so he departed from thence into Lincolnshire.

In this yeere, about the seuenteenth day of July, died Pope Innocent the third, and was buried in a City called Perusium in Italie: whereas he had travelled to make a peace betwene the Genouates and Biles, for his owne commodity and advantage. After him anon succeeded one Cintius, otherwise called Honorius tertius, a man of very great age: yet liued he in the papacie tenne yeeres and an halfe, and moze. When this was once knowne in England, greatly rejoiced all they which were King Johns enemies, specially the Bishops: yet had they small cause, as will appeare hereafter. They noised it all the Realme ouer, that this new Pope would set a new order, and not rule all things as the other Pope did; thinking thereby that he would haue done all things to their commodity; but they found it otherwise. For he made all them, which were excommunicate, to pay double and treble, ere they could be restored againe to their former livings.

And in the selfe same yeere, as King John was come to Swinhead Abbey, not far from Lincoln, he rested there two dayes: where (as most writers testifie) he was most traiterously poisoned by a Monk of that Abbey, of the sect of the Cistercians or S. Bernards brethren, called Simon of Swinhead. As concerning the noble personage of this Prince, this witnesseth giueth Roger Houeden therein, Princeps quidem magnus erat, sed minus felix, atque, vt Marius, vtramque fortunam expertus. Doubtlesse (saith he) King John was a mighty Prince, but not so fortunate as many were; not altogether unlike to Sparius the noble Roman, he tasted of fortune both waies, bountifull in mercy, in wars sometime he wan, sometime againe he lost. Munificus ac liberalis in exteris fuit, sed proditiōis causa suorum depredator, plus adueniens quam suis confidens. He was also very bounteous and liberal vnto strangers, but of his owne people (for their dayly treasons sake) he was a great oppressor, so that he trusted moze to foreiners then to them.

Among other diuers and sundry conditions belonging to this King, one there was which is not in him to be reprehended but commended rather: for that being far from the superstition which Kings at that time were commonly subject to, he regarded not

Radul. Niger  
cap. 43. 44.

The Popes  
curse laught to  
scorne.

Pandulphus  
the Popes col-  
lector made Bi-  
shop of Nor-  
wich.

Mat. Paris.  
Radul Niger  
cap. 47.

The great pro-  
vidence of God  
for the helpe of  
England.

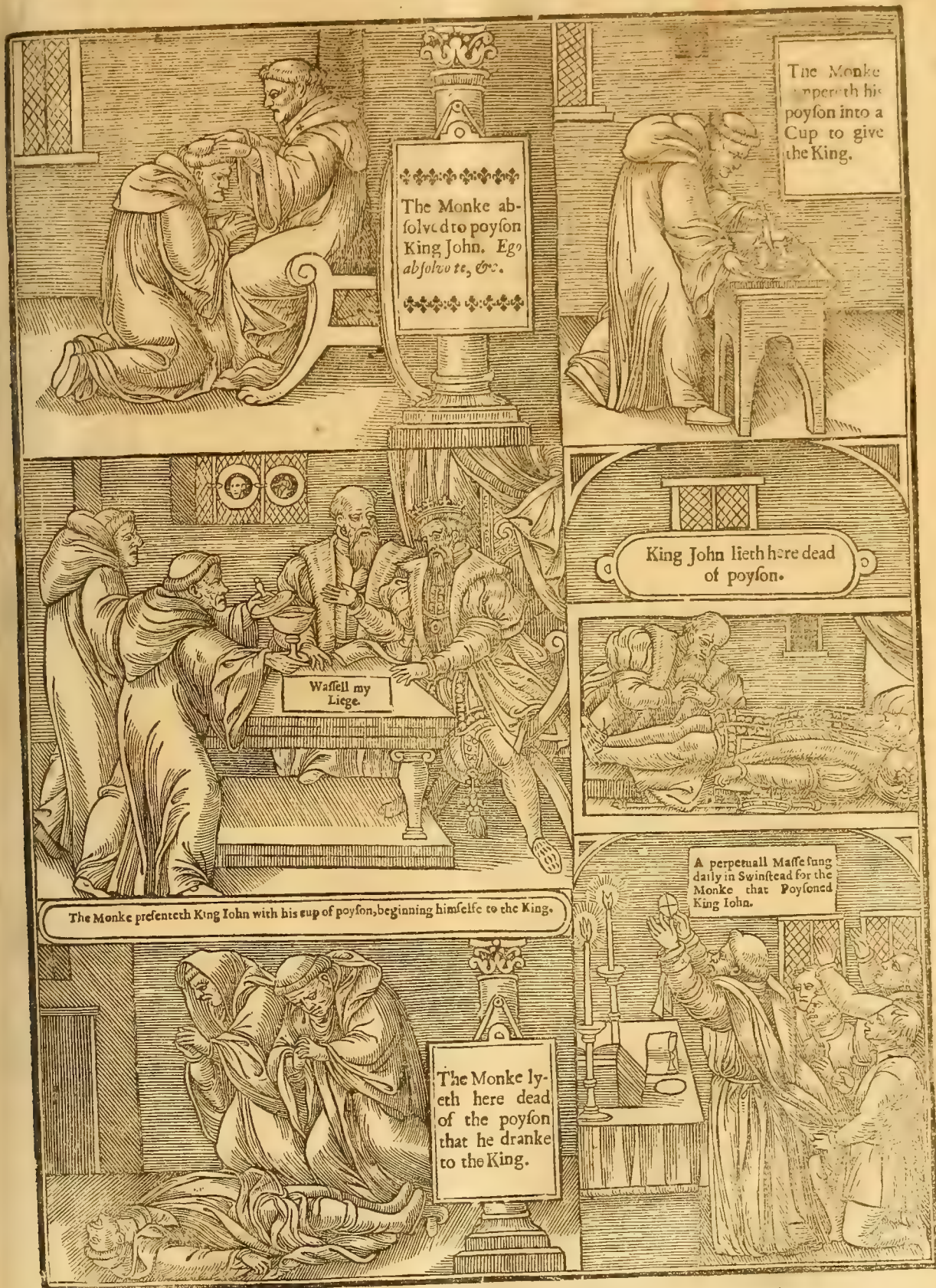
Pope Innocent  
the third died.

King John poi-  
soned by a  
Monke.

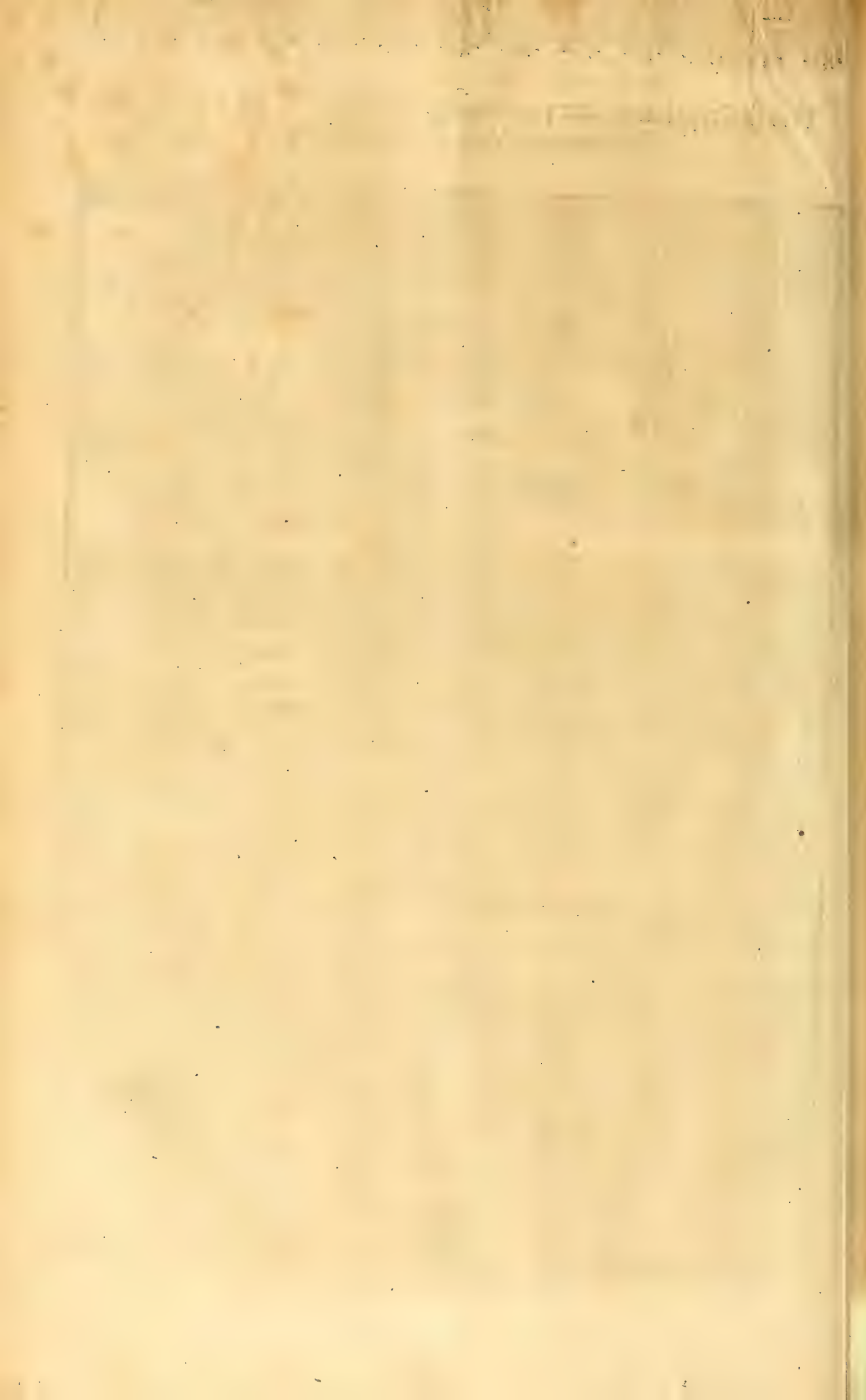
Ex chronico  
cuiusdam Ru-  
logium.



# The description of the poysoning of King *John* by a Monke of Swinestead Abbey in Lincolneshiere.









The Death of  
King John

Mat. Paris. in  
vita Ioannis  
regis.

Another de-  
scription of  
King Johns  
death.  
Ex hist. Gualt.  
Hemingford.  
Gisburnensi.

King Henry the third.

King Dennis  
the third.

Of the life of  
King John



ther calleth her Ione, which was after Anne of Scotland. Ex chonico vetullo Anglie.

This King John being deceased, which had many enemies both of Carles, Barons, and especially of the Popish Clergy; Henry the eldest sonne was then of the age of nine yeeres, at what time the most of the Lords of England did adhere to Ludouik of Lewis the French Kinges sonne, whom they had sent for before, in displeasure of King John, to be their King, and had sworne to him their allegiance. When William, Earle marshall, a noble man, and of great authority, and a graue and sound counsellor, friendly and quietly called vnto him diuers Carles and Barons, and taking this Henry the yong Prince, sonne of King John, setteth him before them, vnto these words: Behold (saith he) right honorable and well beloued, although we haue persecuted the father of this yong Prince for his euill demeanour, and worthily; yet this yong childe whom here ye see before you, as he is in yeeres tender, so is he pure and innocent from these his fathers doings: wherefore in as much as euery man is charged enely with the burthen of his owne workes and transgressions, neither shall the childe (as the Scripture teacheth vs) beare the iniquity of his father: we ought therefore of duty and conscience to pardon this yong and tender Prince, and take compassion of his age as yefee. And now for so much as he is the Kings naturall and eldest sonne, and must be our soueraigne and king, and successor of this kingdome; come and let vs appoint him our King and gouernour, and let vs remoue from vs this Lewis the French Kings son, and suppress his people, which is a confusion and a shame to our nation, and the yoke of our seruitude let vs cast off from our shoulders. To these words spake and answered the Earle of Gloucester: And by what reason or right (saith he) can we do so, seeing we haue called him hither, & haue sworne to him our fealty?

Wherunto the Earle Marshall inferred againe and said: God right and reason we haue, and ought of duty to doe no lesse; for that he contrary to our minde and calling hath abused our affiance and fealties. Truth it is we called him, and meant to prefferre him to be our chiefe tane and gouernor; but he effectlesse, surprised in pride, hath contemned and despised vs: and if we shall to suffer him, he will subuert and ouertrow both vs and our nation, and so shall we remaine a spectacle of shame to all men, and be as outcasts of all the world.

At these words all they, as inspired from aboue, cried all together with one voyce, We it so, he shall be our King. And so the day was appointed for his Coronation, which was the day of Simon and Jude. This Coronation was kept not at Westminster, for so much as Westminster the same time was holden of the Frenchmen, but at Gloucester, the safest place (as was thought) at that time in the Realme, Anno 1216. by Swalo the Popes Legat, through counsell of all the Lords and Barons that held with his father King John, to wit, the Bishop of Winchester, Bishop of Bath, Bishop of Chester, and Bishop of Worcester, the Earle Radulph of Chester, William Earle Marshall, William Earle of Pembroke, William Erne Earle of Hereford, William de Bures, Serle of Samarike de Hal Baron. These were at the Crowning of the King at Gloucester. Many other Lords & Barons there were, which as yet held with Lewis the French Kings sonne, to whom they had done their homage before. And immediately after the Crowning of this King he held his counsell at Walslow at St. Martins feast; where were assembled eleuen Bishops of England and Wales, with diuers Carles and Barons & knights of England, all which did swaue fealty to the King. After which homage thus done to the King, the legat Swalo interdicted Wales, because they held with the foresaid Lewis; and also the Barons and all others, as many as gaue helpe or counsell to Lewis,

or any other that moued or stirred any war against King Henry the new King, he accursed them. All which notwithstanding, the said Lewis did not cease but first laid siege to the Castle of Dover fiftene daies. When he could not preuaile there, he tooke the Castle of Berkhamsstead, and also the Castle of Hertford, doing much harme in the Countreies, in spoiling and robbing the people where he went: by reason whereof the Lords and commons, which held with the King, assembled themselves together to drive Lewis and his men out of the land. But some of the Barons with the Frenchmen in the meane season went to Lincoln and tooke the City, and held it to the vse of Lewis. Which being knowne, efflowes a great power of the kings part made thither, as Earle Radulph of Chester, William earle of Marshall, and William de la Bures earle of Hereford, with many other Lords, and gaue battell vnto Lewis and his party; so that in conclusion Lewis lost the field, and of his side were slain the Earle of Marchis, Saer de Quince Earle of Winchester, Henry de la Bohun Earle of Hertford, and Sir Robert le Fitzwater, with diuers other more. Wherupon Lewis for succor fled to London, causing the gates there to be shut and kept, waiting there for more succor out of France. Which as soone as the King had knowledge of, immediately he sent to the mayor and burgeses of the city, willing them to tender them and their city to him as their chiefe Lord and King, promising to grant to them againe all their franchises and liberties as in times past, and to confirme the same by his great charter and seale. In this meane time on Bartholomew euen, Custace a French Lord, accompanied with many other Lords and Nobles of France, come with a grant power, to the number of a 100 ships to aide and assist the said Lewis, who before they arrived, were encountered vpon the Seas by Richard, King Johns bastard sonne; who, hauing no more but eightene ships to keepe the cinque ports, let eagerly vpon them, and through Gods grace ouercame them, where presently he smote off the head of Custace: the rest of the French Lords, to the number of fenne, he brought with him to the land, where he imprisoned them in the castle of Dover, and slew almost all their men that came with them, and sunke their ships in the Sea, onely fiftene ships (saith some of my Doctores) escaped away. Ludouik of Lewis hearing this losse of his ships and men, and misdoobting his owne life for the great mischief he had done to the Realme, sought meanes by Swalo and the Archbishop of Canterbury and by other Lords, to be at accord with the King. Which whom at length it was so concluded and agreed, that for his costs and expenses, he should haue a thousand pounds of silver giuen. Parisiensis speaketh of fiftene thousand markes (which he borrowed of the Londoners) that he should depart the Realme neuer to returne into England againe, neither he nor none of his.

This done, vpon the same he, with all the other Barons that tooke his part, was alloped of Swalo the Legat. And thus peace being confirmed at Bereton, Lewis tooke his leaue, and being brought honourably to the sea with the Bishop of Canterbury and other Bishops, Carles and Barons, he returned home into France.

And here, saith Gisburne, it was truly verified that was before spoken of the French King father of Lewis. At what time the said Lewis was in England, his father the French King demanded of his messengers comming into France, where his sonne was. And they said at Stamford. And he asking againe whether he had got the Castle of Douer: And they said, no. When the father swearing by the arme of saint James: By sonne (quoth he) hath not one foote in England, as afterward well proued true.

Ex Gisburne. But the chiefe helpe that repelled Lewis and the

An example of a toothe and faithfull counsellor. The oration of the Earle Marshall for young King Henry. I cruelly said, that you persecuted him, for persecutors ye were of a true man, and your owne naturall King. But well might England cry out of your blind guides and setters on.

Berkhamstead and Hertford taken by Lewis.

Lincoln taken by Lewis.

Anno 1217.

This Custace some say he was a Spaniard.

A noble victory by Gods grace giuen to King Johns sonne.

Ex chron. monach. Gisburne.

King Henry the third crowned.

Ex Matth. Parisiensis.

Lewis the French King some driven out of England.

The answer of the French King concerning Lewis.



the French men out of the Realme, and that most preferred King Johns some to the Crowne, was the singular working of Gods hand, whereof mention was made before: which was through the confession of a certaine Gentleman of the French holt (as Florilegus doth testifie) who lying sore sicke at the point of death, and seeing no hope to escape, was touched in conscience for danger of his soules health, openly to confesse and utter to the Barons of England, what was the purpose of the Frenchmen to do; who were conspired and swoone together among themselves, with a punic compaction, that so soone as they subdued the land, they should thrust all the chiefe and nobles thereof into perpetual exile out of the Realme, whereout they should neuer returne againe. This coming to the eares of the Barons, as is said, gaue them to consider more with themselves, whereby many of them were the more willing to leaue Lewis, and apply to their naturall King and Prince. Which no lesse may also be an admonition to all times and ages for Englishmen to take heede, not to admit or to place foreign rulers in to the Realme, lest perhaps it follow that they be displaced themselves.

After the happy departure of this Lewis and his Frenchmen out of the land, whereby the state of this Realme, long vexed before, was now somewhat more quieted; immediately Swalo the Legat, looking to his haruell, directeth forth inquisitors through every shire, to search out all such Bishops, Abbats, priors, canons, and secular priests, of what order or degree soeuer they were, that with any succor or counsel did either helpe, or else consented to Lewis. For all these were exempted out of the charter of pardon and absolution made before, betwene the King and Lewis. By reason whereof no small gaine grew to the Pope and the Cardinall; for all such were either put out of their livings and sent up to the Pope; or else were faine to fine sweetely for them. Among whom (besides a great number of other clerkes, both religious and secular) was Hugo bishop of Lincolne, who, for the recovery of his Bishopricke, disbursed 1000. markes to the Pope, and 100. markes to the foresaid Swalo the legat, who now (as Paris recordeth) by this time had gathered in a faire crop of that which he did neuer sow. Ex Mat. Paris, &c.

About this season, or not much before, died Pope Innocent the third, in the nineteenth yeere of his Popedom to whose custody Fredericus the nephew of Frederike Barbarossa, being yet young, was committed by the emperesse his mother; of whom more shall follow (the Lord willing) hereafter. After this Innocent, next succeeded Pope Honorius the third, who writing to young King Henry in a special letter, exhorteth him to the love of vertue, and to the feare of God, namely to be circumspiced with what familiars and resort he acquainted himselfe; but principally above all other things he monisheth him to reuerence the church which is the spouse of Christ, and to honor the ministers thereof, in whom Christ himselfe (saith he) is both honored and despised. And this seemeth the chiefest article of that his writing to him.

Of this Pope Honorius Abbas Vrspergensis (who lived in the same time) reporteth a strange wonder, more strange peradventure then credible; which is this: Honorius being Bishop in Rome (whose name was then Centius) and procurator to Jacinthus a Cardinall: so it befell, that his master sent him abroad about Rome, to borrow and procure money for him against his journey into Spaine: for Pope Clement then intended to send this Jacinthus his legat into Spain. As this Centius was walking by himselfe all sad and sollicitous to speede his matters message, there cometh to him a certaine aged and reuerend father, and asketh him what cause he had to walke so heavy and carefull. To whom he answered againe, and signified the occasion of his busi-

ness that then he had to doe. When the old father said to him: Go and returne home againe, for thy master (saith he) shall not at this time go to Spaine. How so (quoth the other) how is that true? As true (saith he) as it is certaine that the Pope shall die, and thy said master shall be Pope after him. Centius, thinking that to be unlikely, said he could not believe that to be true. To whom the other interreth againe: So know this (saith he) to be as certaine, as it is true that the Citie of Hierusalem this day is taken of the Saracens, and shall not be recovered againe from them, before the time of thy papacy. And thus speaking (saith Vrsperg.) he baded suddenly away. Ex Abbate Vrsperg. All which (saith the said author) came after wards to passe, and were testified of the same Honorius, being Pope after ward, in his publicke sermons at Rome. All which I grant may be, and yet notwithstanding this fabulous narration may be a peece of the Popes old practises, subtilly inuented to draw men forth to Hierusalem to fight, &c. Again, after Honorius (when he had governed tenne yeeres) followed Gregorius the ninth, which two Popes were in the time of this King Henry the third, and of Frederike the Emperour; of whom wee minde (Christ willing) further to touch, after that we shall haue prosecuted more concerning the history of King Henry and matters of England.

After that it so pleased the mercifull providence of Almighty God, to worke this great mercy vpon the stocke of King John (which notwithstanding the unkinde prelats with their false Prophets had declared before, that neuer any of them should succede in the throne after that King) and also vnto the whole commonwealth of the Realme, in deliuering them from the dangerous seruice of Ludouike and the foresaid Frenchmen. After their departure, the next yeere following, Anno 1218. which was the third of this Kings raigne, the Archbishop of Langton, and the Bishops, Carles and Barons resorted to London vnto the King at Michaelmas next following, and there held a great Parliament, wherein were considered and granted by the King all the franchises which were made and given by King John his father at Bouenmedou, and then he confirmed and ratified by his charter, which long time after (saith mine author) vnto his daies did continue, and were bolden in England. For the which cause, by the nobles & commons was given and granted againe vnto the King two shillings for euery plow land through England. And Hubert Burgh was made chiefe Iudice of England, of whose troubles more is to be said hereafter. And this was the third yeere of King Henry, & the fiftieth yeere after the death of Thomas Becket: wherefore the said Becket the same yeere next following was taken up and shamed for a new saint made of an old rebell. Whither came such resort of people of England and of France, that the country of Kent was not sufficient to sustaine them. Ex historia D. Scales. About the same time Mabel the Kings mother was married to the Earle of March. And William Barthall the good Earle died, which was the gouernour of the King and the Realme, not without great lamentation of the people of England. When was the King committed to the gouernment of Peter Bishop of Winchester. This noble Earle left behinde him five sonnes, and five daughters.

The yeere next ensuing, Anno 1219. it was ordained and proclaimed through all the land, that all aliens and forreners should depart the realme, and not returne to the same againe, onely such excepted as vndertraffike or trade of merchandize vnder the Kings safe conduct. This proclamation was thought chiefly to be set forth for this cause, to auoide out of the land foules de Wenz, Philip de Marks, Egardus de Ciconia, William Earle Albemarle, Robert de Meten ponce, Willelme de Infula. Hugo de Bailluell, Roger de Gaug, with diuers other strangers.

Ex Abbate Vrsperg. in chronico.

Ex Abbate Vrsperg. in chronico.

{ Anno }  
1218.

King Henry confirmed the liberties granted by King John.

Two shillings of euery plow land granted to King Henry.

Thomas Becket shamed.

Ex historia D. Scales. William Barshall shall die and was buried at the Temple.

{ Anno }  
1219. Aliens commanded out of England.

An admonition to Englishmen not to admit foreign rulers in to the realme.

It is a bad world that bloweth no man profit.

Don'te coming vnto the Pope and cardinall.

Hugo bishop of Lincolne redeemeth his bishopricke for 1000. markes. Ex Math. Paris in vita reg. Henr. 3.

Pope Innocent the third.

Pope Honorius the third. The effect of the letter of Pope Honorius the third to King Henry the third. Ex Parisiens.

A strange tale of Pope Honorius, if it be true.



Foules de Hen  
rebelled a-  
gainst King  
Henry.

gers more, which kept castles and holds of the kings  
against his will. Of whom the forenamed foules  
was the principall, who fortified and held the Castle  
of Bedford, which hee had by the gift of King John,  
with might and strength against the King and his  
power, nere the space of thre moneths. Whereafter  
he went about to apprehend the Kings Justices at  
Dunstable; but they, being warned thereof, escap-  
ped all, except Henrie Watbroke, whom he impris-  
oned in the said Castle. The King hearing thereof,  
and consulting with his clergy and nobles, made his  
power against the same. Which after long siege and  
long slaughter at length he obtained, and hanged  
almost all that were within, to the number of nine-  
ty and seven, which was (as Paris writeth) about the  
seventh or eight year of his reign. Foules the same  
time was in Wales; who, hearing of the taking of  
the castle, conveyed himselfe to the church of Couen-  
trei. At length submitting himselfe to the Kings  
mercy, upon consideration of his service done be-  
fore to the Kings father, he was committed to the  
custody of Eustace Bishop of London, and after-  
wards being deprived of all his goods, possessions  
and tenements within the Realme, was forced to  
perpetuall banishment, never to returne to Eng-  
land againe.

Ex Parisiens.

Here (by the way) I finde it noted in Paris, that  
after this foresaid foules had spoiled and razed the  
Church of saint Paul in Bedford, for the building up  
of his Castle, the abbesse of Helucine, hearing there-  
of, caused the sword to be taken from the image of  
saint Paul standing in the Church, so long as he re-  
mained unpunished. Afterward she, hearing him  
to be committed to the custody of S. Paul in Lon-  
don, caused the sword to be put into the hands of the  
image againe. Math. Parisiens. in vita Henr. 3.

About this yere the young King the second time  
was crowned againe at Westminster, about which  
time began the new building of our Lady Church at  
Westminster. Shortly after Whalo the Legat was  
called home againe to Rome. For the holy father  
(as Math. Paris reporteth) being sicke of a spirituall  
dropsie, thought this Whalo (having so large occu-  
pying in England) to be able somewhat to cure his  
disease. And so that legat returned with all his bags  
well stuffed, leaving Whaulph behind him to sup-  
ply that bailliwike of his great grandfather the  
Pope.

The life and acts of Pope Innocentius the third  
are partly described before, how he intruded Ste-  
phan Langton against the Kings will into the arch-  
bishopsicke of Canterbury, stirring up also wry and  
four men of the same Church of Canterbury pri-  
vily to worke against the King. Whereafter hee  
did excommunicate the said King as a publike ene-  
my of the Church, so long as the said King withstoode  
his tyrannicall doings, putting him and his whole  
kingdome under interdiction, for the space of five  
yeres and thre moneths, and at length deposed and  
deprived him from his Scepter, keeping it in his  
owne hands for five dayes. How he absolved his  
subjects from their due obedience and subjection un-  
to him. How he gave away his kingdome and pos-  
sessions to Lewis the French Kings sonne, comman-  
ding the said Lewis to spoyle him both of lands and  
life. Whereupon the King (being forsaken of his no-  
bles, Prelates, and commons) was enforced against  
his will to submit himselfe, and sweare obedience un-  
to the Pope, paying unto him a yearly tribute of  
1000. markes by yere, for receiving his kingdome  
againe, whereby both he and his successors after  
him were vassals afterwards unto the Pope. And  
these were the apostolicall acts of this holy Vicar in  
the Realme of England. Whereafter, he condemned  
Almericus a worthy learned man and a Bishop, for  
an heretike, for teaching & holding against images.  
Also he condemned the doctrine of Joachim Abbas  
(whom we spake of before) for hereticall. His pope

brought first into the Church the paying of private  
tithes. He ordained the receiving once a yere at  
Easter. Unto the papall decretals he added the de-  
crees, Omnes vtriusque sexus, &c. Also the reservati-  
on of the sacrament, and the going with the bell and  
light before the sacrament was by him appointed.  
In the said councell of Lateran hee also ordained  
that the canon of the masse should be received with  
equall authority as though it had proceeded from the  
apostles themselves. He brought in transubstantia-  
tion. Looke in the decretals, Titulo I. De summa  
Trinit. & fide catholica, cap. firmiter credimus.

Item, the said Innocentius the third ordained  
that none should marry in the third degree, but one-  
ly in the fourth degree, and so under.

The said Pope stirred up Ditho against Philip the  
Emperor, because the said Philip was elected empe-  
ror against his will, upon the occasion whereof fol-  
lowed much warre and slaughter in Germany. And  
afterward against the said Ditho, whom he had made  
Emperor, hee set up Frederike King of Sicile, and  
caused the Archbishop of Gaience to pronounce him  
excommunicate in all his titles, and to be deposed  
of his Empire. For the which cause the Princes of  
Germany did invade his Bishopricke, spoiling and  
burning his possessions. The cause why the Pope so  
did accurse and depose him, was, for that the said  
Ditho did take and occupy Cities, Townes, and Ca-  
stles, which the Pope said appertained to him.

Item, the said Pope ordained, that if any Princes  
offended one another, the correction should apper-  
taine unto the Pope. In this councell of Lateran  
were Archbishops and primas 61. Bishops 400. ab-  
bats 12. Priors and conventuals 800. besides other  
ambassadors, legats, doctors, and lawyers an innum-  
erable sort, &c.

In the history of Hermanus Mutius, we read how  
in the yere of our Lord 1212. in this Popes time di-  
vers noble men, and others in the countrey of Alas-  
tia, contrary to the tradition of the Romish Popes,  
did hold that every day was free for eating of flesh,  
so it be done soberly. Also that they did wickedly,  
which restrained Priests and ministers from their  
lawfull wives, for the which cause (as is in the fore-  
said autho) by this Pope Innocentius the third and  
his Bishops, an hundred of them in one day were  
burned and martyred.

Some other history (as Naucerus) recordeth also,  
that at the same time many were in the City of Alas-  
tia, contrary to the doctrine, which biddeth to send collect  
unto the foresaid saints of Alastia. Ex Naucero.

In the chronicle of Walter Hemingford, other-  
wise called Gisleburnensis, it is recorded that in the  
dayes of this King John, and Pope Innocent, began  
the two sects and orders of friers, one called the pre-  
achers order, or blacke friers of S. Dominike, the o-  
ther called the minours of S. Francis. The pre-  
achers of blacke friers order began of one Dominike  
a Spaniard, about the parts of Tholouse, who after  
he had labored some yeres in preaching against the  
Allageneses, and such other as did hold against the  
Church of Rome, afterward coming by to the  
councell of Lateran with Fulco Bishop of Tholouse,  
desired of the foresaid Innocent the third, to have  
his order of preaching friers confirmed, which the  
Pope a great while refused to grant: at length hee  
had a dreame, that the Church of Lateran was ready  
to fall. Which when he beheld, fearing and much  
sorrowing thereat, commeth in this Dominike, who  
with his shoulders underpopped the Church, and so  
prevented the building thereof from falling, &c. And  
right well this dreame may seeme verified, for the  
friers have bene alwayes the chiefe pillars and by-  
holders of the Popes Church. Upon this the Pope  
(waking out of his dreame) called Dominike to  
him, and granted his petition: and so came by this  
volunt order of the Dominikes. I call it voluntary,  
for that his mother when she was great with this

that riches  
brought in.

Well and candi  
before the sa-  
crament.  
Canon of the  
masse autho-  
rities.  
Transubstanti-  
ation.

Marriage in  
the third degree  
forbidden.

The Pope set-  
teth Kings and  
Emperors dog-  
mats by the  
canons.  
Philip the Em-  
peror deposed.  
Ditho the Em-  
peror deposed.

The councell  
of Lateran.

Partys of Al-  
astia to the nu-  
ber of one hun-  
dred burned in  
one day.  
Ex Herman  
Mutio.

Collects sent  
from the bue-  
then of Alas-  
tia to them  
Alastia.

Observant  
friars began.

Dominike.

Friars byhol-  
ders of the  
Popes Church.

Domi-

{ Anno }  
1220.  
King Henry  
crowned the  
second time at  
Westminster.

Pope Inno-  
centius.

The deedes and  
decrees of  
Pope Innocent  
the third.

Almericus con-  
demned.  
Joachim Ab-  
bas condemn-  
ed.



Dominike dreamed that she had in her wombe a wolfe, which had a burning torch in his mouth. The which dreamed the preachers of that order doe greatly advance, and expound to their orders glory, as well as they can. Nevertheless, howsoever they expound it, they can make a wolfe but a wolfe, and this a wolfeish order. The rule which they follow seemeth to be taken out of S. Augustine, as who should say, that Christs rule were not enough to make a Christian man. Their profession standeth upon three principall points, as thus described: Charitatem habentes, humilitatem servantes, & paupertatem voluntariam possidentes. That is, Having charitie, holding humilitie, and possessing willfull poverty. Their habit and clothing is blacke.

The mino-  
rite  
riers descen-  
ded from S.  
Francis.

The order of the mino-rite or mino-rite friers descended from one Francis an Italian of the citie of Assisium. This Assisian asse, who I suppose was some simple and rude idiot, hearing upon a time how Christ sent forth his Disciples to preach, thought to imitate the same in himselfe and his disciples, and so left off his shewes: hee had but one cote, and that of course cloth. In stead of a larchet to his shew, and of a girdle, hee took about him an hempen cord, and so hee appalled his Disciples, teaching them to fulfill (so he speaketh) the perfection of the Gospell, to apprehend poverty, and to walke in the way of holy simplicitie. He left in writing, to his disciples and followers, his rule, which he called Regulam evangelicam, The rule of the Gospell. Although the Gospell of Christ were not a sufficient rule to all Christian men, but it must take his perfection of frantike Francis. And yet for all that great presumption of this Francis, and notwithstanding this his rule, sounding to the derogation of Christs Gospell, hee was confirmed by this Pope Innocent. Yea, and

such soles this Francis found abroad, that not only he had followers of his doltish religion (both of the nobles and vauobles of Rome) but also some there were, which builded mansions for him and his friers. This Francis, as hee was superstitious in calling all things from him, as his girdle, wearing a cord about him; so in outward chastising of himselfe, so strait hee was to his flesh (leaving the ordinary remedy appointed by God) that in winter season hee covered his body with ice and snow. Hee called poverty his lady, he kept nothing over night. So delirious he was of martyrdomme, that he went to Syria to the Soldan, which received him honourably. Wherby it may be thought, that (surely he told not the truth, as S. John Baptist did in Herods house. For truth is seldome welcome in courts, and in the world. But it is hard to make a Martyr of him which is no true confessor. I will here passe over the fable, how Christ and his Saints did marke him with five wounds. These Franciscan or begging friers, although they were all under one rule and clothing of S. Francis, yet they bee divided into many sects and orders, some goe on treen shewes or pattins, some barefooted, some regular Franciscans or obseruants, some mino-rite or mino-rites, others be called Minimi, others of the Gospell, others De caputio. They all differ in many things, but accord in superstition and hypocrisie. And for so much as we have here entered into the matter of these two orders of friers, by the occasion hereof I thought a little by the way to digresse from our story, in rectifying the whole catalogue or rabblement of monkes, friers and nuns of all sects, rules and orders, set up and confirmed by the Pope. The names of whom here in order of the alphabet follow under written.

Divers sects of  
Franciscans.

## The rabblement of religious orders.

The rabble of  
all religious  
orders.

### Augustinians, the first order.

Ambrosians two sorts. 490  
Antonies heremits. 324  
Austinians heremits. 498  
Austinians obseruants. 490  
Armenians sect.  
Ammonits and Moabits.

Basilian order. 384  
Benets order. 524  
Bernardus order. 1120  
Barefooted friers. 1222  
Brigets order. 1370  
Beghearts or white spirits. 1399  
Brethren of Hierusalem. 1103  
Brethren of S. Iohn De civitate  
blacke Friers. 1220  
Brethren of willfull poverty.

Cluniacensis order. 913  
Canons of S. Augustine. 1080  
Charterhouse order. 1086  
Cisterciensis order. 1098  
Crossebearers or crossed friers. 1216  
Carmelits or white friers. 1212  
Clares order. 1225  
Celestines order. 1297  
Camaldulensis order. 950  
Crosse starred brethren.  
Constantinopolitan order.  
Crosse bearers.  
Chapter monkes.

Dutch order. 2216  
Dominike blacke friers. 1220

### Franciscans.

Grandmontensis order. 1076  
Gregorian order. 594  
Georges order. 1407  
Gulielmits. 1246  
Gerundinensis order.  
Galilei or Galileans.

Heremits.  
Helens bretheren. Humiliati. 1166  
Hospitall brethren.  
Holy Ghost order.

Ieroms orders two sorts. 1412  
Iohns heremits.  
Iustins order. 1432  
Iohns order Ioannits. 380  
Other wise Knights of the  
Rhodes. 1308  
Iniehuati. 1365  
Ieroms heremits. 490

Iosephs order.  
Iacobits sect.  
Iames brethren order.  
Iames brethren with the sword.  
Indians order.

Katharine of Senes order. 1455  
Keiedmonks knights of Rhodes.

Lazarits of Mary Magdalens our  
ladie brethren. 1034  
Lords of Hungarie.

### 1224

Conventuals.  
Obseruants.  
Reformat.  
Collectan.  
De caputio.  
De Evangelio.  
Amedes.  
Clarini and others.

Minors or Minorits. 1224  
Marieservants. 1304  
Monkes of mount Olivet. 1046  
Marovinies sect.  
Monorits sect.  
Monachi and Monach.  
Morbonei and Merciti.  
Menelaih and Iasonish sect.

New canons of S. Austin. 1430  
Nestorini.  
Nalheart brethren.  
New order of our Ladie.  
Nazareti.

Pauls Heremits. 345  
Præmonstratensis order. 1119  
Preacher order, or Blacke friers.  
Peter the Apostles order. 1409  
Purgatorie brethren.

Rechabits.  
Sarrabits.  
Sambonits.  
Scourgers the first sect. 1266  
Souldiers of Iesus Christ. 1323  
Scopenits, or S. Salvators order. 1367

Speculari



Specularii or the Glasse order.	Stoole brethren.	Vallis vmbrolz.	1400
Sepulchers order.	Scotland brethren order.	Waldensis sect.	
Sheere order.	Sicarli.	Wentzelas order.	
Swerds order.	S. Sophies order.	Wilhelmer order.	
Starred Monkes.		White Monks of mount Olivet.	1406
Starred Friers.	Templar Lords.		
Selavonie order.	Templar Knights.		
Scourgers the second sect, called	The vale of Iosaphat his order.		
Ninivits.		Zelotes order.	

Thus hast thou, if thou please (gentle reader) to know what orders and what sects of religion haue bene set up by the Pope, the catalogue and number of them all, so farre as we could search them out, not onely in booke printed of late in Germany, namely by the reuerend father Martin Luther: but also conferred with another English booke which came to our hands, containing the same like notes of ancient antiquitie, the number of which rabblement of religious persons came to 101. Now as I haue reckoned by the names and varieties of these prodigious sects, it cometh to minde consequently to infer the prophesie of Hildegardis, as well against the whole rout of Romish prelates, and the fall of that Church, as especially against the begging friers and such other unprofitable bellies of the Church. This Hildegardis is holden of the papists themselves to be a great prophetesse: whose prophesie proceedeth in this manner, first against the priests and prelates of the Romish church, as followeth.

The prophesie of Hildegardis of the ruine of Rome, and against the Begging Friers.

Hildegardis a Nunne, and (as many iudge) a prophetesse, lived in the yere 1146. In her prophesies she doth most grievously reprehend not onely the wicked and abominable life of the spirituall papists, but also the contempt of the Ecclesiasticall office, and also the horrible destruction of the church of Rome. In a certaine place she hath these wordes: And now is the law neglected among the spirituall people, which neglect to teach and to doe good things; the master likewise and the prelates doe sleepe, despising justice and laying it aside. In a certaine vision the church appeared to her in the shape of a woman, complaining that the priests had betrayed her face with duff, and rent her cote, &c. and that they did not shine over the people, neither in doctrine, neither in example of life, but rather contrariwise, that they haue dyen the innocent Lambe from them. She said moreover, that all Ecclesiasticall order did every day become worse and worse, and that priests did not teach but destroy the Law of God: and for these horrible crimes and impieties, she threatneth and prophesieth vnto them Gods most heauy wrath and displeasure, and dolefull punishments. There is no cause why the spirituall papists should flatter themselves vpon this, that she promised againe to the ministers of the Church those good things to follow, like as Iohannes de rupe scissa doth, and other such like prophets: for they say it will come to passe, that they must repent before the times be amended. By which thing (vndoubtedly) they meane the godly ministers in the reformed Churches, which for the most part were of the spirituall number, and yet did forsake the diuine life and those wicked idolatries. Now, whereas the priests and monks, that is, the whole rabble and spiritualitie doe account Hildegard for a true prophetesse, they ought to consider that by her they are more seuerely accused, not as by a woman, but as by God himselfe. And I pray you, what abomination, impiety, and idolatry hath bene committed since that time by the spiritualty: I will note here a certaine prophesie of hers, taken out of the common places of Henry Woken, because we see it manifestly fulfilled in our time.

She prophesieth of the reformation of religion, and saith that it shall be most goodly.

When shall the crowne of apostlicall honour be divided, because there shall be found no religion among the apostolicall order, and for that cause shall they despise the dignitie of that name, and shall set ouer them other men and other Archbishops. In so much that the apostolicke Sea of that time (by the diminution of his honour) shall scarce haue Rome, and a few other countries thereabout vnder his crowne. And these things shall partly come to passe by incurion of warres, and partly also by a common counsell and consent of the spirituall and secular persons. When shall iustice flourish, so that in those dayes men shall honestly apply themselves to the ancient customes and discipline of ancient men, and shall obserue them as ancient men did.

The glosse agreeth, &c.

These things thus premised, now will wee come to the prophesie of the foresaid Hildegard, concerning the foresaid Begging friers aboue mentioned, reciting her wordes, not onely as they are printed in a booke, printed of late in Germany; but also as my selfe haue sene and read, agreeing to the same booke word for word, and yet haue the same to shew, written in old parchment leaues, in such sort, as the thing it selfe most evidently declareth a great iniquitie of time: The wordes of her prophesie be these.

In those dayes shall arise a senselesse people, proud, greedy, without faith, and subtil, the which shall ease the sinnes of the people, holding a certaine order of foolish deuotion vnder the fained cloke of beggary, preferring themselves aboue all others by their fained deuotion, arrogant in vnderstanding, and pretending holinesse, walking without shame, fastnesse or the feare of God, in inuenting many new mischiefs strong and stout. But this order shall be accursed of all wise men and faithfull Christians. They shall cease from all labor, and giue themselves ouer vnto idlenesse, choosing rather to liue through flattery and begging. Moreover, they shall together study how they may pernerly resist the teachers of the truth, and slay them together with the noble men; how to seduce and deceiue the populi, for the necessitie of their lining, and pleasures of this world: for the diuell will graft in them foure principall vires, (that is to say) flattery, enuie, hypocrisie, and slander. Flatterie, that they may haue large gifts giuen them. Enuie, when they see gifts giuen to others, and not to them. Hypocrisie, that by false dissimulation they may please men. Detraction, that they may extoll and commend themselves and backbite others, for the praise of men, and seducing of the simple. Also they shall instantly preach, but without deuotion or example of the martyrs, and shall detract the secular princes, taking away the Sacraments of the Church from the true Pastors, recelling almes of the poore, diseased, and miserable, and also associating themselves with the common people, hauing familiaritie with women, instructing them how they shall deceiue their husbands and friends by their flattery and deceitfull wordes, and to rob their husbands to giue it vnto them, for they will take all these stolen and euill gotten goods, and say: Giue it vnto vs, and wee will pray for you: so that they being curious to hide other mens faults,

A prophesie for the decay of the Romish church

Hildegardis prophesying of friers and monks.



doe utterly forget their owne. And alas, they will receive all things of rousers, pickers, spoylers, thieves and robbers, of sacrilegious persons, blurers and adulterers, heretikes, schismatikes, apostates, whores and bands, of noble men, persecutors, merchants, false Judges, souldiers, tyrants, princes, of such as live contrary to the law, and of many perverse and wicked men, following the persuasion of the diuell, the sweetnesse of sinne, a delicate and transitory life, and fullnesse; even unto eternall damnation.

All these things shall manifestly appeare in them unto all people, and they (day by day) shall ware more wicked and hard hearted: and when as their wickednesse and deceits shall be found out, then shall their gifts cease, and then shall they goe about their houses hungry, and as mad dogges looking downe upon the earth, and drawing in their neckes as doves, that they might be satisfied with bread. Then shall the people crye out upon them: *Woe be unto you ye miserable children of sorrow, the world hath seduced you, and the diuell hath bridled your mouths, your flesh is frail, and your hearts without saue,* your miodes haue beene vnstedfast, and your eyes delighted in much vanitie and folie, your daintie bellies desire delicate meates, your fete are swift to runne unto mischief. Remember when you were apparently blessed, yet envious; poore in sight, but rich; simple to see to, but mighty flatterers, unfaithfull betrayers, peruerse detractors, holy hypocrites, subverters of the truth, ouermuch vpright, proud, vnstedfast, vnstedfast teachers, delicate martyrs, confessores for gaine; meeke; but slanderers; religious, but couetous; humble, but proud; pittifull, hard hearted liars; pleasant flatterers, persecutors, oppressors of the poore, bringing in new sects newly invented of your selues; mercifull thought, but found wicked; louers of the world, sellers of pardons, spoylers of benefices, vnprofitable orators, seditious conspirators, drunkards, desirers of honours, in maintainers of mischief, robbers of the world, vnassatiabie preachers, menpleasers, seducers of women, and sowers of discord, of whom Moses the glorious prophet spake very well in his song, *A people without counsell or understanding: would to God they did know and vnderstand and foresee the end. You haue builded vp on high, & when you could ascend no higher, then did you fall euen as Simon Magus whom God overthrew, and did strike with a cruell plague; so you likewise through your false doctrine, naughtinesse, lies, detractions, and wickednesse, are come to ruine.* And the people shall say unto them, *Goe ye teachers of wickednesse, subverters of the truth, brethren of the Sunamites, fathers of heresies, false apostles, which haue sained your selues to follow the life of the Apostles, and yet haue not fulfilled it in part: ye sonnes of iniquitie, wee will not follow the knowledge of your wayes, for pride and presumption hath deceived you, and insatiable concupiscence hath subverted your erroneous hearts.* And when as you would ascend higher then was meeke or comely for you (by the iust judgement of God) you are fallen backe into perpetuall opprobrie and shame.

This Hildegardis (whose prophesie we haue mentioned) liued about the yeere of our Lord 1146. as we reade in Chronico Martini.

About the same time that these Franciscans and Dominike friers began (which are aboue mentioned) sprang vp also the Crosbearers, or Crouched friers, taking their originall and occasion of Innocent the third, which Innocent raised vp an armie (signed with a crosse on their breast) to fight against the Albingenses, whom the pope and his legats accounted for heretikes about the partes of Tholouse. What these Albingenses were, it cannot be well gathered by the old popish histories; for if there were any that

old hold, teach or maintain against the pope or his papall pride, or withstand and gainsay his beggerly traditions, rites, and religions, &c. the bishoppes of that time (for the most part in writing of them) doe so deprave and misreport them (suppressing the truth of their articles) that they make them and paint them forth to be worse then Turkes and infidels. And that, as I suppose, caused Mart. Parisiens and others of that sort, to write so of them as they did: otherwise it is to be thought (and so I finde in some records) that the opinions of the said Albingenses were found enough, holding and professing nothing else but onely against the wanton wealth, pride, and tyranny of the prelates, denying the popes authoritie to haue ground of the Scriptures: neither could they away with their ceremonies and traditions, as images, pardons, purgatorie of the Romish church, calling them (as some say) blasphemous occupings, &c. Of these Albingenses were some (at times) and burned a great multitude by the meanes of the Pope, and Simon Ecclesiasticus, with others more. It seemeth that these Albingenses were chiefly abhorred of the Pope, because they set vp a contrary Pope against him about the coasts of Bugarorum: for the which cause the bishop called Bozimenis, being the popes legat in those quarters, writeth to the Archbishop of Rome and other Bishops in this wise:

Venerabilibus patribus, Dei gratia Rothomagensi Archiepiscopo & ejus suffraganeis episcopis, salutem in Domino Iesu Christo. Dum pro sponsa veritatis crucifixi vestrum cogimur auxilium implorare, potius compellimur lacerari singultibus & plorare. Ecce quod vidimus loquimur, & quod scimus testificamur. Ille homo perditus, qui extollitur super omne quod colitur aut dicitur Deus, jam habet perfidia suae preambulum haeresiarum, quem heretici Albingenses papam suam nominant, habitantem finibus Burgarorum & Croatiae, & Dalmatiae, juxta Hungarorum nationem. Ad eum conflunt heretici Albingenses, ut ad eorum consulta respondeat. Etenim de Carcasona oriundus uices illius antipapae gerens Bartholomaeus, haereticorum episcopus, funestam ei exhibendo reuerentiam, sedem & locum concessit in villa quae Porlos appellatur, & seipsum transfudit in partes Tholosanas. Ille Bartholomaeus, in literarum suarum undique discurrentium tenore, se in primo salutationis alloquio intulit in hunc modum: Bartholomaeus servus servorum, M. sanctae fidei salutem. Ipse etiam inter alias enormitates creat episcopos, & ecclesias perfide ordinare contendit. Regamus igitur attentius, & per asperionem sanguinis Iesu Christi, & propensius obsecramus, autoritate domini papae qua fungimur, in hac parte districte praecipientes, quatenus veniant Senonas in oct. apostolorum Petri & Pauli proxime futuris, ubi & alii praelati Franciae, favente Domino congregabuntur, parati consilium dare in negotio praedicto, & cum aliis qui ibidem aderunt providere super negotio Albingensi. Alioqui inobedientiam vestram domino papae curabimus significari. Datum apud Placivium 6. nonas Julii.

A Letter of the Bishop of Doune concerning the Albingenses.

For so much as mention is here made of these superstitious sects of these friers, and such other beggerly religions, it might seeme not much impertinent, being moued by the occasion hereof, as I haue done in Hildegardis before, so now to annere also to the same a certain other ancient treatise compiled by Geoffrey Chaucer by the way of a dialogue or questions, moued in the person of a certaine vplandish and simple ploughman of the countie. Which treatise, for the same, the autho: intituled Jacke Wylant, wherein is to be seen and noted to all the world, the blind ignorance and variable disoord of these irreligious religions, how rude and vnskill they are in matters and principles of our Christian institution, as by the contents of this present dialogue appeareth, the words whereof in the same old English

The blind ignorance of friers describ'd.



wherein first it was set forth in this wise do proceed. Wherein also thou mayest see, that it is no new thing that their blasphemous doings haue by diuers good men in old time been detected, as there are many and diuers other old bookes to shew.

*A treatise of Geoffrey Chaucer intitled,  
Jacke Vpland.*

The fruits of  
antichrist.

1 Jacke Vpland make my mone to very God and to all true in Christ, that Antichrist and his disciples (by colour of holynesse) walking and deceiuing Christs church by many false figures, where through (by antichrist and his) many vertues bene transposed to vices.

Antichrist his  
byode.

But the fellist folk, that ever antichrist found, bene last brought into the Church and in a wonder wise, for they been of diuers sects of antichrist, some of diuers countries and kindreds. And all men knowne well, that they be not obedient to Bishops, ne legement to kings: neither they tillen, ne solwen, weeden, ne repen, wood, come, ne graffe, neither nothing that man should helpe: but only themselves their liues to susteine. And these men han all manner power of God as they sein in Heauen and in Earth, to sell Heauen and Hell to whom that them liketh, and these wretches weel neuer where to baine themselves.

Patience pro-  
ueth master  
trier.

And therefore (freer) if thine order and rules been grounden on Goddis law, tell thou me Jacke Vpland, that I aske of thee, and if thou be or thinkest to be on Christs side keepe thy patients.

The freer must  
answer accor-  
ding to Gods  
woys.

Saint Paul teacheth, that all our dedes should be doo in charitie, and else it is nought worth, but displeasing to God and harme to our owne soules. And for that freers challenge to bee greatest clerkes of the Church, and next following Christ in living: men should for charitie answer some questions, and pray them to ground their answers in reason and holy writ, for else their answers would nought bee worth, bee it florished neuer so faire: and as mee thinke men might skilfully aske thus of a freer.

Freers may bet-  
ter breake Gods  
law then man  
law.

1 I freer, how many orders bee in earth, and which is the perfectest order? What order art thou? Who made thine order? What is thy rule? is there any perfecter rule then Christ himselfe made? If Christs rule be most perfect, why rulest thou thee not thereafter? Without more, why shall a freer be more punished if he breake the rule that his patron made, then if he breake the bests that God himselfe made?

There is but one  
religion.

2 Approueth Christ any more religion then one, that S. James speaketh of? If hee approueth no more, why hast thou left his rule and takest another? Why is a freer apostata that leaueh his order and takeh another sect, sith there is but one religion of Christ?

The freer more  
bound to his  
habit then the  
man to his wife.

3 Why be you wedded faster to your habits then a man is to his wife? For a man may leaue his wife for a yeere or two as many men done: and if you leaue your habit a quarter of a yeere, yee should be holden apostatas.

If the habit  
make the freer  
religions, as  
his habit wea-  
reth, so doth  
his religion.

4 Makeh your habit you men of religion or no? If it doe, then ever as it weareth, your religion weareth, and after that your habit is better, your religion is better, and when you haue ligger it be sive, then lig ye your religion beside you, and bin apostatas: why be you so peticious clothes? sith no man seeketh such but for baine glorie, as S. Gregorie saith.

What betokeneth your great hood, your scalpe-rye, your knotted girdle, and your wide cope?

5 Why be yee all one colour, more then other Christian men do? What betokeneth that ye bene clothed all in one manner clothing?

If ye say, it betokeneth loue and charity, certes then

ye be off hypocrites, when any of you hateth another, & in that that ye woul be said holy by your clothing.

Why may not a freer weare clothing of another sect of friers, sith holynesse stondeh not in the clothes?

6 Why hold yee silence in one house more then another, sith men ought ouer all to speake the good and leaue the euill.

Why eate you flesh in one house more then in another, if your rule and your order bee perfect, and the patron that made it?

7 Why get you your dispensations to haue it more easie? Certes, either it seemeth that yee be imperfect, or hee that made it so hard, that yee may not hold it. And liker, if ye hold not the rule of your patrons, ye be not then her freers, and so ye lie vpon your selues.

8 Why make you as dead men when ye be professes, and yet ye be not dead, but more quicke beggers then ye were before? and if semeth euill a dead man to goe about and beg.

9 Why will yee not suffer your nourses heare your counsels in your chapter house ere that they haue bin professes, if your counsels bin true and after Gods law?

10 Why make yee you so costly houses to dwell in? sith Christ did not so, and dead men should haue but graues, as falleth it to dead men, and yet ye haue more courts then many Lords of England: for ye now wendeth through the realme, and each night will lig in your owne courts, and so moou but few right Lords doe.

11 Why heire you to ferme your limitours, giuing therefore ech yeere a certaine rent, and will not suffer one in anothers limitation, right as yee were your selues lords of countries?

Why be ye not vnder your Bishops visitations, and leege men to our king?

Why are ye no letters of byetherheds of other mens prayers, as ye desire that other men should be letters of you?

If your letters be good, why grant ye them not generallie to all manner of men for the more charity?

12 How yee make any man more perfect byether for your prayers then God hath by our beleue? by our baptisme and his owne grant: if ye now, certes then ye be aboute God.

Why make ye men beleue that your golden frenchall song of you, to take therefore ten shillings, or at least five shillings, woul bring soules out of hell, or out of purgatorie? if this be soth, certes yee might bring soules out of paine, and that woul yee nought, and then ye be out of charity.

13 Why make ye men beleue that hee that is buried in your habit shall neuer come in hell, and ye weel not of your selfe whether ye shall to hell or no? and if this were soth, yee should sell your high houses to make many habits for to saue many mens soules.

14 Why scale ye mens children for to make hem of your sect, sith that theist is against Gods bests, and sith your sect is not perfect: ye know not whether the rule, that ye bind him to, be best for him or woost.

15 Why vnderneyme ye not your brethren for their trespasses after the law of the gospell, sith that vnderneyming is the best that may be? but ye put them in prison oft when they doe after Gods law, and by S. Augustines rule, If any doe amisse and would not amend him, ye should put him from you.

16 Why couet ye shiffts and burying of other mens parishens, and none other sacrament that falleth to christian folke?

Why buisie ye not to heare to Christs of poore folke as well as of rich lordes and ladies, sith they moou haue more plentie of shifft fathers then poore folke haue.

Why sey ye not the Gospell in houses of bedred men, as ye do in rich mens that now goe to church and heare the gospell?

Holynesse of all  
hypocrites con-  
sisteth in clothing  
and outward ap-  
pearance.

All friers com-  
mors.

Friers be dead  
men and quicke  
beggers.

Shaves be  
dead men and  
not courtly  
houses.

Friers not the  
kings liege-  
men.

Friers need no  
mens prayers.

Friers graunt  
and better then  
God.

Uncharitable  
friars.

Friers stealers  
of mens chil-  
dren.

Shifft and bur-  
ials were more  
gainfull then the  
ministring of the  
Sacraments.

Why



poore men have  
no soules, lath  
my fellow frier.

Why couest thou not to bery poore folk among  
you? sith that they bin most holy (as ye saue that ye  
bin for your pouerte?)

17 Why wilt ye not be at hir dinges as ye haue  
bin at rich mens? sith God parysheth him more then  
he doth other men.

These be they  
that will not en-  
ter chensethes,  
nor suffer other  
men that would.

What is thy prayer worth? sith thou wilt take  
therefore, for all chapmen ye ned be most wise for  
dread of simonie.

What cause hast thou that thou wilt not preach  
the gospel, as God saith that thou shouldst? sith it  
is the best loze and also our beloued.

Why be ye euill apaid that secular priests should  
preach the gospel? sith God himselfe hath bidden  
hem.

The frier get-  
teth by.  
In principio,  
and yet bareth  
the Gospel.

18 Why hate ye the gospel to be preached, sith ye  
be so much hold thereto? for ye winn more by peere  
with in principio, then with all the rules that euer  
your patrons made, and in this munifrels bin better  
then ye, for they contrarien not to the mirthe that  
they maken, but ye contrarien the gospel both in  
word and deed.

Judas for thirty  
pence, but the  
priest and frier  
for foure pence  
Geth Christ.  
A comparison  
betweene Judas  
and the frier.

19 Freer, when thou receivest a pennie for to  
say a masse, whether sellest thou Gods body for that  
pennie, or thy prayer, or else thy trauell? if thou sai-  
est thou wilt not trauell for to say the masse, but for  
the penny, that certes if this be so, then thou lo-  
west too little maid for thy soule: and if thou sellest  
Gods body, other thy prayer, then it is very sinony,  
and art become a chapman woole then Judas that  
sold it for thirty pence.

20 Why writest thou her names in thy tables  
that yeueth thee mony? sith God knoweth all thing:  
for it seemeth by thy writing that God would not  
reward him, but thou writest in thy tables, God  
should els forgotten it.

Why hearest thou God in hand and slanderest  
him that he begged for his meat? sith he was Lord  
ouer all, for then had he bin unwise to haue begged,  
and haue no need thereto.

Freer, after what law rulest thou thee? where  
findest thou in Gods law that thou shouldst thus  
beg?

21 What maner men nedeth for to beg?

For whom oweth such men to beg?

Why beggest thou to for thy brethren?

If thou saist, for they haue need, then thou doest  
it for the more perfection, or els for the least, or els for  
the meane. If it be the most perfection of all, then  
should all thy brethren doe so, and then no man ne-  
ded to beg but for himselfe, for so should no man beg  
but him needed. And if it be the least perfection, why  
louest thou then other men more then thy selfe? for  
thou art not well in charity, sith thou shouldst  
seke the more perfection after thy power, lining the  
selfe most after God. And thus leauing that imper-  
fection thou shouldst not so beg for them. And if it is  
a good meane thus to beg as thou doest, then should  
no man doe so, but they bin in this good meane, and  
yet such a meane granted to you may neuer bee  
grounded on Gods law; for then both leuid and leuid  
that bin in meane degree of this world, should goe  
about and beg as ye doe. And if all should doe so,  
certes well nigh all the world should goe about and  
beg as ye doe, and so should there bee ten beggers  
against one peere.

Why procurest thou men to yeue thee their almes,  
and saiest it is so needfull, and thou wilt not thy selfe  
win thee that need?

22 Why wilt not thou beg for poore bedged men  
that bin poorer then any of your sedes that tigger and  
mow not goe about to helpe themselves, sith we be all  
brethren in God, and that bretherbed passeth any o-  
ther that ye or any man could make, and where  
most need were, there were most perfection, either  
els ye hold them not your pure brethren, but woole,  
but then ye be imperfect in your begging?

Why make ye so many masters among you? sith

it is against the teaching of Christ and his Apo-  
stles?

23 Whose been all your rich courts that ye han,  
and all your rich jewels? sith ye saue that ye han  
nought ne in proper ne in common. If ye saue they  
been the popes, why gather ye then of poore men and  
lords so much out of the kings hand to make your  
pope rich? And sith ye laue that it is great perfecti-  
on to haue nought in proper ne in common, why be  
ye so fast about to make the pope that is your father  
rich, and put on him imperfection? sithen ye saue  
that your goods been all his, and he should by reason  
be the most perfect man, it seemeth openlich that ye  
beene curied children so to slander your father and  
make him imperfect. And if ye saue that the goods be  
yours, then doe ye atent your rule, and if it bee not  
atent your rule, then might ye haue bety plough and  
cart, and labor as other good men done, and not so to  
beg by losengery, and idle as ye done. If ye say that  
it is more perfection to beg, then to trauell or to  
tooch with your hand, why preach ye not openly  
and teach all men to doeso? sith it is the best and  
most perfect life to the helpe of their sonles, as ye  
make children to beg that might haue beene rich  
heires.

Friers beg from  
all men to make  
the pope rich.

If it be imper-  
fection to be  
rich, why doe the  
friers desire to  
make the pope  
imperfect?

Why make ye not your seakles to poore men and  
yeueth him pelts, as ye done to the rich? sith poore  
men han more need then the rich.

What beokeneth that ye goe twaune and twaune  
together? if ye be out of charitie, ye accord not in  
soule.

Why beg ye and take salaries thereto more then  
other priests? sith he that most taketh, most charge  
hath.

24 Why hold ye not S. Francis rule and his  
testament? sith Francis saith, that God theued him  
this living and this rule: and certes if it were Gods  
will, the pope might not fordoe it; or else Francis  
was a lyer that said on this wise. And but this tes-  
tament that hee made accord with Gods will, or  
else erred he as a lyer that were out of charitie: and  
as the law saith, he is accursed that letteth the right  
full last will of a dead man. And this testament is  
the last will of Francis that is a dead man; it see-  
meth therefore that all his freers beene curied.

If Francis ope-  
dye be contrap-  
to Christ, his tes-  
tament then is  
Francis accu-  
sed.

25 Why will you not touch no coynded money  
with the crosse, ne with the kings head, as ye done  
other jewels both of gold and silver? Certes if ye  
despise the crosse or the kings head, then ye be wo-  
thy to be despised of God and the king; and sith you  
will receiue money in your hearts, and not with  
your hands, and it seemeth that ye hold more holi-  
nesse in your hands then in your hearts, and then  
be false to God.

He that is more  
holy in hand then  
in heart, is false  
to God.

26 Why haue ye exempt you from our kings lawes  
and bisiting of our bishops more then other Christen  
men that liuen in this realme, if ye be not guilty of  
traitoy to our realme, or trespassors to our bishops?  
But ye will haue the kings lawes for the trespassse  
doe to you, and ye will haue power of other bishops  
more then other priests, and also haue leaue to prison  
your brethren, as lords in your courts, more then  
other folkles han that beene the kings leege men.

A subject to ex-  
empt himselfe  
from the lawes  
of his prince  
finelleth of  
treason.

27 Why shall some sect of your freers pay ech a  
yeere a certaine to her generall prouinciall or mini-  
ster, or else to her soueraignes? but if he sleale a cer-  
taine number of children (as some men saue) and  
certaine if this beene sooth, then ye be constrained  
vpon a certaine paine to doe theff against Gods som-  
mandement, Non furtum facies.

Friers are forced  
to be theues.

28 Why bee ye so hardy to grant by letters of  
fraternity to men and women, that they shall haue  
part and merit of all your good deedes, and ye wreten  
neuer whether God bee apaid with your deedes be-  
cause of your sinne? Also ye witten neuer whether  
that man or woman be in state to be saued or dam-  
ned, then shall hee haue no merit in heauen for his  
owne deedes ne for none other mans. And all were

Letters of super-  
erogation.



it so, that he should haue part of your good dedes: yet should he haue no more then God would giue him after that he were worthy, and so much shall each man haue of Gods yest without your limitation. But if ye will say that ye beene Gods fellowes, and that he may not doe without your assent, then be ye blasphemers to God.

29 That betokeneth that ye haue ordained, that when such one as yee haue made your brother or sister, and hath a letter of your seale, that letter might be brought in your holy chapter and there be read, or else ye will not pray for him. And but ye willen pray especially for all other that were not made your brethren or sisters, then were yee not in right charitie, for that ought to be comen, and namely in ghostly things.

30 Freer, what charitie is this, to ouercharge the people by mightie begging under colour of preaching or praying, or masses singing: sith holy write hideth not thus, but euen the contrary: for all such ghostly dedes should be done freely, as God yeueth them freely.

31 Freer, what charitie is this to beguile children or the comen to discretion, and bind hem to your orders that bin not grounded in Gods Law against her friends will: sithen by this folly bin many apostas both in will and dede, and many bin apostas in her will during all her life, that would gladly be discharged if they wist how, and so many bin apostas that shoulden in other states haue bin true men.

32 Freer, what charitie is this, to make so many freers in every countrie to the charge of the people: sith parsons and vicars alone, yea secular priests alone, yea monkes and canons alone, with Bishops aboue them were inough to the Church to doe the priests office. And to adde moze then inough is a foule error, and great charge to the people, and this openly against Gods will that ordained all things to be done in weight, number and measure. And Christ himselfe was apaid with twelue apostles and a few disciples, to preach and to doe priests office to all the whole world, then was it better done then is now at this time by a thousand dele. And right so as foure fingers with a thumb in a mans hand helpeth a man to worch, and double number of fingers in one hand should let him moze, and so the moze number that there were passing the measure of Gods ordinance, the moze were a man letted to worch: right so (as it seemeth) it is of these new orders that bin added to the church without ground of holy write and Gods ordinance.

33 Freer, what charitie is this, to the people to lie, and say that ye follow Christ in pouertie moze then other men done: and yet in curious and costly housing, and fine and precious clothing, and delicious and liking feeding, and in treasure and jewels, and rich ornaments, freers passen Lords and other rich worldly men, and soonest they should bring her cause about (be it neuer so costly) though Gods law be put backe.

34 Freer, what charitie is this, to gather by the bookes of holy write, and put hem in treasorie, and so empylon them from secular priests and curats, and by this cautell let hem to preach the gospel freely to the people without worldly meede, and also to do same good priests of heretic, and lienon hem openly for to let hem to shew Gods Law by the holy Gospel to the Christian people.

35 Freer, what charitie is this, to faine so much holiness in your bodily clothing (that you clepe your habit) that many blinde woles desiren to die therein moze then in another: and also that a freer, that leaueth his habit late founen of men, may not be asoyled till he take againe, but is apostata as ye sain, and cursed of God and man both: The freer beleueth truth, and patience, chastite, meekenesse and sobyettie, yet for the moze part of his life hee may

soone be asoyled of his prior, and if he bring home to his house much good by the yeere (be it neuer so falsely begged and pilled of the poore and needie people in countries about) he shall be hold a noble freer. Lord whether this be charitie?

36 Freer, what charitie is this, to please upon a rich man, and to intise him to be buried among you fro his parish church, & to such rich men giue letters of fraternitie confirmed by your generall seale, and thereby to beare him in hand that he shall haue part of all your masses, mattens, preachings, fastings, wakings, and all other good dedes done by your brethren of your order (both whilst he liueth, and after that he is dead) and yet ye witten neuer whether your dedes be acceptable to God, ne whether that man that hath that letter be able by good lining to recieve any part of your dedes, and yet a poze man (that ye wite well or supposen in certen to haue no good of) ye ne giuen no such letters, though hee be a better man to God then such a rich man: neuertheless, this poze man doth not reche thereof. For as men supposen such letters and many other that freers behesten to men, be full false deceits of freers, out of all reason, and Gods law and christian mens faith.

37 Freer, what charitie is this, to be confessor of Lords and Ladies, and to other mightie men, and not amend hem in her liuing: but rather as it seemeth, to be the holder to pill her poze tenants and to liue in lechery, and there to dwell in your office of confessor for winning of worldly goods, and to be hold great by colour of such ghostly offices: this seemeth rather pride of freers, then charitie of God.

38 Freer, what charitie is this, to sain that who so liueth after your order, liueth moze perfectly, and next followeth the state of apostles in pouertie and penance, and yet the wisest and greatest clerkes of you wend or send, or procure to the court of Rome to be made Cardinals or Bishops of the Popes chaplens, and to be alloied of the bow of pouertie and obedience to your ministers, in the which (as ye sain) standeth most perfection and merit of your orders, and thus ye farren as Pharisees that sain one and doe another to the contrary.

Why name yee moze the patron of your order in your Confiteor when yee begin masse, then other saintes, apostles, or martyrs, that holy Church hold moze glorious then hem, and clepe hem your patrons and your anoyles?

Freer, whether was S. Francis in making of his rule that he let thine order in, a foule and a lier, or else wise and true? If ye sain that hee was not a foule, but wise, ne a lier but true: why thew you contrary by your doing, when by your suggestion to the pope ye said, that your rule that Francis made was so hard that yee now not liue to hold it without declaration and dispensation of the Pope, and so by your deed: ye let your patron be a foule that made a rule so hard that no man may well keepe, and eke your deed proueth him a lier, where he saith in his rule, that he tooke and learned it of the holy Ghost. For how might ye for shame pray the Pope vndoe that the holy Ghost bit, as when ye prayed him to dispence with the hardnesse of your order?

Freer, which of the foure orders of friers is best to a man that knoweth not which is the best, but would faine enter into the best, and none other? If thou sayest that thine is the best, then saiest thou that none of the other is as good as thine, and in this each freer in the three other orders wooll say that thou liest, for in the selfe manner each other freer wooll say that his order is best. And thus to each of the foure orders bin the other three contrary in this point: in the which if any say sooth, that is one alone, for there may but one be the best of foure. So followeth that if each of these orders answered to this question as thou doest, three were false, and but one true, and yet no man should wite who that were. And thus it seemeth, that the most part of freers bin

God is the li-  
miter of mees  
and reward, and  
any not the frier.

Friers will not  
pray, but for  
them that be of  
their fraternitie.

Friers doe make  
apostates.

The number of  
friars superfluous,  
and as nece-  
ssary as tene  
fingers on one  
hand.

See, what the  
friars followeth  
Christ in his  
pouertie.

Friers are the  
letters of prea-  
ching the gos-  
pell.

What holiness  
is in friers  
coat.

The stouter beg-  
ger the nobler  
later.

Why friers so  
much desire to  
haue rich men  
buried in their  
frieries.

Friers behests  
are false deceits.

Friers desire to  
be lords and la-  
dies confessors.

Friers and pharisees  
say one  
thing and doe  
another.

Dilemma.

Which is the  
best order of  
friars.



Friers must agree one with another.

bin or should beliers in this point, and they should answer thereto. If you say that another order of the freres is better then thine, or as good; why take ye not rather thereto as to the better, when thou mightst haue chose at the beginning? And eke why shouldst thou bee an apostata to leaue thine order and take the to that is better, and so why goest thou not from thine order in that?

The frier thinketh his rule perfecter then Christ, because he leauech the one and followeth the other.

frere, is there any perfecter rule of religion then Christ? Gods sonne gaue in his Gospell to his Disciples; then? And then that religion that S. James in his Epistle maketh mention of? If you say yes, then putteth thou on Christ (that is the wisdom of God the father) unkninning, unpower, or euill will: for then hee could not make his rule so good as another did his. And so he had be unkninning, that he might not so make his rule so good as another man might, and so were he unmighty, and not God, as he would not make his rule so perfect as another did his, and so he had bin euill willed, namely to himselfe.

For if he might and could, and would haue made a rule perfect without default, and did not, hee was not Gods sonne almighty. For if any other rule be perfecter then Christs, then must Christs rule lacke of that perfection by as much as the other weren more perfecter, and so were default, and Christ had failed in making of his rule: but to put any default or failing in God is blasphemous. If thou say that Christs rule, and that religion which S. James maketh mention of, is perfectest; why holdest thou not thilke rule without more? And why clepest thou the rather of S. Francis or S. Dominikes rule or religion or order, then of Christs rule or Christ order?

frere, canst thou assigne any default in Christs rule of the Gospell (with the which he taught all men likely to be saved) if they kept it to her ending? If thou say it was too hard, then saith thou Christ lyed; for he sayd of his rule: My yoke is soft, and my burthen light. If thou say Christs rule was too light, that may be assigned for no default, for the better it may be kept. If thou sayst that there is no default in Christs rule of the Gospell, sith Christ himselfe saith it is light and easie: what neede was it to patrons of freres to adde more thereto: and so to make an harder religion to saue freres, then was the religion of Christs apostles and his disciples helde and were saved by. But if they woulden that her freres fasten above the apostles in heauen for the harder religion that they keepe here, so would they sitten in heauen above Christ himselfe, for their mo and strict obseruations, then so should they bee better then Christ himselfe with mischance.

So now forth and fraine your clerks, and ground ye you in Gods Law, and gif Iacke an answer, and when ye haue allepied me that I haue said sably in truth, I shall soile the of thine orders, and saue thee to heauen.

If freres kun not or motu not excuse hem of these questions asked of hem, it seemeth that they be horribleilty guilty against God, and her euen Christian; for which gylts and defaults it were worthy that the order that they call their order were foredone. And it is wonder that men sustaine hem or suffer her liue in such manner. For holy writte biddeth that thou doe well to the meeke, and giue not to the wicken, but forbe to giue hem bread, least they bee made thereby mightier through you.

After these digressions, now to returne to the course of our story againe. As Henry this king succeeded King John his father, so after Innocent the pope came Honorius the third, then Gregory the ninth, &c. And after the emperor (whom the pope had once set vp, and after depeined againe) succeeded Frederike the second, as is partly before touched. In the dayes of these kings, popes, and emperours, it were too long to recite all that hapened in England, but especially in Germany, betwixt

pope Honorius, Gregorius, and Frederike the Emperour: the horrible tragedie whereof were enough to fill a whole booke by it selfe. But yet wee meane (God willing) somewhat to touch concerning these Ecclesiasticall matters, first beginning with this realme of England.

After that the kingdome of England had bene subiected by King John (as hath been said) and made tributarie to the Pope and the Romish church, it is incredible how the insatiable avarice and greedines of the Romans did oppresse and wryng the commons and all estates and degrees of the realme, especially beneficed men, and such as had any thing of the church. Who, what for their domestricall charges within the realme, what for the pope, what for the legats, what for contributing to the holy land, what for relaxations, and other subtile sleights to get away their money, were brought into such slavery, captiuitie, and penurie, that whereas the King neither durst nor might remedie their exclamations by himselfe: yet notwithstanding by his aduice, Simon Montfort and the earle of Leicester, with other noble men (not forgetting what great grievances and distresses the realme was brought into by the Romans) thought to worke some way how to bydle and restraine the insatiable raucning of these greedy wolves. Wherefore they deuised their letter, giuing strait commandement to the religious men, and to such as had their Churches to farme, that henceforth they should not answere the Romans of such farmes and rents any more, but should pay the said farmes or rents into their owne pouders appointed for the same purpose, as by their writings sent abroad to Bishops or Chapters, and other Ecclesiasticall houses, may appeare, in this forme and effect as followeth.

*A complaint of the nobles of England  
against the intollerable covetousnesse  
of the Pope and Prelates  
of Rome.*

TO such and such a Bishop, and such a chapter; all the Vniuersitie and companie of them, that had rather die then to bee confounded of the Romans, with their health. How the Romans and their Legats have hitherto behaved themselves toward you and other Ecclesiasticall persons of this Realme of England, it is not unknowne to your discretions, in disposing and giving away the benefices of the Realme after their owne lust, to the intollerable prejudice and grievance both of you and all other Englishmen. For whereas the collation of benefices should and doth properly belong to you and other your fellow Bishops (Ecclesiasticall persons) they, thundering against you the sentence of excommunication, ordaine that you should not bestow them upon any person of this Realme, untill in every diocese and cathedral Church within the Realme, five Romans (such as the Pope shall name) bee provided for, to the value of every man an hundred pounds by yeare. Besides these, many other grievances the said Romanists doe inflict and inferre, both to the Laitie and Nobles of the Realme, for the patronages and almes bestowed by them and their Ancestors, for the sustentation of the poore of the Realme, and also to the Clergie and Ecclesiasticall persons of the Realme touching their livings and benefices. And yet the said Romanists, not contented with the premises, doe also take from the Clergie of this Realme the benefices which they have, to bestow them on men of their owne country, &c.

Wherefore, wee considering the rigorosous austeritie of these foresaid Romanists, which, once comming in but as strangers hither, now take upon them not only to judge, but also to condemne vs, laying upon us importable burthens, wherunto they will not put to one of their owne fingers to move; and laying our heads

Dilemma.

Friers would sit in heauen above the apostles.

Who the Emperour set vp and depeined againe by the Pope.

A complaint of the nobles of England against the covetousnesse of Rome.



heads together upon a generall and full advice had among our selves concerning the same, have thought good although very late ) to withstand them, rather then to bee subject to their intollerable oppressions, and greater slaverye more hereafter to bee looked for. For the which cause wee straitly charge and command you ( as your friends going about to deliver you, the Church, the King, and the kingdome from that miserable yoke of servitude ) that you doe not intermeddle or take any part concerning such exactions or rents to bee required or given to the said Romans. Letting you to understand for truth, that in case you shall ( which God forbid ) bee found culpable herein, not only your goods and possessions shall be in danger of burning, but you also in your perions shall incur the same perill and punishment as shall the said Romish oppressors themselves.

*Thus fare yee well.*

¶ Thus much I thought here to insert and notifye concerning this matter, for that not onely the foule and avaricious greedynesse of the Romish church might the more evidently unto all Englishmen appeare : but that they may learne by this example how worthe they bee so to be served and plagued with their owne rod, which before would take no part with their naturall King against forren power, of whom now they are scourged.

To make the story more plaine : in the reigne of this Henry the third ( who succeeding, as is said, after King John his father reigned six and fiftie yeres ) came divers Legats from Rome to England. first cardinall Dho sent from the Pope with letters to the King, like as other letters also were sent to other places for exactions of money.

The King opening the letters, and perceiuing the contents, answered, that he alone could say nothing in the matter which concerned all the clergy and commons of the whole realme. Not long after a councell was called at Westmynster, where the letters being opened, the forme was this : Pecimus imprimis ab omnibus ecclesiis cathedralibus duas nobis prebendas exhiberi, unam de portione episcopi, & altera de capitulo : & similiter de coenobiis ubi diversæ sunt portiones abbatis & conventus ; & conventibus quantum pertinet ad unum monachum, equali facta distributione bonorum suorum, & ab abbate tantundem. What is, We require to be given unto vs, first, of all cathedral churches two prebends, one for the bishops part, the other for the chapt r : and likewise of monasteries where be divers portions, one for the abbat, another for the convent : of the count so much as appertaineth to one monke, the portion of the goods being proportionally divided, of the Abbat likewise as much. The cause why he requiereth these prebends was this : It hath been (saith he) an old slander, and a great complaint against the church of Rome, and it hath bene charged with insatiable covetousnesse, which as ye know is the root of all mischefe, and all by reason that causes be wont commonly not to be handled, nor to proceed in the church of Rome without great gifts and expence of money. Whereof seeing the poverty of the church is the cause, and the onely reason why it is so slandered and evil spoken of : it is therefore convenient that you ( as naturall children ) should succour your mother. For unless we should receive of you and of other good men as you are, wee should then lacke necessaries for our life, which were a great dishonour to our dignitie, &c.

When these petitions and causes of the Legat were propounded in the foresaid assembly at Westmynster on the Popes behalfe ( the Bishops and prelates of the realme being present ) answer was made by the mouth of master John Wodford on this wise : that the matter there propounded by the lord Legat in especiall concerned the King of England, but in general it touched all the archbishops with their suffragans, the bishops, and all the prelates of the realme.

Wherefore, seeing both the King by reason of his sicknesse was absent, and the archbishop of Canterbury with divers other bishops also were not there, therefore in the absence of them they had nothing to say in the matter, neither could they so doe without prejudice of them which were lacking. And so the assembly for that time brake up.

Not long after, the said Dtho, cardinall. De carcere Tulliano, coming againe from Rome Cum autentico plenarie potestatis, indicted another Councell at London, and caused all Prelats, Archbishops, Bishops, Abbats, Priors, and other of the clergy to be warned unto the same Councell, to bee had in the Church of S. Pauls at London about the feast of S. Martine. The presence of which councell was for redresse of matters concerning benefices and religion ; but the chiefe and principall was to hunt for money : for putting them in feare and in hope, some to lose, some to obtaine spirituall promotions at his hand, he thought gaine would rise thereby, and so it did.

For in the meane time ( as Parisiensis in vita Henrici tertii writeth ) divers pretious rewards were offered him in pastries, in rich plate and jewels, in costly and sumptuous garments so richly furred, in coine, in victuals, and such like things of value well worthy of acceptation. Wherein one endeavourd to go beyond another in munificence ( not considering, by meanes of these servilitie where with they were oppressed of those popish shavelings and shamelesse hifters, that all was meere pillage and extortion.) In so much that onely the bishop of Winchester (as the story reporteth) hearing that hee would winter at London, sent him fiftie fat Oxen, an hundred course of pure wheate, eight tunne of cholen wine toward his house keeping. Likewise other Bishops also for their part offered unto the cardinals bore after their abilitie.

The time of the councell drawing nigh, the cardinall commanded at the west end of Pauls church an high and solenne throne to be prepared, rising up with a glorious scaffold upon mightie and substantiall stages strongly builded, and of great height. Thus against the day assigned, came the said Archbishops, Bishops, Abbats, and other of the prelacie, both farre and neere throughout all England, wearied and vexed with the winters journey, bringing their letters procratozie. Who being together assembled, the Cardinall begimeth his sermon. But before hee came to the sermon, there hapned a great discord betwene the two Archbishops of Canterbury and

Yorke, for sitting at the right hand and left hand of the glorious Cardinall, for the which the one appeared against the other. The Cardinall to pacifie the strife betwene them both, so that he would not derogate from either of them, brought forth a certaine bull of the pope in the middelt of which bull was pictured the figure of the crosse. On the right side of the crosse stood the image of S. Paul, & on the left side S. Peter : So, saith the cardinall, holding open the bull with the crosse, here you see S. Peter on the left hand of the crosse, and S. Paul on the right side, and yet is there betwene these two no contention, for both are of equall glory. And yet S. Peter for the prerogative of his keyes, and for the prebeminence of his apostleship and cathedraill dignitie, seemeth most worthe to be placed on the right side. But yet because S. Paul beliened on Christ when he saw him not, therefore hath he the right hand of the crosse : For blessed bee they (saith Christ) which belene and see not, &c. And from that time forth the Archbishop of Canterbury inioined the right hand, and the Archbishop of Yorke, the left. Wherein yet this cardinall is more to bee commended then the other cardinall Hugo mentioned a litle before, which in the like contentions betwene these Archbishops ran away.

Thus the controuersie ceased and composed betwene these two, Dtho the Cardinall, sitting aloft betwene these two Archbishops, begimeth his sermon.

A councell at London called.

Great rewards given to the cardinall.

Contention for sitting on the right hand of the Cardinall.

Why S. Paul standeth on the right hand of the popes crosse, why the Archbishop of Canterbury hath the right hand, and the Archbishop of Yorke the left hand.

Example teaching neuer to take part against their king with forren power.

Cardinall Dtho Legat.

The Pope requiereth two prebends in every cathedral Church.

Note the cause why the Pope is compelled to crave money of other countries.



Note the theme of the Cardinal applied to God, how he applyeth it to himselfe.

Scripture clearly applied.

mon, taking this theme of the prophet; In medio sedis & in circuitu ejus quatuor animalia plena oculis ante & retro, &c. that is; In the midst of the seat, and in the circuit about the seat, were foure beasts full of eyes before and behind, &c. Upon this theme the Cardinall proceeded in his sermon, sitting like a god in the midst. He compared them about him to the foure beasts about the seat, declaring how they ought to haue eyes both before and behind (that is) that they must be proudent in disposing of secular things, and circumspect in spirituall matters, continuing and sojournng wisely things past with things to come; and this was the greatest effect of his clerkeley sermon. What done hee giueth forth certaine statutes for ordering of Churches, as for the dedication of temples, for seven sacraments, for giving of orders, for framing of benefices, collations and resignations of benefices and vicarages, priests apparell, and single life, for eating of flesh in religious houses, of archdeacons, bishops, priors, and such other like matters. But the chiefest intent of all his proceeding was this, that they should be bigilant, proudent, and circumspect, with all their eyes (both before and behind) to fill the popes pouch, as appeared not onely by this, but all their other trauels besides. In so much that the King, breaching the displeasure of his Commons for the doings of the Legat, willed him to repaire home to Rome againe: but yet could not so be rid of him; for he, receiving new commandments from the Pope, applied his haruest still gleaning and raking whatsoeuer he might scrape, waiting and sending to Bishops and Archdeacons in this forme and tenor.

Otto miseratione divina, &c. Discreto viro N. episcopo vel N. archidiacono salutem. Cum necesse habeamus mandato summi pontificis moram trahere in Anglia longiorem, nec possumus propriis stipendiis militare, discretionem vestram qua fungimur autoritate rogamus, ut procuraciones uobis debitas in episcopatu, vel archidiaconatu vestro colligi faciatis nostro nomine diligenter, eas quam citius poteritis, nobis transmissuri, contraditores per censuram ecclesiasticam compescendo. Proviso, quod quolibet procuratio summam 4. marcarum aliquatenus non excedat, & ubi una ecclesia non sufficiat ad procuracionem hujusmodi habendam, dux pariter unam solvant. Datum Lond. 15. Kal. Mar. Pont. D. Gregor. papæ 9.

And moreover, note againe the wicked and cursed fraines of these Romish rakehels, who, to picke simple mens purses, first send out their friers and preachers to stir vp in all places and countries, men to goe fight against the Turkes: whom when they haue once bound with a vow, and signed them with the crosse, then send they their bulls to release them both of their labour, and their vow for money, as by their owne stile of writing is heere to be seene, thus proceeding.

N. episcopus dilectis in Christo filiis omnibus archidiaconis per dioecesim suam constitutis, salutem. Litteras domini legati suscepimus in hæc verba; Otto miseratione divina, &c. Cum sicut intelleximus nonnulli cruce signati regni Angliæ, qui sunt inhabiles ad pugnam, ad sedem apostolicam accedant, ut ibidem a voto crucis absolvi valeant, & nos nuper recepimus a summo pontifice in mandatis, ut tales non solum absolvere, verum & ad redimenda vota sua \* compellere debeamus, volentes eorum parcere laboribus & expensis, fraternitatem vestram, qua fungimur, monemus, quatenus, partem prædictam a summo pontifice nobis concessam faciatis in nostris dioecesibus sine mora qualibet publicari, ut præfati cruce signati ad nos accedere valeant, \* beneficium super his juxta formam nobis traditam accepturi. Datum Londini 15. Kal. Mart. Pont. D. N. papæ Gregor. 9.

The cause why the Pope was so grædie and needles

of money, was this; because he had mostall hatred, and waged continuall battell the same time against the good Emperour Frederike the second, who had to wife king Johns daughter, and sister to king Henrie the third, whose name was Isabell. And therefore because the popes warre could not be sustained without charges, that made the Pope the more importunate to take vp money in all places, but especially in England. In so much that he shamed not to require the fitt part of euery ecclesiasticall mans living, as Parisiensis writeth. And not onely that, but also the said Pope Gregorie (conuincing with the citizens of Rome) so agreed with them, that if they would ioyne with him in banquishing the foresaid Frederike, he would (and so did) grant vnto them, that all the benefices in England which were or should be vacant (namely pertaining to religious houses) should bee bestowed at their owne will and commandement to their children and kinfolkes. Whereupon it followed in the foresaid history, Vnde infra paucos dies misit D. papa sacra præcepta sua domino cant. archiep. Eliensi & Lincol. & Salisb. episcopis, ut trecentis Romanis, in primis beneficiis vacantibus, providerent, scientes se suspensos a beneficiorum collatione donec tot competenter providerent: that is, the Pope sent in commandement to the Archbishop of Canterbury and foure other Bishops, that provision should be made for three hundred Romans in the chiefest and best benefices in all England at the next voidance: so that the foresaid Archbishop and Bishops should be suspended in the meane time from all collation or gift of benefices, untill these foresaid three hundred were provided for. Whereupon the Archbishop the same time seeing the unreasonable oppression of the Church of England, left the realme and went into France.

Again, marke another as much or more easie sleight of the Pope in procuring money. He sent one Petrus Rubens the same time with a new deuise, which was this: not to worke any thing openly, but priuily to goe betwixt Bishop and Bishop, Abbat and Abbat, &c. telling in their eares, such a Bishop, such an Abbat hath giuen so much and so much vnto the Popes holinesse, trusting that you also will not bee behind for your part, &c. By the meanes whereof it is incredible to thinke what a masse of money was made out of the realme vnto the Pope.

At length the foresaid Bishops, Abbats, and Archdeacons feeling their owne smart, came to the King (whose father before they did resist) with their humble sute, lamentably complaining of the vnreasonable exactions of the Pope, and especially against Petrus Rubens and his fellow Otto the Legat; desiring the King, that seeing the matter toucheth not themselves alone, but the whole Church, and seeing the valuation of Churches was knowne better to their archdeacons then to themselves, therefore there might be a generall calling and talke had in the matter. In the octaues of S. John the Baptist, the day and place was assigned where they should talke; at which day and place the prelates of England, conuening together, durst not giue any direct denyal of that contribution, but after a modest sort did insinuate certaine exceptions against the same.

1. First they say, that so much as the contribution is demanded to warre against him, who was joined in matrimonie with their prince, they were not bound so to doe.

2. Secondly, for that the said contribution tended to the shedding of Christian blood; for so the soueraine of the bill pretended to fight against the Emperour.

3. Thirdly, because it was against the liberty of the church; for so it is in the bill, that they that would not should be excommunicate.

4. Fourthly, because that when of late they gaue the tenth part of their goods, it was with this protestation, that they should contribute to the Pope no more hereafter.

Frederike the Emperour married king Johns daughter.

The fitt part of euery spiritual mans living giuen to the Pope.

Three hundred Romans to be placed in the best benefices of England.

Petrus Rubens the Popes agent.

A Romish sleight of the Pope to get English money.

Exceptions alleged for not contributing to the Pope.



5 Item, because they had contributed before, if they should now contribute againe, it were to bee feared lest an action twice done should grow into a custome, as is in the law, *Leges nemo, &c.*

6 Item, for so much as they shall haue causes continually to seeke to Rome through the emperors land; if were to be feared lest the said emperor by the way would worke their annoyance.

7 Item, because the King hath many enemies abroad, and for his warres hath made of much money at home, it is not conuenient that the goods of the realme should be alienated out of the realme.

8 Item, because that could not be done without preiudice to the patrons of their churches, not knowing whether their patrons did or would agree vnto the same.

9 Lastly, because they heare say that the generall state of the church is in danger, for the which they vnderstand there shall be shortly a generall councell, wherein such matters shall be determined; and therefore if they should contribute now, it should bee to the hinderance and damage of the church.

The legat and his fellows hearing these allegations, seeing their owne confusion, were the lesse importunate.

Not long after this folloved a generall councell at Lyons, called by pope Innocentius the fourth, in the which councell the English nation did exhibit certaine articles of their grieuances not unworthy to be knowne. *Gravatur regnum Angliz eo quod D. papa non est contentus subsidio illo, quod vocatur denarius beati Petri, &c.*

#### In English thus.

1 The kingdome of England is grieved that the Pope, being not contented with his Peter pence requirith and extorteth from the clergy great exactions (and more is like) both without the content of the King, and against the customes of the realme.

2 Item, the church and kingdome of England is grieved, that the patrons of the same cannot present as they were wont, into their churches for the popes letters: but the churches are given to Romans, which know neither the realme nor the tongue thereof, both to the great perill of soules and robbing away the money out of the realme.

3 Item, it is grieved, for that the Pope promising by the tenor of his letters, that in requiring of pensions and provisions in the realme of England hee would require but onely twelue benefices, now contrary to the tenor thereof many more benefices and provisions are bestowed away by him.

4 Item, the realme is grieved and complaineth, that in the benefices in England, one Italian succeedeth another, the Englishmen being not onely excluded, but also compelled (for the determining of their matters) to seeke to Rome, contrary both to the customes of the realme, and also to the priuiledges granted by the Popes predecessors to the King and kingdome of England.

5 The fifth grievance is for the oft reconcile of that infamous legat, by whom both faith and fidelitie, the ancient customes of the realme, the authoritie of old grants, statutes, lawes and priuiledges, are unbecilled and abrogated, whereby an infinite number in England be grievously afflicted and oppressed.

6 The said realme is also grieved in generall tallages, collections, and assises, made without the kings consent, the appellation and contradiction of the kings prelates to the contrary notwithstanding.

7 Seventhly, the foresayd realme complaineth and is grieved, that in the benefices given to Italians, neither the old ordinances, nor reliefe of the poore, nor hospitalitie, nor any preaching of Gods word, nor care of mens soules, nor seruice in the church, nor yet the wals of the churches be kept vp and maintained, as the manner and custome of the same realme requirith.ouer and aboue these foresayd grieuances, there came mooreouer from the pope

other fresh letters, charging and commanding the prelates of England to find of their proper costs and charges for one whole yere, some tenn armed soldiers, some fine, some fiftene, to be ready at the Popes commandement there where he should appoint.

After these and other grieuances and enormities of Rome, the states of England consulting together direct their letters to the Pope, for reformation thereof. first the abbats and priors, then the bishops and suffragans, after the nobles and barons, last of all the king himselfe. But as the proverbe is, *Venter non habet aures*, so the Popes purse had no cares to heare. And as our common saying goeth, *As good neuer a whit as neuer the better*: so went it with the Pope, who not long after the same sent for new tallages and exactions to be collected. Which thing when it came to the kings eare, he, being moued and disturbed vehemently withall, writeth in this wise to the bishops, severally to euery one in his diocesse.

*H*enicus tertius Dei gratia, &c. Venerabili in Christo, N. episcopo salutem. Licet aliis vobis, &c.

The Babylon call captiuitie and slavery of England vnder the Pope.

The Letter of King Henry the third to the bishops.

#### In English thus.

Henry the third by the grace of God, to the reverend in Christ bishop of N. Whereas wee haue heretofore written vnto you, once, twice, thrice, as well by our priuie seales, as also by our letters patents, that you should not exact or collect, for the Popes behalfe, any tallage or other helpe of our subjects, either of the clergy, or of the lairie, for that no such tallage nor helpe either can or is used to be exacted in our realme without the great prejudice of our princely dignitie, which wee neither will nor can suffer or sustaine: yet you contemning and wilpending our commandement, and contrary to the prouision made in our last councell at London (granted and agreed vpon by our Prelates, Earles, and Barons) haue that notwithstanding proceeded in collecting the sayd your taxes and tallages. Whereupon wee doe greatly maruell and are moued (especially seeing you are not ashamed to doe contrary vnto your owne decrees) whereas you and other Prelates in the said councell in this did all agree and grant, that no such exactions should bee hereafter, vntill the returne of our and your ambassadors from the court of Rome, sent thither purposely of vs, and in the name of the whole realme for the same, to prouide redresse against those oppressions. Wherefore wee straitly will and command you, that from henceforth you doe not proceede any more in collecting and exacting such tallages or helpes, as you will injoy our fauour and such possessions of yours as within this our kingdome you haue and hold. And if you haue already procured or gathered any such thing, yet that you suffer not the same to bee transported out of our realme, but cause it to be kept in safe custody till the returne of the said ambassadors, vnder the paine of our displeasure in doing of the contrary, and also of prouoking vs to extend our hand vpon your possessions, further then you will thinke or beleue. Moreouer, willing and charging you that you participate and make common this our inhibition, with your archdeacons and officials, which wee here haue set forth for the liberties of the clergie and of the people, as knoweth God, &c.

At length the ambassadozs which were at Rome came home about the latter end of December, bringing word that the Pope, hearing what was done in the councell of Winchester and of the king, was greatly displeased with him and the realme, saying, *Rex Anglorum qui jam recalcitrat & fredericū suū habet consiliū, ego verō & meū habeo, quod & sequar, &c.* Whereupon when the ambassadozs began to speake in the kings behalfe, from that time they

The Popes saying against King Henry

Articles exhibited in the councell of Lugdun for the grieuances sustained by the Pope. The first grievance. The second.

The third.

The fourth.

The fifth, he meaneth percale Dho or smaller Partins.

The six.

The seventh.



they were halfe counted for schismatikes, and could no more be heard in the court of Rome. The King bearing this was maruellously incensed therewith, commanding by generall proclamation throught all his realme, that no man should hereafter consent to any taxe or subsidie of money for the court of Rome. When this came to the Popes eare, vpon a cruell rage he directed his letters to the Prelats of England, charging that vnder paine of suspension or interdiction, they should prouide the same summe of money to be collected against the feast of Assumption, the charge being giuen to the Bishop of Worcester to be executer of the said curse. The King that lately intended to stand to the liberties of the Church, now for feare of the Pope, and partly for perswasions of the said bishop of Worcester and other prelate, durst not stand to it, but gaue ouer. Whereupon the greedy guile of the Romish auarice wayed to vniuersall, that at length the Pope shamed not, vpon the censure of his curse, to aske the third part of the Church goods, and the yearely fruit of all vacant benefices. The chiefe doers and legats in England, where M<sup>tho</sup>, Stephanus Capellanus, Petrus Rubens nuncius, Hag. Martin, and Hag. Marinus, Iohannes Anglicus Episcopus Sabinensis. Of whom to speake further (for that I haue matter much more to write) for this present time I thinke best to surcease, lest in opening all the detestable doings and pestilent workings of those men, I might perhaps not onely molest good eares, but also infect the aire. Yet one thing concerning the said M<sup>tho</sup> I cannot well ouerpasse.

This M<sup>tho</sup>, as he left no place vnsooght, where any vantage might be got: so amongst all others he came to Oxford, where lying in the house of M<sup>ney</sup>, he was receiued with great honour; the schollers presenting him honourably with such dishes and rewards as they had, thinking to gratifie the Cardinal after the best manner. This being done before dinner, and the dinner ended, they came reuerently to see and welcome him, supposing that they also should with like courtlesse againe of him be entertained. As they came to the gate, the porter (being an Italian) with a loud voyce asketh what they would haue? They said they came to see the lord Legat. But Cerberus the porter, holding the doore halfe open, with proud and contumelious language thrust them out, and would not suffer them to enter. The schollers seeing that, by force thrust open the gate and came in: whom when the Romans which were within would haue repelled with their fists, and such staues as they had in their hands, they fell to alarum and by the eares together, with much hooting and hooting and many blowes on both sides. In the meane time, while some of the schollers ran home for their weapons, there charged a poore scholler (an Irish man) to stand at the gate waiting for his almes. Whom when the master saw at the gate, he, taking hot skalding water out of the pan where the meate was sodden, did cast it in his face. One of the schollers a Welshman, that came with his bow and shafts, seeing that, letteth diue an arrow, and shooteth this Nabuzardan (that master of cookes) cleane thorow the body, and slayeth him out of hand. The cooke falling dead, there was a mighty boyle and a great clamour throughout all the house. The Cardinal, hearing the tumult and great noyse about him, like a valiant Roman runneth as fast as he could into the temple, and there locketh the doores fast vnto him, where he remained till midnight. The schollers in the meane while, not yet all pacified, sought all corners about for the legat, exclaiming and crying out; There is that Usurer, that simoniacke, that piller and pouler of our linings, that prouler and extortor of our money, which peruertereth our King, and subuerteth his kingdome, enriching himselfe with our spoiles: &c. All this heard the Cardinal, and held his peace. When the night approaching had

broken vp the field, the Cardinall comming out of his fort, and taking his horse (in silence of the night) was priuily conueyed over the river toward the King, conueying himselfe away as fast as he could. After the King heard this, he sendeth to Oxford a garrison of armed men, to deliuer the Romans which were there hidden for feare of schollers. Then was master M<sup>tho</sup> a lawyer, with thirty other schollers apprehended, and carried to Wallingford castle, and from thence had in carts to London; where at length (through much intreatie of the bishops) they, being brought barefoote to the legats doore, had their pardon, and the Uniuersitie released of interdiction. And thus much concerning the Popes Legat in England.

Thus partly you haue heard, and doe vnderstand the miserable thraldome and captiuitie of this realme of England, and the clergy of the same, who before refused to take part with king John their naturall prince, against the forren power of the Pope; and now how miserably they are oppressed and scourged of the same Pope, whose insatiable extortion and rapacitie did so excede in pilling and polling of this realme long after this, that neither the King now could helpe them, neither could the Pope with any reasonable measure bee content. In so much (as writers record) in the daies of Sudbury Archbishop of Canterbury, An. 1360. the Pope by his p<sup>ro</sup>ctors gat from the clergie, in lesse then one yeare, more then forty thousand dozens, of more contribution: besides his other auayles and common reuenues out of benefices, prebendaries, first frutes, tributes, Peter pence, collations, reueruations, relarations, and such merchandize, &c.

Mention was made a little before of Albinagenes keeping about the citie of Tholouse. These Albinagenes because they began to smell the Pope, and to controll the inordinate proceedings and discipline of the Sea of Rome, the Pope therefore recounting them as a people hereticall, exiled and stirred vp about this present time and yeare Anno 1220. Ludouike the young French king, through the instance of Philip his father, to lay siege against the said citie of Tholouse, to expunge and ertingulth these Albinagenes his enemies. Whereupon Ludouike (according to his fathers commandement) reared a puissant and a mighty army to compass about and beset the sozenamed citie, and so did. Here were the men of Tholouse in great danger. But see how the mighty protection of God fighteth for his people against the might of man: for after that Ludouike (as Matth. Paris testifieth) had long wearied him selfe and his men in waste, and could doe no good with all their engins and artillery against the citie, there fell mozeouer upon the French host, by the hand of God, such famine and pestilence both of men and horses, besides the other daily slaughter of the souldiers, that Ludouike was enforced to retire, and with such as were left to returne againe home to France from whence he came. In the slaughter of which souldiers, besides many others, was Carle Simon de monte forti, Generall of the army, to whom the lands of the Carle of Tholouse were giuen by the Pope; who was slain before the gate of the citie with a stone, and so was also the brother of the said Simon the same time, in besieging a citie nere to Tholouse, slaine with a stone in like manner. And so was the siege of the Frenchmen against Tholouse broke vp. Ex Matth. Parisiensis.

As the siege of these Frenchmen could doe no good against the citie of Tholouse, so it happened the same time that the Christians, marching towards the holy land, had better successe in laying their siege to a certaine towne or castle in Egypt nere to the citie Damietta, which seemed by nature for the situation and difficultie of the place inerpugnabile: which being situate in the midst of the great flood Nilus (hard by the citie called Damietta) could neither be

Thirty schollers taken and had to prison.

Therefore those lands flowers contributed to the Pope, in one peece, of the clergie.

Ludouike the French king.

Ludouike fighteth against Albinagenes.

Ludouike besiegeth Tholouse. The hand of God fighting for his people. Ex Matth. Parisiensis, in vita Henrici 3.

The generall of the armie slaine.

The siege against Albinagenes broke vp.

The expugnation of a certaine strong citie of Damietta in Egypt by the Christians.

King Henry againe restreinteth the Popes taxes.

The Pope taketh on against the King.

The King compelled for feare to giue ouer to the Pope.

The Pope asketh the third part of the church goods.

A boy of Cardinall M<sup>tho</sup> at Oxford.

A schollers beset the schollers of Oxford and the Cardinall men.

The Cardinall runneth away.



come to by land, nor bee undermined for the wa-  
ter, nor by famine subdued for the needfulness of the  
cittie; yet notwithstanding through the helpe of God  
and policie of man, in erecting scaffolds and castles  
upon tops of malks, the christians at last conquered  
it, and after that also the citie Danieta, albeit not  
without great losse of Christian people. In the ex-  
pugnation of this citie or fort, among others that  
there died, was the Langraue of Thuring named  
Ludouike the husband of Elizabeth, whom wee  
ble to call S. Elizabeth. This Elizabeth (as my story  
recozeth) was the daughter of the king of Hun-  
gary, and married in Almaine, where she lived with  
the fornamed Ludouike Langraue of Thuring,  
whom shee through her persuasions prouoked and  
incensed to take that voyage to fight for the holy  
land, where he in the same voyage was slaine. After  
whose death Elizabeth (remaining a widow) entered  
the profession of cloysterly religion, and made her  
selfe a Nun, so growing and increasing from vertue  
to vertue, that after her death all Almaine did sound  
with the fame of her worthy doings. Matthew Paris  
adeth this moze, that she was the daughter of that  
Duene, who, being accused to be naught with a cer-  
taine Archbishop, was therefore condemned with  
this sentence pronounced against her; Reginam inter-  
ficere nolite timere bonum est, & si omnes consen-  
serint non ego contradico: that is (although it be hard  
in English to be translated as it standeth in Latine)  
To kill the Duene will ye not to feare that is good,  
and if all men consent therunto, not I my selfe doe  
stand against it, &c. The which sentence being  
brought to Pope Innocent, thus in pointing the sen-  
tence, which other wise seemeth to haue a double un-  
derstanding, he so saued the Duene, thus interpre-  
ting and pointing the same: Reginam interficere no-  
lite, timere bonum est: & si omnes consenserint, non  
ego, contradico. That is; To kill the Duene will  
ye not, to feare, that is good: And if all doe consent  
thereto, yet not I, I my selfe doe stand against it:  
and so elaped the danger. This Duene was  
the mother (as is said) of Elizabeth the nun, who for  
her holy nunnishnesse was canonized of the Popes  
Church for a saint in Almaine, about the yeere of our  
Lord 1220. Ex Matth. Parisiens.

And this by the way. Now to proceed further in  
the yeeres and life of this king Henry. The next  
yeere following, which was An. 1221. the king went  
to Dorset, where he had something to do with Wil-  
liam Earle de Albemarle, who had taken the castle  
of Bisham: but at last, for his good seruice hee had  
done in the Realme before, he was released of the  
king with all his men, by the intercession of Wils-  
ter Archbishop of Yorke, and of Wandulph the legat.  
About which present yeere entred first the frier Ag-  
noizts, or Grayfriers into England, and had their  
first house at Canterbury, whose first patron was  
franciscus, which died Anno 1127. and his order  
was confirmed by Pope Honorius the third. Anno  
1224.

About the first comming of these Dominike and  
Grayfriers franciscan into the Realme (as is in  
Nicol. Trivet testified) many Englishmen the same  
time entred into their orders. Among whom was  
Iohannes de lancto Egidio, a man famously expert in  
the science of Physicke and Astronomie, and Alex-  
ander de Hales, both Englishmen and great Di-  
uines. This Iohannes making his sermon Ad cle-  
rum, in the house of the Dominike friers, exhorted  
his auditoz with great persuasions vnto wiisfull  
pauertie. And to confirme his wordes the moze by his  
owne example, in the midst of his sermon hee came  
downe from the pulpit and put on his friers habit,  
and so, returning into the pulpit againe, made an  
end of his sermon. Likewise Alexander Hales en-  
tred the order of the franciscans, of whom remaineth  
yet the Booke intituled De summa theologia in  
old libraries.

Moreover, not long after by William de longa spa-  
ca, which was the bastard sonne of king Henry the  
second, and Earle of Salisbury, was first founded  
the house of the Carthusian Monkes at Westrope  
Anno 1222. After whose death his wife Ela was  
translated to the house of Henton in Warkeshire,  
An. 1227. which Ela also founded the house of nuns  
at Lacoche, and there continued her selfe Abbess of  
the place. The Bishop of London, named William,  
the same time gaue ouer his bishopricke, after whom  
succeeded Cuthace in that See. Flor. hist.

In the towne of Dorset above mentioned, where  
the king kept his court, Simon Langton Archbi-  
shop of Canterbury held a counsell, where was con-  
demned and burned a certaine deacon, as Nicol. Tri-  
vet saith, for apostasie. Also another rude countri-  
man, who had crucified himselfe, and superstitiously  
bare about the wounds in his feet and hands, was  
condemned to be clofed by perpetually within walls.  
Ex Nicol. Trivet. About which yeere also Alexander  
king of Scots married Ione sister to king Henry.

Not long after began the new building of the  
Minster of Salisbury, whereof Wandulphus the  
Popes Legat laid the first stones: one for the  
Dope (such was the surname of that Church to haue  
the Popes stone in his foundation) the second for  
the young king Henry; the third, for the good Earle  
of Salisbury; the fourth, for the Countesse; the fift,  
for the Bishop of Salisbury, &c. Which was about  
the same yeere above mentioned, Anno 1221. Ex  
Chron. do. Sal.

In the same yeere about S. James tide fell a dis-  
sention betweene the citizens of London, and the  
men of Westminster; the occasion whereof was  
this. A certaine game betweene these two parties  
was appointed, to trie whether part in wrestling  
could overcome the other. Thus in striving for ma-  
stery, each part contending against the other (as the  
manner is in such pastime) it hapned that the Lon-  
doners got the victorie, and the other side was put to  
foyle, but especially the steward of the Abbat of  
Westminster; who, being not a little confounded  
therewith, began to forsethinke in his minde how to  
be reuenged againe of the Londoners. Whereupon  
another day was set, which was at Lammas, that  
the Londoners should come againe to wrestle; and  
who so had the victorie should haue the belwether,  
which was the price of the game appointed. As the  
parties were thus occupied in their play, the steward  
suddenly bringeth vpon the Londoners many waies  
a company of harnessed men prepared for the same  
before, and letteth drine at the Londoners; who, at  
length being wounded and grievously hurt, after  
much bloodshed were driven backe againe into the  
cittie. This continually thus being receiued, the citi-  
zens, eagerly stricken with ire and impatience, ran  
to the common bell, and by ringing thereof assem-  
bled their commons together, to consult with them-  
selues what was to be done in that case so contum-  
acious. Wherein when diuers sentences were giuen

diuersly, Serle the same time Mayor of London (a  
wise and discret man) gaue this counsell, that the  
abbat of Westminster should be talked withall, who  
if hee would rectifie the injury done, and satisfie for  
the harme receiued, it should bee to them sufficient.  
But contrary, one Constantine a great man then  
in the citie of London, in much heat exciting the peo-  
ple, gaue this sentence, that all the houses of the Ab-  
bat of Westminster, but especially the house of the  
steward should be cast downe to the ground. In fine,  
that, which hee so diuinely counselled, was as  
madly performed: for the furious people according  
to his counsell so did. This tumultuous outrage,  
as it could not be priuy, comming to the knowledge  
of Hubert de Burgo, Lord chiefe Justice of England  
above mentioned, hee comming with a sufficient  
strength of armed soldiers to the citie of London,  
sent to the Mayor and Aldermen of the citie to will  
them

Danieta taken  
by the Christi-  
ans.

The storie of  
S. Elizabeth.  
Elizabeth  
daughter of the  
king of Hun-  
gare.  
Elizabeth  
prouoked her  
husband to goe  
and fight for the  
holy land.

The mother of  
S. Elizabeth  
accused of adul-  
tery.

The sentence of  
a double mea-  
ning.

The Duene sa-  
ued by favoura-  
ble interpreta-  
tion of a double  
sentence.

Elizabeth cano-  
nized a saint in  
Almaine.

{ Anno }  
1221.

Ex tabula  
perisli in æde  
diui Pauli.  
The gray friers  
first entred into  
England.  
The order of  
gray friers first  
confirmed.

Iohannes de  
S. Egidio,  
Alexander de  
Hales.

Charterhouse  
monks founded  
by William  
Longspee.

Ela foundresse of  
the house of  
Lacoche.

Two contem-  
ned at a coun-  
cell in Dorset.

Ex Nic. Tri-  
vet.

Dissentio be-  
tweene the citi-  
zens of London  
and of West-  
minster.

Wholesome  
counsell of the  
Mayor of Lon-  
don reueld of  
wilde heads.







tellez unto him the lands and poſſeſſions of the ſaid Reimund, which the pope and Philip the French king had giuen to him and to his father befoze, hauing good euidences to ſhew for the ſame, confirmed by the donation of the Pope and of the King. Adding moreover, that the Earle Reimund was deſpoyled and diſherited in the generall counsell at Rome for heretic, which is called the heretic of Albingenſes. At leaſt, if he might not haue the whole yeilded unto him, yet the moſt part of his lordſhips he required to be granted him.

To this the Earle Reimund answered againe, offering himſelfe ready to all dutie and office both toward the French king, and to the church of Rome, whatſoeuer duly to him did appertaine. And moreover, touching the heretic wherewith hee was there charged; he did not only there offer himſelfe in that counsell befoze the legat, but moſt humbly did craue of him, that he would take the paines to come into every city within his precinct to inquire of every perſon there the articles of his beleeve; and if he found any perſon or perſons holding that which was not catholike, hee would ſee the ſame to be corrected and amended according to the cenſure of holy church to the uttermoſt. And if he ſhould find any city rebelling againſt him, hee, to the uttermoſt of his might with the inhabitants thereof, would compell them to doe ſatisfaction thereto. And as touching himſelfe, if he had committed or erred in any thing (which he remembereth not that he had done) he offered there full ſatisfaction to God and Church, as becommed any faithfull chriſtian man to doe; requiring moreover there befoze the Legat to be examined of his faith, &c. But all this (ſaith Marthaus) the Legat deſpiſed; neither could the catholike earle (ſaith he) there find any grace, unleſſe he would depart from his heritage; both from himſelfe & from his heires for ever. In fine, when it was required by the contrary part, that hee ſhould ſtand to the arbitrement of twelue Peeres of France: to that Reimundus answered, that if the French king would receiue his homage which he was ready at all times to exhibit, hee was contented therewith. For elle they would not, ſaid he take him as one of their ſociete and fellow ſubjects.

After much alteration on both ſides about the matter, the legat willeth every Archbiſhop to call aſſide his ſuffragans, to deliberate with them vpon the cauſe, and to giue vp in writing what was concluded. Which being done accordingly, the Legat denounced excommunication to all ſuch as did reueale any ſeete of that which was there concluded, befoze the Pope and the king had intelligence thereof.

Theſe things thus in budder muſter among themſelves concluded, the Legat gaue leaue to all Proctors of couents and chapters to returne home, only retaining with him the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and Abbats, and certaine ſimple prelates, ſuch as hee might be more bold withall, to open, and of them to obtaine the other part of his commiſſion, which was indeed to obtaine of every cathedrall church two prebendſhips; one for the Biſhop, the other for the chapter. And in monaſteries alſo after the like ſort, where the Abbat and Couent had diuers and ſeueral poſſeſſions, to require two churches, one for the abbat, the other for the couent, keeping this proportion; that how much ſhould ſuffice for the living of one Bonke, ſo much the whole couent ſhould find for their part; and as much the Abbat likewiſe for his. And ſo ſo much as hee would not ſeeme to demand this without ſome colour of cauſe, his reaſon was this; that becauſe the court of Rome had long bene bloſſed with the note of auarice, which is mother of all euill, for that no man could come to Rome for any buſineſſe, but he muſt pay for the expedition of the ſame, therefore for the removing away of the occaſion of that ſlander, the publike helpe of the church muſt neceſſarily be required, &c.

The proctors and parties thus ſent home by the legats, maruelling with themſelves why the biſhops and abbats ſhould be ſtayed and they ſent home, and ſuſpecting no leſſe but as the matter was indeed, conferred their counſels together, and deuized with themſelves to ſend certaine unto him in the behalf of all the cathedrall and conuentuall Churches in France; and ſent to the ſaid Legat this meſſage, to ſignifie to him, that they were credibly informed hee came with ſpeciall letters from the court of Rome

for the obtaining of certaine prebendaries in every cathedrall and conuentuall church. Which being ſo, they much maruelled that he would not in the publicke counsell make manifeſt to them thoſe letters which ſpecially concerned them as much as the others. Wherefore their requeſt was to him in the Lord, that no ſuch offenſiue matter might riſe by him in the French church; knowing this, that the thing he enterpriſeth could not bee brought to effect without great offence taken, and ineffimable damage to the church of France. For grant (ſaid they) that certaine will aſſent unto you, yet their aſſent ſtandeth in no effect concerning ſuch matters as touch the whole; eſpecially, ſeeing both the ſtates of the Realme with all the inferior ſubjects, yea, and the King himſelfe they are ſure will withſtand the ſame, to the venture not only of their honour, but of their life alſo, conſidering the caſe to be ſuch, as upon the offence whereof ſtandeth the ſubverſion both of the realme publicke, and of the whole Church in general. Declaring moreover the cauſe of this feare to riſe hereof, for that in other Realmes ſuch communication hath bene with biſhops and prelates for the procuring of ſuch prebendſhips, whereas neither the prince nor the ſubjects were made any thing paining thereto.

In concluſion, when the matter came to debating with the legat, the objections of the inferior parties againſt the cruell exaction were theſe in briefe effect, as is in Pariſienſis noted.

First, they alledged their great damages and expenſes which they were like to ſuſtaine thereby, by reaſon of the continuall procurators of the Pope, which in every diocelle muſt liue not of their owne, but muſt be ſuſtained vpon the charges of the cathedrall Churches, and other Churches alſo; and many times they being but procurators, will be found as Legats.

Item, by that meanes they ſaid great perturbations might inſue to the couents and chapters of cathedrall churches in their elections: for ſo much as the popes agents and factozs being in every cathedrall Church and chapter houſe, percale the Pope would command him in his perſon to be preſent at their elections, and ſo might trouble the ſame, in delaying and deſerring till it might fall to the court of Rome to giue; and ſo ſhould bee placed more of the Popes clientele in the Churches of France, then of the proper inhabitants of the land.

Item, by this meanes they affirmed, that all they in the court of Rome ſhould be richer, and ſhould receiue more for their proportion then the king of the realme: by reaſon of which abundance of riches it was like to come to paſſe, that as the worne of rich men is pride; ſo by the meanes of this their riches, the court of Rome would delay and diuine off great lates, and ſcarce would take any paines with ſmall cauſes. The experiment whereof is euident, for that now alſo they be to delay their matters, when they come, with their gifts, and being in aſſurance to receiue. And thus ſhould iuſtice ſtand aſide, and poore ſuitors die at the gates of the court of Rome, thus ſlowing and triumphing in full abundance of all treaſure and riches.

Item, for ſo much as it is iuſt and conuenient to haue friends in the court of Rome, for the better ſpeding of their cauſes; therefore they thought to keepe them needie, whereby their gifts may be the ſwifter,

Reimundus wrongfully diſherited by the Pope.

Reimundus the good Earle of Tholouſe answered for himſelfe.

Albingenſes falſely diſſected for heretic.

The proud villanie of the Popes Legate.

Marke reader the practice here of prelates, for the learning.

The clergy of France aſſenting to the Legat.

Inferiours care more bold to ſpeake in difficult cauſes of truth, then the rich. The objection of the clergy of France againſt the Popes exaction.



swifter, and their causes sooner dispatched.

Item, when as it is impossible the fountaine of greedie desire to be stopped, it was to be feared that either they would doe that by others which they were wont to doe by themselves, or else they should be informed to give greater rewards then before: for small gifts in the sight of great rich men are not looked upon.

Item, where he alledged the removing away of the slander which goeth on the court of Rome: by this meanes rather the contrary were to be feared, wherein they alledged the sentence of the berle, that great riches stop not the taking of much, but a mind contented with a little:

Quod virtus reddit, non copia sufficientem,  
Et non paupertas sed mentis hiatus egentem.

Further, they alledged that great riches would make the Romans mad, and so might kindle among them sides and parts taking: so that by great possessions sedition might follow to the ruine and destruction of the citie, whereof some experiment they had already.

Item, they added, that although they would defend and oblige themselves to that contribution, yet their successors would not so be bound, nor yet ratifie the bond of theirs.

Lastly, thus they conclude the matter, desiring him that the zeale of the universall Church, and of the church of Rome would move him: for if this oppression of the church should be universall, it were to be doubted lest an universall departing might follow from the church of Rome, which God forbid (say they) should happen.

The legat hearing these words, being therewith something moved (as seemed) excused himselfe, that he being in the court neuer agreed to this exaction: and that the letters hereof came not to him before he was in France, whereat he said he was greatly for, adding this withall, that the words of his precept included this secret meaning in them, thus to be understood and taken: so far forth as the empire & other realms would agree unto the same. And as for him, he would stir no more in the matter, before it were psoned what other countries would say and doe therein.

And thus much concerning the second part of the blind commission of this legat, touching his exaction of prebendships in euery cathedrall and conventuall church, wherein as ye hear, he was repulled:

Now to returne to the first part of his commission againe, which was concerning Reimundus the goodly earle of Tholouse, thus the story proceedeth, that while the legate was in hand with this matter of the Popes money, in the meane season certaine preaching friers were directed by the said Romanus the Popes legat into all France, to incite and stirre up the Frenchmen to take the crosse upon them, and to warre against the Earle of Tholouse and the people thereof, whom they accounted then for heretikes. At the preaching whereof, a great number of prelates and lay-men signed themselves with the crosse, to fight against the Tholosians, being thereto induced, as the story saith, more for feare of the French king or fauour of the legat, then for any true zeale of iustice. For so it followeth in the words of Paris: Videbatur enim multis abusu, vt hominem fidelem Christianum infestarent, precipue cum constaret curis, cum in concilio nuper Bituriensi, multis precibus persuasisset legato, vt veniret ad singulas terras lue ciuitates, inquirens à singulis articulos fidei: & si quempiam contra fidem inueniret, &c. For to many (saith he) it seemed an abuse, to moue warre against a faithfull Christian man, especially seeing in the counsell of Bitures (before all men) hee intreated the legat with great instance that hee would come into euery

citie within his dominions, and there to inquire of euery person the articles of his faith: where it hee found any man to hold anything contrary to the catholike faith, he promised a full satisfaction to be had thereof, according to the censure of the Church, to the uttermost, &c.

Yet all this notwithstanding, the proud legate, contemning this so honest and reasonable purgation of the earle Reimundus, ceased not by all manner of meanes to prosecute the Popes fury against him and his subjects, stirring up the king and the Frenchmen, vnder paine of excommunication, to warre against them. Landonke the French king, thus being enforced by the legat, answered againe, that he for his owne safety would not atchieue that expedition or aduerture against the Earle, vnlesse it were first obtained of the Pope to write to the king of England: commanding him that, during the time of that expedition, he should invade and molest no peace of his lands and possessions which he the same present time did hold, whether by right or by wrong, or howsoever they were holden, while the time of the sayd warre against the heretikes (as they were then termed) did endure, but rather should aide and assist him with counsell and money in that enterprize. All which being done and accomplished, the French king and the legat (crossing themselves to the field) appointed a day peremptorie for the French army to meete together at Lions, vnder paine of the Popes excommunication, and with horse and harnesse to set upon the Tholosians, against the Ascension day next ensuing.

When the Ascension day was come, which was the day peremptorie appointed, the French king, hauing prepared at Lions all things necessary for his army, marcheth forward with a great and mighty host; after whom also cometh the legat, with his Bishops, and prelates. The number of fighting men in his army, besides the victuallers and wagoners, were 50000 men. The legat by the way openly excommunicated the Earle of Tholouse, and all that tooke his part, and furthermore interdicted his whole land. Thus the king came marching forward, till he came into the prouince of Tholouse, and the first citie which he came vnto there of the Carles was Auinion: which citie they thought first to haue besieged, and so in order after, as they went, to haue destroyed and wasted all the whole prouince belonging to the Earle. And first the king demanded of them to haue his passage through the city, saining himselfe in peaceable wise (for the expedition of his journey) but to passe through the same. The citizens, consulting with themselves what was to be done, at length gaue answer that they mistrusted their conning, and supposed that in decreite they required the entrance of their city, and for no necessity of their journey.

The king, hereat being much offended, sware an oath that he would not depart thence till he had taken the city; and immediately in those places, where he thought most meete, hee began to give sharpe assaults, with all manner of saulkeable engines: the citizens againe within manfully defended themselves, casting stone for stone, and shooting shot for shot, and slew and wounded many of the Frenchmen. Thus when they had long besieged the citie, and could not winne the same: at length victuals in the French campe began to faile, and many of them dyed for hungr. For the Earle of Tholouse as a wise man of war, hearing before of their conning, tooke into the towne all the provision that was abroad, and left nothing without to serue for their defence and succour, he plowed up the fields, that there should no stouer be found to serue their horses, hee put out of the towne all the old people and young children, lest they should want victuals that kept the towne, and before their conning sent their farre away, so that within the towne there had plenty, and

The unreasonable  
blame of  
the Pope against  
the Tholosians.

Excommunication  
abused.

Lewis the  
French king  
and Romanus  
the Popes legat  
marching  
against the  
Tholosians.

Reimundus  
Earle of Tholouse  
excommunicated.

The citie of  
Auinion besieged.

Politie of war.

God grant, say  
we.

The cardinall  
pulled and de-  
ceated of his  
purpose in  
France.

Ex Mar. Pa-  
rif, pag. 62.  
The Pope rais-  
eth war against  
the Earle and  
the people of  
Tholouse.

Testimony of  
the author for  
the clearing of  
Reimundus and  
of the Tholosians.



without they died for famine. And besides in seeking farre for their fage, many fell into the hands of them that kept the cite, who secretly lay in wait for them aboad and slew many of them: besides a great number of cattell and hoxes died for want of forrage: and poore souldiers, that had no great store of money, died for want of victuals. By which mortallitie and stinke both of men and cattell grew great infection and pestilence among them; in so much that the king himselfe and also the legat were greatly dismayed, thinking it to be no little shame as well to the realme of France, as also to Rome, that they should so depart and breake vp their siege. Thus againe thought the souldiers, that much better it were for them to end their liues by battell, then so to dye like dogges and starue. Wherefore with one consent they purposed to giue a new assault at the bridge that goeth ouer the flood Rhodanus into the towne; to which place they came in such number, that either by the debilitie of the bridge or subtiltie of the souldiers that kept the towne, three thousand of them, with bridge and all, fell armed into the violent streame, and were drowned. What was there then but joy and gladnesse of the citizens part, and much lamentation and heauinesse on the other part? When shortly after, the citizens of Auinion (when they saw a convenient time, whilst their enemies were in eating meat) came suddenly vpon them out of the towne, and slew of them two thousand, and took the towne againe with safetie. But the legat with his company of prelate (like good men of war) practised none other martiall feats, but all to be curied the earle of Tholouse, his cities, and his people. And vnus the king, to auoyde the pestilence that was in the campe, went into an abbey not farre off, where shortly after he died: of whose death are sundry opinions, some saying that he was poisoned, scue that he dyed of a bloody fire.

Whose death notwithstanding the legat thought to keepe secret and conceale, till that the towne might be rendered and giuen vp: for he thought himselfe shamed for euer, if he should depart before the towne were worne. Wherefore after he had incouraged the souldiers afresh, and yet after many sharpe assaults could not preuaile; he bethought him how by falsehood he might betray them, and sent vnto them certaine Heralds, to tell them that they should amongst themselves consult upon articles of peace, and bring the same to their campe, whose safe conduct they faithfully promised and warranted both of continuing and going. And when they had giuen their pledges for the same, the messengers from the citizens talked with the legat: who promised them, if they would deliuer vp their cite, they should haue their liues, goods, and possessions in as ample manner as now they enjoyed the same. But the citizens and souldiers refused to be under the seruitude of the French king, neither would so deliuer vp their city to those, of whose insolent pride they had so good experience. After much talke on both sides, and none like to take effect, the legat requested them, and friendly desired, that he, and his prelates which were about him, might come into their cite to examine what saith and beloeve they were of, and that he neither sought nor ment any other thing thereby, but their owne safeties as well of body as soule, which thing he faithfully sware vnto: for (saith he) the brute of your great infidelitie hath come to the Lord popes care, and therefore desired he to make true certificate thereof. Whereupon the citizens, not mistrusting his faithfull oath and promise made vnto them, granted entrance to him and the residue of the clergie, bringing with them no weapon into the towne. The souldiers of the campe, as it was agreed before, made them ready; so that at the entrance of the prelates in at the gate, nothing regarding their oath and fidelitie, the other suddenly were ready, and with violence rushed in, Ruz the poxter and

warders, and at length worne the cite and destroyed the same, and slue many of them that were within. Thus by falsehood and policie when they had gotten this noble cite, they carried the kings corps vnto Paris where they buried the same. Of the whole number of the French souldiers which in this siege were destroyed by famine, pestilence, and drowning, be recounted more then two and twentie thousand: Whereby saith the storie of Mat. Parisiensis it may evidently appeare the warre was unjustly taken in hand, &c. Ex Mat. Parisiensis.

After these things finished, and after the funerall of the king celebrated at Paris, it followeth more in the said history of Parisiensis, that the said legat Romanus was vehemently suspected, and grievously infamed to abuse himselfe with Blauca the kings mother: Sed impium est (saith he) hoc credere, quia emuli ejus hoc disseminauerunt, benignus autem animus dubia in melius interpretatur: that is, But it is ungodly to suspect any such thing of him, because his enemies so rumored the same aboad; but a gentle minde expoundeth things doubtfull in the better part.

To passe further to the year next following, which was 1227. of the Lord, first it is to be noted, that in this year king Henry, beginning to wote up vnto the twentieth year of his age, came from Reading to London where he began to charge the citizens of London, for old reckonings, namely for giuing or lending one thousand markes to Lewis the French king, at his departing out of the realme, to the great prejudice of him and of his kingdom. For the recompence whereof they were constrained to yelde to the king the full summe of the like money. What done he removed to Oxford, where he assembled a great counsell, there denouncing and protesting before them all that he was come to sufficient age, no more to be under tutors and gouernors; but to be his owne man; requiring to be freed from the custody of others. Which thing being protested, and contrariet forthwith: he by the counsell of Hubert the chiefe Justice (whom he made then the earle of Kent) removed from his company the bishop of Winchester, & others, under whom he was moderated. And immediately in the same counsell by the sinister perswasion of some, he doth annihilate and make voyde the charters and liberties before by him granted, pretending this colour; for that they had bene granted and sealed in the time of his minority, at what time he had the rule neither of himselfe, nor of his scale. Whereupon much muttering and murmuring was among the multitude, who did all impute the cause to Hubert the justice. Moreover, it was the same time proclaimed, that whosoever had any charter, or gift sealed in the time of the kings minority, they should come and renew the same againe vnder the new scale of the king, knowing otherwise that the thing should stand in no effect. And finally, for renewing of their scales, they were tared not according to their ability, but according as it pleased the justice and other to leuie them.

Whereafter, beside this generall subdye of the fifth tenth granted to the king through the whole realme, and besides all the contribution of the Londoners, diuers other parcels and payments he gathered through seuerall places: as of the Burgesses of Northampton he required a thousand and two hundred markes, for his helping of them, and so of others likewise. All this preparation of money was made toward the furnishing of his voyage to recouere Normandie. And yet because he would gratifie the cite of London againe with some pleasure; he granted the citizens thereof should passe toll-free (saith Fabian) throughout all England. And if of any cite, borough, or towne they were constrained at any time to pay their toll, then the Sherikes of London to attach euery man coming to London of the said cite, borough, or towne, and him with his goods

The number of the French souldiers in this siege destroyed.

The incontinence of their Romish prelates to be noted.

{ Anno }  
1227.

The king claimed to be free from gouernment and to be his owne man.

Hubert the Justice made earl of Kent.

The king bindeeth and dissoloth the liberties which before he granted.

Practises of Danes to set in moue.

The citizens of London freed from toll throughout all England.

{ Anno }  
1228.

Famine and pestilence in the French campe.

The French souldiers destroyed at the siege of Auinion.

Lewis the French King died at the siege of Auinion.

The false dealing of the popes legat in betraying the Cite of Auinion.

The Popes legat wickedly perjured.

Perjurie of the Popes.  
The cite of Auinion taken by treason and perjury of the popes legat.



goods to withhold, till the Londoners were againe redressed of all such money paid for the said toll, with all costs and damages sustained for the same. Ex Fabiano.

I declared before, how after the death of Honorius succeeded pope Gregorie the tenth, betwene the which Gregorie and the people of Rome, this yere, fell a great sedition. Insomuch that about the feast of Easter, they thrust the pope out of the citie, pursuing him into his castle at Miterbium. Where also they invaded him so valiantly, that they chased him to Perusium. Then hauing no other remedy where with to reuenge his persecutors, fiercely hee did excommunicate them. Ex Mat. Paris. pag. 69.

Here, by the way, is to be obserued and considered, Christian reader, not onely by this sedition, but by so many other schismes, diuisions, tumults, fightings, brawles & contentions in the church of Rome from the first beginning of the popes usurped power, and that not onely within the citie of Rome, but vniuersally almost in all popish monasteries, colleges, churches, and couents under the pope subjected, continually raining amongst them, what is to be thought of their religion and holinesse, hauing so little peace, so great disquietnesse, dissensions, and wrangling amongst them, as in stones both manifest it is to behold, and wondrous to consider.

And for so much as I haue entered here into the mention of this schismaticall commotion betwene the pope and his citizens: it followeth moreover in the history of Parisiensis, who maketh relation of a like brawling matter, which befell the same yere, and time, Anno 1228. betwene the prior and couent of Durham, and this king Henry the third vpon this occasion: after the death of Richard bishop of Durham, the prior and chapter of the said church came to the king, to obtaine licence for the electing of their bishop. The king offered to them one Lucas a chaplen of his, requiring them instantly to elect him for their bishop. To this the monkes answered, that they would receiue no man, but by their order of canoniallelection. Meaning belike, by their canoniallelection, thus much, when as they elect either some monke out of their owne company, or else some monkish priest after their owne liking. Contrary, the king againe sendeth word vnto them, and bound it with an oath, that they should carry seven yeres without a bishop, vntill they would admit the foresaid Lucas to that place of that dignitie. All which notwithstanding, the monkes, proceeding in their election, refused the said Lucas, and preferred another clerke of theirs, named William archdeacon of Worcester, and him they presented to the king: but the king, being in exceptions and causes against the partie, would not admit him. Then the monkes in all hastie speede send vnto Rome certaine of their couent, to haue their election ratified by the authoritie apostolicall. On the other side the king, likewise hearing, sendeth also to Rome against the monkes, the bishop of Chester, and the prior of Lincolne on his behalfe, to withstand the purpose of the monkes. And so the matter, being trauielled with great alteration on both sides, did hang in suspence (saith mine author) till at length thus it was concluded betwene both, that neither master William, nor yet Lucas should be taken, but that Richard bishop of Sarum should be translated to Durham, and bee bishop there, Anno 1228. Ex Matth. Parisiensis.

The like strere also happened both the same yere, and for the like matter, betwene the monkes of Couentrie and the canons of Lichfield, about choosing of their bishop, which of them should haue the superiour voyce in the election of their prelat. After much adoe, the cause, at length being heylted vnto Rome, had this determination; that the monkes of Couentrie & the church of Lichfield should chuse their bishop by course, each part keeping his turn the

one after the other: promised notwithstanding, that the prior of Couentrie should alwayes haue the first voyce in euery election, whereas the old custome was, saith mine author, that the couent with the prior of Couentrie was wont to haue the whole election of the bishop without the canons, this was Anno 1228. Ex Parisiensis. pag. 68.

In the which yere died Stephan Langton archbishop of Canterbury, by whom (as is recorded by Nic. Trivet) the chapters of the Bible, in that order and number as we now vse them, were first distinguished. The said Langton also made possills vpon the whole Bible. The same moreover builded the new hall in the palace of Canterbury.

After the death of this Langton ensued another variance about the election of the archbishop of Canterbury, betwene the monkes of Canterbury and the king. The perturbation whereof as it was no lesse seditious, so the determination of the same was much more costly. After the death of Stephan Langton, the monkes of Canterbury, obtaining licence of the king to proceede in the election of a new archbishop, did chuse one of their owne society named master Walter Deuonellam. Whom when the monkes had presented vnto the king, hee, after long deliberation, began to object against that election, saying: first, that the monkes had elected such a one as neither was profitable to him nor his kingdome. Secondly, he objected against the party elect, that his father was conuict of felony, and hanged for the same. Thirdly, that he stood in causes against his father king John in the time of the interdict. Moreover, the bishops his suffragans charged the party elect, that he hadlen with a certaine nun, and had children by her; adding further, that the election of the archbishop was without their presence, which ought not to be, &c. But the archbishop againe, stoutly standing vnto his election, appealed vnto Rome, and citicones, taking with him certaine monkes, presented himselfe to the popes owne proper person, there to sue his appeale; instantly intreating, that his election might stand confirmed by his authoritie pontificall. But the pope understanding that the said election was resisted by the king and the bishops, deferred the matter vntill hee did heare further of the certaintie thereof. The king and the bishops, hauing intelligence that the archbishop with his monkes were gone to Rome, thought good to articulate the foresaid objections aboue alleged, in writing, and sealing the same with the seales both of the king and of the bishops, to exhibit them to the bishop of Rome. The messengers of the letters were the bishops of Rochester, of Chester, and the archdeacon of Bedford master John, &c. Who comming to Rome, and exhibiting their message with their letters vnto the pope (consideration being had vpon the same) were commanded to waite attendance against the next day after Ashwednesday: then to haue a resolute answer concerning the cause,

which was the second day of March the next yere following, that is, in the yere of our Lord 1229. In the meane season, the kings protoys ceased not with all instance to labour the pope and his cardinals to be fauorable to the kings side. But finding them somewhat hard and strict in the matter (as is the guise of that court) they began to misgouern their proceeding. Wherefore consulting together with themselves vpon the premises, they came to the pope, promising in the kings behalfe to be giuen and granted to him, out of the realmes both of England and Ireland, the fifth or tenth part of all the goods within the said realmes moueable, to sustaine his wars against the emperour, so that he would incline fauorably to the kings suite and petition herein. At dominus papa (saith Paris) qui rebellum imperatorem super omnia astuabat deiecit, tantis promissionibus exhilaratus, trahitur ad consensum. That is, But the pope (saith the author) which boyled with desire about

Ex Mat. Paris. pag. 68.

Stephan Langton archbishop died. The chapters of the Bible first distinguished by Stephan Langton.

Another contentious dissention betwene the monkes of Canterbury and king Henry the third. Objections laid against the new archbishop.

Appeale sued to Rome.

King Henry sendeth to the pope.

The of all moueable goods in England and Ireland promised to the pope for granting the kings suite.

O auri sacra fames.



It is pittie the Pope will take 100 shilings.

The Popes answer to the election of Walter archbishop of Canterbury.

No, but when the darling came he was heard without such communication.

The election of Walter archbishop of Canterbury dissolved of the pope for the same money.

Richard chancellor of Lincoln commended to the pope to be archbishop of Canterbury.

Richard made archbishop of Canterbury by the pope without election.

The effect of the popes letters to the suffragans of Canterbury. The pope beguileth first with a lie.

all measure, to have the Emperour his enemy cast downe, being cheered with so great promises, granted his consent to them, who, sitting then in his consistory, had these wordes, which here follow.

There hath come of late to our intelligence the election of a certaine monke named Walter, to bee Archbishop of Canterbury; whereupon after that we heard and advised as well those things which the said Monke hath said for himselfe and for his election, as also on the contrary side, the objections and exceptions of the Bishops of England alledging against him and against his election, namely of the Bishop of Chester, the Bishop of Rochester, and Iohn Archdeacon of Bedford: Wee vpon the same committed the examination, touching the person of the man, vnto our reuerend brethren Lord Cardinall Albanie, Lord Cardinall Thomas de Sabina, and master Peter. And when the foresaid elect, comming before them, was asked of them, first concerning the Lords descending into hell, whether he descended in flesh, or without his flesh, hee answered not well. Item, being asked touching the making of the body of Christ on the Altar, he answered likewise not soundly. Being asked moreouer how Rachell wept for her children, shee being dead before, hee answered not well. Item, being asked concerning the sentence of excommunication denounced against the order of law, hee answered not well. Againe, being required of matrimony, if one of the married parties be an infidell, and doe depart, he answered thereto not well. Vpon these articles he was (as is said) diligently examined of the Cardinalls; to the which wee say hee answered not onely not well, but also very ill. For so much therefore, as the church of Canterbury is a noble church, and requirerh a noble prelat, a man discret and modest, and such as ought to bee taken out of the bosome of the church of Rome; and for so much as this new elect (whom not onely heere we pronounce to be vnworthy, but also should say more of him, if wee would proceede with him by the rigor of the law) is so insufficient, that hee ought not to be admitted to such a roome: wee doe vtterly infringe, annihilate, and euacuate his election, alwayes reserving to our selues the prouision of the said church. *Hac ex Mat. Parisiensis ad verbum.*

Thus the election of Walter being frustrate and dissolved, the kings procurators bringing forth the letters of the King, and of the suffragans of the church of Canterbury, presented the same vnto the Pope for the ratification of Richard Chancellor of Lincoln, to be appointed archbishop of Canterbury, whom they with great commendation of wordes did set forth to be a man of profound learning and knowledge, of an honest conuersation; and which was greatest of all, that he was a man much for the profit of the church of Rome, as also for the realme of England. And thus the said Richard being commended to the Pope by the letters procuratory of the king and of the bishops, had the consent of the Pope and of the Cardinals, and so was made bishop of Canterbury before he was elected. Whereupon the said Pope Gregorie in his he'alls directed downe his letters to all and singular suffragans of the church of Canterbury, declaring thus, and beginning first with a lie, that for so much as by the fullnesse of ecclesiasticall power the charge of pastoral office is committed to him in generall vpon all churches, hee therefore for the sollicitude hee beareth as well to all other Churches in generall, as in speciall to the metropolitane church of Canterbury, repudiating and disauowing the former election of Walter the monke vpon iust causes, hath provided for that hee a man, as in all other good gifts perfect and excellent, by the report of them that know him, so fit that function very fit and commodious; and willet and commandeth them, and all others, by his

authoritie apostolicall, with all deuout reuerence to receiue him, and humbly to obey him, &c. which was Anno 1229. Ex Paris.

These things thus finished at Rome, the Pope not forgetting the sweet promises made of the English siluer which he so greedily gaped for, omitting neither time nor diligence, in all speede wise sendeth vnto the king of England H. Stephan his owne chaplen and trustie legat, to require and collect the foresaid tithes of all the moveable goods both of England, Ireland, & Wales, which were promised to him before, therewith to maintaine his war against Frederike the Emperour. And to the intent he might inflame all Christian realmes with the like hatred which he bare against Frederike the Emperour, he sendeth also with the said Stephan speciall letters full of manifold complaints, and grievous accusations against the said emperour, wherof moze (Christ granting) shall be shewed hereafter. Vpon the coming of this Stephan the legat, the King assembled all his earles and barons, with the archbishops, bishops, abbats, priors, templars, hospitalers, parsons, and vicars, and other luch as held of him in capite, to appeare before him at Westmynster, to heare and to commune of the matter. In the assembly of whom, the popes patent letters were brought forth and read, wher in he required the tenths of all the moveables in England, Wales, and Ireland, as well of the clergie as of the laitie, to maintaine his expedition against the foresaid Frederike the emperour. The which expedition as hee pretended to achieve and to take in hand for the cause of the vniuersall church, and happily had begun the matter already; and for so much as the riches of the apostolike See did not suffice for the accomplishing of so great an enterpryse: hee therefore, enforced by more necessity, did imploye the aide and helpe of all the true obedient and naturall chikins of the church of Rome, lest the members thereof together with the head should be subuerted. These letters of the pope to this effect being openly recited and explained by the popes chaplen, which he with much moze allegation and perswasion of wordes did amplye to his vttermost; the king (saith mine author) in whom all men did hope for helpe to their defence, became then as a staffe of reede. For so much as he had obliged himselfe to the same before, for the election of his Archbishop, now could hee say nothing against it, but held his peace. The Carles, Barons, and all the laity vtterly refused to bind their baronies to the church of Rome: but the bishops, abbats, priors, with other prelates of the church, first requiring space and respite to deliberate for thre or foure dayes; at length for feare of the popes curse (although they durst not vtterly withstand) had brought to passe to haue concluded for a summe of money much lesse, had not Stephan Segraue, one of the kings counsellors, craftily conuened with the legat, and by subtil meanes brought it so to passe, that the whole tenths were gathered and paid, to the ineffinable damage (saith Parisiensis both of the ecclesiasticall and temporall state. The meanes whereof (saith the author) was this: The legat shewing to the prelates his procuratory letters, to collect and gather by all the foresaid tenths in the name and authoritie of the pope, declared moreouer the full authoritie to him granted by the vertue of his commission, to excommunicate all such and to interdict their churches, whoeuer did gainst and or goe contrary to the said collection. Whereupon by the said vertue legantine, he sendeth to euery shire his proctors to gather the popes money, or else to excommunicate them in which denyed to pay. And for so much as the present neede of the pope required present helpe without delay, he sendeth moreouer to the bishops and prelates of the realme, in paine of interdiction, forthwith to procure and send to him either of their owne, or by loan, or vntance, or by what meanes soeuer, so much money in all post

Ex Mat. Parisiensis.

This was a deare archbishop of Canterbury bought with tenths of all England.

The pope requirerh the tenths of the moveable in England, Wales, and Ireland. Hee contents the popes letters to the king. The false pretence of the pope vnder the name of the church weakening his owne cankered malice.

The kings mouth stopped.

Excommunication abused.

The Popes extortion.

spad



ſpede by the preſent uſe of the pope; and after to take by againe the ſaid money of the tenths of euery ſingular perſon, by the right taring of their goods. Upon this, the prelates to auoyde the danger (ha-ving no other remedy) were obliged to ſell their chalices, crucifixes, copes, jewels, and other church plate, and ſome to lay to mortgage ſuch things as they had, ſome alſo to borrow upon ſſance to make the money which was required. Moreover, the ſaid Stephan the popes chaplen (as reporteth Paris) brought with him into England, for the ſame purpoſe, ſuch bankers and burſers, who lending out their money upon great uſury, did unreaſonably pinch the Engliſh people, which merchant burſers were then called *Caufurini*. Briefly, ſuch ſtrict exaction was then upon the poore Engliſhmen, that not onely their preſent goods were valued and ſeized, but alſo the corne, yet growing in the field, againſt the next harveſt was ſeized, &c. Duely the earle of Cheſter, named *Kanulphus*, ſtood ſtoutly againſt the pope, ſuffering none within his Dominion either lay man or clerke to paye any tenths to the popes proctors. *Ex Matth. Paris pag. 74.* And this was the end of the triſſe betwene the monkes of Canterbury and the king for the election of their archbiſhop, which was about the yeere of our Lord 1229. in the which yeere was finiſhed the new Church of Coventrie, by Alexander biſhop of the ſaid citie, and partly by the helpe of the king: which Church Richard his predeceſſor biſhop before him of Coventrie had begun.

The Frenchmen about this time againe prepared themſelves towards *Prouans*, to warre againſt the ſoſelaid *Reimundus* earle of *Cholouſe*, and to expulſe him out of his poſſeſſions. And hearing that he was in his caſtle of *Saracene*, they made thither all their power, thinking there to incloſe and compaſſe him about: but the earle, being priuie of their conſpired purpoſe, let for them by the way, appointing certaine ambuſhments in woods, not ſo ſecretly as ſtrongly, there to waite and receive the coming of the Frenchmen, and to giue them their welcome. Thus when the French were entered the wood, the earle, with his traine of well armed and able warriors, ſuddenly diſſed upon them vnawares, and gaue them a bitter meeting, ſo that in that conflict ſine hundred of the French ſouldiers were taken and many ſlaine. Of their ſeruitors to the number of two thouſand men with their armor were taken, of whom ſome loſt their eyes, ſome their noſes, ſome their eares, ſome their legs, and ſo were ſent home; the reſt were carried away priſoners into the caſtle. And to be brieſe (ſaith the hiſtory) thrice the ſame ſummer were the Frenchmen diſcomfited, put to flight, taken and imprifoned by the ſoſelaid *Reimundus* the goodly earle. *Ex Pariſ. pag. 69.* Wherein is to be ſeene and to be prayed the gracious protection of the Lord our God againſt the furious paſſions, which is glorious alwayes in his Saints.

The ſame yeare the king, being at *Dorſmouth*, had aſſembled together all his nobilitie, earles, barons, and knights of England, with ſuch an army of hoſemen and footemen, as hath not bene lightly ſeene, thinking to recover againe the countrie of *Normandie*, of *Want*, and other poſſeſſions which king *John* his father before had loſt. But when the captaines and marſhals of the field ſhould take ſhipping, there were not halfe ſhips enough to receive the hoſt. Whereupon the king was vehemently inflamed with anger, laying all the fault in *Hubert* the lord chiefe juſtice (who vnder the king had all the government of the realme) calling him old traytor, charging him that he ſhould be the let of his voyage, as he was before when he tooke of the French *Duenn* five thouſand markes to ſtay the kings journey into *Normandie*. In ſo much that the rage of the king was ſo kindled againſt him, that, drawing his ſword, he made at him to runne him through, had not the earle of Cheſter *Kanulph* ſtopped the king.

*Hubert* withdrew himſelfe away till the kings rage was paſt. This was about the time of *Richelmus*, at which time arrived *Henry* earle of *Normandie* in the haven of *Dorſmouth* in the moneth of *Maſter*; who ſhould haue conducted the king upon his alliance and oath into *Normandie*. But he with other of the kings army counſelled the king not to take that voyage towards winter, but rather to deferre it to the Eaſter next following: wherewith the king was ſtayed and well contented, and pacified againe with *Hubert* the juſtice, &c. *Ex Pariſienſi.*

*Frabian* recozdeſſeth this yeere the liberties and franchise of the citie of *London* to be confirmed by the king, and to euery of the ſheriffes to be granted two clerkes, and two officers without any moze. *Ex Fabian.*

Then folloved the yeere 1230. in which upon the day of the conuerſion of *Saint Paul* (as ſaith *Paris*) as a great multitude of people for the ſolemnitie of the day were congregate in the temple of *S. Paul*, the biſhop then being at his maſſe, a ſudden darkeneſſe with ſuch thickneſſe of cloudes fell in the aire, that ſometh one man might ſee another in the church. After that folloved craks of thunder and lightning ſo terrible, leaving ſuch a ſent in the church, that the people, looking for doomes-day, thought no leſſe but that the temple & whole church would haue fallen upon their heads: in ſo much that they running out of the church, as people amazed, fell downe together by thouſands, as men amazed, not knowing for the time where they were, onely the biſhop and his deacon ſtood ſtill at their maſſe, holding the altar faſt. *Ex Pariſienſi.*

Of the death of *Stephen* Langton, and of the troubleſome election of the next archbiſhop, alſo of the coſtly and chargeable bringing in of *Richard* to ſuccede in the roome, which did coſt the whole realme of England the tenths of all their moueables, ſufficient hath bin declared before. This *Richard*, being now confirmed in his ſeat, came to the king complaining of *Hubert* the lord chiefe juſtice, oft mentioned before, for withholding from him the caſtle and towne of *Wimbridge* with the appurtenances to the ſame belonging, and other lands of the Earle of *Clare* late deceased. Which lands appertained to the right of his ſeat, and to the Church of Canterbury; for the which the ſaid earle with his anceſtors were bound to do homage to him and to his predeceſſors; and therefore he required the keeping of the ſoſelaid caſtle, with the demaines thereof to be reſtozed to him. To this the king answered againe, that the ſaid earle did hold of him in capite, and that the caſtles being vacant of earles and barons, with their heires, did belong to his crowne, till the lawfull age of the ſaid heires. The archbiſhop, when he could get no other anſwer of the king, did excommunicate all ſuch as invaded the ſoſelaid poſſeſſions, with all others that tooke their part, the king onely excepted. Which done, ſtill ſtones he ſpedeth himſelfe to Rome, there to proſecute his ſute before the pope. The king hearing thereof not long after ſendeth by maſter *Roger Cantelu*, with certaine other meſſengers, unto Rome againſt the archbiſhop.

This *Richard* the archbiſhop, coming before the Popes preſence, beſimeth firſt to complaine of his king, for that he committed all the affaires of his realme to the diſpoſition and government of *Hubert* his juſtice, vſing onely his counſell, all his other nobles deſpiſed.

Againſt the ſaid juſtice moreover he complained, laying to his charge, firſt, that he had married a wife, being the kinſwoman of her whom he had married before; alſo that the ſaid *Hubert* the juſtice did invade, hold, and wrongfully detain ſuch poſſeſſions as belonged to the Sea and church of Canterbury.

As touching the wife of this *Hubert*, here is to be noied, that he married the elder ſiſter of the king at

{ Anno }  
1230.

A ſudden terror among the people in London church by thunder and lightning.

Ex Pariſienſi }  
Pag. 75.

{ Anno }  
1231. }  
Richard archbiſhop of Canterbury.

The complaint of Richard archbiſhop of Canterbury againſt Hubert lord chiefe juſtice.

The kings anſwer to Richard the Archbiſhop.

Excommunicati-  
on abſolved.

Richard the archbiſhop com-  
plaineth to the  
pope of his king  
and of other mat-  
ters more.

Fluriers brought  
into England  
by the pope to  
buy him with  
money.

Come upon the  
he pope.  
Ramphus  
earle of Cheſter  
ſent to pay  
the popes  
cents.

{ Anno }  
1229. }  
The church of  
Coventrie finiſhed.

The popes  
French armie,  
thinking to de-  
ſtroy *Reimundus*,  
is deſtroyed by  
the way.

The incontin-  
ſtance of princes  
reneweth them  
that be chiefe  
about them.



of Scots; which, as it seemeth, could be of no great kin to her whom he married before.

Further, he complaineth of certaine bishops his suffragans, who, neglecting their pastozall function, did sit on chequer matters belonging to the king, and exercised sessions and judgements of blood.

Ober and besides, he complaineth of beneficed persons, and clerkes within orders, for hauing many benefices joined with cure of soule: and that they also, taking example of the bishops, did intermeddle in secular matters, and in judgements of lay men.

Of these and such other defaults he required redresse to be had. The pope weighing and considering the cause of the archbishop to stand upon right and reason (at leastwise seeming so to his purpose) commanded incontinent his petitions and requests to be dispatched according to justice.

Against these complaints of the Archbishop, the kings attorneyes alledged and defended, in as much fauour of the king as they might, but could doe no good. Such fauour found the archbishop in the popes sight, being (as the storie reporteth) of a comly personage, and of an eloquent tongue, that hee obtained whatsoeuer he asked. Thus the archbishop, with all fauourable speed being dispatched at Rome after his owne will and desire, returned homeward; who in his journey, within thre daies of his setting forth, departed in the house of Gray friers at S. Gemmes, and so his cause departed with him: who, turning his sute, lost his life: for whom it had been better, I suppose, to haue tarried at home. And heere of him an end, with all his complaints also.

Ex Parisiens.

After the death of this Richard, the monkes of Canterbury (according to the maner) addresse themselves to a new election: at which was chosen Ralfe Nevill, bishop of Chichester, who was the kings chancelor, much commended in stories, to be a man faithfull, bright, and constant: which from the way of justice declined neither to the right hand nor to the left, but was bright and sincere both in word and deed. This Ralfe (thus chosen of the monkes) was presented unto the king to be their archbishop, wherewith the king was right well contented, and glad also of his election: and forthwith inuested him for archbishop of the church of Canterbury. But

this inuesting of the king was not enough; unlesse he should also be confirmed by the pope. Wherfore the monkes, ready to take their journey into Rome, came to the new archbishop, requiring his helpe for their expences by the way, and to know what seruice he would command them to the court of Rome. But he, fearing in his minde the same not to be without some scruple of simony and ambition, said he would not give an halfe pence, and, holding up his hands to heauen, thus prayed, saying: O Lord God, if I shall bee thought worthie to be called (although indeede unworthie) to the seat and office of this church; so be it as thou shalt dispose it. But if otherwise in this troublesome office of chancery, and this my inferior ministry, whereunto I haue beene assigned, I shall seeme more necessary for this thy kingdome and people, I refuse not my labour, thy will be done.

The monkes beholding the constancy of the man, notwithstanding they had of him no money, yet refused not their trauell and journey to Rome, to haue their election confirmed by the popes authority. The pope inquiring of Simon Langton (brother of Stephan Langton archbishop of Canterbury before mentioned) of the person of this man, it was reported againe to him by the said Simon (maliciously deprauiing the good man behind his backe) declaring to the pope, that hee was a courtier, vniuersed, halfe, and seruent in his doings, and such a one, who, if he should be promoted to that dignitie, would goe about, with the helpe of the king and of the whole realme, to remove and bring the realme of

England from vnder the yoke of the pope and of the church of Rome: and so to bereaue the see of Rome of the tribute, vnder which R. John had once subiected himselfe and his realme, at what time he yoked his crowne to the hands of Pandulphus the legat, &c. With these and such other words Simon Langton falsly and maliciously deprauiing the good bishop. The pope hearing with one care, and crediting what he heard, without further inquisition made of the other partie accused, sendeth incontinent to the monkes of Canterbury to proceed in a new election, and to choose them another archbishop, such as were an wholesome pastoz of soules, profitable vnto the church of England, and deuote to the church of Rome: and thus was the lawfull election of this good archbishop made frustrate, for good peradventure to serue in that place whereunto he was elected.

After the repulse of this Pandulph, the Canterbury monkes, entering a new election, agreed vpon John their prior, to be their metropolitane; who, going by to Rome to haue his election confirmed by the pope, was thre daies together examined of the cardinals. And when they could find no insufficiency in him, touching those things wherein they tried him: yet notwithstanding the pope finding fault with his age (hee peradventure being more aged himselfe) repelled him, for that hee said hee was too old and simple to sustaine that dignitie. Ex Paris.

What was the age of this person, I find it not in the author expressed; yet it is to be supposed, that he, which was able to take that journey to Rome and home againe, was not so greatly to be complained off: his age, but that he was able sufficiently to take paines in keeping the chaire of Canterbury.

In the former parts of this story preceding, partly before hath bene declared, partly hereafter more shall appeare (Christ willing) how the church of England and commons of the same was grieved and miserably afflicted by the intolerable oppressions of the pope: who through his violent extortion had procured the best benefices to be given vnto his Romans, and the chiefe fruits of them to be reserved to his owne coffers. And what complaints thereof haue bene made, yee heard before; but yet no redresse could be had. Such was the insatiable auarice of these Romane ratchels, prouling and pelting, wheresoeuer they came, with their prouisions and exactions out of measure, and neuer satisfied. In so much that here in England, whosoeuer lacked, their barnes were alwaies full of cogne; and what penurie soeuer pinched the people, they were fure to haue enough. And these importunate exactions and contributions of these Italian harpies, besides the Peter pence, besides the common tribute, daily more and more increased, to the great grievance of the realme, in so much that the wealth of this land was almost cleaue sucked vp, and translated to the court of Rome. Neither was the king ignorant herof, but could not helpe the matter. Wherfore it was deuised by some of the nobles (as appeareth in the storie of Parisiens) this foresaid pence, An 1231. that certain letters, vnder the pretended colour of the kings authority, should be sent abroad, willing and commanding, that such cogne and graine with other reuenues, as were taken by for the pope, should be staid and forth coming by a certaine day in the said letters appointed; the which letters are thought to proceed chiefly by the meanes of Hubert lord chiefe Justice of England, who then, next vnder the king, ruled the most affaires of the realme. The words and contents of the letters be these.

After diuers and sundry griefes and oppressions which this realme, as you know, hath sustained by the Romanists, and yet doth, as well to the prejudice of the king himselfe, as also of the nobilitie of the same, concerning the aduousons of their churches, and about their tithes: who also goe about to take from

Pluralitie of benefices complained of by the archbishop of Canterbury.

The kings attorneyes could not speed with the Pope. Respect of person doth much with the Pope.

Richard the archbishop in his journey from Rome dieth.

Ralfe Nevill bishop of Chichester elected archbishop of Canterbury. The king inuesteth the archbishop of Canterbury.

Ex Mat. Pari.

A rare example of a good archbishop.

The prayer of the archbishop elect.

Simon Langton archbishop of Poike, a malicious backbiter of Pandulphus archbishop elect.

The rash incontinent of the pope

The election of Ralfe archbishop elect, feared by the pope.

John archbishop of Canterbury elected and repulsed of the pope

The popes intolerable exactions upon England.

Ex Mat. Pari. pag. 79.

Hubert L. chiefe Justice of England against the pope

The copie of the letter written vnder the kings authority to restrain the benefices of the Romans within the realme.



from the clerkes and spiritiual men their benefices, and to bestow them vpon their owne nation and countreymen, to the spoile and confusion both of vs and our realme: wee therefore by our common consents haue thought good (although very late) now yet rather, then any longer to suffer their intollerable oppressions and extortions, to resist and withstand the same. And by the taking from them their benefices through all England, in like manner to cut short and bridle them, as they had thought to haue kept vnder and bridled others: whereby they may desist any longer to molest the realme. Wherefore we straitly charge and command you, that as touching the farming of their Churches, or else the rents belonging to them, which either you haue presently in your hands, or else doe owe vnto the said Romanists, that from henceforth you be no more accountable to them, or else pay to them from henceforth the same. But that you haue the said your rents and reuenues ready by such a day, to pay and deliuer vnto our procurators thereunto by our letters assigned; and that all abbats and priors haue the same in a readinesse at the time appointed, in their owne monasteries: and all other Priests, Clerkes and laymen, at the Churches of the Romanists, there ready to pay. And further, know yee for certaintie, that if yee refuse thus to doe, all that you haue besides shall be by vs burnt and spoiled. And besides, looke what danger wee purpose shall fall vpon them, the same shall light vpon your neckes if you refuse thus to doe.

Farewell.

When this was done, they sent their letters abroad by certaine souldiers thereunto appointed, to the which letters they had deuised a new seale with two swords ingraued, and between the swords was written; Ecce gladij duo, &c. Behold these two swords, ready to take vengeance of all those that shall withstand the foyme and order in these letters contained.

At that time the sixteenth day befoze the kalends of Iannarie, about the beginning of the yere 1232. there was kept at S. Albans a great consistory of abbats, priors, archdeacons, with diuers both of the nobility and clergy by the popes commandement, for the celebration of a diuorce betweene the countesse of Essex and her husband. At the breaking vp of which consistory, when euery man was about to depart thence, there was a certaine clerke, whose name was Cincius a Romane, and also a canon of Pauls in London, taken by some of the said vniuersitie not farre off from S. Albans, and was carried away from his company by the souldiers. But master John, archdeacon of Norwich, a Florentine, hardly escaping from that company, gat to London where he hid himselfe, and durst not be seene. Cincius after five weekes, when they had well emptied his bags, was safely sent againe without any moze hurt to London.

Not long after this, about the beginning of Iannary, the barnes of a certaine beneficed man a Romane, and parson of Wingham, being full of corne, were broke vp by a like company of armed souldiers and the corne brought out to be sold and giuen away to the poore people. The farmer seeing this, & not able to resist, complaineth to the sheriffe of the shire of this injury done to his master, & of breaking the kings peace: whereupon the sheriffe sent certain of his men to see what was done, who coming to the empty barnes, and there finding the foresaid souldiers to them vnknowne, who had sold away the most part of the corne vpon easie price, & some for charity had giuen to the povertie of the country about, required of them what they were, that so durst presume to breake the kings peace. Whom the other then called secretly apart, and shewed them the kings letters patents (pretending at least the kings name and seale) wherein was forbidden that no man should presume to stop or let them in that purpose.

Whereof the sheriffes seruants being certified, quietly returned from whence they came.

This coming to the knowledge of Roger bishop of London, he (with the assistance of other bishops) proceedeth in solemne excommunication, first against them that robbed Cincius the Romane: then of them which spoiled the barnes of the parson of Wingham another Romane; thirdly, he excommunicated them that forged the letters and seals of the king aboue specified.

Neither yet, for all this, did that cease, but the same yere about Easter next following, all the barnes in England, which were in the hands of any Roman or Italian, were likewise wasted, and the corne sold to the best commodie of the poore commons. Of the which, great almes were distributed, and many times money also with come together was sparled for the needy people to gather vp. Neither was there any that would durst stand against them. As for the Romans and Italians themselves, they were stricken in such feare, that they hid themselves in monasteries and cells, not daring to complain of their injuries received; but held it better to lose rather their goods, then to lose their liues. The authors & workers of this feat were to the number of fourescore armed souldiers, of whom the principall captaine was one naming himselfe William Withers, surnamed Wting.

This coming to the Popes knowledge, he was not a litle stirred therewith, and sendeth his letters immediately to the king vpon the same, with sharpe threatnings, and imperious commandements, charging him for suffering such villanie within his realme, straitly intreating him, vnder paine of excommunication, to search out the doers hercof with all diligence, and so to punish them that all others by them may take example. Likewise he sendeth the same charge to Peter bishop of Winchester, and to the abbat of saint Edmund, to inquire in the south parts. Also to the archbishop of York, and to the bishop of Durham, and to master John Canon of York, a Romane, to inquire in the north parts for the said malefactors, and after diligent inquisition made, to send by the same to Rome, there needs to appeare befoze him, &c.

Thus after earnest inquisition made of all parties, and witnesses swoone and examined, many were found culpable in the matter, some that were factors, some that were consenters, of whom some were Withers and Chaplens vnto the king, some archdeacons and deans, with other souldiers and lay men. Among whom, certain sheriffes and vnder sheriffes, with their seruitors vnder them, were apprehended & cast into prison by the king. Many for feare fled and escaped away, who being sought for could not be found: but the principall of this number (as is aforesaid) was supposed to be Hubertus Lord chiefe Justice; who, both with the kings letters and his owne, fortified the doers thereof, that no man durst interrupt them. Moreover, in the same society of them which were noted in these doings, was the same Robert Wting aboue mentioned, a comely young man and a tall souldier: who of his owne voluntary accord with five other seruitors, whom he took with him abroad to worke that feat, came vnto the king, openly professing himselfe to be the author of that daede doing, and said he did it for hatred of the Pope and the Romans, because that by the sentence of the Bishop of Rome, and fraudulent circumuention of the Italians hee was bereaued of the patronage of his benefice, hauing no moze to giue but that one: wherefore to be reuenged of that injury, he enterprised that which was done; preferring rather wisely to be excommunicated for a season, then to be spoiled of his benefice for euer. When the king, and other executors of the Popes commandement, gaue him counsell, that seeing he had so incurred the danger of the Popes sentence, he should offer

A general spoile of the Roman parsons in England.

A sumish vicar of milke Churche.

Inquisition made for the spoiling of the Popes corne.

Hubertus Lord chiefe Justice.

Robert Wting spoiled of his benefice by the Romans.

Anno. 1232. A Roman priest canon of Pauls, taken and robbed by souldiers.

The barnes of a Romane parson broke vp, and the corne distributed to the poore.

The Roman and Italian persons in England robbed of their rents and corne.



offer himselfe to the Pope to be absolved of him againe, and there to make his declaration unto him, that he justly and canonically was possessed of that Church. The king moreover with him sent his letters testimoniall unto the pope, witnessing with the said scoldier, and instantly desiring the Pope in his behalf, that he might with favour be heard. At the request whereof, pope Gregory afterwards both released him of the sentence, and restored unto him his patronage, writing unto the archbishop of York, that he might again enjoy the right of his benefice in as ample manner as he did before it was taken from him.

Hubert de Burgo Lord chiefe justice, being one of them which held against the Romish priests, as is afore signified, was therefore not a little noted of the Bishopps, who to requite him with the like despite as gaine (after their accustomed manner of practise) went about by subtill working to shake him out of the kings favour. And first cometh Peter Bishop of Winchester to the king, grievously complaining of certeine about the king; but especially of the foresayd Hubert the kings justice: inso much that hee caused him to be removed from his office, notwithstanding he had the kings seale and waiting for the perpetuity of the same, and procured Stephan Seegrave to be placed in his function. And after a few dayes, the king, more and more incensed against him, called him unto account of all the treasure which he was countable for by his exchequer office, also of all such debts by him due from the time of his father, till his time: also of all the lordships which were in the possession of William Earle of Pembroke, chiefe justice before him. Item, of the liberties which he did hold at that time in forrests, warrens, shires, and other places, how they were kept, or how they were made away. Of prizes likewise, also of losses committed through his negligence, and of waxes made contrary to the kings profit, of his liberties how he did vse them. Item, of injuries and damages wrought against the clerkes of Rome and other Italians, and the popes legats: for the redresse whereof hee would never adopyne his counsell, according as pertained to his office, being then chiefe Justice of England. Also of scutages, gifts, presents, rapes of prisoners. Item, of marriages which King John committed to his keeping at the day of his death, and which were also in his time committed unto him. To these Hubert answered, that he had King Johns owne hand to shew for his discharge, who so appoynted his fidelitie, that hee neuer called him to any, but cleerely discharged him from all such counts. Whereunto answered againe the Bishop of Winchester, saying, The charter of King John hath no force after the death of him, but that ye may now be called to a reckoning of this King for the same.

Where and besides these, other greater objections were laid to his charge by the King, as for sending and writing unto the duke of Austria that he might marry his daughter, to the prejudice of the King, and of the realme, dissuading that she might not be given to him. Item for counselling the King not to enter into prozandie with his army, which he had prepared for the recovery of lands there belonging to his right, whereby great treasure was there consumed in vaine. Item, for corrupting the daughter of the King of Scots, whom King John his father committed unto his custody for him to marry. Item, for stealing from him a precious stone, which had a vertue to make him victorious in warre, and for sending the same unto Leolin prince of Wales: and that by his letters sent to the said Leolin, William Burce a noble man was caused there traitorously to be hanged, &c. These with other crimes (whether true or false) were suggested to the king against the said Hubert by his adversaries: whereunto he was required to answer by order of law. Hubert then, saving himselfe in such a strait, refused to answer presently, but required respite there-

unto, for that the matters were weighty which the king objected to him which was granted to him till the fourteenth day of September: but in the meane time, Hubert, being in feare of the king, fled from London to the priory of Herton. And thus Hubert, who before for the love of the king, and defence of the realme (saith mine author) had got the hatred of all the nobles of England, now being out of the kings favour, was destitute of comfort on every side; save onely that Lucas Archbishop of Dublin, with instant prayers and teares labored to the king for him. By this example and many like, is to be seene, how unstable and variable a thing the favour of mortall and mutable princes is: so teach all such as have to doe about princes, how to repose and plant their trust, not in man, but in their Lord God, by him to finde helpe in Christ the true Prince of all princes, which neuer faileth. By like example was Clito served of King Alexander, Joab of King David, Belshazzar of Justinian, Varpagus of Artaxages, Cromwell of King Henry, with innumerable more, which in histories are to be found.

When the day was come that this Hubert should answer, keeping amongst the monkes of Herton, he durst not appeare. When was it signified unto him from the king, that he should come up and appeare in the court, there to answer to his charge. Whereunto he answered againe, that he misdoubted the kings anger, & therefore he did flee to the church, as the bittermost refuge to all such as suffer wrong; from whence he would not stirre, till he heard the kings wrath to be mitigated towards him. With this the king, moved and sore displeased, directed his letters, in all hast to the maior of London, commanding him at the sight thereof to muster and take by all the citizens that could beare harnesse in the city, and to bring to him by force of armes the foresayd Hubert either quick or dead out of Herton. Whereupon, the maior immediately, causing the great bell to be rung, assembled together the people of London, & opening before them the kings letters, commanded them to prepare & arme themselves in all readinesse to the executing of the kings will and message.

The citizens hearing this were therewith right glad and ready, for they were all in great hatred with Hubert, because of the execution of Constance their citizen afore mentioned. Notwithstanding, certaine of the citizens, namely Andrew Buckerell, John Traversers, and others more, men of more grave and sage discretion (wisely pondering with themselves, what inconvenience might rise hereof) went in haste to the Bishop of Winchester, lying then in Southwarke, and, waking him out of his sleepe, desired him of his counsell in that so sudden and dangerous distresse, declaring unto him what perill might thereby insue as well to the church of Herton, as also to the citie, by the fury of the inordinate and fierce multitude, which will hardly be brydled from robbing and spoyling, neither will spare shedding of blood, &c. Unto whom againe the bloody Bishop gave this bloody counsell (saith Parisienus) Dangerous it is (quoth he) both here and there; but yet see that you obey and execute the precept of the king, I counsell you plainly. At the which counsell of the Bishop they, being amazed, went with an ill will about the businesse intreated. But the people, inflamed with hatred, gladly consented to be reuenged, and to shed the blood of the said Hubert.

The cause, which Peter Bishop of Winchester was so cruelly set against the Justice, was partly for the damages he had done to the Romane priests, as before is touched; partly also for the old grudge, because the king coming to his lawfull age before (though the counsell of this Hubert) lost himselfe from the government of the said Bishop, who had him then in custody. And thus rose up the grudge and displeasure of this Bishop towards him.

On the next morrow, the Londoners issuing out

The Bishopps go about to bring Hubert out of the kings favour.

Objections laid against Hubert by the King.

Notes, that in Winchester the kings charter is no longer in force, when King John is dead.

Other crimes objected to Hubert by the King.

If princes favour not to be trusted unto.

The kings displeasure against Hubert.

The King is made rage to the Bishop of London.

Did grudge borne in mind.

Some toller then some.

Good admittance of discre citizens.

Cruell counsell given of Peter Bishop of Winchester.

The causes of displeasure between Hubert and the Bishop of Winchester.



Hubert pro-  
strat upon the  
ground com-  
mending him-  
self to God.

of the city, to the number of twenty thousand, set forth toward the Abbie of Herton, where Hubert was lying prostrate before the altar, commending himselfe to God.

age comfess  
an Quele ge-  
in to the King.

In the meane season, while the Citizens were in their journey, raging against the poore earle of Kent it was suggested to the King by Radulph Bishop of Chichester, and Lord chancelloz, that it was dangerous to excite by the vulgar and varul multitude, for feare of sedition, lest peradventure the rude, and headie people, being stirred up, will not so soon be brought downe againe, when the King would have them. Moreover, what shall bee said (quoth he) among the frenchmen and other nations, which of great things loue to make them greater, and of euill things loue to make them worse then they are : but thus jestingly and mockingly : See what a kind bird is the young King of England, which seeketh to denoure his old nurse, vnder whose wings he had been brought up & nourished in his youth. And thus the King, by the perswasion hereof, changing his counsell, sent in all hastie wise after the arme againe, willing them to retrace their journey, and to retire. And thus the Londoners (although much against their wills) returned home, missing of their purpose. Wherein is to be obserued another notable example of Gods working prouidence. For when the King (saith the history) had sent by two messengers or pur-  
suants to reuoke and call backe againe the arme of the Londoners, going with greedy minds to shed the blood of the innocent Iustice : one of the messengers posting with all speed possible, with the Kings letters, ouertooke the arme ; and comming to the foreward where the Captaines were, by vertue of the Kings letters staid their course and bloody purpose, whereby they could proceed no further. But the other messenger crafty and malicious, bearing hatred to the said Hubert, and rather wishing him to be slaine then to be deliuered, lingered by the way of purpose (although being commanded to make haste) and when he came, went onely but to the middle fozt ; more like a messenger made to serue a dead mans errand, then to serue the turne of them which be alieue. And so in like manner by the just hand of God it fell vpon him. For the same messenger stumbling with his horse, riding but a foff or fote paze, and rather walking then riding, fell dolone backward from his horse backe, and there brake his necke and died. This mercifull message of the king was (as is said) sent by the instigation of Radulph Bishop of Chichester Lord chancelloz (a vertuous and a faithfull man) and one that could skill to haue compassion on the miseries of men. Of whom was declared before, that he, being elected Archbishop of Canterbury, would not giue one halfe penny to their expenses by the way, to get his election confirmed by the Pope : and afterward by the said Pope was defeated and frustrated of his election, as relation was made afoze. And thus through Gods prouidence, by the meanes of the kings letters the army returned, and Huberts life (contrary to his expectation) was preserved.

he marvel-  
is working of  
e Gods helpe  
time of neede.  
extra verbum,  
in the story :  
his ales, alis  
ium ne lon-  
tus ales.  
x addita-  
rentis Mar.  
arisenfis,  
ag. 81.

A notable exam-  
ple of Gods iust  
punishment,  
tricking with  
death him that  
seeketh the death  
of another.

Commendati-  
on of Radulph  
Bishop of Chi-  
chester.

After this, the Archbishop of Dublin with much labour and great sute intreated, and obtained of the king to grant vnto the said Hubert respite till the twelue day of January, to promise himselfe of his answere to such things as were commended against him. When Hubert, trusting to enjoy some safety by the Kings permission to him granted, toweath himselfe a little and to walke abroad, to ke his journey towards S. Edmundsbury, where his wife was ; and, passing through the country of Essex, was in need there in a certain towne belonging to the bishop of Norwich. Whereof when the king was certified fearing lest he would raise by some commotion in the Realme, sendeth in hastie anger after him Sir Godfrid Crancombe knight with three hundred men ; commanding vnder paine of hanging, that

they should apprehend him, and bring him to the Tower of London : which commandement to accomplish, there lacked no haste. Hubert having intelligence of their coming (rising out of his bed naked as he was) ran vnto the chappell standing nere vnto the Anne, where he holdeth with the one hand the Crosse, with the other hand the Sacrament of the Lords body. Then Godfrid with his foreward armed souldiers, entering into the chappell, willed him to come out. Which when he would not, with violent hands he drew him out of the chappell, and taking the Crosse and the Sacrament out of his hands, fast bound him with fetters and giues vnder the horse belly, and brought him, as they were commanded, to the Tower. And so certifying the king what they had done (who then tarried up waiting for them) he rejoyced not a little thereat, and went merrily to his bed.

Hubert fleeth to  
the Church for  
his refuge.

Hubert violently  
drawn out of  
the church.  
Cruel call into  
the tower of  
London.

Thenext morrow following after, Roger Bishop of London, hauing knowledge how and in what order he was taken violently out of the chappell committed vnto the King, blaming him boldly for violating the peace of holy church, and protested that unless the party were loosed againe, and sent to the chappell from whence he was drawne, he would enter sentence of excommunication against all the dooers.

The King blis-  
med for breaking  
the peace of holy  
Church.

The King as he did not deny his transgression herein, so he sendeth him (albeit against his will) out of the Tower vnto the said Chappell againe, and by the same souldiers which brought him out before. Which done, he giueth in strait charge and commandement vnder paine of hanging, to the Sherifes of Herford and of Essex, that they in their owne persons with the strength of both shires should watch and compass about the Chappell, and see that the said Hubert no waies might escape. Which commandement of the King was accomplished with all diligence. But Hubert toke all this patiently, and continued in the Chappell praying both night and day, and commending his cause vnto the Lord ; whom he desired to deliuer him from that instant danger, as he alwayes sought the Kings honour by his faithfull and trusty seruice. And as he continued in his prayer, so the King, continuing in his rage, commanded that no man should intreat for him, or make any mention of him in his presence. Notwithstanding yet Lucas Archbishop of Dublin, his true and almost onely friend, ceased not to pray and weepe to the King for him, desiring the King at least to intimate to him what he purposed should be done with Hubert. Whereunto the King answering, said : that of these three things one he should chuse, whether he would abjure the realme of England for euer, or be condemned vnto perpetuall prison, or else confesse himselfe openly to be a traitor. But Hubert hereunto said, that he would chuse none of these articles, as who knew himselfe neither guilty, nor worthy of any such confusion : but, to satisfie somewhat the minde of the King, he would be contented to depart the Realme for a season, but to abjure the Realme he would not so doe.

The King com-  
pelled to send  
Hubert againe  
to his sanctuary.

Example of a  
constant friend  
in the time of  
need.

Three things  
put to Hubert  
to choose.

In this meane time it befell that Ranulphus, Earle of Chester and of Lincoln, one of his best enemies died. Hubertus all this while remained in the Chappell inclosed and garbed about with the tower (as is said) of two shires, and so continued till at length by the commandement of the King, his two seruitors, which ministered vnto him within the chappell, were taken from him. When Hubert seeing no other remedy, but there to starue for famine, offered himselfe of his owne accord to the Sherifes, saying, that he would put himselfe rather in the Kings mercy, then there desperately to perish for hunger. And so was he taken, and, being fast bound in fetters, was brought againe and clapped, by the Kings commandement, in the Tower of London.

Hubert persuaded  
himselfe to the  
Sheriffs.

Hubert reduced  
againe to the  
Tower.

Not

The Archbishop  
of Dublin a-  
gain maketh  
intercession for  
Hubert.



Not long after this, wood was brought into the King by certaine, that the said Hubert had much treasure lying in the house of the new Templaries in London. Whereupon the King, to trie out the truth thereof, sendeth for the Prior, master of the house: who, not daring to deny, confessed that there was indeede treasure brought into the house, but the quantity and number thereof he could not tell. The King, desirous to seize upon the treasure, required and charged the master with his brethren with threatening words, to bring forth the treasure to him, saying that it was taken and stolne out of his treasury. But they answered againe, that the treasure was committed with trust and faith into their hands, and therefore they neither would nor ought to let it goe out of their hands, being trusted withall, without the assent of him which committed the same into them. When the King could get no other answer at their hands, neither durst they any further violence against them, hee sendeth unto Hubert in the Tower, requiring of him the foresaid treasures. To whom he, answering againe mildly, yielded both himselfe, his treasures, and all that ever hee had unto the Kings will and pleasure; and so, sending wood unto the master and brethren of the temple, willetch them to take all the keyes, and deliver the goods with all that there was unto the king, who receiving the same, and taking an inventorie of that which was received, caused it to be brought unto his treasury: whereof the number both of the plate, of coine, and of the jewells, was of price unknowne. The enemies of Hubert, supposing thereby to take advantage against him to bring him to his end, came with open complaint unto the king, crying out against Hubert, that hee was a theefe, a traitor, and a robber of the Kings treasure, and therefore by right was worthy to be hanged, and thus cried his accusers dayly in the kings eare. But the hearts of kings (saith the wise man) are in the hands of the Lord, to be ruled, not after mans will, but as it pleaseth God to direct them. And so this King having now his will and fill upon poore Hubert, and somewhat comming more unto himselfe, answered againe in this wise, that there was no such neede to deale so traitly with him, who from the time of his youth first served mine uncle King Richard, then my father King John, in whole service (as I heard say) beyond the Seas, he was driven to eate his boile. Parisiensis, pag. 81. and in my time hath stood so constantly in defence of the realme against forenations, who kept the castle of Dover against King Lewis, and vanquished the Frenchmen upon the Seas, also at Bedford and at Lincolne hath done such service. And though against me he hath dealt any thing untruely, which yet is not evidently proved; yet he shall never be put by me to so villanous a death. I had rather be counted a King foolish and simple, then to be judged a tyrant or seeker of blood, especially of such as have served me and mine ancessors in many perills so dangerously, weighing more the few evils which yet hee not proved, then so many good deserts of his evident and manifest service done both to me and to the whole realme, &c. And thus the King, somewhat relenting to poore Hubert his old servant, granted unto him all such lands as hee had given by King John his father, and whatsoever else he had by his owne purchase.

Thus Hubert after long trouble, a little cheered with some piece of comfort, set Laurence his trusty friend that never left him, one that belonged to S. Albons, to be his Steward and overseer of those possessions granted unto him by the King. And shortly upon the same, after the Kings minde was scene thus something to relent, the enimie also of the nobles, being now partly satisfied, began to turne to mercie; in so much that foure Carles, to wit, Carle Richard the Kings brother, William Earle of Mar-

reine, Richard Earle marshall, and William Earle of Ferris, became sureties to the king for him. Upon whole suretie he was transferred to the Castle of Deuizes, where hee was under the keeping of foure souldiers by them appointed, having the liberty of that Castle. But the bishop of Winchester, who alwayes hunted after the life of Hubert, craftily commeth unto the King, and desireth the custody of the Castle making no mention of Hubert, to the intent that by the keeping thereof he might the sooner dispatch him. Hubert, having thereof some inkling, breaketh the matter to two of his servants; who, with compassion tending his misery, watched their time (the keepers being asleep) and conveyed him by night on their backs, fettered as hee was, into the parish church of the town, and there remained with him. The keepers, when they mist their prisoner, were in great perplexitie, and after diligent search finding him at length where hee was in the church, with violent force drew him from thence to the castle againe. For the which injury to the church, the Bishop of Sarum, understanding the order of the matter, commeth to the Castle where the keepers were, and required that Hubert should be brought againe into the Church from whence hee was taken. Which when the keepers denyed to doe, saying they would rather he should hang, then they: then the Bishop gave sentence of excommunication against them. Which done, hee with the Bishop of London, and other Bishops, goeth immediately unto the king, complaining of the injury done unto Hubert, and especially of the contumely against holy Church: neither would they leave the King, before they had obtained that he should be reduced againe into the church, and so hee was. It was not long after, but the King in great displeasure sendeth to the Sheriffe of the shire to keepe him well watched in the church, till either hee came forth, or there perished with famine.

At befall in the meane season, that great dissention rose between the King and the nobles of the realme; by reason whereof Hubert was taken and carried away by Richard Earle Marshall into Wales, and there remained untill the King at length was reconciled with his nobles, and so received (with the rest) the said Hubert againe into his favour. Ex Matthæo Parisiensis, & ex Floribus historiæ. Of the which dissention more shall bee shewed (Chast willing) hereafter.

As the beginning of this trouble of Hubert first sprang of bering the Popes barns: so likewise Roger Bishop of London, suspected for the same cause, was enforced to travell by to Rome, there to purge himselfe before the Pope. Where after much money consumed, and robbed also by the way, hee gat nothing else, but lost his labors, and so came home againe. Who, then doing the part of a good Bishop: after his returne from Rome attempted to expell and exclude out of his diocesse all those Italian diviners called, as before said, Caurini. These Caurinifites, comming with the Popes legats into England, and lending their money to religious houses, to Colledges and Churches, had their debtors bound unto them in such sort as was much vantageable to them, and much injurious to the other, as in the forme of their obligations in the Booke of Mat. Parisiensis is largely exprest, fol. 65. Against these Caurinifites the Bishop of London being toothily inflamed with zeale of justice, first with loving admonition went about to reclaim them for the wealth of their soules, afterward with sharpe words began to charge them. But they, disregarding christian comfellowship, and despising the bishops threatnings would not leave the sweetnesse of their occupation. Wherefore the Bishop, proceeding unto the sentence of excommunication, precisely and strictly charged them to depart his Diocesse. But they againe being confident and emboldened upon the Popes de-

Hubert bereft of all his treasures.

Anno 1232.

Anno 1232.

God ruleth the hearts of kings.

The Kings answer in defence of Hubert.

A worthy word of a King.

The Kings mind relenteth towards Hubert.

Anno 1233.

Hubert cometh out of the castle into the parish Church.

Hubert againe taken out of the Church, and brought backe to the Castle.

Hubert delivered out of prison and carried into Wales.

Roger Bishop of London goeth to Rome to purge himselfe before the Pope.

Against Hubert.

Thou shalt be communicated and expelled from the Bishop of London.

Excommunication well used against Hubert.



KING / HEN. 3 / sense, not onely set at light his excommunication, but also wrought such wayes with the Pope that they caused the said Bishop of London, being both aged and sickly, to be cited peremptorily to appeare beyond the Seas, there to answer to such objections as they should inferre against him. And thus the Bishop, minding rather to couer than to open the faults of the Church, and partly being let with infirmite and age, was compelled to let the cause fall.

The generall visitation of the Pope through all religious houses.

x Parisiens.

The great bitterness among all religious orders noted.

Did servants of the king put on and discharged.

The King sought his nobles and seeketh to strangers.

of the land, accusing them to the King for traitors; whom the simple King did lightly believe, committing to them the custodie of his treasures, the sitting in judgements, and the doing in all things. And when the nobles, thus oppressed came to complaine of their injuries to the King, by the means of the Bishop of Winchester, their cause was nothing regarded; insomuch that the said Winchester moreouer accused certaine Bishops also to the King, so that he did flie and shun them as open traitors and rebels.

These things standing thus out of order, Richard the noble marshall of England, with others of the nobles joyning with him, seeing these oppressions and injuries daily growing contrary to the lawes and wealth of the realme, came to the King, and blamed him for retaining such peruerse counsell about him of the Picardians and other forreiners, to the great prejudice of his naturall subjects, and of the liberties of the realme, humbly desiring and beseeching him, that he, with as much speed as might be, would reforme and redresse, such excesses, where by the whole realme seemed to be in danger of subuersion. Otherwise, if he refused to see correction thereof, he with other Barres and Nobles would withdraw themselves from his counsell, so long as he maintained the societie of those forreiners and strangers about him.

To this Peter Winchester, answering againe, said, that the King right well might call onto him what forreiners and strangers him liked, for the defence both of his kingdome, and of his crowne; and what number of them he would, as by whom he might be able to bridle his proud and rebellious subjects, and so to keepe them in awe and good order. When the Earle and the nobles could get no other answer of him, in great perturbation they departed, promising among themselves, in this case, which so touched the state of the whole realme, they would constantly ioyne together to the parting of their life.

After this, the foresaid Petrus bishop of Winchester, with his complices, ceased not by all means to inflame the Kings heart to hatred and contempt of his naturall people, whom they so vehemently peruersted, that he counting them no other than his enemies, fought by all diligence the utter destruction of them, sending daily for more garrisons of the Picardians, that in short space they replenished well neare the whole land, whose defence the King onely trusted unto: neither was any thing disposed in the realme, but through the guiding of this Peter and of the Picardians.

The King, thus guarded and strengthened with these forrein aliens and strangers, proclaimed a parliament to be holden at Wenstorp, where the nobles were warned to be present. They considering the indignation of the King concerned, would not appeare. Againe they were required the first, second, and third time to present themselves. The assembly proceeded, but they came not, for whom the King looked. In this assembly or Parliament, it was plainly told the King by a Dominike frier preaching before him, that unless he removed from him the Bishop of Winchester and Peter Ruall his kinsman, he should not, neither could long enjoy peace in his kingdome. This although it was bluntly spoken of the frier against the Bishop, yet this remedy he had; the frier had nothing to lose. Per was there another chaplaine of the court, who perceiving the King somewhat mitigated by the former preaching, and after a courtlike berterise handling his matter, being a pleasant conceited man, thus merrily came to the King, asking a question. What was the thing most pernicious and dangerous of all other things to them that trauell by the seas? What, said the King, is best knowne to such as trauell in that kind of traffique. Nay (saith he) this is easie to be told.

Richard Caile marshall aduised the King.

The discourse of the Bishop of Winchester to the nobles.

Attacked counsell about a king.

Petrus de rupibus. Bishop of Winchester peruerter of the King.

A merry apostrophe of the Kings chaplain.

By

The



The king demanding what it was, Foxfooth (quoth he) stones and rocks; alluding merrily (but yet truly) to the bishop of Winchester, whose name and surname was Petrus de rupibus, for so Petrus in Latine signifieth stones, and Rupes rocks. Notwithstanding, the king either not perceiving the meaning, or not amending the fault, againe sendeth to his nobles to haue them come and speake with him at Westminster. But they fearing some traime to be laide for them, refused to appeare, sending plaine words to the king by solemn message, that his grace without all delay should exclude from him Peter bishop of Winchester, and other aliens of Vidauia, or if he would not, they with the common assent of the Realme, would displace him with his wicked counsellors from his kingdome, and haue within themselves tractation for chusing a new king.

The message of the nobles to the king

The king at the hearing of this message being mightily moued, partly to feare, partly to indignation, especially hauing the late example of king John his father before his eyes, was cast in great perplexitie, doubting what was best to be done. But Winchester with his wicked counsell so wrought with the king, that he proceeded with all seueritie against them; in such that in short time the sparkles of popish counsell, kindling more and more, grew to a sharpe battell betweene the king and Richard earle marshall with other nobles, to the great disquietnesse of the whole Realme. The which warre before was prefigured by terrible thundering and lightning heard all England ouer in the moneth of March, with such abundance of raine and floods growing vpon the same, as cast downe miles, ouercovered the fields, threw downe houses, and did much harme through the whole Realme.

Great thunders and floods in England.

To prosecute here at large the whole discourse of this war betweene the king and the earle marshall, which continued nere the space of two yeeres, to declare all the parts and circumstances thereof, what troubles it brought, what damages it wrought vnto the whole Realme, what traimes were laid, what slaughter of men, what waste of whole countries issued from Wales into Shrewsburie, how the marshall ioynd himselfe with Leclin prince of Wales, how the Vidauians were almost all slaine and destroyed, how the king was distressed, what forgerie wilie Winchester wrought by the kings letters to intrap the Marshall, and to betray him to the Irish men, amongst whom he was at length slaine; all this I referre to other authozs, who at large doe treat of the same, as Mat. Paris. Florilegus, and such others. This is to be noted and obserued (which rather pertaineth to our ecclesiasticall historie) to see what sedition and continuall disquietnesse was in those daies among all Christian people almost, being vnder the Popes catholike obedience: but especially to marke the corrupt doctrine then reigning; it is to be marvelled, or rather lamented, to see the king and the people then so blinded in the principall point and article of their saluation, as we finde in histories, which making mention of a house or monasterie of conuerts, builded the same yeare by the king at London, doe expresse in plaine words, that he then did it Pro redemptione anime sue, & regis Iohannis patris sui, & omnium antecessorum suorum: that is, for the redemption of his soule, of the soule of king John his father, and for the soules of all his ancestors, &c. Whereby may be understood in what palpable darknesse of blinde ignorance the silly soules redeemed by Christ were then intorped, which did not know nor yet were taught the right doctrine and first principles of their redemption.

Ex. Mat. Parisiens. pag. 86.

Mention was made a little before of dissolving the election of John Prior of Canterburie, which was chosen by the monikes to bee Archbishop of the said Church of Canterburie, but by the Pope was

defeated. After whom one John Blund was elected, who travelling vp to Rome this yeare, An 1233, to be confirmed of the pope, was also repealed and vnelected againe, for that it was thought in England, and so complained of to the Pope, that he had received of Peter Bishop of Winchester a thousand markes, and had another thousand promised him of the said Winchester. Who by his money thought to make him of his side, and also wrote vnto the Emperor to helpe forward his promotion in the court of Rome. Notwithstanding, both he with his giuing, and the other with his taking of bribes, were both detected and disappointed of their purpose. For the pope hating then the Emperour, for the same cause admitted not the election; pretending the cause, for that hee was proued to hold two benefices without his dispensation. After whom, by the commandement of the Pope, one Edmund canon of Salisbury was ordained Archbishop, and had his pall sent to him from the Pope. Which Edmund after for his vertues was canonized of the popish sponkers there for a Saint, and called S. Edmund. About which time also Robert Grossthead was made bishop of Lincoln.

KING  
HEN. 3

Corruption of bribes.

Edmund Archbishop of Canterbury.

S. Edmund canonized. Robert Grossthead made bishop of Lincoln.

This Edmund accompanied with other Bishops, during this trouble betweene the king and his nobles, being in counsell at Westminster, in the yeare next ensuing, which was 1234, came uttering their mindes boldly in the name of the Lords, and declaring vnto the king as became his faithfull seruants, that his counsell, which then he followed, was not sound nor safe, but cruell and dangerous both to him, and to the state of the Realme, meaning the counsell of Peter Winchester, and of Peter Kiuall with other adherents.

Anno. 1234.

Faithfull counsell of the Bishops given to the King.

1 First and inprimis, for that they hate and contemne the English Nation, calling them traitours and rebels, and turning the kings heart from the loue of his naturall subjects, and the hearts of them from him, as appeareth by the Earle Marshall and others, sowing discord among them.

The counsell of Winchester and such other Bishops about the kings displeasure for certain causes.

2 Item, by the said counsell, to wit, by the foresaid Bishop and his fellows, king John the kings father lost first the hearts of his Barons, after that lost Normandy, and afterwards other lands also, and in the end wasted all his treasure, so that since that time the regiment of England had neuer any quiet after.

3 By the said counsell also, in their time and memorie, the kingdome of England had bene troubled and suspended, and in conclusion the that was before the Prince of promoues, became tributarie: and so warre ensuing vpon the same, the said king John his father incurred great danger of death, and at last was ertingquished, lacking both peace of his kingdome and of his owne heart.

4 Item, by the said counsell the castle of Bedford was kept long time against the king, to the great losse both of men and treasure, beside the losse of Rupella, to the shame of the realme of England.

5 Moreover, through their wicked counsell, at this present, great perturbation seemed to hang ouer the whole realme; for else if it had not bene for their counsell, and if that true iustice and judgement might haue bene ministered vnto the kings subjects, these tumults had neuer bene stirred, and the king might haue had his land vntorped, and his treasure vntorped.

6 Item, in that faith and allegiance, wherewith they were obliged vnto him, they protested vnto him that the said his counsell was not a counsell of peace, but of diuision and disquietnesse, to the end that they which otherwise by peace could not aspire, by disturbing and diuorcing others might be exalted.

7 Item,

Monasteries builded, Pro redemptione anime.

John Archbishop of Canterburie elected by the chapter, againe vnelected by the Pope.



7 Item, for that all the castles, forts, munitions, also all the officers of the Exchequer, with all other the greatest estates of the Realme, were in their hands, of the which if the King would demand account, he should proue how true they were.

8 Item, for that neither by the Kings seale, nor commandment, except it bare withall the seale of Peter Riuall, almost any businesse of any weight could be dispatched in the Realme, as though they counted their King for no King.

9 Furthermore, by the foresaid counsell, the natural subjects and nobles of the Realme were banished the court, which was to be feared would grow to some inconvenience both to the King and to the Realme; so much as the King feared more to be on their side than they of his, as by many evident coniectures may appeare.

10 Item, it was not well to be taken and liked; the said counsell standing of strangers and aliens, that they should haue in their power both the Kings sister, and many other noble mens daughters and other women marriageable, with the Kings wards and marriages, which they bestowed and diuided among themselves, and men of their affinitie.

11 Also, the said Counsell regarding neither the lawes, nor liberties of the Realme, confirmed and corroborated by excommunication, did confound and peruert all iustice: wherefore it was to be feared that they would run under excommunication, and the King also in communicating with them.

12 Item, because they kept neither promise nor faith, nor oath with any person, neither did obserue any instrument made neuer so formall by law, nor yet did feare any excommunication; wherefore they were to be left for people desperate, as which were departed from all truth and honestie.

These things (said the bishops) we as your faithful subjects beseege God and men, doe tell and aduertise your grace, desiring and beseeching you, that you will remoue and exclude from you such counsell: and as the custome is of all other kingdomes to doe, that you will so gouerne in like manner your kingdom, by your owne natural liege people, and such as be sworn vnto you of your owne Realme. For thus (said they) in veritie we denounce vnto you, that whoso in that time you will see these things reformed, we according to our dutie will proceede by the censure of the Church against you, and all others that gainstand the same, tarrying no other thing, but onely the consecration of this our reuerend Archbishop.

These words of the bishops thus said and finished, the King required a little time of respite, wherein to aduise with himselfe about the matter, saying, that he could not in such a sudden remoue from him his counsell, before he had entred with them account of his treasure committed to them: and so that assembly brake vp.

It followed then after this communication so broken vp, that the King resorted to the parts of Northfolke, where comming by S. Edmundsburie, where the wife of Hubert the justice was, he being moued with zeale of pitie toward the woman, who very humbly behaued her selfe to the King, did grant her eight Mannor places, which her husband before with his money had purchased, being then in the custodie and possession of Robert Bassett, one of the Kings new counsellors aboue specified. It was not long after this, but Edmund the Archbishop was iusticed and consecrated in the Church of Canterbury, who shortly after his consecration, about the month of Aprill, comming with his suffragans to the place of counsell, where the King with his earles and barons was assembled, opened to him the cause and purpose of his comming and of the other prelates, which was to put him in remembrance of their former talke had with him at Westminster; denouncing moreover to him expressly, that whoso with speed he would take a better way, and fall to a peaceable and goodly agreement with the true and faithful nobles of his realme, he incontinently, with the other prelates there present, would passe with the sentence of excommunication against him, and against all them that would be enemies to the same peace, and maintainers of discord.

The King, after he heard the meaning of the Bishops, with humble and gentle language answered them againe, promising to condescend to them in all things. Whereupon within few dayes after, the King, comming to some better remembrance of himselfe, commanded the foresaid Bishop of Winchester to leave the court, and to returne home to his bishopricke, there to attend vnto the spirituall charge and care of his flock committed to him. Whereupon, he commanded Peter Riuall the Bishops cousin (some say his son) who had then the disposing of all the affaires of the realme, to render vnto him his castles, and to giue account of all his treasures, whereof he had the keeping, and so to vnder the Realme, swearing moreover vnto him, but for that he was benighted, and was within orders of the Church, else he would haue caused both his eyes to be plucked out of his head.

Hee expelled likewise the Picardians out of the court, and from the custodie of his munitions, sending them home into their countrie, and bidding they should no more see his face. And thus the King, wisely dispatching himselfe of his wicked counsellors, first did send Edmund the Archbishop, with the Bishops of Chester and of Rochester, into Wales to Loolin, and to Richard Carle marshall, and others, to intreate with them of peace. Also hee receiued to his seruice againe men of his natural countrie, to attend about him, offering himselfe willing to be ruled by the counsell of the Archbishop and the bishops, by whose prudence he trusted his realme should be reduced againe to a better quietnesse.

But in the meane time, while these things were doing in England, the foresaid Richard Carle marshall by the falshood of the Bishop of Winchester, and Peter Riuall forging the Kings letters to the Irishmen against him, and partly by the conspiracy of Gilbert de Barlesco, being circumvented by the Irishmen in warre, and there taken and wounded, was by them through the meanes of this surgeon slaine.

Great slaughter, the same time was of them which were called Catini, about the parts of Aulmaine. These Catini were esteemed of Pope Gregorie and the papists to be heretikes; but what their opinions were I finde it not expressed: In Parisiensis.

In like sort the Albingenses aboue mentioned, recounted also of the Popes flock to be heretikes, with their Bishops, and a great number and companie of them were slaine by the commandment of Pope Gregorie at the same time in a certaine plaine in Spaine, Ex Matth. Parisiensis, fol. 87.

How the Archbishop of Canterbury with other two Bishops were sent into Wales for intreatie of peace, we heard before. At whose returne againe after the time of Easter, the King going toward Gloucester to meete them by the way, as he was in his journey at Woodstocke, there came messengers of Ireland, declaring to the King the death of Richard Carle marshall, and the order thereof, though the forged letters of Winchester and others: whereat the King made great lamentation and mourning, to the great admiration of all them that were by, saying and complaining that hee left not his like in all the Realme againe.

After this the King proceeding in his journey came to Gloucester, where the Archbishop with the other Bishops, comming to the King, declared to him the forme and condition of peace, which they had

Example of the communication rightly practiced.

The Kings promise to the Bishops. Peter Bishop of Winchester discharged out of the court. Peter Riuall called to account of the Kings treasures.

Picardians and strangers, sent home by the King vnto their countrie. Reconciliation sought betweene the King and the nobles.

Richard Carle marshall slaine, sent vnto the King in Ireland.

Catini slaine about Aulmaine, iudged of the papists for heretikes.

Albingenses slaine in Spaine by the Popes, setting on.

The King lamenteth the death of Richard Carle marshall.

Excommunication denounced by the bishops against the King.

The Kings answer to the Bishops.

The pitie of the King toward the wife of Hubert.

Edmund consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury, which was afterward canonized by Pope Innocent the fourth for a saint.



The saving of  
Leolin king  
of Wales.  
The almes of  
king Henry  
more feared  
than his pu-  
nishment.

concluded with Leolin, which was this: If the king would be reconciled before with the other nobles with whom he was confederate, such as the king had banished out of his Realme, to the end that the concord might be the more firme betwene them: Thus (said they) was Leolin contented, although with much ado and great difficultie, to receive the league of peace, saying and protesting this unto them, that he feared more the kings almes, than all the puissance both of him and of all his clergie within England.

Peace concluded  
between the  
king and the  
nobles.

This done, the king there remaining with the Bishops, directed his letters to all the exiles and banished lords, and to all his nobles, that they should repaire to him about the beginning of June, at Gloucester, promising to them his full favour, and reconciliation to them and to their heires; and that they should suspect no fraud therein, they should have their safe conduct by the Archbishop and Bishops.

Hubert earle of  
Kent restored a-  
gain to the  
kings favour.

Whereupon, through the mediation of the said Archbishop and the Bishops, first cometh to the king, Hubert earle of Kent, offering himselfe to the kings good will and favour. Whom the king with chearefull countenance received and embraced, restoring him not onely to his favour, but also to his household and counsell, with his livings and possessions from which he had bene disseized before. Then Hubert, lifting up his eyes to heaven, gave praise and glorie to God, by whose gracious providence he, being so marvellously preserved from so great distresses and tribulations, was againe so happily reconciled to the king, and his faithfull friends. After him in like sort came in Gilbert Bassett a noble man, Richard Sward, also Gilbert the brother of Richard Marshall that was slain; which Gilbert recovered againe his whole inheritance as well in England as in Ireland, doing his homage to the king, and his service due for the same; to whom also was granted the office of the high marshall court, belonging before to his brother Richard.

Falshood and  
murder cometh  
out.

Kings many  
times abused  
by wicked  
counsell.

In the same council or communication continuing then at Gloucester, the said Edmund Archbishop of Canterbury, bringing the forged letters where- in was betrayed the life of Richard earle marshall, sealed with the kings seale, and sent to the great men of Ireland, read the same openly in the presence of the king and all the nobles. At the hearing whereof, the king, greatly sorrowing and weeping, confessed there in truth, that being forced by the Bishop of Winchester and Peter de Ruallis, hee commanded his seale to be set to certaine letters presented unto him, but the tenor thereof he said and swore he never heard. Whereunto the archbishop answering againe, desired the king to search well his conscience; and said, that all they which were procurers or of knowledge of those letters, were guilty of the death of the Earle marshall, no lesse than if they had murdered him with their owne hands.

The Bishop of  
Winchester  
called to his  
answer.

Then the king, calling a council, sent his letters for the Bishop of Winchester, for Peter Ruallis, Stephan Segraue, and Robert Passelew to appeare and yield account for his treasures unto them committed, and for his seale by them abused. But the Bishop and Ruallis, keeping themselves in the sanctuary of the minster church of Winchester, neither durst nor would appeare. Stephan Segraue who succeeded after Hubert the Justice, and was of the clergie before, after became a lay man, and now hiding himselfe in S. Maries church in the Abbie of Leicester, was turned to a clerke againe. Robert Passelew covertly hid himselfe in a certaine cellar of the new Temple, so secretly that none could tell where hee was, but thought he was gone to Rome. At length through the foresaid Edmund Archbishop of Canterbury, meanes was made, that a dilatory day was granted by the king for them to answer. At which day first appeared Peter de Ruallis, then Stephan Segraue, after him Robert Passelew,

Peter Ruallis,  
Stephan Segraue,  
Robert Passelew called  
to their an-  
swers.

each of them severally one after another shewed themselves; but not able to answer for themselves, like traitors they were reppoued, and like villaines were sent away. Ex Matth. Parisiens, fol. 91.

#### Variance between the Pope Gregorie the ninth and the Romans.

While peace thus betwene the king and the nobles was reconciled in England, dissension and variance the same time and yere began in Rome, betwene the Pope and the citizens of Rome. The cause was, for that the citizens claimed by old custome and law, that the Bishop of Rome might not excommunicate any citizen of the citie, nor suspend the said citie with any interdiction for any manner offence.

Variance be-  
twene the  
Pope and the  
citizens of  
Rome.

The allegation  
of the Romans.

To this the Pope answered againe; Quod minor Deo est, sed quolibet homine major (to vse the very words of mine author:) Ergo, major quolibet cive, na etiam rege, vel imperatore, &c. That is, that hee is lesse than God, but greater than any man: Ergo, greater than any citizen, yea a fo greater then king or Emperour. And forsomuch as hee is their spirituall father, hee both ought and lawfully may chastise his children when they offend, as being subjected to him in the faith of Christ, and reduce them into the way againe when they stray out of course.

The Popes  
answer.

Moreover, the citizens alledge againe for themselves, that the potestates of the citie, and senators doe receive of the Church of Rome yearly tribute, which the Bishops of Rome were bound to pay to them, both by new and also ancient lawes. Of the which yearly tribute they have bene ever in possession before this present time of this Pope Gregorie the ninth.

The second al-  
legation of the  
Romans.  
The Pope  
bound to pay to  
Rome yearly  
tribute.

Whereunto the Pope answered and said, that although the church of Rome in time of persecution, for their defence and cause of peace, was wont to respect the head rulers of the citie with gentle rewards, yet ought not that now to be taken for a custome: for that custome onely ought to stand, which consisteth not upon examples, but upon right and reason.

The Popes re-  
plyeth.

Further and besides, the citizens said that they, at the commandment of the Senators, would appropriate their countrey with new and larger limits, and infranchise the same, being enlarged with fines and borders.

The third cause  
and allegation  
of the Romans.

To this the Pope againe made answer, that certaine lordships, and cities, and castles, be contained within the compasse of the said limits, as the citie of Ostia, and Anticaster, which they presume to appropriate within their precinct: but to ascribe to them, and surpe that which pertaineth to others, is against right and justice.

The Popes an-  
swer.

For these and such other controuersies rising betwene the Pope and the Romans, such dissension kindled, that the Pope with his Cardinals, leaving the citie of Rome, removed to Vernium (as partly before is recited) thinking there to remaine and to plant themselves: but the Romanes prevailing against him, overthrowing the walls of his houses in the citie, for the which hee did excommunicate them. The Romans, then flying to the emperour, desired his aide and succour: but he, belike to pleasure the pope, gathering an army, went rather against the Romans. When the popes army, whose captaines were the Earle of Tholouse (to purchase the popes favour) and Peter the foresaid bishop of Winchester (whom the pope for the same end had sent for from England, partly for his treasure, partly for his practice and skill in feates of warre) and the emperours host joyned together, and, bordering about the citie of Rome, call downe the castles or mansions belonging to the citizens round about the suburbs, to the number of eighteene, and destroyed all their vines and vineyards about the citie. Whereat the Romans being

The Pope fleeth  
the city of Rome

Excommuni-  
cation abused.

The Pope was  
sent against the  
Romans.



A great slaughter  
of the Ro-  
mans by the  
Dope.  
Ex Parisiens.  
pag. 92.

not a little offended, brast out of the City, with more  
heate than order, to the number of 100000 (as the  
story reporteth) to destroy Aiterbium the Dopes  
City with sword and fire. But the multitude, being  
unordred and out of battell-rag, and unprovided  
for jeopardies which by the way might happen, fell  
into the hands of their enemies, who were in waite  
for them, and of them destroyed a great number;  
so that on both parts were slaine to the viewe of  
30000: but the most part was of the citizens. And  
this contention thus begun, was not sone ended, but  
continued long after.

The church of  
some degenera-  
tion from the  
true Church.

By these and such other stories, who seeth not how  
farre the Church of Rome hath degenerated from  
the true image of the right Church of Christ, which  
by the rule and example of the Gospell ought to be  
a daughter of peace, not a mother of debate; not a  
reuenger of her selfe, nor a secker of warres, but a  
forgetter of injuries, humbly and patiently referring  
all reuenge to the Lord; not a raker for riches, but  
a winner of soules; not contending for worldly ma-  
sterhip, but humbling themselves as seruants; and  
not vniuers of the Lord, but jointly like brethren ser-  
uing together, Bishops with bishops, ministers with  
ministers, deacons with deacons; and not as mas-  
ters separating themselves by superiortie one  
from another; but briefly communicating together  
in doctrine and counsell, one particular Church with  
another; not as a mother, one ouer another, but  
rather as sister Church one with another, seeking  
together the glory of Christ, and not their owne.  
And such was the Church of Rome first in the old  
ancient beginning of her primitive state, especially  
while the crosse of persecution yet kept the Bishops  
and ministers vnder in humilitie of heart and ser-  
uient calling vpon the Lord for helpe; so that happy  
was that Christian then, which with libertie of con-  
science onely might hold his life, how barely soeuer  
he liued. And as for the pride and pompe of the  
knoles, as struing for patrimonies buying of Bi-  
shopricks, gazing for benefices, so farre was this off  
from them, that then they had little leasure and lesse  
lift so much as once to thinke vpon them. Neither  
did the bishops then of Rome fight to be consuls  
of the City, but sought how to bring the consuls vnto  
Christ, being glad if the consuls would permit them  
to dwell by them in the City. Neither did they then  
presume so high, to bring the Emperors necks vnder  
their girdles, but were glad to saue their owne  
neckes in any corner from the sword of the Empe-  
rors. Then lacked they outward peace, but aboun-  
ded with inward consolation, Gods Holy Spirit  
mightily working in their hearts. Then was one  
Catholike vnitie of truth and doctrine amongst all  
Churches against errors and sects. Neither did the  
East and West, nor distance of place diuide the  
church; but both the East church and West church,  
the Greeks and Latines made all one Church. And  
albeit there were then five patriarchall Sees ap-  
pointed for order sake, differing in regions, and per-  
adventure also in some rites one frō another: yet all  
these consenting together in one vnitie of Catholike  
doctrine, hauing one God, one Christ, one faith,  
one Baptisme, one Spirit, one Head, and linked  
together in one bond of Charitie, and in one equali-  
ty of Honor, they made altogether one Body, one  
Church, one Communion, called one Catholike,  
vniuersall, and Apostolicall Church. And so long as  
this knot of charitie and equality did ioyne them in  
one vnitie together, so long the Church of Christ  
flourished and increased, one ready to helpe and har-  
bor another, in time of distresse, as Agapetus and  
Cicilius flying to Constantinople were there aided  
by the patriarch, &c. So that all this while, neither  
foreign enemy, neither Saracen, nor Solden, nor  
Sultan, nor Calipha, nor Corahime, nor Turke,  
had any power greatly to harne it.

But through the malice of the enemy, this Catho-

like vnitie did not long continue, and all by reason of  
the bishop of Rome; who not contented to be like his  
brethren, began to extol himselfe and to claim supe-  
rioritie aboue the other foure patriarchall Sees, and  
all other churches in the world. And thus as equalitie  
amongst Christian bishops was by pride & singula-  
ritie oppressed, so vnitie began by little and little to be  
dissolued, and the Lords coat, which the souldiers left  
whole, to be diuided. Which coat of Christian vnitie,  
albeit of long time it had bin now seame-rupt before  
by the occasion aforesaid: yet notwithstanding in  
some place it held together in some meane agree-  
ment, vnder subiection to the Sea of Rome, till the  
time of this pope Gregorie the ninth, An. 1230. at  
which time this rupture & schisme of the church brake  
out into a plaine diuision, utterly disseuering the east  
Church from the west Church vpon this occasion.

There was a certaine Archbishop elected to an  
archbishopricke among the Grecians; who, conuincing  
to Rome to be confirmed, could not be admitted un-  
lesse he promised a great summe of money. Which  
when he refused to doe, and defected the execrable  
simonie of the court of Rome, he made his repaire  
home againe to his owne cuntry vncconfirmed, de-  
claring there to the whole nobilitie of that land, the  
cause how it stood. For the more confirmation where-  
of there were others also, which conuincing lately  
from Rome, and there had proued the same of wofle,  
came in and gaue testimonie to his saying. Where-  
upon all the Churches of the Grecians, the same  
time hearing this, departed utterly away from the  
Church of Rome, which was in the daies of this  
Pope Gregorie the ninth. Insomuch that the Arch-  
bishop of Constantinople, coming afterward to the  
generall councell at Lions, there openly declared,  
that whereas before time he had under him aboue  
thirtie bishopricks and suffragans, now he had not  
thre; adding moreover, that all the Grecians, and  
certaine others, with Antioch and the whole Em-  
pire of Romania, euen to the gates almost of Con-  
stantinople, were gone from the obedience of the  
Church of Rome, &c. Mat. Paris, fol. 112. &c. fol. 186.

By the occasion of which separation aforesaid  
of the Grecians from Pope Gregorie, it happened  
shortly after, being the yeere of our Lord 1237. that  
Germanus archbishop and patriarch of Constans-  
tinople wrote to the said pope Gregorie the ninth,  
humbly desiring him to studie and seeke some meane  
of vnitie, how the seamelesse coat of the Lord Jesus  
thus lamentably rent, not with hands of souldiers,  
but by discord of prelates, may be healed againe; offer-  
ring this moreover, that if hee will take the paines  
to stirre out, he for his part, notwithstanding his  
old age and feeble body, would not refuse to make  
him in the mid way, to the intent that the truth on  
both sides being debated by the Scriptures, the  
wrong part may be reduced, the slander stopped, and  
vnitie reformed betwene them.

This request of the patriarch, as it was both god-  
ly and reasonable, so it had bene the Bishops part  
againe with like humilitie to haue condescended to  
the same, and to haue bene glad with all his might  
to help forward the reformation of Christian vnitie  
in the Church of Christ, and so to haue shewed him-  
selfe the Sonne of peace: but the proud Bishop of  
Rome, more like the some of discord and dissenti-  
on, standing still vpon his maiestie, refused thus to  
doe: but waiting againe answer to his letters with  
great disdain, seeking nothing else but onely how  
to aduance his Sea aboue all other Churches; and  
not onely that, but also shortly after sent forth his  
preaching friers to moue all Christians to take the  
signe of the crosse, and to fight against the Grecians  
no otherwise than against the Turkes and Sara-  
cens: insomuch that in the Ile of Cyprus many  
good men and martyrs were slaine for the same, as  
by the letters of the said Germanus patriarch of  
Constantinople is to be seene.

The schisme  
betweene the  
Greeke church  
and the church  
of Rome.  
Equalitie mo-  
derat of conser-  
uation.

The cause and  
occasion why the  
Greeke Church  
broke to brake  
from the west  
mans.

Mat. Paris,  
fol. 112.

All Grecia gone  
from the obedi-  
ence of the  
Church of  
Rome.  
Ex Matth.  
Parisienf.  
fol. 186.

Germanus pa-  
triarch of Con-  
stantinople wrote  
to Pope  
Gregorie the  
ninth.

The Pope  
teach the west  
Church to fight  
against the east  
Church.  
Ex Matth.  
Parisienf.  
fol. 112.

Difference be-  
tweene the  
Church of Rome  
that was, and  
the Church of  
Rome that now  
is.

East Church.  
West Church.

Catholike.



**Ex libro Matt. Parisiensis, manuscripto, fol. 3. & III.**

The tenor of the which letter to the Pope, with the Popes answer againe to him, being long and tedious to reade, are entant in the historie of Mar. Parisiensis, there to be seene and found. The summarie effect whereof, notwithstanding, I thought here briefly to notifie so, the simple and unlearned multitude, which, understanding not the Latine, may hereby perceiue the fault of this schisme, not so much to rest in the Greeke Church, as in the Church of Rome, as by the contents of his letter may appere.

*The effect of the patriarch of Constantinople  
his Letter to Pope Gregorie  
the ninth.*

**The letter of Germanus Patriarch of Constantinople to Pope Gregorie the ninth, An. 1237.**

IN the which letter the said Germanus Patriarch of Constantinople writing to Pope Gregorie, first after his reverend salutation and preamble following upon the same, entering then towards the matter, sheweth the occasion of his writing, which was by five observant Friers repairing that wayes, whom he gently receiving into his house, had conference with them touching this discord betweene the two Churches, how it might be reduced againe to unitie: and afterward perceiuing the said friers to make their journey towards Rome, he thought therefore by them to write his Letters. Wherein he first lamenting this division in the house of God, and reciting the inconveniences which come thereof, by the example of Iuda and Israel, Ierusalem and Samaria, Cain and Abel, Esau and Iacob, also of other such like, both private and public societies, where brother fighteth against brother, like as amongst fishes the greater devourerth the lesser, he proceedeth then further gently to exhort Pope Gregorie to the studie of unitie.

**He beweth the also mentice of discord.**

**Galath. I.**

And forsomuch as the Pope had accursed (belike) those Churches of the Greekes before, hee therefore taking his ground upon the words of Saint Paul (Gal. I.) where he accurseth every such person and persons whatsoever they be, either man or Angell of heaven that shall preach any other gospel than hath bene preached, &c. willett the Pope to stand with him upon the same ground of the Apostles curse: so that if the stroke of that curse have light upon him or his churches, he desireth him to shew the wound, and to helpe to wipe away the blood, to minister some spirituall implaster, to bind up the sore, and to save his brethren from perishing which lay in danger, according to the saying of the wise man; A brotherly friend is tried in adversitie, &c.

**Salomon.**

**Whether the church of the Greekes or the Popes church, which more under the danger of Gods curse.**

But if we (saith he) of the Greeke church be free from the stripe of this curse of the Apostle, and that you Italians and of the Latine church be stricken therewith, and lye thereby in danger of destruction, I trust that you through ignorance and wilfull obstinacie, will not so suffer your selves to be separated from the Lord, but rather will suffer a thousand deaths before, if it were possible for a man so often to die.

And as touching this great discord betweene us, if either contrarietie of doctrine, or twarving from the ancient Canons, or diversitie of rites received of our forefathers be any cause thereof, wee here take heaven and earth to witnesse, that we for our parts are ready, and desire also, upon due tryall of profound truth by Gods Word, and invocation of the Holy Ghost, to joyne hands with you, or you to joyne with us. But to say the very truth, and to tell you plaine, this we suppose, that many mighty and noble Potentates would sooner incline to your obedience, were it not that they feared your unjust oppressions, your insatiable exactions, and inordinate provisions wherewith you wring your subjects. By reason whereof have risen amongst us cruell warres, one fighting against another, desolation of cities, bulls and interdictions set upon Church doores, divi-

**The Greekes afraid of the Popes oppression.**

sion of brethren, and Churches of the Grecians left without service, where God should be praised. So that now only one thing lacketh, which I beleene to be predefined and appointed from aboute long before to vs Grecians, the time, I meane, of martyrdome, which also now hasteneth fast vpon vs, that the tribunall of tyrants should bee opened, and the seats of torments bee set, that the blood of Martyrs should bee spilled, and we brought to the stage of Martyrdome, to fight for the Crowne of Glorie.

**The Patriarch of Constantinople prophesieth of the martyrdome and slaughter of the Grecians.**

This that I doe speake, and wherefore I speake it, the noble Island of Cyprus doth already know and feele which hath made many new Martyrs, and hath seene valiant fouldiers of Christ, which of long time before, passing by water and teares of sorrow, now at last haue also passed through fire, and so entered into the Heavensly rest. How say you, be these good and seemely, O holy Pope, the successor of Saint Peter the Apostle? Is this the bidding of that good Peter, the meeke and humble Disciple of Christ? Doth he thus instruct the seniors and elders in his Epistle, where he writeth in this wise? The elders which are among you, I beseech, which am also a fellow Elder with them, and witnesse of the sufferings of Christ, and also a partaker of the glory that shall be opened; Feede the flocke of God which is amongst you, hauing care and ouer-sight of it, not of coercion as compelled against your wils, but willingly of your owne accord; not for filthy lucre sake, but freely and heartily; neither as bearing dominion and Lordship over the Church, but shewing your selues as an example to the flocke: and when the chiefe Pastor shall appere, you shall receive an incorruptible Crowne of eternall glory, &c. And this is the doctrine of Peter, as they shall see, which doe not obey it. As for vs, the other part of the said Epistle is sufficient: wherein hee willett them to rejoyce which are in heaviness through manifold temptations, that the trial of their faith being much more pretious than gold that perisheth, and is tried in fire, may be their laud, honour, and glorie, at the appearing of the Lord Iesus, &c. But beare with me I pray you (O holy father, and of all your predecessors most meeke) and suffer my words though they be something sharpe, for they be sighings of a sorrowfull heart.

**The Popes persecution in the isle of Cyprus.**

**The promise and anntice of the Pope challenge by the words of Saint Peter: I Pet. 5.**

**I Pet. I.**

Wherefore gird about your loynes with fortitude, and light vp the candle of your discretion, and seeke the grote that is lost, of the vntie, I meane, of faith. And we will also with like compassion ioyne with your holiness, and I will not spare this weake body of mine, in pretending any excuse either of age or length of the way: for the more laborious the trauell is, the more crownes it bringeth. And Saint Paul saith; Every man shall receiue reward according to his trauell, &c.

**He exhorteth the Pope to come and meete with him, that they might confer together about the unity of faith.**

Neither are we ignorant (if it please your holiness) that like as wee Grecians for our parts, doe labour in all respects to keepe and obserue the sinceritie of true faith and doctrine, not to erre, ne swarue in any part or point from the statutes of the blessed Apostles and ancient fathers: so the Church likewise of old Rome doth for her part labour also (we know well) to follow the sincere veritie of Christian doctrine, and thinketh her selfe to erre in nothing, nor to neede any remedie or reformation. And this we know is the iudgement and saying of both the Churches, as well of the Greekes, as of the Latines. For no man can see any spot in his owne face, without he sloop downe to the glasse, or else be admonished by some other, whether his face bee blotted or no. Euen so haue we many great and faire glasses set before vs; first, the cleare Gospell of Christ, the Epistles of the Apostles, and diuinitie bookes of ancient writers. Let vs therefore looke in them well; they will shew euery mans minde and iudgement, whether hee got right or wrong. The God

**The Greeke Church sound and sincere in doctrine.**

**He exhorteth the Church of Rome to looke her face in Gods glasses, that is to trie their doctrine by Gods word.**



God of Peace tread downe Satan speedily vnder our feete. The Author of Peace confound the fower of Discord. Hee that is the cause of all goodnesse destroy the hater of all that which is good, and which giueth cause of offence and slander. And he which is God of all ioy and peace, send to vs, which are the shepheards of his sheepe reasonable, the Angell of Peace, and the Messenger of great glad tidings, as hee did in the natiuitie of Christ, to the shepheards of brute sheepe and vnreasonable, and make vs worthy to sing that ioyfull song of Gods praise; Gloria in excelsis Deo, & in terra pax, hominibus bona voluntas, and to receiue one another with an holy kisse. The grace of our Lord Iesus Christ, and the peace of God the Father, and the communion of the Holy Spirit be with you alwaies: Amen.

Another Epistle of the said Germanus,  
Patriarch of Constantinople, and primate of  
the Greeke Church, to the Car-  
dinals of Rome.

Another letter  
of Germanus  
Patriarch of  
Constantinople  
to the Cardi-  
nals.

Another letter the said Germanus, patriarch of Constantinople, wrote also the same time to the Popes Cardinals, wherein he first commendeth them for their wisdom and counsell, and sheweth what utility cometh by god counsell giuing. For, so much as God (saith he) many times, that which he hideth from one, inspireth to another, so that that good thing which by the Almighty God is sumerly dispensed to diuers, through common counsell and conference spreadeth to the publicke utility of many, &c. After this effect he becometh to exhort them, that they like charitable ministers, and discret counsellors, will take in hand the spirituall armor of God, to cast downe the steepe and partition wall of the old discord betwene the Greeke and Latine Church, and that they will be a meane to the Bishop of Rome, that they, which so long haue bene diseuered by dissention, may now be conioined in unity of peace, in brotherly charity and communion of faith.

Concerning which matter, I haue (saith he) already written to his holiness. And now I beseech the King of heauen, which toke the shape of a seruant, to helpe his miserable seruants, and was exalted vpon the Crosse, to raise them vp which were fallen into the profundity of desolation, that he will vouchsafe to put from your hearts allelation of mind, extolling it selfe ouer and aboue the unity of your brethren and fellow seruants, and to lighten your consciences with the true light of vnderstanding that we may all together agree in one, and that there be no schisme amongst vs. Let vs therefore, as we are instructed, to abide in one mind, that it be not laid of vs, as it was of the Corinthians before vs; I hold of Paul, I of Apollo, I of Cephas, and I of Christ: but that all we, as we hold the name of Christ, and are all called Christians, so may also abide in that wherein we are instructed, in one minde, that is, to follow loue and charity in Christ Iesus, hauing alwaies in our hearts the words of the Apostle, saying; One Lord, one faith, one baptism.

And now to be plaine with you in that I haue to say, I shall desire you not to be offended with me in vntering the truth as a friend vnto you. The words (saith Salomon) of a wise man, telling truth, be like to nails which be driven in deepe: And truth for the most part breedeth enemies. And therefore though I am partly afraid, yet will I simply confesse the truth vnto vs. Certes this diuision of christian unity amongst vs, proceedeth of no other cause but onely of the tyranny, oppression, and exactions of the Church of Rome, which of a mother is become a stepdame, and hath put her children from her whom long time she nourished (after the maner

of a rauening bird, which diueth her young from her: ) which children how much the more humble and obedient they are to her, the lesse she esteemeth them, and treadeth them vnder foot, not regarding the saying of the Gospell; Who so humbleth himselfe shall be exalted.

Let modesty therefore something temper you, and let the auarice of the Court of Rome, although it cannot well out of the flesh which is bred in the bone, yet surcease a while, and let vs together condescend to the triall of the truth which truth being found out on both sides, let vs constantly embrace the same.

For why we haue bene altogether sometimes both Italians and Greeks in one faith, and vnder the same canons, hauing peace each with other, and defending one another, and confounding the enemies of the Church. At what time many flying out of the West parts (whilest that the tyranny of the heretiks indured) made their concourse to vs, and were receiued; and part fled vnto you, that is, old Rome, as to a strong tower of refuge, and so receiued they comfort in both places; and one brother was thus receiued into the bosome of another, by mutuall loue for their defence.

When after when Rome had bene often distressed by the barbarous and heathen nations, the Greeks were neuer ready to refuse and deliuer them. Did not Agapetus and Vigilius flee vnto Constantinople by reason of the dissensions then at Rome, and, being honorably receiued, were here defended vnder our protection: although the like kindnesse was neuer yet shewed of your part to vs againe in our like necessities. Notwithstanding, we ought to doe good to them also that be vngratefull; for so doth the sea participate her smooth and calme tides euen vnto the pirates. And so God causeth the winds to shine vpon the just and vniust. But (alas for our role) what bitter diuision is this, that hath thus persecuted vs asunder? One of vs betrayeth another, shunning the company one of another, as the damnation of his soule. What a mortall hatred is this come among vs? If you thinke we are fallen, then doe you helpe to lift vs vp, and be not to vs a stumbling blocke to our bodily ruine, but helpers vnto the spirituall resurrection of our soules. So shall we acknowledge ourselues bound vnto you to giue you condigne thanks accordingly.

But if the blame and first originall of this offence proceedeth from Rome, and the successors of Peter the Apostle, then read ye the words of St. Paul to the Galatians, saying; When Peter came to Antioch I withstood him in the face, because he was to be rebuked, &c. Whomebeit this resistance was no cause of any discord, or breach betwene them, but the cause rather of further search and profounder disputations, prouoking temporall agreement. For they were fast ioyned together in the bond of charity in Christ, agreeing in faith and conformity of doctrine, separated by no ambition or auarice. In which points would God we also were like vnto them! This to vs in our minds gendereth a great offence, that you, gazing so greedily after terrene possessions, scrape together all that you can scratch and rake. You heape vp gold and siluer, and yet pretend that you be the Disciples of him which said, Gold and siluer I haue none, &c. You make whole kingdomes tributaries to you, and kings and Princes your vassals. You augment your monie by blury, and by feates of inchantment. You teach by your deeds, that which you teach in words.

Moderate your selues therefore with more temperance, that you may be an example to vs and to all the world. You see how god a thing it is one brother to helpe another. Surely God alone needeth no helpe or counsell, but men neede to be holpen one of another. And were it not that I doe reuerence the blessed Apostle Peter, the chiefe of Christs Apostles,

The old auarice and covetous desire the East Church and the West.

Agapetus and Vigilius fled to Constantinople for succor.

Paul rebuketh Peter. Galath. 2.

Acs 3.

Demetrius of the Kingdom of England and other more which were made tributaries to the Sea of Rome. The immense auarice of the Court of Rome.

1 Cor. I.

The tyrannie and oppression of the Church of Rome is the true cause of taking vnto the Greeke Church in the Latine.



Peters faith  
shaken.

Apostles, the rocke of our faith; I would here put you in remembrance how greatly this rocke was shaken and remoued from the foundation, at the sight of a silly woman: and Christ of his secret purpose permitted the same, which by the crowing of the cocke brought him againe to remembrance of that which was foretold him, and raised him from the slumber of desperation. When he being thus waked, washed his face in thre teares, confessing himselfe before God and all the world, to be a true penitente of repentance, which before bare the keyes of the kingdome, as saying thus vnto vs: May not he which falleth, rise againe? Wh you which are fallen, rise vp and behold me, and hearken vnto mee, travelling towards Paradiſe; the gates whereof to open, I haue receiued power.

Peter an example  
of vniuersality.

And thus doe I write vnto you, not for any instruction, but onely to put you in remembrance: for I know how God hath indured you with all wisdom and knowledg, as Salomon saith; Giue onely occasion to the wise, and he will learne wisdom; Teach the iust man, and he will bee glad to take instruction.

Christian countries and nations in the East parts which are not vnder the Bishop of Rome.

This one thing more I will say and so make an end; There be great and mighty nations that are of like minde and opinion with vs. First, the Ethiopians that inhabite the chiefeſt part of the East. After that the Syrians, and other more of greater number than they, and more disposed to vertue, as the Hiber, Alam, Ostij, Charari, with innumerable people of Auita, and the kingdome of great Victorie the Bulgarians. And all these are obedient vnto vs as their mother Church, persisting hitherto constantly in the ancient and true orthodox faith immutable.

Christ onely  
head of the Church.

The God of all holynesse, which for our sakes became man, and which onely is the head of his Church and congregation, vouchsafe to gather vs againe together in vnitie, & grant that the Grecian church together with her sister Church of old Rome, may glorifie the same Christ, the Prince of peace, by the vnitie of faith, to the restitution of sound and whole some doctrine, wherein many yeeres agoe they haue agreed and were vnitied. God grant vnto you brotherly charity, and the hand of the most mighty God gouerne you all (holy Cardinals) till that joyfully ye arrive in the haven of euertlasting tranquillity. The grace of God be with you all, Amen. Ex Matt. Parisiensis, fol. 111.

The Pope proclaimed war against the Greeke Church. The archbishop of Antioch and Constantinople excommunicate the Pope. Five notes to be considered. The first note.

Shortly after the sending of these letters, Pope Gregory prepared to send men of war, signed with the croise, to fight against the Grecians: whereupon the Archbishop in Antioch, with the said Germanus solemnely excommunicated the Pope, after hee first had excommunicated them: Paris. fol. 118. In the meane time by the tenor of these letters of the patriarch sent to the Pope and to the Cardinals, it is euident to all men that haue eyes in their heads to see: first, how the whole vniuersall Church of Christ, from the East parts to the West, in ancient times were altogether vnitied in one consent of doctrine, and linked together in brotherly charity, one Church brotherly to helpe another, both with temporall aid and spirituall Counsell, as case required. Neither was then any one mother Church above other Churches, but the whole vniuersall Church was the mother Church and Spouse of the Lord, to euery faithfull beleuer. Under which vniuersall Church in general, were comprehended all other particular Churches in speciall, as sister Churches together, not one greater than another, but all in like equality, as God gaue his gifts so seruing one another, euert holding together the vnitie of faith and sisterly loue. And so long was it and rightly might so be called the Catholike Church, hauing in it true vnitie, vniuersality, and free consent. Unity in doctrine, vniuersality in communicating and joining together of voyces, consent in spirit and judgement. For

The true Catholike Church where it was, and what.

Unity:  
vniuersality  
consent.

whatsoever was taught at Rome touching faith and saluation, it was no other than was taught at Antioch, Syria, &c.

Secondly, how in proceſſe of time, through occasion of the Bishops of Rome tyranny & violent oppression, this ring of equality being broken, all flew in peeces, the East Church from the West, the Greeks from the Latines, and that which was one before, now was made two; vnitie turned to diuision, vniuersality to singularity, and free consent to dissent.

The second note.

Thirdly, here is also to be noted, after this pittifull breach of equality, how many and what great nations departed from the communion of the Church of Rome, and especially about this time aboue specified of Pope Gregory the ninth, Anno 1230. so that both before and after that time many Councils were holden, and many things concluded in the West Church, whereunto the one halfe of Christendome, lying in the East parts, did neuer agree: and contrary, many Councils holden with them, which in the Latine church were not receiued. So that the Church now as she lost the benefit of vniuersall consent, so also she lost the name Catholike. Whereupon on this question is to be asked, that when the Council of Lateran, vnder Pope Innocent the third, ordained the doctrine of transubstantiation, and auricular confession here in the West Church, without the free consent of the East church, whether the same doctrine is to be counted Catholike or not?

The third note.

Fourthly, in the departing off these Churches from the Bishop of Rome, here also is to be noted, that the same Churches of the Greeks, notwithstanding they sequestered themselves, and fell out with the Church of Rome, and that justly, yet they kept their vnitie still with their God, and receiued still the true doctrine; that is, The true and sincere doctrine of faith, ready to debate and try the truth of their religion by the Scriptures, as they here in their owne writings desire to haue the truth examined, according as ye haue heard. Wherefore the church of Rome hath done them open wrong, which being offered so gently to try and to be tried by the truth of Gods Word, not onely would stand to no tryall, nor abide conference, but also hath excommunicated them as hereticks, which appeare here to be more orthodox Christians than they themselves.

The fourth note.

Fifthly, these things thus standing, then haue we to conclude that the Church of Rome falsly pretendeth it selfe Catholike. For if the name of Catholike must needs import an vniuersall consent of the whole, how can that be Catholike where the consent of so many famous and true Christian Churches hath bene lacking; and furthermore where the consent, that hath bene amongst themselves, hath rather bene coated than any true or free consent? Which is easie to be proued: for let these fires and sagots cease, let kings and Princes leaue to presse their subjects with the Popes obedience, let the scripture, and the Bishops alone euery one in his owne Diocese to gouerne their focke after the rule of Gods word, and how few be there in this West end of the world (trow you) that would not doe the same that these Grecians, Ethiopians, and Syrians haue done before vs: And thus much by the occasion of this patriarchs letters sent to Pope Gregory concerning the Grecians.

The fifth note. The Church of Rome proued not to be Catholike. The proce- dings of Rome stand vpon no free consent, but are acted.

Whose doings when I consider, as I cannot but commend their wisdom, and iudge their state happy and blessed, in shaking off from their neckes the miserable yoke of the Popes tyrannie: so on the other side considering with my selfe the wretched thraldome of these our Churches here in the West part of the world vnder the Bishop of Rome, I cannot tell whether more to maruell or to lament their pittifull state, who were brought into such oppression & slavery vnder him, that neither they could abide him, nor yet durst cast him off. So intolerable were

The miserable state of the West parts of Christendom vnder the Pope.



The Popes were his exactions, so terrible was his tyrannie, his suspensions and excommunications much like to a mad mans dagger, drabne at every trifle, that no Christian patience could suffer it, nor nation abide it. Again, so deepe did he sit in their consciences, they falsly beleueing him to haue the authoritie of Saint Peter, that for conscience sake neither king nor Cesar durst withstand him, much lesse poore subjects once mite against him. And although his takings and spoilings, namely in this realme of England, were such, that neither the latic nor spirituality could beate them, yet was there no remedie, beare them they must, or else the Popes sentence was upon them, to curse them as blacke as pitch.

In reading the histories of these times, any good heart would lament and rue, to see the miserable captiuitie of the people what they suffered vnder this thraldome of the Bishop of Rome, whereof part hath bene shewed before, more (God willing) shall follow hereafter, and some part presently I minde to expresse.

A briefe table or declaration of the Popes unreasonable gatherings, exactions, and oppressions in the Realme of England.

A briefe table of the Popes spoiling and getting of English money in the times of King Henry the third.

**A**d first to begin with the elections of the Bishops, Abbats, Canons, and Priors within this Realme, it cannot be told what masse of money grew to the Popes coffers thereby, especially in this kings dayes: forsomuch as in his time lightly no election happened either of Archbishop, Bishop, Abbat, or any come of dignitie, but when the count or Chapter had chosen one to their minde, the king, who had married a stranger, and sought therefore to preferre strangers, would set by another. By reason whereof when the other part was faine to appeale to Rome, and there to plead the case, no small riuers of English money, besides expences and trauell by the way, went flowing to the Popes Sea. And although the election went neuer to cleare, yet the newe elect must needs respect the holy father with some gentle reward, and further by his oath was bound euery three yeeres, either in his owne person or by another, to visit Limina apostolorum.

Henry continuing to the Pope by election of John Berford, Abbat of S. Albons.

Eight thousand markes given out of the bishopricke of Winchester to the Pope, about the election of William Rale. An. 243.

So in the house of S. Albons, when John Berford was elected Abbat, their publike election was not enough, but for the confirmation of the same, the Monkes were faine to send Reinold the Physician, and Nicholas a Monke, to Rome with a sufficient bag of money, through the mediation whereof the election might stand, and the new Abbat was sworn euery third yeere by himselfe or another, to visite the dwersels of the Apostles.

Another such like contention happened betwene the king and the Monkes of Winchester, about the election of William Rale, whom the Monkes had chosen, but the king refused, willing to place a stranger, and therefore sent to Rome his messengers, Theobald a Monke of Westminster, and Walter Alexander a Lawyer, with no small summe of money to euacuate the election of the foresaid William Rale: commanding moreover, that the gates of Winchester should be shut against him, and that no man should be so hardy there to receiue him in the house. Whereupon the said W. being excluded, after he had laid his curse upon the whole city of Winchester, made his repaire to Rome, where, for eight hundred markes being promised to the Pope, his bishopricke ( spite of the kings heart ) was confirmed, and he received. Ex Mat. Paris. fol. 164. & 240.

After the death of Stephen Langton Archbishop of Canterbury, ye heard before how the Monkes had elected Walter a Monke of Canterbury. But the king, to stop that election, sent up his Proctors M. Alexander Stanes, and M. Henry Sandford bishop of Rochester to the Pope, to euacuate that election, and to place Richard Chancelor of Lincoln:

Which proctors perceiuing at first how hard and unwilling the pops and cardinals were thereunto, and considering how all things might be bought for money, rather than the king should faile of his purpose, they promised on the kings behalfe to the Pope, for maintaining his warres against Frederike the emperor, a definite or tenth part of all the moveables in the realme of England and of Ireland. At the contemplation of which money, the Pope effeene, thinking to passe with the king, began to picke quarrels with the foresaid Walter, for not answering rightly to his questions about Christs descending to hell, making of Christs body on the altar, the washing of Maachel for her children, the being dead before, about the sentence of excommunication, and certaine causes of matrimony. His answers were, unto when they were not to the Popes mind, he was therefore put backe, and the kings man preferred, which cost the whole realme of England and Ireland

the tenth part of their moveable goods, by reason whereof, what money was raised to the popes gaze: Ex Mat. Paris. phylacium, I leave to the estimation of the Reader, fol. 71. b. An. 1229. Ex Mat. Paris. fol. 71.

And yet for all this, the said Richard, the costly Archbishop of Canterbury, within lesse than two yeeres after, falling out with the king about the castle and lordship of Tunbridge, went and complained of him to the Pope. In the trauele whereof it cost the king a great peece of money besides, and yet mist he his purpose. In the which Iourney the said Archbishop, in his returne homeward, by the way departed, An. 1231.

Henry spent at Rome between the time and the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Of the like dissention ye heard before betwene the king and the count of Durham, for not chusing M. Lucas the kings chaplen, whom the king offered to be their bishop. About the sute whereof, when much money was bestowed on both sides wellsaucably, the Pope, defeating them both, admitted neither M. William, nor M. Lucas, but ordained the Bishop of Sarum to be their bishop, An. 1228. Ex Paris.

The costly election of the Bishop of Durham.

Betwene the Monkes of Conventry, and the canons of Litchfield rose another like quarrell, which of them should haue the superior boyce in chusing their Bishop. In which sute, after much money bestowed in the court of Rome, the Pope, to regularise againe each part with some retribution for their money received, took this order indifferently betwene them, that each part by course should haue the chusing of their Bishop, An. 1228. Ex Paris. fol. 68.

Henry coming to the Pope for the election of the Bishop of Conventry and Litchfield.

What businesse fell likewise betwene Edmund Archbishop of Canterbury and the Monkes of Rochester about the election of Richard Wendour, to be their Bishop: And what was the end: first the Archbishop was faine to trauell himselfe to the pope, and so did the count also send their Proctors. Who, belike being better monied, weighed downe the cause, so that the good Archbishop in that cause against the Monkes, and partly in another cause against the Earle of Arundell, was condemned of the Pope in a thousand markes. Whereof the greatest part (no doubt) redounded to the Popes coffers, An. 1238. Mat. Paris. fol. 114.

Edmund Archbishop of Canterbury condemned at Rome in a 1000. markes.

After the returning of the said Edmund Archbishop of Canterbury againe from Rome, it chanced that the Monkes of Canterbury had elected their Prior without his assent: for the which he did excommunicate the Monkes, and euacuate their election. Not long after this, the Popes exactors went about to extort from the Churchmen the fifth part of their goods to the Popes use, fighting then against the Emperor. This cruell exaction being a great while resisted by the Prelates and clergy, at length the foresaid Archbishop, thinking thereby to get the victory against the Monkes, was contented to grant to the said exaction, adding moreover of his owne for an ouerplus eight hundred markes: whereupon the rest of the Clergy was faine to follow after, and contri-

The fifth part of all the clerge granted to the Pope.



bute to the Popes eradoys, An. 1240. Ex Mat. Parisiensis, fol. 132. b.

Great expense of money in the Court of Rome between the Bishop of Lincoln and the Cathedra of the Bishop of Lincoln.

In the Church of Lincoln (whose See before the conquest was in Worcester, and afterwards by William Rufus translated from thence to Lincoln) rose a grievous contention between Robert Grossethhead Bishop, and the canons of the cathedral Church, about their visitation, whether the Bishop should visit them, or the deane: which matter, being put unto arbitrators, could not so be composed, before the Bishop and the Chapter, after their appeal made unto the Pope, went both unto Rome, and there, after they had well wasted their purses, they received at length their answer, but paid full swat for it, An. 1239. Parisiensis, fol. 119.

At what time the canons of Chichester had elected Robert Wasseleyn to their Bishop at the Kings request the Archbishop with certaine other Bishops, taking part against the Kings Chaplen, repelled him, and set by Richard Wiche. Upon this, what sending and going there was unto Rome, and what money bestowed about the matter, as well of the Kings part as of the Bishops; reade the story thereof in Mat. Paris, 182. 184. 186.

Robert Grossethhead Bishop of Lincoln (of whom relation was made before) having a great care how to bring the privilege orders of religious houses within his precinct, under his subjection and discipline, went unto Rome, and there with great labor and much effusion of money (as the story saith) procured of the Pope a mandate, whereby all such religious orders were commanded to be under his power and obedience. Not long after, the Bishops not abiding that (who could some weigh downe the Bishop with money) sent their factors to the Pope, who with their golden eloquence so perswaded him, and stirred his affections in such sort, that sone they purchased to themselves freedom from their ordinary Bishop. Whereof Robert Grossethhead having intelligence made up to Rome, and, there complaining to the Pope, declared how he was disappointed and confounded in his purpose, contrary to promises and assurance made to him before. Unto whom Pope Innocent, looking with a sterne countenance, made this answer againe; Brother (said he) what is that to thee? Thou hast deluded and discharged thine owne soule. It hath pleased us to shew favour unto them. Is thine eye ill, for that I am good? And thus was the Bishop sent away with a flea in his ear, murmuring with himselfe, yet not so softly, but that the Pope heard him say these words; O money, what canst not thou do in the Court of Rome? Whereupon the Pope, being somewhat pinched, gave this answer againe; O ye Englishmen, Englishmen, of all men most wretched, for all your seeking is how ye may consume and devour one another, &c. An. 1250. Ex Mat. Parisiensis, fol. 230.

It happened moreover the same yere, that the said Robert Grossethhead excommunicated and deprived one Ranulphus a beneficed person in his Diocese, being accused of incontinencie, who, after the terme of forty dayes, refusing to submit himselfe, the Bishop wrote to the Sheriffe of Rutland to apprehend him as contumacious. Which Sheriffe, because he deferred or refused so to do (bearing favour to the party) and being therefore solemnly excommunicated by the Bishop, offered his complaint to the King. Whereat the King taking great displeasure with the Bishop for excommunicating his Sheriffe, and not first making his complaint to him, sendeth forth with a substantiall messenger (D. Boneta) such as he was sure would speade, unto Pope Innocent, by vertue of whose words the Pope, easie to be intreated, sendeth downe a prouiso to the Abbat of Westminster, charging that no prelate, nor Bishop in the Realme of England, should molest or enter action against any of the Kings bailiffes or officers, in such matters as to the Kings jurisdiction appertained,

And thus was the strife ended not without some helpe and heape of English money; so that no wind of any controuersie here stirred in England, were it neuer so small, but it blew some profit for the Popes aduantage, An. 1250. Ex Paris. fol. 231.

In like manner no little treasure grew to the Popes coffers by the election of Boniface, the Queens uncle, a Frenchman to be Archbishop of Canterbury, Anno 1243. and of Ethelmar, the Queens brother to be Bishop of Winchester against the wills of the Prior and couent there, Anno 1250. besides many such other shepats, which made England poore, and the Pope rich.

I come now something likewise to touch briefly of the Popes dispensations, prouisions, exactions, contributions and extortions in England in this Kings dayes; for to discourse all, it is not one booke will hold it.

Simon Montfort Earle of Leicester had married Eleanor the Kings sister, and daughter of King John, who by report of stories had taken the mantell and ring. Wherefore the King, and his brother Richard Earle of Gloucester, were greatly offended with the marriage; which the Earle Simon seeing made a band of money, and posting ouer to Rome, after he had talked a few wordes in Pope Innocents eare, the marriage was good enough: and letters were sent to the Popes Legat here, to give sentence solemnely with the Earle. Notwithstanding the Dominike friers, and other of the like religious fraternity, withstood that sentence of the Pope stoutly, saying, that the Popes holinesse was therein deceived, and soules in danger; that Christ was jealous ouer his wife; and that it could not be any wise possible, that a woman, which had bowed marriage with Christ, could afterward marry with any other, &c. Anno 1238. Ex Parisiensis, fol. 114.

As there was nothing to hard in the wide world, wherewith Pope would not dispense for money; so by the said dispensations much mischief was wrought abroad. For by reason thereof, the people trusting upon the Popes dispensation, little regarded what they did, what they promised, or what they swore. As well appeared by this King Henry the third; who being a great eradoz of the poore commons, as euer was any King before him; or since, and thinking thereby to winne the people sooner to his deuotion, most faithfully promised them ones or twice, and thereto bound himselfe with a solemne oath, both before the Clergie and Laytie, to grant unto them the old liberties and customes as well of Magna Charta, as Charta de foresta, perpetually to be observed. Whereupon a Quindecim was granted to the King. But after the payment was sure, the King trusting by the Popes dispensation for a little money to be discharged of his oath and covenant, went from that he had promised and sworn before.

In like manner the said King another time, being in neede of money, signed himselfe with the Crosse, pretending and swearing deeply in the face of the whole Parliament, that he would himselfe personally fight in the holy land against the Saracens. But as soone as the money was taken, small care was had for performance of his oath, being so put in the head by certaine about him, that he needed not to passe of that persury, forasmuch as the Pope, for an hundred pounds or two, would quickly discharge him thereof. Ex Mat. Paris. fol. 273.

Out of the same corrupt spring of these Popish dispensations, haue proceeded also many other foule absurdities. For where many yong men were in those dayes, which enjoyed benefices, and were no Priests, and when by the procurement of Robert Grossethhead, Bishop of Lincoln, the said yong men should be forced, whether they would or not, to enter orders, they laying their purses together, sent to Rome, and obtained of the Pope a dispensation to remaine still as they were, that is, to haue the fruits of

Some coming to the Pope by the election of Boniface, Archbishop of Canterbury, and of Ethelmar, Bishop of Winchester, both strangers and Frenchmen.

Marriage with Eleanor the Kings sister, a sum, disputed by the Popes for money.

What income, nience cometh by the Popes dispensations.

What penance maintained by the Popes dispensations.

Enormities which spring out of the popish dispensations.

Some coming to the Pope, between the Bishop of Lincoln and the Bishops within his Diocese.

How easily the Pope can take with both hands.

Money may doe much at Rome.

The Popes answer to Robert Grossethhead.

Justice permitted by the Popes authority for money.



**KING** } of benefices to finde them at schoule or Uniuerſitie,  
**Hen. 3.** } and yet themſelues neither miniſters to take charge  
 nor yeolding any ſeruiſe for their profits taken: Ex  
 Mat. Pariſ. fol. 256. Beſides innumerable heapes  
 of enormities moze, proceeding of the Popes diſpen-  
 ſations, as diſpenſing one man to haue ſundry bi-  
 ſhopricks, to inuoch pluralities of benefices, to  
 make children Parſons, to legitimate baſtards, with  
 ſuch other like; the particulars whereof, for breuitie  
 ſake, I doe omit to further oppoſunitie.

The intolerable oppreſſion of the realme of  
 England by the Popes exactions and contri-  
 butions, and other ſleights vſed in the  
 time of king Henry the third.

**A**lthough theſe euolumentes, thus riſing dayly  
 to the Popes purſe by ſimony and barbertie, by  
 elections and diſpenſations, might ſeeme ſufficient  
 to ſatiſfie his greedy appetite: yet ſo vnfatiable  
 was the auarice of that Sea, that he not yet con-  
 tented herewith, euer and beſides all this, ſent euery  
 where almoſt ſome legat or other into this realme to  
 take for his aduantage. Inſomuch that during all  
 this kings time, the realme was neuer lightly with-  
 out ſome of the Popes ligiers, with all violence ex-  
 acting and extorting continuall prebends, contri-  
 butions, and ſummes of money to be leuiued out of  
 celes, abbies, priories, fruites of benefices, and biſhop-  
 rickes, and alſo lay mens purſes, to the miſerable  
 impoveriſhing both of the clergie and tempoſalitie,  
 as hereunder followeth.

First, after Pandulphus, was ſent into this  
 realme cardinall Dtho, procured by the king with-  
 out the aſſent of his nobles, to the intent to aſſiſt  
 him in certain affaires he had to doe. At receiuing  
 of which legat, great preparation was made; ma-  
 ny rich and pretious gifts in ſcarlet, in plate, in  
 ſeirels, in money and palſtries, were giuen him.  
 Whom the king alſo himſelfe went as farre as the  
 ſea ſide to receiue, bowing downe his head in low  
 comteſſie to the Cardinals knees. To whom alſo the  
 Biſhop of Wincheſter for his part gaue, towards  
 keeping of his houſe, fifty fat Dren, an hundred  
 ſeines of ſilke, and eight great beſſels of pure  
 wine. This legat, at his firſt coming, beſegeth  
 firſt to beſtow ſuch benefices, as he found vacant,  
 vpon them whom he brought with him, without re-  
 ſpect whether they were maſte or vnnate. Ex Pariſi-  
 enſ. fol. 103.

After this, the Pope hearing how the nobles and  
 commons of the realme began to ſtomacke the car-  
 dinall for his exorbitant procurations and exactions,  
 ſent for him home: but the king by reaſon he ſtood  
 in feare of his nobles, and thought to haue a ſtay by  
 the Cardinall againſt all occurrents, intreated him  
 to ſtay while he wrote to the Pope to obtaine further  
 licence for him to tarry: and ſo he did, not without  
 ſome English money re may be ſure.

In this meane time of vacation, Dtho thinking  
 to loſe no time, but to gather alſo ſome crummes in  
 Scotland, made as though he would ſet things there  
 in order, which were in the Church of Scotland to be  
 reformed, and ſo commeth to the king of Scots, be-  
 ing then in Poſke with king Henry, to haue leaue  
 to enter. Vnto whom the king thus made anſwer,  
 that he neuer ſaw to his remembrance, any Popes  
 legat in his land, neither was there any ſuch neede  
 (God be praied) for ſuch to be ſent for. Matters  
 there were well enough, and needed no helpe of his.  
 And as he could neuer learne neither in the dayes of  
 his father, or any his predecessors, that any ſuch en-  
 trance to any legat was granted: ſo he for his  
 part would not now begin. But yet notwithſtanding  
 forſomuch as I heare (ſaid he) that you are a good  
 man, this I tell you before, that if you will needes  
 adventure in, doe it warily, and take heed to your

ſelfe, leſt it happen to you otherwiſe than I would  
 wiſh: for they be a ſavage and vnruly people, giuen  
 much to murder, and ſhedding blood, whom I mi-  
 ſlike am ſcarce able to brole, ſo that if they fall vpon  
 you, I ſhall not be able to helpe you. And how they  
 alſo inuaded me, and ſought to expell me from my  
 kingdome, yee heard of late. And therefore I warne  
 you before, take heed betime what you thinke beſt  
 to doe. After the Cardinall heard the king ſpeake  
 theſe words, he pluckt in his horne, and buſt pro-  
 ceede no further, but kept him ſtill by the ſide of king  
 Henry. Notwithſtanding ſhortly after, the ſame  
 legat, coming to the borders of Scotland, there  
 called the biſhops to him, and ſo, when he had well  
 filled his bagges, came backe againe, Ex Mat. Pariſ.  
 fol. 106. 123. b.

It was not long after, but licence came from  
 Pope Gregory to his legat Dtho, for his longer  
 abode here in the realme (as welcome as water in  
 the ſhip) with new authoritie alſo to proceede in the  
 Popes affaires. Who firſt ſhewing to the biſhops  
 and the clergie his letters of longer tarrying, requi-  
 red of them, forſomuch as no man (ſaid he) warreth  
 of his owne charges, to be ſupported with new pro-  
 curations; which was, to haue of euery able Church  
 ſoure markes; and where one Church was not able  
 to reach thereto, that other Churches ſhould ioyne  
 withall, to make the ſaid money. Notwithſtanding  
 the Biſhops a great while ſtood in the denyall there-  
 of. Pariſ. fol. 123. 128. 132.

Beſides, he aſſembled together all the blacke  
 monkes of S. Benedicts order, giuing to them ſtri-  
 ct orders which ſhortly after for money he releaſed to  
 them againe. Pariſ. fol. 116. 119.

Moreouer, by the ſaid Dtho, & other the popes ex-  
 actions, with ſpeciall buls directed downe for the ſame,  
 collation of benefices being taken out of the hands  
 of the patrons, were giuen to light and vile ruma-  
 gages, coming from Italy and other places, ſuch  
 as pleaſed the Pope and his legat to beſtow them  
 vpon, to the great prejudice of the ancient libertie  
 and right of the true patrons thereof. Wherevpon  
 the Carles, and Barons, and Nobles of the realme,  
 addreſſed letters vnto Pope Gregory by ſir Robert  
 Twiſing knight, for redreſſe of ſuch wrongs and in-  
 juries; who otherwiſe ſhould be forced (they ſaid)  
 to inuocate the ſuccor of their king, who doth was  
 able, and was no leſſe willing, according to his du-  
 ty (they truſted) to reforme ſuch enormities, and to  
 defend the liberties of his realme. The tenor of  
 whole writing is to be read in Matth. Pariſ. fol.  
 128. a.

ſo long after the ſame, in the yeere of our Lord,  
 1240. came a new precept from Pope Gregory, by  
 Petrus Rubens the Popes Nuncio, to the foreſaid  
 Dtho, that all beneficed men of the clergie, as well  
 in England as in France, ſhould pay to the Pope  
 the fifth part of their reuenues. Wherevpon when  
 the clergie men made their complaint to the king,  
 ſeeking to be relieved by him; the king anſwered  
 them againe, that he neither would, ne durſt ſtand  
 againſt the Pope in any caſe, and ſo without all hope  
 of ſuccour, ſent them away. Pariſienſis. fol. 132.  
 When were the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbats, and  
 prelates of the Church commanded to aſſemble to-  
 gether at Reading, there to heare to Popes pleaſure  
 and commandment concerning the payment of this  
 fifth part, where in the end thus the matter conclu-  
 ded, that the Prelats deſired a further time to be  
 giuen them to abuſe vpon the matter; and for that  
 reaſon the aſſembly brake vp: Pariſ. 122. Notwith-  
 ſtanding at laſt, after many excuſes and exceptions  
 laid in by the clergie; firſt, that becauſe the money  
 was gathered to fight againſt the Emperors, they  
 ought not to contribute their money, contrary to the  
 liberties of the Church. Item forſomuch as they had  
 paid a tenth not long before vnto the Pope, vpon  
 condition that no moze ſuch payments ſhould be  
 required.

Cardinall Dtho  
 ſtopped from  
 going into  
 Scotland.

Expreſſions of  
 the Cardinall  
 Dtho the popes  
 legat.

Anno 1238.

The Nobles of  
 England write  
 to Pope Gregory  
 for collation  
 of benefices  
 withſtand out of  
 their hands.

Petrus Rubens  
 the Popes car-  
 rier.  
 All beneficed  
 men in England  
 compelled to  
 giue the fifth  
 part of their re-  
 uenues to the  
 Pope.

Anno 1240.

Excuses of the  
 clergie why they  
 would not con-  
 tribute to the  
 Pope.

The miserable  
 impoverishing of  
 the realme by  
 the Popes pro-  
 bitions and con-  
 tributions.

Cardinall Dtho  
 legat in Eng-  
 land.  
 He receiuing  
 of Dtho the  
 Popes legat in-  
 to the realme.

Anno 1237

Dtho the legat  
 ſeeketh to come  
 into Scotland.

The king of  
 Scots his an-  
 ſwere to cardinall  
 Dtho.  
 The realme of  
 Scotland be-  
 ing then neuer  
 troubled with a  
 ny Popes legat.



required of them, much lesse now the fifth part should be exacted of them, because an action twice done maketh a custome. Item, seeing they had oftentimes to repaie unto the Court of Rome, if they should give this money against the Emperors, it would turne to their danger coming through his land. Item, seeing their King had many enemies, against whom they must needs releue the king with their money, they could not so do if the realme were thus impoverished, &c. All which excuses, with di-  
 10 ners other more notwithstanding, they were compelled at length to conforme themselves to the Popes good pleasure, through the example given of Edmund Archbishop of Canterbury, who to ob-  
 taine his purpose against the monks of Canterbury (with whom he was then in strife) began first to yield to the legats 800. marks for his part, whereby the rest also were faine to follow after, Ex Mat. Pari.  
 fol. 132, 135.

Three hundred children off Rome placed in benefices in England.

Edmund Arch-bishop of Can-terbury depar-teth the realme, and dyeth in exile.

Three thousand pounds to the Popes use.

Romans 27 brought to Eng-land to be bene-ficed.

The Pope for money releaseth Christians of their vow.

The Archbishop of Poike should ordaine nothing against the king

Tamis Lond.

Furthermore, the same yere the Pope agreed so with the people of Rome, that if they would aid him against Frederike the Emperors, like what benefices were to be given in England, the same should be at their arbitrement to be bestowed upon their children. Whereupon commandment was sent to the foresaid Edmund Archbishop, to the bishops of Lincoln and Sarum, that all the collati-  
 20 ons of benefices within the realme should be suspended, till provision were made for three hundred children of the Citizens of Rome to be first served. Upon the which so miserable request, the said Edmund Archbishop of Canterbury, for sorrow to see the Church so oppressed, departed the realme, and so continued in France, and died at Montmartre: Ex Mat. Paris. fol. 134. b. Which Edmund was after-  
 ward made a saint, and canonized by Pope Innocent the fourth.

This done, then went Petrus Kubens the Popes Nuncio, and Ruffinus, into Scotland, from whence they brought with them three thousand pounds to the Popes use about Allhallowtide the same yere.  
 40 At which time moreover cometh another barpar from the Pope to England, named Humelius, bring-  
 ing with him three and twenty Romans here into the realme to be beneficed. Thus, what by the king on the one side, and what by the Cardinall Dtho, Petrus Kubens, Ruffinus and Humelius on the other side, poore England was in a wretched case. Mat. Paris. fol. 137.

Another pretie practice of the Pope to poll for money, was this: The foresaid Petrus Kubens, coming into religious houses and into their Chap-  
 50 ters, caused them to contribute to the Popes holiness, by the example of this Bishop, and that Abbat, pretending that he and he, of their owne voluntary deuotion, had given so much and so much, and so seduced them. Paris. fol. 134. Also the Pope craftily sub-  
 joined certaine friers, authorized with full indul-  
 gence, that whosoever had vowed to fight in the holy land, and was disposed to be released of his vow, needed not to repaie to Rome for absolution, but  
 60 paying so much money as his charges would come to going thither, he resorting to the said friers might be absolved at home.

This passed in the yere 1240. Now all these troubles laid together were enough to vex the meek-  
 est prince in the world; where to, by way of access to the kings further molestation, he had much adoe with the Prelats and clergy men of his realme, who  
 70 were always tampering with his title, especially in their assemblies and councils: to whom the king, to re-  
 strain them from that presumption, did both send and write, as appeareth by this evidence of record; Rex in ihu Galindum de Langley, &c. That is, The king sent Geoffrey Langley to the Archbishop of Poike, and to other Bishops purposed to meete  
 at Wrenford, to appeale for him, left, in the said council there called, they should presume to ordaine

something against his crowne and dignity. This  
 10 was done in the yere of our Lord 1241. In which yere also came a commandment Apostolicall to the house of Peterborow, that they at the Popes con-  
 templation must needs grant him some benefice lying in their donation, the fruits whereof were  
 20 worth at least an hundred pounds, and if it were more it should be the better welcome; so that they should be as the farmers, and he to receive the pro-  
 fits. In fine, the couent excused themselves by the Abbat, being then not at home. The Abbat, when  
 he came home, excused himselfe by the king, being the patron and founder of the house. The king, be-  
 30 ing grieved with the unreasonable rauening of these Romanists, offerdly forbade any such example to be given. Ex Parisiens. fol. 143. But what happened? The Abbat being therefore accused to the Pope by  
 one of the Legats, and committing by about foure yeres after, in the time of Pope Innocent, to the  
 40 Councell of Lions, was so rated and reuled, and so shamefully thrust out of the Popes Court, that for-  
 row he fell sicke upon the same, and there died. Paris. fol. 184.

In the time of which Councell of Lions, Pope In-  
 50 nocent the fourth, (so long as the instrument of obli-  
 gation, whereby the realme of England stood tribu-  
 tary to the Pope, was thought to be burned in the Popes Chamber a little before) brought forth either  
 the same, or another chart like unto it, whereunto he  
 60 traitly charged and commanded every English Bishop, being there present at the Councell, severally  
 to set to his hand and seale. Which unreasonable pe-  
 tition of the Pope, albeit it went fore against the  
 hearts of the Bishops, yet (as in what miserable sub-  
 70 jection the Pope had all the bishops under him) none  
 of them durst otherwise doe but accomplish the  
 Popes request therein, both to their owne shame, and  
 prejudice to the publike freedom of the realme.  
 Amongst which Bishops, the longest that held out,  
 and last that put to his seale, was the Bishop of Lon-  
 80 don. Which act when the king and the nobility un-  
 derstood, they were mightily and worthily therewith  
 all offended. Ex Parisiens. fol. 192. An. 1245.

After what time Cardinall Dtho was sent for by  
 90 Pope Gregory in all haste to come to the generall  
 Councell, two other in his roime here remained,  
 whose names were Petrus Kubens, and Petrus de  
 Supino. Of whom the one, bearing himselfe for the  
 Popes kinsman, brought out his bills and bills under  
 the Popes authority, to such an Abbat, or to such a  
 100 Prior, or to such and such a Bishop, and so extorted  
 from them a great quantity of Gold and Silver. The  
 other, to wit, Petrus de Supino sailed to Ireland,  
 from whence he brought with him a thousand and  
 five hundred marks to the Popes use, An. 1241.  
 Ex Paris. fol. 247. b. All which money notwithstanding  
 110 gotten by both the collectors, in the carriage of  
 it vnto Rome, about the death of Pope Gregory, hap-  
 pened into the hands of Frederike the Emperors;  
 who caused it again to be restored, as nare as he  
 120 could, to them of whom it was taken. Paris. fol.  
 151.

After these came then D. Martinus a new  
 130 Merchant from the new Pope Innocent the fourth,  
 An. 1244. armed with full power to suspend all Pre-  
 lats in England from giving benefices, till the  
 Popes kinsmen were first preferred. Neither would  
 he take the fruits of any benefice, unless it were  
 140 aboue the value of thirty marks. At his first com-  
 ming, he required of Prelats, and especially of reli-  
 gious houses to furnish him with horses and pal-  
 frates, such as were convenient for the Popes expect-  
 all Chaplen and Legat to sit upon; also with plate,  
 raiment, provision for his kitchen and cellar, &c. and  
 such as denied, or excused, he suspended; as the  
 150 Abbat of Halmebury, and the Prior of Berken. All  
 Debends that were vnto be sought out and returned  
 them to the Popes behoofe; among which was the  
 Golden

KING  
HEN. 3

Humelius and  
other messengers  
of the Pope.

Abbat of Pe-  
terborow thrust  
out of the popes  
Court

The obligation  
of King Johns  
tribute to the  
popes burne.

The Bishops of  
England put  
their hands on  
seales to the  
popes bill.

Petrus Kubens  
Petrus de Su-  
pino, the Popes  
collectors in  
England.

A thousand and  
five hundred  
marks brought  
out of Ireland  
for the Pope.

D. Martinus  
another messen-  
ger for the Popes  
money.  
An. 1244.

Extortion of the  
Popes Legat  
upon the Clergy  
of England.



**KING 2** golden prebend of Sarum, belonging to the chan-  
**HEN-3** cellor of the quere, whom he preferred to the bishop-  
ricke of Bath, and so seized upon the prebend be-  
ing void, against the wils both of the bishop and the  
chapter. Paris. fol. 167. 180. Moreover, he brought  
with him blanks in paper and parchment, signed in  
the popes chamber with his stamp and seale, where  
in he might afterward write to whom, and what he  
would: Paris. fol. 178. b. requiring furthermore of  
the king, in the popes behalfe, to helpe his holinesse  
with a contribution to be taxed amongst his clergy,  
at least of 10000 markes. Ibid. And to the end that  
the pope might win the king sooner to his deuotion,  
he writeth in the kings behalfe to the nobles and  
commons of the realme, that they should not faile,  
upon paine of his great curse, to confer such subsidie  
of money to the subvention of the king, as he then  
had demanded of them; but they stood firme in not  
granting to him.

While the insatiable auarice of the pope thus  
made no end in gathering riches and goods together  
in England; the nobles and barons, with the com-  
munity as well of the clergy as the laity, weighing  
the miserable state of the realme, and namely, of the  
church, which now neither had liberty left them to  
chuse their owne ministers, nor yet could enioy their  
owne living, laid their heads together, and so exhi-  
bited an earnest intimation to the king; beseeching  
him to consider the pittifull affliction and oppression  
of his subjects under the popes extortion, living in  
more thraldome than euer did the people of Israel  
vnder Pharaoh. Whereupon the king beginning  
at last to looke vp, and to consider the injuries and  
wronges received in this realme, through the auarice  
of the court of Rome, directeth to pope Innocent the  
fourth this letter in temer as followeth:

#### The Kings letter to Pope Innocent the fourth.

**S**anctissimo in Christo patri, ac domino, Innocentio,  
Dei gratia summo pontifici, Henricus eadem gra-  
tia rex Angliæ, &c. Salutem & pedum oscula beato-  
rum, &c.

To the most holy father in Christ, and Lord, Inno-  
cent, by the grace of God chiefe bishop, Henry by  
the same grace king of England, &c. Greeting and  
kissings of his blessed seete. The more deuout and  
obsequious the sonne sheweth himselfe in obeying  
the fathers will, the more fauour and supportation  
doth he deserue to finde at his fathers hands againe.  
This therefore I write, for that whereas both we and  
our realme haue euer and in all things bin hitherto  
at the deuotion and commandement of your father-  
hood; and that although, in some certaine affaires  
of ours and of our kingdome, wee haue found your  
fatherly fauour and grace sometimes propitious vnto  
vs, yet in some things againe, as in prouisions giuen  
and granted to your clerkes of forein nations, both  
wee and our kingdome haue felt no small detriment.  
By reason of which prouisions, the Church of Eng-  
land is so sore charged and burthened, that not onely  
the patrons of Churches, to whom the donations  
thereof doe appertaine, are defrauded of their right,  
but also many other good works of charity thereby  
doe decay, for that such benefices, which haue bene  
mercifully bestowed vpon religious houses to their  
sustentation, are now wasted and consumed by your  
prouisions.

Wherefore forsomuch as your Sea apostolike  
ought to be fauourable to all that be petitioners to  
the same, so that no person bee wronged in that  
which is his right, we thought therefore to bee suiters  
to your fatherhood, most humbly beseeching your  
holinesse, that you will desist and surcease for a time  
from such prouisions to be exacted. In the meane  
season, it may please your fatherhood, wee beseech  
you, that our lawes and liberties (which you may

rightly repute none other but your owne) you will  
receiue to your tuition, to be conserued whole and  
sound, nor to suffer the same by any sinister suggesti-  
on in your court to be violated and infringed. Nei-  
ther let your holinesse be any whit moued therefore  
with vs, if in some such cases as these be, wee doe or  
shall hereafter resist the tenour of your command-  
ments; forsomuch as the complaints of such, which  
daily call vpon vs, doe necessarily inforce vs there-  
unto; which ought, by the charge of this our office  
and kingly dignity committed to vs of Almighty  
God, to foresee that no man in that which is their  
right be injured, but truly to minister iustice to  
euery one, in that which duely to him appertaineth.  
This letter was sent the eight and twentieth yeere of  
the kings raigne. Ex Parisiens. fol. 172.

A man would thinke that this so gentle and obe-  
dient letter of the king to the Pope would haue  
wrought some good effect in his apostolical breast, to  
withdrow his prouisions, and to haue tendered the  
kings to reasonable and honest request: but how  
little all this preuailed to stop his insatiable greed-  
nesse and intolerable extorsions and oppressions,  
the sequell well declareth. For besides that, shortly  
after the pope sent M. Martin with blankes, being  
bulled for contribution of 10000 markes, in all haste  
to be paid also, euen immediately vpon the receiuing  
of this letter, it followeth in mine author, that the  
said Pope Innocent the fourth, after all this great  
submission of the king, and so manifold benefites, and  
payments yercely out of his realme receiued, was  
not ashamed to take of Dauid, prince of moeth  
Welshes, five hundred markes by yere, to set him  
against the king of England, and exempted him  
from his fealtie and obedience due to his owne liege  
lord and king, to whom both he and all other Welsh  
men had sworne their subiection before, as by the  
seales and obligations as well of that Dauid him-  
selfe, as other Welsh lords in this behalfe doth ap-  
peare: In Mat. Parisiens. fol. 172.

Neither did M. Martin in the meane while  
slip his businesse, in making by his market for the  
popes money of ten thousand markes, but still was  
calling vpon the prelates and clergie. Who, first excu-  
sing themselves by the absence of the king and the  
archbishop of Canterbury, afterward being called  
againe by new letters, made their answer by the  
deane of Pauls their polocutor:

First, that the poverty of the realme would not  
suffer them to consent thereto.

Item, whereas they had giuen before a contribu-  
tion to cardinall Mtho, for paying of the popes  
debts, and knew the said money to be imploied to no  
such end as it was demanded for, more cause they  
had now to misdoubt, lest this contribution in his  
hands, which was a much more inferior messenger  
than the cardinall, would come to the same or a  
worse effect.

Item, if they should now agree to a new contri-  
bution, they feared lest it would grow to a custome,  
saying that one adion, twice done, maketh a custome.

Item, forsomuch as a generall counsell is shortly  
looked for, where euery prelate of the realme must  
needs bestow both his trauell and expences, and also  
his present to the pope, if the prelates now should be  
bound to this tax, they were not able to abide this  
burthen.

Item, seeing it is alleaged, that the mother church  
of Rome is so farre in debt, reasona right it were,  
that the mother so oppressed should be sustained of  
all her deuout children meeting together in the ge-  
nerall counsell: whereas by helpes of many, more re-  
liefe might come than by one nation alone.

Item, last of all, they alleaged that for feare of  
the emperor and his thyratnings, they durst not  
consent to the said contribution.

While these things were thus in talke betwene  
the

The Kings too  
much a nation  
to the Pope.

Ex Mat. Pa-  
riens. fol. 172.

The Pope sets  
teach (Welshmen)  
against the king  
of England.

Contribution  
required of the  
Pope with these  
excuses and rea-  
sons against the  
same.

Contribution  
of 10000  
markes for the  
Pope.  
The Pope creat-  
ed his holinesse  
with the king,  
that the king  
might hold  
with him.

Intimation  
given to the  
king, touching  
the importable  
prebend of the  
realme by the  
Pope.

King Henries  
letter to the  
Pope.

The king offer-  
eth to kisse the  
Popes seete.

Damage recei-  
ued by the Pope  
in the realme of  
England.

The Popes  
prouisions.



the Popes priests and the clergie of England, cometh in John Darrell and other messengers from the king, commanding in the kings name, that no Bishop, that held his baronage of the king, should infect his lay fee to the court of Rome, which they ought onely to him, &c. Ex Paris. fol. 139. An. 1243.

Not long after this, in the yere of our Lord 1245 the whole nobilitie of the realme by generall consent, and not without the kings knowledge also, caused all the ports by the sea side to be laid, that no messenger with the Popes letters and bulls from Rome should be permitted to enter the realme, whereunto some were taken at Dover and there stayed. Notwithstanding when complaint thereof was brought to the king by D. Martinus the Popes legate, there was no remedy but the king must needs cause these letters to be restored againe and executed to the full effect. Paris.

The ports of England laid to stop the Popes letters, yet all would not serve.

Sixty thousand markes yearly going out of England to the Pope and his Italian Clerkes.

Then the king upon aduice caused a view to be taken through every shire in England, to what sum the whole reuenues of the Romanes and Italians amounted, which by the popes authority went out of England: the whole summe whereof was found yerely to be threescore thousand markes, to the which summe the reuenues of the whole crowne of England did not extend: Ex Mat. Paris. fol. 185. a.

The nobles then understanding the miserable oppression of the realme, being assembled together at Dunstable for certaine causes, sent one Fulco in the name of the whole nobilitie, unto D. Martinus the Popes merchant with this message, that he intreatedly upon the same warning should prepare himselfe to be gone out of the realme, under paine of being cut all to pices. At which message the legat bringe soe agast, went straight to the king, to know whether his consent was to the same or not. At whom when he found little better comfort, he took his leaue of the king, who bad him adieu in the Diuels name (saith D. Bath. Paris) and thus was the realme rid of D. Martinus. Ex Mat. Parisiensis, fol. 185. b. An. 1245.

D. Martinus the Popes Legat sent out of England in the Diuels name.

The Pope in displeasure with the king of England.

Istos regulos. The proud words of the Pope against the French king and the king of England.

As soone as Pope Innocent had heretofore intelligence by the complaint of his legat, he was in a mighty rage. And furthermore, remembering how the French king and the king of Arragon not long before had denyed him entrance into their land, and being therefore in displeasure with them likewise, he began in great anger to knit his browes, and said: It is best that wee fall in agreement with our prince, whereby wee may the sooner bring under these little pettie kings; and so the great dragon being pacified, these little serpents wee shall handle at our owne pleasures as we list.

After this, immediately then followed the generall councill of Lions, to the which councill the Lords and States of the realme, with the consent of the commonaltie, sent two bills: one containing a generall supplication to the Pope and the councill, the other with the articles of such grievances which they desired to be redressed, whereof relation is made sufficiently before. The other bill of the supplication, because it is not before expressed, I thought here to exhibit for two causes: first, that men now in these dayes may see the pittifull blindness of these ignorant dayes, wherein our English nation here did so blindly humble themselves and stand to the Popes courttesie, whom rather they should haue shaken off, as the Grecians did. Secondly, that the pride of the Pope might the better appear in his colours, who so disdainfully rejected the humble sute of our lords and nobles, when they had much more cause to disdain rather, and to stampe him under their feete. The tenor of the supplication was this.

The copie of the supplication written in the names of all the nobles and commons of England to Pope Innocent the fourth, in the generall counsell at Lions, Anno 1245.

SKING  
HENR  
ANNO  
1245

To the reuerend Father in Christ, Pope Innocent chiefe Bishop, the Nobles, with the whole commonaltie of the realme of England sendeth commendation, with kissing of his blessed feete.

OvR mother the Church of Rome wee loue with all our hearts, as our duty is, and couer the increase of her honour with so much affection as we may, as to whom we ought alwayes to flie for refuge, whereby the griefe, lying vpon the child, may finde comfort at the mothers hand. Which succour the mother is bound so much the rather to impart to her child, how much more kind and beneficiall she findeth him in releecuing her necessitie. Neither is it to the said our mother vnknowne, how beneficiall and bountifull a giuer the realme of England hath bene now of long time for the more amplifying of her exaltation, as appeared by your yeerely subsidie, which we terme by the name of Peter pence. Now the said Church not contented with this yeerely subsidie, hath sent diuers legats for other contributions, at diuers and sundry times to be taxed and leuied out of the same realme: all which contributions and taxes notwithstanding haue bene lowly and liberally granted.

Furthermore, neither is it vnknowne to your fatherhood, how our forefathers, like good Catholikes, both louing and fearing their Maker, for the soules health as well of themselves, as of their progenitors and successors also, haue founded monasteries, and largely haue indued the same, both with their owne proper lands, and also patronages of benefices, whereby such religious persons, professing the first and chiefe perfection of holy Religion in their monasteries, might with more peace and tranquillitie occupie themselves deuoutly in Gods seruice, as to the order appertained: and also the clerkes, presented by them into their benefices, might sustaine the other exterior labours for them in that second order of religion, and so discharge and defend them from all hazzards: so that the said religious monasteries cannot bee defrauded of those their patronages and collations of benefices, but the same must touch vs also very neere, and worke intollerable griefes vnto our hearts.

The superstitious founding monasteries in England.

And now see wee beseech you, which is lamentable to behold, what injuries wee sustaine by you and your predecessors, who not considering those our subsidies and contributions aboue remembered, doe suffer also your Italians and forreners (which bee out of number) to be possessed of our Churches and benefices in England, pertaining to the right and patronage of those monasteries aforesaid: which forreners, neither defending the said religious persons, whom they ought to see to, nor yet hauing the language, whereby they may instruct the flocke, take no regard of their soules, but vterly leaue them of wilde Wolves to bee deuoured. Wherefore it may truly be said of them, that they are no good shepheards, whereas neither they know their sheepe, nor the sheepe doe know the voyce of their shepheards, neither doe they keepe any hospitalitie, but onely take vp the rents of those benefices, carrying them out of the realme, wherewith our brethren, our nephewes, and our kinsfolks might be sustained, who could and would dwell vpon them, and imploy such exercises of mercy and hospitalitie as their dutie required. Whereof a great number now for meere necessitie are lay men, and faine to flie out of the realme.

Injuries exercised in England by the Pope.

Benefices in England wickedly giuen away to Italians.

And now to the intent more fully to certifie you



KING?  
H. N. 3

threecore  
thousand marks  
yearly given to  
the church of  
England.

tal and receiv-  
d more in this  
and more  
into than did  
the king's  
owne.

retestable de-  
vices of the  
open legat in  
England.

Complaint of  
B. Martin the  
apostlegate.

King Henry the  
third used every  
day to heare  
three masses by  
rote.

The first  
words of the  
Lords to the  
Pope.

The applica-  
tion of the En-  
glish nation took  
no place with  
the Pope.

of the truth, ye shall vnderstand that the said Italians and strangers receiving of yerely rents out of England not so little as threecore thousand markes by yeere, besides other auailles & excises deducted, doe reap in the said our kingdom of England more emoluments of meere rents, than doth the king himselfe being both tutor of the Church, and governour of the land.

Furthermore, whereas at the first creation of your papacie wee were in good hope and yet are, that by means of your fatherly goodnesse wee should enjoy our franchises, and free collation of our benefices and donations, to be reduced againe to the former state; now commeth another grievance, which wee cannot but signifie vnto you, pressing vs about measure, which wee receive by M. Martin; who entering late into our land without leave of our King, with greater power than euer was seene before in any legat, although he beareth not the state and shew of a legat, yet he hath doubled the doings of a legat, charging vs every day with new mandats, and so most extremely hath oppressed vs; first, in bestowing and giuing away our benefices, if any were about thirty markes, as soone as they were vacant, to Italian persons.

Secondly, after the decease of the said Italians, vnknowing to the patrons, he hath intruded other Italians therein, whereby the true patrons haue bene spoiled and defrauded of their right.

Thirdly, the said M. Martinus yet also ceaseth not to assigne and conferre such benefices still vnto the like persons; and some hee referueth to the donation of the Apostolicall Sea; and extorteth moreover from religious houses immoderate pensions, excommunicating and interdicting whosoever daie gainstand him.

Wherefore, forsomuch as the said M. Martin hath so farre extended his iurisdiction, to the great perturbation of the whole realme, and no lesse derogation to our kings priuiledge, to whom it hath bene fully granted by the Sea Apostolike, that no legat should haue to doe in his land, but such as hee by speciall letters did fend for: with most humble deuotion wee beseech you, that as a good father will alwayes be ready to support his child, so your fatherhood will reach forth your hand of compassion to releue vs your humble children from these grievous oppressions.

And although our Lord and King, being a catholike Prince, and wholly given to his deuotions and seruice of Christ Iesus our Lord, so that he respecteth not the health of his owne body, will feare and reuerence the Sea Apostolike, and, as a deuout sonne of the Church of Rome, desireth nothing more than to aduance the estate and honour of the same: yet wee which trauell in his affaires, bearing the heate and burden of the day, and whose duty, together with him, is to tender the preleruation of the publike wealth, neither can patiently suffer such oppressions, so detestable to God and man, and grievances intolerable, neither by Gods grace will suffer them, through the meanes of your godly remedy, which wee well hope and trust of you speedily to obtaine. And thus may it please your fatherhood, we beseech you to accept this our supplication, who in so doing shall worthily deserue of all the Lords and nobles, with the whole commonaltie of the realme of England, condigne and speciall thanks accordingly. An. 1245. Ex Mat. Parisiensis, fol. 188.

This supplication being sent by the hands of Sir R. Bigot knight, and W. de Bouike squier, Henry de la Mare, with other knights and gentlemen, after it was there opened and read, Pope Innocent, first keeping silence, deferred to make answer thereunto, making haste to procede in his detestable excommunication and curse against the good Emperour Frederike. The which curse being done, and the English ambassadoys waiting still for their answer;

the Pope then told them that they should not haue their request fulfilled. Whereat the Englishmen, departing in great anger, swore with terrible othes, that they would neuer more suffer any tribute, or fruits of any benefices, namely, wherof the noble men were patrons, to be paid to that insatiable and greedy court of Rome, worthy to be detested in all worldes. Ex Mat. Parisiensis, fol. 193.

The pope hearing these words albeit making them no answer, thought to watch his time, and did first, incontinent upon the same, during the said counsell, he caused euery bishop of England to put his hand and seale to the obligation made by King John for the Popes tribute, as is aboue specified; threatening moreover, and saying, that if he had once brought downe the Emperour Frederike, he would haue the insolent pade of England well enough.

But here by occasion of this counsell at Lions, that the Reader may see upon what slippery uncertainty and variablenesse the state of the laing did depend; it is materiall here to interlace the forme of a letter sent by Henry the third to the prelates of his land, before they were transported our sea to Lions; wherem may be gathered, that the king doubted they would be shewing and heauing at his royaltie; and therefore directed these letters vnto them, otherwise to prepare their affections: the tenor wherof followeth.

A letter of charge to the Prelates of England, purposed to assemble in the counsell at Lions, that they should ordaine nothing, &c. to their Kings prejudice.

**R** Ex archiepiscopis, episcopis, & omnibus aliis prelatiis terrae suae Angliæ conuenturis ad concilium Lugdunense, salutem. Vinculo iuramenti nobis (ut nobis) ascripti, &c. In English thus:]

The King to the Archbishops, bishops, and to all other prelates of his land of England, appointed to meet at a counsell at Lions, greeting. You are (as you know) bound vnto vs by oth, whereby you ought to keepe all the fealtie that you can vnto vs in all things, concerning our royall dignitie and crowne. Wherefore wee command you vpon the fealtie and allegiance wherein you are firmly bound vnto vs, injoyning that you doe your vttermost indeuour, as well to get as to keepe, and also to defend the right of vs and our kingdome. And that neither to the prejudice of vs, or of the same Kingdome, nor yet against vs or our rights; which our predeceffors and wee by ancient and approued custome haue vsed, you presume to procure or attempt any thing in your counsell at Lions: nor that you giue assent to any that shall procure or ordaine ought in this case, vpon your oath aforesaid, and the losse of your temporalities, which you hold of vs. Wherefore in this behalfe so behaue your selues, that for your good dealing and vertue of thankfulness, wee may rather specially commend you, than for the contrary by you attempted (which God forbid) wee reprove your vnthankfulness, and reserve vengeance for you in due time. Witnesse my selfe, &c. the nine and twentieth yeare of our reigne. In like sort wrote he to the Archbishops and Bishops, &c. of Ireland and Gascoigne.

After this counsell ended, in the beginning of the next yere following, Anno 1246. Pope Innocent came to Clumake, where was then appointed a secret meeting or colloque betwene the Pope and Lewis the French King (who was then preparing his voyage to Jerusalem) in which colloque the pope sought all meanes to perfwade the French king, in reuengement of his injury, to warre Contra regulum, (as he termed him) that is, against the weak and feeble king of England, either to dye him vtterly

The English ambassadoys grined with the Pope.

The Pope in an angry word England. The Bishops of England let their letters to the Popes tri- b. 22.

Turris Londi

Anno 1246.

The Pope stirred the French king to war against the king of England.



Let the  
French king re-  
sist to war  
against Eng-  
land.

terly from his kingdome, or else to damme him, whereby he shoul. be constrained, whether he would or no, to keepe to the Popes will and obedience; wherein he also would assist him with all the authoritie he could. Nevertheless, the French king to this would not agree. First, for the consanguinity that was betwene them (for their two Quenes were sisters.) Also for the truce that they had taken. Thirdly for feare of the Emperour, lest he should take his part. Item, for that it could not be without the much spilling of Christian blood. And lastly, because he was preparing his voyage to the holy land, where his coming was already looked for. And thus the French king, denying the Popes bloody request, refused not onely to enter warre against the king and the realme of England, but also shortly after concluded with him longer truce, Anno 1246. Ex Mar. Parisiens, fol. 196. b.

The first yeeres  
truces & seven  
yeeres gathered  
of all benefices  
for the Archbi-  
shop of Can-  
terbury.

Straight vpon the necke of this followed then the exaction of Boniface archbishop of Canterbury, that he had bought of the Pope; which was to haue the first yeeres fruites of all benefices and spirituall livings in England for the space of seven yeeres together, untill the summe should come to ten thousand markes. Whereat the king first was greatly grieved. But in conclusion, he was faine at last to agree with the Archbishop; and so the money was gathered. Paris. fol. 197.

The prelates of  
England char-  
ged to finde  
horse and har-  
nesse for the  
popes wars.

Quer and besides all other exactions wherewith the pope miserably oppressed the church of England, this also is not to be silenced, how the Pope, sending down his letters from the Sea apostolike, charged and commanded the prelates to finde him some ten, some five, and some fiftene able men well furnished with horse and harnesse for one whole yeere, to fight in the Popes warres. And lest the king should haue knowledge thereof, it was intownd them under paine of excommunication, that they should reueale it to none, but to keepe it in secret onely to themselves: Paris. fol. 200.

A subtill prac-  
tice of the Pope.

The Pope yet notwithstanding, partly being laboured by flatters, partly of his owne mind thinking good somewhat to giue to the king and people of England, as fathers are wont to giue something to their babes to play withall to keepe them still, sent downe this releasement to the king, that hereafter whensoever any of the Popes nephewes, or of his Cardinals were to be beneficed in any Church of England, either he or the cardinals should first make the king priuie thereto, and instantly craue his good will in obtaining the procuration, or else the same to stand in no effect. Paris. 202. Howbeit all this seemed to be done but of a pelicie, to get the kings fauour, whereby he might be suffered more freely to passe with greater exactions, as afterward appeared.

A new lawe of  
the pope, to se-  
ize vpon all the  
goods of clergy-  
men that die in-  
testate.

For when the foresaid Pope Innocent the fourth had knowledge at the same time of certaine rich clerks leaving great substance of money, which died intestate, as of one Robert Wilex, archdeacon of Lincoln, which died leaving thousands of markes and much plate behind him, all which, because no will was made, came to temporall mens hands: also of M. Almarike, archdeacon of Bedford, being found worth a great substance when he died; and likewise of another, M. John Beshop, Archdeacon of Northampton, who died suddenly intestate, leaving behind him five thousand markes, and thirty standing pecores of plate, with other infinite jewels besides: he sent forth vpon the same a statute to be proclaimed in England, that whatsoever ecclesiastical person henceforth should decease in England intestate, that is, without making his will, all his goods should redound to the Popes use. Paris. fol. 203.

A note of cer-  
taine ecclesiasti-  
cal persons  
being in Eng-  
land worth  
great substance.

Furthermore the Pope, not yet satisfied with all this, addresth new letters to the bishop of Winchester, and to W. bishop of Norwich, for gathering

by amongst the clergie, and religious houses in England, five thousand markes to the behoofe of the holy mother Church, without any excuse or delay, by vertue of obedience. Which tallage being greatly grudged of the Clergie, when it came to the kings eare, he efformes directeth contrary letters to all the prelates and every one of them, commanding them vpon forgetting their temporalities to the king, that no such subsidie money should be gathered or transported out of the realme. But the Pope againe hearing hereof, in great anger writeth to the prelates of England, that this collection of money, vpon paine of excommunication and suspension, should be provided, and brought to the new temple in London, by the feast of the assumption next ensuing.

And furthermore, for so much as he perceiued the king to goe about to rainstand his proceedings, taking thereat great disdaine, he was about the same time to interdict the whole land. To whom then one of his Cardinals called Iohan. Anglicus, an Englishman borne, speaking for the realme of England, declared his fatherhood for Gods cause to mitigate his moody ire, and with the bridle of temperance to assuage the passion of his minde: which (said he) to tell you plaine, is here stirred up too much without cause. Your fatherhood (quoth he) may consider that these dayes be euill. First the holy land lyeth in great perils to be lost. All the Graeke Church is departed from vs. Frederike the Emperour is against vs, the mightiest prince this day in all christendome. Both you & we which are the Heres of the Church, are banished from the papall Sea, thrust out of Rome, yea, excluded out of all Italy. Hungary, with all coasts bordering about it, looketh for nothing but utter subuersion by the Tartarians. Germany is waiked and afflicted with inward warres and tumults. Spaine is fierce and cruell against vs, even to the cutting out of the bishops tongues. France by vs is so impouerished, that it is brought to beggary, which also conspireth against vs. Wiserable England being so often plagued by our manifold injuries, even much like to Balaams Ass, beaten and beuill with scurres and flaures, beguinch at length to speake and complaine of her intolerable graces and burthens, being so wearied and dammed, that she may seme past all recovery; and was after the manner of Jnsaël, hating of men, proucke all men to hate vs, &c. Ex Parisiens, fol. 207.

For all these wordes of Iohannes Anglicus his cardinal, the Popes cholerike passion could not yet be appeased, but forthwith he sendeth commandement with full authority to the bishop of Worcester, that, in case the king would not speedily surcease his rebellion against his apostolicall proceedings, hee should interdict his land. So that in conclusion, the king, for all his frenterprise, was faine to relent at last, and the Pope had his money, Anno 1246. Ex Parisiens, fol. 204.

Hee heard before of the Graeke Churches under the empire of Constantinople, how they sequestred themselves from the company of the Romish church. Insomuch that Germanus the patriarch of Constantinople, and the Archbishop of Antioch did excommunicate the Bishop of Rome. And after the said Germanus another Bishop of Constantinople, at the council of Lyons, protested, that whereas before were thirtie suffragans belonging to that prouince, now there were not thre that held with the Church of Rome. And this yeare, albeit it chiefly brast out in the time of Pope Gregorie the ninth, Anno 1230. to open warre and bloodshed, yet the same had begun, and so continued long before, in such sort as in the time of Pope Innocent the third, if any priest had laid masse in their Churches, they would wash the Altar afterward: as appeareth by the acts of the Lateran council: Capit. 4. Wherefore Pope Innocent now (as his other predecessors had done before) bearing an old grudge against

KING  
H A N.  
Sir thousand  
marks to be  
thred of the  
clergie of En-  
gland for the  
Pope.

The king be-  
ginmeth to  
withstand the  
Pope, but dur  
not hold out.  
The Pope in  
chate.

The wordes of  
Iohannes  
Anglicus  
Cardinal to  
the Pope.

The miserable  
troubles of chri-  
stendome.

Of Spaine he  
meaneth, be-  
cause the king  
Aragon a little  
before had cut  
off the tongue  
a certaine Bi-  
shop that did  
preach him.

Paris. fol.  
207.

Potter com-  
eth to the Bishop  
of Worcester to  
interdict the  
land.  
The King faine  
to relent to the  
Pope.

Of this dissen-  
sion read before.

The Grecians  
used to wash  
their altars, if  
any Latin man  
had bin said  
vpon them  
Ex actis coi-  
cilii Later-  
nensis, cap. 4  
against



**KING** 2 against those Churches of the Greeces, and neither  
**HENRY** 3 willing by conference to try with them, nor able by  
 learning to match with them, thought by force of  
 armes to subdue them, and sent the prouinciall of the  
 grayfriars, with other associates of the same order,  
 into England with his precept authentically, contain-  
 ing in it these Articles.

**I** First, that the said prouinciall, or his friers;  
 should inquire vpon all vsurers being aliue; and  
 of all such euill gotten goods, gained Per vsu-  
 rarium prauitatem, should make attachment for the  
 vse and preparation for this warre against the Greeces,  
 excommunicating all them by distinct censures of the  
 Church that repugned against it.

**2** That all they which tooke the badge of the  
 crosse, for the recovery of the said Empire of the  
 Greeces, or with goods and cattell would helpe  
 sufficiently vnto the same, should bee absolued of all  
 their finnes.

**3** Item, that all the goods left in the testaments  
 of them that were departed, being gotten by vsury,  
 should bee taken vp to the subsidie of the Empire a-  
 foresaid, and whosoeuer repugned against the same,  
 should bee excommunicated.

**4** Item, that such goods as in the testaments of  
 the dead were left, or which should bee left three  
 next yeeres to come, for restitution of such goods  
 as the dead had euill gotten, they should take vp  
 for the subsidie of the empire aforesaid, excommuni-  
 cating, &c.

**5** Item, such goods as were left to bee distributed  
 in godly vses, after the arbitrement of executors, by  
 the wils of the dead, or were not in their wils  
 deputed to any certaine places or persons named,  
 nor yet were bestowed by the said executors to the  
 foresaid vses, they should collect to the vse and subsidie  
 aforesaid, and giue certificat to the Sea apostolike  
 of the quantitie thereof, excommunicating all repugners  
 and rebellers against the same.

**6** Item, that they should diligently inquire of  
 such mens goods euill gotten or euill come by, as  
 were aliue, and them they should attach for the  
 subsidie aforesaid, in case the partie, which ought to  
 be satisfied for those goods euill gotten, could not  
 be found, giuing certificat thereof, and excommuni-  
 cating, &c.

**7** Item, that the said prouinciall, or his friers,  
 should haue full power to absolue those that were  
 excommunicated, which wittingly had done any  
 fraud touching the collection aforesaid; so that the  
 said persons did make due satisfaction to the deputies  
 aforesaid, Ex Mat. Parisiensis, fol. 205.

What man hauing eyes is so blind which seeth  
 not these execrable dealings of the Pope to be such, as  
 would cause any nation in the world to doe as the  
 wise Greecians did, and perpetually to abrenounce  
 the Pope, and well to consider the usurped authority  
 of that Sea not to be of God: But such was the  
 rude dulnesse then of miserable England, for lacke  
 of learning and godly knowledge, that they feeling  
 what burthens were laid vpon them, yet would play  
 still the Ass of Balaam, or else the horse of Elop,  
 which recciuing the bridle once in his mouth, could  
 afterward neither abide his owne misery, nor yet  
 recover liberty. And so it fared with England vnder  
 the Popes thraldome: as partly by these stories aboue  
 hath bene declared, partly by other in like case fol-  
 lowing is to be seene.

For so it followeth in the historie of the said Math.  
 Paris. how the pope taking more courage by his for-  
 mer abused boldnesse, and perceiuing what a fame  
 asse he had to ride vpon, ceased not thus, but dire-  
 cted a new precept the same yeere, 1246. to the pre-  
 lats of England, commanding by the authoritie  
 apostolike, that all benefited men in the realme of  
 England, which were resident vpon their benefices,

should yeeld to the pope the third part of their goods,  
 and they which were not resident should giue the one  
 halfe of their goods, and that for the space of three  
 yeeres together: which terrible comminations to all  
 them that did resist: and euer with this claue with-  
 all, Non obstat, which was like a key that opened  
 all locks. Which summe cast together, was found  
 to amount to 60000 pounds: which summe of mo-  
 ney could scarce be found in all England to pay for  
 king Richards ransome: Paris. fol. 207. The execu-  
 tion of this precept was committed to the Bishop of  
 London, who conferring about the matter with his  
 brethren in the Church of Pauls, as they were busi-  
 ly consulting together, and bewailing the importa-  
 ble burthen of this contribution, which was impossi-  
 ble for them to sustaine, suddenly commeth in cer-  
 taine messengers from the king, sir John Lerrun-  
 ton knight, and Mr. Laurence Martin the kings  
 chaplen, straitly in the kings name forbidding them  
 in any case to consent to this contribution, which  
 should be greatly to the prejudice and desolation of  
 the whole realme. Paris. fol. 207.

This being done, about the first day of December  
 in the yeere aboue said, shortly after in the beginning  
 of the next yeere 1247. about february the king  
 called a parliament, where by common aduice it  
 was agreed, that certaine ambassadoers should bee  
 sent to Rome, to make manifest to the court of  
 Rome the excedding greiuances of the realme, deli-  
 uering moreover these letters to the Pope in the  
 name both of the tempozalty and also of the clergie,  
 as here followeth.

Another Letter sent to Pope Innocent the fourth,  
 in the names of the whole Clergie  
 and Comomnaltie of England,  
 Anno, 1247.

*S*anctissimo patri in Christo, ac Domino Innocentio, A letter sent to  
 Dei providentia summo pontifici; universitas cle- the Pope in the  
 ri & populi per provinciam Cant. constituti deuota name of all the  
 pedum oscula beatorum. Cum Anglicana ecclesia, &c. estate and com-  
 To the most holy father in Christ, and Lord Inno- munity of the  
 cent, by Gods providence chiefe Bishop; the whole realme.  
 commonaltie both of the Clergie and laitie within the  
 province of Canterbury sendeth devout kissings of  
 his blessed feete. Like as the Church of England,  
 since it hath first received the Catholike Faith, hath  
 alwayes shewed her selfe faithfull and devout in ad-  
 hering to God, and to our holy mother the Church  
 of Rome, studying with all kinde of service to please  
 and to serve the same, and thinking never otherwise  
 to doe, but rather to continue and increase as shee  
 hath begun: even so now the same Church, most  
 humbly prostrate before the feet of your holinesse,  
 intirely beleececheth your clemencie to accept her  
 petition, in sparing this imposition of money, which  
 so manifold wayes for the subvention of other na-  
 tions, by the commandement of your holinesse, is  
 laid vpon us: considering that not onely it is impor-  
 table, but also impossible which is injoyued us. For  
 although our countrie sometimes yeeldeth forth  
 fruite for the necessarie sustentation of the inhabi-  
 tants, yet it bringeth forth neither gold nor silver,  
 neither were able to bring forth of long time so  
 much as now adayes is required. Which also being  
 burdened and overcharged of late dayes with ano-  
 ther such like imposition, but not so great as this, is  
 not able any whit to answer vnto that which is  
 exacted.

Furthermore, besides this commandement of  
 your holinesse, there is required of the Clergie a sub-  
 sidie for our temporall King, whose necessities nei-  
 ther possibly wee can, nor honestly we ought to for-  
 sake, whereby hee may both withstand the invasi-  
 on of the enemy, and maintaine the right of his patri-  
 monie, and also recover againe that hath bene lost.  
 In consideration whereof, wee have directed the  
 bearers



bearers hereof to the presence of your holinesse with our humble supplication, to explaine to you the dangers and inconveniences which are like to insue vpon the premises, which by no meanes wee are able to sustaine, although notwithstanding wee know our selues by all bonds of charity to be obliged to your deuotion and obedience. And because our generall communitie hath no feale proper, wee haue signed therefore these presents with the publike seale of the city of London, &c. Ex Parisiensis, fol. 209.

The like letters were sent also vnto the cardinals, to the same effect. The Pope vnderstanding these things, and perceiuing that there was no striving against such a generall consent, and yet loth to forgo his swate baruel, which he was wont to reape in England, craftily deuised to send this answer againe vnto the king, muchlike to the same which he sent before, which was: That although the Pope in time past, vpon his owne will and pleasure to the imposable grieuance of the realme of England, hath enery where, and without respect, through the whole land made his prouisions in giuing their benefices vnto his Italians, yet now, the Lord be praised, that tempest said he, is cuerblowne: so that hereafter, if the pope shall grant his prouision for any of his nepheues or of his cardinals, they shall come first and make their instant sute vnto the king, without all inforcement, so that it shall stand wholly in the kings free arbitrement to do herein what he thinketh good, &c. Mat. Paris. fol. 209, b.

The Popes  
answer againe  
to the king of  
England.

The Pope false  
of his promise.

Note the subtil  
practice of the  
Pope to get  
money.

This answer of the Pope albeit it was but a subtil shift for the time, yet neither did he long stand to that he had thus promised to the king. For shortly after, and within few dayes vpon the same, and in the time also of the said parliament holden at Winchester, the Pope sent two English friers into the realme, whose names were John and Alexander, with full authority, after the largest sort, for new contributions. Who first pretending lobly submission to the king, while they had leaue granted to range about the realme, after ward, comming to the bishops and rich abbats, shewed themselves forth in their full authoritie, in such sort as they became rather tyrants than extortioners.

Among others, comming to Robert Bishop of Lincoln, who of all other bare a speciall minde to the order of obseruants, these two friers as proud as Lucifer, bringing forth the terrible mandat with the popes bulls, required and eke commanded vnder the popes mighty curse, to haue the gathering in his diocesse of six thousand markes. Likewise of the abbat of Saint Albans they required foure hundred markes, under great penalty, and that in short time to be paid.

The bishop, although well liking before that order of those friers, yet seeing the impudent behaviour, and more impudent request of those merchants, thus answered to them againe: that this exaction (saying, saith he, the popes authoritie) was neuer heard of before, and neither was honest, nor yet possible to be performed; and moreover, was such as did not onely concerne him, but the whole publike state of the clergy, and of the whole realme in generall; and therefore it should bee absurdly and rashly done of him to giue them an answer herein, before the king and the rest of the counsell, with others to whom the matter generally did appertaine, were made priue thereunto, &c. and so for that time hee shooke them off, Paris. fol. 210.

Furthermore, as touching the Abbat of S. Albans, when he also alleged the same causes, he pretended moreover that he would appeale, and so did, to the Pope and his Cardinals. Whereupon immediately was sent doونه from Pope Innocent another legate called Iohannes Angelus, an English frier and Cardinall, who, bringing doونه a new speciall precept to the foresaid Abbat, cited him either

The Abbat of  
S. Albans maketh  
great sute  
to the Pope for  
the 400. markes  
that he should  
pay.  
This Iohannes  
Angelicus  
was the more

to appeare at London the morrow after S. Giles day, or to disburse to the use of the Pope the foresaid foure hundred markes. By reason whereof the Abbat was driuen to send his pdecessors againe, with a new supplication, to the Pope at Lyons; who in the end, through great instance of morned friends, agreed with the Abbat for two hundred markes, besides his other charges bozne, and so was that matter compunded little to the Abbats profit, Paris. fol. 213.

To recite all damages and grieuances received by the Bishop of Rome in this realme of England, neither is any histoyr sufficiently able to comprehend, nor if it were, inneth is there any that would beleue it. Notwithstanding to those aboue declared, this one I thought to commit likewise to memory, to the intent that they which now liue in this age may behold & wonder in themselves to see into what miserable slavery, passing all measure, not only the subjects, but kings also of this realme were brought, vnder the intolerable yoke of the popes tyranny, which in those dayes neither durst any man cast off, nor yet was able to abide. As by this example insuing, with infinite others like to the same, may appeare.

In the yeere of our Lord 1248. after that Pope Innocent the fourth had taken such order in the realme, that all prelates of the Church were suspended from collation of any benefice, before the popes kinsfolks and clerks of Italy had been first provided for; it happened vpon the same, that the Abbat of Abington had a commandement from the Pope, to bestow some benefice of his Church in all haste to a certaine priest of Rome, which the Abbat, as an obedient child vnto his father the Pope, was prest and ready to accomplish accordingly. But the Romane priest, not contented with such as fell next hand, would tarph his time, to haue such as were principall and for his owne appetite, hauing a spectall eye to the benefice of the Church of S. Helen in Abington, which was then selfe come worth an hundred markes by yeare, besides other vales and commodities belonging to the same: the collation whereof the priest required by the authoritie apostolicall to be granted vnto him.

As this past on, it chanced at last the incumbent to die and the benefice to be emptie. Which effronterie being knowne, the same day commeth a commandement, with great charge from the king to the Abbat, to giue the benefice to one Aethelmare the kings brother by the mother side, who at the same time was possessed with so many benefices, as the number and value thereof was vnknowne. The Abbat here being in great perplexity, and not knowing what to doe, whether to gratifie his king or to obey the Pope, to ke counsell with his friends: who, well aduising of the matter, gaue him counsell to prefer the brother of his prince and patron, so that the king would undertake to stand in his defence against the Pope, rather than the Romish priest, whom alwayes he should haue lying there as a spie and watcher of him, and like a thorne cuer in his eye: and so the king assuring the abbat of his vndoubted protection, and indemnity against all harmes, the benefice was conferred forthwith to the kings brother.

The Romane priest, not a little grieved thereof, speedeth himselfe in all haste to the Bishop of Rome, certifying him what was done, and partly also (as the manner is of men) making it worse than it was. Vpon whose complaint the Pope effronterly in great anger cited by the Abbat personally to appeare before him, to answer to the crime of disobedience. The Abbat trusting vpon the kings parrise and protection (which neither could helpe him in that case, neither durst oppose himselfe against the pope) being both aged and feble, was driuen to trauell vp to the court of Rome, in great heavinesse and bitterness of minde. Where in conclusion, after much verat-

KING  
HENRY  
3  
fierce against  
the Abbat, he  
caused he recei-  
ued him not  
with such reue-  
rence as he  
thought meet  
for the popes  
legat.

Example how  
this realme of  
England was  
oppressed miser-  
ably by the  
Pope.

The Abbat of  
Abington cited  
to appeare be-  
fore the Pope.  
The Abbat of  
Abington com-  
demned in situ  
markes for de-  
nying of an  
English bene-  
fice to an Itali-  
an the popes  
nepheue.

an



{ KING }  
{ HEN. 3 }

on and bitter rebukes, besides great expences, hee was faine to satisfie the Pope after his owne will, compounding to giue him vnderly fifty markes in part of making him amends for his trespasses of disobedience, Ex Mart. Parisi. fol. 222.

So this also may be added another like fact of the Pope, as outrageous as this, against the house of Winham. For when the benefice of Wicke in the Diocesse of Eke was void by the death of the incumbent, who was an Italian and one of the popes chamber, the donation of which benefice belonged to the priory of Winham, another Italian which was a bastard and vnlearned, borne in the citie of Genoa, called Herigetto de Balchana de balta, brought downe the Popes letters to M. Berardo de Pympha the Popes agent here in England, with strict charge and full authority, commanding him to see the said benefice to be conferred in any case to Herigetto. Pea, and though the benefice had been giuen already, yet notwithstanding the possessor thereof should be displaced, and the said Herigetto preferred: yea also Non obstant that the said Pope himselfe had before giuen his grant to the king and realme of England, that one Italian should not succeed another in any benefice there; yet for all that the said Herigetto upon paine of excommunication to be placed therein, Ex Matth. Parisiens. fol. 240.

And thus much hitherto of these matters, through the occasion of the east churches and the Grecians, to the intent all men that reade these stories, and see the doings of this westerne Bishop, may consider what iust cause these Grecians had to seclude themselves from his subjection, and communion. For what Christian communion is to be joyned with him which so contrary to Christ and his Gospell seeketh for worldly dominion, so cruelly persecuteth his brethren, so giuen to auarice, so greedy in getting, so injurious in oppressing, so insatiable in his exactions, so malicious in reuenging, stirring by warres, depriuing kings, deposing emperors, playing Rex in the Church of Christ, so erroneous in doctrine, so abominably abusing excommunication, so false of promise, so corrupt in life, so void of Gods feare: and by such, so farre from all the parts of a true euangelicall Bishop? For what seemeth he to care for the soules of men, which setteth in benefices hopes and outlandish Italians: and further, one Italian to succede another, which neither did know the language of the flocke, nor once would abide to see their faces. And who can blame the Grecians then for dissecuring themselves from such an oppresse, and giant against Christ.

Whose wise example if this realme had then followed, as they might, certes our predecessors had been rid of an infinite number of troubles, injuries, oppressions, warres, commotions, great trauels and charges, besides the sauing of innumerable thousands of pounds, which the said Bishop fullfally hath raked and transported out of this realme of ours. But not to exceede the bounds of my history, because my purpose is not to stand upon declamations, nor to dilate common places, I will passe this ouer, leauing the iudgement thereof to the further examination of the Reader. For else if I listed to prosecute this argument so farre as matter would leade me, and truth peradventure would require me to say, I durst not onely say, but could well proue the Pope and court of Rome to be the only fountaine and principall cause, I say not of much miserie here in England, but of all the publike calamities and noxious mischiefs which haue happened these many yeeres through all these west parts of christendome, and especially of all the lamentable ruine of the Church, which not onely we but the Grecians also this day doe suffer by the Turkes and Saracens. As whosoener well considereth by reading of histories the course of times, and vieweth withall

the doings and acts passed by the said Bishop of Rome, together with the blinde leading of his doctrine, shall see good cause not onely to thinke, but also to witnesse the same. Onely one narration touching this argument, and yet not transgressing the office of my history, I minde (the Lord willing) to set before the Readers eyes, which happened euen about this present time of this king Henries reigne, in the yeere of our Lord, 1244.

In the which yeere it chanced, that Lewis the French king, sonne to quene Blanch, fell verypore sicke, lying in a swoond or in a trance for certaine daies, in such sort as few thought he would haue liued, and some said he was gone already. Among others, there was with him his mother, who sorrowing bitterly for her son, & quene somewhat (as commonly the manner of women is) to superstition, went and brought forth a piece of the holy crosse, with the crowne and the speare, which piece of the holy crosse Baldwinus emperor of constantinople (whom the Grecians had deposed a little before for holding with the Bishop of Rome) had sold unto the French king for a great summe of money, and blessing him with the same, also laid the crowne and the speare to his body, making a bow withall in the person of her son, that if the Lord would visit him with health, and release him of that infirmite, he should be crossed or marked with the crosse, to visit his sepulchre, and there solemnly to render thanks in the land which he had sanctified with his blood. Thus as he, with the bishop of Paris, and others there present were praying, behold the king, which was supposed of some to be dead, began with a sigh to plucke to his armes and legs, and so stretching himselfe began to speake, giuing thanks to God, who from an high had visited him, and called him from the danger of death. Which as the kings mother with others there tooke to be a great miracle wrought by the vertue of the holy crosse: so the king amending more and more, as soone as he was well recovered, retriued solemnly the badge of the crosse, bowing for a freewill sacrifice vnto God, that he, if the counsell of his realme would suffer him, would in his owne person visit the holy land, for getting belike the rule of true christianitie, where Christ teacheth us otherwise in the Gospell, saying; That neither in this mount nor in Samaria, nor at Ierusalem the Lord will be worshipped, but seeketh true worshippers, which shall worship him in truth and veritie, &c. An. 1244. Parisiens. fol. 182.

After this was great preparation and much adoe in France toward the setting forth to the holy land. For after the king first began to be crossed, the most part of the nobles of France, with diuers Archbishops & Bishops, with Carles, and barons, and gentlemen to a mightie number, receiued also the crosse vpon their shoules. Amongst whom was the Carle Atrebaensis the Kings brother, the Duke of Burgundy, the Duke of Sabant, the countesse of Flanders with her two sons, the Carle of Britaine with his son, the Carle of Barrensis, Carle of Swesson, earle of S. Paul, earle of Duil, earle of Metel, with many noble persons more. Neither lacked here whatsoeuer the Pope could doe, to set forward this holy businesse, in sending his legats and friers into France, to stirre the people to follow the king, and to contribute to his journey. Whereupon it was granted to the king, to gather of the vniuersall church of France, by the Popes authoritie, the tenth part of all their goods for three yeeres space together, vpon this condition, that the king likewise would grant to the Pope the twentieth part for so many yeeres after, to be gathered of the said Church of France. Which was agreed, An. 1246. Ex Mart. Parisiens. fol. 204. b.

Shortly after this, in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand two hundred forty and seven, followed a parliament in France, where the king with his nobles

The sickness of Lewis the French king.

The superstition of the Kings mother.

The King recovered his sickness.

The people of France blinded with a false miracle.

The baine bow of Lewis the French king.

The French King crossed to goe to the holy land. Great preparation in France toward that voyage.

Contribution in France to the kings voyage. The Pope maketh provision for his contribution also in France.

Anno. 1247.

A detestable excommunication of the Pope vnto against the priory of Winham.

The Grecians excommunicated and purged out of the Church of Rome.

The miseries that haue risen in England through subjection vnder the Church of Rome.

England plagued by the pope when it needed not.

The Pope and court of Rome the principall cause of all the publike calamities through christendome.



The time of the  
kings voyage  
appointed.

The French  
king ready to  
recompence  
all unnesse done  
to his subjects.  
William Long-  
spath with other  
noble English-  
men prepared to  
the same voyage.

Great persuasions  
given to the  
French king to  
turne his  
voyage.

The kings an-  
swer to his lordes,  
laying downe  
and taking up  
his crosse againe.

Anno  
1248.

The French  
king desireth  
forth on his  
journey.

The French  
king desireth to  
reconcile the  
Pope and the  
Emperour.

bles being present, there was declared how the king of Martians or Turkes, hearing of the voyage of the French king, writeth a letter to him, requiring that he will become his subject. In the which parliament the time was prefixed for taking their journey, which should be after the feast of saint John Baptist the very next yeere ensuing. Also they that were crossed were twosome to persist in their purpose, and sentence of the Popes great curse denounced to all them that went from the same: Math. Paris. fol. 211. Furthermore, for the better speede in his journey, the king through all his realme caused it to be proclaimed, that if any merchant or other had bene injured at any time by the kings exactors, either by oppression, or borrowing of money, let him bring forth his bill, shewing how or wherein, and he should be recompensed. At which time William Longspath a worthy warrior, with the bishop of Worcester and certayne other great men in the realme of England, moved with the example of the French men, prepared themselves likewise to the same journey.

The next yeere after this ensuing, which was 1248 the French king yet still remaining in his purposed journey, lady Blanch his mother, also the Bishop of Paris his brother, with the lords of his council and other nobles and his speciall friends, advertised him with great persuasions to alter his minde, touching that so adventurous and so dangerous a journey, for that his bow (said they) was unadvisedly made, and in time of his sicknesse, when his minde was not perfectly stablished: and what jeopardies might happen at home it was uncertaine, the king of England being on the one side, the Emperour on the other side, & the Viduans in the midst so fugitive, and unstable: and as concerning his bow, the Pope should friendly dispence with him, considering the necessity of his realme, and weaknesse of his body. Besides all this, his mother upon her blessing required him, his brethren of all lonnes desired him to stay at home, and not in his person to adventure; others might be sent in his roome, with no lesse furniture to atcheine that enterprise, and to discharge him of his bow, especially seeing at the making thereof his senses were feeble, his body weak, and reason through sicknesse and very death almost decayed.

To whom the king againe, forsomuch (said hee) as you say, that for feeblenesse of my senses I tooke this bow upon me, so therefore as you here will me, I lay downe the crosse that I tooke. And putting his hand to his shoulder, he tare off the badge of the crosse, saying to the bishop, here I resigne to you the crosse wherewith I was signed. At the sight whereof there was no small rejoycing of all that were there present. To whom the king then, both altering his countenance and his speech, thus spake: My friends, (said he) whatsoever I was then in my sicknesse, now I thanke God I am of perfect sence, and reason sound, and now I require my crosse againe to be restored unto me: saying morsover, that no bread should come in his head, before he were recognized againe with the same crosse, as hee was before. At the hearing whereof all there present were astonished, supposing that God had some great matter to worke, and so moved no more questions unto him.

Upon this drew nigh the feast of John Baptist, which was the time set for the setting forth. And now being in a readinesse, the king in few dayes after was entering his journey: but yet one thing lacked. For the king, perceiving the mostall variance betwene the Pope and good Frederike the emperour, thought best first before his going to have that matter appeased, whereby his way both might be safer through the emperours countries, and also lesse jeopardie at home after his departure, and therefore upon the same, he tooke first his way to Lions, where the Pope was, partly to take his leave; but most e-

pecially to make reconciliation betwene the Emperour and the Pope.

Where is to be noted by the way, that as touching the good emperour there was no let nor stay. Who rather sought all means how to compass the Popes fauor, and neuer could obtaine it: insomuch that before he should be excommunicated in the council of Lions, he not onely answered sufficiently by Thaddeus his attorney, discharging himselfe against whatsoever crimes or objections could be brought against him; but so farre humbled himselfe to the Pope and the council, that for all detriments, damages, losses, or wrongs done of his part, what amends soever the pope could or would require, he would recompence it to the uttermost. This would not be taken.

Furthermore, if the Pope (he said) could not abide his tarrying in his owne dominions and empire, he would goe fight against the Saracens and Turkes, neuer to returne into Europe againe, offering there to recover the lands and kingdomes whatsoever did at any time belong to Christendome, so that the pope onely would be contented that Henry his sonnes (which was then nephew to king Henry here in England) should be Emperour after him. Neither could this be admitted.

When he offered for truth of his promise, to put in the French king and the king of England to be his sureties, or else for tryall of his cause to stand to their award and arbitrement. Neither would that be granted.

At last he desired, that he might come himselfe and answer before the council. But the poud Pope in no case would abide that, saying; that he did not yet finde himselfe so ready and meet for martyrdom, to haue him to come thither to the council; for if he did, he would depart himselfe, &c. Ex Mar, Parisiens, fol. 187.

This obstinate rancour and deuillish malice of Pope Innocent and his predecessor against that valiant Emperour, and against the Grecians, what disturbance and mischief it wrought to the whole Church, what strength it gaue to the Saracens, and Tartarians, how it impaired Christian concord, and weakened all Christian lands, not onely the best of the French king did find shortly after, but Christendome euen to this day may and doth feele and rue. Neither can in stories be found any greater cause which first made the Turks so strong, to get so much ground ouer Christendome as they haue, than the pestilent working of this Pope in deposing and excommunicating this worthy Emperour. For as there was neuer emperour of long time, which more victoriously prevailed in bibling and keeping under these enemies of Christ, or would haue done more against them, than the said Frederike if he might haue been suffered: so after the deposing and excommunicating of him, when the French king neither would abide at home, as he was counselled, neither was yet able, without the helpe of others, to withstand the force and multitude of the said Saracens and Tartarians being now joyned together, neither yet could the Emperour be suffered by the pope to rescue the king: it followed thereof, that the good king being taken prisoner, and all his army destroyed, the Turkes thereupon got such a hand, and such a courage against the Christians, that euer since they haue burst in further upon vs, and now haue prevailed so farre, as neither the power of the Pope nor of all Christendome is able to drive them out, as hereafter by sequell of storie is further to be declared.

In the meane time, to returne where before we left, when the French king coming thus into the Pope at Lions to intreate for the Emperour, could finde no fauour, he tooke his leave and with great heavinesse departed, setting forward on his journey unto Parthia, and so sailed to the Ile of Cyprus, where he remained all that winter, so that, falling into

KING  
HEN. 3.

The Emperour  
Frederike man-  
geth himselfe to  
the Pope and  
council.

The submission  
of the Emperour.

The worthy  
offer of the na-  
ble Emperour.

The Emperour  
offereth to put  
in the French  
king and king  
of England to  
be his sureties.

The Emperour  
desireth to an-  
swer for himselfe  
in the council.

The beginning  
of the Turkes  
victories ouer  
Christendome.

Pope Innocent  
the fourth  
would not be  
reconciled with  
the Emperour.



KING  
HEN. 3.

The French  
armie released  
by the Emperoz  
Frederike.  
The French  
armie againe  
battereth the  
Emperoz.

into penurie and lacke of victuals, he was faine to send to the Venetians and other Ilands by, for helpe of provision. The Venetians gently sent unto him six great ships laden with corne, wine, and other victuals requisite, besides the reliefe of other Ilands moze. But especially Frederike the Emperoz, understanding of their want, so furnished the French campe with all plentie of necessaries, that it had abundance. Whereupon the French king, moved with the kindnesse of the emperoz, wrote his speciall letters to the Pope in the Emperors behalfe but the hard heart of the Pope would not relent. Blanchia the kings mother in France, hearing what the Emperoz had done to her sonne, sent him most heartie thanks, with presents and rewards manifold: Mat. Paris. pag. 226.

Damiata gotten againe by Frenchmen.

In this meane time about the beginning of October, the Frenchmen got Damiata, being the principall fort or hold of the Saracens in all Egypt, in the yeare one thousand two hundred forty and nine. After the winning of Damiata, the prince and people of the Saracens, being assailed at the lesse thereof, offered to the Christians great ground and possessions more than ever belonged to Chastendome before, so that they might have Damiata to them restored againe. But the pride of the earle of Artois the kings brother would in no case accept the offers of the Saracens, but requiereth both Damiata and Alexandria the chief metropolitane city of all Egypt to be delivered unto them. The Saracens, seeing the pride and greedinesse of the Frenchmen, in no case would abide it: which turned afterwards to the great detriment of our Christians, as in the end it proved. Ex Mat. Paris. fol. 229.

The widow  
heir of  
Artois.

First, in the Ile of Cyprus, and in the journey before, died the earle of Palatiz, and one of the twelve peeres of France, also the Earle of St. Paul and Blesse, who had under him fittie ensignes, which were all after his death scattered abroad and dispersed; also died Johannes de Denis a valiant captain, with many other noble personages both men and women, which, by altering the ayre and diet, there deceased.

Death of certain  
of the  
French cap-  
tains in the  
way.

Anno  
1250.  
History of the  
Frenchmen  
against the Sara-  
cens.

The next yeere insuing, which was 1250. about Ash Wednesday, the Frenchmen, insuing out of their tents by the citie of Damiata, flew upon the Saracens which besieged them, and so after a great number of the enemies slaine, with victorie and great spoyle, returned to their tents againe. Now within the citie of Damiata was the queen with her ladies, the Popes legate, and Bishops, with a garrison of horsemen and so many for the defence of the citie strongly appointed. The next day, the Frenchmen supposing to have the like hand of the Saracens, as they had the day before, gave a fresh assault upon them, but in that conflict the Saracens had so strongly appointed themselves, that the Frenchmen lost ten times more than they got the day before, and so, after a great slaughter of their men, retired unto their tents againe. Whereupon the Saracens began to take great hearts and courage against our men, stopping also the passages round about the city of Damiata, that no victuals could passe unto them. In like manner the Soldan also, gathering all the galleies about Alexandria and all the land of Egypt, so inclosed the seas, that no intercourse should be to them by water.

Frenchmen dis-  
comfited by the  
Saracens.

At length after long talke and consultation between them on both sides, the Soldan advised them to resigne unto him the citie of Damiata, with the furniture which they found therein, & they should have all the country about Jerusalem, with all the captives of the Christians friendly restored unto them: where with the Christians (said he) sought to be contented, and to seek no further, but onely to have the land of Jerusalem; which being granted to them, they should not encroach into their lands and kingdomes, whereto they had no right. This seems

The Frenchmen  
againe well offe-  
red by the Sol-  
dan.

of peace, as it liked well the meener sort of the poore souldiers, and divers others of the said councill and nobilitie: so the proud Earle of Artois, the kings brother, in no case would assent thereto, but still required the citie of Alexandria to be yielded unto them. Which the Egyptians by no means would agree unto.

From that time the French armie, being compassed by sea and by land, began every day more and more to be distressed for lacke of victuals and with famine, being drawn to that misery, that they were faine to eat their owne horses in the Lent time, which should have served them unto other uses. Neither could any Christian, nor Frederike being depesed by the Pope, be able to send them any succor. Furthermore, the more misery the Christians were in, the more fiercely did the Saracens presse upon them on every side, detesting their forward wilfulness. Inasmuch that divers of the Christian souldiers, not able to abide the affliction, privately conceived themselves, as they could, out of the campe to the Saracens, who were gladly received and relieved, and some suffered still to keep their faith, some marrying wives amongst them, and for hope of honour did apostatize to their law, and so wrought no little harme to the Christians. The Soldan, being perfectly instructed by these fugitives of all things belonging to the kings armie, sent him word in derision, asking where were all his mactockes, forkes, and rakes, his sithes, plowes, and harrowes, which he brought over with him, or why he did not occupie them, but let them lie by him to rust and canker: All this and much more the king with his Frenchmen were faine to take well in worth. It happened shortly after that this Soldan died, being poisoned of his owne servants; which was to the Christians a more heaping of their miseries. For albeit the said Soldan had been a cruell tyrant to the Christians, yet was hee hated of his owne people, whereby his strength was the lesse: after whom succeeded another much more cruell. Who as he was better loved, so he became much stronger by a generall confederacie of all the Saracens which were in the east parts, joyning now together. So that when the Christians desired now to have the forme of peace before proffered, he precisely denied them. And so the French host, which at first began to be feared, by their pride and overmuch greedinesse grew more and more in contempt amongst their enemies, and now was utterly despised.

The Christians, thus seeing all things to go backward with them, and how the insidell Saracens daily did prevaile, began to murmur against God, and some also, which were well settled before, to stagger in their religion, casting out these words of infidelitie: What is this (said they) that the Lord hath left vs, in whose cause we fight? How often within the time of remembrance have we ben comforted by these Saracens and infidels, who with shedding of our blood have enjoyed great spoiles and victories? First this city of Damiata, which we Christians had gotten dearly with effusion of so much Christian blood, afterwards we were constrained for nought to resigne by againe. After that, the armie of the templaries, fighting for the holy temple against the Saracens, nere to Antioch, was vanquished, and the standard bearer slaine in the fields. Again, within these few yeares, our Frenchmen, fighting in like manner against the Saracens at the citie of Gaza, were put to the worst, and many afterward cut of captivity ransomed, by Richard duke of Girester, brother to the king of England Henry the third. Then came in the Chelmeings sent by the Soldan of Babylon, which by a while invaded the Christians in the citie of Jerusalem, where almost all the Christian armie being in the holy land were distressed. And now here our most christian king together with the whole nobilitie, is like to be in danger, utterly to

The earle of  
Artois and the  
Popes legate a-  
gaine refuse the  
forme of peace  
offered.

Famine and  
miserie in the  
French campe,  
so the French-  
men ate their  
horses in Lent  
time.

The Soldans  
message betwix  
the Frenchmen.

The Soldans  
death, a double  
sorrow.

The French-  
men desire  
againe the  
peace offered be-  
fore, and could  
not have it.

Victories over  
the templaries  
and keepers of  
Jerusalem



be overthrowne. And how is it that the Lord thus standeth against us, and fighteth with them? Hath he more regard of them, than of vs, &c? Matthæus Parisiensis, fol. 231. Such murmuring words of an unstable faith many there began to cast out, as taking displeasure for their sufferings: but not considering on the other side what idolaters they were, what pride and discord was amongst them, what crueltie and murder they had shewed at home in persecuting the poore Albingeres, what superstition they first brought out with them, with what idolatry they proceeded, putting their trust in images, in the Popes indulgences, in worshipping of images, and praying to saints. And what helps then could they looke for at Gods hand, which had images in their temples, to fight against them which had none? What marvell, if the Lord of hosts went not with their armie, committing such idolatry every day in their pavilions to their sacramentall bread and wine as they did, and fighting with the strength of their owne merits, and not only by the power of their faith in Christ, which is onely the victory that overcometh the world: John 1. Finally, having in their campe the legate of him whom the Lord taketh to be his enemy: as by example of Frederike the Emperour may be well perceived; who, after he was accursed by Pope Gregory a little before, committing the same time in warre against the Saracens in Palestina, Gods blessing wrought so mightily with him, that without any bloodshed he recovered Jerusalem, and set all the country about it in great quietnesse, till at last the popish templaries, which at the popes setting on went about to betray him to the Soldan of Babylon, and so lost all againe by their owne malicious mischiefe, that the emperor before had gotten. Ex Mat. Parisiensis.

But let vs proceede further in this holy progresse. The french king with his army seeing himselfe distressed, and no good there to be done against the Soldan of Egypt, after he had insufficiently fortified the cite of Damietta, with an able garrison left with the Duke of Burgundy, he remoued his Tents from thence to goe Eastward. In whose army also followed William Longspath (of whom mention was touched before) accompanied with a picked number of English warriors remaining unto him, But such was the disdain of the frenchmen against this William Longspath and the Englishmen, that they could not abide them, but scourged them after opprobrious manner, with English tails, inasmuch that the good king himselfe had much ado to keepe peace betwene them.

The originall cause of this grudge between them began thus: There was not farre from Alexandria in Egypt a strong fort or Castle, replenished with great Ladies, and rich furniture of the Saracens: the which hold it chanced the said William Longspath with his company of English souldiers to get, more by good lucke and politike dexteritie, than by open force of armes, whereby he with his retinue were greatly enriched. When the frenchmen had knowledge hereof, they, being not made priue thereto, began to conceiue an heart-burning against the English souldiers, and could not speake well of them after that. It happened againe not long after, that the said William had intelligence of a company of rich merchants among the Saracens, going to a certaine faire about the parts of Alexandria, having their Camels, Ases, and Mules richly laden with silkes, precious Jewels, spices, gold and silver, with cart-loads of other wares, besides victuals and other furniture, whereof the souldiers then stood in great neede. He having secret knowledge hereof, gathered all the power of Englishmen vnto him that he could, and so by night falling vpon the merchants, some he slue with their guides and conductors, some he took, some he put to flight. The carts with the drivers & with the Oxen, and the Camels,

Ases, and Mules, with the whole carriage and victuals he took and brought with him, losing in all the skirmish but one souldier, and eight of his servants: of whom notwithstanding some he brought home wounded to be cured.

This being knowne in the Campe, forth came the frenchmen which all this while loitered in their pavilions, and meeting their carriage by the way, took all the foresaid prey whole into themselves, rating the said William and the Englishmen, for so aduenturing and issuing out of the Campe without leaue or knowledge of their Generall, contrary to the discipline of warre. William said againe, hee had done nothing but he would answer to it, whose purpose was to haue the people diuided to the behaue of the whole army: when this would not serue, he being sore grieved in his minde, so cowardly to be spoiled of that, for the which he so aduenturously had travelled, went to the king to complaine. But when no reason nor complaint would serue, by reason of the proud earle of Artois the kings brother, which vpon despite and disdain stood against him, he bidding the king farewell, said he would erue him no longer. And so William be Longspath with the rest of his company, breaking from the french host, went to Achon. Vpon whose departure then said the Earle of Artois: Now is the Army of frenchmen well rid of these tailed people. Which words, spoken in great despite, were euill taken of many good men that heard him: Ex Mat. Parisiensis. fol. 233. 234.

Before the arriuing of the french army in the land of Egypt, the Soldan of Babylon, having before intelligence of their coming, committed the custodie of Damietta vnto a certaine prince of his, whom he specially trusted, committing also to his brother the keeping of Raia and Babylon. It followed now after the taking of Damietta, that the Soldan of Babylon accused the Prince which had the custodie thereof, before his nobles, of proditorie, as giuing the cite vnto the Christians. Who notwithstanding in judgement did sufficiently cleare himselfe, declaring how he was certified that the king would land at Alexandria, and therefore bent all his power to prevent the kings arriuall there. But by distresse of weather, he missing of his purpose, and the king landing about Damietta, by reason thereof the cite was taken vnperceiued, he notwithstanding with his company resisting as well as they might, till they could no longer, and so departed out, cursing (as to he) Mahomet and his law. At which words the Soldan, being offended, commanded him to be had away as a Traitor and blasphemous, and to be hanged, albeit he had sufficiently purged himselfe by the judgement of the court. His brother which was the keeper of Raia and Babylon, being therewith not a little grieved, and bearing a good minde to the Christian religion, deuiled in himselfe how to giue the said cite of Raia and Babylon to the french king, and so in most secret wise sent to the king shewing his full purpose and what had happened: and furthermore instructing the king in all things how and what he should doe, and moreover requiring the Sacrament of Babylon, meaning to do so good faith, and sending also away all the Christian captiues which he had with him in prison. The king, being glad hereof, sent in all haste for William Longspath, promising a full request of all injuries past; who, vpon hope of some good lucke towards, came at the kings request, and so joyned with the french power againe.

{ KING }  
{ HEN. 3 }

William Longspath wronged by the frenchmen.

William with the Englishmen departed to Achon.

The displeasure of the kings brother against Englishmen.

The disloyalty of the Soldan of Babylon.

How Damietta was taken of the Christians.

The keeper of Raia and Babylon being put to death by the Soldan.

The promise of Raia desired to be Christian.

William Longspath sent for againe, and commeth.

The

Causes debated why the Lord did not prosper the Christians fighting against the Saracens.

William Longspath.

Grudge and disdain betwene the french campe and the English souldiers.

A bootie gotten by the English souldiers about Alexandria.

A deuotionous act of William Longspath.

William Longspath enriched by Saracens goods.



**KING**  
**HEN. 3.** } The lamentable overthrow and slaughter  
of the French army fighting against the infidels;  
through the sinister counsell of the  
Popes legat.

The storie how  
the French ar-  
my was ouer-  
throwen fight-  
ing against the  
Saracens.

**T**O make the storie short, the King, setting for-  
ward from Damiatra, directed his journey to-  
wards Iaira, slaying by the way such Saracens as  
there were let to stop the victuals from Damiatra.  
The Soldan in the meane time hearing of the cou-  
ragious comming of the French host, as being in  
great hope to conquer all; sent unto the king by  
certaine that were next about him, offering to the  
Christians the quiet and full possession of the holy  
land, with all the kingdome of Jerusalem, and more;  
besides other infinite treasure of gold and silver, or  
what else might please them, onely upon this con-  
dition, they would restore againe Damiatra, with the  
captures there, and so would sojorne together in mu-  
tual peace and amity. Also they should have all  
their Christian captives deliuered home, and so both  
countries should freely passe one to another with  
their waics and traffick, such as they listed to aduen-  
ture. Furthermore, it was also firmly affirmed and  
spoken, that the Soldan with most of his nobles  
were minded no lesse than to leaue the filthy law of  
Mahomet, and receive the faith of Christ, so that they  
might quietly enjoy their lands and possessions. The  
same day great quietnesse had entred (no doubt) in  
all Christendome, with the end of much bloodshed  
& misery, had it not bene for the Pope and his legate,  
who (having commandement from the Pope, that if  
any such offers should come, hee should not take  
them) stoutly Et frontose (as the words be of the  
storie) contradicens, in no wise would receive the con-  
ditions offered: Parisiens, fol. 233.

The false offers  
of the Soldan  
of the French-  
men, if they had  
had grace to  
ake it.

The Pope and  
his legate cause  
of all this mis-  
dure.

The Christians  
insuing good  
offers could not  
haue them  
when they  
could.  
I could pre-  
servation of  
the Saracens  
against the  
Christians.

The emle of  
Iraons with  
be third part  
of the Christian  
army passeth  
uer the river  
Pilus.

William Long-  
path.

Thus, while the Christians unprofitably lingered  
the time in debating this matter, the Soldan in the  
meane time got intelligence of the compact between  
the tribune of Iaira and the French king; where-  
upon he sent in all haste to the citie of Iaira to ap-  
prehend the tribune till the truth were fully tryed,  
which seemed to him more apparant, for that the  
Christian prisoners were already deliuered. Here-  
upon the Soldan being in some better hope, and lesse  
feare, refused that which before he had offered to the  
Christians; albeit they with great instance after-  
ward sued to the Soldan, and could not obtaine it.  
When the Soldan, being wholly bent to try the mat-  
ter by the sword, sent to the east parts for an infinite  
multitude of souldiers, giving out by proclamation,  
that whosoever could bring in any Christian mans  
head, should haue ten talents, besides his standing  
wages. And whosoever brought his right hand  
should haue five. He that brought his foote should  
haue two talents for his reward.

After these things thus prepared on both sides to  
the necessity of war, the king cometh to the great  
riuer Pilus, having gotten together many botes,  
thinking by them to passe ouer, as upon a sure  
bridge. On the other side the Soldan pitcheth him-  
selfe to withstand hys comming ouer. In the  
meane time happened a certaine feast amongst  
the Saracens, in which the Soldan was absent,  
leauing his tents by the water side. Which being  
foresene by a certaine Saracen lately converted  
to Christ, seruing with earle Robert the kings bro-  
ther, and shewing them withall a certaine shallow  
ford in the Riuer of Pilus, where they might more  
easily passe ouer; the said earle Robert and the  
master of the temple with a great power, esteemed  
to the third part of the army, issued ouer the riuer,  
after which also followed William Long-path  
with his band of English souldiers. These, being  
together joyned on the other side the water, incun-  
tered the same day with the Saracens remaining in  
the tents, & put them to the worke. After this victo-  
ry

gotten, the French earle surprised with pride and  
triumph, as though hee had conquered the whole  
earth, would needs forward, dunning himselfe from  
the maine host, thinking to win the spurs alone. To  
whom certaine sage men of the temple giuing con-  
trary counsell advised him not so to doe, but rather  
to returne and take their whole company with them,  
and so should they be more sure against all deceits  
and dangers, which there might be laid priuily for  
them. The manner of that people (they sayd) they  
better knew, and had more experience thereof than  
he: alleaging moreover their wearied bodies, their  
tired horses, their famished souldiers, and the insuffi-  
ciencie also of their number, which was not able to  
withstand the multitude of the enemies, especially  
at this present hant, in which the aduersaries did  
well see the whole state of their dominion now to  
consist either in winning all, or losing all: with other  
such like words of perswasion. Which when the proud  
earle did heare, being inflamed with no lesse arro-  
gance than ignorance, with opprobrious taunts hee  
reuiled them, called them cowardly dastards, and  
betrayers of the whole countrey, objecting vnto  
them the common reproch of many, which said, that  
the land of the Holy crosse might be won to Christen-  
dome were it not for the rebellious templaries, with  
the hospitalaries and their fellowes, &c.

Quot of the  
Christians  
against the  
Saracens.

Good counsell  
giuen, but not  
followed.

The despitefull  
rebukes of earle  
Robert to them  
that gaue him  
good counsell.

To these contumelious rebukes when the master  
of the temple answered againe for him and his fel-  
lows, bidding him display his ensigne when hee  
would, and where he durst, they were as ready to  
follow him, as he to goe before them. When began  
William de Long-path the worthy knight to speak,  
desiring the earle to giue eare to those men of expe-  
rience, who had better knowledge of those countries  
and people than he had, commending also their  
counsell to be discrete and wholesome, and so turning  
to the master of the temple began with gentle words  
to mitigate him likewise. The knight had not halfe  
ended his talke, when the earle, taking his words  
out of his mouth, began to fume and swear, crying  
out of these cowardly Englishmen with tailes.  
What a pure army (said he) should we haue here, if  
these tailes, and tailed people were purged from it?  
With other like words of great villanie and much  
disdaine. Whereunto the English knight answering  
again, Well, earle Robert, said he, wherefore you  
dare set your foote, my step shall goe as farre as  
yours; and, as I beleue, wee goe this day where  
you shall not dare to come neare the taile of my  
horse: as in the euent it proued true. Ex March, Paris.  
fol. 236.

The worthy an-  
swer of the  
English knight  
to earle Robert  
the kings bro-  
ther.

In this meane time the French king, intending  
to aduance forward his armie, thought best to send  
away such as were feeble and lacked armor, vnto  
Damiatra by botes. The Soldan, hearing thereof,  
prepared a great number of botes to be carried by  
waime and cart to the water side: which meeting  
them by the way, drowned and destroyed by wild  
fire every one, so that of all that companie of our  
christians, of whom some were burned, some slaine,  
some drowned, not one escaped alive, save one on-  
ly Englishman, named Alexander Giffard, who,  
although he was soze wounded in the chace in five  
places in his body, yet escaped to the French campe,  
braving word vnto the king what was done. And  
this was vpon the water.

A number of  
French souldi-  
ers sent to Da-  
miatra, drowned,  
and slaine by  
the way.

Now vpon the land, seeing earle Robert would  
needs set forward, meaning to get all the glory vnto  
himselfe before the comming of the host; first they  
inuaied a little village or castle which was not farre  
off, called Hantoz. The country was desolate, and pagans  
in the villages by, seeing the Christians come, ran  
cut with such a maine cry and shout, that it came to  
the Soldans hearing, which was nearer than our  
men did thinke. In the meane while the Christians,  
inuaied and entring into the munition incircum-  
spectly, were pelted and pathed with stones by them  
which

The village  
and castle of  
Hantoz alle-  
saulted by the  
Frenchmen.

The Frenchmen  
discouraged at  
the sight of  
Spaniards.



Carle Roberts  
army inclosed  
by the Souldan  
of Babylon.

The cowardly  
flying away of  
the Carle Robert.  
Carle Robert  
the kings brother  
died.

The manly cor-  
rage of William  
Longespée.

William Long-  
spée slain in  
battell.

The French  
men over-  
throwne.

The sorowes  
in the French  
camps for losse  
of their brethren

The heads and  
hands of the  
Christians cut  
off.

The battell  
between the  
French king and  
the Souldan.

The French ar-  
my overthrowne.

The pitifull  
sight of the  
Frenchmen.

The French  
king with his  
two brethren,  
taken captive  
by the Souldan.

which stood about, whereby a great number of our men were lost, and the army sore mained; and almost in dispaire. Then immediately upon the same commeth the Souldan with all his maine power; who, seeing the Christians army to be divided, and the brother separated from the brother, had that which hee long wished for, and so inclosing them round about that none should escape, had with them a cruell fight. Then the carle began to repent him of his heady rashnesse, but it was too late: who, then seeing William the English knight doughtily fighting in the chiefe brunt of the enemies, cried unto him most cowardly to flee, seeing God (saith he) doth fight against vs. To whom the knight answering againe, God forbid (saith he) that my fathers sonne should runne away from the face of a Saracen: the carle then turning his horse fled away, thinking to euade by the swiftnesse of his horse, and so taking the ruler of Thafnis, oppressed with harnesse, was there sunk and downed. Thus the Carle being gone, the Frenchmen began to dispaire and scatter. Then William de Longespée, bearing all the force of the enemies, stood against them as long as he could, wounding and slaying many a Saracen, until at length his horse being killed, and his legs mained, he could no longer stand, who yet notwithstanding as he was downe, mangled their face and legs, and did the Saracens much sorrow, till at the last after many blowes and wounds, being stoned of the Saracens, he yielded his life. After the death of him, then the Saracens setting upon the residue of the army, whom they had compassed on every side, deuoured and destroyed them all, inasmuch that scarce one man escaped alive, saving two semplices, one hospitaller, and one poore rascall scoldier, which brought tidings hercof to the king.

These things being knowne in the French campe unto the king and his souldiers, first of their bewailing which were sent to Damietta, then of the ruine and slaughter of the army, with the kings brother by the talone of Hanoz, there was no little sorrow and heavinesse on every side, with great feare and doubt in themselves what was best to doe. At last, when they saw no remedy, but they must stand manfully to revenge the blood of their brethren, then the king with his host past over the flood of Iordan, and comming to the place where the battell had bene, there they beheld their fellows and brethren, pitifully lying with their heads and hands cut off. For the Saracens for the reward before promised by the Souldan or Saladin, unto them that could bring the head and hand of any Christian, had so mangled the Christians, leaving their bodies unto the wilde beasts. Thus as they were sorrowing and lamenting the cruell case of their Christian fellows, suddenly appeareth the comming of the Souldan, with a multitude of innumerable thousands. Against whom the Frenchmen effronies prepare themselves to encounter, and so the battell being stricken up, the armies began to joine. But alacke for pitee, what could the Frenchmen here doe, their number first so mained, their hearts wounded already with feare and sorrow, their bodies consumed with penury and famine, their horses for feblenesse not able to serue them: In conclusion, the Frenchmen were overthrowne, slaine, and dispatched; and seeing there was no flying, happy was he that first could yield himselfe. In which miserable confusio, the king with his two brethren, and a few that claued into him, were taken captiues, to the confusion of all Christian realmes, and presented to the Souldan. All the residue were put to the sword, or else stood to the mercy of the Saracens, whether to be slaine or to remaine in woofull captiuitie. And this was the end of that sorrowfull battell, wherein almost all the nobility of France was slaine, neither was there one man welcome in the multitude which escaped free, but either was slaine, or taken prisoner. Further-

more, they that were slaine or left halfe alive, had every one his head and hand cut off, upon the Souldans proclamation about mentioned.

The Souldan or Souldan, after the taking of the French king, fraudulently suborning an army of Saracens to the number of the French army, with the armes and ensignes of them that were slaine, made toward Damietta, where the Duke of Burgundy, with the French Queen, and also the Popes legat, and other bishops and their garrisons were remaining; supposing under the shew of Frenchmen to be let in: but the captaines mistrusting their halfe comming, and misdoubting their villages, not like to the Frenchmen, that the Gates against them, and so returned they frustrate of their intent.

The purpose of the Souldan was, if hee might haue gotten Damietta, to send the French king up higher in the East countries to Calippa, the chiefe pope of Damascus, to increase the titles of Mahomet, and to be a spectacle or gazing stocke to all those quarters of the world. The manner of which Calippa was, neuer to let any Christian prisoner come out, whosoeuer came once in his hand. But forso much as the Souldan missed his purpose, he thought by aduise of counsell, to vie the kings life for his owne advantage in recouering the cite of Damietta, as in the end it came to passe. For although the king at the first was greatly unwilling, and had rather dye than surrender Damietta againe to the Saracens, yet the conclusion to sell out, that the king was put to his ranisme, and the cite of Damietta was also resigned; which city being twice wonne, and twice lost by the Christians, the Souldan or Saladin afterwarde caused it utterly to be razed downe to the ground. The ranisme of the king, upon condition that the Souldan should see him safely conducted to Achon (which I take to be Cesarea) came to 60000 markes. The number of Frenchmen, and others which miscarried in that warre by water and by land, come to 80000 persons. Hac Mar. Paris. fol. 237, 238.

And thus haue ye the brieue narration of this lamentable peregrination of Lewis the French king. In which when the Frenchmen were once or twice well offered by the Souldan, to haue all the kingdom of Ierusalem, and much more in free possession; they not contented with that which was reasonable and sufficient, for greedinesse to haue all, lost all, having at length no more than their naked bodies could couer lying dead upon the ground, and all through the originall cause of the Pope and also his legat. By whose sinister meanes and pestilent pride, not onely the liues of so many Christians were then lost, but also to the said pope is to be imputed all the losse of other cities and Christian regions bordering in the same quarters: forasmuch as by the occasion hercof the hearts of the Saracens on the one side were so encouraged, and the courage of the Christians on the other side so much discomfited, that in short space after, both the dominion of Antioch and of Achon, with all other possessions belonging to the Christians, were lost, to the great diminishing of Christs Church.

During the time of this good king lying at Achon or Cesarea: Almighty God sent such discord betwixt the Souldan of Halaphia, and the Souldan of Babylon for letting the king to escape, that the said Souldan or Saladin of Babylon, to winne the king unto his side, entered league with him (whom both his brethren, and all his nobles almost at home had forsaken) and remitted his ranisme, and also restored vnto him such prisoners as were in the said battell found to be alive. Thus the Lord worketh, where man commonly forsaketh. Matth. Parisiensis, fol. 261.

Another cause moreover, why the ruine of this French army may worthily be imputed to the Pope, is this: for that when Lewis the French king

{ KING }  
{ HEN. 3 }

Damietta red-  
uced to the  
Saracens.

The summe  
of the kings  
ranisme.  
The number o  
the Frenchmen  
slaine.

The two Sol-  
dans at vari-  
ance about the  
French king.

What mis-  
chief cometh  
Christendome  
and by what  
perceiuaunce.



**KING**  
**HAN. 3**

How Frederike  
the Emperour  
sight being fer-  
red in good  
had against  
the Saracens,  
in the Pope  
with noctul  
is him.

The tyrannie  
and dinell  
of the Pope  
against  
the Emperour.

perceiving what a necessary friend and helper Frederike the Emperour might be to him in these his affaires against the Saracens, and therefore was an earnest tutor for him to the Pope to have him released; yet neither he, nor the king of England by any means could obtaine it. And although the Emperour himselfe offered to Pope Innocent with all humble submission to make satisfaction in the councill of Lions, promising also to expunge all the dominions of the Saracens, and neuer to returne into Europe againe, and there to recover whatsoever the Christians had lost, so that the Pope would only grant his sonne Henry to be Emperour after him: yet the proud pope would not be mollified, but would needs proceede against him with both sword, that is, first, with the spirituall sword, to accuse him, and then with the temporall sword to depose him from his imperiall throne. Though the occasion whereof, not onely the french kings power went to waicke, but also such a fire of mischief was kindled against Christendome, as yet to this day cannot be quenched. For after this overthrow of the french king and his army, the Christians of Antioch and of other Christian regions thereabouts, being utterly discouraged, gave over their holds and cities. Whereupon the Saracens, and after them the Turkes, got such an hand over Christendome, as to this day we all have great cause to rue and lament. Besides this, where diuers Christians were crossed to goe over and helpe the french king, the Pope for money dispensed with them to tarry still at home.

But as I said, the greatest cause was, that the Emperour which could have done most, was deposed by the Popes tyrannie, whereby all those churches in Asia were left desolate. As touching the which Emperour Frederike, because we haue diuers and sundry times made mention of him before, and so that his story is strange, his acts wondrous, and his conflicts tragickall, which he sustained against foure or five Popes one after another, I thought (not out of flattery) in a whole narration to set forth the same, for the Reader to consider, what is to be judged of this cathedrall See of Rome, which had wrought such a venomable mischief in the world, as in the sequell of the story following, faithfully translated out of Latine into English, is to be seene.

*The whole tragickall Historie of Frederike the second, Emperour, translated out of the Latine booke of Nich. Ciferus.*

That house  
rederike  
me of.

What father  
and mother.

The time and  
annit of his  
life.

That patrons  
had.

Frederike the second, came out of the ancient house of the Weblins or Cibilins; which Cibilins came of the most famous stocke of the french kings and Emperours.

He had Frederike Barbarossa to his Grandfather, whose sonne Henricus the sixth was Emperour after him; who of Constantia, the daughter (or as some write, the nece) of Roger the first, king of Sicily, begat this Frederike the second.

This Constantia was fiftie yeeres of age before she was conceived with him; whom the Emperour Henry the sixth, to auoide all doubt and surmise that of her conception and childing might be thought, and to the perill of the Empire enue; caused his regall tent to be pitched abroad in place where every man might resort. And when the time of his Queens trauell approached, Constantia (in presence of diuers Ladies and Patrons, and other gentlewomen of the Empire, a great number) was brought abed and deliuered of this Frederike, the seventh day before the kalends of January, in the yeere of Christs incarnation 1193. who by inheritance was king of Naples, Apulia, Calabria and Sicilia.

Henricus his father, shortly after hee was boyne, obtained of the princes electors, that by their oath into him giuen, they would chuse his sonne Frederike for their Emperour after his decease; and so did,

and immediately called him Cesar, being yet but in his cradle.

This Henry when he died (which was shortly after the birth of Frederike) committed the protection of him to Constantia his wife, to Philip his brother chiefe gouernour of Vetruria, and to the Bishop of Rome, then Innocentius the third.

Constantia, not long after the death of Henry her husband, being sickly and growing into age, and thereby not so well able to gouerne the troubles and vnquiet state of the Empire, resigned, and willed by her testament the safety both of her sonne Frederike, and also of his Dominions, to the protection and gouernment of Innocent the third, thinking thereby safely to haue prouided, &c.

This Pope Innocent, as soone as hee had the protection of the young Emperour and his seignories, became, in stead of a patron and protector to him and his Dominions, both an enemy and conspirator.

The examples are many. One is, hee perswaded Sibyll the late wife of Lancerbus (whom Henry put from the kingdome of Sicily) to recover the same againe, and that she should thereunto require Philip the french kings aide. Whereupon one Walterus being of the noble house of the Carles of Barrois, which in the prouince of Warrenensis had great living, and marrying with Aleria the eldest daughter of Lancerbus once king of Sicilia (as is said) now by the instigation, counsell, and aide of the french king with the Pope (well hoping to recover the kingdome) entered and invaded with great power Campania, and Apulia. At which time also, the same worthy protector Innocentius the third, sent his Legats with letters of excommunication against all those that would not admit and take the said Walterus for their king.

Another was, that where the princes electors and other nobles, as before is said, had promised by their oath to Henricus, that they would make Frederike his son Emperour after his decease (whom the Pope said to put their endeavour thereunto to bring it to passe) absolved them all from the oath which they had taken and giuen for the election of Frederike the Emperour, as one not content hee should obtaine the same. And further, he raised slanders and defamations against Philip, whom the Electors had chosen to gouerne the Empire, during the minority of Frederike his nephew. He wrote his Epistle (which is yet extant) to the Duke Barthold of Zaringia to be Emperour. Who for that he gaue place to Philip, he went about to procure that Wtho the sonne of Henry Leo should be made Emperour, and that the Princes and Lords electors of Germanie would crowne him forthwith after the manner of Aquil grane. He depriued all such Bishops as he knew to fauour Philip as Emperour, in the defence of his nephews right. But Philip whose cause was better, his skill in martiall affaires greater, and in power and strength mightier, after diuers and great conflicts, the marvellous disturbance and vastation of the whole Empire, by Gods help put the other to the worse. All which calamities and mischiefs Conradus Liechtenanus, at that time living, in his annals, most pitifully complaineth of, and accuseth the Bishop of Rome and his adherents to be the chiefe authours and deulers of this great and lamentable mischief, as such that, for to make themselves rich by the spoile thereof, sought by all meanes and deluded the same.

Not long after, a peace was concluded betwixt Philip and Wtho, and Philip reconciled againe to the Pope; who within a while after, betwixt Wtho and him, was murdered in his chamber and slaine. And then was Wtho againe brought to the Imperiall seat, and new elected for Emperour, with the counsell and consent of this Innocent the third, and so continued untill that a great variance and discord chanced to arise betwixt the said Wtho & the Pope.

The conspir-  
cies of Pope In-  
nocent against  
Frederike dur-  
ing his mi-  
noritie.  
The first con-  
spiracie.

The second  
conspiracie.

The fourth  
conspiracie.

The fifth  
conspiracie.

Philip slaine.



Marſance be-  
tweene Otto  
and the Pope.

Whereupon Innocentius ſought by all meanes, how againſt him likewiſe he might worke miſchiefe, and bring him unto his end. The occaſion of this ſudden change and alteration my author maketh no mention of, but that Otto (now being of great power) invaded and deſtroyed the dominions of Frederike, as Flaminia, Dicenum, Umbria, Veſtruria, but chiefly Campania, and Apulia, for that thoſe properly appertained to the inheritance of Frederike.

Thus you ſee, how firſt by the counſell and conſent of Pope Innocentius, and by his inſtigation, beſides his ſecret conſpiracies, this good Frederike and his dominions were hurt and indamaged. When againe through his default what damage he ſuſtained by Otto, who by him and his meanes was made ſo ſtrong as hee was: notwithstanding the great truſt he was put in for the protection both of Frederike and his dominions.

What learning  
and knowledge  
he was of.

At this time Frederike was come unto the age of twenty yeeres: who in his youth, by the preſon of Conſtantia his mother, was ſo well inſtructed in letters, and with other arts and vertues ſo indued, that at theſe yeeres there appeared and did ſhine in him excellent gifts both of wiſedome and knowledge.

What vertue  
he was indued  
with.

He was excellently well ſaine in the Latine and Greeke tongues, although at that time learning began to decay, and barbarouſneſſe to increaſe. He had alſo the Germane tongue, the Italian tongue, and the Saracen tongue. He daily exerciſed and put in practice thoſe vertues which nature had planted in him, as piety, wiſedome, juſtice, and fortitude: inſomuch that well he might be compared and accounted among the worthieſt and moſt renowned Emperors his predeceſſors.

Frederike ſuſ-  
pected for his  
grand-fathers  
ſake.

Fazellus (the hiſtorician of Sicilia in this time) writeth, that Fredericus was againe after this had in great honor and eſtimation with Innocentius; but yet notwithstanding he had no ſure confidence in him, for that he had the ſuſpected name of Frederike his grandfather often in remembrance, and for that occaſion was much deſirous to have him ſarre from Italie.

When Frederike had gathered his power, hee purpoſed to ſet upon Otto his enemy: of which thing Otto hearing (as he was painfull in travell) came out of Italie with his armie into Germanie, thinking to have met Frederike at the river of Rhine, and to have ſtopped his paſſage; but he was deceived of his expectation, and Fredericus was evolved, as the manner of Aquigrane is, before he came. And after that Frederike in the winter time took his journey to Frankford, and after many meetings in Pozio had, and after that Otto was dead, he ſet the Empire in a ſtay, and the whole countrey of Germanie hee in a manner appeaſed. And then with all his nobles and princes he returned to Rome, and of Honorius the third was with great ſolemnitie conſecrated and called Auguſtus. Which Honorius ſucceeded Innocentius the third in the papall ſee, and was a great helpe to Frederike (although he loved him not) in this behalfe, to reuenge himſelfe vpon Otto.

The coronation  
of Frederike.

The death  
of Otto.  
The conſe-  
cration of Frede-  
rike the Em-  
perour.

After the conſecration of Frederike the ſecond, he gave many great and liberall gifts, as well unto the biſhop of Rome himſelfe, as alſo unto the court of Rome beſides. Alſo hee gave and aſſured by his charter, to the church of Rome, the dukedome of Fundanum. For by the unſatiable covetouſneſſe of the Romiſh biſhops, this wicked ſe and cuſtome grew, that unleſſe the Emperors eld and crowned would give unto them ſuch like great and large gifts, they could not obtaine of them their conſecration or confirmation, which for that intent they deſired.

The liberall  
munificence of  
Frederike to  
the Pope and  
church of  
Rome.

Furthermore, Frederike the Emperour willing to ſhew himſelfe more bountifull and liberall unto the

Church, neither yet to reſtraine any privilege that might benefit the ſame, gave and admitted thoſe conſtitutions which the pope himſelfe would deſire, and are yet extant in their ciuill law: by which his doings he delivered to their hands a ſword (as it were) to cut his owne throat: for the biſhops of Rome now hauing even what they liſted, and all in their owne hands, might by the paine of proſcription, bring what Emperour or king they liſted under

10 Coram nobis, and keepe them by their owne lawes, as if they were bound in certaine bands, out of which they might not ſtart. For whatſoever he were which for the diminution of the liberties of the Church were excommunicated, and ſo continued a yeares ſpace, then he ſhould be within the danger of this proſcript, and ſhould not be releaſed before he had made ſatiſfaction: & were admitted by the Pope to the Church and congregation of good men againe. Whereby it came to paſſe, that whatſoever Emperour, in the go-  
20 uernment of his dominions, ſhould in any point diſpleaſe, or doe contrary to the luſt of the biſhop of Rome, he then as enemy to the church was excommunicate. And unleſſe within a yeare he were reconciled to them againe (by this their principal law) he was in the proſcript. And often it chanced that princes, to avoid the paine of this proſcript, were ready to do whatſoever the Pope would haue them, and commanded them to doe.

After the conſecration of Frederike was with  
30 great ſolemnitie finiſhed, and that the Pope and church of Rome in all ample manner (as is partly deſcribed) were gratified, and yet larger conſtitutions to them confirmed, hee departed from Rome, and went into Italy, there to ſet in order and ſtay the cities and great towncs, for the better tranquillity of himſelfe, and ſafetie of his ſubiects, and from thence into his owne provinces and dominions: where he heard of certaine that began to riſe and make new factions againſt him. Amongſt whom were found  
40 Thomas and Richard, the brethren of Innocentius the third earle of Aquino, that held certaine caſtles in the kingdome of Neapolitans from him by force: which caſtles he beſieged and beat downe, and took from them all that he in them found. Richard, hee tooke and ſent as a priſoner into Sicilia; but Thomas eſcaped & came ſpeedily to Rome; whither alſo repaired certaine biſhops and others that were  
50 conſpirators againſt Frederike, as alſo ſuch others as the feare of the Emperours lawes, and their own guiltie conſciences cauſed to fly, and were (that notwithstanding) of this biſhop of Rome Honorius the third  
60 (to graſſe againe the liberality of the Emperour beſtowed vpon him) under his noſe ſuccoured, maintained, and defended. Which thing when Frederike underſtood, hee began to expoliate with the biſhop, conſidering the baſeneſſe of that his fact. Againſt whom the Pope on the other ſide was ſo chaſed and vexed, that immediately without further delay hee thundereth out againſt him, like a tyrant, his curſes and excommunications.

Thomas Fazellus declareth the deteſtation or defiance to happen betwene them ſomewhat otherwiſe. There were (ſaith hee) amongſt thoſe which were found traitors to the Emperour, certaine biſhops, which, flying to the Pope, requested his aid: whereupon the pope ſent his legates to the Emperour, and requested him that hee would admit and receive to ſanctiſe thoſe biſhops which he had baniſhed and put from their offices, and that hee would not inter-  
70 meddle with any eccleſiaſtical charge wherewith he had not to doe: and ſaid further, that the correction and puniſhment of ſuch matters pertained to the biſhop of Rome, and not to him. And moreover, that the curſt of thoſe churches in that kingdome, from the which hee had expelled the biſhops, pertained and belonged unto him.

Whereunto Frederike thus replieth: That for ſomuch as now ſoure hundred yeeres and more  
(from

KING  
HEN. 3.  
Frederike  
gave through  
his liberality  
a ſword to cut  
his owne  
throat.

The canon of  
proſcription  
granted and  
confirmed by  
Frederike.

Frederike ad-  
his conſe-  
crated his  
promises and  
dominions.

The beſiege  
of Frederike  
well recom-  
penced of Honor-  
ius the third.  
Frederike ex-  
communicated  
the Pope curſed



SKINC  
HBN.3.  
The Emperour  
replied to the  
Pope's demand.

(from the time of Carolus Magnus) all Emperors and Kings in their dominions might lawfully commit to apt and fit men for the same such Ecclesiastical functions and charges as within their territories and kingdomes fell; that he looked to haue the like priuledge and authoritie also, that other his predecessors before him had. And further said, that he had the same and like authoritie in the Empire that his father Henry and Frederike his grandfather, and other his predecessors before them had; neither had he so deferred at the hands of the church of Rome, either of Honorius himselfe, to be deprived of these priuileges which his ancestors before him had and kept. And further, Frederike, being chased and moued with these demands of the Pope, breaketh forth and saith, How long will the Bishop of Rome abuse my patience? When will his couetous heart be satisfied? Whereunto will his ambitious desire grow? With such like words more, repeating certaine injuries and conspiracies, both against him and his Dominions, as well by Honorius as Innocentius the third his predecessor, as also other like injuries of Popes to his ancestors practised. What man (saith he) is able to suffer and beare this so incredible boldnesse and intolerable insolencie of so proud a Bishop? Ooe, saith he (unto the Legats) and tell Honorius, that I will hazard both the seignorie of my Empire, and crowne of my kingdom, rather than I will suffer him thus to diminish the authoritie of our Majestie. Thomas Fazellus, lib. 8.

He desired  
to haue the Pope  
and the Emperour  
for the elec-  
tion and depri-  
uation of Bi-  
shops.

How became much disquietnesse and controuersie hath arisen (for the most part through all christendome in euery kingdom and realme severally) for and about the authoritie of choosing and depriving of Bishops (as may be seene by the example of this Frederike) which the Pope onely and arrogantly challengeth to himselfe, and saith it both not appertaine to another: I thought good not with silence to ouerpasse, but somewhat to say, and to proue the authoritie of christian kings and princes in this behalfe to be both sufficient and good. Which thing not onely by the holy scriptures is right ealie to be done, but also that it is by synodall decrees and counsels (diuers and sundry) established and confirmed, may easily be proued; as also by the ancient custome and manner of the primitive Church may further be corroborated and made good.

Authoritie for  
the election of  
Bishops to be in  
the princes and  
their subjects.

Whereunto appertaine certaine places collected and gathered out of the decrees of Gratianus, and especially in these canons, 12, 13, 14, 26, 27, 32, and 63 distinctions. Furthermore, when christian kings and princes began to embrace Christ his religion, both for honour and orders sake it was granted, that when the people desired such ministers as were continent, and by them thought meete; that they which were then in the Ecclesiastical function, and chiefest in authoritie, should either confirme such as were presented, or else themselves should place fit men in their churches as need required. So did the Emperours of Constantinople (receiving the order and manner from Constantine the Great) use and give the right of ecclesiastical function with the consent both of the people & ecclesiastical persons, and long so retained the same. As Honorius the Emperour unto Boniface, can. 8. dist. 79. and can. 2. dist. 97. Also by the example of Pelagius and Gregorius Magnus: of which one in the reigne of Iustinian the Emperour and Totila governing Italy, the other in the time of Mauricius the Emperour (when the Lombards possessed Italy) were appointed Bishops to the church of Rome: cap. 15. 21. 24.

Gratianus in  
his distinction  
reproued for the  
election of Bi-  
shope to be in  
the Pope.

And whereas Gratianus in the beginning of the 96 and 97 distinction doth declare, that the rescript of Honorius the Emperour is void and of none effect, for that he determined the election of the Bishop of Rome, contrary to the authority of the holy canons, when as yet neither to the civil magistrate, nor to any of the ecclesiastical order, can there be read of

any licence given them to dispence it withall: each man may plainly see and discern his great folly and want of understanding. As though at that time any decrees were made, which should debare Emperours from the constituting of the ecclesiastical ministers. That it were doubtful whether the Emperours at that time had past any constitutions touching the causes of ecclesiastical discipline, and the same lawes then put in use; when the contrary most manifestly (both by the lawes and histories of that age and time, as well of the church as of the empire) may appeare. And that we need not seek far for the matter, this thing is sufficiently proued by these titles; De sacrosanctis ecclesiis, episcopis, clericis, besides other ecclesiastical chapters and matters touching religion. All which are to be seene in the booke of the principall and chiefest constitutions, collected and set forth by Iustinian. Amongst the which, many of the chapters are said to be accepted and allowed of Honorius and Theodosius: so in like case the 21. can. in the 63. distinction doth declare, that the Grecian Emperours, that next ensued after Iustinian, did obserue that manner of ordaining and election of the Bishop of Rome, although then at that time Interpellatum erat, it was some what spurned at. Amongst whom mention is made of Constantinus the fourth, which was surnamed Pogonatus.

The stile of  
Iustinian for  
election.

The Grecian  
Emperours also  
of Bi-  
shops.

Carolus Magnus in like manner followed their steps and manner in the same, as in the 22. canon, and the same distinction is declared. And further it was at a synodall councill in Lateran (Adrian being high Bishop, where were conuened and assembled 153. other Bishops) decreed, that the power and authoritie of creating the Bishop of Rome, and ordaining of all other prelates and ecclesiastical orders, should be in the power and will of Carolus Magnus, as well in Italy as other his dominions and prouinces, and that whosoever was not promoted and allowed by him, should not be consecrated of any, and that those which repugned and disobeyed this decree, should incur the most sharpe paine of proscription and publication of law. The worthy example hereof is estant in the 18. can. and 18. title. Yet notwithstanding, Stephanus the fourth, author of this rescript against the said decree, without the Emperours consent, was made Bishop of Rome; who, to the intent he might delude the decreed and solemnized penalty, thereby to excuse himselfe, went into France to Ludonius Pius the sonne of Carolus Magnus, and at Rheims crowned he him with the Imperial diadem. Neither could this Bishop here stay himselfe, but, spying the great lenitie of the Emperour, assaied to make frustrate the foresaid constitution. For his purpose was, and so he brought it to passe, as in the 27. can. and the same distinction appeareth, that it might be lawfull for the ecclesiastical order, with the people & Senat of Rome (without the authority of the Emperour) to chuse the Bishop of Rome, reseruing that he should not be consecrated without the will & consent of the Emperour. Thus it is manifest, that the Bishops of Rome themselves, not regarding but despising the strict penalty & sanction of the foresaid decree of the Lateran councill, were not onely the first that brake the same, but also, by contrary rescripts and constitutions, laboured and indououred to extoll and set by themselves above all others.

The election  
decreed by 153.  
Bishops in the  
council of La-  
teran to be in  
the Emperours.

Stephan the  
fourth, first au-  
thor of this  
election.

Whereupon Lotharius, afterward being Emperour and nephew to Carolus Magnus, comming into Italy there to dissolue the conspiracie and confederacie of Leo the fourth about the transation of the Empire, renewed and established againe the synodall decree of Lateran touching the jurisdiction of the Emperour for the election of the Bishop of Rome and other ecclesiastical persons. And hereof it came, that those epistles were written of Leo in the 16 & 17. canon, and the same distinction, which also, as in

The Bishop of  
Rome the first  
breaker of the  
decrees of the  
council.

Lotharius re-  
newed the La-  
teran decree for  
election of  
Bishops.



the 9 can. & 10 distinction, made a profession, that the same imperial precepts should be kept in all ages. When Leo, when he was reproved of treason and other evils, pleaded his cause before Ludouicus the second, Emperour of Rome, and sonne of Letharius above recited: 2 question, 7 can. 40.

Who deposed  
John the four-  
teenth, and rati-  
fied a new decree  
of election.

Leo the fifth was  
deposed by  
Who the  
Emperour.

The election  
once againe ra-  
tified by the  
Emperours  
distinction.

Henry the third  
and Leo the  
ninth.

Henry the fourth,  
and Nicholas  
the second.

The election  
hitherto in the  
Emperours, and  
now begunneth  
to faile by  
Hildebrand.

Henry the fourth  
againe challen-  
geth the election.

But after this, as time grew on, the Bishops of Rome nothing relinquishing their ambitious desires; Who, the first Emperour of that name, deposed and put from the See of Rome that most filthy and wicked Bishop John the thirteenth, both for diuers and sundry wicked and hainous ads by him committed, as also for his great treasons and conspiracies against his royall person, and did substitute in his place Leo the fifth; who, calling a Synod at Lateran in the same Temple and place where the other before was kept, did promulgate a new constitution with consent of the senat and people of Rome concerning the Emperours jurisdiction in the foresaid election: which in the 23. canon is contained and 63. distinction. Whereby the old right and power of the Emperours in the election of the bishop of Rome, and other Ecclesiasticall prelates, was againe with sharper and stricter sanction confirmed and ratified. Again, John the eighteenth, whom Crescentius the Roman (blurring the Imperiall crowne) had made Bishop by the consent of the people of Rome and the ecclesiasticall order, having his nose cut off, and his eyes put out, and so thrust out of the Capitoll, was againe of Who the third established and made Bishop. But when as yet notwithstanding, the Bishops of Rome would not alter their old accustomed disposition, but with all their industry endeavourd to abrogate that jurisdiction of the Emperour over the Bishop of Rome (as people loth to be under subjection) Henry the third (then Leo the ninth being constituted Bishop) did once againe ratifie the same, and caused the Bishop (which extolled himselfe before all his fellow Bishops) to scape and giue place to Huguinins.

So after the death of Henry the third Emperour, Nicholas the second, although in his decree (which in the 1. canon, and 23. distinction is recited) he gave the primacy for the election of the Bishop of Rome by the means of the priests and people of Rome, unto the Cardinals; yet he would after that, that the prerogative therein should be referred to Henry the fourth the young Emperour, from whom the Empire afterwards was for a time wrested and taken.

But now after this, when Hildebrand, which was called Gregory the seventh, was Pope, this prerogative of the emperours in their election, which before in the creation of Alexander the Bishop was neglected and broken; the Bishops of Rome not only did seeke to diminish the authoritie thereof, but also to evacuate and quite vnder the same. For he not onely aspired to that dignity without the consent and appointment of the Emperour, but also made restraint, that no Emperour, King, Duke, Marques, Earle, or any ciuill Magistrate, should assigne and appoint to any, any Ecclesiasticall function and charge; neither that any of his Prelats should bee so hardy, as to take them at any of their hands: as quest. 16. can. 7. 9. and 10. may be seene.

Yet notwithstanding, after that this horrible monster Hildebrand was proscrip and thrust out of the papall seat, & Clement the third put in his stead, Henry againe challenged his imperiall prerogative of election. But yet, when the Bishops which succeeded after this Hildebrand, and led by his example, began to derogate from the Imperiall prerogative of Election; and Henry on the other side, by all the means possible, sought to defend and maintaine the same: by the subtil fraud and mischievous policie of the Bishops, which set the same against the father, and found meanes to steale from him the hearts of his nobles and subjects, and to set them all against him, and especially the princes of Germany, he

was deposed and disappointed of his purpose.

And although Henry the fifth (comming to Rome) brought Paschalis the second to that point, that he both in publicke concion, and in writing sealed, and also by oath confirmed, restor'd again to the Emperours of Rome the prerogative of election, and of giuing ecclesiasticall dignities: yet notwithstanding, after that Henry the Emperour was gone from Rome, Paschalis the Pope, greatly repenting and sorrowing that he had done (in allowing and confirming the priuiledges of Emperours through feare) touching the giuing and disposing of Ecclesiasticall functions, excommunicated the Emperour, and in a synodall councell at Lateran, ordained and decreed, that he should be had and accounted a wicked enemy, that would take any Ecclesiasticall function or preferment at the hands of a ciuill Magistrate: whereupon were made these decrees, qu. 16. chap. 7. 13. 14. 15. and 16.

Wherefore when these decrees touching the designation of bishops, in sight and contempt of the Emperour, were practised and put in vse; and when that now (especially by the means and procurement of the bishops) intestine and ciuill wars began to rise in the empire; the imperiall jurisdiction in this matter was not onely weakened and much debilitate, but also in manner utterly broken and lost. For when Henry the fifth Emperour was sharply of Lotharius and his bassals the bishops beset, and laid unto by the prouocation of the Pope, and was mightily, by the Bishops that took his part on the other side, requested and intreated (in hope of publicke peace and tranquillity) that he would condescend and come, what yeld to the Popes demands: he at length (the more was the pite) that he might be reconciled and haue peace with pope Calixtus the second, in the city of Vianio, departed from and with that his prerogative or jurisdiction of giuing ecclesiasticall preferments, to the Pope and his Prelats, now more than thirty hundred yeres (from the time of Carolus Magnus) in the hands of the Emperours of Rome, and untill this time with great fortitude and princely courage conserued and kept: which resignation turned to no small betrimment both of the Church of Christ, and Christian Common-wealth.

Then first, and neuer before, obtained the Bishop of Rome, and quietly enjoyed that prerogative of election and bestowing of benefices, which he so long before with such great policies (now secretly, now openly, and now with force) had sought for. And with what sufficient and good authoritie Gratianus will proue, that before this time the same authoritie was giuen to the city of Rome for the election of the Pope without the consent of the Emperour, he sheweth, as in the 29 and 30 canon, and what good stuf he putteth in the later, and how subtilly that papisticall flatterer or pontificall parasite hath forged the same, both Carolus Molinæus sufficiently in diuers places hath noted, and by the obseruation of times may of a meane historiographer, that hath read the French and Germane histories, soone be espied and discerned. For first, siue Bishops one after another succeeded this Gregory the fourth, vpon whom the 29 canon is intituled or fathered; that is, Sergius the second, John the eighth, Adrian the second, John the ninth, and Adrian the third. Which Adrian, by force, wresting the authoritie of the election from the people, was made Pope; when as Gregory (especially to be noted) would not take on him the papacie, before that the emperour had consented to his election. After this, Holinæus compareth Raphael Volateranus with the 30. canon, which againe is suspected. For why? When Eugenius was bishop, who was the successor of this Paschalis, with whom Ludouicus, Pius is said to haue made a league or paction, the same Ludouicus Pius with his sonne Lotharius, together with the helpe of the king of Romanes, at Rome made lawes both to all his subjects in the Empire

KING  
HEN. 3.

Henry the fifth  
also sheweth  
for the election  
and  
faileth.

Papists ac-  
cused that take  
any  
benefice at the  
hands of a lay  
man.

Henry the fifth  
compelled by  
ciuill distinction  
for the prerogative  
of election  
as his father  
was.

Henry the fifth  
relinquish his  
prerogative of  
election.

The election  
gotten to the  
Bishops of  
Rome.

Gratianus found  
a forger of his  
canons.

Sergius the  
second.

John the eighth  
and Adrian the  
third.

The second found  
with  
Gratianus.



{ KING }  
{ HEN. 3 }

Whether made  
said with  
Gratianus.

How shamelesse  
and unpudent  
Gratianus is in  
forging the de-  
crees.

The convincing  
of many good  
workes to be de-  
stroyed.

The election  
directed from  
the Emperours.

What Rome  
once teacheth  
that she keepeth.

Not without  
good cause de-  
ceiveth to mis-  
lead the people  
in ignorance.

Every king and  
prince in their  
severall king-  
domes, had also  
till that time the  
privilege of  
election.  
Spain had the  
same.  
France had the  
same.

England had  
the election.

Empire, as also to the Romans themselves : spea-  
king nothing of the renewing of the decree made by  
Lotharius. When againe, how could Leo the fourth  
write to Lotharius and Rudonius Emperours, that  
counterfeit or forged decree beginning with Con-  
stantio, &c. When in the same, mention is made of  
Henricus Aucupes, and Atho the first, which raig-  
ned more than fourescore yeres after them, and Leo  
the fourth Bishop of Rome :

Now with what face dare this fond felloso Gra-  
tianus make Atho the first to be authour of the 21  
canon, when as Atho depriued the same John the  
twelfth of the papacie : and not onely took nothing  
from the imperiall iurisdiction concerning the electi-  
on, nor from the cite of Rome, nor any other bishops  
subject to the Roman Empire, but added somewhat  
more therunto, as was said before. And yet not  
withstanding, so shamelesse and senselesse was this  
Gratian, that he durst obtrude and lay before the  
reader so manifest fraud and euident legerdemaine  
(fained and made of his owne haines in the com-  
piling of this decree) being so necessary, as he thought  
for the dominion and primacie of the Romane Bi-  
shops, in the stead of god and true lawes ; neither  
fearing that the same might bee after his dayes re-  
prehended, neither to his great shame and discredit  
to him attributed. Where also by the way is to be  
noted, that as this gracelesse Gratianus to please  
these holy fathers, and to erect their kingdome,  
would giue so impudent an attempt to the blinding  
of truthes and holy decrees such loud lies and dete-  
stable doctrine, what may be thought of the rabble of  
the rest of writers in those dayes, what attempts  
might hope of gaine cause them to worke : by whom  
and such like is to be feared the falsifying of diuers  
other good workes now extant, in those perillous  
times written :

Thus when the Bishops had once wrested this  
authority out of the Emperours hands, they then so  
fortified and armed themselves and their dominion,  
that although afterwards Frederike the first,  
grandfather vnto this good Emperour Frederike the  
second, as also Rudonius Plus, and Henricus Lu-  
celburgensis (as men most studious and carefull for  
the dignities of the Empire, vnfained louers and  
maintainers of the vtilitie of the Common-wealth,  
and most desirous of the preservation and prosperi-  
ty of the Church) did all their endeouours with sin-  
gular wisdom and strength, as much as in them  
lay, to recover againe from the bishop of Rome, this  
authority of the Imperiall iurisdiction lost, most  
cruelly and wickedly abusing the same, to the de-  
struction both of the Empire, vndoing of the Com-  
mon-wealth, and utter subuersion of the Church of  
God ; yet could they not be able to bring the same  
to passe in those darke and shadowed times of per-  
uerse doctrine and errors of the people, and most mi-  
serable seruitude of euill magistrates.

The same and like priuiledge also in the election of  
their Bishops and prelates, and disposing of Ecclesi-  
asticall offices, as the Emperour of Rome had, euery  
prince and king in their severall dominions had the  
like. For by the decree of the Councell of Toletan,  
which in the 25 canon and 63. distinction is mentio-  
ned, the authoritie of creating and chusing Bishops  
and prelates in Spaine, was in the power of the king  
of Spaine. The like also by the histories of Clodo-  
ueus, Carolus Magnus, Ludouicus nonus, Philippus  
Augustus, Philippus Pulcher, Carolus quintus, Ca-  
rolus sextus, Carolus septimus, Kings of France, is  
apparent and well knowne ; for all these kings had  
the chiefe charge and government of the French  
Church, and not the Bishops of Rome.

And by our English histories also, as you heard,  
it is manifest, that the authoritie of chusing ecclesi-  
asticall ministers and Bishops was alwayes in the  
kings of England, till the raigne of King Henrie

the first, inho by the labour and procurement of An-  
selmus Archbishop of Canterbury, was depriued  
and put from the same.

Also the princes of Germanie and Electors of the  
Emperour, till the time of Henrie the fifth, had all  
(euery prince generally in his owne oction and pro-  
uince) the same iurisdiction and prerogative, to giue  
and dispose Ecclesiasticall functions to their prelates  
at their pleasure, and after that it appertained to the  
people and prelates together. And how in the raigne  
of Frederike the prelates gat vnto themselves alone  
this immunity, Iohannes Auentinus in his seuenth  
booke of the annals of the Boiores doth describe.

Also it is probable that the Kings of Sicilia had  
the same facultie in giuing and disposing their eccle-  
siasticall promotions and charge of Churches : An-  
dreas de Istmia ad I. consil. Neap. nu. 12. And  
that because Frederike defended himselfe against  
the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, therefore (as  
Fazellus saith) hee was excommunicated of Hono-  
rius : but that Platina and Blondus allege other  
causes, wherefore he was excommunicate of Hono-  
rius, I am not ignorant ; howbeit, hee that will  
compare their writings with others, that write  
more indifferently betweene Honorius and him,  
shall easily finde, that they more sought the fauour  
of the Roman Bishops, than to write a veritie. But  
now againe to the history of Frederike.

Nicolaus Cisnerus affirmeth, that whilest Frede-  
rike the Emperour was in Sicilia, his wife Constantia  
died at Catania or Catana. In the meane time  
the Christians which with a great flauie sailed into  
Egypt, and tooke the cite Heliopolis, commonly  
called Dalmatia, and long agoe named Belusianum,  
being in good hope to haue diuine Sultanus the  
Soldan out of Egypt, had a great and marvellous  
ouerthrow by the conuerying of the water of the  
flood Nilus (which then ouerflowed into their camp)  
and were faine to accord an vnprofitable truce with  
the Soldan for certaine yeres, and to deliuer the  
cite againe ; and so departing out of Egypt, were  
faine to come to Acon and Tyris, to the no small  
detriment and losse of the Christian army. Where-  
upon king John surnamed Isennus (being king  
of Hierusalem) arriued in Italy, and prayed aide of  
the Emperour against his enemies, in whom hee had  
great hope to find remedie of the euils and cala-  
mities before declared ; and from thence he went to  
Rome to the pope, declaring vnto him the great dis-  
comfit and ouerthrow past, as also the present perill  
and calamity that they were in, desiring also his aid  
therein. By whose meanes (as Cisnerus saith) the  
Emperour was reconciled againe to the Pope, and  
made friends together ; to whom also king John  
gaue Joel his daughter in marriage, which came  
of the daughter of Conradus king of Hierusalem,  
and Marques of Montferrat ; with whom hee had  
for dowry the inheritance of the kingdome of Hie-  
rusalem, as right heir therunto by her mother.

By whom also hee after obtained the kingdome of  
Naples and Sicill, and promised that, with as much  
expedient speed as hee might, hee would prepare a  
power for the recovery againe of Hierusalem, and  
hee there himselfe in proper person : which thing to  
doe, for that vpon diuers occasions hee deferred  
(whereof some thinke one, some another) Honorius,  
vnto whom hee was lately reconciled, purposed to  
haue made against him some great and secret at-  
tempt, had hee not bene by death before prevented,  
vpon whom were made these verses :

O pater Honori, multorum nate dolori,  
Est tibi decori vivere, vade mori.

After whom succeeded Gregorius the ninth, as  
great an enemy of Frederike, as was Honorius ;  
which Gregorie came of the race whom the Emperour  
(as before we heard) condemned of treason which  
they wrought against him. This Gregorie was  
first settled in his papacie, when that he threatned  
him

Germane best  
the election.

Sicilia had the  
election.

The death of  
Constantia the  
wife of Frede-  
rike.

A great ouer-  
throw of the  
Christians by  
Egypt.

Frederike and  
the Pope making  
friends.

Honorius the  
Pope died t  
before he put his  
practise in use  
against Frede-  
rike.

Gregorie the  
ninth as great  
an enemy to  
Frederike as  
Honorius.



him greatly with excommunication, unlesse he would prepare himselfe into Asia according to his promise, as yee heard before, to king John; and what the cause was why the Pope so hastened the journey of Frederike into Asia, you shall heare hereafter: In effect, he could not well bring that to passe, which in his mischievous minde he had devised, unlesse the Emperour were further from him. Notwithstanding, Frederike it should some smelling a rat, or mistrusting somewhat (as well he might) alleged divers causes and lets, as lately and truly he did to Honorius.

Fazellus a Sicilian writer saith, that the special cause of the Emperours stay was, for the oath of truce and peace during certaine yeeres, which was made betwene the Saracens and Christians as yee heard, which time was not yet expired.

The same Fazellus also writeth thus of king John of Hierusalem, that when his daughter was brought to Rome, the Emperour and the Pope were reconciled together. And being called up to Rome to celebrate the marriage, Pope Gregorie (as the manner of those proud prelates is) offered his right foot unto the Emperour to kisse. But the Emperour, not stooping so low, scarcely with his lip touched the upper part of his knee, and would not kisse his foot: which thing the Pope took in very euill part, and was therewith maruellously offended. But for that no opportunity at that time serued to reuenge his concerned grudge and old malice, he dissembled the same as he might for that time, thinking to recompence it at the full, as time would serue, and fall out therefore.

After this, it fortuned that the Emperour hearing how the Christians were oppressed by the Soldan in Syria, and that from Asiacida, there came a great power against the Christian Princes: hee made the more haste, and was with more desire incouraged to set forward his journey into Asia. Wherefore, assembling the nobility of the Empire at Hauenna and Cremona, he gaue in commandment to Henric his sonne (whom not long before he caused to be created Cesar) that he should perswade the nobles and princes of the Empire, that they all would be ready to put to their helping hands, in furthering this his journey and enterprise. This writeth Fazellus: howbeit, some others affirme that these things were done in the time of Honorius. But howsoever the matter is, this thing is manifest: that Frederike to satisfie the popes desire, which neuer would lin, but by all meanes sought to prouoke him forward, gaue him at length his promise, that by a certaine time he would prepare an army, and fight himselfe against those, which kept from him the citie of Hierusalem (which thing he also confessed himselfe in his epistles, and also how he desired and obtained of the Princes and Nobilitie of the empire, their aide thereunto) and also appointed a convenient time when they should be at Bvndusium.

In the meane season, he with all his power and indouour made speedy and hasty preparation for the warres: hee rigged and manned a puissant flauy: he had the pickedst men and best souldiers that were in euery countrey, and made warlike provision and furniture for euery thing that to such a voyage and expedition appertained. Neither was the matter slackted, but at the time appointed great bands assembled and mustred both of German souldiers and others, and vnder their Captaines appointed, set forth and marched to Bvndusium: (their generals were Thuringus and Sigibertus, and Augustinus the Bishop) where they long time lying, and attending the emperours coming, being let by infirmity and sicknesse, great pestilence and sundry diseases molested them, by reason of the great heat and intemperance of that countrey; and many a souldier there lost his life, among whom also died Thuringus, one of their generals. The Emperour when he

had somewhat recovered his health with all his navy lanchd out and set forward to Bvndusium. And when he came to the Straits of Deloponelus and Creta, being Islands lying in the sea, and there for lacke of convenient winde was staied, suddenly the Emperour (his diseases growing upon him againe) fell sicke; and sending before all or the most part of his hands and ships into Palestina, promising them most assuredly to come after and follow them so soone as he might recover and get neuer so little health: hee himselfe with a few ships returned and came to Bvndusium; and from thence for want of health, went into Apulia.

When tydings hereof came to the Popes eare, he sent out his thundring curses and new excommunications against the Emperour. The causes wherof I find noted and mentioned by his owne letters, that is, how that when hee had robbed and taken from Bvndusius, prince of Thuring, his hoxles, his money, and other rich furniture of his house at the time of his death, hee layed into Italy; not for the intent to make warre against the Turke, but to conuey his prey that he had stolen and taken away from Bvndusius; and so neglecting his oath and promise which hee had made, and faining himselfe to be sicke, came home againe: And that by his default also, Damata was lost, and the host of the Christians sore afflicted. Fazellus, besides these causes spoken of before, doth write that the Pope alleged these also: that hee desired a certaine Damell, which was in the Quenes nurserie; and that he slew his wife when he had whipped her in the prison, for declaring the mischieuous act to her father king John. But all the writers, and also Bvndus himselfe doth declare, that this Joel died after the publication of the proscrip and excommunication: wherefore the Pope could not without great shame allege the cause vpon the death of Joel; for vndoubtedly the truth is, that hee of her sonne Conradus died in childbed. When Frederike, to resell and auoide the foresaid slanders, sendeth the bishop of Bvndis and other Legats to Rome, whom the Pope would not suffer to come to his presence, neither yet to the counsels of the Cardinals, to make his purgation. Wherefore the Emperour to purge himselfe of the crimes which the Pope did so falsly accuse him of, both to all christian kings, and especially to the princes of Germany, and all the nobles of the Empire, writeth his letters (which are to be seene) that those things are both false and also fained, and of the popes owne head inuented; and sheweth how that his ambassadoys with his purgation could not be suffered to come to the popes presence, also doth largely intreat how vnthankfull and vngratefull the Bishops of Rome were towards him for the great benefitts, which both he and also his predecessors had bestowed vpon them and the Roman Church: which letter, for that it is ouer tedious here to place, considering the discourse of the history is somewhat long, the sum of the purgation is this.

He protesteth and declareth vniuersally, that hee had alwayes great care for the Christian commonwealth, and that hee had determined euen from his youth to fight against the Turke and Saracens. And for that occasion he made a promise to the princes electors of Aquisgrane, how that he would take the warre vpon him. Afterward hee renewed his promise at Rome when hee was consecrated of Honorius; then when hee married the daughter of the king of Hierusalem, which was an heire of the same. And for because that kingdom might be defended and kept from the injuries of the enemies, and because hee fauoured it euen as hee did his owne, hee prepared an huge navy, and gathered together a strong army of men, neither did hee neglect any thing that belonged to the furniture of the war. But when the time was come, and his hand was gathered together, his sicknesse would not suffer him to

Frederike refused to goe into Asia at the Popes bidding: the Pope is angry.

The cause of the stay of the Emperours journey into Asia.

The Pope did trouble his grudge.

The preparation of the voyage of Frederike to Hierusalem, and stay thereof.

The preparation of the Emperours warre against the Turke.

Great sicknesse in the Emperours army.

KING  
HEN. 3.

The Emperour himselfe sicke.

The Pope excommunicated the Emperour: his saying his boye age. He layeth false accusations in his charge.

The Emperour purgeth himselfe of those crimes the Pope laid against him by his letters dedicated to all christian Princes.

The effect of the Emperours letters.

The Emperours purgation.



KING  
HEN. 3.

be there. And afterward when he had recovered the same, and came to Brundisium, and from thence without any disturbance went forthwith to sea, he fell into the same sickness againe, by the which hee was let of his purpose, which thing (saith hee) hee is able to proue by sufficient testimony. Now the Pope also doth lay the losing of Damata, and other things which prospered not well with him, unjustly to his charge, when as hee had made great provision, for the same journey, both of souldiers and other necessary things. But he that will vnderstand these things more plainly, among other epistles of Petrus de Vineis, written in the name of Frederike, let him read these especially which begin thus: In admirationem, & iustitiam, & innocentiam, & Levate oculos. And truly even as Fredericus the Emperour declareth in his letters concerning this matter, all the old writers of Germany doe accord and agree in the same.

Matth. Parisiensis also briefly collecteth the effect of another letter which hee wrote to the King of England, complaining unto him of the excommunication of the Pope against him, whose words are these: And amongst other catholike Princes (saith hee) hee also wrote his letters unto the King of England, embulled with gold; Declaring in the same that the Bishop of Rome was so inflamed with the fire of avarice and manifest concupiscence, that hee was not contented with the goods of the Church which were innumerable, but also that hee shamed not to bring Princes, Kings, and Emperours to be subjects and contributors to him, and so to disherit them, and put them from their kingly dignities: And that the King of England himselfe had good experiment thereof, whose father (that is to say, King Iohn) they so long held excommunicating, till they had brought both him and his Dominions under servitude, and to pay unto him tribute. Also that many have experience of the same by the Earle of Tholouse and divers other Princes, which so long held their persons and lands in interdict, till they might bring them into like servitude. I pretermitt (saith hee) the simonies and sundry sorts of exactions (the like whereof was never yet heard) which daily are used amongst the Ecclesiasticall persons, besides their manifest usury (yet so cloaked and coloured to the simple sort, that therewithall they infect the whole world.) They bee sugred and embalmed simonists, the insatiable horse-leaches or blood-suckers, saying; that the Church of Rome is our mother and nurse, whereas it is indeed the most polling court in the universall world, the roote and right mother of all mischief, using and exercising no motherly doings or deeds, but bringing forth the right exercises of a wicked stepdame, making sufficient prooffe thereof by her manifest fruits to all the world apparant. Let the Barons of England consider whether this be true or not, whom Pope Innocent by his Bulls with one consent encouraged to rise and rebell against their Sovereigne Lord and Prince King Iohn your father, as an obstinate enemy to the Church of Rome. But after that the King (farre out of square) remembring himselfe had crouched unto him, and obliged both himselfe and kingdom to the Church of Rome, more like a woman than a man; and that the wise Barons, whom the Pope had first maintained and stirred up, without all shame either of the world, or feare of God had done the same, hee sought how hee might with gaping mouth devoure and consume the sweet fat from them, whom hee had miserably to deatch betrayed and disherited, as the manner of the Roman Bishops is. By whose greedy avarice it came to passe, that England the prince of Provinces was brought under miserable subjection and tribute. Behold the manners and conditions of our Roman Bishops; behold the snares wherewith these prelates doe seek

to intangle men withall, to wipe their noses of their money, to make their children bondmen, to disquiet such as seek to live in peace, being clothed with sheepes clothing, when indeed they bee but ravening wolves, sending their Legats hither and thither to excommunicate and suspend; as having power to punish whom they list, not sowing the seed, that is the Word of God, to fructifie, but that they may bribe and poll mens persons, and reape that which they never did sow. Thus commeth it to passe, that they spoile the holy Churches and Houses of God, which should bee the refuge for the poore, and the mansion houses of Saints, which our devout and simple parents to that purpose builded and ordained to the refection of poore men and pilgrims, and to the sustentation of such as were well disposed and religious. But these degenerate varlets, whom only letters have made both mad and malepert, doe strive and gape to be both Kings and Emperours.

Doubtlesse the primitive Church was builded and laid in povertie and simplicitie of life, and then as a fruitfull mother begat shee those her holy Children, whom the catalogue of Saints now maketh mention of: and verily no other foundation can bee laid of any other Church, than that which is laid by Iesus Christ. But this Church as it swimmeth and walloweth in all superfluitie of riches, and doth build and raise the frame in all superfluous wealth and glory; so is it to bee feared lest the walls thereof in time fall to decay, and when the walls be downe, utter ruine and subversion follow after. Against us, he knoweth that is the searcher of all hearts, how furiously these Catholikes rage and goe to worke, Saying, and therefore excommunicating mee, that I will not take upon mee the journey I have promised beyond the Seas; whereas inevitable and most urgent causes and perils, as well to the Church of God, as also to the Empire, besides the annoyance of mine infirmities and sicknesse, doe detainee mee at home, and stay the same, but specially the insolencie of the rebellious Sicilians. For why? neither doe wee thinke it safetie to our Empire, nor expedient to the Christian state, that we should now take our journey into Asia, leaving behinde us at home such intestine and civill warres; no more than for a good surgeon to lay a healing plaister to a grievous wound new made and stricken with the sword. In conclusion also this hee addeth, admonishing all the Princes of the world, that they would beware and take heed (by their avaricious iniquitie) of like perill and danger to themselves, because that, as the proverbe is, It behoveth him to looke about, that seeth his neighbours house on fire. Thus much out of Parisiensis, pag. 69.

But now, that Fredericus the Emperour might in very deed stop the standers of the cruell Pope, which did persist and goe forward still in his excommunication against him; and that hee might declare to the whole world, how that the last yare hee foredowed not his journey by his owne voluntary will, but by necessitie; when he had denied and prepared all things meete for the warre, and that hee had gathered together and leuied a great army of men, he departed from thence to Brundisium, committing the government of his kingdom to Keinaldus the son of Duke Spoletus, and to Anselmus a Baron of Insigentis, and came by Sea to Cypus with his host.

From Cypus the Emperour with his whole Navy sayled into Joppa, which citie he fortified, for that the passages by land were stopped and kept of the enemies: and by sea he might not passe nor travell by meanes of the extreame weather and tempest; whereby it came to passe, that within short space they lacked victuals, and were sore afflicted with famine. When fell they to prayer, and made their humble supplication to God; with whose feares his wrath

Who be the ravening wolves in sheepes clothing.

The treasure of the Church be-longeth to the Pope.

Christ Church was builded in humilitie: the Popes church is all superfluitie: Ergo, the popes church is not Christs church.

Another journey of the Emperour to Hierusalem.

The Emperour, oppressed by fasts, mine, and by prayer miraculously relieved.

he Emperours piddle beginneth thus: In admirationem iustitiam, and same: Levate oculos.

letter of the Emperour to the King of England: Matth. Paris.

Many kings since have experienced the Popes practices.

The Church of Rome the mother of mischief.

King Johns submission to the Pope blamed by the Emperour.



for which being appeased, the great tempest and long continued foule weather ceased, whereby (the Seas being now calme) they had both viduals great plenty, and all other necessary things for their neede brought into them, whereby immediatly it came to passe, that both the Emperour and his army, as also the inhabitants of Ioppa were greatly refreshed and animated: and on the other side, their enemies being disappointed of their purpose, were greatly discouraged, inasmuch that the king of Egypt, who with great power (accompanied with Scarapho his brother, prince of Gaza, and the prince of Damascus their nephew, with many other Dukes and nobles) had incamped themselves within one dayes journey of Ioppa, thinking to have besieged the same, were contented upon the coming of the Emperours heralds unto them, to intreat of a peace. Whereupon, ambassadoys were sent unto them with the Emperours demands, right profitable to the christian Common-wealth. The Saracens (immediatly consulting upon the same) granted thereunto, so that a peace for tenne yeeres was concluded, and was confirmed by solemne oath on the behalfe of both princes, according to their severall places and manner: the forme and condition of which articles of peace briefly collected, are these:

A conclusion of a profitable peace during ten yeeres betwixt the Turkes and the Christians.

The Articles of the peace agreed upon.

First, that Frederike the Emperour should be crowned and annointed king of Hierusalem, according to the manner of the kings of Hierusalem before him.

Secondly, that all the lands and possessions which were situate betwixt Hierusalem and Idolomaida, and the greatest part of Palestina, and cities of Tyrus and Sidon, which were in Syria, and all other territories which Baldwinus the fourth at any time had and did occupie there, should be delivered unto him, onely certaine castles reserved.

Thirdly, that he might fortifie and build what fortresses and castles, cities and towncs he thought good, in all Syria and Palestina.

Fourthly, that all the prisoners, which were in the Saracens hands, should be ransomed freely and sent home: and againe, that the Saracens might have leave without armour to come into the temple where the Lords sepulcher is, to pray; and that they should hold and keepe still Chyfatum, and the kings mount.

The letters of Frederike to the Princes and Pope of his becell.

Frederike now, for that hee thought the conclusion of this peace to be both necessary, and also profitable for all Christians, and had also gotten as much thereby, as if the wars had continued, he should; sent his legats with letters into the west to all christian Princes, Princes and Potentates, as also to the Bishop of Rome, declaring unto them the circumstance and successe of his journey and warres, as partly ye have heard; requiring them that they also should praise and give God thanks for his good successe and profitable peace concluded: And desired the Pope, that for so much as hee had now accomplished his promise, neither was there now any cause wherefore he should be with him displeased, that he might be reconciled and obtaine his favour.

The Emperour crowned King of Hierusalem.

In the meane season the Emperour with all his army marcheth to Hierusalem: where, upon Easter day in the yeere one thousand two hundred twenty and nine, he was with great triumph and comfort of all his nobles, and also the magistrates of that kingdome (onely the patriarch of Cyprus the kings legat, and Oliver the master or capitaine of the temple with his company excepted) solemnly and with great applause crowned king.

After this, he re-edified the citie and walls thereof, which by the Saracens were beaten downe and battered. After that, he furnished it with munition, he buildeth up the Churches and Temples that were ruinous, hee fortifieth Nazarethum and Ioppa with strong garrisons, viduals, and all other things necessary.

Now see and behold I pray you, whilst Frederike was thus occupied in the kingdome of Hierusalem, what practices the Pope had in Italy: not I warrant you any whit at all carefull in the affaires of the Christian common-wealth, but studying and labouring what mischief and spite he might worke against the Emperour, whom of set purpose he had so occupied (partly for hate, and partly to enrich himselfe) in Asia and Hierusalem, so farre out of Italy ye may be sure. First, he caused the souldiers, which the Emperour sent for out of Germany to the maintenance of the holy wars, to be staid as they passed through Italy, letting them of their journey, and took from them, and spoiled them of all such provision as they had. And not only this, but he sent secretly also his letters into Asia to those that were of his owne faction, that is, to the Patriarch of Hierusalem, and souldiers that kept the Temple and the Hospitall, inticing and inciting them to rebell against the Emperour: to which thing Blondus himselfe, that popish parasite or historiographer, dissembleth or hideth not. But furthermore hee dissuaded the Princes of the Saracens, that they should make no league nor take any truce with Frederike, neither deliver up unto him the crowne and kingdome of Hierusalem. Which letters, as they were manifest testimonies of his treachery and treason towards him, whom God had instituted and made his liege lord and soveraigne, and mightiest potentate upon earth: so was it his will that hee should come to the knowledge thereof, and that those letters should fall into his hands. And that he kept the same letters for the more credible testimony thereof, in the same his last epistle unto the christian Princes he professeth. The copie of which letters amongst his other Epistles you shall have expressed.

The first and secret practice of Pope Gregory the ninth.

Neither were the Popes letters written to that leuened and factious sed in baine: for the Patriarch and his collegiaries, which took their name of the Temple, did mightily repugne against Frederike. They raised a tumult in Idolomaida against him; they accused him and his Legats openly of treason; and did malapertly and boldly withstand the right worthy and good order he made amongst them. But as God would, by the helpe of the inhabitants of Pisa and the Genowates, and the Dutch souldiers, both their false accusations were refuted, and also their seditious purpose and tumult repressed. And this was the cause that when all other men reioiced and were glad of the Emperours coronation, they, as wicked confederates, were heavy therefore, and obstructors of his worthy laud and fame.

The Emperour with standeth the secret treason which the Pope had wrought against him at Hierusalem.

The Pope, when hee had thus conspired against Frederike, and had betrayed him to the publike enemy of all Christian men, the Turke, hee could not dissemble this his mischievous fact, nor content himselfe therewith, but he would devise and practisye another. For, by reason of those slanders (which a little before I touched) of the death and slaughter of his wife Joel, hee incited John Wrennus his father in law to make warre against him, who caused the subjects of his Empire to withdraw from him: their allegiance, as also the inhabitants of Biscuntum, and inhabitants of Lombardy. And thus joining themselves together, they craved further aid of the French king, whereby they made a great power. That done, they divided their host in two armies, invading with the one the Empire, and with the other the proper territories and diocens belonging to the inheritance of Frederike; John Wrennus and Pandolph Sauellanus leading the one (as generals) into Campania and the kingdome of Naples; and the other (with John Columma Cardinall, bis Legat, and that Thomas before convicted of treason, being his lieutenants) he sendeth into Picenum.

The second and manifest treat of the Pope against Frederike.

Of this treason of the Pope against Frederike, both also Marthus Parideris make mention, writing

Wrennus, Pandolphus, Johanne Columma, and Thomas the traitor, the Popes generals and leaders of his host.



**KING** ring his warres in Asia, who (saith he) purposed to  
**HAN.3.** haue deposed him, and to haue placed Alium quem-  
libet filium pacis & obedientie loco ejus subrogare;  
That is, Any other he cared not whom (so that he  
were the child of peace and obedience) in his stead.  
And for the more certaintie thereof, the said Matth.  
Parisensis, pag. 71. repeateth the letter which a cer-  
taine Earle of Syria wrote unto him concerning  
the same, which letter here under ensueth word for  
word.

To the high and mighty prince, Fredericus, by the  
grace of God Emperour of Rome, and ever Augustus,  
and most puissant king of Sicilia, Thomas Earle of  
Acran his faithfull and trustie subject in all things,  
humble salutation. After your departure, most excel-  
lent prince, Gregory the Bishop of Rome, and pub-  
like enemy to your magnificence, gathering toge-  
ther a great power and host of men by Iohannes  
Brennus, late king of Hierusalem, and other stout  
captaines, whom he hath made Generals of the  
same his host, as a forren enemy invading your do-  
minions and possessions of your highnesse subjects,  
against the law of christianitie, hath purposed and  
determined to vanquish and subdue you with the  
materiall or temporall sword, whom hee cannot  
master and overcome with the spirituall sword, hee  
saith. For the foresaid Iohn Brennus gathering out  
of France, and other Provinces neere adjoining, a  
great army, giveth unto them of the treasure hee  
hath gotten together (by what meanes I cannot  
tell) great wages, in hope to recover and get  
from you the Empire. And furthermore, the same  
Iohn and others (the captaines of the Sea apo-  
stolicall) invading your land, burne and destroy all  
as they goe, driving away and taking for their boot-  
ies all that they can come by, as well cattell as o-  
ther things, and such as they take prisoners they  
constraine, by afflicting them with grievous pu-  
nishments, to ransom themselves for great summes  
of money: neither spare they man, woman, nor  
child, but take and keepe your townes and castles,  
having no regard that you bee in the service of Iesus  
Christ. And further, if any make mention of your  
Majestie unto him, hee saith, there is none other  
Emperour but himselfe. Your friends and subjects,  
most excellent Prince, much marvell hereupon;  
yea, and also the clergie themselves of the Empire doe  
marvell with what conscience, or upon what con-  
sideration the Bishop of Rome can doe the same, mak-  
ing such bloody warres and slaughter upon Christi-  
an men; especially seeing that Christ commanded Pe-  
ter, when he strooke with the materiall sword, to put  
up the same into the scabbard, saying; All that strike  
with the sword, shall perish with the sword. Or else  
by what law he daily can excommunicate such pirates,  
burners of mens houses, and robbers, when he is the  
patron and maintainer of such himselfe: hereat they  
greatly muse and marvell. Wherefore most mighty  
and renowned Emperour, I beseech your highnesse to  
consider your owne safety, for that the said Iohn  
Brennus hath laid and fortified all the Ports and Ha-  
vens with no small company of men and souldiers;  
that if (not knowing thereof) your grace should ar-  
rive in any of them, the same garrisons of his may  
apprehend and take you as a prisoner, which thing to  
chance God forefend.

Thus whilest the host of this hostile enemy the  
Pope was incamped in the dominions of Freder-  
rike, he received the letters which Frederike by his  
Legats sent into Europa, as you heard, whereby  
he understood the good successe he had in Asia: who  
not onely tooke no delectation at all therein, but  
was also in a vehement perturbation therewith.  
And here by manifestly it may appeare, what was the  
cause and meaning of the Pope, that he was so soli-  
citous and urgent to haue Frederike the Emperour  
make a voyage into Asia. Doubtlesse even the same

that Helias had, when by his instigation he proci-  
red Jason with all the chosen youth and flower of  
Grecia to saile into Colchus, to fetch away the gol-  
den fleece: and that by the opportunitie of his ab-  
sence he might use, or rather abuse his power and  
tyrannie; and that Frederike might either be long  
afflicted and molested in the Asian warre, or that hee  
might perish and lose his life therein, was that hee  
sought, and all that he desired.

10 And when he saw, that fortune neither favoured  
his fetches, nor served to his longing lust, he was as  
a man bereft of his wits, specially at these tidings  
of the prosperous successe of the Emperour. He tare  
and threw his letters on the ground, and with all  
obprobrious words rebuked and reviled the Legats  
for the Emperour their masters sake: which thing also  
Blondus himselfe denieth not, though hee witte al-  
together in the fauour of the Pope. And to the intent  
that he might couer this his rage and unbridled fury  
with some cloak and colour of just deserved dolor, he  
fained himselfe therefore so much to mislike there-  
with, as though the Emperour therein had onely re-  
spected his own private commoditie, not regarding  
the utility of the Christians; for that the Saracens  
had licence (although without armour and weapon)  
to haue repaired unto the sepulchre of Christ, and had  
left for them somewhat nere the same an hosterie or  
lodging place: for which occasion (saith Blondus),  
his lord Pope rebuked the Emperours Legats, by the  
name of traitours and such like other obprobrious  
words. Now go to, friend Blondus, by what strong  
arguments proue you and your lord Pope, either  
that the peace which the Emperour hath concluded,  
was against the Christian common-wealth, or that  
the Emperour was a traitor? But who is it that seeth  
not these things, either by reading of old and ancient  
writers, or else partly by me that have gathered and  
collected the same out of diuers monuments and hi-  
stories, and plainly perceiue not the conspiracies  
and treasons of your good lord the Pope so notable  
and filthy, as also his manifest shame and infamy?  
What there be diuers that write how the pope com-  
manded these legats of Frederike to be made secret-  
ly out of the way, and also how hee commanded di-  
uers souldiers, returning out of Asia, to be slaine,  
to the end that none should heare the report of those  
goodnewes which were in Asia, nor any goe thither  
to tell the fetches he had in hand at home. But I will  
make report of no more than of those things which  
all the writers with most consent agree vpon. This  
is most certaine, that the Pope caused this rumour  
to be spread of the death and taking of the Emperour  
vpon this consideration, that hee might allure unto  
him the fidelity of those cities in the kingdome of  
Paples, which yet kept their allegiance vnto Freder-  
rike, of whom they should now hope for no longer  
refuge. And of that both the Emperour, in his Epis-  
tle intituled Levare oculos, greatly against him  
complaine.

60 Great are these injuries of the Pope against Fre-  
derike, and most wicked treasons. But herewith  
could not the cruell and tyrannicall mind of him be  
contented, nor his lust satisfied, but it so farre ex-  
ceeded, as scarce is credible that it could: for hee pre-  
med not onely to set variance betwene Henry  
(whom Frederike his father had caused to be made  
king of Germany) and him, but also by his allor-  
gements, hee caused him to become an enemy unto  
him. To whom when his father had assigned the  
duke of Bohemia (named Albroicus) to be his over-  
seer and counsellor; neither knew he amongst all the  
princes of Germany a man more faithfull to him  
in his office and duty, or else more vertuous, or else  
more graue and apt to be in authoritie: Henry sea-  
ring lest he should understand and know of these se-  
cret counsels, which he with his conspirators had in  
hand against his father, or that hee should offer the  
same unto him, or that hee should goe about to bil-

From the Pope  
chastise and  
correct at the  
prosperous suc-  
cesse of the Em-  
perour.

Blondus reprou-  
eth that more  
so greatly in the  
Pope's favour.

The third pla-  
ce of Pope:  
Gregorius against  
the Emperour.  
The Pope let-  
teth the forme  
against the fa-  
ther, as a good  
father of peace.

Henry Cesar at  
ring lest he should  
understand and know  
of these secret coun-  
sels, which he with  
his conspirators had  
in hand against his  
father, or that hee  
should offer the same  
unto him, or that  
hee should goe about  
to bil-

swade

That meaning  
the Pope had to  
no Frederike  
fight against  
him.



swade him from that he was purposed to doe by authority of the court and Senat of Rome, he put him out of office. And this was the fetch of all their policie, that together and at one instant (but in diuers and sundry places farre one from another) sharpe and cruell warre might be made against the Emperour, so that, his power being distract to the appealing of variable contention, he might himselfe be the easier oppressed of a few.

The Emperour hearing of the Popes practices, returneth secretly out of Italia.

When the emperour now understood what stir the Pope kept in all his dominions in his absence, and when he had somewhat reformed and appeased the troubles which he secretly had wrought him in the kingdome of Hierusalem, thinking to preuent the Popes purpose in that hee went about, and also to confirme the friendship towards him of them whom in his absence he found his trustie subiects: he left in Asia Menasius with his garrisons, commanding all the other hands to be vnder his appointment, and with all speed he came forth in certaine gallies to Calabria. During the time of his there being, which vnioked for came thither, he assembled his power, and made with his friends all the speedy preparati- on that he might. From thence he went to Werleta, where he tarried twenty daies, to whom came the duke of Spoletanum with all his garrisons; and so from thence with all his power he came into Apulia, and remoued John Wernus his father in law from the siege of Calatia, and within short time by Gods helpe recouered againe all his holds and dominions there. And from thence going into Campania, he intineth Beneuentum, and as many other towines and holds as the Pope had there, euen almost to Rome, and so after that, Calabria and Sicily. And now although the emperour (being moued therunto vpon good occasion, and vpon the Popes worthy desert) had gotten and recouered this so like- ly an entrance vpon the Popes dominions, whereby he might haue reuenged him of all the injuries done to him: yet notwithstanding for that hee preferred nothing before the Christian and publike tranquillity: for the loue of which he restraining his wrath so bechemently wged and kindled) he sendeth vnto him his Legats to intreat a peace, declaring vnto him, that if no other concerned grudge towards him were than that he dissembled and pretended, he promisseth that he would make to him an account voluntarily, of all things that euer he had done in his life, and that he would and was contented to submit himselfe vnto the Church, and also that for this cause he willingly offered vnto him both duty and obsequence. Furthermore, to the intreating of this peace, and deciding of all contrometries, hee sent to the Pope eight or tenne of the noblest and chiefeest about him that were Princes and Dukes of the Empire; as Bartolomew the Patriarch of Aquileia, and his brother Altho prince of Dalmatia and Bistria, Chershardus Iunianensis, Sigfridus, Regineburgensis, Sibbotus, Augustanus a worthy Prelat, Copalpus of Austria and Steyria, and Wernhardus, being all Dukes; besides others of the nobility to accompa- ny them.

The Pope refuseth a peace with the Emperour.

But yet so great was the insolencie and pride of the Stubborne Pope, that by no gentlenesse or ben- eficence he could of those princes be brought that yere to the profitable concord of the Church & Christian Commonwealth. A worthy head, that challengeth all authority to himselfe in the Church of Christ, and in respect of his owne wilfull reuenge, setteth nothing by the health and vtilitie of all Christendome! Then therefore, when nothing could be done in the matter, and the most part of these noble men departed from Rome, the next yere after (with much adoe) a peace was made and concluded betwene them, by the helpe and industry of Copalpus of Austria, Wernhardus captain of the Dutch souldiers, & the president of Messania. The Pope then absolving the Emperour Fredericus of his excommunication, took

therefore of him 120000 ounces of gold, restoring vnto him againe the titles both of his Empire, and also of his kingdoms. Now considering the inco- teous dealing of the Pope with Frederike the Emperour herein, who can sufficiently make and maruell at the vnhauefastnesse of Blondus, which hath the face to write, that the pope (yet notwithstanding) had dealt more gently and courteously with Frede- rike than was meet, or becomed him to doe? Who is it that doth not see his manifest flattery, coloured neither with reason, nor secret dissimulation? But much more cruelly and better writeth Cuspinianus concerning this matter, which saith, that the Pope doth occupy very profitable merchandize, which for so much money selleth that he receiued freely, pay- ing nothing therefore, if he had receiued it of Christ indeed, as he saith he had.

And yet although the Emperour Frederike conclu- ded with the Pope this vnprofitable peace for him- selfe, yet hee performed those things that were a- greed vpon faithfully and diligently. But the Pope which thought it but a trifle to breake his promise, would not stand to the conditions of that peace hee made. For by the way, to passe ouer other things, neither had he restored as he promised, the customes of the land of Sicily, neither yet the citie Castellana, which he before the peace concluded betwene them did occupy and enjoy. And that doe both Frederike in his Epistles testifie, and also Fasellus in his eight booke, writing of the affaires of Sicilia. Yet not- withstanding Frederike, for the quietnesse and vti- lity of the Common-wealth, purposed with himselfe to beare and suffer these small injuries, and further studied in all that he might, as well by liberall gifts as otherwise, to haue the Pope to be to him a trusty friend. As when the Romans and others of the eccle- siasticall number made warre against the Pope for certaine possessions which he kept of theirs, hee com- ming to him at heat, and as one that tendered the vnitie of the Church, and thinking to help the Pope at his earnest request in these matters, sent his Lega- tes vnto them, willing them to lay downe their ar- mos which against the Pope they bare. And when that would not serue, at the Popes further request and desire, he leuied an army against them at his own charge, and draue them from the siege of Viterbi- um; with other such like assured tokens of amitie and friendship which he shewed him. Who notwith- standing, so loone as the Emperour was departed with a small company which he took with him into Sicilia, leaving with him the greater and most part of his army for the maintenance of his warres, concluded a peace with the Romans (unknowne to the Emperour) whom he had procured to trauell and labour therein with great expences: affirming, that without his will and commandement, the Emperour had expelled them, and driuen them out of the terri- tories of Viterbium. And hereof doth Frederike also himselfe make mention in his second and third epistle, where he complaineth of the injuries of the Pope towards him.

Therefore greater commendation had Blondus deserued, if he had written of these treacheries of the Pope, than forgetting himselfe (as vnto liars often it chanceth) in writing both contrarie to himselfe in the effect of this matter, and contrary to the verity of Fredericus his story; which saith, that the Ro- mans were incited to these new tumults by his in- ticing and setting on. As though simple men of vn- derstanding could not both by the offering of his son in hostage, by the great preparation of the warres, and by the euent specially of the thing it selfe, ga- ther the contrary. But too too impudent will Blon- dus needs shew himselfe.

Whilist that these things were done in Italy and Sicilia, great rebellions were moued in Germany against the Emperour by Henricus Cesar, and Fre- derike of Austria, his sons being the chiefe authors thereof.

KING  
HAN. 3.  
The price of the Emperours ab- solution.  
Cuspinianus  
prettily giueth  
the Pope.

Cuspinianus  
prettily giueth  
the Pope.

What benefit  
receiue the Em-  
perour vnto  
haue the popes  
friendship,  
which he shall  
never get.

A well recom-  
penced good  
earn of the  
Pope to the  
Emperour.

Blondus tak-  
eth notice

The Emper-  
ours sonnes  
suborned, mi-  
manifest rebel-  
lion against  
their father.



KING  
HAN. 3.

thereof. For Henry, being disappointed and shaken off from his lord Pope, and other conspirators, by reason of the peace betwene his father and him (as pe heard) began now to make open challenge to the empire. And for that cause hee (as before is said) put from him Ludovicus, whom he knew to be vnto the Emperour his father so leuing and assured a friend; who as willingly (perceiuing and smelling what mischief he went about) forsooke his court, and came to Boiozia; who had not there remained a yere, but was, as hee walked abroad at a certaine time, stabbed in with a dagger of one Belhemius, and presently died, his seruants not being far from him, of whose death diuers diuersly write. Notwithstanding the sequell doth shew them to write truliest, that asfirme the said striker to be suborned by Henry Cesar: who comming vnto him in the habit of a messenger, deliuered vnto him certain letters, which he fained to be sent from the Emperour. And whilst Ludovicus was in reading the same, he strake him in with a dagger, and gaue him his mortall wound, and with speede fled vpon the same. After whose death succeeded in that dukedome his sonne Otho; who, when solemnly according to the manner of the Boiozes he should haue bene created, was also let by the same Henry Cesar: who forbad the assembly of the magistrates and citizens the same. They notwithstanding, neglecting his vniuersal restraint, created him; wherefore, he first besieged Reginoburgh, and with another company sacked, burnt, and wasted Boiozia; with many moze such great outrages and rebellions.

When intelligence was brought of these things to the Emperour, he sent his legats, and commanded that both the Cesar his sonne, and other princes of Germany, which had assembled their armies, should breake up and disperse the same. And because hee saw and perceiued now manifestly that his sonne made to apparant rebellion against him, and fearing greater insurrections to insue in Germany, he thought good to preuent the same with all expedition. Wherefore he determined to goe in all haste to Germany with his army, from whence he had now been absent fourteene yeres, and herunto hee maketh the pope priue. The Pope promised the Emperour hereupon, that he would write his letters in his behalfe to all the princes of Germany: but perswaded him to the vttermost of his power, that hee should in no case goe into Germany himselfe. For why? his conscience accused him that he had written to the nobles in Germany, euen from the beginning of his papacie (for the hate and grudge he had against the Emperour) that they should not suffer him, nor any of his heires to enioy the Empire, and further had stirred them all vp to rebel against him; and had moued Henry the Emperours son, by his bribes and faire promises, to conspire against his father. And to conclude, hee was the author and procurer of the conspiracie which the Lombards made then against him: and fearing lest these things should come now to the Emperours eare, hee was greatly troubled and carefull. But the Emperour not thinking it good at so needfull a time to be absent, hee (all doubt set apart) with his second sonne Conradus, went speedily into Germany. And assembling there a court in the citie of Aurenburgh; Henrie Cesar his sonne, after his conspiracy was manifestly detected, which he had in practice with the Lombards (whereof the Pope was chiefe author) was by iudgment and sentence of seuentie princes condemned of high treason: And being commanded by his father to be bound, was as prisoner brought to Apulia; where not long after in prison he died. In whose stead hee ordained Conradus his second sonne Cesar, by consent of all the peeres and princes. Furthermore, by publike commandement hee renounced Frederike Austriacus for his sonne, and hee caused him to be proclaimed an enemy to the publike weale. And

further, when hee saw that neither that punishment could cause him to remember himselfe, and acknowledge his abuse, the Emperour with a great armie (accompanied with diuers of the noble men of Germany) toke from him all Austria and Stiria, and brought them againe vnder his owne obedience and fidelitie.

The same yere married hee with his third wife named Isabella, the daughter of king John of England. Then, when hee had let Conradus Cesar his sonne; and with his host returneth againe into Italy, there to punish such as had with Henry his eldest sonne conspired against him: whose treasons were all detected at the condemnation of Henry Cesar his son, chiefly set on by the pope. When the pope had understanding that the Emperour with warlike furniture marched toward Italy; although hee laimed himselfe reconciled, and to be a friend to Frederike, yet was hee notwithstanding to him a most secret and insensible enemy. And understanding that hee brought with him such a power both of horsemen and footemen, to doe execution of such as hee vnderstand to be conspirators against him in the late tumult and rebellion: those which were faulty therein and guilty (and all other that toke their parts) hee admonished to ioyne themselves together, and that they should strongly their cities with garrisons, that they should send for aide to their friends, and that with all the force they were able, they should prepare them for the warre. The rest of the cities also in Italy, whether they were the Emperours or his owne, hee endeauored to make them all his, and proper to himselfe.

Furthermore, vnto the Emperour hee sendeth his Ambassadors; to whom, vnder the pretence of negotiating a peace, hee had giuen a secret commandement, that they should interdict him and his host, so soone as hee came within the borders of Italy. To the preservation of which peace, saith hee, hee had (but late since) promulgated a subsidy to bee gathered amongst the Christians, when hee began the holy warre. And also to say (not by way of increasie, but commandingly) that what cause of controuersie hee had with the Lombards, the same hee should commit to him, and stand to his arbitrement. Whereunto the Emperour replying maketh his legate this answer:

Shortly after, saith he, the peace was made betwene the pope and me, hee called me for a chiefe defence both of the Church and himselfe, against the Romanes which made warre with him; and at his request, with mine owne proper charge I maintained that his warre, and gaue his enemies the ouerthrow. And further said, that hee should not doe well, through the pretence of peace, to be a let to him from that which both by law and right hee might and ought to doe; but rather hee ought to dispose himselfe, with force to reframe and expell them, which gathered them together as rebels, thinking to exclude themselves from the subiection both of him and the Empire; and that such rebels as both had restrained the souldiers which the Emperour sent for when hee was in Asia, and diuers others also (which for necessary causes hee had called to him) which they had so wickedly dealt with and abused, hee (as they had deserved) should rather desire to see punished and reformed, than to maintaine them (vnder colour of peace) being so wicked and manifest euill doers. And touching that hee demandeth of him, that hee should commit and deferre so great a cause, wherein the wealth and safetie of the Empire consisteth, to his arbitrement, by him to be determined, without either assignment of any time when, or adding therunto any condition or exception for not doing the same, neither the diminishing and impairing the dignitie and regalitie of his empire considered, hee could not but maruell; seeing that neither it appertained to his calling and facultie, nor to the benefit or commo-

The Emperours  
maiestie king  
Johns daughter  
of England.The Pope  
gaue beginning  
to play his part.The popes  
ambassadors  
to the  
Emperour.The Emperours  
againe vnto the  
Pope.A wicked murder  
by Henry  
Cesar for true  
and faithfull  
thrives.The outrage of  
Henry Cesar  
against the Em-  
perours his fa-  
ther.The Emperours  
fourteene yeres  
out of Germa-  
nie.The Pope fra-  
gely that his  
treason should  
be spied by the  
Emperours going  
into Germany.Henrie Cesar  
condemned of  
treason, and  
put in prison.Frederike Au-  
striacus procla-  
med an open  
enemie to his fa-  
ther, and dis-  
owned.

Of the



ditie of the empire. To this effect also writeth Frederike in his last epistle vnto the Pope; the effect wherof amongst other epistles you may reade.

A secret conspiracy of the Pope against the Emperour.

And in the same his letters he sheweth, that when the Emperour at a certaine time had been with the pope, at his going away he requested, that when he came againe, he would come into Italy but with his household band and family; for that if he should come as befoze he did accustome with his army, he should terrifie them ouermuch; amongst whom (saith he) you may assure your selfe to be in great safetie, and finde all things in rest and quiet; when quite contrary (as the Emperour for a certaintie had tried) he had there all things ready and prepared for his destruction: so that when he pretended vnto him greatest friendship, he was busiest in conspiring his death. The certaine time when the Pope had this exercise in hand against the Emperour I cannot search out, neither may it be in his epistles vndated easily found out; but that of the certaintie thereof no man need to doubt, I haue assigned you to the emperours epistle, where hee maketh mention of the same.

The Emperour marcheth into Italie notwithstanding the Popes obiding.

The Emperour then, as he had determined, prosecuted his purpose and marcheth into Italie, where hee brought vnder his subiection those cities that against him rebelled, as Mantua, Verona, Ternisium, Batanium, and others. And then he afterward set vpon the great host of the Mediciantes, the Wrixians, the Placentines, and other confederates, vnto whom the Popes legate Georgius Longomontanus had ioyned himselfe, of whom he tooke one thousand prisoners, and also their generall, being the chiefe magistrate in the cite of Mediolanum, and Petrus Venopolus the Dukes sonne of Venice, and few diuers capitaines more, and tooke all their ensignes. And in this battell, especially at the recovering of Marche and Ternissana, he used the friendly aide of Adolmus.

The Emperour both to breake the peace of late concluded.

The Pope now somewhat dismayd at this overthrow of his confederates and mates (though not much) began yet somewhat to feare the Emperour; and whereas befoze, that which he did he wrought secretly and by others, now he goeth to worke with might and maine to subdue and depriue the Emperour. And although the Emperour saw and perceived what inward hate and mortall malice he bare towards him, not only by that he so aptly stood with his conspirators against him, but also that on euery side he heard, and from all parts was brought him certain word how greatly he laboured against him, as with opprobrious words, naughtie reports and slanders, to the intent to pull from him the hearts and fidelity of his subiects, and make those that were his friends his enemies, neither that he meant at any time to take vp and cease from such euill and wicked practices: yet notwithstanding, for that there should be no default in him found for the breach of the league and peace betwene them a little befoze concluded, he sendeth foure Legates to the Bishop of Rome, which should answer vnto and refuse those criminous objections which he laid vnto him, as also make him piue vnto his purpose, and what he meant to doe, thereby to declare his innocencie towards him (in such causes) and simplicitie.

The Pope refused to speake with the Emperours Legats.

The bishop, when he understood these ambassadoz to be not farre off from Rome, and knew the cause of their coming, he thought with himselfe, that in hearing the excuse and reasonable answer of the Emperour, perhaps he might be prouoked to desist from his purpose, and so degenerate from others of his predecessors, he refused to speake with them, and at the day appointed pronounced the sentence of proscriptiō against him, depriuing him of all his dignities, honours, titles, prerogatiues, kingdomes, and whole empire. And that he had no occasion hereunto, as well Pandulphus and Coloncius, as the letters of the emperour himselfe, doe both right well

declare. For it may appeare, he dedicated as it were himselfe to his bitter ruine and destruction, when he did sollicite against Fredericus. Iacobus Venopolus the Venetian Duke, whom for the displeasure he tooke with the Emperour in the imprisoning of his sonne, he was in good hope he should allure vnto him, he being in so troublous a time such a comfort and aide vnto him, that, as Blondus writeth, in a certaine Epistle gratulatory, he calleth him Lord of the fourth part of Croatia and Dalmatia, & Lord of halfe of the Roman Empire. And calling vnto him the Venetian and Genowetian legats he made a peace betwixt them (which for certaine causes about their sea coasts were at variance) and covenanted with them vpon this condition, that at their publike charges they should rig and man five and thirtie Gallies, which should spoile and burne all along the sea coasts of the kingdomes and dominions of Frederike.

KING  
HEN. 3.

The Pope sent and hired five and thirtie gallies to spoile the coasts of the Emperour.

But the Pope, when he saw the good will and fidelity which the duke of Venice bare vnto the emperour, and saw also what the Emperour had of him, neither that he was like to winne him to his purpose; then had he recourse againe to his old craftie practices and subtilties. And further he deuised to put forth an edict at Rome to the vniuersall Church and people, the beginning whercof is, Ascendit de mari bellicabellia; wherein he declareth the causes wherefore he curseth and curseth the Emperour to the duell of hell, and hath dejected him from all his princely dignitie. He in the same accuseth him of so many and so huge a heape of mischieses, as to nominate them his heart detesteth. And besides that, he restraineth his soueraigne Lord & Emperour of the appellation, which euery private man by law may haue. He slandereth him of treason, perurie, cruelty, sacriledge, killing of his kindred, and all impiety; he accuseth him for an heretike, a schismaticke and a miscreant: and to be briefe, what mischieses soeuer the Pope can deuise, with that doth he charge him and burthen him. All this doth he, saith the Pope, that when he hath brought our holinesse and all the ecclesiasticall estate to beggerie, he might scoffe at, and deride the religion of Christ, which as a miscreant he detesteth. And now for that the Pope had a great and speciall trust in Albertus Wehhaus of the noble house called Equestri (as craftie an Apostle as the best) as one whom he saw ready to leane to his lust: to him the Pope deliuered two other mandats in feuerall letters sealed, in which he commanded all Bishops, prelates, and other of the clergie, that they should solemnly recite the same in their churches in stead of their sermon, that by his decree he had excommunicated Frederike out of the fellowship of Christian men, put him from the procuracion of gouernment of the Empire, and that he had released all his subiects of their allegiance and fidelity towards him. And furthermore chargeth them, and all other Christian men, vnder paine of cursing and damnation, that neither they succour the Emperour, nor yet so much as with him well. Thus he, being the Popes speciall and trustie scruter, and made to his hand, caused a most horrible confusion and chaos of publike iniquitie, as shall after appeare.

The Popes edict against the Emperour.

Ascendit de mari bellicabellia.

Albertus Wehhaus the Popes one hand.

Amongst all other noblemen of Germany at that time, was Altho the gouernour of Rhenus and Duke of Boioza, towards the Emperour both most seruicable, and also a prince of great honours, riches, and estimation. This prince, both with faire promises and also rewards, he enticed from him: for that he was made by him to beleue, that Ludewicus his father, of whom he spake befoze, was by the Emperour murdered and slaine. And the same Altho againe caused three other princes and dukes to revolt from the emperour to the pope, which were neighbours and nere adjoining vnto him, as Quenceslaus, and Wetus, princes of the Hungarians, and Henry duke of Polonia. To whom came also Fredericus Austriacus his

The Pope threatened to curse all those that with well to the Emperour.

Altho with diuers other princes of Germany, by the Popes means, doe forsake the Emperour.

The new sentence of proscriptiō against the Emperour.



**KING** his son: who, because he was proscrip<sup>t</sup> or outlawed of  
**HEN. 3.** his father, and had his dukedome wasted and burnt,  
 as you heare, was easily won vnto the Pope. These  
 gathering a counsell (when they had thought to haue  
 translated the Empire vnto the Kings son of Den-  
 marke) desired to haue the Popes legats to be sent  
 from him, to the effect of that election.

The Emperour was at Patauim when these  
 newes were brought vnto him, what the Pope had  
 done at Rome. Therefore he commanded Peter de  
 Vincis his secretarie (vpon Easter day) to make a  
 narration to the people of his great and liberall mu-  
 nificence to the Bishops and church of Rome, and  
 againe, of the injuries of them toward him in re-  
 compence thereof; of his innocencie also in that  
 whereof he had accused him, and of the unseemli-  
 nesse of such an act or deed, of the right vse of the ec-  
 clesiasticall censure, and of the errors and abuse of  
 the Church of Rome. By which oration of his, he so  
 removed the cloud from many mens hearts of blind  
 superstition, and the conceited opinion of holinesse  
 of the Church of Rome, and bishops of the same, and  
 also of their usurped power and subtil perswasion,  
 that both they plainly saw and perceived the vices  
 and filthinesse of the Church of Rome, and bishops of  
 that Sea, as also their fraudulent deceits and flagi-  
 tious doings, most vehemently lamenting and com-  
 plaining of the same. Albertus maketh mention of  
 certain verses which were sent and written between  
 the Bishop of Rome and the Emperour. The which  
 verses in the latter end of this present history of  
 Frederike you shall find.

The Emperour moreover, both by his letters and  
 legates, giueth intelligence vnto all christian kings,  
 to the princes of his owne Empire, to the colledge of  
 Cardinals, and people of Rome; as well of the fai-  
 ned crimes wherewith he was charged, as also of the  
 cruelty of the bishop of Rome against him. The copy  
 of which letter or Epistle followes here vnder in-  
 serted.

*The Emperour to the prelates of the  
 world.*

**I**N the beginning and creation of the World, the in-  
 estimable foreknowledge and providence of God (who  
 asketh counsell of none) created in the firmament of  
 heauen two lights (a greater and a lesse) the greater  
 he created to governe the day, and the lesse to governe  
 the night: which two so doe their proper offices  
 and duties in the Zodiacke, that although oftentimes  
 the one be in an oblique aspect vnto the other, yet the one  
 is not enemy to the other: but rather doth the superi-  
 our communicate his light with the inferiour. Even  
 so, the same eternall foreknowledge hath appointed vpon  
 the earth two regiments, that is to say, priesthood  
 and kingly power; the one for knowledge and wise-  
 dome, the other for defence; that man, which is made  
 of two parts (over-wanton and dissolute) might haue  
 two reines to governe and bridle him withall, that  
 peace thereby, and love might dwell vpon the face of  
 the earth. But alas, the Bishop of Rome sitting in  
 the chaire of peruerse doctrine or pestilence, that pharise  
 annointed with the oyle of iniquitie above the rest of  
 his conforts in this our time, which for his abomina-  
 ble pride is fallen from heauen, indeuoureth with his  
 power to destroy and undoe all, and thinketh (I be-  
 lieue) to stillifie againe himselfe there, from whence  
 he fell. His purpose is to darken and to shadow the  
 light of our unspotted life, whilst that (altering the  
 veritie into lies) his papall letters, stufte with all un-  
 truths, are sent into sundry parts of the world; of  
 his owne corrupt humour, and vpon no reasonable  
 cause, blemishing the sinceritie of our Religion. The  
 lord Pope hath compared us vnto the beast rising out  
 of the Sea, full of names of blasphemie, and spotted  
 like a Leopard. But wee say, that hee is that monstrous  
 beast of whom it is said, and of whom wee thus read i

And there shall come another red horse out of the  
 Sea, and hee that shall sit on him shall take peace away  
 out of the earth: let them therefore that dwell vpon  
 the earth destroy him. For since the time of his pro-  
 motion, hee hath not bene the father of mercy,  
 but of discord; a diligent steward of desolation,  
 in stead of consolation, and hath inticed all the  
 world to commit offence. And to take the words  
 in right sense and interpretation, he is that great  
 Dragon that hath deceived the whole world;  
 hee is that antichrist, of whom hee hath called us the  
 forerunner; hee is that other Balaam hired for money  
 to curse us; the prince of darkenesse, which hath  
 abused the Prophets. This is the Angell leaping out  
 of the Sea, having his Vials filled with bitternesse,  
 that hee may both hurt the Sea and the land; the  
 counterfeit vicar of Christ, that setteth forth his owne  
 imaginations. Hee faith, that wee doe not rightly be-  
 lieve in the Christian faith, and that the world is de-  
 ceived with three manner of deceivers, which to  
 name God forbid wee should open our mouth; seeing  
 that openly wee confesse onely Iesus Christ our Lord  
 and Saviour to bee the everlasting sonne of God, coe-  
 quall with his Father and the holy Ghost, begotten  
 before all worlds, and in processe of time sent downe  
 vpon the earth for the salvation of mankind; con-  
 ceived, not by the seed of man, but by the holy  
 Ghost; which was borne of the glorious virgin Ma-  
 rie, and after that suffered and died, as touching the  
 flesh; and by his Godhead the third day hee raised  
 from death that other nature which he assumed in  
 the wombe of his mother. But wee haue learned, that  
 the body of Mahomet hangeth in the ayre, and his  
 soule is buried in hell: whose workes are damnable  
 and contrary to the law of the most high. We affirme  
 also, that Moses was the faithfull servant of God,  
 and a true Teacher of the Law; and that hee talked  
 with God in mount Sinai, vnto whom the Lord  
 said, Rubum, &c. By whom also God wrought mi-  
 racles in Egypt, and delivered the Law written to  
 the Israelites, and that afterwards with the Elect hee  
 was called to Glory. In these and other things our  
 enemy and envier of our state, causing our mother  
 the Church to accuse her sonne, hath written against  
 us venomous and lying slanders, and sent the same to  
 the whole world. If hee had rightly vnderstood the  
 Apostles meaning; hee would not haue preferred his  
 violent will, which beareth such sway with him, be-  
 fore reason; neither would hee haue sent out his  
 mandates to the suggestion of those which call light  
 darknesse, and euill good; which suspect honey to  
 be gall, for the great good opinion they had concei-  
 ued of that holy place, which indeed is both weak  
 and infirme, and converteth all truth into falshood, and  
 affirmeth that to be which is not.

Truely my opinion (so indifferent on every side)  
 ought not in any case to bee infringed and averted  
 from the faith, to such enemies: of so corrupt a con-  
 science. Wherefore wee greatly are enforced not a  
 little to marvell, which thing also doth much dis-  
 quiet us to see; that you, which bee the pillars and  
 assistants in office of righteous dealing, the Senators  
 of Peters citie, and the principall beames in Gods  
 building, haue not qualified the perturbation of so  
 fierce a iudge: as doe the Planets of heauen in their  
 kinde, which, to mitigate the passing swift course  
 of the great orbe or sphere of heauen, draw a contray  
 way by their opposite movings. In very deed, our  
 Imperiall felicity hath bene (almost even from the  
 beginning) spurned against, and envied at of the pa-  
 pall Sea and dignitie: as Simonides being deman-  
 ded why he had no more enemies and enviers of his  
 state; answered and said; Quia nihil feliciter gessi:  
 Because (saith hee) I haue had no good successe in any  
 thing that ever I tooke in hand. And so, for that wee  
 haue had prosperous successe in all our enterprises  
 (the Lords name be blessed therefore) especially in  
 the overthrow (of late) of our rebellious enemies,

Antichrist long  
 agoe selected  
 to the world by  
 the Emperour.

The confession  
 of the Emperour  
 faith, wherof  
 he was accused  
 by the Pope.

The Pope in-  
 der perceiue of  
 his holinesse de-  
 ceiveth simple  
 soules and ig-  
 norant men.

The answer of  
 Simonides ap-  
 pired



The Emperour  
prophesieth of  
the Popes fall.

the Lombards, to whom in their good quarrell hee promised life and absolution with remission of their finnes, is the cause wherefore this Apostolicall Bishop mourneth and lamenteth. And now, not by your counsels (I suppose) he laboureth to impugn this our felicity, but out of his owne power of binding and loosing, whereof he glorieth so much, hee impugneth it. But presently where power and ability wanteth to redresse, there doth abuse take place. We see in him which was so mighty a king, and the worthiest prince amongst all the Prophets, to desire and craue the restitution of Gods holy Spirit, when hee had polluted the dignitie of his office. But the Prouerbe is, Vti indissolubilia non soluuntur, ita indigabilia non ligantur; As things indissoluble are not to be loosed, so things that cannot be bound, are not to be bound. Which thing manifestly is proued in him. For why, the Scriptures of God doe instruct men how to liue, they mortifie our soules which are immortall, and quicken the same which are dead for want of life. And doubtlesse hee is able to humble and bring downe those that are vnworthy of dignitie, as much as him please, and when him please. Doubtlesse, if the bishop of Rome were a true Bishop indeed, innocent, impollute, and not associate with wicked liuers and euill men, his life should declare him so to be. He would not then be an offerer of dissentious sacrifice, but a peaceable offerer of loue and charity, and would cense, not with the incense of griefe and hatred, but with the sweete smelling incense of concord and vnitie, neither yet would alter Suum pontificium in maleficium; that is, make of a sanctified office an execrable abuse. If hee were such a Bishop as he ought to be, hee would not wrest or abuse the preaching of the Word into the fruitie and gaine of his owne dissention, neither should wee be accused for such an enemy of our mother the true Church, as is laid vnto her sonnes charge by such a bishop. Which true and mother Church with all reuerence we honour, and benignity embrace, so beautified and adorned with Gods most holy Sacraments. Some singular persons notwithstanding, faining themselves to be our brethren by that mother, and yet are not, but of a stumpe begot; such, I say, as are subject and slaues to corruptible things (putting them from amongst vs) wee vtterly reject: especially for that injuries by them done are not onely transitory and mundane, wherewith our maiestie is so molested, vexed and grieved. Wherefore wee cannot so easily mitigate our mood, neither ought wee in very deed so to doe, and therefore are wee enforced the more to take the greater reuenge of them. You therefore that are men of graue and deliberate counsell, hauing the excellent gift (as from God) of wisdom and vnderstanding; refuse you that roaring enemy of ours in these his proceedings, whose beginnings are so wicked and detestable, wisely comparing things past, with those to come. Otherwise, you that are vnder our subjection as well of our empire as other our dominions, shall feeble and perceiue (both of my chiefe enemy and persecutor, as also of the princes that are his fauours and adherents) what reuenge by sword Fredericus Augustus shall take vpon them, God so permitting.

This done, he denounceth a solemne parliament or councell of all the princes and other nobility of the empire at Aegra; whither came Conradus Cesar, Boguntinus preull, the Baron dukes, the lords of Brandenburg, Rhina, Thuringus, and the legats of all the nobles of Babant to aid the emperour. But the princes Boicemus and Palatinus, being dissuaded by the legats, vnto whom the Austrians had joyned themselves, refused to come to the councell holden at Aegra. And being at their wits end, not knowing well what they might doe, forsooke at last the emperour, and toke part with the Pope and the other conspirators. Then Fredericus Austriacus the Emperours second sonne (whom hee disherited as ye

heard) by the aid of the Boicors and Bohemians recovered againe the dukedomes of Austria and Stiria, putting to flight and discomfiting the Emperours bands and garrisons which he had there. And although the cardinals (especially that honest man Albertus Boicemus) had allured to the Pope Ditho the Duke of Boicor, as ye heard, and diuers other noble men of Germany: yet notwithstanding certaine bishops in Boicor (as Eberhardus Iuanensis, and Sigretridus Reginoburgensis, being at that time the emperours chancelor, Rudicenus Ratheuiensis, Conradus Frisingensis, and others) left not nor yet forsooke the Emperour. All which the foresaid Albertus not onely did excommunicate, but also by process sought to bring them by to Rome before the Pope, giuing commandement to their collegioners and cloisterers, that they should deposite them of their offices, and chuse such others in their stead as would obey the pope. All which things the pope vnderstanding by Albertus, and of this their fidelity to the emperour, corroborated and confirmed the same his doings, commanding them to chuse other bishops in their steads.

But the Bishops and Prelates, with one consent condemning the popes mandats and writs, and also the curses and threatnings of Albertus, accused, reproued, and greatly blamed his temerity and also tyranny which hee blurred against the churches of Germany, and especially against the good Emperour; that without his consent he durst be so bold as to meddle in churches committed to the Emperours gouernment against the old and ancient customes; and that he had excommunicated the Emperour without iust cause; that hee had condemned the Emperours faithfull subjects as enemies to the church, for standing with their liege and soueraigne prince (which allegiance to violate, without horrible iniquity they might not) and so had sought to disquiet them likewise in their charges and administrations; and had also in that quarrell giuen such defiance to the Emperour. They accused and condemned the same Albertus also for a most impudent impostour and wicked varlet, and for a most pestiferous botch & soze of the Christian commonweale; and they doe giue him to this diuell as a rancous enemy, as well of the church as of his owne naturall country; a furtherer thanke him worthy to haue his reward with the rest of the Popes purtenants, being the most wicked inuenter and deuicers of mischiefes that were in all Germany. This done, they make relation hereof to the Emperour by their letters; and further, they aduertise all the princes of Germany (especially those which were of the Popes faction or rebellion, and were the fauourers of Albertus) that they should take heed and beware in any case of his subtill deceits and pernicious deceivable allurements, and that they should not assist the pope for all his words against the Emperour. And doubtlesse by the counsell of the high prelate or archbishop of Boicor (whose name was Iuanensis) and by his industry and perswasion, Fredericus Austriacus was againe reconciled vnto the Emperour his father, from whose aid and obedience after that, by no promises, threatening, byrbes, nor paines, no nor for the execrable curses of the Popes owne holmouth, he would be induced or removed. But Albertus persecuteth still his purposed mischiefes, alluring and enticing by all meanes possible (and that not amongst the worst but best friends to the pope, and enemies to the Emperour. Vnto some he gaue their tithes to fight against the Emperour, to othersome he gaue the glebe lands of benefices, & to othersome he gaue the spoils of such colleges and monasteries as toke not part with the Pope; and to some other also he gaue the colleges and monasteries themselves. And assuredly I finde by Iohannes Aventinus, lib. 7. annalium Boiorum, that there were certaine of the Popes owne birds, that had their ecclesiasticall tithes taken from them; and other some

{ KING }  
{ HAN. 3 }

The go'sly B's  
shops of Germany  
are obedient to their  
king and prince.

The Emperour  
utterly rejecteth  
the pope and  
church of Rome.

The Emperour  
calleth a parliament  
or councell  
to expresse the  
Popes malice.

The Bishops of  
Germany ex-  
communicate the  
popes legat and  
cardinals.

Iuanensis the  
Bishop a true  
subject to his  
Prince.

The passage of  
the Pope to  
maintaine the  
war against the  
low and middle  
some



{ KING  
HEN. 3. }

some had the rents and reuenues of their colledges pluckt away by force to the maintenance of the Popes quarrell against the Emperour. Whereby was there a window opened to doe what they lust (euery man according to his raucning and detestable lust) and all things lay open vnto their greedy and insatiable desires. Who listeth to heare more hereof, let him reade Auentinus in his booke before noted, and there shall he see what vastation grew thereby to the whole state of Germanie, who largely increaseth of the same.

The Pope besiegeth Ferrara

While these things were thus in working in Germanie, Frederike, leauing in Lombardy Aetolius with a great part of his host (he passing with the rest by Apenninum) came to Vetruria and set the same in a stay, after that he had allured certaine insurrections there, and from thence to Pisas, where hee was with great amitie and honor receiued and welcommed. This city was alwayes assured and faithfull to the Emperours of Germanie. The pope understanding of the Emperours coming into Vetruria, and knowing what power the Emperour had also left in Lombardy, with a great armie besieged the citie Ferrara, that alwayes loued the emperour full well: which city when the popes legat had assaulted sharpe the space of five monethes, and could not win the same; he deuised with himselfe to send for Salinguerra out of the towne, by way of a parlex, promising his faith and trust to him for his safe returne. Who, by the perswasion of Hugo Rambartus, that said without perill hee might doe the same (being but by way of parlex) was coming to the legat: who, preventing him in his journey, tooke him as prisoner, contrary to his truth and fidelitie. And thus gat he Ferrara, and deliuered the keeping thereof to Aones Astenus. And that the popes legat thus falsified his truth, and circumsented the Captaine and old man Salinguerra, the same is confessed of the Popes friendly historiographers, to be but a stratagem or warlike policie. But to returne againe. About the same time also the Aenietan Hauie, at the mount Garganum, chased twelue gallies of the Emperours, which were appointed to the keeping of that coast, and spoiled, burnt, and wasted all the region; and further tooke one of the Emperours great ships, being driuen by tempest and weather into the haueu Sipontium, fraught with men and munition.

The fidelity of papists learned by this example.

The Emperours gallies chased, and one of his ships taken by the Pope.

Fredericus againe getting on his side the Lucenses, the Volaterans, the Senenies, the Aretines, and diuers cities besides in Vetruria to helpe that country, came to Pisas and Aterbiun, which tooke part with him. Some say, that the names and factions of Gibellins and Guelphs sprang from Frederike, that by them he might spee and know (hauing recourse to all the towines and cities in Italy) which tooke part with, and fauored the Pope, and which the Emperour; and called the one by the name of Gibellins, and the other by the name of Guelphs. But for that both Blondus, and Platina, and some others, bring no sufficient prooue thereof, but onely tender conjecture; I rather cleaue to the opinion of Paucerus, Hermannus, Antoninus, Florentinus, and other such writers, which say; that these Guelphs and Gibellins in Italy tooke their beginning of Conradus the third, Fredericus his great uncle being Emperour; and that these Guelphs were dedicated to the Pope, of Guelphs the younger brother of Henry the proud; and that those, which were called the Gibellins, were appointed either of Conradus himselfe, or else of his sonne, being brought up in the lordship of Waiblingen. But to our purpose.

The Gibellins and Guelphs from whence they came.

The Pope afraid of the Emperours coming into Italy.

The Pope, when hee understood that Frederike was come to Aterbiun, hee was very heauy; for that hee feared hee would come to Rome, the good will of which city the Pope much mistrusted. Hee therefore caused a supplication to bee drawne, por-

traying about the same the heads of Peter and Paul, and with a sharpe and contumelious oration hee much defaced the Emperour; promising them euerlasting life, and gaue the badge of the crosse to as many as would arme themselves and fight against the Emperour, as against the most wicked enemy of God and the church. Now when the Emperour, marching somewhat neere to Rome gates, beheld those whom the pope had, with his goodly spectacle of S. Peter and S. Paul, and with his alluring oration, stirred vp against him, and marked with the badge of the crosse to come forth in battell against him; disdaining to be accounted for the enemy of the Church, who had bene thereunto so beneficiall, giuing a fierce charge vpon them, he put them some to flight: and as many as he took cutting off that badge from them, he caused to be hanged. From thence he marching into Campania, and his owne kingdomes, leuied a great masse of money, and mustered the new bands, and augmented his army; and in these bands he retained the Saracens also. And to the intent he might find the Saracens the more trustie vnto him; hee appointed them to inhabit in a city named Luceria. For which thing, although the papistall writers doe greatly blame and opprobiously write of Frederike, yet notwithstanding Nicholas Machianellus doth write, that therefore hee retained them; lest that through the Popes execrable curses hee should be quite destitute of souldiers, as was Fredericus Barbarossa his grandfather, a little before, when that of Alexander the Pope hee was ercommunicated, as we haue heard.

The Emperour hanged all the crosse d souldiers.

The Emperour retained the Saracens in his wars against the Pope.

After this, when the Emperour had greatly afflicted by battell the Popes ecclesiasticall comforts, such as conspired with the Pope against him; and that he had wasted and destroyed Vencuntum, the mount Calenum, and Soza, for that they tooke part with the Pope against him; Frederike, when hee had manned the city of Aquila, marched forth with a great host both of horsemen and footmen to Vencuntum, that he might vanquish his enemies in Italy. And by the way, hee besieged the strong towne of warre named Alculinum, which was also conuerted to the Popes faction and rebellion. He there hauing understanding what the popes assistants had done with the princes electors and other princes of Germanie, especially with Wenceslaus king of Bohemia, and Otto Palatinus, writeth his letters vnto them. In the which, first he shewed how that those contumelious and spitefull words, which the Pope blustered out against him, are lighted vpon himselfe; and how the Bishops of Rome haue taken to them of late such heart of grace, and are besome so lofty, that not only they seeke to bring Emperors, Kings, and Princes vnder their obedience, but also seeke how to be honoured as gods, and say that they cannot erre, neither yet be subject or bound to any religion; and that it is lawfull for them to doe all things what they list, neither that any account is to be sought or demanded of their doings, or else to be made of them to any, so impudent are they in these their affirmations. And further, as princes they command (and that vnder paine of cursing) that men beleue euery thing they say, how great a lie soeuer it be. In so much that by this countenance of his, all things goe backward, and the whole state of the commonweale is subuerted, neither can there any enemy be found more hurtfull or perillous to the Church of God than he. He wrote vnto them furthermore, that hee (to whom the greatest charge and dignity was in the whole commonweale. Ie appointed and committed) seeing and perceiving to his great perill, their good hearts, willes, and practices towards him, would with all the power and ability that God had giuen him, doe his indeuour, that he which in the likenesse of the shepheard of the flocke, and the seruant of Christ, and chiefe prelate in the

The effects of a letter sent by the Emperour to the princes of Germanie.

As if any more hurtfull to the Church of God than he was the pope.

The Emperour voucheth to reuolue the Pope, and put another more carefull shepheard into the Church of God.



Church, beloveth himselfe so very a wolfe, persecutor, and tyrant, may be remoued from that place, and that a true and careful shepheard of Gods flocke may be appointed in the Church. Wherefore he exhorteth them, if they desire the safety and preservation of the whole state of the commonweale and empire, that they be unto him no hinderers, but furtherers of his purpose and proceedings: lest otherwise, they also should happen to fall into the same snare of servitude with the Bishop of Rome. And further, he gaue them to wit, that if he should aspire to that he sought for, (that is, to be an emperor and king over kings) yet should that bee no stay of his insatiable desire, but he would be as greedy and ravenous as now he is. Wherefore, if they be wise, to withstand him sometimes, lest hereafter when they would, it should be too late, neither were able to withstand his tyranny. The effect of this Epistle I tooke out of Amentine, which more largely dilateth it, who also writteth that the Emperour (by his legats) sent the same to Anacletus.

Boienus relen-  
teth at the Em-  
perours letter.

Boienus, somewhat relenting at this letter, promisseth to accomplish the emperours bidding and precepts, and forthwith gathereth the assembly of princes and nobles at Aegra; where, by common consent they thinke to renouate with the Emperour a new league and covenant. And furthermore they find Otho Boius (which was absent, and would not be at this their assembly) to be the author of this defection, and an enemy to the commonweale. Otho then seeing himselfe not able to stand against Cesar and the other princes with whom he was associate, desiring aid of the Pope by his letters, came with all speed to Boienus his kinsman; whom when he could not persuade unto him againe, neither would he to their parts also be wonne, he obtaineth notwithstanding yet thus much at their hands, that the league and covenant (which they were in hand to make with the Emperour) might for a time be deferred, and that another assembly might be made, whereat he also would be, and sojorne himselfe with them. Thus had they, who killed (as you heard) his father, bewitched also his sonne, and brought him to be both a rebell and a traitor. In the meane season the Pope sent his rescript unto the king of Bohemia and to Otho, tending to this effect; that in no case they should either forsake him, or else the church, to take the emperours part. And so much persuaded he by the meanes of Bohuslaus and Wudislaus (which were the chiefest of the senat regall) and by his faire promises and vntoes to such as hee befere had made to him, that againe at Libussa by Boienus and Boius new assemblies were gathered for the creation of a new Emperour, in despite of Augustus the Emperour and Cesar his sonne. And whilest that this was thus in hand, Conradus Cesar casteth Landshuta the wife of Otho (being absent) in the teeth for great benefits and possessions which her husband had, and possessed by the ancestors of him, and that unless her husband toke a better way with himselfe, and shewed his obedience to the Emperour his father, that he should not enjoy one foot of that land which now he had by his predecessors.

By what meane  
Otho attained  
to great posses-  
sion by the Em-  
perour and his  
ancestors.

The promotion and dignities which Otho had by the ancestors of Conradus Cesar, came thus: Fredericus Barbarossa in the yere of our Lord 1180. at a parliament holden at Heginoburgh, condemned Henricus Leo of high treason, and deprived him of his dominions of Boioza and Saronie, and gaue Boioza to Otho Wiltaspachius, for that he had done him so faithfull seruice in his Italian warres. After that Lubouicus, the sonne of this Otho, obtained of this Emperour Frederike the second, in recompence of his assured and trusty fidelity, the dition of Palatinatum Rheni so called, which gaue also Agnetes, the daughter of Henry Earle of Palatine, to Otho his sonne in marriage. This Henry was the sonne of Henry Leo the traitor, unto whom Henry

the sixth, the father of Frederike, gaue in marriage Clementia his brothers daughter, Conradus Palatine of Rhenus, and gaue unto him the keeping of the palace of the same. And as touching the inheritance of Boioza, that he had also now long possessed by the heires of Otho Wiltaspachius. But to our purpose againe.

The gouernour  
of Agrippina  
reioiceth to the  
Pope.

At the same time also the gouernour of Colonia Agrippina revolted to the Pope; who not long after, in a skirmish betwene Babantinus and him, was vanquished and taken prisoner. And doubtlesse, Fredericus Austriacus, after he was receiued into fauour againe with the Emperour (keeping most constantly his promise and fidelity renewed) during this time made warre upon the Hungarians, which tooke part with the pope, and greatly annoyed them. As these things thus passed in Germany, the Emperour when he had gotten Ascalum and led his host into flammunia, hauing Raenna at his Commandement, from thence came to fuentia, which citie neuer loued the Emperour: the circuit of whose wals is five miles in compasse, and pitched his campe round about the same. And although the siege was much hindered by austerity of the time and weather (being in the very dead time of winter) yet notwithstanding through his great fortitude and courage, so animating his souldiers in the painefullnesse of the laborious siege, he indured out the same, who thought it no little shame, hauing once made that enterprize, to come from thence without an assault giuen. And therefore when now the winter (so extreme cold and hard) was well nere ended, and the spring time now hard at hand, and by long batterry he had made the same in diuers places saltable: the citizens (being greatly discouraged, and in no hope of the defence thereof) sent their legats to the Emperour, craving pardon for their offence, and that he would grant unto them their liues, and so yielded themselves unto his mercy.

The Emperour, hauing against them good and sufficient cause of reuenge, yet for that his noble heart thought it to be the best reuenge that might bee, to pardon the offence of vanquished men: hee thought it better to grant them their requests, to saue the citie and citizens thereof, with innumerable people, than by armes to make the same his souldiers prey, to the destruction both of the Citie, and great number of people therein. So doth this good Emperour in one of his Epistles, Adada nobis, confesse himselfe. Which Epistle, to declare the lenitie and mercifull heart of so worthy a Prince, if that with great and marvellous provocations and wrongs he had not been incited, I thought good in the midst of the history here to haue placed. But thus I haue kept you long herein, and yet not finished the same.

The Emperour  
enforced to  
make his money  
of leather.

In this siege the Emperour, hauing spent and consumed almost all his treasure both gold and silver, caused other money to be made of leather, which on the one side had his image, and on the other side the spread eagle (the armes of the Empire) and made a proclamation, that the same should passe from man to man for all necessities in stead of other money; and therewithall promised, that whosoever brought the same money unto his archequer when the warres were ended, he would giue them gold for the same, according to the value of euery coine limited: which thing afterward truly and faithfully he perfozmed, as all the historiographers doe accord.

Thus when the Pope, as before is said, had stopped his eares, and would not heare the emperours legats that came to treat for peace, but rejected and despised his most courteous and equal demands; neither yet had he left any wily policy vnattempted, for he thought himselfe either able to reuenge or else resist: he by his legats called to a councell at Rome, all such prelates out of Italy, France, and England, as hee thought to fauor him and his proceedings, that hereby

The Pope sent  
forth for forces  
aide and is pre-  
sented.



KING  
HEN 3

hereby, as his last shift and onely refuge, he by their helpe might depaue Frederike of his Empire, as an offer enemy to God and to the Church. All which things Fredericus hauing vnderstanding of, and knowing that these assemblies should be but to the destruction and supplanting of him, determined to stop and let their passages to Rome, as well by sea as by land, in all that euer he might. So that all the passages by land being now stopped and prevented, he commanded his sonne Henry with certaine gallies to goe and keepe the coasts of Sardinia, which kingdome the Italians call Entinum: and from thence to goe to Bisas, and with the Pisans to rig out a flauy to meete with (if it were possible) such as should come to aide the pope at Rome. The popes champions vnderstanding that by land they could not safely repaire to Rome: they procured of Gallies and Ships out of Genoa (hauing Gulielmus Baccius for their chiefe captaine or admittall) forty saile for their defence; thinking hereby, that if they should fortune to meete with any of the Emperours Ships or Gallies, which should lye for them in wait, they should be able to make their part good, and giue them also the repulse. Cincius in like manner and Hughinus (being captaine and admittall of the Pisan flauy for the Emperour) lancheth forth to Sea with forty Ships and Gallies: and betwixt the Isles of Lilium and Mons Christi, which lye betwixt Liburnium and Corfica, they met with the Genowaies Ships, and straightwayes fiercely began to grapple with them and bovd them, in which fight at length were three of the Genowaies Ships both boulded and sunke, and two and twenty taken and brought away, with all the riches and treasure in them. In these were taken three legats of the Popes, wherof were two Cardinals, Iacobus Columna, Otho Marchio, and Gregorius de Romania (all cruell enemies against the Emperour) and many other prelates more; besides a great number of legats and procuratores of cities, with an infinite number of monkes and priests, besides of Genowaies souldiers 6000, with diuers others.

Pandolphus Colonutius, in describing the circumstances of the great losse and misfortune of these champions of the pope by Sea, amongst the rest declaring, that besides the great prey and bootie which the takers had from them, they also found many writings and letters against Frederike, which much helpt him in the defence of those causes, wherein they had labored against him. The like mischance also almost about that time happened on the Popes side, by the emperours souldiers which lay in the garison at Tricinium; thus: Where went forth vpon a tyme out of Tricinium into the borders of Genowates, certaine bands to giue them larums in the country: which bands the souldiers of Mediolanum (where lay a great garrison of the popes) discerning, told the captaine of the towne, that now a very opportune and fit tyme was to giue an assault to Tricinium; for that (say they) the greatest part are now gone a foraging. Whereupon they immediately calling together the captains and such as had charge set their souldiers in aray, and marched forward to Tricinium. And now when they were come almost thither, the Tricinian bands (whom they thought to haue bene farre a foraging) were returned and met with them, and fiercely gaue a full charge vpon them: who being dismayed at the suddenesse of the matter, fought not long, but gaue ouer and fled. In which skirmish were taken (besides those that were slaine) three hundred and fifty captaines, and brought prisoners into Tricinium with all their ensignes with them.

Besides hercof was brought to the Emperour not long after, who then was remouing from the siege of Fauentia (as ye heard) to the cite of Bononiam, thinking to haue destroyed the same. But vpon the hearing of these good newes, he altered his purpose,

and thinking to haue hereafter a more convenient tyme thereunto, leadeth his army towards Rome: and in the way he reconciled to him the cite of Pisarum. But Fauntum, for that the townefmen shut their gates and would not suffer the Emperour to come in, he tooke by force and destroyed. For the Emperour, seeing that neither by petition made to the pope, nor yet by his lawfull excommunication, he could doe any good with him, thought, that by his sudden coming thither, and with feare of the perill imminent, he might be brought to some uniformty, and caused to leaue off his accustomed pertinacie. And although the emperour was too strong for him, yet for that he regarded nothing more than the publicke tranquillity of the empire, and that he might then take the Tartarian warres in hand, if he could by any means conclude, he refused not so to intreat a peace with him, as though hee had bene both in force and fortune much his inferiour.

While that this rushe was betwixt the Emperour and the Pope, Achodarius the Emperour of the Tartarians his sonne, with a great power and provision made, invadeth the borders next adioyning into him, and there wan Morolanum, Bobolium, Subanum, with diuers other cities, towne, and villages, destroying, wasting, and burning the countries all about, killing and slaying man, woman, and child, sparing none of any sere or age. At whose sudden inuasion, the people being in such feare and perplexity (hauing no city, no refuge, nor aid to stand in defence for them) were faine to leaue all that euer they had, and disperse themselves into woods, and fly into marishes and mountaines, or wheresoeuer any succour else did offer it selfe to them. And by this tyme the Tartarian host was come as farre as Trasilania, where Henricus of Polonia and the duke of Silesia with their armies met with them; who, for the inequality of the number and small strength they were of, had some an overthrow, and almost all their souldiers being slaine, they themselves were taken and put to the sword. From thence they came to Moravia, and from thence to the kingdome of Bohemia: which country, while the king kept himselfe in strong defended forts, and durst not come abroad, he invadeth, and destroyed all Hungary, putting to flight and vanquishing Colmannus the brother of Belus the fourth king of Hungary, by whom also was great spoile made in both the Pannonias, Misarum, Bulgaria, and Serua. When Belus the king of Hungary had gotten to Bela (which is a city of Istria) into whose the duke of Dalmatia, he sent his legats to Frederike the Emperour, promising that if he would send him aide that the Tartarians might be expelled, then Hungary should euer after be vnder the iurisdiction of the emperour: which thing if hee refused to doe, that then the same were in great danger to be subiect to the Tartarians, to the no little perill of the whole Empire. And he said further, that the cause wherof he with more instance required the same, was; that so many Christian men and countries made such pittifull lamentation in this their great calamity and misery, and that there was none able to helpe them; which (saith he) is as great shame as may be to the whole Christian State and Empire. And also he said, that if the males of this barbarous people were not suppressed, then he thought they would make inuasion vpon the Empire and prouinces of the same.

The emperour although he thought it very requisite, that with all convenient speede this mischiefe should be remedied and prevented: yet notwithstanding, his great enemy the Pope, with his confederates, was the only let and hinderance thereof. For when he saw and perceived that he himselfe could do no good, and onely labored in vaine in seeking peace with the pope, he gave commandment to Boleslaus and Bolesue, to intreate and perswade with him. And (considering the imminent perill like to issue by

The Emperours  
thicket to  
make the Pope  
a raue.

The Turke in-  
uadeth christen-  
dome with a  
great and mightie  
power.

The immense  
full cruelty and  
the slaughter of  
christian men by  
the Turke.

The king of  
Hungary cra-  
ueth aid of the  
Emperour, for  
the which he of-  
fereth him his  
land.

The Pope hat-  
teth to haue  
no peace.



reason of such ciuill dissention to the whole state of Christendome that he would take vp and conclude a peace, and mitigate somewhat his fierce and wrathfull mood. *¶* Wherefore when he saw further, that neither by that means of intreaty, nor any other, the pope would desist from his stubborn and malicious forward purpose, he writeth againe to the king of Hungary, that he was right forre and greatly lamented their miserable state, and that he much desired to releue the neede and necessity that he and all the rest stood in. But why that he could not redresse the same, nor stand him then in any stead, he blamed greatly the bishop of Rome: who refusing all intreaty of peace, he could not without great perill to himselfe depart out of Italy, lest that when he should come to the aide of him (by the popes mischievous imaginations) he should be in perill of losing all at home. Notwithstanding, he sent Conradus Cesar king of Bohemia and other princes more of Germany many to resist and withstand the enemy, as much as in them lay to doe. The great army and number of such souldiers, as were the crosse by the popes assignment, deferred their journey against the Tartarians, and had commandement giuen vnto them by one Albertus (the popes procurator) to tarry and abide at home, untill they should be called for in battell to fight against the Emperour. This was the louing zeale and affection of the Pope and his adherents: (to conclude) in this time of calamity towards the Christian state and commonwealth, that he had rather bend his force and reuenge his malice vpon the Christian and good emperour, than either he himselfe to withstand, or suffer and permit, by conclusion of any profitable peace, that this most bloody and cruell Tartarian should be let and restrained from so great hauocke, spoyle and slaughter of the Christian men: and yet forsooth these men will saie to haue the greatest regard of all others to the Christian preferation, and thinke to haue the supreme cy giuen therein: what thing else is this, but manifest mockerie and detesting of the people? But notwithstanding, euen in the midst of this spoyle and hauocke of Polonia, Bohemia, and Hungaria, was it determined; that at Lubuska, the princes confederate should be assembled about the depesing of the Emperour, and creation of another.

But now notwithstanding, the prudent forre sight and wise policy of the Emperour (as you heard before) in restraining the passages both by the Sea and land, who had special regard therunto, and gaue most strict charge that none should passe without priuy search and examination, as one hauing sufficient tryall as well in his owne person as by the example of his predecessors, what great mischief and dissention by their legats euery way sent out they had procured, both to the imperiall state and dignity, and to the whole cuntry of Germany: yet found they such meanes, and wrought such policies, that they had not onely secret passage and repassage with their letters and spials into all Christendome where they liked, but also so laboured the matter and handled the same: that the long continued league of amity between the French king and the emperour, whose predecessors as also they themselves had many yeeres reuerently obserued it in Christian concord and unity, was, by this seditious prelate and arrogant bicar of Sazan, now either vtterly infringed, or else in variable suspence: as by their letters each to other, and heere under insuing, is to be read and scene: which for the more probability of this historie of Frederike (not being long or greatly tedious) I thought mete here to intert and place.

The Epistle of the French King to Frederike the Emperour, touching the imprisoning of certaine Cardinals of France.

{ KING }  
{ HEN. 3 }

Hitherto (noble Emperour) hath the good opinion and great confidence (many yeeres in mutuall loue established betwixt vs) lasted and continued well, hoping that no such cause should rise betwixt vs to hatch either hatred or other occasion offensue betweene your highnesse Empire, and our kingdom. Especially, seeing that all our predecessors, Kings of France, late of most worthy memory (till these our dayes) haue bene so zealously affected to the most high and regall state of your Empire; and also that wee, whom God hath placed successively to raigne as king, haue bene no otherwise minded nor affected towards the same. None otherwise also on their behalfe haue the ancient and renowned Emperours of Rome, our neighbours and your predecessors, shewed themselves towards vs (each other esteeming the Empire and Kingdom of France as one) and faithfully conseruing together the vnity of peace and concord. Infomuch that there hath not chanced betweene them these many yeeres so much as one sparke of discord and dissention. But this notwithstanding, wee for our part cannot but greatly maruell, and not without good cause are troubled and vexed; that, without desert or any offence, you haue taken the prelates of our realme vpon the Sea, making their repaire to the Sea apostolicall; to the which, as well by their faith as their obedience they stand bound and are obedient, neither could they withstand the Pope his commandement: these haue you imprisoned, and so still detaine the same. Whereat (we doe your majesty to wite) wee are not well pleased, neither yet take in so good part as you peradventure thinke wee doe. For by their owne letters wee vnderstand, they had excoigitate nothing prejudiciall to your imperiall estate and celsitude, although the Pope had profecuted therein more than became him to doe. Wherefore, seeing that there is no cause why you should detaine them; it is meete and becommeth no lesse your magnificence, but that you restore vnto vs and set at liberty the said prelates of our realme: wherein also you shall appeale our grudge, and keepe vs your friend; which account the displeasure you doe to them as our owne and proper injury. For why? it were a great dishonour to our realme and kingly estate, if wee would winke hereat and ouerpasse the same with silence. Wherefore if you will consider and respect the thing that we haue said, wee doubt not but that you will release the Bishop of Penestrum, with the other legats and prelates of the Church, which you to our prejudice doe detaine. In desiring of our aide doubtlesse wee gaue vnto them a manifest nay: neither could they obtaine in our kingdom any thing at all which seemed to be against or prejudiciall to your majesty. Let therefore your imperiall providence ponder in the ballance of justice, those things which wee write vnto you, neither let our lawfull request vnto you be frustrate or made in vaine. For our realme and kingdom of France is not so debilitate or impouerished that it will be spurned at, or troden vnder your fecte: Fare ye well.

The rescript of the Emperour to the same letter of the King of France.

Our Imperiall magnificence hath perused your kingly letters; wherein if wee had not found manifest contradiction, they might peradventure haue obtained at our hands all that they required. But euen as with a little leuen a whole lump of dow is sowed; so a manifest vntruth alleaged hath made the whole argument of your letter both faultie and vnfauoury. It is apparent that you wanted the

The great am tie and long continued league between the empire and kingdoms of France.

The king will out great alliment of the Pope, would not to haue written to the Emperour.

Here it should seeme the Emperour found the fault of contradiction.

The French kings letters contrary to themselves.

The Popes fault that the Turke is not resisted.

The Pope had rather fight against the emperor than against the Turke.

The Emperour as well in his owne person, as his predecessors haue triall of the popes subtilties.



**KING**  
**HEN 3**

A good Apollon  
call father  
and a two-hand  
ed god.

20000000  
of gold, as  
thine you  
said.

The craftie con-  
tention in their  
craftinesse.

Gregory the  
pope dieth for  
thought and  
wilt heart.

the vertue of mediocritie in the conclusion of the same your graces letter: for that they themselves bewray no lesse than wee giue you manifestly to vnderstand, and many more besides doe know. It is notorious also, and to all the world reuealed, in what sort that apostolical father hath impugned our innocencie, as well with the one sword, as with the other; and how that whilst wee at his commandement tooke our journey beyond the Seas, the same our great enemy and hostile aduersarie invaded our kingdome of Sicilia; and the same, not in one place or two, but in diuers and lundry parts thereof hath wasted, spoiled, and destroyed. After this, when with great intreaty at our returne from Asia, wee had concluded a peace with him, which with vs at his owne pleasure hee made, and had taken and receiued our deuotion for the same, which in seruicable manner wee granted him; the said apostolical father (that notwithstanding) hath since that time rather aggravated his displeasure toward vs, than anything at all qualified the same; and further hath to our deprivation and subversion, excogitate and deuised against vs all the mischiefe hee might or hath beene able, no cause in all the world giuen of vs to prouoke the same; and further hath promulgated to our great defamiation and shame (as well by his letters as legats) the sentence of excommunication against vs vnto all nations. Lastly, hee aspiring to our imperiall state, and conspiring our supplantation, hath made warre against vs, as against king Dauid Gods anointed; and hath vnto a priuate councill for that purpose called all the prelates he can get, as one that meane to set all the whole world together by the eares. But such is the marvellous wisdom of God, by whom wee liue and raigne; who beholding the wicked purpose hee went about (confounding the craftie in their craftinesse) hath giuen into our hands as well your prelates of the realme of France, as also of other regions and prouinces; all which wee imprison and detain, as enemies and aduersaries to our imperiall crowne and person. For where there desired not to bee a persecutor, there hath not wanted also a sufficient withstander and defender. Let not therefore your kingly highnesse maruell, although Augustus detaineth in prison your French prelates, which haue endeououred themselves to conspire, and so to disturbe our imperiall estate and regiment. Fare ye well.

When Frederike now saw there was none other remed, and that in vain he laboured to haue peace with the pope, he prosecuted this warre to the uttermost: and when he had gotten Audertum and reconciled the same, he destroyed the towne of Geminum and Paruta, and quench the spoile of them vnto his souldiers: he gently receiued the yielding vp of Suburnum, and wasteth all the country round about Rome. The pope herewith dismayed and troubled with such as otherwise dissuaded and counselled him, and seeing that things prospered not so well with him and against the Emperour as hee wished and desired, being in despaire of obtaining his purpose, died for very anger and thought.

What opinion the prelates of Germanie at that time had of this Gregory is extant, and to be seene by the oration of Eberhardus Bishop of Truence, that he made to the nobility of Boioria in the parliament at Regimburch, written by Iohannes Auentius in his seventh booke. Doubtlesse hee not onely brought great and ruinous calamities to the whole christian commonweale and also empire, whilst he sought thus to deresse and hyde the emperour, and aduance his papall Sea and dignity, but also brought into the Church of God much horrible impiety, blasphemie and wickednesse, whereof both Blondus, Platina, Balesus and others make mention: and amongst others that most detestable cantilene Salue Regina, in the which he attributeth

the honor and worship proper only to Christ, vnto the virgin his mother. This is he in whose name the booke of the decretals was let out, which to omit the opinion of diuers other learned men, Iohannes Balesus calleth it the sink or puddle of foolishnesse and impiety. Doubtlesse Carolus Molinus, a man both of singular judgement in that law, which in tribunall courts and judgements is used, as also in this, painted forth the decrees of this Gregory in his booke of annotations vnto Platina, whose words thereof are these: Certum est, multa capita in iis multa & deurrata esse, vt inuidiosum argumentum lateret, &c. That is; Doubtlesse diuers chapters in the same booke of decretals be mangled and perverted, that many contentious arguments therein might lurke. For when the ambitious desire of raigning like kingdome took them, they studied nothing else but how to enlarge and aduance their Sea and dominion with the empire it selfe and other kingdomes (of which then and weakened through contention: ) and this purpose and end had they and none other in all their constitutions. The proofe whereof Molinus declareth in his booke De regibus Gallie & Anglie. But many more examples by the Emperours, Princes, and Lords electors of the empire may be gathered, whereof to speake, more conuenient place shall serue hereafter.

In the stead of this Gregory was placed Celestine borne in Mediolanum amongst the Castellans: who, as Blondus declareth, by fained promises offered a league with Fredericus, and the eighth day after he was created pope, he also died.

Thus when the author of all this conspiracie was gone, Fredericus now thinking himselfe free and void of that feare which before he had, and not daring to be absent out of Italy, with all his indueor leuieth an army, and prepareth his furniture and other necessities for the deliuey of the christians, so mightily oppressed as yee heard by the Turke or Tartarians. Who, hearing of the coming of the Emperour, lest the straight way through Hungary, which they came, and returned by the riuer of Danubium to Taurica, and so through the sens of Apco-tida, by the riuer Tanaus, into Sarmatia Asiatica. When the cardinals had now a long time protested the creation of the Pope, and would not agree vpon the same, the Emperour put them in remembrance of their duty, and blameth them for their disgrace, and exhorteth them to be more carefull for the christian common wealth. His two Epistles touching this matter are extant; whereby appeareth, that onely for the care and desire he had of peace and of the Christian unity and state, he did the same: and for that (peradventure) the cardinals refused to make peace with him before they had created a new Pope: the one for more beauty I haue omitted, and here inserted the other.

An Epistle inuectiue of the Emperour vnto the Cardinals, for that they cannot agree vpon the creation of the Pope.

Vnto you I write, oh you children of Ephraim, which euill haue bent your bowes, and worse haue shot your arrowes, filchily turning your backes in the day of battell; vnto you I speake, O you children of Belial, and disparked flocke, you insensible people and assistants of the great Iudge, vnto you I write, O you dissentious cardinals, whom the world for your deserts doth hate; for whose causes the whole world being at variance is euill spoken of. Doubtlesse, I cannot speake vnto you, but to your detraction, because I am worldly and you spiritual. I am vnperfect, whereore I must doe as the vnperfect world doth: neither can the part bee different to the whole, nor I contrary to my selfe that writeth. Attend ye therefore my rude Epistle, wanting the dignitie of rhetoricall stile. My prouoked

Carolus Molinus upon the decretals of Pope Gregorie the ninth.

The creation and death of Pope Celestine.

The Emperour prepareth an army to fight with the Tartarians: the Tartarians &c.

Frederike against the cardinals.

regius



tongue bursteth forth into words, before my conceiuing spirit hath deliuered the same; and so, not attending to the higher regiment, hath hastened to expresse my words not fully conceiued or premeditate. Thus, I say, a troubled mind oftentimes doth beget disordered talke, and vntimely vttereth the same. This therefore it is that our heart hath conceiued, that wee beleue and all men confesse, that Iesus Christ the mediator betweene God and man; which came from heauen to make peace vpon the earth, is not diuided and at variance, being also the master and Lord of the Apostles. But Satan, being diuided in himselfe, that blustering prince is amongst you, as those to whom hee ministrerh; hee, euen hee, the perswader of discord and dissention, that man-killer, father of lies, and spirit of darkenesse, of that hath diuided your tongues, and sett dissention amongst your selues; neither doe yee good one to another, nor yet to the world, being by you into so perillous a state brought; and the little ship of Peter, which is tossed vpon the sea by the vehement winds, you nothing regard; which ship, though it neede not indeede vtterly to feare drowning, yet suffereth it by your negligence many great stormes and perillous tempests. Doubtesse, if yee would diligently consider how the nations and people whom yee were wont to iudge, in scorne shake their heads at you; every one of you would bee ashamed of another. And to say the truth, they cannot doe too much to detest your so detestable opprobrie: for whilst euer one of you aspireth to the chaire, euer one is at variance with his fellow; and whilst one of you cannot agree with another, none is promoted; and whilst none is promoted, the cathedrall dignity vanisheth. And thus by your discord, the peaceable state and concord of the Church is confounded, and the perfection of the faith and Religion, whereby yee should liue, perisheth. And surely, through your default it perisheth; so that, whereas nature hath placed the sense and vnderstanding to be, that part, like a monster, remaineth with you both senselesse and headlesse. And no maruell, for why, your hearing is impaired, and that sound of the mouth which thrilly was heard throughout the whole earth, is vtterly dumbe, and become a scoffing echo. For why, the thundrings of Peter and Paul are now no more heard, the Preachers are become dumbe dogs, and are commanded to silence. Perhaps you haue hands ready to receiue, but there bee no bribes; for why, those that were wont to come from Saba, and bring gold with them, now come no more, seeing the Lord is not in the manger, and the celestial shining Starre refusing to bee their guide. Moreover, yee want feete to walke withall, for seeing there is no man to giue you ought, you will not remoue one foote for any mans pleasure. Fie shamelesse people, the least and simplest beast may learne you obedience, for the Birds haue their capitaine, and the silly Bees their king, but you will come vnder no government, &c.

The Emperour releaseth the cardinals out of prison.

The Emperour yet after this, at the request of Balduinus the Emperour of Constantinople, who came to Fredericus to Parma, released the cardinals out of prison, thinking thereby not onely to gratifie the Emperour Balduinus, but also thinking that thereby things would haue the better growne to publike tranquillity on euery side. When the Cardinals were all assembled at Auignia, they made Sinibaldus a Genouay, Pope, whom by a contrary name, for that hee had determined (as I suppose) to be hurtfull to the commonwealth, they called Innocentius the fourth. At which election when Frederike vnderstood, he was well pleased therewith. And for that he had in all this troublous time bene his friend, he well hoped that the christian commonwealth should by him haue bene brought to much peace and concord. Wherefore he sent both

his legat and letters gratulatoz vnto him, letting him to vnderstand how well it contented and pleased him that he was made Pope and what peace and quietnesse thereby he promised (as it were to himselfe) he maketh full relation thereof; offering a gains vnto him obseruance, helpe and aide in all things, commending his dignity to the publike state and quietnesse of the Christian commonwealth and empire, &c.

He also wrote his letters to Admo duke of Boio-  
ria, who a little before was reconciled to the emperor, that he tocht was elected pope was a good man, a lover of peace, and studious as well for the tranquillity of the Christian Commonwealth, as of the empire.

The legats of Frederike also, with the furtherance of Balduinus the Emperour of Constantinople, laboured very diligently for the conclusion of the promised peace. And to be briefe, euery man was in good hope and looked for no lesse. But farre otherwise fell the matter out, and contrary to all their expectation. For the Pope (set on and encouraged by the cardinals and others against Frederike) secretly and amongst themselves wrought contrary to that they openly pretended, and not a little disappointed both Frederike and others of their expectation and good opinion they had of the Popes holinesse. For whilst the emperours legates attended the answer of their peace before promised, Rainerus the cardinal went secretly to Aiterbium with a certaine number of souldiers, and tooke the towne which before was on the Emperours part:

The Emperour hauing vnderstanding hereof, mustered his bandes, and with a sufficient power entereth the popes dition, again to recouer Aiterbium: But yet, taking this warre so in hand (not thinking thereby to expell all conditions of peace) at the request of certaine of the cardinals he was contented to leaue Aiterbium, being furnished by the Emperour of warlike provision before, and came to Aqua. From thence he sent againe other ambassadors to Rome, and with them also the emperor of Constantinople, with the earle of Arholouse, who he thought were able to doe much with the pope in the prosecuting of this peace. And although at the time of Easter the matter seemed to haue been through, and peace concluded, for that his legates had swoone in the behalfe of the emperor (and as he willed them) that he would submit himselfe to the Pope: And againe, for that the cardinals and others, commonly called and named him Fredericus the Christian prince; yet all this was no more but for a further fetch and purpose. Not for that they meant indeed to conclude any peace with him, or to goe through there withall, but that through this dissimulation & likelihood of peace, which the emperor desired much, he should let free and open the passages which he straitly kept, that no man could passe and come to Rome, whither a great multitude daily resorted and flocked for Religions sake. But when all came to all, and that the legates perceived no conclusion of peace was simply purposed on their behalfe, they began to despair of the matter; letting the Emperour so to vnderstand. The Emperour yet notwithstanding doubted not, but if he might himselfe speake with the pope, he vpon reasonable conditions should well enough accord with him; wherefore he by his legates and letters desired him to appoint a place where the emperor might resort to him.

The pope seemed to be contented herewithall, and appointed a day at Jfrennia, where they would talke together; and the Pope promised that he would be there before him, and expect the emperours coming. But the pope in this while had made a confederacy with the french king against Frederikus; who when he knew those three gallies to be ready & brought vnto Centumellas, which hee before had spoken for vnto the Genouaies, secretly in the night

KING  
HEN. 3  
The Emperour receiveth of the Popes election but without canstode.

The Popes hath Aiterbium while the Emperour hoped for peace.

The dissimulation of the cardinals till pope Innocent the fourth.

The Emperour hath now much confidence in the Pope.

The Pope moueth the Emperour and goeth to Lyons, where he promised the Emperour.

Innocentius the fourth created Pope.



**KING** } With his company (hastening thither in post speed)  
**HEN. 3.** } toke ship, and first came to Genoa, and from thence  
to Lyons in France; where he (calling a council)  
with a loud voice summoneth Frederick, and ap-  
pointing him a day, commanded him there personal-  
ly to pleade his cause.

And yet although he understood that the sudden  
departing of him out of Italy, made plaine demon-  
stration of no conclusion or meaning of a peace; and  
also knew the council which the Pope had called,  
wherein he was himselfe both plaintiffe and judge;  
and at the same council those, which he had by bribes  
allured, pretended the destruction of the Emperour;  
with many other such evident demonstrations, both  
of his cruious and hateful heart towards him: yet  
the most modest emperour, using the innocency and  
uprightnesse of his cause, and as one most desirous  
of peace and Christian concord, sent the patriarch of  
Antioch, which lately was come out of Syria, the  
bishop of Panozania and Theodorus Suesanus the pre-  
sident of his court (a most skillfull and prudent civili-  
an) to the council at Lyons; which signified unto  
them that the Emperour would be there for the de-  
fence of his owne cause: and, for that the day was ve-  
ry short, required a time more convenient for him thir-  
ther to make his repaire. The Emperour also being  
onward on his way, and come as far as Taurinum,  
sent before other messengers, as the master of the  
Flemish order, and Peter de Vaines, to give them  
understanding of the emperours coming, and to  
intreat that he would prorogue the day of hearing,  
till that he might conveniently trauele thither. But  
for any thing that could be either said or done, or vpon  
how just cause sooner required, the Pope would  
not giue so much as three dayes space, in the which  
times the ambassadoes assured them of the Emperours  
presence; as though there had beene no common  
promisefor every man in that case by the law to haue  
bled vpon any reasonable let. What should I longer  
protract the time? When the day by them appointed  
was come, the Pope with his confederates (whom  
for money and bribes he had gotten to that council)  
against Gods law, against christiandoctrine, against  
both the prescript of the law of nature and reason,  
against the rule of equity, against the order of law  
appointed, against the constitutions of Emperours,  
and also the decrees of the empire, without any ob-  
servation of the law, or granting dilatory dayes,  
without probation of any crime, or his cause suffered  
to be pleaded unto, or heard what might be answered  
therein, taking vpon him to be both aduersary and  
judge, condemned the emperour being absent. What  
more wicked sentence was ever pronounced? What  
more cruell fact, considering the person, might be  
committed? What thing more brutish and beastly  
could haue bene imagined or deuised? And yet here-  
at were those Bishops nothing ashamed; but mean-  
ing to leaue their doings in writing (as an impu-  
dent testimony to their posterity) established the  
same for a law to continue.

But marke what vengeance God tooke vpon this  
wicked iudge. The writers of the annals recorde,  
that when Frederick the Emperour, and Conradus  
his sonne being Cesar, were both dead; the Pope  
gaping for the inheritance of Naples and Sicily,  
and thinking by force to haue subdued the same,  
came to Naples with a great host of men, where  
was heard in the Popes court manifestly pronoun-  
ced this voice, Veni miser ad iudicium Dei. Thou  
wretch come to receive the judgement. And the  
next day after the pope was found in his bed dead, all  
blacke and blew as though he had bene beaten with  
bats, as before in the history of king John is de-  
clared.

When the emperour had understanding of this  
cruell and tyrannicall sentence of the Pope, passed  
and pronounced against him (considering his fur-  
ous purpose and minde therein) thought good by his

letters, to let all Christian princes and potentates  
understand, as well that injuries and manifold dis-  
pleasures he had sustained by the foure Popes in all  
their times, as also the cruelty and tyranny of this  
pope, in pronouncing the sentence of judgement and  
condemnation against him (passing the bounds both  
of justice, equity, and reason) which letter as hee  
wrote the same, hereunder followeth to be seene.

10 The letter of the Emperour to the French King,  
and other Princes, for the sentence giuen against  
him in the council of Lyons by the  
Pope and Cardinals.

**A**lthough we suppose not the contrary, but that both  
by true certificate and common rumor you haue  
heard of the indifferency of our cause and good hand-  
ling thereof: yet for that more credit is commonly  
giuen to that the eye seeth, than to that the eare re-  
ceiueth, wee thought good to present vnto you the  
naked truth of such things, which the Popes successiue-  
ly haue put forth, and forged against vs. To the per-  
using and consideration of which may ease and letter, I  
beseech your gentlenesse amongst other times of lea-  
sure, that you will spie out some fit and convenient  
time therefore. And all other whatsoever that shall  
haue desire to heare princes counsels and affaires, let  
them in like sort attentively consider, First, whether  
our predecessors haue bene destitute or not, of Godly  
zeale, just dealing, and righteounesse: and whether we  
may not lawfully reuenge our selues, being so much  
prouoked, of such euils and injuries as haue bene  
wrought against vs. Secondly, let them consider whe-  
ther Christs vicar doth follow Christs steps or not;  
and whether Peters successors doe follow his example  
or not; and also by what law, equity and right, that  
sentence which they haue pronounced against vs, may  
be maintained and allowed: as also what name they  
may justly giue it, and whether that may bee sayd to  
bee a sentence, which is giuen by an vn sufficient  
judge or not. For although wee acknowledge that  
the Lord hath giuen full power in spirituall things  
vnto his Church, that whatsoever the same bindeth  
in Earth, is bound in Heauen; and whatsoever the  
same looseth, is also loosed; yet wee read neither by  
Gods Law, nor by any law of man, that wee ought  
of dutie to be subject vnto him, or that an empire  
ought at his pleasure to be transformed and trans-  
posed, or that hee may giue any such sentence or  
judgement to punish Princes temporally, and de-  
prive them of their kingdomes. For why? although  
our consecration belongeth vnto him by right and  
custome (as hee challengeth) yet our deposing and  
depriving doth no more belong to him, than doth  
that presumption belong to any other prelate of o-  
ther realmes, which doe consecrate and anoint their  
kings, as the custome and manner is. Or put case it  
were so (we nothing hindered hereby) that he had such  
power: hath he that power to the intent to reuenge  
himselfe vpon whomsoever, his malicious minde  
consenteth, and without all equity and law to bring  
them under his jurisdiction? Hee hath proceeded of  
late against vs as is said, but not by the order of accu-  
sation, forsomuch as neither was there any suffici-  
ent accuser, neither went there out any inscription  
or proccesse before; neither yet by denunciation, for  
somuch as there lacked a lawfull denouncer; neither  
yet by the way of inquisition, for that there went be-  
fore it no manifest accusation. But hee peradventure  
will say, that all things that he layeth against vs were  
manifest and notorious. But that doe wee deny, and  
nothing to bee notorious, but that which may by a  
sufficient number of witnesses be approued and try-  
ed. For so may every judge himselfe (contemning  
the order of law) affirme what hee list to be notori-  
ous, and thus condemne whom he list. There were  
against vs (as well it may be said in council) certaine  
false

the Emperour  
naming to  
take his ap-  
pearance before  
it 1. ops.

the extremitie  
the Pope to  
the Emperour.

vengeance fal-  
th vpon the  
Pope for his  
ill iudgement.



falſe witneſſes, although not many, of whom the Biſhop of Calin was one, whole neere kinſman or nephew (by our lawes condemned for treaſon to be hanged) maketh alſo to vs an inſeſtine enemy. ¶ To ſuch like effect proſecuting the reſt of biſepte ſtyle, which for beuſtie ſake I omit.

This policie ſued the Pope to bere and diſturbe both the country of Germany, and the whole empire; and not ſo onely, but alſo utterly to deſtroy and ſubvert the ſame: by the ruinous decay whereof, the pope and his prelates thought to make by their mouthes. And thus, whiſt that Germany was now newly againe diuided, ſome taking part with Frederike the Emperour, and Conradus Cesar his ſonne, and other nobles and princes of the empire; ſome with thoſe that ſhould by the popes procurement be the electors of the new emperour, other ſome with neither of both, as men not minding nor tending to the publike utility, but to ſerue their owne purpoſes, armed themſelues; and thus was the publike peace and quiet broken and diſturbed, and all together in tumult and hurly burly. For whiſt the one part laboured by all force to retaine the dominion by publike and common conſent firſt to him committed, the other part in like ſort indued themſelues with all their force and power to vie and occupy the ſame, according vnto the decree of the Biſhop of Rome, and to take it from Frederike: thus great conflicts grew on all parts.

By theſe ciuill warres, Germany ſuffered no little calamity, in euery place was manſlaughter and murder, the country ſpoiled, the townes and villages ſet on fire and burnt, the churches and temples, wherein the huſbandmen had put their goods and ſubſtance, violated and robbed: houſes were pulled downe, the goods diuided, and euery mans cattell diuinen away. ¶ To conclude, in this turmoile and contention of depoling and choſing another Emperour, in this faction of princes, and this liberty of wearing armour, in this licence of hurting and ſinning, the impudent boldneſſe of diuers private ſouldiers, and eſpecially of ſuch as were the hoſemen, then counted the better ſort of ſouldiers, was ſo great and their vnbodled and vnfatiable deſire in robbing, ſpoiling, and taking of liberties, catching and ſnatching all that came to hand, ſo much, that nothing could be ſure and in ſafety that any good man enjoyed. ¶ Wherefore a little before the death of Gulielmus the king, theſe cities and townes which were belonging to Ludouicus Palatinus Duke of Boiozia and Rhenus, and Dtho his ſonne, and other princes, whole names Auentinus in his ſeuenth booke of the annals of the Boiozes maketh mention of, joynded themſelues in a league for the expelling of theſe rebels, and reſpreſſing of their ſo great injurious rapines and ſlaughter of men. Of which army the ſaid Ludouicus being captaine, he chaſed and drave the whole rout of them to the uttermoſt parts of Germany, and pulled downe and ouerthrew their caſtles and fortrefſes, and euery other place where they had intrenched themſelues.

Dtho Bonus yet notwithstanding, kepteth his promiſe and faith moſt conſtantly made before to the Emperour Frederike and Conradus his ſonne. ¶ Whereupon Philippus Iuuauentis, Albertus and others, calling a counsell at Hilboldus (by the popes commandement) ſent for Dtho vnto them, vnto whom they opened the popes pleaſure and commandement. To all which, when he had heard, Dtho answered: I cannot maruell at ſome of you enough, that when as heretofore you perſwaded me to leaue and forſake the part I took with the biſhop of Rome, whom you your ſelues affirmed to be anti-chriſt, and that I ſhould take part with the Emperour, why that you your ſelues will not keepe your fidelity and promiſe made vnto thoſe good princes: and he ſaid, that he perceived in them a great inconfſtancy and leuety, both in their wordes and deedes, which now call

that wicked, unjuſt and violent wrong; that but lately they thought equall, juſt and right. He ſaid further, that they were ouercome with pleaſures, corrupted with ſuperſtitiuſty, woonne with bribes, gaſping for honoz and eſtimation: and that they neither regarded honeſty, godlineſſe, nor their duty and office: but ſtrued how to make diſſention and commotions, and longed after warre and bloody battell.

He ſaid further, that for his part he would obey God and his prince, to whom he had ſworne fidelity; and that he nought eſteemed the ſained holineſſe and deteſtable practices of ſuch prelates. He ſaid he believed in Chriſt, and would truſt to his mercy; and that he believed how thoſe whom they curſed and gaue to the Duell, were in greateſt fauour with God. ¶ Howbeit, and notwithstanding thoſe prelates took in good part this expoſtulation of his, and ſeemed to beare Dtho no malice or grudge for that he had ſaid, but to be deſirous of peace and vniuity: yet not long after Dtho was curſed as blacke as all the reſt, and counted as bad as the worſt.

Albertus the popes champion now in Germany playeth not onely rer amongſt the citizens, but alſo be thought him of a miſchieuous deuice againſt Conradus Cesar the Emperours ſonne. ¶ When by fraud and ſubtilty hee had gotten and taken many of the rich Burgeſſes and Citizens of Reginoburgh, which bare the Emperours good will, and had ſent them priſoners to Staffum, Conradus joyning with other noble men of the empire (after hee had ſpoiled and waſted much of his lands and others his companions) drave him ſo nere, that vpon certaine other conditions he deliuered againe the citizens. And ſhortly after coming againe to Reginoburgh, and being receiued and welcommed into the college of D. Vamaranus: Albertus with certaine of his confederats, by the meanes of Alricus a cheefe officer of the monkes, came in the dead time of the night into the chamber, where the Cesar with a few others about him did lye: and falling vpon them ſome they tooke, and other ſome they ſlew: and finding no other body in the chamber or lodging, they thought that Cesar had bene ſlaine among the reſt. But he hearing the noiſe, forſooke his bed, and hid himſelfe vnder a bench, and ſo eſcaped their hands. The next day he outlawed or preſcribed the Biſhop and his mates, and alſo the monkes bayliſſe of treaſon, and ſeized vpon all the goods of the houſe. But at the ſute of the guiltleſſe monkes he releaſed all to them againe, taking by way of fine 100. pounds. Alricus loſt his office, and Albertus, thereby to eſcape danger of puniſhment, tooke vpon him the habit of a monke. Conradus Hochenſolſeus, which was the murderher of theſe men, though he eſcaped the puniſhment of mans hand, yet the vengeance of God for the ſad he eſcaped not. For as he rid in the day time abroad, hee was ſuddenly ſtricken with a thunderbolt and died.

During all this buſie & contentious time, it may well be gathered, that Frederike the Emperour lay not ſtill, but had his hands full: who not withſtanding (by Gods helpe ouercomming and ſuppreſſing theſe or the greater part of theſe rebellious popiſh tumults, and hauing done ſtrict execution on thoſe eſpecially that had conſpired againſt his perſon, calling a counsell, and ſetting in ſome ſtay the troubleſome affaires of his kingdome, came to Cremona with Fredericus prince of Antioch, Richardus earle of Limbria, the gouernor of Flaminia, and Encius king of Sardinia, with a great number beſides of ſouldiers and men of warre. And beſides hee tooke with him (which he ſent for out of euery part) the wiſeſt, moſt vertuous, and beſt learned men that there were, thinking with them to haue gone himſelfe to Lions to the pope, and there to haue with him communication, as well concerning the ſentence definitive, as alſo about the concluſion of any peace, if by any meanes he might. And when all things were

Germany alſo  
gathered in hurly  
burly through  
the popes ma-  
litiouſe minds.

Germany ſpoiled  
by ciuill diſſen-  
ſion through  
the popes onely  
practice againſt  
the Emperour.

The robbers  
and rebels cha-  
ſed out of Ger-  
many.

The fidelity of  
Dtho to the em-  
perour.

The answer of  
Dtho to the  
legates.

{ KING }  
{ HENRY }

Dtho recom-  
mended for com-  
ing from the  
pope to take the  
emperours part.

Cesar in danger  
of Albertus.

Albertus to  
eſcape puniſhment  
tooketh the habit  
of a monke.

The Emperour  
when he had  
ſome what ſup-  
preſſed theſe  
tumults, came  
to Cremona.

The Emperour  
thinketh to go  
to Lions to  
the pope.



**KING** were prepared and ready, hee tooke the journey in hand, and came to Taurinum, hauing with him both a great army of souldiers, and also a great company of legats and ambassadors. From thence sending his carriages before, within thre dayes journey of Lyons, hee was certified that Parma was taken and kept by the outlawes of diuers and sundry factions of the pope, his neare neighbors and friends; as by the popes legat, and other citizens, as of Baxia, Placentia, and such like. Which thing when he understood, and that the pope therein was the onely and chiefe doer, he saw manifestly it should litle preuaile to attempt any further the thing he went about; and therat length when he saw no other remedy, putting from him all hope of peace, determined himselfe to the warres with all his force and might. Thus altering his purpose & journey, he tooke the straightest way into Lombardy, and with an army of 60000. men he besieged Parma. And to the intent he might moze aptly and nere the towne plant his siege and batterry without disturbance, first he intrenched his camp, and fortified the same about with bulwarks and other defensible munition. After that, he caused diuers victualling houses and tauerne in his campe to be sleightly builded of timber; and without the campe he appointed the place where the market should be kept, and all victuallers resort that would. He appointed places for their Churches and Temples, and in seemely manner adozned the same: and for the most part their Tents were builded with wood, so that it was like another Parma. All which things when hee had finished, which was not long in doing: for this happy & prosperous successe he called and named it Victoria, and had thought to haue made the same to be in the head of the city of Parma, the which he purposed to haue made leuell with the ground. And in the beginning both there and elsewhere, all things prospered well with Frederike and had good successe: for he sharply laid to their charges that defended and kept the city of Parma. And further, Robertus Castellonicus, which was the emperours lieutenant in Picenum, nere unto Animum, discomfited the Popes army, and slue of them moze than 4000. and tooke many such as were of the confederat cities prisoners. And when the factions or companies of the Gibelines and Guelfs in florentia were at controuersie, when Fredericus of Vetruria came to the Gibelines, to whom they had sent for ayde: the Guelfs therewith dissuaded, fled from thence to Bononia, whose goods and substance came all to the Emperours coffers, and florentia also it selfe to the Emperours obedience. But this good successe and prosperous fortune lasted not long. For as at a time Fredericus to recreate himselfe (which seldom had his health) rode about the fields with certaine of his boyernen to haue and hunt: many of the Emperours souldiers, thinking nothing lesse than of such a matter to be attempted of a many Israelings within the towne of Parma, wandred and ranged vnarmed out of their city Victoria about the fields. The souldiers in Parma, hauing this occasion offered, with all force and speede possible entred the emperours campe or towne Victoria; which being not strongly fenced, nor hauing gates to shut against them, was a thing easie enough to doe. The sudden strangenesse of the matter much abashed the souldiers, and they rang out their larm bell. The first assault was giuen upon Marcus Palasina his charge, whom when the emperour, returning in all haste, found to be hard beset, he had thought to haue rescued him. But when that was perceined of the enemy, they bent all their force altogether on that side: inso much that the Emperour was forced to take the trench, lest hee should haue bene of the enemy inuironed; and from thence hee retired into the city or campe, where he had thought to haue gathered further ayde. But the enemy giuing not so much time thereunto, with all forces

entred the city Victoria. The emperour now, when the enemies were entred, lest the campe, and came to Dominum; who when they had killed and slaine a great number of the emperours souldiers, and had burnt and destroyed the same campe Victoria, came againe to Parma. The emperour then inspecting this thing to be brought by treason, whereby the enemy had vnderstanding as well of the emperours absence, as also of the negligence of his souldiers, imprinted certain of the chiefeest about him, among whom also was Petrus de Vincis. Yet whilest he was at Dominum, gathering together his souldiers and residue of his bands; Encius getteth a great victory of the Panuanos, who comming to the rescue of Parma, lost fifty of their ships, and all that they had in them.

After this also, Richardus in another confid in Picenum, discomfited the Popes souldiers, and slue their captaine Hugolinus, besides 2000. others slaine and taken prisoners. When now Fredericus had gathered againe, and new mustred his bands at Dominum, he marched forth to Cremona: and notwithstanding that there he understood of the good successe and victory that Encius had at Rhegium, yet for that he perceined the defection and backsliding of all or most part of Lombardy from him, hee determined to take his journey into Apulia: And when he had there leued a strong and sufficient power, hee purposed to make his speedy returne againe into Lombardy. Therefore, in his journey through Vetruria into Apulia, he forned with his son Fredericus, which besieged Capras, and tooke the same: and led with him diuers of the chiefeest captaines prisoners, and after that, subduing unto the obedience of the empire Brinium, he came into Apulia.

When newes was brought him thither, that Encius his sonne (comming to aide the Putinenses against the Bononians) was taken prisoner two miles from Putina; and that in his absence, the popes captaines with their bands and garrisons went throughout all Lombardy, Emilia, Flammunia, and Vetruria, to stir and procure the cities to reuolt from the obedience of the Emperour, and working the same partly by subtil policies, and partly by force and sinister meanes to bring them to his purpose: he determined with himselfe, with all the force and power he might by any meanes procure and make to haue begun a fresh, and prosecuted this warre to the uttermost. Neither was it to be doubted (as Pandolphus Colonucus writeth) but that hee would haue wrought some marvellous exploit and great attempt, but that he was off his purpose (whereunto he was both willing and bent) penented by vnlooked for death. For when he fell into this ague, being at a certaine castle of his in Apulia called florentinum, and saw by the extremity thereof his dayes to be short, hee remembered that which was once shewed him, how hee should dye at florence; whereupon hee made and ordained his testament. And when vnto Conradus and other his children he had giuen and appointed the great and innumerable masse of money which he had collected and leued for the maintenance of his warres, and godly purpose (as it is called) and vnto them also had giuen all other his kingdomes and dominions (so every one according to their ages and partes) he departed this wretched and miserable world.

Pandolphus writeth, that Fredericus was very willing to dye, and as they made certaine report to him which were present at his death, that his minde was altogether set and bent on the heavenly joy and felicity. Which thing also Guillemus Dufelanus, Andreas Pandalus, and Panardus the bishop, being Italian writers doe all affirme, of whom this last writeth, that he assuredly belongeth Frederike to be one of the number of Gods elect.

The writers notwithstanding are of sundry iudgements and opinions touching this good Emperours death

The discomfiture of the Emperour at the siege of Parma.

The Emperour upon suspicion of treason imprisoned diuers of his captaines.

Capras besieged and taken of the Emperour.

The Emperour purposed to make some great attempt.

The Emperour penented by death.

Frederike one of Gods elect.

Sundry opinions of the death of Frederike the Emperour.



death. Some write that he was traitorously poisoned by his cupbearer, being hired thereunto. Some others, that he was strangled with a pillow, of Hansfredus the sonne of Wberus. But Pandolphus as good a writer as the best, maketh no mention of any poison that was given him, but onely that hee died of an ague. The last opinion of Hansfredus hee manifestly refuteth, and sheweth that there is no manner of likelihood of the same : and further, that the contrary is affirmed by diuers other writers that were of that time. He died in the yere of our Lord 1268. the thirtieth day of December, in the seuen and fiftieth yere of his age, and seuen and thirtieth yere of his raigne, whose corpes was brought to Banonum, and there intombed.

The issue of  
Frederike the  
Emperour.

Frederike had three wiues, the first was Constantia, the daughter of the king of Aragon ; of whom he begat Henry the duke of Sueuia and king of the Romans : the other Iole the daughter of Iohannes Wrennus king of Hierusalem, by whom he had the inheritance of Hierusalem, Naples, and Sicily ; of whom he begat Conradus duke of Sueuia, king of Hierusalem and Naples, being Cesar : the third, Isabell the daughter of king John of England ; by whom he had a sonne named Henry, which is said to dye in his childhood. This Fredericus had not his pore in martiall affaires and warlike policies to be compared vnto him, amongst all the princes of that age : a wise and skilful souldier he was, a greater induror of painefull labours and frauels, most bold in greatest perils, prudent in foresight, industrious in all his doings, prompt and nimble about that hee tooke in hand, and in aduersity most stout and courageous. But as in this corruption of nature, few there be that attaine perfection, neither yet is there any prince almost of such government and godly institution both in life and doctrine as is required of them : so neither was this Frederike without his fault and humane fragility, for the writers impute to him some fault of concupiscence, wherewith hee was stained and spotted. And it appeareth that hee was not all cleare thereof, so much as by sundry concubines he had sundry children ; as Encius the king of Sardinia, Hansfredus the prince of Sacuntinum, and Frederike king of Antioch. And this is all that I finde of the description of Frederike by Colonicius, which hee affirmeth that he gathered out of good and probable authoys. But as touching the heinous ads and flagitious deeds, which the pope burtheneth him withall, and in his sentence against him maketh mention of ; Fredericus not onely purgeth himselfe thereof, but also diuers historiographers (as well Germane writers as Italian) affirme the same to be false and of the popes owne braines, inuented to doe him skath and sceme withall. Of which matter those things which Pandolphus (touching the commendation o<sup>r</sup> dispraise of Fredericus writeth) I thought good out of Italian to translate ; whose words be these.

The words of  
Pandolphus  
touching the  
praise and dis-  
praise of the  
Emperour.

Albeit the Emperour Fredericus was indued with many goodly gifts and vertues, yet notwithstanding was hee accounted an enemy of the Church, and a persecutor of the same : of which both Innocentius the fourth in his sentence hath pronounced him guilty, and the same sentence haue other popes registered in their fir bookes of decretals, and established the same for a law, how that hee ought to be taken for no lesse. Wherefore peradventure it should not become me to falsifie o<sup>r</sup> call in question that, which others haue confirmed, o<sup>r</sup> else to dispute and argue much of that matter. Yet notwithstanding as much as his ads and deeds in writing declare, and the bookes of the chiefest authoys affirme, as also his owne epistles doe testifie ; I cannot precisely say, whether the Bishops of Rome to call him and iudge him therefore : Or else for that hee was somewhat too bold in speaking and telling them but the truth,

and reponing the ecclesiasticall order of their great abuses : Or else whether for that he would haue had them gone somewhat more nere the conditions and lines of the ancient fathers of the primitive Church and disciples of Christ : Or whether for that he defended and stood with them for the prerogative and dignities belonging to the Empire o<sup>r</sup> not : Or else whether they stood in feare and awe of the great power he was of in Italy, which thing indoe Gregory the ninth in a certaine epistle of his confelleth : but of these things let them iudge and discerne, that shall reade the monuments and histories of Frederike. Truly (saith he) when I consider with my selfe that Christ (whose vicar the Roman bishops boast themselves to be) said vnto his disciples, that they should follow him, and also imitate his example, as of their master and teacher ; and commanded them further, more, how they should not draw the sword, but put by the same into the sheabberd ; and further gaue them in precept that they should not onely forgiue injuries seuen times, but seuen times seuen times to those that offended them, and when I now compare the liues of the bishops of Rome, how nere they follow him whose vicar they say they be ; and consider so many and great conspiracies, treasons, rebellions, dissolutions, lyings in waite, and treacherous deuices, so many legats of the popes (being ecclesiasticall persons) which will needs be called the shepherds of Christs flocke, to be such warriors and captaines of souldiers in all the parts of Italy, Campania, Apulia, Calabria, (being the Emperours dominions) in Picenum, Emilia, Flammunia, and Lombardy, to be sent out against him, and also when with my selfe I meditate the destruction of so many great and famous cities, the subuersion of such commonweales, the slaughter of so many men, and the effusion of so much Christian blood : and lastly, when I behold so victorious, prosperous and fortunate emperors to be, and so many miserable, vnfortunate and banquished popes put to flight ; I am perswaded with my selfe to thinke and beleue, that the iudgements of God are secret and marvellous, and that to be true which Aeneas Syluius in his history of Austria watcheth : that there is no great and marvellous slaughter, no notorious and speciall calamity (that hath happened either to the publike weale o<sup>r</sup> else to the Church of God) of the which the bishops of Rome haue not bene the authoys. Nicholas Machiauellus also saith, that all the ruinous calamities and miserable chances, that the whole Christian commonweale and also Italy hath suffered, haue been brought in by the popes and bishops of Rome.

Many epistles of Fredericus there be, which hee wrote vnto the Bishops of Rome, to the Cardinals, and to diuers other Christian princes, all which I haue read ; and in them is to be seen nothing contrary vnto Christian doctrine, nothing wicked and vngodly, nothing injurious to the Church of God, nothing contumelious o<sup>r</sup> arrogantly written of Frederike. But indoe I deny not the same to bee fraught and full of pittifull complaints and lamentations, touching the auaricious ambition of the ecclesiasticall persons, and pertinacy of the Bishops of Rome, and that he would receiue and take no satisfaction no<sup>r</sup> yet excuse, in the defence of the right and priuledge of the empire, which he maintained : also of their manifold and infinite conspiracies which they practised both secretly and openly against him : and of the often admonitions which he gaue to the whole multitude and order ecclesiasticall, to attend vpon and discharge their functions and charges. And who that further is desirous to know and vnderstand the truth, and coueteth to search out the renowned vertues of magnificent princes, let them reade the epistle of Frederike dated to all Christian princes, which thus beginneth : Collegerunt principes, pontifices & Phantex concilium : and another, wherein he p<sup>er</sup>soneth the college of cardinals to take by the dis-

{ KING }  
{ HEN. 3 }

Frederike.

The popes  
Church compa-  
red with Christ  
his Church, are  
as like as black  
and white.

Described com-  
mendation by  
the Epistles  
of Frederike.



**KING**  
**HEN. 3.**

sention betwene the Emperour and the Pope, which  
beginneth, In exordio nascens mundi ; and also ano-  
ther which thus beginneth, Infalibilis veritatis tes-  
tem ; besides yet another, Ad reges & principes orbis  
christiani ; with diuers others more, wherein may  
well be seene the princely vertues of this so worthy  
a pöere : all which epistles collected together in the  
Latine tongue, the learned sort I wished to reade,  
whereout they may picke no little benefit and com-  
modity to themselves. In his Epistle last recited  
these are his words : Non existimetis id me à vobis  
ideo contendere, ac si ex sententia pontificia privatio-  
nis maiestas nostra sit percussa. Cùm enim nobis sit  
recte voluntatis conscientia, cùmque Deum nobiscum  
habeamus, eundem testem invocamus id nos spectasse,  
cùm totum ordinem ecclesiasticum, tum presertim pri-  
mores, nervis potentie dominationisque eorum succis  
extirpatisque tyrannidis radicibus ; ad primitivæ ec-  
clesiæ conditionem & statum revocaremus. What is :  
Thinke yee not that wee so earnestly desire or crave  
this peace at your hands, as though our maiestie were  
terrified with the Popes sentence of deprivation :  
whenas God (upon whom wee trust and invoke)  
is our witness, and judge of our conscience, that  
when wee went about to reforme the Ecclesiasticall  
state, but especially the ringleaders of the same, and  
should restraîne their power, and extirpate their  
great tyrannie, and reduce the same to the state and  
condition of the primitive Church, wee looked for  
no lesse at their hands. For these causes peradven-  
ture, those which had the government of the ecclesi-  
astical dignity, decreed and pronounced Frederike  
to be an enemy to the Church : which (as I have said)  
I leave to others to judge thereof. ¶ Hitherto  
¶ Pandolphus Colonucius.

Frederike pite-  
rously with the  
passard of the  
imperiall state to  
reforme the  
Church of Rome.

Frederike shew-  
eth himselfe no  
enemy but a  
friend to the  
Church of  
Rome.

Selfe does, selfe  
haue, the pö-  
wer is.

Hope of gaine  
allureth many  
to flatter and  
to write vn-  
truths.

the institution and bringing vp of a prince, which he  
wrote to the French king, exhorting him and all o-  
thers to take a patterne of this most worthy and ex-  
cellent prince : in commendation of whose worthy  
prayer and vertue these verses are written on his  
tomb.

Si probitas, sensus, virtutum gratia, census,  
Nobilitas, orti possent resisterie morti :  
Non foret extirctus Fredericus, qui jacet intus.

Wherefore, inasmuch as it appeareth by the ap-  
proved waters, of whom I have made mention,  
who and what manner of prince Frederike this  
Emperour was, and that because he diligently labo-  
red as well in the preservation of the Christian com-  
monweale, as in the conservation of the Imperiall  
dignity, he procured to himselfe the great hatred and  
displeasure of the Roman Bishops (who have bene  
to all the good Emperours for the most part bitter foes  
and enemies) and with what wicked slanders and  
other injuries both by them, and by their ministers  
they continually molested him : this lesson ought to  
be ours, that hauing the same in our memory, we  
mutate and follow his vertues, hating and detesting  
the wicked and flagitious doings of those holy fa-  
thers that will so be called, and Bishops of Rome ;  
desiring God that hee will so guide the hearts of all  
kings and Princes, that they may by his grace ad-  
uance and set forth his glory, and reforme the cor-  
rupt and vitious manner and order of the Church to  
all sinceritie and puritie both of life and doctrine.

These verses which here insue were sent and writ-  
ten between the Emperour and Pope Innocentius  
the fourth, which, for that to the learned they are both  
commodious and profitable, at the end of this histo-  
rie I thought good to place.

*Fredericus imper. Innocent 4. Papa.*

Fata monent, stellæque docent, auiumque volatus,  
Totius subito malleus orbis ero :  
Roma diu titubans longis erroribus acta  
Corruet, & mundi desinet esse caput.

*Innocent. papa Frederico Imper.*

Fata silent, stellæque tacent, nil prædicat ales,  
Soliis est proprium nosse futura Dei :  
Niteris incassum naum submergere Petri :  
Fluctuat, at nunquam mergitur illa ratis.  
Fama refert, scriptura docet, peccata loquuntur,  
Quod ubi vita brevis, poena perennis erit :  
Quod divina manus potuit, sensit Iulianus,  
Tu succedis ei, te tenet ira Dei.  
Fre. fremit in mundo, de. deprimit alta profundo,  
Ri. mala rimatur, cul. cuspide cuncta minatur.

*Fredericus Innocentio.*

Fata monent, stellæque docent, auiumque volatus,  
Lapsurum te mox ad stygis antra nigæ :  
Cymba Petri non est, sed Christi, quæ natat undis :  
Fluctuat, at nusquam mergitur illa ratis.  
Fama refert, tua scripta docent, peccata nefanda  
Interritum ostendunt, exitumque tuum.  
Strangulat Adrianum musca ; annon ira tonantis  
Cogitat, & de te fumere supplicium ?  
Carcere suspendit sese Benedictus, & alter  
In stupro captus, saucius ense perit.  
Sylvestrum extinguit Satan scelerator ipse :  
Ergo tuis factis præmia digna feres.  
Innocuum te voce notas, cùm sis nociturus  
Orbi terrarum christianoque gregi.

*Fredericus Innocentio de integro.*

Esles si membrum, non te caput orbis & urbis  
Iactares, cùm sis orbis & urbis onus.  
Nunc membrum non es, sed putre cadaver & vlgus,  
Ense recidendum, ridiculumque caput.



A Daniele βασιλευς, nefasque caputque malorum  
 Diceris; à Paulo filius exitii.  
 Nos solum Christum nostrum caput esse: malorum  
 Totius orbis te caput esse facis.  
 Et caput est unum, quod Paulus dicit ubique;  
 Tu vecors balatro, dic mihi quale caput?  
 Corporis ergo caput monstrosi, monstra parisque,  
 Monstra paris monachos, scorta nefanda foves.  
 Est tua religio stuprum, ira, superbia, cædes,  
 Error, deliciae, fulmina, turpe lucrum.  
 Ex his ergo liquet Christum despicere: Christo  
 Hostem esse inuisum; dedecorique Deo.  
 Rex tandem veniet coelo delapsus ab alto,  
 Tunc non defendent te, sacra, missa, cruces;  
 Non in sublimi surgentes vertice crista,  
 Non diploma potens, non tua sacra cohors.  
 Nec diadema triplex, nec sedes sanguine parata,  
 Nullus honos folii, purpura nulla tui:  
 Triginta argenteis Christum vendebat Iudas,  
 Tu Christi vendis corpora plura tui.  
 Corpora tu vendis Christi parvo are, polúmque,  
 Cœlestes genios, sidera, jura, Deos.

Certaine preachers  
 in Summa.

Ex chro. Ab-  
 ba. Vrsperg.  
 Crantz. lib. 8.  
 cap. 16. &  
 18.

Resistance as  
 against the Pope  
 no new thing in  
 Christ's church.

Arnoldus de  
 nova villa  
 condemned of  
 heretic.

Vide librum  
 de testibus  
 veritatis.

As ye haue heard of the iniquity and raging  
 pride of the popish church against their lawfull em-  
 perour; so now shall ye heare (Christ willing)  
 how God beginneth to resist and withstand the cor-  
 ruption of that whorish church, by stirring vp cer-  
 taine faithfull teachers in sundry countries; as in  
 the country of Suenia about the time of this Empe-  
 rour, Anno 1240. or nere vpon the same, where  
 were many preachers, mentioned in the Chronicle  
 of Wersperg, and also in Crantz, lib. 8. cap.  
 16. & 18. which preached freely against the Pope.  
 These preachers (as Crantz saith) ringing the  
 bells, and calling the Barons in Wallis of Suecia,  
 there preached that the Pope was an heretike, and  
 that his Bishops and prelates were simoniacs and  
 heretikes; and that the inferiour priests and prelates  
 had no authoritie to bind and loose, but were all se-  
 ducers. Item, that no Pope, Bishop or Priest could  
 restrain men from their duty of seruing and wor-  
 shipping of God, and therefore such cities or coun-  
 tries, as were then vnder the Popes curse, might  
 notwithstanding lawfully resort to the receiuing of  
 sacraments as well as before. Item, that friers,  
 Dominike and Franciscan, did subuert the church  
 with their preaching. And that the indulgence of  
 the Pope and his popelings was of no regard; but  
 that remission which they did preach vnto them,  
 they preached it not from the Pope, but as from the  
 Lord. And thus much I thought here to recite,  
 whereby it may appeare how the resisting of the  
 Popes vsurped power and corrupt doctrine is no  
 new thing in these daies in the Church of Christ, &c.

And not long after these aforesaid, rose vp Arnol-  
 dus De nova villa, a Spaniard, and a man famou-  
 ly learned and a great writer, Anno 1250. whom  
 the Pope with his spiritualty condemned among  
 heretikes for holding and writing against the cor-  
 rupt errors of the popish church. His teaching was,  
 that Satan had seduced the world from the truth of  
 Christ Iesus. Item, that the faith (which then christi-  
 an men were commonly taught) was such a faith  
 as the diuels had; meaning belike (as we now af-  
 firme) that the papists doe teach only the histoncall  
 faith, which is the faith Historie, non fiducia. Item,  
 that Christian people (meaning belike, for the most  
 part) are led by the Pope vnto hell. Item, that all  
 cloistres are beyd of charitie and damned; and  
 that they all doe falsifie the doctrine of Christ. Item,  
 that the diuines doe euill in mixing philosophy  
 with diuinitie. Item, that masses are not to be cele-  
 brated, and that they ought not to sacrifice for the  
 dead. Certaine other opinions there be, which the  
 slanderous seeds of monks and friers doe attribute vnto  
 him; but (as they are wont in all other to doe) ra-  
 ther vpon enuious taking, then of any iust cause giuen.

And as this Arnoldus was condemned, so also  
 the same time Iohannes Semeca, the glosse-writer  
 of the popes decrees, and prouost of Halberstat was  
 excommunicated and depriued of his prouostship,  
 for resisting Pope Clement the fourth, gathering  
 certaine erasions in Germany; and therefore he  
 appealed from the Pope to a generall councell, and  
 had many great fauourers on his side, till at last both  
 the Pope and he died.

10 Consequently in this order and number follow-  
 eth the worthy and valiant champion of Christ and  
 aduersary of antichrist Gulielmus de S Amore, a  
 master of Paris, and chiefe ruler then of that Uni-  
 uersitie. This Gulielmus in his time had no small  
 adoe writing against the friers, and their hypocritie,  
 but especially against the begging friers, both con-  
 demning their whole order, and also accusing them;  
 as those that did disturbe and trouble all the churches  
 of Christ by their preaching in Churches a-  
 gainst the will of the ordinaries and pastors, by their  
 hearing of confessions, and executing the charges  
 of curats and pastors in their Churches. All the tes-  
 timonies of scripture that make against antichrist,  
 he applieth them against the clergy of prelates, and  
 the Popes spiritualtie. The same Gulielmus is  
 thought to be the author of the booke, which is attri-  
 buted to the schoule of Paris, and intituled De peri-  
 culis ecclesie: where he proueth by nine and thirty  
 arguments, that friers be false apostles.

30 Moreover, hee doth well expound this saying of  
 Christ (If thou wilt be perfect, goe and sell away  
 all thou hast, and come follow me) declaring there  
 poverty to be inioyned vs of Christ, Non actualement  
 sed habitualement; not in such sort as standeth in out-  
 ward action, when no need requireth; but inward  
 affection of heart when need shall require. As  
 though the meaning and precept of our Lord were  
 not, that we should cast away actually all that we  
 haue; but that, when the confession of the name of  
 God and the glorie of Christ shall so require, then  
 we be ready to leaue and relinquish what things so-  
 euer for the sake of him, &c. As when he requireth  
 in vs after the like phrase, hatred of father and mo-  
 ther, and of our owne liues hee biddeth vs not to  
 dishonour father or mother, much lesse to hate them;  
 but that then, when case shall require, we set all  
 things behind the loue of Christ. Many other wor-  
 thy workes hee completed, wherein albeit hee utter-  
 ed nothing but what was truth, yet notwithstanding  
 50 ding he was by antichrist and his rabble condemned  
 for an heretike, cried, and his bookes burnt; whose  
 hereticall arguments, as they called them, that thou  
 maist better iudge thereof, here-vnder I thought  
 good to place.

Against false prophets with signes to know them  
 by, these his words doe follow. For because these  
 seducers (saith he) name themselves to be apostles,  
 and say that they are sent of God to preach, to ab-  
 solue and dispence with the soules of men, by means  
 60 of their ministry, read, the saying of the Apostle in  
 his second Epistle to the Corinthians, chap. 11.  
 For such apostles are subtil and crafty workemen,  
 disguising themselves to bee like the Apostles of  
 Christ. Therefore, wee meane to shew some cer-  
 taine infallible tokens and probable, by the which  
 false apostles may be discerned from the true pre-  
 chers and apostles of Christ.

The first signe or marke is, that such as be true  
 preachers doe not enter into simple womens houses  
 laden with sinne, and take them as if were captiue,  
 70 as many of the false preachers doe; as in the se-  
 cond epistle of S. Paul to Timothy the third cha-  
 pter is manifest, saying: Of those sorts are they,  
 which enter into womens houses, &c. Therefore  
 those preachers which come into womens houses, to  
 the intent they may take them captiue, be not true  
 preachers, but false apostles.

The second signe and token is, that those that be  
 true

{ KING }  
 { HEN. 3 }  
 Iohannes  
 Semeca.  
 the glosse-writer  
 of the popes de-  
 crees excommu-  
 nicated.

Gulielmus de  
 S. Amore.

The place of the  
 Gospel expoun-  
 ded, Goe-and-se-  
 all and come fol-  
 low me.

Gulielm. de S.  
 Amore conden-  
 ned of the Pope  
 for an heretike.

The first sign  
 and token to  
 know a false  
 preier and pro-  
 phet by.



**KING** true preachers doe not deceiue simple men with  
**HEN 3.** painted and flattering words, whereby they preferre  
 doe nor deceiue their owne trash and tradition, as all false prophets  
 men with paine- do, as in the last chapter to the Romans appea-  
 erp flattering reth, saying, By their pleasant and sugred talke,  
 words. and by their blessing and crossing they deceiue and be-  
 quile the hearts of innocent men and women. Glof. Which gay glori-  
 ous words they extoll and set forth their traditions, whereby they deceiue simple  
 men. Very greatly doe they deceiue the soules of  
 simple men, which cause them to enter into their sed,  
 which they terme religion. And they which before led  
 a naughty life, by reason of their ignorance or sim-  
 plicity, after their entrance, become subtil and false  
 deceiuing hypocrites, entring together with the rest  
 into poore mens houses; yea, and oftentimes be-  
 come worse than the others. Wherupon Matth. 22.  
 Woe be vnto you Scribes and Pharisees, hy-  
 pocrites, which goe about, &c. Therefore they which  
 doe this, are no true messengers, but false apostles.

**The third signe** is, that the true apostles, if they  
 be reprov'd, suffer the same patiently, 2 Cor. 12.  
 saying; The tokens of my apostleship are accom-  
 plished among you, in all patience and sufferance,  
 meaning that patience, which pertaineth to the ma-  
 ners of the preachers. Therefore they, which suffer  
 not correction or punishment, be no true apostles,  
 but rather shew themselves to be no Christians at  
 all: 1 Cor. 12. No man can say that Iesus is the  
 Lord, but by the holy Ghost. Glof. It is mete that  
 Christians should bee humbled, to the intent that  
 they may suffer themselves to be reprov'd, and not  
 to be holden by with yea and nay. And also such  
 men doe shew themselves to be carnall, and not  
 spirituall at all, although they faine themselves to  
 be spirituall: Gal. 3. Therefore am I become an  
 enemy vnto you. Notwithstanding the gloffe saith:  
 No carnall man will be reprov'd although he erre.  
 Therefore, those preachers which suffer not correcti-  
 on, seeme not to be true apostles, but false prophets.

**The fourth signe** is, that true apostles commend  
 not themselves, 2 Cor. 4. For we dare not ioyne  
 our selues, nor yet compare our selues vnto o-  
 thers which commend and boast of many of  
 their acts, when God alloweth none of them at  
 all. Also true Preachers although they bee in-  
 dade praiseworthy for their good deserts, in the  
 consciences of men are they praiseworthy, and not  
 to the outward shew alone: 2 Cor. 3. We commend  
 our selues (saith the Apostle) to the consciences of all  
 men. When they doe not commend themselves in  
 comparison of others. Therefore the gloffe saith by-  
 on the same place; Those, that deserue no commen-  
 dation but in comparison of others, doe challenge to  
 themselves other mens deserts and praise. Where-  
 fore in the second Epistle of S. Peter the last chap-  
 ter it is said; Euen as our welbeloued brother  
 Paul, according to the wisdom that God hath  
 given vnto him, hath written vnto you. Glof. The  
 chiefest of the Apostles hath here forgotten his  
 papall authority, and also his keys that were deliue-  
 red vnto him; for hee is assumed as it were at the  
 great wisdom given vnto his brother Paul. For  
 indeed it is the manner of the elect children of God,  
 to be more in loue with the vertues of other men,  
 than with their owne. Therefore in the second chap-  
 ter to the Philippians it is written; Let those that  
 are superiours esteeme of themselves in all humility.  
 They therefore that doe the contrary, saying that  
 their state or deings be better than other mens, al-  
 though they be preachers, yet are they no true apo-  
 stles indeed, but false prophets.

**The fifth signe** is, that true apostles need no let-  
 ters of commendation; nor yet desire to haue  
 themselves praised of men; as in the 2 Cor. 3. the  
 Apostle saith, Wee need not the letters of com-  
 mendation of any man; that is to say, of false pro-  
 phets.

**The sixth signe** is, that true apostles doe not  
 preach vntill they be sent, as in the 10. chap. to the  
 Romans; How shall they preach vntill they be  
 sent? Where be no true apostles but those that be  
 sent: for they haue need of signes which are true  
 witnesse-bearers, but those that be not sent and doe  
 preach are false prophets.

**The seventh signe** is, so much as false prophets  
 haue their authority in their owne names; where,  
 fore in the second epistle of S. Paul to the Corin-  
 thians it is written; For we dare not boast of our  
 selues or make comparison: Glof. That is to  
 say, with those that be false prophets, not taking  
 their authority from God, but vsurping the same,  
 desirous to beare rule, claiming in their owne name  
 their authority. And therefore although peraduen-  
 ture by presumption they say that they are sent of  
 God, as all heretikes will say; yet notwithstanding,  
 vntill they shall proue their sending either  
 by spirituall prophesie, as John Baptist did, saying;  
 I am the voyce of a cryer in the desert; as out of  
 the prophet Esay in the first chapter of Saint  
 Johns Gospell is alleaged; or else by miracles,  
 as Moses did, which turned his rod into a Ser-  
 pent, and againe, from a Serpent to a rod, as in the  
 seventh chapter of Exodus, they ought for to be ex-  
 communicated, till such time as they cease from  
 preaching. Yet notwithstanding, a miracle ought not  
 to be a sufficient testimony of their sending, for so  
 much as they be done oftentimes and that of euill  
 and wicked men: 1. q. 1. we may perceiue towards  
 the end. But miracles ought to be suspected, for so  
 much as our Saviour saith in the thre and twenti-  
 eth of Matthew, When shall false prophets arise, &c.  
 Therefore they which doe challenge authority in  
 their owne name, so much as they haue not their  
 authority from God, they are not true apostles, but  
 false preachers.

**The eighth signe** is, that false prophets, preten-  
 ding great wisdom and holiness to be in superstiti-  
 on, haue named their owne traditions to be religi-  
 on, the which are rather to be counted sacrilege or  
 church robbery, and doe vsurpe vnto themselves, for  
 due deserts of other men, by boasting and bragging  
 among strange and unknowen people. Therefore  
 the Apostle speaking of false prophets in the second  
 chapter to the Colossians, saith; According to the  
 precepts of men, which haue a face of wisdom  
 consist in superstition, interlaced with humilitie.  
 Glof. That is to say, mingled with fained religi-  
 on, that it might be called religion, when in very  
 deed it is nothing else but sacrilege, because it is  
 contrary to all authority; that is, contrary to God  
 himselfe, that any man should desire to haue go-  
 uernment of a multitude without publike comman-  
 dement, as in Deuteronomium the thre and twen-  
 tieth chapter; Thou hast entred into thy neighbors  
 vineyard. Glof. That is to say, Into the church  
 of another Bishop. May a man warne and admon-  
 ish others, or else correct that congregation which is  
 not lawfull for him to gouerne, nor yet to take so  
 great a charge on him? No. And that it is not law-  
 full to enter into another bishops diocese, it is appa-  
 rant, because it is not lawfull for the Archbishop to  
 doe. To this effect appertaineth that which is  
 read, 6. q. 3. And also it is written 9. q. 2. through-  
 out. Therefore those preachers, which against God  
 and his diuine scriptures doe call their owne tradi-  
 tions religion, are not apostles, but false prophets.

**The ninth signe** is, by the authority which they  
 haue: for although they be no preachers of the gospell  
 or ministers of the sacraments, yet they will lue by  
 the gospell, and not by the labor of their owne hands,  
 against the text in the 2 Thes. 3. Neither haue wee  
 eaten any mans bread for nought, or of free cost.  
 Glof. When those false prophets ought much more  
 to lue by their labour, which haue not that authority  
 which wee ought to haue; that is to say, to lue by the  
 gospell.

**The first signe**  
 is, that true  
 apostles take in  
 good part when  
 they be reprov'd.

**The third signe**  
 is, that true  
 apostles take in  
 good part when  
 they be reprov'd.

**The fourth signe**  
 is, that true  
 preachers com-  
 mend not them-  
 selves.

**The fifth signe**  
 is, that true  
 preachers need  
 no letters com-  
 mendatory.

**The sixth signe**  
 is, that true  
 apostles preach  
 not vntill they  
 be sent.

**The seventh**  
 signe is, when  
 those false pro-  
 phets preach,  
 that were neuer  
 sent.

**The eighth signe**  
 is, that false  
 prophets pre-  
 tend great holi-  
 nesse in supersti-  
 tion.

**The ninth signe**  
 is, that when  
 they neither  
 preach nor mini-  
 ster, yet they lue  
 upon other mens  
 labors.



Gospel. And S. Augustine speaketh of this more expressly in his booke De opere monachorum, by these words: Those our brethren doe claime to themselves (very rashly as me thinketh) that they haue any such authority, to lue by the Gospel. If they be preachers of the Gospel, I grant that indeed they haue such authority; if they be ministers of the altar, if they be disposers of the Sacraments, they cannot well but take to themselves this authority, as also manifestly to challenge the same; if at the least they haue not toherewithall to sustaine this present life, without labour of their hands. As though he would haue said; If they be not such manner of men, then haue they no authority to lue by the Gospel. Therefore those preachers which haue no authority to lue by the Gospel, or else minister the Sacraments, because they haue no congregation whereby to take charge of soules, and yet for all that will needes lue vpon the Gospel; they be no true apostles, but false prophets.

The tenth signe is, that false teachers reioyce more to be commended themselves, than that the word of God should haue the commendation and praise. But they that are true preachers and apostles are farre other wise minded, as to the Thel. 2. Not seeking the praise of men, &c. And herein he toucheth those false prophets, which desire rather to be commended themselves, than that the word of God which they preach should haue the commendation: but he is an apostle, which not seeking the glory of this present world, but for the glory to come, doth abase himselfe, to the intent that the preaching and word of God might be commended and exalted. They therefore which desire to haue praise and to be commended of others, rather than that the word of God should haue the praise, be no true apostles, but false prophets.

The eleuenth signe is, that true apostles doe preach only for Gods cause, and for the health of soules, and for no temporal gaine, as in the 2 Cor. 4. saying; We preach not our selues, &c. Glossa: Our preaching tendeth not to our glory and gaine, but onely to the glory of Christ. But the preaching of Christ, by those that are false prophets, tendeth to the contrary. Whereupon in the Philip. 1. is said, Whether it be vpon occasion giuen, or else for the verities sake, let Christ be preached, &c. Glossa: False prophets doe preach the Gospel vpon some occasion, as either by seeking some commoditie at the hands of men, or else because of getting goods, honour, or praise among men. Which notwithstanding that they bee ready and willing, as it should seeme, to beare and sustaine injuries; yet they seeke not so much the health of him to whom they preach, as in very deed they doe their owne commoditie and gaine. Whereupon, 2 Corin. 12. Because I seeke not the things that be yours, that is to say, not your treasure, as gold and silver, but onely you your selues. Glossa: For other wise it could by no meanes be gathered that they should vnderstand him to speake or meane of their substance, because he more esteemeth them than their money, to the intent that they might vnderstand his great good will towards them. Therefore these euill and naughty preachers which preach for worldly gaine or honour, or else for the praise and commendation of men, be no true apostles but false prophets. But it may be asked, how shall men vnderstand when these god fellows preach for their owne vaine-glory sake? It may be answered thus, when they preach before they be called, as in the 2 Cor. 1. 1. Whosoever boasteth, let him boast and reioyce in the Lord. Glossa: Which thing he cannot by any meanes doe that hath not his authority from God. For if any such prophet preach, he seeketh his owne glory, and that may easily be perceived. Because he is not called of God, hee hath no such authority of him, that is to say, of his Church or Congregation, as to the Heb. 7. No man taketh to himselfe any dignity, but hee that is called of God as

Aaron was. Glossa: He is called of God, that is, lawfully chosen of the congregation.

The twelfth signe or token of a false prophet is, because such prophets doe counterfeit themselves to haue greater care and loue to mens soules, than those that be their very gouernours and pastors haue, although they haue no charge at all of them; against whom the glossa speaketh, and the 1 Thel. 2. We are become meke and louing towards you, euen as the nurse which giueth her childe sucke. Glossa: A woman nurseth other mens children for wages, and not for loue alone; but she giueth her owne sucke of very loue without respect of money. Therefore those preachers which faine themselves to haue a greater loue and affection to the soules of men, than they that haue the charge ouer them, seeme not to be true Apostles. The Apostles stude not for eloquence, nor for the curious placing of their words, but false prophets doe them both, as in the 2 Cor. 11. If the simple and vneloquent man, &c. Glossa: The Apostles were not eloquent, but false prophets are full of curious eloquence. Also vpon the same another glossa: The Corinthians were led away from the Gospel by ouer nice eloquence: 2 Cor. 7. Let vs shew our selues before all men as the ministers of God. Glossa: The ministers of God doe not flatter as false prophets doe. And for this occasion those that be true Apostles haue not their abiding in princes courts and noble mens houses, knowing this saying of Christ in S. Mathewes Gospel, Behold, those that are clothed with silkes dwell in kings courts. And therefore true Apostles are not conuersant in princes courts, and noble mens houses. Glossa: Hard and strict life with the preaching of the Gospel leueth not to come nere princes palaces, and noble mens houses. Oftentimes it cometh to passe that courtiers are found great flatterers, therefore those preachers that haue their abode in princes courts, or that in any other place doe use to flatter, are no true apostles, but false prophets.

The thirteenth signe is, that true Apostles or messengers doe not circumsent or subtilly goe about to deceiue men, though they should giue vnto them their goods, either in their life time, or else at the time of their death, as in the 2 Cor. 7. We haue falsly decreiued no man. Glossa: By the subtil and deceitfull getting away of your substance, as false prophets doe, which get away from you those things that be yours vnder pretence of great friendship. Also Mathew 22. To be vnto you Scribes and Pharisees, you hypocrites, which spoile widowes houses by your long prayers; which meane nothing else by your superstition, but that you may spoile and robbe the people, as Luke 20. Which deuoure widowes houses by dissembling of your long prayer. Glossa: They which make ouer long prayers, to the intent they may seeme more deuout, and that they may get both money and great commendation of all such as be sick and troubled with the burthen of their sins; whose prayers be turned into sin, which neither are profitable for themselves nor any other, but rather shall haue for making those prayers greater damnation, for so much as by the same they deceiue others: for by this, that they receive and take, both gold and silver, it appeareth that they preach not for soules health sake, but onely for filthy lucre and gaine sake: Mat. 10. We ye possessors neither of gold nor silver. Glossa: If they then haue these things, they cannot seeme or be thought to preach for the health of the soule, but for lucre sake. And so saith Hierome vpon the prophet Malachi, Because some prophets tooke money, their prophesie became domination, that is to say, their prophesie appeared not to be prophesie, but domination, or inchantment: that is, that such prophesie proceedeth not from God but from the diuell. And this appeareth in 1. q. 1. hauing this beginning, Nunquam diuination, &c. Therefore those preachers which circumsent and beguile

The tenth signe is, that false prophets take that to them which pertai-  
neth to the word  
of God.

The eleuenth  
signe is, that  
false prophets  
doe preach for  
gaine, and not  
for Gods cause.

KING  
HEN 3

The twelfth  
signe is, that  
false prophets  
doe counterfeit  
to loue where  
they hate.

The thirteenth  
signe is, that  
false prophets  
doe circumsent  
men to haue  
their goods, and  
care for nothing  
else.



**KING** beguile men, to the intent that they should give  
**HEN. 3.** them their goods, either in their life time, or after  
 their death, are not true apostles, but false prophets.

The fourteenth  
 signe is, that  
 false prophets  
 cannot abide to  
 haue the truth  
 preached.

The fourteenth signe is, that false prophets when  
 any verity is preached, which for the most part they  
 are not acquainted withall, or that toucheth them,  
 then begin they to chafe and barke against the same.  
 Whereupon the Apostle in the third chapter to the  
 Philippians, saith: Behold the dogs. Glossa: Un-  
 derstand you that they are not dogs by nature, but  
 by their vage and conditions, barking against the  
 truth, which they were neuer acquainted with. And  
 so he compareth them right well to dogs, because  
 dogs follow rather custome than reason: so false  
 apostles doe keepe the custome of the law, and doe  
 bite and barke against the truth, as though they  
 were without the gift of reason. And also in the se-  
 cond epistle to Timothy, the fourth chapter, saying,  
 They get them instructors according to their owne  
 desires. Glossa: Which may teach them what things  
 they themselves are willing to heare, because the  
 truth seemeth nothing pleasant unto them. There-  
 fore those preachers which barke against the late re-  
 vealed truth, which toucheth them very nere, and  
 therefore cause the same to be hidden and kept vnder,  
 are not true apostles, but false prophets.

The fifteenth  
 signe is, that  
 false prophets  
 doe enforce them  
 to heare that are  
 not willing to  
 heare.

The fifteenth signe is, that the true Apostles doe  
 not enforce any to receiue or heare them which be  
 unwilling thereunto, but send them away rather,  
 lest they should seeme to seeke after some earthly  
 and transitory thing: Matthew 10. Whosoever will  
 not receiue you, get you out of that city, and shake  
 the dust from off your feet, &c. Glossa: That you may  
 thereby shew that the desire of earthly things hath  
 no power in you. Therefore those preachers which  
 strive and wrestle (as it were) to the intent they  
 would be receiued and heard, are no true apostles,  
 forso much as the Apostle saith, 1 Corin. 11. If any  
 man appeare among you to be ouer-contentious or  
 full of strife, such custome haue we none, nor yet the  
 congregation of Christ.

The sixteenth  
 signe is, that  
 false prophets  
 doe cause princes  
 to hate and pu-  
 nish them that  
 will not heare  
 them.

The sixteenth signe is, that the Apostles did not  
 procure the indignation of those princes, with whom  
 they were esteemed and regarded, against such per-  
 sons as would not receiue them and heare them, ac-  
 cording as we read in the life of Simon and Jude,  
 the Apostles. The chiefe ruler, being very angry,  
 commanded a very great fire to be made that the  
 Bishops might be cast into the same, and all other  
 which went about to defame the Doctrine of the  
 Apostles of Christ. But the Apostles fell downe  
 before the Emperour, saying; We beseech you sir, let  
 not vs be the authors or causers of this destruction  
 or calamitie; nor let vs which are sent to be the pre-  
 servation of men, and to reuiue those that are dead  
 through sinne, bee killers of those that bee alieue.  
 Therefore those preachers which seeke to stirre up  
 the displeasure of princes against them (whose fa-  
 uours now they enjoy) that will not receiue and  
 heare them, or rather whom they themselves hate,  
 are not true apostles, but false prophets.

The seventeenth  
 signe is, that  
 false prophets do  
 not know neither  
 what God hath  
 done, or yet will  
 doe, as true pro-  
 phets doe.

The seventeenth signe is, that the Apostles of  
 Christ haue not onely the knowledge of those things  
 which God hath already done, but also of those  
 things which he will hereafter doe, as in the Apoca-  
 lypt 3. chapter: The beasts were full of eyes both  
 behinde and before. Glossa: Obtaining the know-  
 ledge of those things which God had done, as also  
 what he would doe hereafter in the end of the world.  
 Therefore those that say they know not the perils of  
 the Church in the later time which are prophesied  
 before, or that they care not for them, or else if they  
 know them, they haue not eyes behinde and before,  
 are no true apostles: therefore what time as they  
 call themselves apostles, they are false prophets.

The eighteenth  
 signe is, that  
 false prophets do  
 preach for money,  
 and are not to be  
 discerned from  
 wolves.

The eighteenth signe is, that true Apostles doe  
 not desire the riches and goods of them to whom they  
 preach, whereby they are discerned from wolves,

that is to say, from false prophets: Act. 20. I haue  
 desired no mans gold nor silver. Glossa: By this are  
 wolves discerned, for they desire such things. And  
 againe in the same place; For those things which I  
 had need of, and those which were with mee, these  
 hands haue ministered. Glossa: This example also  
 of labouring is a spectacle for Bishops whereby they  
 are discerned from wolves. For such as aske or beg  
 of those to whom they preach, or let any other to aske  
 or beg in their names, doe seeme to commit simonie  
 like Ezechiel, of whom it is read in the 3. booke of  
 Kings the first chapter, that he craued certaine appa-  
 rell of Naaman the Syrian, to whom his master  
 Elisha had restored the benefit of health, notwithstanding  
 he had gotten those garments unwitting  
 to his master. Whereupon Gregorie Nazianzen  
 saith, 1. q. 1. Qui illi debetur. But some man per-  
 haps will say, Cannot the preacher aske money or  
 money worth of those to whom he preacheth? At  
 the least, may not he beg? To this may be answered;  
 If the preacher by authoritie preach and feed his  
 flocke as a true pastor with the word of Gods word,  
 he may take money or money worth; but then it is  
 not begging or crauing, but it is by authoritie, as  
 the 2 to Timothy 2. chapter. It is meete that the  
 husbandman that tilleth the ground, should first and  
 afore others receiue the commoditie of his increase.

Glossa: We putteth the vertuous preacher out of  
 doubt, not preaching so that intent to make mer-  
 chandize of the Gospel, and quiet him to under-  
 stand, that it is lawfull for him to take of them whom  
 he feedeth as his flocke, what things soeuer hee hath  
 need of, and doth if not in begging or crauing, but  
 by good authoritie. It is manifest that it cannot in  
 any place of the holy Scripture be found, that the  
 preacher ought to beg. But begging is forbidden of  
 all the Apostles of Christ, and is abhorred of Salo-  
 mon, and S. Augustine, and reproued by diuers  
 other holymen. Therefore it is manifest that the  
 true Apostles doe not desire the temporall goods of  
 them to whom they preach, neither doe they beg or  
 craue the same. They therefore that require any  
 thing of them to whom they preach, or else let any  
 other man to aske for them, or in their names, doe  
 not seeme to be true apostles, but false preachers.

If the preacher  
 doe his duty in  
 preaching, hee  
 may take law-  
 fully for his ne-  
 cessary things.

The nineteenth signe is, that true Apostles are  
 patient in tribulation, neither doe they tender enuill  
 for good; Matth. 10. Behold I send you as sheepe  
 among wolves. Glossa: They, that occupie the  
 place of preaching, ought not to procure any enuill  
 toward their brethren, as the example of Christ tea-  
 cheth, 1 Pet. 2. saying: Whom when he was reuiled,  
 reuiled not againe, but did submit himselfe to him  
 that judgeth iustly. They therefore that suffer not  
 iniurie, but rather doe wrong themselves, are not  
 true apostles, but false apostles.

The nineteenth  
 signe is, that  
 true apostles doe  
 not tender enuill  
 for good, as false  
 doe.

The twentieth signe is, that true Apostles at their  
 first comming are euill entertained, as the Lord  
 saith in the 24. of Mat. He shall be hated of all men  
 for my names sake; but yet at the length such get  
 the victory, according to that saying of the first of S.  
 John the 5. chapter, euery thing that is of God  
 ouercometh the world. They therefore that in the  
 beginning reioyce and are well entertained, but in  
 the end are reiect, seeme not to be true apostles, but  
 false.

The twentieth  
 signe is, that  
 true apostles are  
 not so well recei-  
 ued as false  
 prophets be.

The twentieth one signe is, that true preachers doe  
 not to preach vnto those which haue preachers ap-  
 pointed vnto them, because they haue not to reioyce  
 of a company belonging to another mans charge,  
 as to the Romans the 15. chapter; I haue prea-  
 ched the Gospel where Christ was not before prea-  
 ched, lest I should build vpon another mans founda-  
 tion. And in the second Epistle of S. Paul to the  
 Corinthians, the 10. chapter, he saith; We are no  
 boasters, nor buse in other mens matters. Glossa:  
 Where another man had laid the foundation. Like-  
 wise in the same chapter; For hauing pleasure to  
 boast

The twentieth one  
 signe is, that true  
 preachers build  
 not vpon any  
 other mans  
 foundation.



Authoritie to  
uech them that  
refuse her, and  
yet abhorre her  
not.

The twentieth  
two signe is,  
that true pro-  
phets are not  
proud and vain-  
glorious, as  
false prophets be.

The twentieth  
third signe is,  
that false pro-  
phets be alwayes  
men-pleasers.

The twentieth  
fourth signe is,  
that true pro-  
phets eat what  
is set before  
them, and giue  
God thanks,  
but that doe not  
the false pro-  
phets.

The twentieth  
fifth signe is,  
that true pro-  
phets doe loue  
more their owne  
estimation, than  
that the word of  
God should be  
truly taught.

boast of other mens labours, that is to say, of those which be committed to the government of another man. Likewise Augustinus saith; Honour ought to seeke thee, and not thou honour. Also Chrysostome; Authority is in loue with such a man as refuseth yet, and yet abhorreth her not. They therefore that procure and haue a desire to preach vnto the people committed to another mans charge, which is an office of honour, especially in Councils, Synods, and great assemblies, also in Kings and Princes courts, and Prelates palaces, are not true apostles, but false teachers.

The twentieth two signe is, that true Apostles, when they know themselves to doe much good in the Church and congregation of God, yet notwithstanding are not puffed vp with pride; Ezekiel 3. Of some of man I haue made thy face as an adamant stone. The adamant stone, when it dwaleth in vnto it, is not thereby either lifted vp or altered. Likewise a true preacher when he dwaleth sinners vnto him by his preaching (whose hearts were as hard as iron) is neuer the more lifted vp or higher minded therefore. But as in Luke the 18. chapter, When ye haue done all that ye can, and as well as ye can, yet say that you are vnprofitable seruants: Psal. 115. Not vnto vs, Lord, not vnto vs, but to thy name be giuen the glory. They therefore that doe arrogantly boast themselves of the fruit and benefit that they haue done in the Church of God, saying; We haue giuen light to the vniuersall Church, which was blind before our time, and we haue put out the flame of sinne in the Church of God (when perhaps they haue more furthered hypocrisie than either truth or verity) they are not true prophets but false, of whom it is spoken in the Psalms, The mouth of them that speake proud things, &c.

The twentieth three signe is, that true Apostles doe not seeke the fauour of the world, nor yet how to please men, as to the Galath. 1. If I should please men, that is to say, if I had a desire to please men, I should not be the seruant of God. Whereupon to Timothy the first epistle and second chapter; Not as men-pleasers. Glossa: Seeking to please, because we haue not the pleasing spirit. Therefore those preachers that seek the fauour of the world, and doe labour to this intent that they might please men, are not true apostles, but false.

The twentieth fourth signe is, that true Apostles when they haue meat and drinke, they are contented, neither doe they desire ouer dainty fare, according to the saying of Mat. 10. chap. Eating and drinking those things that are set before them. Glossa: The Gospell condemneth not altogether costly and delicate fare, yet it so alloweth the same, that if we haue meat and drinke, we ought not to grudge, but to be therewith contented. Therefore those preachers, which although that neither they be sent, nor haue authority to preach, and yet are offended when they haue not fine and delicate fare, are not true apostles, but false preachers.

The twentieth fifth signe is, that true Apostles doe loue more the law of God than their owne estimation amongst their neighbours, according to that in the 7. chapter of the Prouerbs; Accept my law as the apple of thine eye, and binde the same vpon thy fingers, and write the same in the table of the heart. Whereupon in the 119. Psalme The law of thy mouth is dearer vnto me than thousands of gold and silver. Glossa: Charity doth more loue the law of God, than the desire of gold and silver a thousand fold. He therefore that seeth the Gospell of Christ troden vnder foot, which is the eternal glad tidings, to be taken away by that cursed one, that doth neglect and contemne the same, or else peradventure consenteth vnto the same, to the outward appearance of the world; and yet, because he will keepe his temporal dignitie and estimation, refuseth to stirre by strife and contention about the same, and so to be

euill spoken of, seemeth not to be an Apostle of Christ, but rather a false prophet, if he be a preacher.

The twentieth sixt signe is, that true Apostles seeke not after such fine lodgings and wealthy habitation, where they may haue all things at their commandements; but rather such honest resting places where they may haue necessary things for themselves, with their good wils of whom they haue it. And they take nothing of such whom they see to be so ready and liberall in giuing, nor thinke that they doe him more pleasure in receiving the gift, than the other doe in giuing them the same. According to that in the tenth of Matthew, saying, Into what city or towne soeuer ye shall enter, inquire out those that be of good report in the same, and abide you with them so long as you tarry in the same city or towne. Glossa: Your host, with whom ye lodge, ought to be chosen by the good report of neighbours, lest your preaching be euill spoken of, by reason of his infamy. Neither ought such men to run from house to house. But whom shall we call worthy of good report? Glossa: Him who knoweth better to doe other men good, than to receive a good turne of another. And this is he which giueth willingly for Christs cause, and not in respect of any commodity. Also true Apostles receive nothing of such men as lie weltering in their sinnes, but rather of those that are washed and clesed from their sins, whereupon the 2. to the Cor. the 7. chapter; They haue giuen themselves first to the Lord. Glossa: Because they now amending their old errors and vicious manners haue beloved themselves vnto the Lord, and afterward gaue of that which they had to their brethren: for otherwile they ought not to haue taken any thing of them, because gifts doe blinde the eyes; but those that giue, where there is no cause of reproofe in their doings, haue iust cause to giue. Therefore those preachers that seeke how to come by dainty fare, and doe receive bribes and rewards of naughty men that haue this world at will, to the intent that those preachers may couer and hide their faults, and get of others what they can by subtilty, which giue indeed to remoue the shamelesse impotency of the crauer, or else for auoiding of present shame, rather than for any loue they haue to God, are not true apostles, but false prophets, according to that in the 2. to the Cor. the 9. chapter. The Lord doth loue a willing giuer. Glossa: He that giueth for present shame, or else for that he may be free from the importunacy of him that asketh, doth lose his substance and merit: wherefore he that hath respect to these things, doth not seeke the fruit and profit of the giuer, but the gift it selfe, as the Apostle to the Philippians the 4. chapter, saith; Seeke not the gift, but the fruit or benefit of the giuer.

The twentieth seventh signe is, that true Apostles doe not endeuour themselves to seeke and enjoy the fruit of other mens labours that they may be fed thereby, because that the belly is such mens god, according to that in the 2. to the Thessal. the 3. chap. We haue heard of some amongst you which walke inordinately, not labouring at all, but living delicately or idly. Glossa: Of other mens labours, and deserue they to be fed? The Discipline of the Lord cannot away with that doing; for the belly is their god, which pould to haue more than necessary dishes of meat. Therefore those preachers which so doe, are no true apostles, but false.

The twentieth eight signe is, that true Apostles doe not reioyce onely of the miracles or other excellent woorkes, which the Lord doth by them; but they reioyce rather of the saluation which they look for from the Lord, than that by doing those miracles they desire any honour; according to that which is written in Luke the 10. saying; Reioyce not for that the spirits be subject vnto you, but because your names are registered in heauen. They therefore that boast of their owne miracles, or of any that belong vnto

KING  
HEN. 3  
The twentieth  
signe is, that  
false prophets  
not contented  
with necessary  
things, but lo-  
after superflu-  
ous.

The twentieth  
ninth signe is,  
that those be  
false prophets,  
whose belly is  
their god.

The twentieth  
eight signe is,  
that true pro-  
phets reioyce in  
miracles, as  
false prophets  
doe.



{ KING  
HEN.3 }

unto them, for this cause that they are saved by the doing of them, as many doe say, sceme not to be true apostles, but false.

The twenty ninth signe is, that the true Apostles doe neuer seeke their owne glory in this life, but the glory of Christ; as in John the 7. He that speaketh of himselfe doth seeke his owne glory, but he that seeketh the glory of him which sent him (that is, of whom he is sent) is a true Apostle. Therefore those which seeke the things that pertaine to the glory of this world, of the which one is to be assistant to those that beare rule and authoritie, according to that saying of Boetius De consolacione; Those that doe desire to be extolled, either they raigne and beare rule themselves, or else doe desire to be neere about them that haue such dominion. Another is, they desire to haue the same and victorie of that which they haue nothing at all deserued before God. Whereupon is written that saying of the Apostle, in the Gal. 5. Let not vs become desirous of vaine glory. Glossa: To be desirous of vaine glory, is to haue victorie without any merit or defect; and those, I say, that do such things, sceme not to be true apostles, but false.

The thirtieth signe is, that true apostles care not for the solemnities of men, neither their salutations, nor feastings, nor any other benefit of theirs. They therefore which loue and seeke the company and fellowship of men, their feastings, and other their commodities, doe not sceme to be true apostles, but false.

The thirtieth one signe is, that true apostles doe not commonly resort to other mens tables, lest that they should for a meales meate become flatterers, as in the 2. Thess. 3. That we should giue an example to follow vs. Glossa: He that commeth oftentimes to another mans table, being giuen to idleness, cannot chuse to flatter him which feedeth him; but Christs religion calleth men to liberty and to no such bondage: they therefore that resort oftentimes, and that of their owne mindes, to other mens tables (living idly) are not true apostles, but false.

The thirty two signe is, that true apostles doe not hate their enemies, and such as hate them; which doctrine the Lord taught, Matthew the fifth, saying: Love your enemies, doe well to them which hate you; but false prophets doe hurt and defame their neighbours, according as Hieremias 14 saith; The prophets of Hierusalem haue defiled the whole earth. Glossa: They are not contented to hurt their neighbours onely, but also whom they befoze this time haue hated, they defame and speake euill of in every place they come: therefore those preachers which hate them whom they thinke are their enemies, and doe defame them, are not true apostles, but false preachers.

The thirtieth three signe is, that false prophets, when they are examined and proued whether they be true apostles or liars, take that very grievously, and persecute all those that can proue them to be so, and also doe stir vp and prouoke others to persecute the same men, which also ioyne themselves together by secular power, euen as certaine false prophets did in the primitive Church against the bishop of Cephas, to whom the Lord said, Apoc. 2. I know, that is to say, I doe allow thy workes and thy labour; that is, thy tribulation, because thou canst not away with those that be euill men. Glossa: But that thou hast a desire to amend them, or else to expell them, and hast examined those which say that they are apostles, and are but liars, and also hast suffered this patiently. Glossa: The euils which these false prophets, ioyned together by secular power, doe bring in, are not the doings of true apostles, but false prophets.

The thirty fourth signe is, that true apostles doe not to preach to those which are conuerted already by other men, but rather doe conuert those which are not yet conuerted, lest that they should build vpon

another mans foundation, as S. Paul, Romans 15. saith: I haue laboured so, that from Hierusalem to Illyricus, I haue replenished the Gospell in every place. Glossa: That is, I haue preached the same abundantly, in whom the great vertue of the holy Ghost appeareth, because so many nations, that is, the Gentiles haue receiued the Gospell by me preaching. But I haue preached the Gospell there where Christ was not preached before, lest I should build vpon another mans foundation. Glossa: I should not preach to those that were conuerted by another man. Also 2 Cor. 10. We are not such as boast and glory in other mens labours. Glossa: Where another man laid the foundation, for that should be to boast inordinately. Also in the same place, not thinking to boast where another man hath government, but in those things which are put in experience. Glossa: Of other preachers; Because the apostle did preach to those to whom the Gospell was neuer preached, that he might get praise by his owne proper labour. Therefore, those preachers which goe not to that people which haue need to be conuerted, but to those which are conuerted already, which haue apostles of their owne, that is to say, Bishops and Priests, and yet doe boast ouer another mans flocke, are not true apostles, but false prophets.

The thirty fifth signe is, because true apostles, when they are sent, goe to their owne Diocese, and not to another mans diocese, euen as Paul being sent, went to the Gentiles when hee purposed to preach, Acts 13. Separate Paul and Barnabas for the business which I haue chosen them vnto. Glossa: According to the appointment and decree of James, Cephas, and John, went he forth to be a teacher vnto the Gentiles. But those preachers that stand vpon their fact, that is to say, those preachers which haue but small worldly substance, for which cause they are more ready to goe which way soeuer it shall please the Lord to send them, I say, the Lord hath sent them to preach, not to those which be sufficiently learned, but to those that are infidels, as we reade in Ezech. 2. After that, the Spirit of the Lord set Ezechiel vpon his feet, in quam spem situs unus tangitur, and he said vnto him, Sonne of man, behold I send thee to the nations which haue flart back from their profession, which haue gone from me, that is, to the Jewell heretikes, and to those nations which sometime haue bene Christians, as the Egyptians, the Babylonians, and all those that obserue the law of Sabaoth. Therefore, if such goe to those that are already instructed, hauing both Apostles, Bishops, and Priests of their owne; they goe not into their owne diocese, but into another mans diocese, and are not true apostles, but false preachers. And it is greatly to be feared, lest the church be in hazard and danger by such, unless they be thrust out of the same betime; euen as Jonas, when he was sent to Ninus of the Lord, which is interpreted large or wide, and leadeth to the hill, that is, to the Infidels we spake of before: They goe not to those infidels according to the commandment of the Lord, but they turne another way, take their journey into Tharsis, which is interpreted, seeking after joy and pleasure; that is, they goe vnto those which receiue them with joy and gladnesse, and doe well prouide for them, that is to say, to godly and deuout Christians: and therefore it is to be feared, lest the ship in which they be (that is, the Church) be in great perill, unless they be throwne forth. And therefore the Apostle spake of such false prophets not without good cause, 2 Tim. 2. And thus thou shalt see. Glossa: That is, such men as these be.

The thirty sixth signe is, because true Apostles doe not boast, neither doe they attribute vnto themselves any other thing, but in that God hath wrought the same by them. Paul, Rom. 15. saith, I

The twenty ninth signe is, that true prophets seeke not their owne glory, but the glory of him which sent them.

The thirtieth signe is, that true prophets do not force vpon the solemnities of men, as false prophets doe.

The thirtieth one signe is, that false prophets resort to other mens houses and flatter them for a meales meate, which true prophets doe not.

The thirtieth two signe is, that true prophets doe not hate their enemies, as the false prophets doe.

The thirtieth three signe is, that true prophets doe not persecute men as the false prophets doe.

The thirtieth fourthe signe is, that true prophets preach to those which be not yet conuerted, which the false prophets doe not.

The thirtieth fifth signe is, that true prophets chiefly preach in their owne diocese, and not in other mens.

The thirtieth sixth signe is, that false prophets doe attribute to themselves that which they haue wrought by them.



dare not say any thing but that which Christ hath wrought and accomplished by mee. Glosa: That is, I speake onely those things (which by mee) that is, by my ministry Christ hath wrought. They therefore that boast of many things, and doe attribute much unto themselves which they neuer did, are not true apostles, but false prophets.

The thirteenth signe is, that true apostles doe not apply themselves or leane at logicall or philosophical reasons. Therefore those preachers which doe endeavour themselves to such kind of reasons, are not true apostles, but false prophets.

The thirteenth eight signe is, that true apostles do not loue carnally or after the flesh, but hate what thing souer doth resist them in the seruice of God, as Luk. 14. Hee that doth not hate his father and mother, his sonne and sister, and also himselfe, he cannot be my disciple. Glosa: That is, he that doth not hate whatsoeuer doth resist or let him in the seruice of God, is not worthy to be a disciple, neither can hee abide in that office. Therefore forsomuch as true preachers are the true disciples of the Lord, it must needs follow that those preachers which doe promote their nepheues and kinsfolke (how unworthy souer they be) to Ecclesiasticall promotions and livings, contrary to the will of God, or doe any other thing that letteth or hindereth them in the seruice of God, are not true apostles, but false prophets.

The thirtieth nine signe is, that true apostles doe not hunt for the friendship of this world, for he that is the friend of this world, is the enemy of God; therefore those preachers, which purchase the friendship of this world, are not true apostles, but false prophets. Therefore forsomuch as the Scripture is infallible, as in the twenty fourth chapter of Mattheu, saying, Heauen and earth shall perish, but my words shall endure for ever; and the holy Ghost which spake in the apostles cannot lie; for prophesie (for the most part) is not spoken by the will of man, but the holy men of God spake by the inspiration of the holy Ghost, as it is read in the first epistle of Peter, the first chapter; it remaineth, that all men which are bound to defend the church, may rise up in the defence of the same, according unto that in the 24. chapter of the Psalms; Deliver those that are led to death, and cease thou not to rescue those which are draine to destruction. Neither may hee alledge vaine accusations, because it is said in the same place, If he say he is not able or strong enough, he that beholdeth the thoughts of mens hearts, shall know it, &c. Whatsoeuer periseth in the Church of God for want of preachers, all that shall be damned of them at the day of iudgement; as Jacob confesseth to Laban, whose sleepe he sed, Genesis 31. I did restore all the losse, and that which was stolne I made answer for. I will demand his blond at thy hands, Ezekiel 3. This is said to the pastor or prelat. But if the other things which we haue spoken of before could not moue the prelates and cardinals, this at the least should moue them; because that then the spirituall power which doth consist for the most part in the exercise of preaching, in hearing confessions, and enioyning of penance, shall bee taken away from them by little and little, for by piece-meale doth the wolfe deuoure the poore and needy man; 2. quest. chap. 1. When the authority Ecclesiasticall therefore shall be quite taken from them and disposed to others, such as either by their order, or apostollicall grant doe challenge to haue the same; then doubtlesse shall neither the iurisdiction of ciuill causes and pleadings, nor any authority that such prelates haue yet remaining, neither yet the possessions of the temporall goods of the church any longer remaine amongst them. Shall such haue the temporall goods of the church which minister not the spirituall treasure thereof? 1 Cor. 9. Know ye not that they which kill the sacrifice ought to eat of the sacrifice: and they that serue at the altar are parta-

kers of the altar? For as the body without the soule cannot stand; so corporall things without spirituall things cannot continue. 1. quest. 1. if any shall take away the same. Thus haue you had the 39. arguments, for the which both he the said Gulielmus was condemned, and his booke burned.

In the daies of this Gulielmus, there was a most detestable and blasphemous booke set forth by the friers (mentioned also in Matth. Parisiensis) which they called Evangelium æternum, or Evangelium Spiritus sancti, That is, The euertlasting gospel, or the gospel of the holy Ghost. In which booke many abominable errors of the friers were contained, so that the gospel of Iesus Christ was utterly defaced, which, this booke said, was not to be compared with this euertlasting gospel, no more than the shell is to be compared with the kernell, than darkness to light, &c. Moreover, that the gospel of Christ shall bee preached no longer but fifty yeeres, and then this euertlasting Gospel should rule the Church, &c. Item, that whatsoeuer was in the whole Bible, was in the said gospel contained. At length this friers gospel was accused to the Pope, and so six persons chosen of the whole Chiuersity to peruse and iudge of the booke: as Christianus canonicus Baluacensis, Odo de Doaco, Nicolaus de Barro, Iohannes de sicca Villa Anglus, Iohannes Belim Gallus. Among whom this Gulielmus was one, who mightily impugned this pestiferous and diuellish booke. The six, after the perusing of the booke, were sent up to Rome. The friers likewise sent their messengers withall, where they were refused, and the errors of the booke condemned; but so, that the Pope with the Cardinals commanded the said booke to be abolished and condemned not publicly (tendering the estimation of the religious orders, as of his owne most chiefe champions) but that they should be burned in secret wise, and the booke of the foresaid Gulielmus to be burnt withall.

Besides other his bookes, two sermons we haue of his yet remaining, one vpon the gospel of S. Luke, of the Pharisee and the Publican, the other vpon the epistle read in the Church on May-day; where, in the first hee resembleth the Pharisees to our monkes, and that hee proueth by all the properties of the Pharisees described in the Gospel. The Publican hee resembleth to the lastie, such as because the latter they are reduced to acknowledge their finnes, the more hope they haue of mercy. The other, because they stand confident in their owne righteousness, are therefore further from their justification. In the latter sermon he setteth forth and declareth what perils and dangers be like to fall vpon the Church by these religious orders of monkes and friers.

Among the other besides of that age, which with stood the Bishop of Rome and his antichristian errors, was one Laurence an Englishman, and master of Paris; another was Petrus Iohannes a Ginoist. Of whom the foresaid Laurence was about the yeare of our Lord 1260. who in his teaching, preaching and writing, did stoutly defend the part of the foresaid Gulielmus and the rest of his side against the friers. Against the which friers he wrote two bookes; one in the defence of William afore mentioned; the other vpon this argument and title, Beware of false prophets, &c. Certaine other things also he wrote, wherein by diuers proofes and testimonies he argued and proued that antichrist was not farre off to come.

The other Petrus Iohannes was about the yeere of our Lord 1290. which taught and maintained many things against the pope, prouing that he was antichrist, and that the synagoge of Rome was great Babylon. He wrote vpon Mattheu, vpon the Epistles, and vpon the Apocalypse. Mention of this Petrus Iohannes is made in Nicolaus Emericus, in libr. Inquisitionum, &c. And he saith moreover, that his death

KING  
HEN. 3

A detestable  
booke of the  
friars called  
Evangelium  
æternum.

The eternall  
and spirituall  
Gospel of the  
friers condem-  
ned with much  
aid of the Pope.

Laurentius Ang-  
licus condemned  
of the Pope.

Defensio Gu-  
lielmi.

Cavendum à  
pseudopro-  
phetis.

The Pope anti-  
christ.

Helynagoga  
of Rome to be  
great Babylon  
Ex Nicolao  
Emerico in  
libro suarum  
inquisitionu.  
Petrus Ioha-  
nes burned af-  
ter his death.

The thirty se-  
venth signe is,  
that false pro-  
phets doe cleane  
and leane to lo-  
gicall and philo-  
sophicall rea-  
sons.

The thirty  
eighth signe is,  
that false pro-  
phets doe loue  
carnally and not  
spiritually.

The thirtieth  
signe is, that  
false prophets do  
hunt after the  
friendship of this  
world.

Whatsoeuer  
doth perishe in  
the Church of  
God for want of  
preachers shall  
be requir'd.



**KING** that Michael Cefinas (of whom Christ willing shall follow hereafter) tooke of him a great part of his opinions; and because the Pope could not burne him alive, after his death, he caused his bones to be taken up and burned.

Robertus Gallus prophelleth against the Pope.

So the, and with these above specified, is to be added Robertus Gallus, who being borne of a right noble parentage, for devotion sake was made a Dominican frier, about the same yere of our Lord above touched, Anno 1290. This man as appeareth by his writing, had diuers and sundry visions wherof part is annexed with the visions and prophecies of Hildegardis. His visions all tere against the spirituality of Rome, where in the first chapter he calleth plainly the Pope an idoll, which hauing eyes seeth not, neither lusteth to see the abominations of his people, nor the excessive enmity of their voluptuousnesse, but onely to see to the heaping up of his owne treasure, and hauing a mouth speaketh not, but saith; I haue set good men ouer them (which is sufficient for me) to doe them good either by my selfe, or by some other. And it followeth in the same chapter: Who to that idoll, who to the mighty and proud, who shall be equall in all the earth to that idoll? He that exalted by his name in earth, saying; Who shall bring me vnder? Is not my house compared with the mighty potentates of the land? I am higher than Dukes; knights on their horsebacke do serue vnto me, that which my fathers had not before me, that haue I done to me. My house is strowed with silver; gold and pearle are the pauerment of my palace, &c.

The Pope described.

Againe in the twelfth chapter, and also in the first, vnder the name of a serpent hee painteth out the Pope, whom he declareth to extoll himselfe above measure, and to oppresse the few that be godly, and to haue many false Prophets about him, which neglecting the word and name of Christ, doe preach and extoll him onely, obscuring the name of Christ. The Church of Rome and the Pope he describeth in these words: I was praying (said hee) on my knees, looking upward to Heauen nere to the altar of Saint James in Paris, on the right side of the altar, and saw in the ayre before mee the body of a certaine high bishop all clothed in white silke; who, turning his backe on the Calf, lift by his hand towards the West, as the Priests are wont in their masse turning to the people, but his head was not seene. And as I was considering aduersely, whether he had any head or no; I perceiued a certaine head in him all dry, leane and withered, as though it had bene a head of wood. And the spirit of the Lord said to me, This signifieth the state of the Church of Rome.

The visions of Robertus Gallus.

The state of the church of Rome described.

The schoolmen and the frivolous questions described.

Moreover, the same author in his visions, well describing the manner of the schole sophisters and Sorbonists, addeth in this wise; Another day as I was in like contemplation as before, I beheld in spirit, and behold, I saw a man appparelled like to the other before, which went about hauing fine bread and excellent wine that hanged about him on both sides; and the same, hauing in his hand a long and an hard flint stone, was gnawing hungerly vpon the same, as one being hungry is wont to bite vpon a loafe of bread; out of which stone came two heads of two serpents, the Spirit of the Lord instructing me and saying: this stone purporteth the frivolous, intricate, and curious questions, wherein the hungry doe trauell and laboz, leauing the substantiall food of their soules. And I asked what these two heads did meane? And he said, The name of the one is vaine glory, the name of the other is the marring and dissipating of Religion.

The reformation of the church signified.

Also, concerning reformation of the Church, this vision he declareth: It hapned as I was (saith he) in the same city in the house of a certaine noble man (a Bishop) and was there speaking with certaine, I saw a crosse of silver very bright, much like to the crosse of the Carle of Holowse. Vnto the twelve apples, which did hang beside in the armes of the crosse,

were very vile, like the apples which the sea is wont to cast up. And I said, What is this Lord Jesus? And the Spirit answered me: This crosse which thou seest is the Church, which shall be cleare and bright in purenesse of life, and shall be heard and knowne all ouer through the shrill voyce of the preaching of sincere verity. Then being troubled with the apples, I asked what these apples so vile did signifie? And he said, it is the humiliation of the church, &c.

This goodly man did forewarne (as in a certaine chronicle is declared) how God would punish the simony and auarice of the clerge with such a plague that riuers should run with blood, &c. It is said that there is remaining a great volume of his visions which are not yet abroad; for these that be abroad are but a brief extract out of his visions and reuelations.

The simony and auarice of the clerge to be punished.

After that we haue thus long feared in these foretold stories of Frederike, and in the tradition of other matters pertaining to other countries; now, after this sufficient digression, it is time that we returne to our owne country againe. Wherein following the continuation of time and course of the Church, we will now adioyne to these good fathers and writers, the historie of the learned Bishop of Lincoln named Robert Grossthead, a man famously learned (as that time serued) in the three tongues both Latine, Greeke, and Hebreu, also in all liberal sciences, whose bookes and sermons yet to this day are extant, which I haue seene in the Quenes maiesties library at Westminster. Wherein is one speciall sermon written and exhibited in foure sundry sermons to the Pope, and to other foure cardinals, beginning Dominus noster Iesus Christus, &c. J. Nic. Trivet in his chronicle, writing of this Bishop,

The story of Robert Grossthead Bishop of Lincoln.

Ex Nic. Trivet.

Robert Grossthead a Suffolk man borne.

The commendation of Robert Grossthead.

affirmeth that he was borne in Suffolke, in the diocesse of Northfolke: whogiving him the praye to be a man of excellent wisdom, of profound doctrine, and an example of all vertue, witnesseth that he being master of arts, wrote first a commentary in latinum posteriorum of Aristotle. Also that he wrote tractations, De sphaera, & de arte comput. and that he set forth diuers bookes concerning philosophy. Afterward being doctor in diuinity, and expertly seene in all the three tongues, drew out many treatises out of the Hebreu glosses, also translated diuers workes out of the Greeke, as namely the testament of the twelve patriarches, and the bookes of Dionysius, commenting vpon the new translation with his owne glosses: Hec ille. Many other workes and volumes besides were written by the said Grossthead, as De oculo morali, De doctibus, De cessatione legalium, parvus Cato, Annotationes in Suidam, in Boetium, De potestate pastoralis, Expositiones in Gen. in Lucam, with a number more, besides diuers epistles, sermons, and inuectiues sent to the Pope for his unmeasurable exactions, wherewith he ouercharged and oppressed the Church of England.

The bookes and workes of Robert Grossthead.

This goodly and learned Bishop, after diuers conflicts and agones sustained against the Bishop of Rome, after the example of Frederike, of Guliel. de sancto amore, of Nico. Gallus, and others after named, at length after great labozs and trauels of life finished his course, and departed at Wuzden in the moneth of October Anno 1253. Of his decease thus writeth Matth. Paris. pag. 278. Out of the prison and banishment of this world (which he neuer loued) was taken the holy Bishop of Lincoln Robert, at his manor of Wuzden in theauen of St. Dionysie, who was an open reprover of the pope and of the king, a rebuker of the prelates, a corrector of the monkes, a director of the priests, an instructor of the clerkes, a fauor of schollers, a preacher to the people, a persecutor of the incontinent, a diligent searcher of the Scriptures, a maul to the Romans, and a contemner of their doings, &c. Hec Matth. That a maul be to the Romans in the sequel hereof (Christ willing) shall better appere. The storie is this:

Anno 1253. The death of Robert Grossthead.

Malleus Romanorum Grosstheadus.



The trouble of  
Robert Grosst-  
head with the  
Pope.

It so befell among other daily and intolerable  
eractions, wherein Pope Innocent was greivous  
and injurious (manifest wayes) to the realme of  
England, hee had a certaine cousin or nephew (so  
Popes were wont to call their sonnes) named Fre-  
derike, being yet young and under yeres, whom the  
said Innocent the Pope would needes preferre to  
bee a canon or prebendarie in the Church of Lin-  
colne, in this time of Robert Bishop of the said  
Church; and upon the same directed downe letters  
to certaine his factours here in England for the exe-  
cution thereof. The copy of which letter by chance,  
yet not by chance, but by the opportune sending of  
God, came to my hands, as I was penning this  
present booke, written in the end of an old parchment  
booke, and otherwise rare I suppose to be found;  
and it is this.

An unreasonable  
letter of  
the Pope.

\* Recte di-  
ctum fortassis  
filio.

\* Confessis.

Dilectis filiis archidiacono Cant. & magistro In-  
nocent. scriptori nostro in Anglia commoranti, salu-  
tem & apostolicam benedict. Cum dilectus filius nos-  
ter G. Sanct. Eustachii diaconus cardinalis dilecto  
\* filio Frederico de Lavavia, clerico, nepoti nostro,  
de speciali mandato nostro canonicatum Lincolnien-  
cum plenitudine juris canonici duxerit conferendum,  
ipsum per suum anulum corporaliter & presentialiter  
investisti de eodem, ut ex tunc canonicus Lincolnien-  
sis existat, & plenum nomen & jus canonici consequatur  
ibidem, ac prabendam, si qua vacaverit in eccle-  
sia Lincol. a tempore quo dudum literarum nostrarum super re-  
ceptione, ac provisione facienda sibi in eccles. eadem  
de premissis venerab. fratri nostro episcopo Lincoln.  
presentate fuerunt, aliquo post vacaturam conferen-  
dam sibi donationi apostolicarum reservavit: decernendo  
irritum & inane, si quid de prebenda hujusmodi a quo-  
quam fuerit attentatum, nec non & contradictores &  
rebelles excommunicationis sententiam ubique pro-  
mulgando, prout in literis ejusdem exinde de \* con-  
stitutis plenius continetur. Nos ipsius Frederici de-  
votis supplicationibus inclinati, quod ab eodem cardina-  
le factum est super hoc & ratum & gratum habentes,  
idem autoritate apostolica duximus confirmandum.  
Quocirca discretioni vestrae per apostolica scripta man-  
damus, quatenus eundem Fredericum, vel procura-  
torem suum ejus nomine in corporalem possessionem  
predictorum canonicatus & prebende, autoritate  
nostra inducatis, & defendatis inductum, contradic-  
tores per censuram ecclesiasticam appellatione postposita  
compescendo. Non obstantibus aliquibus consuetudi-  
nibus vel statutis, juramentis, vel confirmationibus se-  
dis apostolicarum, seu quacunque alia infirmitate robo-  
ratis; vel quod dictus Fredericus presens non fuerit ad  
prestandum juramentum de observandis consuetudi-  
nibus ejusdem eccles. confectis; sive si predicto  
episcopo vel capitulo ipsius ecclesiarum communiter vel  
singulatum, seu aliis quibuscunque personis a dicta  
sede indultum existat, quod ad receptionem vel  
provisionem alicujus compelli nequeant, sive quod  
nullus alius in eorum ecclesia nemini providere  
valeat: vel quod interdici, suspendi, aut excom-  
municari non possint, per literas apostol. sub qua-  
cunque forma verborum obtentas, vel obtinendas,  
etiamsi totus tenor indulgentiarum hujusmodi de  
verbo in verbum in iisdem literis sit insertus, sive  
quibus aliis indulgentiis quibuscunque personis,  
dignitati, vel loco, sub quacunque forma verborum con-  
cessis a sede apost. vel etiam concedendis, per quas ef-  
fectus hujusmodi provisionis posset impediri aliquatenus  
vel differri. Tamen volumus, ea de certa scientia,  
quantum ad provisionem factam & faciendam Frede-  
rico predicto in ecclesia Lincoln. viribus omnino care-  
re. Ceterum, si aliqui predicto Frederico vel procu-  
ratori super premissis, vel aliquo premissorum, ali-  
quatenus duxerint opponendum: illos ex parte nostra  
citari curetis, ut peremptorie intra duorum mensium  
spacium post citationem vestram personaliter compa-  
reant coram nobis, eidem Frederico super premissis le-  
gitime responsuri. Non obstantibus privilegiis, sive

quibuscunque indulgentiis personis regni Angliarum genera-  
liter vel cujus alii personarum, vel dignitatis, vel loco  
specialiter a predicta sede sub quacunque forma verbo-  
rum concessis, quod non possunt ultra mare, seu extra  
civitatem vel diocesim suam in iudicium evocari per  
literas apost. sub quacunque forma verborum obten-  
tas; quod privilegium & indulgentias eidem personis  
de certa scientia nullatenus volumus suffragari, &  
constitutione edita de duabus dictis in concilio genera-  
li non obstante. Diem autem citationis & formam  
nobis, vestris literis tenorem presentium continen-  
tibus fideliter intimetis. Quod si non ambo his exequen-  
dis interesse poteritis, alter vestrum nihilominus exe-  
quatur. Datum Perus. 7. Cal. Febr. pontificat. nostri  
anno decimo.

Which foresaid Letter is thus in English.

Vnto our beloved sonnes the Archdeacon of  
Canterburie, and to master Innocent our scribe  
abiding in England, greeting and apostolicall be-  
nediction. Forasmuch as our well-beloved sonne  
G. of S. Eustace deacon Cardinall, upon our spe-  
ciall commandement hath giuen and granted to  
our well-beloved sonne Frederike de Lavavia (a  
clerke and our nephew) a canonship in the Church  
of Lincolne with full power and grant of the  
same; investing him also corporally and presently  
with his owne ring in the said canonship, to bee  
from henceforth canon of Lincolne, and to have  
full power of the said canonship in the Church,  
and a Prebend when any shall fall in the Church  
of Lincolne: from that time, since which our for-  
mer letters of late, concerning this receiving and  
provision to bee given to him in the said Church,  
were presented and exhibited to our reverend  
brother the Bishop of Lincolne, or else after the  
next avoyding the said Prebendship to bee reserved  
to the apostolicall donation, and to bee given to him,  
making it void and frustrate if the said Prebendship  
shall bee given to any other man beside, and also de-  
nouncing the sentence of excommunication against  
all them that shall rebell and gainsay the same, as in  
the Letters of the said Cardinall is more fully con-  
tained.

Wee therefore graciously inclined by the devout  
supplication of the said Frederike, ratifying and grate-  
fully approving that which hath beene done by the  
said Cardinall in the premisses, wee thought good  
by the authoritie apostolicall to confirme the same.  
Wherefore wee give in commandement by our Let-  
ters apostolicall to your wiledomes, that you will  
see the said Frederike (or his proctor in his behalfe)  
to bee really and corporally possessed in the said ca-  
nonship or Prebend by our authoritie, and also de-  
fend the said party being therein possessed, denoun-  
cing the sentence of excommunication against all  
such as shall withstand the same, all manner of cus-  
tomes or statutes to the contrary notwithstanding,  
corroberated either with oath, or confirmations of  
the Sea apostolike, or by what stay or let soever; or  
whether that the said Frederike bee not present to  
take the oath accustomed to bee given for observing  
the customes of the said Church, or whether it bee  
given and granted by the said Sea to the foresaid Bi-  
shop, or to the chapter of the said Church jointly  
and severally, or to what person or persons else, that  
no man by compulsion should have admission or  
provision for any person in their Church whereby  
they cannot bee interdicted, suspended, or excommu-  
nicate by the letters apostolicall obtained, or to bee  
obtained hereafter, under what forme or words so-  
ever; yea, although the whole tenour of the said in-  
dulgence be inserted word for word in the said your  
letters, or by any other indulgences to what person  
or persons soever, of what estate, dignitie or place  
soever, under any manner or forme of words, granted  
hereafter by the Sea apostolike, by the which indul-  
gences the effect of the said provision may bee by any  
manner

KING  
HEN. 3.

The Pope's  
unreasonable letter.

Excommuni-  
cation abou-  
t.



**KING** manner of wayes hindered or deferred: yet of our  
**HEN 3.** certain knowledge wee will that they shall want  
 their strength in the provision made or to bee made  
 for the said Frederike in the Church of Lincolne.  
 And if any, upon the premises or any of them, shall  
 alleage against the foresaid Frederike, or his procur-  
 ator, that you will cause them to bee cited on our  
 behalfe: so that they, being cited peremptorily, shall  
 within the space of two moneths of your citation,  
 personally appeare before us there according to the  
 law, to make answer to the said Frederike upon the  
 premises: any privileges or indulgences whatso-  
 ever given and granted either generally to the king-  
 dome of England, or peculiarly to any other person  
 of what state, degree, and place soever, granted by the  
 foresaid Sea, under whatsoever manner and forme of  
 words for them not to be called up beyond the Sea, or  
 out of their owne citie or diocesse by letters apostoli-  
 call, under whatsoever forme of words obtained, to  
 the contrary in any wise notwithstanding. All which  
 privileges and indulgences, wee will in no case shall  
 stand in any force or effect to the said parties. Moreo-  
 ver, the day and forme of the citation wee will that ye  
 faithfully doe intimate unto us by your letters con-  
 taining the tenor thereof, and if both of you cannot  
 bee present at the execution hereof, yet wee will not-  
 withstanding that one of you doe execute the same  
 without faile. Dated the 7. kal. Februarie, the 10.  
 yeere of our popedom.

As there is no man which hath any eyes to see, but  
 may easily understand in reading this letter of the  
 Pope, how unreasonable his request is, how unpri-  
 vately he commaneth, how proudly he threatneth,  
 how wickedly he oppresseth and racketh the Church  
 of God, in placing bopes and strangers in the mini-  
 sterie and cure of soules, and also in making them  
 his psonages, to raven by the Church gods: so it is  
 no great marvell, if this godly bishop Robert Grosst-  
 head was offended therewith; who, in my minde  
 deserueth herein a double commendation, not onely  
 that hee so wisely did discerne error from sinceritie  
 and truth; but also that hee was so hardy and con-  
 stant to stand to the defence thereof against the pope,  
 according as in this his answer to the Pope againe  
 may appeare, as followeth.

#### The answer of Robert Grossthead.

Salutem, Pleaseth it your wisdom to under-  
 stand, that I am not disobedient to any the Apo-  
 stolicke precepts, but both devoutly and reuerently  
 with the naturall affection of a sonne obey the same,  
 and also am an utter enemy to all those that resist  
 such apostolicke precepts, as a childe zealous of his  
 fathers honor. And truly I am no leaue than bound  
 thereunto by the precept and commandment of  
 God. For the apostolicke precepts are none other,  
 nor can be, than consonant and unisome to the do-  
 ctrine of the Apostles, and of our Saviour Christ  
 being the Father and Lord of all the Apostles: whose  
 type and person, specially in the consonant and un-  
 isome hierarchie of the church, the lord pope seemeth  
 to beare the same our Lord and Saviour Jesus  
 Christ, saying: Whosoever is not with me, the same  
 is against me. Therefore, against him neither is nor  
 can be the most diuine iudicium of the Sea apostolical.  
 The tenor then of your foresaid apostolical letter is  
 not consonant to true sanctitie, but utterly dissonant  
 and disagreeing to the same. First, for that the clause  
 of this your letter, and many such other letters like,  
 which clause alwayes ye so much doe vye (Non ob-  
 stante) inuenced and brought in upon no necessitie  
 of any naturall law to be obserued, doth swarme  
 and flow with all inconsistency, boldnesse, pertynacy,  
 impudencie, lying, and deceiuing, and is also a sea  
 of mistrust in giving credit to no man. Which as it  
 swarmeth with these, so in like manner with innum-

merable other vices which hang and depend by  
 the same, mouing and disturbing the puritie of Chri-  
 stian religion and life agreeable to the same, as also  
 the publike tranquillity of men. Whereouer, next af-  
 ter the fume of Lucifer (which shall be in the latter  
 time, to wit, of antichrist, the childe of perdition,  
 whom the Lord shall deliuer with the breath of his  
 mouth) there is not, nor can be any kinde of sinne so  
 repugnant and contrarie to the doctrine of the Apo-  
 stles and holy Scripture, and to our Saviour Christ  
 himselfe more hatefull, detestable, and abominable,  
 than to destroy and kill mens soules, by defrauding  
 them of the myserie of the pastorall office, which by  
 the ministerie of the pastorall cure ought to saue and  
 quicken the same. All such sinne by most euidēt pla-  
 ces of the Scripture, such men are discerned and  
 knowne to commit, which being in the authority of  
 the pastorall dignitie, doe serue their owne carnall  
 desires and necessities with the benefit of the milke  
 and wool of the shepe and flocke of Christ, and doe  
 not minister the same pastorall office and charge to  
 the benefit and saluation of those their shepe. The  
 same therefore by the testimony of the Scripture is  
 not the administration of the pastorall ministerie,  
 but the killing and destruction of the shepe. And  
 that these two kinde of vires be most vile and wick-  
 ed (although after a differing sort) and farre excee-  
 ding all other kind of wickednesse, hereby it is mani-  
 fest: for that the same are directly contrarie to two  
 vertues most chiefly good (although differing in  
 themselves), and unlike together. For that is called  
 most wicked, which is contrary to a thing most good.  
 So much then as lieth in the offenders, the one of  
 their offences is directly against the Deity, which of  
 himselfe is alwayes essentially & supernatural good;  
 the other is against the deification and the image of  
 God in man, which is not alwayes, but by the parti-  
 cipation of Gods lightsome grace, essentially and  
 naturally good. And for so much as in things being  
 good, the cause of good is better than the effect; and  
 like as againe in euill things, the cause of euill is  
 worse than the effect of euill proceeding thereof:  
 hereby it is manifest, that the inducers of such wick-  
 ed destroyers of Gods image and deification in the  
 shepe of Christ (that is, the church of God) are  
 worse than those chiefly destroyers, to wit, Lucifer  
 and antichrist.

And as in the degrees of wickednesse how much  
 more excellent such be, who hauing a great charge  
 committed to them of God (to edification and not  
 to destruction) the more are they bound to keepe  
 away and exclude such wicked destroyers from the  
 church of God: so much is it also off, that this holy  
 seat apostolical, to whom the Lord Jesus Christ  
 hath giuen all manner of power (to edification as  
 the Apostle saith, and not to destruction) can com-  
 mand, or will goe about any such thing, bring vnto  
 so great wickednesse, so edible, detestable and abo-  
 minable to our Lord Jesus Christ, and also so peri-  
 cious to mankind. For this should bee a great defe-  
 ction corruption, and abuse of the said seat and ful-  
 nesse of power, and an utter separation from the  
 glorious throne of our Lord Jesus Christ, and a  
 nere neighbourhood vnto the two most principall  
 princes of darknesse, sitting in the chaire of pesti-  
 lence, prepared to the paines of hell. Neither can  
 any man, which is subiect and faithfull to the said Sea  
 (and not cut away from the body of Christ, and from  
 the said holy Sea) with sincere and unspotted con-  
 science obey such manner of precepts and comman-  
 dments, or whatsoever other attempts proceeding,  
 yea, though from the high order of Angels them-  
 selues, but rather ought of necessity with all their  
 strength to withstand and rebell against the same.  
 Wherefore my reuerend Lord, I like an obedient  
 childe vpon my bounden duty of obedience and fidelity  
 which I owe to both the parents of this holy apo-  
 stolicke Sea, and partly for loue of unity in the body and

Power giuen  
 to ministers to  
 edification on-  
 ly, not to destruc-  
 tion.

Two principall  
 princes of dark-  
 nesse, Lucifer  
 and antichrist.

\* He meaneth  
 either Christ  
 and the church  
 or else Peter  
 and Paul.

A double com-  
 mendation of  
 bishop Grosst-  
 head.

The answer of  
 Robert Grosst-  
 head to the  
 Pope.



\* Christ joyned with the said Sea, doe not obey but withstand and utterly rebell against these things in the said Letter contained and especially which vge and ter<sup>r</sup> the foresaid wickednesse, so abominable to the Lord Jesus Christ, so repugnant to the holiness of the holy apostolike Sea, and so contrary to the unitie of the Catholike faith. Neither for this cause can your discretion determine any extremitie to me, because all my doing and gaine-saying in this matter is no resistance nor rebellion, but a childly obedience to the diuine precept, and honor due both to \* father and mother. Wherfore repeating my words I say, that this holy apostolike Sea cannot doe any thing but to edification, and nothing at all to destruction: for this is the fulnesse of power, to be able to doe all things to edification. But these which you call preuisions be not to edification, but to manifest destruction. The holy apostolike Sea therefore neither can nor ought to attempt any such thing; because that flesh and bloud, which cannot enter into the kingdome of God, hath renewed the same, and not the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ which is in heauen.

Ex Matth. Par. ad verbum.

Still sweeter master pope.

Giles cardinal defendeth Robert Grosthead to the Pope.

The godly talke of Robert Grosthead in time of his sicknesse.

Then followeth it in the story both of Matth. Parisensis, and of Florilegus, in these words: That when this epistle came to the knowledge of the pope, he, fuming and fretting with anger and indignation, answered with a fierce looke and proud mind, saying: That old dotting frantike wretch is this, so boldly and rashly to judge of my doings? My sweet S. Peter and Paul, were it not but that by on our owne clemency and good nature we are restrained, we should hurle him downe to such confusion, that wee would make him a fable, a gazing stocke, an example and wonderment to all the world. For is not the King of England our vassall: and to say more, our mancipall or page (to vse the very words of mine author) which may at our pleasure and becke both hamper him, imprison him, and put him to utter shame? This when the Pope in his great fury and rage had uttered amongst his brethren the cardinals, who were scarce able to appeale the furious violence of the pope, with mild moderation of words they said unto him; that it was not expedient for them to proceed against that Bishop in such rigorous manner. For, said they, to confesse the truth to your holiness, it is but very truth that he affirmeth, neither can we condemne him therefore. Hee is a catholike man, yea also a holy man; more holy and also religious than we our selues; a man of excellent wit, and excellent life; so as it is thought, amongst all the prelates he hath not his better, nor yet his like. This is not unknowne both to the French and English clergy vniuersally, neither can our contradiction preuaile against him. The truth of this his epistle perhaps is knowne now to many, and shall stir by many against vs: for he hath the name to be a great philosopher, and singularly sene in all the tongues, both Greeke, Latine, and Hebrew: zealous in iustice, a reader of diuinity in the schooles, a preacher amongst the people, a loue of chastitie, and a persecutor of simonie. These wordspake L. Giles a Spanish Cardinall to the Pope, and others more, moued by their conscience to speake. And this counsell they gaue to the Pope, that he should dissemble and winke at these things, as one not seeing or regarding them; lest otherwise perhaps some tumult might rise and spring thereof: especially seeing this is manifest and knowne to all men, that once must needs come a defection and parting from the Church of Rome.

Not long after this (about the canicular dayes) this reuerend and godly Robert bishop of Lincoln, lying at his manors place in Bugden, fell grievously sicke; and thereupon within few dayes departed. In the time of his sicknesse he called to him a certain frier of the preaching order, named D. John

Giles, a man expert and cunning both in physicke and diuinitie; partly to receiue of him some comfort of his body, and partly to conferre with him in spirittual matters. Thus upon a certaine day, the said Bishop conferring with the foresaid D. John, and reciting to him the doings and proceedings of the Pope, did grievously rebuke and repprehend his fellow brethren the preaching friers, and the other order also of the minoits; that sozomuch as their order being planted in wilfull pouerty of the spirit, to the intent they should moze freely carpe and reppone the vices of the mighty, and not to flatter or spare them, but sharply to rebuke and repprehend the same: the said friers contrary to their profession did not boldly enough crie out and inueigh against the abuses of their superiours and men of power; nor did they ouer not detect their faults and wickednesse; and therefore, said the Bishop, I judge them to be no better than manifest heretikes. And he addeyth moreouer; (demanding of D. John) what is heresie: and that he should giue him the true definition thereof. Whereat when the frier did stay and pause, not remembering the solemn definition of that matter; the Bishop thereupon inferreth, giuing this definition in Latine by the true interpretation of the Greeke word: Hæresis Græcè, electio Latine, est sententia humano sensu electa, scripturæ sacræ contraria, palam docta, pertinaciter defensa. What is: Heresie is a sentence taken and chosen of mans owne braine, contrary to holy Scripture, openly maintained, and stiffly defended. And this definition giuen, consequently hee inferred, sharply repprehending the prelates of the Church, but especially the Romans, which commit the charge of soules vnto their kinsfolkes, being both in age vnwoorthy, and in learning vninsufficient. To giue (saith he) the charge of soules vnto a boy, is a sentence of a prelat chosen and taken of mans owne head, onely for carnall and earthly respect, and also is contrary to holy Scripture, the which forbiddeth any such to be made ministers or pastors, which are not sufficient to dyne away the wolues. And moreover it is also openly maintained, because it is manifestly borne abroad and commanded, with charters imitted both with waue and lead; and finally, it is stiffly defended. For if any man shall dare to presume to withstand the same, he is suspended and excommunicated, and open warre cryed out against him: therefore to whom the whole definition of an heretike doth agree, he is a very heretike. But every faithfull Christian man ought to set himselfe against an heretike as much as he may. Wherefore, he that can resist him and doth not, hee sinneth, and seemeth to be a fautor thereof, according to the saying of Gregorie: We lacketh not conscience of secret society, which ceaseth to resist open impiety. But the friers both Franciscans and Dominikes are most chiefly bound to withstand such, seeing both of them haue the gift of preaching committed to them by their office, and be more apt to the said office, by reason of their pouerty: and therefore they doe not only offend in not resisting such, but also are to be counted maintainers of the same, according to the sentence of the Apostle to the Romans, saying; Not onely they which commit such things, but also they that consent are woorthy of death. Wherefore it may be concluded, that as well the Pope (vnlesse he cease from that vice) as also the same friers, vnlesse they shew themselves more earnest and studious in repelling the same, are both woorthy of death, that is, perpetuall damnation. Item, saith the canon decretall, that upon this vice of heresie the Pope both may and ought to be accused.

After this the hebenency of his disease more and more increasing, and because the nights were somewhat longer; the third night before his departure, the bishop, feeling his infirmity to grow vpon, willed certaine of his clergie to be called to him, thereby to be refreshed with some conference of communicati-

KING  
HEN. 3.

Hæresis quid

Definition of heresie.

The Pope accused here an heretike.

The saying of Gregorie.

The Pope accused of heresie.



**KING** on. Unto whom the Bishop mourning and lamenting in his minde for the losse of soules, through the auarice of the Popes Court, said on this wise, as by certaine aphorismes.

**HEN** 1 Christ came into the world to saue and winne soules: Ergo, he that feareth not to destroy soules, may be not worthily be counted Antichrist?

2 The Lord created the whole world in six daies, but in restoring of man he laboured more than thirtie yeeres. Wherefore he that is a destroyer of that, to which the Lord so long laboured, is not he worthy to be counted the enemy of God, and Antichrist?

3 The Pope thinneth not impudently to annihillate and disannull the priuiledges of his holy predecessors of Romane Bishops, by this obstacle (Non obstante) which is not done without the prejudice and manifest injury of them. For in so doing he doth reprove and destroy that which so many and so holy men haue builded up before, and thus seemeth he to be a contemner of the Saints. Moreover, thily therefore he that contemneth shall be contemned, according to the saying of Esay; Woe to thee that dost despise, for shalt not thou thy selfe be despised? And who shall keepe his priuiledges, which so breaketh the priuiledges of others?

4 The Pope answering thereunto thus defendeth perhaps his error: He that is equal, hath no superiority ouer his equal. Therefore, no Pope hath power to binde me, being Pope as well as he. To this answer againe (quoth the bishop) It seemeth to me, that he that now presently is failing in the dangerous seas of this world, and he that is safely arrived in the haven, hauing past all icopardies, are not both like and equal. Grant that some Popes be faued (God forbid any should say contrary) When saith our Saviour: He that is least in the kingdome of heauen is greater than John Baptist, a greater than when he neuer rise amongst the children of men. Is not therefore some Pope greater, being a giuer and confirmor of priuiledges, than this that is aloue? Truly, me thinkes, he is greater, therefore he hath dominion ouer his inferior.

5 Doth not the Pope thus say speaking of all his predecessors for the most part; Whis our predecessor, and this our predecessor of most worthy memory, &c. And againe, Wee (saith he) cleauing, or following the steps of our predecessors, &c. And why then doe such popes as come after destroy these foundations which their predecessors haue laid?

6 Many Apostolike men coming after, haue confirmed some priuiledge being granted by others before; and be not many Bishops, being already faued by the grace of God, to be counted greater and better than one Bishop which hath not yet attained, but standeth in danger to obtaine that which the other haue got already?

7 Also other former fathers and Bishops of the Apostolical Sea, in preferment of time, goe before the others which in time come after. And those whom the estimation of ancient time doth aduance, such are we bound to esteeme and to haue in more reuerence. This did the holy man Benedict well consider; who in his rule preferreth such as came first in time whatsoeuer men they were before them, which (albeit being more ancient in yeeres) came after them into the order, and commandeth them to be their superiours, and to haue the preheminance. Which being so (as it is true and certaine) how cometh then this inuious and rash presumption, which dare repeale and disannull the old priuiledges of many ancient holy Bishops, in time and in reuerence going before them?

8 Moreover, and though many Popes haue bene greivous to the Church, yet this pope most specially hath brought it most into seruitude and manifold waies hath damanied the same. For these Caursini, these open vsurers, whom our holy forefathers and Doctors, whom we haue seene, and namely our lear-

ned master in France preacher; also the Abbat of Flay a Cistercian, master Iacobus de veteri, and Master Stephan, Archbishop of Canterbury in the time of his banishment, and also Master Robert Curcun, with his preaching banished out of France (for before that time these kinde of vsurers were neuer knowne in England, the same Caursini, these wicked vsurers, I say, were by this Pope inuited, supported and maintained; so that if any doe speake against them, he is miserably tossed and trownd for his labour, whereof partly Roger Bishop of London hath some experience.

9 The world doth know, that vsury is counted a detestable thing in both the testaments, and is forbidden of God. But now the Popes vsurers or exchangers, the very Jewes crying out against them, being openly suffered in London to exercise their vsury, to the great damage and detrimēt of all Ecclesiasticall persons, but especially houses of Religion, compelling such as be in poverty to counterfeite and to put to their seales to forged writings, which is no lesse than to commit idolatry and to abrenounce the verity which is God himselfe. As for example; I borrow 100. markes for a yeere instead of a hundred pounds, I am compelled, to make my writing and to seale the same, confessing that I haue receiued and borrowed one hundred pounds, to be repaid againe at the yeeres end to such a man, &c. And if it shall chance that your occupying be such, that within a month you bring againe the principall to the Popes vsurer, he well receiue no lesse notwithstanding than his full hundred pounds: which condition of vsury is much worse than that of the Jewes. For to the Jew what principall you bring, he will require no more than proportionally for the commensuration of so much time, wherein his money hath bene out of his hands.

10 Moreover, we haue seene and knowne the Pope to haue giuen in charge and commandement to the friars, preachers, and minorites, to inquire diligently for such as lie sicke and like to dye; and so coming to them diligently to perswade them to make their wills and testaments fauourably to the profit and subsidy of the holy land, and to take the crosse vpon them; that if they dye amied, they may bring them in the law; and if they dye, they may wrest the money from their executors.

11 We haue knowne likewise and seene men, that haue taken the vow and signe of the crosse vpon them, to be sold vnto lay men, as sheepe and oxen were wont in time past to be sold in the temple. We haue seene with our eyes the Popes letter, in which we haue found this to be written; That they, which bequeath any thing to the behoofe or subsidy of the holy land, shall receiue so much indulgence as they haue disbursed money.

12 Where and besides all this, the Pope in diuers and sundry his letters hath willed and commanded Prelates to receiue into Ecclesiasticall benefices, and to provide some such lining in their Churches, as shall be sufficient to such and such a stranger (being both absent and also vnworthy) which haue neither learning, nor yet the language of the countrey: whereby they are neither able to preach, nor to heare confessions, nor to keepe residence for to refresh the poore and wayfarers.

13 Item, we know and haue seene our selues, that the pope hath written to the abbat of St. Albons to provide for one called John de Camezana, whom we neuer saw, some competent benefice. Whereupon, in few daies after, when provision was made for him in a certaine Church, worth forty markes by the yeere and more, the party being not therewith contented, complained to the Pope; who then writing to the foresaid Abbat commanded him to provide for the foresaid John some better thing, reseruing notwithstanding the gift of the former benefice to himselfe.

Against vsurers.

The crafty practice of vsurers.

The Popes vsurers worse than the Jewes.

Crafty subtiltie of the Pope, to get many.

Men signed to the holy land, sold for money like sheepe by the Pope. Remission of sinnes sold for money.

The Pope accused to be inuolued in his promises and reuerences.

The Pope accused to be inuolued in the Abbat of Saint Albons.



The Pope accus-  
ed for violent  
oppression.

14 Again, not long after came also to the house of the foresaid Abbat, two other persons like begg-  
ing bagabonds, bringing with them the Popes let-  
ters: in the tenor whereof the Abbat was comman-  
ded, that, incontinently upon the sight thereof, he  
should give and disburse to the said persons for the  
expedition and dispatch of his affairs ten marks  
in hand, without any delay or sticking: the which  
persons offering unto the Abbat proud and threat-  
ning words, he was faine to agree with them and  
send them away.

The Pope accus-  
ed for enu-  
bling and cor-  
rupting learned  
men of the spi-  
ritualtie with  
his temporall  
affaires.

15 Item, of men which are both holy and well  
learned, which haue left the world for the following  
of God in such order as they ought not to turne  
backe againe, the Pope maketh his solners and ban-  
kers to get in his money: the which charge they are  
compelled against their wills to take upon them, lest  
they should seeme to be disobedient, and so of spiritu-  
all men are made more secular than the most secu-  
lar. And so the baseness of their chummers and sea-  
pillers, which they weare, doth proue them to be  
liers, whilest vnder the habit of pouerty and humi-  
liation there lurketh the spirit of pride and elation.  
And because no legate may be sent into England,  
but being first required of the King, the Pope sendeth  
sophistical legats and such as be disguised and coun-  
terfeited in apparell, and are garded with great might  
and power: neither is it hard to bring forth exam-  
ples thereof: for so many such daily doe come into  
the realme, that to heare the names of them recited,  
it would be tedious for any man to heare.

The Pope accus-  
ed for unlaw-  
full dispensa-  
tions.

16 Furthermore (as we haue saue our selues) the  
Pope granteth for secular fauour, that a man may  
haue a Bishopricke, and yet be no Bishop consecrated.  
Sed electus sempiternus, that is, elect for euer. Which  
is as much to signifie, to haue the milke and the wool  
of the sheepe and not to keepe the wo lues away from  
the sheepe, to retaine the rents of a Bishop, and not  
to discharge the function of a Bishop.

And when this goshly Bishop had thus reproued  
these and such other detestable enormities of the  
Court of Rome; as all kinds of auarice, their vsury,  
their simony, their extortion, all kinds of filthinesse,  
fleshy lust, gluttony, and their sumptuous apparell  
raigning in that Court; then saith he, this old verbe  
may be truly verified vpon it:

*Eius auariti a totum non sufficit orbis,  
Eius luxurie meretrix non sufficit omnis.*

All the world cannot suffice their greedy couetous minde,  
Nor all the drabs & naughty packs their fleshy lustine kind.

Afterwards he went about more to persecute,  
how the foresaid Court, like a gulfe neuer satisfied  
(euer gapping so wide, that the flood of Iordan might  
run into his mouth) aspired how to vsurpe the goods  
of them that die vntested, and of Legacies bequea-  
thed without forme of law, and whereby more licen-  
tiously to bring this to passe, they vsed to joyne the  
King to be fellow and partaker with them in their  
spoiles, extortions, and robbing. Neither, saith he,  
shall the Church be deliuered from the seruitude of  
Egypt but by violence and force, and with the bloody  
sword. And albeit, saith he, these be yet but light mat-  
ters, yet shortly more great and grieuous things  
than these shall be seene.

Ex Mat. Paris.

The death of  
Robert Grosst-  
head Bishop of  
Lincolne.

And in the end of this his prophesying, which he  
scarcely could utter without sighing, sobbing, and  
weeping, his tongue and breath began to faile, and  
so, the organ of his voice being stopped, he made an  
end both of his speech and life. Ex Mathæo Paris.

And so farre as mention hath bene made be-  
fore of the insatiable auarice of the Popes Court by  
his inordinate piousness and reservations, it is  
testified by the said author Matthew Paris, that the  
foresaid Robert Grossthead, being Bishop of Lin-  
colne, caused to be viewed and considered diligently  
of his Clerkes, what the reuenues of forreiners and

strangers within England, sent in by the Pope,  
came to by the yere; and it was found and en-  
dently tried, that this Pope now present, Innocent  
us the fourth, did impoverish the vniuersall Church  
thorowout Chastendome, more than all his prede-  
cessors from the time the Pope first began. So that  
the reuenues of forreiners and clerks, placed by him  
here in England, mounted vnto the summe of  
threescore and ten thousand marks and aboue, where-  
as the more reuenues of the Crowne came not to  
thirty thousand.

SKING  
HEN 3  
What the re-  
uenues of the  
Popes clerks  
here in Eng-  
land came to  
the yere.

Of this Robert Grossthead writeth Cestrensis in  
his seuenth booke of his history, that partly for that  
it grieved him to see the intolerable exactions of the  
Pope in this Realme, and partly because he refused  
to admit a certaine young nephew of the Pope to be  
canon of his Church (as hath been before recited) he  
therefore writing vnto the Pope, and signifying that  
he could not admit any such persons into his Church,  
which neither knew themselves nor the tongue of  
the people, nor the charges committed vnto them;  
was called vpon to Rome, and there excommunicat-  
ed, who, then appealing from the Pope, shortly after  
departed, which was in the yere of our Lord 1253.

Ex Cestren-  
lib. 7.

It chanced within two yeres after his decaile, the  
said Pope Innocent being a sleepe, a certaine bishop,  
apparelled Bishoplike, appeared vnto him, and stri-  
king him with his staffe on the left side, said, Surge  
miser, veni in iudicium; that is, Rise wretch and  
come to thy judgement. The next day after, the pope  
was found amazed, as a man stricken on the side  
with the stroke of a staffe. This Robert though he  
was greatly commended for his sanctimony, and as  
Cestrensis saith, for his miracles; yet was he not  
permitted in the court of Rome to be inscribed in the  
catalogue of saints. And thus much out of Cestren-  
sis concerning this matter. But Mat. Paris and  
the author of Flores historiarum, prosecuting this  
story more at large, addeth this more vnto it and  
saith, that Pope Innocent the next yere following,  
which was An. 1254. being passing angry, contra-  
ry to the minde of his brethren the Cardinals, would  
haue the bones of the foresaid bishop of Lincolne cast  
out of the Church, and purposed to bring him into  
such spite and hatred of the people, that he should be  
counted an ethnik, a rebell, and disobedient person  
through the whole world. And thereupon caused his  
letters to be written and sent downe to the King of  
England, knowing that the King would gladly  
serue him therein, to haue the spoile of the bishop and  
of his Church. But in the night following the said  
Bishop of Lincolne appeared vnto him as comming  
in his pontificalibus, and with a seuerer coun-  
enance, sterne looke, and terrible voice speaking vnto  
him being in his rest, and smiting him on the side  
with a vehement stroke, with the end of his crosse-  
staffe thus said; Thou curst, lazie, old, bald, lousie,  
wretched, dotting Pope; hast thou purposed to cast  
my bones out of the Church to the shame and slander  
of me? How cometh this rash wilfulness in thy  
head? It were more meet for thee being thus ad-  
uanced by God, and honored, to make much of the  
zealous seruants of God, although departed. The  
Lord will not suffer thee henceforth to haue any  
more power ouer me. I haue written vnto thee in  
the spirit of humilitie and loue, that thou shouldst  
correct thy manifold errors; but thou with a proud  
eye and disdainfull heart hast despised my whole-  
some admonitions. Vnto to thee that despiest, shalt  
not thou also be despised? And so the Bishop depar-  
ting from the Pope, stricken, as is said, on the side,  
left him for halfe dead, and so lying in sorrow and  
lamentation. Whereupon his Chamberlains being  
amazed, hearing these things, came running to the  
Pope to know what him ailed. To whom the Pope  
much troubled and bereed in his spirit, said, that great  
terrors in his sleepe vehemently disturbed and mo-  
lested him, in such sort that he thought he should ne-  
uer

The Pope stri-  
ken with the  
staffe of Crosst-  
head bishop of  
Lincolne.

Anno?  
1254

Ex Mat. Pari  
Ex Flor. hist  
Senibalde p  
pamiseren  
The Popes ne  
and crue stile  
given by Grosst-  
head bishop of  
Lincolne.



KING  
HEN. 3.  
he Pope dis-  
acted in his  
ind.

he reuenge  
God upon  
ope Innocent

he Popes are  
revaunged  
in confounden.

he death of  
ope Innocent  
is touchy.  
Anno  
1255  
note to the  
adver concern-  
ing the ap-  
earing of dead  
1411.

Attention be-  
weene the  
Archbishop of  
Canterbury and  
the Church of  
Lincolne.

Excommunication  
abused.  
Appellation  
made to Rome  
Henry Lexington  
Bishop of  
Lincolne.

A child crucified  
of the Iewes at  
Lincolne

uer recover it, nor be restored to himselfe againe. Wh (saith he) how sore is my side, and how eagerly it vereth me, as being ruine through with a speare! Neither did the Pope eat or drinke all that day, but fasting himselfe to be sicke of a burning ague, kept in. And yet the indignation of the irefull hand of God (saith the story) so left him not.

For after these wholesome admonitions given to him by the seruant of God, the Pope not regarding them, but all set upon warre, suppression of his enemies, and secular affaires, gaue his minde wholly vnto them; and yet all his labors, counsels, and expences bestowed vpon them, could neuer prosper after that day in that he went about. For the Pope, the same time hauing warre with the Apulians, all his army, fighting vnder the Popes nephew their captain, were slaine & confounded to the number of many thousands: whose lamentable slaughter all the country of the Romanes did much bewaile. The pope, not yet quiet in his minde, directeth his journey towards Naples, although sore bereed in his side like a man sicke of a pleurisie, or smitten rather with a speare, neither could any Physicke of his Cardinals helpe him. For Robert of Lincolne (saith the story) did not spare him, and he that would not heare him gently correcting him being alieue, his stripes did his feel when he was dead; so that he neuer after that enjoyed any luckie or prosperous day, till the time of his death, nor yet any prosperous or quiet night vntill the morning. And so continued he vnto his death, which shortly after ensued, he being at Naples, Anno 1255. as N. Triuet recordeth, An. 1254. And thus haue ye the whole discourse betwene Robert Grossehead and Pope Innocent.

In the which story is to be noted, gentle Reader, that although in the story of Cestrensis, of Paris, thew Paris, and of Flor. hist. it is expressly testified and reported, that the Pope was smitten with the staffe of Robert the foresaid Bishop of Lincolne, yet thou must wisely vnderstand, that howsoeuer Gods hand dealeth here in this world in punishing his enemies, or howsoeuer the image of things not same but fantasied, offer themselves to the secret cogitation of man, his senses being asleepe, by the operation or permission of God, working after some spirituall influence in our imaginations, certaine it is, that no dead man materially can euer rise againe or appeare before the iudgement day, to any man with his staffe or without his staffe, to woeke any feat, after he haue once departed this life.

After the death of this Robert Grossehead Bishop of Lincolne, great contention fell betwene the Archbishop of Canterbury Boniface, and the Canons of the said church of Lincolne, about the right of giuing Prebendships, and about the reuenues of the said Church, in time of the bishops sea being now vacant. Which right and power the Archbishop claimed to himselfe, but the canons of that Church (maintaining the contrary side) stood against him, and for the same were excommunicated of the Archbishop. Among whom one master Wolfe resisting the Archbishop to the face, in the name of all the other canons, made by his appeale to Rome, where much mony on both sides was spent. At length after this Grossehead was elected Henry Lexington in the Sea of Lincolne.

About which time the wicked Iewes at Lincolne had cruelly crucified, whipped, and tormented a certaine child named Hugo of nine yeres of age. An. 1255. in the moneth of August: Ex Gualt. Gilburne. At length the child being sought and found by the mother, being cast in a pit; two and thirty of those abominable Iewes were put to execution. Whereof Mat. Paris. reciteth a long story. The same or like fact was also intended by the like Iewes at Dorchester twenty yeres before vpon a certaine child, whom they had first circumcised, and detained a whole yere in custody, intending to crucifie him,

for which the Iewes were sent vp to the towre of London, of whom eightene were hanged, and the rest remained long in prison: Ex Cestrensis. lib. 7. Ex N. Triuet. Ex Cestrensis. lib. 7. cap. 34. Ex Flor. hist. 1255. they began first to be expelled out of France, by the commandement of the french king, being then in Palestina, warring against the Turkes: by the occasion that it was objected then by the Turke against him and other Christian Princes, for the retaining the Iewes amongst them, which did crucifie our Saviour, and warring against them which did not crucifie him. Ex Flor. histor.

Of these Iewes mozeouer king Henry the same yere, 1255. exacted to be giuen vnto him eight thousand marks in paine of hanging. Who, being much grieved therewith, and complaining that the king went about their destruction, desired leaue to be giuen them of the king, that they might depart the Realme, neuer to returne againe. But the king committed the doing of that matter vnto Earle Richard his brother, to enforce them to pay the money whether they would or no. Whereouer of the same Iewes mention is made in the story intituled Eulogium. Of the Iewes in Northampton, who had among themselves prepared wilde fire, to burne the City of London, for the which diuers of them were taken, and burned in the time of Lent, in the said city of Northampton, which was two yeres before, about the yere of our Lord

1253. Ex Eulogio. And so much as mention here is made of the Iewes, I cannot omit what some English stories write of a certaine Jew, who not long after this time about the yere of our Lord 1257. fell into a pit in Wekebury vpon a Sabbath day, which, for the great reuerence he had to his holy Sabbath, would not suffer himself to be plucked out. And so Lord Richard earle of Gloucester, hearing thereof, would not suffer him to be draine out on Sunday for reuerence of the holy day. And thus the wretched superstitious Jew, remaining there till Monday, was found dead in the dung.

And to note the blind superstition of that time, not onely among the Iewes, but also among the Christians, to omit diuers other stories, as of Walter Gray Archbishop of Poike, who coming vnto the parliament at London, An. 1255. with vnoordinate fasting did so ouercharge nature, and pined himselfe, and (as the story mentioneth) did so by his bzaime, that he losing thereby all appetite of stomach, going to fulham, there within thre dayes died, as in the compiler of Flor. hist. is both storied and reprehended. Let this also be adioyned, which the forenamed author, and in the same yere is recorded of one named Peter Chacepree, who dying in France, An. 1255. left in bequest of his testament 600. markes for lands to be purchased to the house of Herton for God to be serued there perpetually Pro anima ejus, & omnium fidelium, that is, for his soules health, and all faithfull soules. As, who would say, christian faith were not the ordinary meanes sufficient to salvation of faithfull soules, without the quireserence of the Monkies of Herton.

We haue heard it often complained of before, how the usurped power of the Pope hath violently and presumptuously incroched vpon the Church of England, in giuing and conferring benefices and Prebends to his Italians and strangers, to the great damage and ruine of Christs stocke manifold waies. This violent injury and oppression of the Pope, as by no lawfull and gentle meanes it could be reformed; so by occasion and meanes inordinate, about this time it began somewhat to be brybled. The matter whereof was this, as it is in the collector of Flor. hist. recited: In the yere of the raigne of this king forty and foure, the Bishop of London, named fulco, had giuen a certaine Prebend in the Church of S. Paul, to one master Randons, the Popes messenger here in England.



A Prebendship  
of 1: ault given  
both of the Pope  
and of the King  
at one time to  
two severall  
persons.

The Popes do-  
nation preferred  
before the Kings

Two Romane  
Clerks going to  
complainte, were  
slaine by the  
way.

The Rooy of  
Wath Paris  
here cealeth

Who entring into the profession of Gray friers, & shortly after dying on the other side of the sea, the Pope immediately conferred the said Prebend to one of his specials, a like stranger as the other was before. About the same instant it befell, that the Bishop also of London deceased, whereby the Bishopricke now vacant fell into the Kings hands; who, hearing of the death of the forenamed Ruffanus, gave the said Prebendship, given of the Pope before, to one John Crakehole his under-treasurer, who with all solemnity took his installation, not knowing as yet that it was bestowed of the Pope before. It was not long after, as time grew, but this being noised at Rome, forthwith cometh downe a certaine Padoor named John Gas, with the Popes embulled letters, to receive the collation of the benefice by his commission procuratory given by the Pope, wherein John Crakehole had been already installed, as is aforesaid, by the Kings donation. This matter coming in traile before Boniface Archbishop of Canterbury; he inquiring and searching which donation was the first, and finding the Popes grant to be the former, gave sentence with him against the King; so that in conclusion, the Roman Clerke had the advantage of the benefice, although the other had long enjoyed the possession thereof before. Thus the Popes man being preferred, and the Englishman excluded, after the party had been inquested and stalled after the due manner; he thinking himselfe to be in sure possession of his place, attempted with the rest to enter the chapter house, but was not permitted to do so: whereupon the Popes Clerke, giving place to force and number, went toward the Archbishop to complaine. This being knowne, certaine recluses pursued him; and he being so compassed about, one in the thicknesse of the thynge, being never after knowne, suddenly rushing upon him, a little above his eyes so pareth off his head, that he fell downe dead; the same also was done to another of his fellows in flying away. This heinous murder being famed abroad, straight inquirie thereof was made, but the doer could not be knowne; and although great suspicion was laid upon Crakehole the Kings chaplen, yet no proofe could be brought. But most men thought, that bloodshed to be done by certaine ruffians or other light persons about the City of the Court, disdaining helike that Romans were so enriched with Englishmens livings, by whom neither came reliefe to any Englishman, nor any goodly instruction to y<sup>e</sup> flocke of Christ. And therefore because they saw the Church & realme of England in such subjection, & so much to be troden downe by the Romans and the Popes messengers: they thought thereby something to bryde, as with a snaffle, the Popes messengers from their intemperate ranging into this land. Ex Flor. hist.

Where by the way is to be noted, that, unto the death of this foresaid Fulco bishop of London, continueth the history of Mathew Paris Ponke of saint Albons, which was to the yere of Grace 1260. The residue was continued by another monke of the same house, but not with such like commendation, worthy to make any authentike Rooy, as I have here it noted in a written booke.

It were too curious and tedious in order to prosecute what happened in every yere, through this Kings raigne; as how it was provided by the King, that whosoever could dispend fiftene pounds land by yere; should be bound to make to the King a souldier, that watch should be kept every night in cities; that whosoever was robbed, or otherwise damaged in any country, he that had the custody should be compelled to make by the losse againe, or else to pursue the malefactor which was An. 1253. witnessing Flores hist. Item, how the king making his voiage into Wales, his expences were reckoned to amount to 270000. markes, beside thirty thousand markes bestowed upon his brethren by the mother side, and

besides other great gifts given abroad. By reason whereof, great fares, and colonies, and tenths were required of his subjects; especially of the Churchmen, who, being wont to receive tithes of others, now were constrained to give tithes to the laity: Flores hist. And 1254. Item, how in the yere next following, the Londoners offering one hundred pounds for a gift to the King with a precious cup of gold, at his returne out of France, were shortly after compelled by the King to pay thre thousand Markes for the scape of a certaine prisoner being a Clerke condemned: which Clerke being granted of the King to the Bishop, and hee having no prison sufficient for him, borrowed of the Londoners the prison of Newgate; to have him kept in, who escaping thereout, they, as is said, were demanded this recompence aforesaid, An. 1255. Item, how the King, greatly complaining of his debts the same yere, required the whole tenths, which should be gathered in thre yeres, to be taken by all at once. To whose request the nobles and commons agreed to straine themselves, so that the charter of their liberties and customes might be ratified, and fully by him confirmed: and so for that yere they were: Flores hist. Item, how Pope Alexander the third to destroy the City Bichera, with King Benfred the sonne of Frederike the Emperour, sent forth the same yere Adamianus his Cardinall with a puissant army; who coming to the city with his siege, through the counsell of Marchilius one of the chiefe Captaines, discharged a great part of his host, whereby the most of the Popes army was slaine and destroyed; almost all, save onely the family of Marchilius, An. 1255. Flor. Mat. Paris.

Many other things during the time of this King might be collected, as the rising of Lewlinus King of Wales, and of the Welchmen against the King, and waiking the land unto the towne of Chester; who destroyed divers of the Englishmens hostemen taken in the marish; with whom at length they fell to agreement by the meanes of Adobonus, that his successors should be onely called Princes of Wales, and should doe the King his homage; and the King should receive of him thre thousand Markes. And this, being established in writing, was confirmed by the Popes seale, in the yere of our Lord 1257. Ex Polychron.

About the same time, such famine and lacke of victuals oppressed the land, that a somme of corne was than sold for five and twenty shillings; in so much that the poorer sort was forced to eat nettles roots, chisell rootes, and whatsoever they could get: Ex Eulogio. Although some refer this to the yere 1262.

Whereunto moreover might be adjoyned, how Pope Alexander, abusing and mocking the Kings simplicity, made him believe that he would make his sonne Edmund King of Apulia, so that he would sustaine the charges and cost thereof, to maintaine the war which thereto should appertaine. Whereby the King, cast in a sudden hope, caused his sonne continually to be proclaimed king of Apulia; and upon the same sent by to the pope all the riches he could well make in his realme. And thus was the realme manifold wayes miserably impoverished to enrich the Pope: Ex Flor. hist. About which season, Richard earle of Cresser the Kings brother, was made king of Aimaie by the electors.

Where might be shewed moreover and added to the stories above, how y<sup>e</sup> next yere following, which was 1259. as Nicholas Trivet writeth, the King entring into France, required the restitution of such lands in Poymandy and Anjou, as of old right were due unto him, and wrongfully withheld from him. But the French King againe alleadged saying, that the country of Poymandy by old time was not given away from the crowne of France, but usurped, and by force extorted by Rollo, &c. In

KING  
HEN. 3

Pope Alexander  
the third maketh  
warre.

The Popes  
army slaine.

Lewlinus King  
of Wales warreth  
against the  
King.  
Lewlinus and  
the King conce-  
ded.

Ex Polychron  
17.

Ex autore  
Eulogii.

Anno  
1257.

Pope Alexander  
der to make  
Edith for money  
maketh the  
King believe  
his sonne should  
be king of Apu-  
lia.

Richard the  
Kings brother  
made king of  
Aimaie.

That civil  
discord was  
in



KING  
HEN. 3

Religian of  
the cardines of  
Normand  
and Anjou

Ex Gualt. Gif-  
triu.

The conflict  
and skirmish  
betweene the  
Northerne  
Welchmen, and  
the Southerne  
men in Norm.

Variance be-  
weene the stu-  
dents and the  
friars in Paris.  
Variance be-  
weene the Uni-  
uersitie of Ox-  
ford and Cam-  
bridge.  
Variance be-  
weene the  
Archbishop of  
Canterbury and  
the chapter  
of Lincoln.  
Variance be-  
weene the  
Archbishop of  
Canterbury  
and the chapter  
of London.  
Ex Flor. hist.  
Little peace in  
the Popes  
Church.

conclusion, the King fearing and suspecting the hearts of his Nobles, and looking for none other but for rebellion at home, durst not trie with them, but was compelled to agree with them upon such peace and conditions as he could get, which was this: That he should haue of the french King thirteene hundred thousand of Luren pounds, with so much lands else as came to the value of twenty thousand pounds in yearly rent: so should he resigne fully and purely, to the hands of the french king, all such lands and possessions which he had in France. Whereby the King, giuing ouer his stile and titles which he had in those parts, ceased then to be called Duke of Normandy, or Earle of Anjou.

Albeit it be true that Gisleburne writeth, that the King, afterward repenting of his deed, did neuer receive the money in all his life, neither did he cease during his life to intitle himselfe Duke of Normandy. But after him, his sonne Edward and his successors in their stile left out the title to be called Duke of Normandy, &c. Ex Gisleburne.

Besides many other matters omitted, here I ouer passe also the sore and vehement conflict, not betweene the frogs and the mice which Homer writeth of, but the mighty pitched field fought in the yere of our Lord 1259. betweene the young students and Scholars of the Vniuersity of Oxford, hauing no other occasion, as I read in Mat. Paris. but onely the diuersity of the Country where they were borne. For the Northerne men joining with the Welchmen, to try their manhood against the Southerne part, fell both parts together in such a boile, with their ensignes and warlike array, that in conclusion diuers on both sides were slaine. This heauie and bloody conflict during and increasing among them, the end was this; that the Northerne lads with the Welch had the victory. After that fury and fiery fiercenesse had done what it could, the victors be- thinking at length with themselves, partly what they had done, partly how it would be taken of the higher powers, and fearing due punishment to fall upon them especially being the brother of Leolin Prince of Wales, and some of Gisleburne, was newly dead in prison; drawing their counsell and helpe together, they offer to King Henry 4000. markes, to Edward his sonne 300. and to the queene 200. to be released of their trespass. But the king answering them againe, that he set more price by the life of one true subject, than by all which by them was offered, would in no wise receiue their money. And so the students without hope of peace went home with small triumph, learning what the common prouerbe meareth, Dulce bellum inexpertis. Notwithstanding, the King being then occupied in great affaires and warres, partly with Leolin and the Welchmen, partly intwadded with discord at home with his nobles, had no leasure to attend to the correction of these Vniuersity men, which was, Anno 1259. Ex Mat. Parisiens. Likewise concern- ing the dissention following the next yere after in the Vniuersitie of Paris, betweene the students there, and the friars; the number of whom then did so much increase, that the commons vnneth was able to sustaine them with their almes. Also betweene the Vniuersities both of Oxford and Cambridge, for a certain prisoner taken out of prison by strength, and brought into sanctuarie the same yere, as is testified in Matthew Paris, Anno 1259. In like manner touching the variance betweene the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the chapter of Lincoln. Again, betweene the said Archbishop of Canterbury, and the chapter and bishop of London; and how the said Bishop at his consecration would not make his profession to the Archbishop but with this exception, Saluis iure & liberate Ecclesie Londonensis, quae pro posse meo defendam in omnibus, &c. recorded in Flor. hist. All which wranglings and dissensions, with innumerable others reigning daily in the

Church at those dayes, if I had so much leasure to prosecute them as I find them in Foxes remaining, might sufficiently induce vs to vnderstand what small peace and agreement was then joined with that doctrine and religion in those dayes, during the state and raigne of Antichrist.

These with many such other matters more, which here might be discoursed and storied at large, being more foren than Ecclesiasticall, for breuitie I doe purposely contract and omit, cutting off all such superfluities as may seeme more curious to write vpon, than necessary to be knowne.

This that followeth, concerning the pitifull and turbulent commotion betweene the king and the nobles, which lasted a long season; because it is lamentable and containeth much fruitfull example, both for Princes and subjects to behold and looke vpon, to see what mischiefe and inconuenience groweth in common weales, where study of mutuall concord lacketh, that is, where neither the Prince regardeth the offending of his subjects, and where the subjects forget the office of Christian patience in suffering their Princes injuries by Gods wrath indicted for their sinnes; therefore, in explaining the order and storie thereof, I thought it not vnprofitable to occupie the reader with a little more farriance in perusing the full discourse of this so lamentable a matter, and so pernicious to the publike weale.

And first to declare the occasions and first beginnings of this tumult, here is to be vnderstood, which before was signified, how King Henry married with Elenor, daughter of the Earle of Bracquens a stranger, which was about the yere of our Lord 1234. whereupon a great doore was opened for strangers, not onely to enter the land, but also to replenish the Court: to whom the king seemed more to incline his fauour, aduancing them to more preferment, than his owne naturall English Lords, which thing was to them no little grievance. Moreover, before was declared how the King by Isabella his mother, who was a stranger, had diuers brethren, whom he nourished up with great liuings and possessions, and large pensions of money, which was another heart-sore to diuers, and also an hinderance.ouer and besides hath also bene declared, what vnreasonable collections of money from time to time, as quindens, subsidies, tenths, mercements, fines, payments, loanes, and taxes, haue bene leued by the King, as well of the spirituality, as of the lay sort; partly for maintaining the Kings warres against Wales, against Scotland and France, to recouer Normandy; partly for helping the Kings debtes, voyages, and other expences; partly for the Kings dome of Apulia, which was promised the Kings son by the Pope; partly for monying and supporting the Pope in his warres against the emperor. By reason of all which sundry and importable collections, the commonwealth of the realme was utterly excoziated, to the great impouerishment of poore Englishmen. Neither did it a little bere the people, to see the King call in so many legats from Rome every yere, which did nothing else but transport the English money into the Popes coffers. Besides all this, what variance and altercation hath bene betweene the King and his subjects about the liberties of Magna charta, and De foresta, granted by King John, and after confirmed by this King, in the former councill holden at Oxford, hath bene before declared.

Perhaps this might be also some pæce of a cause, that the King considering and bearing in minde the old injuries done of the Lords and Barons to his father King John before him, did beare some grudge therefore, or some priuy hatred vnto the nobility, to reuenge his fathers quarrell: but of things vncertaine I haue nothing certainly to affirme. This is certaine by truth of historie, that the yere next ensuing, which was 1260. thus writeth Nic. Trivet, that the Kings justices, called Itinerarij, be-

Diffosies prob-  
able for exam-  
ple.

The occasion of  
commotion be-  
weene the king  
and the nobles.



ing sent thither to execute their office, were from thence repelled: the cause being alleaged, for that they were against the King in proceeding and entering against the forme of the prouisions enacted and stablished a little before at the towne of Oxford.

{ Anno }  
{ 1260. }

In this yere it pleased the King, after lute to him made, to licence a Vniuersity or academicall schoole to be planted in the towne of Northampton; and of a speciall fauour which he pretended to beare (and like enough did indede) vnto the scholars that went there to seat themselves, and to prosecute the exercises of studies, wrote his letters mandatorie vnto the chiefe officers and others of the said burrow in the said students behalfe; the tenor whereof followeth agreeing with the record.

The Kings letter to the Maior, Bailiffes, and others the inhabitants of Northampton, in the behalfe of certaine Scholars minded to plaint themselves there as in an Vniuersitie.

Turris Lond.

**R** Ex dilectis & fidelibus suis maiori, balliuis, & ceteris probis hominibus suis de Northampton, salutem. Cum quidam magistri & alij scholares propo-  
nant, &c. In English thus,

The King to his beloued and trustie the Maior, Bailiffes, and other honest men his subiects of Northampton, greeting. Whereas certaine Masters and other scholars doe purpose to tarrie in your towne corporate, there to exercise scholarly discipline, as we heare: we hereupon regarding the seruice of God, and the great profit of our Kingdome, taking in good part the comming thither of the said scholars, and liking well their abode there, doe will and grant that the said scholars in the said towne corporate, vnder our protection and defence, doe safely and securely abide, and there exercise and doe such things, as to such scholars shall belong. And therefore we command you and straitly charge you, that when the sayd scholars shall come vnto you, to tarrie in your said corporatetowne, you receive them courteously, and as becometh the state of scholars vse them, not doing or suffering to be done vnto them any impediment, molestation, or grievance. In witness whereof we haue caused these our letters patents to be made. Witnesse the King at Windsor the first day of February, in the five and fortieth yere of his raigne.

Strangers ha-  
uing all the  
wealth of the  
Realme vnder  
the King.  
Ex Gualt.  
Gisburn.

It befell moreover in the same yere, about other times (as Gualter Hemingsford writeth) that a great number of aliens, comming out of France and other prouinces, resorted into England, and had here the doing of all principall matters of the Realme vnder the King. Vnto whom the rewards and reliefes, and other emoluments of the land did most chiefly redound: which thing to see, did not a little trouble and vexe the nobility and baronage of England. Insomuch that Simon Mountfort Earle of Leicester, offering to stand to death for the liberties and wealth of the Realme, conferred together with other Lords and Barons vpon the matter, who, then comming vnto the King after an humble sort of petition, declared vnto him how all the doings of his Realme, and his owne affaires, were altogether disposed by the hands, and after the wills of strangers, neither profitable vnto him, nor to the weale publicke: forsomuch as his treasures being waisted and consumed, he was in great debt, neither was able to satisfie the prouision of his owne house, but diuene to fall for his owne causes, to no small disho-  
nor vnto his owne state. And now therefore, said they, please your highnesse to be informed by our aduice, and to commit your house to the guiding and gouernement of your owne faithfull and naturall subiects, and we will take vpon vs to discharge your whole debt within one yere, of our owne proper

The words of  
the nobles to  
the King.

goods and reuenues, so that we within five yeres may cleare our selues againe. Neither will we di-  
minish your family, but rather increase it with a much greater retinue; prouiding for the safety and seeing to the custody of your royall person, as your highnesse shall finde and vnderstand our diligence most trusty and faithfull vnto you in the end.

{ KING }  
{ HEN. 3 }

To these wordes so homingly declared, so humbly pretended, so heartily and freely offered, the King as willingly condescended, assigning vnto them both day and place where to conferre and to deliberate further vpon the matter, which should be at Oxford the fiftieth day after Easter. At which day and place all the states and Lords, with the Bishops of the Realme were summoned to appeare at the said towne of Oxford, for the behalfe of the King and the Realme conuented together. Where first of the King him-  
selfe, then of the Lords, an oath was taken, that what decrees or lawes in the said assembly should be pro-  
vided to the profit of the King and of the Realme, the same vniuersally should be kept and obserued to the hono-  
r of God, and vtility of his Church, and wealth of the Realme. Besides these Lords and the King, were also nine Bishops, which swearing vnto the same, did excommunicate all such as should gaine-  
stand the said prouisions there made; the King holding a burning taper in his hand, and the Lords openly protesting to rise with all their force against all them that shall stand against the same.

The King gra-  
tified to his  
Lords.

A sitting of the  
King and Lord  
at Oxford.

The prouisions  
of lawes made  
at Oxford.

The King  
sweareth vnto  
the prouisions  
made at Ox-  
ford.

The Kings bio-  
thens against  
the prouisions  
at Oxford.

There were at that present in the Realme foure brethren of the kings (most part of them by the mo-  
thers side) which would in no case agree hereunto, but in anger departed priuily vnto Winchester. The nobles hearing thereof, in all speedy wise pur-  
sued them, fearing lest they should take the City of Winchester, and forceably keepe the same. Where-  
fore the Lords preventing their purpose, and seeing them stiffely to persist in their stubborn sentence, wrought no other violence against them, but, retur-  
ning to Oxford againe, prescribed to them these con-  
ditions, that they departing the realme should re-  
paire to their owne lands and possessions, which they had beyond the Sea: and that forthwith they should put this iniunction in execution. Notwithstanding, that the king made for them great intercession, yet it toke no place. And because this should seme to  
proceede of no speciall displeasure against them, they  
enacted moreover, that all strangers and aliens, of  
what state or condition soener, should forthwith a-  
uoyde the Realme on paine of death. Divers other  
prouisions the same time were ordained and stabli-  
shed; that if any did hold of the King in whole or in  
part, and should chauce to depart (his heire being  
vnder age) the wardship of him should belong to the  
King, as hath partly before bene specified.

The prouisions  
of Oxford.

Moreover, it was there decreed, that the twill of England should be wrought onely within the Realme, neither should it be transported out to stran-  
gers.

Ex hist. Gualt.  
Gisburnensis.  
God grant this  
law might take  
place againe.  
God grant the  
like law againe  
for the wealth  
of the realme.

Item, that no man should weare any cloth, but which was wrought and made onely within the Realme.

Item, that garments too sumptuous should not be brought in nor worn.

Item, that all excessive and prodigall expences, waisted vpon pleasure and superfluite, should be eschewed of all persons.

Many other lawes and decrees (saith the author) in this assembly were ordained, wherein they conti-  
nued the space of fiftene dayes, and many of them  
were imprisoned, of whom was the abbat of West-  
minster, a man in that order much commended. Also  
William brother to the Earle of Gloucester: also the  
Earle himselfe, being imprisoned, hardly escaped  
with life, his haire and nailes falling off his body,  
whereof the author not long after was taken, and  
duly executed at Winchester. In the meane time,  
the nobles considering those dangers and incopardies,  
were

Diners in this  
council imprisoned.



**KING** } were constrained to breake off for that time, ap-  
**HEN.** } pointing the fourteenth day of October next follow-  
ing to convene together at London with weapon  
and harness, to prosecute and finish the residue that  
was in the said counsell to be concluded. All which at  
the time and place appointed was fully accom-  
plished, and the acts thereof in order of writing pro-  
mulgated, and so committed to execution.

After the promulgation whereof many things  
therein displeased the King, and it began to repent  
him of his oath. But because he could not at that  
present otherwise chuse, he dissembled for a season.  
Thus time passing on, within a year following, which  
was in the yeere of our Lord 1261. the King seeing  
himselfe more and more to grow in debt, and not to  
be releued according to promise made, but especial-  
ly being egged (as may be thought) by his brethe-  
ren, taking it to stomack, sent vp to the Pope, both  
for him and his sonne Edward to be releued of their  
oath made before at Driford. The benefit of which  
absolution being easily obtained (or rather bought  
at the Popes hand) the King stepping backe from all  
that was before concluded, calleth another Parlia-  
ment at Driford: where he before the Lords and no-  
bles declared, how in the late Counsell of Driford  
they had agreed among themselves for the common  
utility of the realme and of the King, as they preten-  
ded, for the increasing of his treasure, and his debt  
to be diminished: And thereupon bound themselves  
with an oath, causing also himselfe and his sonne  
Edward to be bound unto the same. But now by  
experience proving and trying the matter to be  
otherwise than their promise was; and that they,  
contrarie to their covenant made, sought not so  
much the profit of him and of the Realme, as their  
owne, taking him not as their Lord, but going about  
to bring him under their subjection as an underling,  
and for that moreover his treasure greatly decrea-  
sing, his debts increased, and his Princely liberality  
was cut short and troden under foot: they should not  
marvell therefore, if he henceforth would be no  
more ruled by their counsell, but would provide  
himselfe of some other remedy, such as he might. And  
moreover, as touching the oath wherewith he and  
his sonne Edward bound unto them, he had sent already  
to Rome, and had obtained absolution and dispensa-  
tion of the same, both for him, and his sonne Ed-  
ward also, and for all others that would take his  
part. And therefore he required of them to be restor-  
ed againe to that state and condition he had intred  
in times past.

To this againe gave answer the state of nobility  
on the other side, being in the same place present; in  
the number of whom was Simon Mountfort Earle  
of Leicester, Richard Clare Earle of Gloucester,  
Humfrey Bonne earle Ferrers, with a great num-  
ber of Barons, as Lord John Fitz John, Lord Ha-  
rings, Lord Geoffrey Lucie, Lord John Westre, Lord  
William de Graue, Hugh Spenser, Lord Robert  
Wespount, with diuers and many more; whose an-  
swer to the king againe was this: That the prou-  
isions made at the Counsell at Driford (whereunto  
they were sworn) they would hold, defend and  
maintaine to their liues end: forsomuch as they did  
found, and also were agreed vpon, both to the ho-  
nor of God, to the profit of the Prince, and stable  
wealth of the Realme, &c. And thus parts on both  
sides discordant amongst themselves, they would so  
hane departed, had not certaine of the Bishops, com-  
ming betwene both, labored betwene them to take  
up the matter. By whose means (saith Gualter  
Crisburne) and procurement, the determination of  
the cause was brought in compromise, and referred  
to Londonike the french king to iudge betwixt them,  
who hearing both the allegations (saith he) like no  
equall iudge, but a partiall friend, inclined wholly  
and fully to the kings sentence, and condemned the  
nobles. But the authoꝝ of Flores historiarum saith,

that by the meditation of discret men, two were cho-  
sen, one for one side, the other for the other, to whom  
the third also was amered, who hearing as well  
what was brought of the kings part, as also what  
was answered of the other, should define betwene  
them both, and so peace was betwene them conclu-  
ded till the coming of Edward. All this while, as  
yet the Popes absolution for the King, although it  
was granted and obtained at Rome, yet was it not  
brought downe in solemne writing, neither was  
Prince Edward as yet returned out of France into  
England.

At length, the writing of the Kings absolution be-  
ing brought from Rome, the King effronces com-  
manded the same to be published throughout the  
Realme, and sendeth to the french king and other  
strangers for helpe; moreover he seizeth all his ca-  
stles into his owne hand, rejecting the counsell of the  
lords, to whose custody they were before committed;  
also remouing the former officers, as iustices, and  
the Chancellors with other placed afoze by the Lords,  
he appointed new in their stead.

To this foresaid absolution procured from Rome  
for the King and his sonne, Edward returning out  
of France, at that time did not giue his consent,  
but held with the Lords. And then putting them-  
selves in armes, with a great power repaired bp to  
London, keeping there in the suburbs and places a-  
bout; while the King kept within the towre, causing  
the City gates to be watched and locked, and all with-  
in the said city being about the age of twelue yeres,  
to be sworn vnto him. But at length, through the  
meanes of certaine comming betwene, this tu-  
multuous perturbation was somewhat appeased,  
at least some hope of peace appeared; so that the  
matter was taken vp for that time without warre  
or bloodshed. For withstanding, some false preten-  
ced dissemblers there were, which secretly by closing  
all the Counsels and doings of the Lords vnto the  
King, did all they could to hinder concord, and to  
kindle debate. By the meanes of whom the purpose  
of the Lords came not to so good effect, as otherwise it  
might. Ex Flor. hist.

In this year the Archbishop of Canterbury with  
his suffragans (after their wonted manner) standing  
against the king, had made their appeal to Rome:  
whereupon the King was faine to answer by proce-  
dure, as appeareth by this brieue note of the same out of re-  
cord. Rex constituit Iohannem Hemingford procura-  
torem suum in causa appellationis, &c. The King hath  
appointed and made Iohn Hemingford his proctor in a  
cause of appeal which is mooued in the Court of  
Rome, betwene the King on the one part, and the  
Archbishop of Canterbury with his suffragans on the  
other part, about certaine ordinances, constitutions,  
and decrees lately in a Councell prouinciall at London  
by them published, to the prejudice of the Kings right,  
his dignity royall, the liberties, lawes and customes of  
his Kingdome.

This matter no doubt was laboured very dili-  
gently by the said Iohn Hemingford, who was to  
that end authorized by the King to make his abode at  
Rome, during the time that any manner of proce-  
dure was held and maintained against him, to the  
impeaching of his royalty. Whereof the King had a  
speciall regard, perceiving the backwardness of his  
owne Clergy, or rather rebelliousness in daring to  
decrea and ordaine lawes against him. And therefore  
he was the more carefull to haue all matters depen-  
ding in the Court of Rome concerning him and his  
to be earnestly followed. Insomuch as he joyned to  
the foresaid Hemingford, in the charge of procura-  
tion, one Roger Louell: unto which time, residing  
at Rome, the King sent his letters, charging them  
so to manage his affaires, as that nothing might  
passe to the derogation of his royalty, the copy of  
the said letter followeth agreeing with the prototy-  
pe or originall.

A letter

The Popes  
releueth the King  
of his oath.

Altered make  
dates.

Ex Flor. hist.  
in An. 1261.

Disturbance in  
a prouinciall  
council at  
London against  
the Kings state.

The king re-  
neth of his  
th.

Anno 7  
1261

The King first  
the Popes  
releueth him of  
his oath.  
The Popes ab-  
solutio ablu-

The answer of  
the nobles as  
to the  
king.

The controuer-  
betweene the  
king and the  
nobles put in  
compromise.



A letter of the King sent to his proctors at Rome, concerning a case of his in the said court depending.

Turris Lond.

**R**ex magistris Iohanni de Hemingford & Rogero Louell procuratoribus suis, in curia Romana agentibus, salutem, &c. Cum vobis tanquam fidelibus nostris, &c.

In English thus:

The King to Master Iohn of Hemingford, and Roger Louell his proctors, pleading in the Court of Rome, greeting. Forasmuch as vpon you our trusty and vowed seruants, the defence of our right and honour doth lye; and (as we heare) certaine of our Realme, pleading in the Court of Rome, doe moue diuers matters to the prejudice of our right and honour, presuming and intending to preuaile against vs, we command you, and straitly charge you, that on our behalfe you straitly forbid all and euery of them, that they presume not any further to vndertake such things as tend to the hurt of our Majesty, and the derogation of our honour, but wholly forbear so to doe, as they will auoid our indignation, and the perill of them and theirs. This inhibition also we will by you all and euery of you (so often as you shall see needfull) to bee made knowne, and thereupon by you or some of you to bee certified of the contempters of the same. Witnesse the King at Westminster the six and twentieth of March, in the six and fortieth yeere of his raigne.

Against the proceedings in the Court of Rome tending to the hurt and prejudice of the King.

Bishops going about to recouer benefices appropriated from religious houses. Ex Florilegio ibid.

Pope Alexander diech.

Pope Urban.

Anno 1362  
A new release of the Kings oath from Rome, with this epitaph:  
Hic pudor  
Hyppoliti,  
Paridis gena,  
sensus Vlyssis,  
Aeneas pietas,  
Hectoris ira  
jacet.

The Welchmen rebell. The p'ouisions of Oxford againe granted by the King.

The kings palace at Westminster burnt with fire.

Thise punished for taking above two pence a weke in a p'ouise.

In this present yeere also (as affirmeth the forenamed autho<sup>r</sup>) it was rumored abroade (as Flores historiarum reporteth) that all the Bishops of England went about to recouer againe, out of the hands of religious men, all such Churches and benefices, which were to them impropriated or appropriated; and that they, for the expedition of the same, had sent by to Rome both messengers and money, nothing misdoubting to obtaine their purpose. But as little good fruit in those daies vied to spring out of that seed, so I doe not finde that godly iute and labour of the Bishops to take any fruitfull effect. The same yeere died Pope Alexander, after whom succeeded Pope Urban the fourth.

Of the which Pope Urban the king also obtained (or rather reuined) a new releasement from his oath made to the p'ouisions and statutes of Oxford. Which being granted, hee commandeth incontinently all the foresaid lawes and p'ouisions through England to be dissolved and broken. This done, the King with the Quene taketh his voyage into France, where he fell in great infirmity of sicknesse and the most part of his family was taken with the feuer quartane, of which many died. In the number of whom, beside others, died Richard the worthy earle of Gloucester and Hereford, after whom succeeded Gilbert Clare his sonne.

The Welchmen this yeere, breaking into the borders of England, did much annoyance in the lands of Roger Lord Mortimer; but mightily againe by him were expelled, not without great slaughter of the inuaders. About which time, the King, through some discreet counsell about him, inclined to peace and concord with his Nobles, granting of his mere voluntary will the constitutions and p'ouisions of Oxford to take place in the realme, directing his commandement to euery shire. Albeit the Realme yet was not altogether pacified for all that.

In the later end of this yeere, the kings palace at Westminster was burnt, and for the most part was all consumed with fire, which seemed to many an euill prognostication against the King. Ex Flor. hist.

In some English Chronicles it is also recorded, that the same yeere five hundred Jewes at London were haine for taking vsury more than two pence a

weeke for twenty shillings, being before forbidden by the King to take about that rate by the weeke.

After this followeth the yeere 1263, in which the Barons of England, confederating themselves together, for maintaining the statutes and lawes of Oxford, and partly moued with old grudge conceived against the strangers (maintained by the King and the Quene, and Edward their sonne, in the Realme of England) forned powers in all forceable wise, and first inuaded the said strangers, namely them which were about the King. Their goods and manors they wasted and spoiled, whether they were persons Ecclesiasticall or temporal. Among whom, besides others, was Peter a Burgundian (Bishop of Hereford a rich Prelate) with all his treasure apprehended and spoiled: also his country men, whom he had placed to be Canons of the same Church. With like order of handling other aliens also, to whom was committed the custody of diuers Castles, as of Gloucester, of Worcester, of Bridgenorth, were spoiled, imprisoned, and sent away. Wherby, whateuer he was in all the land that could not utter the English tongue, was of euery rascall disdained, and happy if he might to escape. By reason whereof it so came to passe, that a great number, as well of other foreigners as especially religious men, and rich priests (which here had gathered much substance) were vrged to that extremity that they were glad to see the land. In the catalogue of whom was one most principall, named Iohn Gaunfell, a Priest notoriously growne in riches and treasures not to be told, having in his hand so many and rich benefices, that nere no Bishop of this realme might compare with him in riches. Who, notwithstanding he kept with the King at London, yet was compelled priuily to boide the Realme, and was pursued by Henry the sonne of Richard King of Armaine. Certaine other strangers there were, to the number of 200. and more, which hauing the castle of Windsor, there inuaded and intrenched themselves, to whom at length pounce Edward also adioyned himselfe.

In the meane time while this stirre was abroad, the King keeping then in the Tower, and seeing the greatest part of his Nobles and Commons with the Londoners to be set against him, agreed to the peace of the Barons, and was contented to assent againe to the ordinances and p'ouisions of Oxford; albeit the Quene by all meanes possible went about to perswade the King not to assent thereto: who, as it seemed, was a great worker in kindling this fire of discord betwene the King and the Barons. Insomuch that when as the said Quene Cleopatra should passe by Barge from the Tower to Windsor, the Londoners standing vpon the Bridge, with their exclamations, cursing, and throwing of stones and dirt at her, interrupted her course, causing her to returne to the Tower againe. Notwithstanding, the peace yet continued with the Nobles and the King, the forme whereof was this: First, that Henry the sonne of Richard King of the Romans should be deliuered by the king and quene. Secondly, that the castles againe should be committed to the custody of Englishmen, not of strangers. Thirdly, that the p'ouisions and statutes, decreed at Oxford, should as well by the King, as by all others inuicably be obserued. Fourthly, that the Realme henceforth should be ruled and gouerned not by foreigners, but by personages borne within the land. Fifthly, that all aliens and strangers should boide the land, not to returne againe; except onely such, whose abode should by the common assent of the Kings trusty subiects be admitted and allowed.

Thus the king and the nobles forning together after this forme of peace above prefixed, although not fully with heart, as after appeared, put themselves in armes with all their power to recouer the Castle of Windsor out of the strangers hands. But Edward,

KING  
HEN.

Anno  
1263

The nobles rising against the strangers by using the common mode of the realme. Peter of Hereford a Burgundian a rich Bishop.

John Gaunfell a rich Priest.

The King as he came agreeth with the nobles.

The Quene a great cause of this debate.

The forme of peace concluded betwene the King and the nobles.



{ KING }  
{ HEN. 3. }

ward, in the mid way betwene London and the Castle, meeting with his father and the Barons, entered communication upon the matter. Which being finished, and he thinking to returne into the castle againe, by the policy of the Earle of Leicester, and William bishop of Worcester, he was not permitted to enter. Whereupon the strangers with in the hold ( destitute of all hope to withstand the great force approaching ) rendered the Castle vnto the king and the Barons upon this convention: That with horse and harnesse they might be suffered safe to depart the land, not to returne any more. Which being granted, certaine of the Barons conducted them in their journey towards the sea side, and there they left them.

In the same yeare about the begining of October, the king and Queene made ouer to France, with Simon Mountfort and other Nobles, to heare and stand to the Arbitrement of Lewis the French king, concerning the controuersie betwene the states of England, and all through the procurement of Clemonor the Queene. For the not forgetting the old customely of the Londoners, exclaiming against her upon the Bridge, wrought alwaies what reuenge they could against them. Concerning the Arbitrement of this matter put to the French king, partly hath bene said before, and more shall be said ( Christ willing ) hereafter. Some stories doe adde moreouer, that the king continuing long in France, would was sent to him out of England, that vntlesse he returned againe to the Realine, they would elect a new king. Whereupon the king, returning out of France to Douer, would haue entered the Castle, but he was stopped. Wherefore the king in fierce anger and great indignation prepared his power towards London; where Simon Mountfort the worthy Earle of Leicester, through a subtil traine, was almost betrayed and circumvented in Southwarke, by the sudden pursuing of the kings army; had not the Londoners with more speede, breaking bars and chaines, made way to rescue him; by the means of whom the Earle at that time escaped the danger.

Now to come to the sentence of the French king. Forasmuch as the arbitrement of this matter was committed to him, as hath before bene specified; he in a great frequencie both of French and English persons about him, considering and posing the cause on both sides, betwene the king and the Nobles, clearly and solemnly pronounced on the kings side against the Barons, obtained that the king of England all this while had suffered wrong, and that he should be restored againe to his priuilege state, notwithstanding the promises made at Oxford, ( which he obtained to be repealed and abrogated. Ex Flor. hist. Gisburn.

The sentence of the French king thus awarded, as it gaue to the king of England with his retinue no little encouragement, so it wrought in the nobles hearts great indignation; which, notwithstanding that partiall decreement of the French king, sped themselves home out of France to defend themselves with all their strength and power. And not long after followeth also the king, by whose frame Simon Mountfort Earle of Leicester ( as is aboue recited ) was well nere circumvented in Southwarke. When the king calling his counsell together at Oxford ( from whence he excluded the University of students for a season, who were then at Northampton, as you haue heard before ) there consulted, concerning with his friends and Counsellors what way best to be taken. And hearing that the Barons were assembled in a great number at the towne of Northampton, he went thither with his host and with his banners displayed, accompanied with Richard his brother king of Amaine, also with Edward his sonne, John Comyn of Scotland with many other Scots, John of Balliol Lord of Caloway,

Robert of Bruce, Lord Walter of Anand, Roger of Clifford, Philip of Harmon, John of Claus, Roger of Lauburne, Henry Perie, Philip Basset, Roger of Mortimer, and William of Valence, and many others. Wherefore the king commanded the Barons that were within, to yield vnto him presently the City and the pledges, or else he would immediately destroy them. But they counselling with the younger Simon De Monte forti, which by his fathers commandement had got the residue thither to take Counsell together ( for his father and the Earle of Gloucester were not yet come ) boldly and with one minde answered, that they would not obey the kings will, but would rather defend themselves the city, if neede were, euen to the death. Which the noble men of the kings part hearing, sent word againe, that at the least they should come to the wall of the City to speake to the king, if by any means peace might be made. And they suspecting no deceit, followed their Counsell, and leaving their holds, came to the wall towards the meadow, for there lay the king and his strong host hard by. But in the meane space whilst diuers matters were reasoned and treated of betwene the king and the Lords, the lord Philip Basset ( which before was appointed to work that feate ) with mattocks and another instrument of iron and men prepared for the nonce, nere to the monastrie of St. Andrew, did undermine the wall of the City: and by this means the wall fell down lightly, and there was made a great plaine, so that in one forefront there might haue gone together on a row forty horsemen. And of this subtilty the alien Monkes that were there, were thought to be the workers, because they made way and enterance for them that came in. But when they that passed by saw this, the kings banners were erected ready to enter in; there was a great howling made, and the noise of the people came to the eares of the Barons, and they made speede to resist them; but it was all in vaine, because they were already prevented of a great company of their enemies. But Simon Mountfort the younger, after hee had valiantly fought a while in the midst of his enemies with Peter Mountfort, and a few that were with him, when Edward the kings sonne came, was by his commandement taken and led away prisoner. But the Clerkes of the University of Oxford ( which University by the Barons commandement was translated thither ) did worke against the kings men more hurt than the other Barons, with their lings, long bowes, and crose bowes; for they had a banner by themselves, and that was set vp on high against the king. Wherewithall the king being greatly moued, ware at his entering in, that they should all be hanged. Which when they heard, many of them shaued their crownes, and they that were able ran away as fast as they could. And when the king entered the City, many fled in their armour into the Castell, others left their horse and harnesse and ran into Churches; and a few were slain, and those were of the Common people; but there was not much bloodshed, because all things were done as vpon the sudden. When the City was at length set in quiet, the king commanded his oath to be executed vpon the clerkes. But his counsellors said vnto him, This be farre from thee the king, for the sonnes of the nobles, and of other great men of thy kingdome were there gathered together into the University; whom if thou wouldst cause to be hanged or slaine, euen they that now take thy part would rise vp against thee, not suffering to the uttermost of their powers the blood of their sonnes and kinsfolkes to be shed. And so the king was pacified, and his wrath against the Clerkes was staid.

In the same day, after little more than an houre, the kings host assaulted the castle, and the new hold keepers were afraid, for that they had not vntials and other things necessary for their resistance; there- fore

{ Anno }  
{ 1264 }

The nobles taken at Northampton.

Simon Mountfort the younger taken prisoner.

The scholars of Oxford that were against the king.

The students of Oxford that were against the king.

The Castle of London recovered out of the hands of the Barons.

lanet alta-  
rente re-  
ostum judi-  
um Paris-  
is, &c. Virg.

Defence of  
the French king  
with the king of  
England against  
the Barons.

x Flor. hist.  
x Gisb. &  
iis.  
Warre betwixt  
the king and the  
barons beginneth  
tho

ministry of  
Oxford removed  
for a time to  
Northampton.



The Lord taken at Northampton.

foze they sent immediately messengers unto the king, and yielded themselves to the kings mercy. There were taken that day these knights and Barons under written; Lord William de Ferrers, Lord Peter Mountfort companion of the said Simon de Mountfort the younger, Lord Baldwin de Wake, Lord Adam de Newmarch, Lord Roger Bertram, Lord Simon son of Simon a valiant warrior, which first erected his banner against the king, Lord Berengarius de Waterville, Lord Hugo Cubium, Lord Thomas Haunsell, Lord Roger Botemlan, Nicholas Wake, Lord Robert de Beiton, Lord Philip de Wible, and Gimbald de Dauncesot. All these aforehand did the king take prisoners and many more of whom he committed some to the Lord Nicholas of Hauserham to be kept in the same Castle well defended: some he led away with him; and some he sent to divers castles, and appointed Simon Mountfort to be cast into Winblosse Castle. And all these things, as touching the taking of Northampton, were done on the sabbath day in Passion weeke, being the third of Aprill, in the yere of our Lord 1264. and the king went forward euen to Pottingham, burning and wasting the manors of the Lords and others his enemies, and there he gathered together his nobles, and greatly increased his number.

Earle Simon Mountfort slain himselfe.

When this ill lucke was told, of them that there were runne away, to the Earle Simon, which was coming towards Northampton with a great host, he was in a great rage, and yet was not discouraged: but immediately going to London, he caused a Chariot to be made him after the manner of litters or coaches, where in he might ride as though he were sicke, for he fained himselfe to be sicke and weak, whereas he was indeed a stout and valiant warrior: and there gathered to him other noblemen that were confederate with him, earles and barons, euery one bringing with them their severall armies; and preparing their engines of wood, they went to besiege Rochester: for the Earle of Gloucester in the kings behalf kept both the towne and castle. When they had gotten the first gate and the bridge, they were partly wounded and compelled to retire, and there that valiant knight Roger de la Bourne was wounded, and very ill handled. And whilst they continued siege there a while, it was told them that the king was coming towards London, with a mighty host. And they said one to another, If the king at his coming should take London, wee shall be shut in as it were in a strait corner: let vs therefore returne into London, that wee may keepe in safety both the place and the people. Wherefore appointing certaine persons to keepe the siege, they returned to London. At the length when the king came, they went forth with the Citizens to meet him, not with flowers & palmes in their hands, but with swords & speares. The king humned them, and after he had the Castle of Kingston, which was the earle of Gloucesters, he went from thence to Rochester; where after he had killed a few, he brake the siege, and from thence the king went to Tunbridge, and the towne and castle now being given vp to him, he took there the countesse of Gloucester, and put her into an abbey, not to be kept in hold, but to goe at liberty whither she would. And he left for the custody of the Castle and Citie a great part of his host to the number of about twenty picked out ensignes, for that it was commonly said that the Earle of Gloucester would come out of hand to assault them. Which being done he continued on his journey to Winchester, where he received to peace the seamen of the haven towne. And three dayes after, upon the Sunday following, he came to the towne of Lewis, and was received into the Abbey, and his sonne Edward into the Castle. When the Barons sent letters to the king the twelfth day of May, the tenor whereof followeth.

Rochester besieged of the Barons.

The King humneth London.

TO their most excellent Lord Henry, by the grace of God King of England, Lord of Ireland, and Duke of Aquitaine, his Barons and others his faithfull subjects, being willing to keepe their oath and fidelity to God and him, send greeting and due obedience with honour and reuerence. Whereas by many experiments it is manifest, that some of your graces assistants haue reported to your majesty many lies of vs, working mischief, as much as in them lieth not onely against vs, but against you also, and your whole Realme: be it knowne to your highnesse, that we haue beene alwayes willing to defend the health and safeguard of your person, with all our power and fealtie due to your grace, purposing to vex to the uttermost of our power and estate not onely our ill willers, but also your enemies, and the enemies of your whole Realme. If it bee your good pleasure giue no credit to them, wee shall be alwayes found your faithfull subjects. And wee the Earle of Leicester, and Gilbert of Clare, at the request of others, for vs and them haue put to our seales.

These letters being read and heard, there was a counsell called, and the king went backe to them, and specially to the two Earles of Leicester and Gloucester, in manner and forme following.

Henry by the grace of God King of England, Lord of Ireland, Duke of Aquitaine, &c. To Simon Mountfort, and Gilbert de Clare, and their confederates. Forasmuch as by the warre and generall disquietnesse by your meanes raised vp in our whole Realme, and also the burnings and other hurtfull enormities, it appeareth manifestly that you keepe not your fidelity to vs-ward, nor care any thing for our health or safety; and for that ye haue vnorderly grieued our Nobles, and others our faithfull subjects sucking faithfullly and constantly to vs (as you haue certified vs) we accounting their losse as our owne, and their enemies as ours; and seeing these my afore said faithfull subjects, for the keeping of their fidelity, doe assist vs manfully and faithfullly against your vnfaithfulness: we therefore care not for your fidelity or loue, but desie you as our and their enemies. Witnesse my selfe at Lewis the day and yeere afore said.

The answer of the King to the Lords.

Also Richard King of Almaine, and Lord Edward the sonne of king Henry writ to the Barons in this wise:

Richard by the grace of God, King of the Romans alwayes Augustus, and Edward eldest sonne of the King of England, and all the other Barons and Nobles constantly and faithfullly in heart and deed cleaving to the foresaid King of England, to Simon Mountfort, and Gilbert de Clare, and to all and singular others their adherents in their conspiracie. By your letters which you sent to our Lord the Noble King of England we haue vnderstanding that you desie vs, although before any such word, your defiance towards vs was apparant enough by your cruel persecution in burning our possessions, and spoiling our goods. We therefore giue you to wit, that we all and euery one of vs, as your enemies, doe desie you all as our open enemies. And further, that we will not cease, wherefoeuer it shall lie in our power, to the uttermost of our force and might, to subuert your persons, and all that you haue. As touching that you lay to our charge, that we giue neither faithfull nor good counsell to our Lord the King, you say not the truth. And if your Lord Simon Mountfort, or Gilbert de Clare, will affirme the same in our Lord the Kings Court, we are ready to get safe conduct for you to come to the said Court, to trie and declare the truth of our innocency, and the falsehood of you both, as forsworne traytours, by some man equall with you in nobility and stocke. All we

The letter of Richard King of Almaine and Prince Edward to the Barons.



{ KING }  
{ HEN. 3. }

are contained with the scales of the foresaid Lords, the Lord Richard, and the Lord Edward. Dated the day aforesaid.

The battell of  
the King and  
the Barons be-  
tweene.

Both which letters being read, they drew nere to the King; for they were not farre distant from the place which is called Lewis. And so that there wanted to the Kings those prouision for their horses, it was commaunded them, on Tuesday to goe forth to seeke for hay and prouender: which, when they were gone forth, were prevented of their enemies, and most of them killed: but the residue returning saw their enemies coming very early on the Wednesday morning, and making out-cries, stirred by the King and his host to arme them selues. Then the barons, coming to the full plaine, descended there, and girding and trimming their horses, made fit their harnesses to them. And there the Carle Simon made the Carle of Gloucester, and Robert de Clare, and many other new knights. Which being done, he diuided and distinguished his host into foure seuerall battells, and he appointed noble men to guide and gouerne every battell. And ouer the first battell were ordained Captaines, Henry Mountfort the eldest sonne of the Carle Simon, and Guido his brother, Lord John de Buch the younger, & Lord Humphrey de Bohun. Ouer the second battell, Lord Gilbert Clare Carle of Gloucester, Lord John the son of Lord Simon, and Lord William of Mountcherlie. And ouer the third, in which the Londoners were, at their request, the Lord Nicholas Degraue was assigned: which required also very instantly, that they might haue the first stroke in the battell, at the aduenture, come what come would. But ouer the fourth battell the earle himselfe was captaine with the Lord Thomas of Binellston. In the meane season came forth the Kings host, preparing themselves to the field in three battells, of which Edward the Kings sonne led the first, with the Carle of Marlworke, and Balence the Kings brother: and the second the King of Almaine guided, with his sonne Henry: but the King with his nobles guided the third: and the fourth led on the King appointed not, by reason he had left many of his chiefe souldiers behinde him to keepe the Castle and towne of Tunbridge against the Carle of Gloucester. And the most part of the Kings army were but young men, for the King thought not that his Barons had bene come to nigh hand. Their armies being on both sides set in aray and order, they exhorted one another on either party to fight valiantly: and after they buckled together, the battell was great, and many horsemen were ouerthrowne euen in a moment. But by and by Edward the Kings sonne with his band, as a fierce young gentleman and valiant knight, fell vpon his enemies with such force, that he compelled them to recoile backe a great way, so that the hindmost (thinking by reason of their giuing backe, that the foremost were slaine) ran many of them away, and taking water to passe ouer, were almost threescore souldiers drowned, and a few of them being slaine, all the rest fled. Straightway the Londoners which had asked the first fight, knowing not how the battell went, tooke their horses: whom Edward pursued with his band, killing the hindmost of them the space of two or three miles: for he hated them because they had rebelled against his father, and disgraced his mother when she was carried by barge vpon the Thames, from the Tower to Windsor: as is before touched.

Whilist that prince Edward was thus in the chafe of the Londoners, who had the valour of the Barons battell: in the meane time the maine battell of the Barons set vpon the Kings maine battell, of the which the King of Almaine the brother of King Henrie had the leading, which being come discomfited, and hee with his sonne Henrie and Robert de Brus, John Couen, with diuers other Captaines taken prisoners, the reuerward wherein the King himselfe fought, being imme-

diately so hardly be'et, and he seeing his knights and souldiers on euery side about him beaten down and slaine, and diuers others of his souldiers to forsake the field and shift for themselves, thought good to take againe the towne, and so retired into the Abbey from whence he came, shutting and rampering by the gates, and caused the same to be strongly warded with souldiers. To be breue, the Barons thus getting the field, after long fight, and many men on either side slaine, entred also vnto the towne of Lewis, pursuing in chase such souldiers as thither fled for succour.

In the meane time Prince Edward returning from the chafe of the Londoners, as yee heard, who desired to giue the first onset, and esping the chariot of the Carle Simon (which he caused purposely to be made for him) and the horses in the same, without either waggon or any other to gouerne the same, fell immediately vpon the Chariot, and brake it all in peeces, and slew two Burgeses that were within the same. But when he came neerer to the place where the bloody battell had bene fought, and saw the great discomfiture and ouerthrow, which in his absence with great mortality and slaughter had happened, his heart was much dimayed, and his countenance altered. Yet notwithstanding, commorting and encouraging his knights and souldiers, of whom he had a valiant company, in battell aray he marched toward the towne against whom came the Barons againe with all their power. And thus was begun betwixt them a freish field and new battell, and many men slaine on either side. But at length the Carle de Marcenia, with the Kings two brethren forsooke the field and fled: after whom went more than seven hundred chosen souldiers, which were of their house and family, who the same day came to Poouentie, and there toke shipping ouer the Sea. Also Hugh Bigot with diuers others fled, and left the valiant Prince fighting in the field: which thing he also perceiuing took the towne. And when he found not the King his father at the Castle, he went from thence to the Abbie where he was. In the meane season the towne was diuided in parts, some fighting, some spoiling, some getting of butties, neither could scarcely one of them know and discern another, whether he were his friend or enemy. But when within a while the barons had assembled some company they gaue an assault vpon the Castle, thinking to haue rescued John Gifford and others whom the Kings souldiers had taken prisoners and put therein. But the souldiers within manfully defended the same, and in throwing out balls of wilde fire, as for the defence thereof they had, they also fired part of the towne. When the Barons retired and left the castle, and purposed to haue set vpon the Abbey where the King and Prince Edward his sonne was, which also was set on fire by the assault giuen to the castle: but yet it was shortly recovered and quenched. When Edward the Kings sonne, perceiuing the bold enterprise of the Barons, prepared with courageous knights and souldiers, as were yet remaining and within the Abbey, to haue issued out, and to haue giuen a new charge vpon them. But the Barons, perceiuing that, sent vnto the King messengers to intreate a truce for that day, and on the morrow to talke and conclude of a further peace betwixt them. This battell was fought vpon the nineteenth day of May, being the pece of our Lord, 1264.

The next day, which was Thursday, there were sent on either side two preaching friers betwene the King and the Barons, with certaine articles and demands of peace, so that with certaine others these conditions were agreed on: that on the morrow being Friday, the Prince should giue himselfe in hostages for the King his father and others of his part. And Henry the Kings sonne of Almaine also should giue himselfe the like for his father. That those things which should be concluded vpon for the benefit and commoditie of the Realme, and peaceable quietnesse

The King's  
maine battell  
and Lewis of  
condemns, and  
the King's  
to take the  
Abbey.

Prince Edward  
returning  
from the first  
chafe thence  
all together lost.

The Prince  
fought a new  
battell.

Prince Edward  
also put  
to the sword  
and came to  
take the towne.

The Castle of  
Lewis be'et  
and  
won.

A peace intrea-  
ted betwene  
the King and  
the Barons.

The two pri-  
ces giuen in  
bottage.

Richard King  
Almaine with  
his sonne taken  
prisoners.



quietnesse thereof might be performed, and that all such prisoners as were taken on either side, should be freely ransomed and sent home.

The next day which was Saturday, the king discharged all his souldiers, and others that were with him in the Abbey, licensing them to depart whither they listed. And furthermore, by the aduice of his some and the Barons, he gaue commandement to those which he had appointed to the keeping of *Turbridge*, that they should make no attempt to the preiudice or hurt of the barons; but in hope of the peace which was now at the point to be concluded, they should also depart euery man to their houses & habitations. But their giuing no credit thereunto, went with their furniture to *Winton*, where they kept themselves in Garrison, untill the escaping of Edward the kings some out of prison. But first before that, when they heard at *Turbridge* that the king was vanquished in battell, and that the Londoners in the foreward were put to flight by Prince Edward (by a messenger that escaped from the same) & that also the same Londoners were at *Croldoborn*, they set upon them in the euening tide, and taking from them much spoyle, slue also many of them.

But when Roger Hoztiners part began to decrease, and Simon the Carles part on the other side to encrease, he bare himselfe, more stout, for that both the king and all that was his, did depend vpon the good will and fauor of the Carle, and led with him the kings son to such holds and castles as he thought to be most strong: as though all were in his hands to doe as him liked; and he kept the hostages more straitly than he was wont to doe. Insomuch that when it was blowne abroad that the kings sonns was kept as prisoner, diuers that were his friends, counselled him that he should desire to disport himselfe at the Barriers, that the people might haue a sight of him. But he, being narrowly garded as he knew, and fearing some tumult to arise, thought good to refuse their Counsell, and so to do.

In this troublesome yere, which was An. 1264. as the Londoners with the nobles were thus occupied in warre and dissention, the malignant Jewes, thinking to take vantage of that time, with priuie treason conspired against the whole City and State of the nobles, who being taken with the manner, were almost all slaine that dwelt in the City of London.

In this yere also Boniface Archbishop of Canterbury the sonne of Peter Carle of Saucie, and a stranger, hauing bene certaine yeres beyond the seas in disgrace with the king of England, vpon occasion of some misdeemeanor belike (for hee was, as *Mattheu Parker* writeth of him, *Vt moribus gestisque peregrinus, sic nomine iplo & appellatione ceteris archiepiscopis dissimilis*) the king being of a relenting nature, and bearing much with clergy mens insolencies (which for a while he might perhaps gaffestand, but at last bare with them as supported by the Court of Rome) did consult with his nobles about the returne of the said Boniface into England, conditionally as followeth.

*Acts passed in the Kings counsell touching the Archbishop of Canterburies returne into England vnder certaine conditions.*

*Turris Lond.* Anno Domini 1264. mense Martio, in praesentia illustris regis Angliae, de concilio procerum & magnatum eiusdem regni actum est, quod venerabilis pater Bonifacius Dei gratia Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus, totius Angliae primas in Angliam reuertatur, sub conditionibus infra scriptis, in regno pacifice moraturus. In primis igitur, &c.

*In English thus.*

In the yere of our Lord 1264. in the moneth of March, it was enacted in the presence of the renowned king of England, by the counsell of the Peeres

and States of the said Realme, that the reuerend father Boniface by the grace of God Archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, should returne into England, and abide in the Realme peaceably vpon the conditions underwritten.

First, therefore it is enacted, that the Archbishop at his returne doe without any difficulty release in forme of law his sentences of excommunication, published against all persons whatsoeuer, occasioning much trouble in the Realme of England: but yet so, that they which shall be found excommunicate, be ready to make satisfaction for their excesses and defaults, and for the same receiue as they are bound by the canonicall Commandements of the Archbishop, in forme hereunder in the next Article contained.

Secondly, it is enacted, that in making amends for defaults done to the Churches and Churchmen, within such places as are immediately subject vnto his iurisdiction, the Archbishop may arbitrate according to the Councell of all his suffragans, or the greater and sounder part; and of weighty affaires belonging to the Church and Realme of England, may in time to come after his returne, order and dispose likewise by their Councell, and the counsell of other discreete men of the Realme.

Thirdly, it is enacted, that he bring with him master Henry Hoztiner Archdeacon of Canterbury, and Pont Sabler his familiar clerkes or household Chaplens, and these Clerkes onely being strangers bozne, he keepe and retaine of his Councell and household.

Fourthly, it is enacted, that other Clerkes wheresoeuer, beneficed in the Church of England, meaning and willing to returne with the Archbishop, may safely returne and abide in their benefices, and dispend the Church goods within the realme as they are bound, carrying or sending nothing out of the Realme, wilest necessary occasion, and allowed of the Kings Councell doe so require.

Fifthly, it is enacted, that the Archbishop or the Clerks comming with him shall bring nothing with them in letters, message, or Commandement, nor shall procure any thing else during their abode in this realme, either by themselves, or by others, where by any damage, danger or prejudice may redound to the king, or to any of his Realme. And for memory of the premises, the seale of the said renowned king of England is hanged vnto these presents.

By the whole Councell.

Notwithstanding this conclusion, the Archbishop did not presently returne, but continued in Prouence and elsewhere, behauing himselfe imperiously as a Prelate of the right Romish stampe. In the meane time many matters incident to his place, were omitted and neglected, which personally by him should haue bene executed: but by reason of his absence the same were dispatched by deputation, and the same ordered likewise according to his own fantasie, which he preferred before the kings authority and Commandement. This to be true, the copy of a letter describing the contumacy of the said Boniface doth sufficiently testifie, the same being set downe agreeable to the prototypion.

A letter of the King to Boniface Archbishop of Canterbury charging him to returne into England, there personally to discharge his Archiepiscopall function

Ex Bonifacio Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo, totius Angliae primati, salutem. Licet haecenus per patientiam pluries sustinuerimus electos in Episcopos, abbatibus, ac praelatos alios in regno nostro, &c.

*In English thus.*

The King to Boniface Archbishop of Canterbury, primate

{ KING }  
{ HEN. 3 }

The Kings souldiers in *Turbridge* after they had spoiled the Londoners at *Croldoborn*, kept themselves in garrison at *Winton*.

Carle Simon after this victorie beareth himselfe so stout that he importuneth the hostages of the King.

\* Henricus demortuo mari.

4

5

10

20

30

40

50

60

70

1

2

3



KING  
H. R. 3  
gaine the  
republicke  
of  
america in  
ren countries  
ding.

primate of all England, greeting. Although hitherto by patience we haue suffered oftentimes Bishops elect, Abbats, and other Prelats in our Realme, for the benefit of their confirmation to be obtained, to passe ouer beyond Sea vnto you, we thought not to receive at your hands any such reward, as that against the right and custome of our Realme, to the which we meane not by this our patience that prejudice shall any way be procured or bred, you should attempt this to be followed. We doe maruell therefore and are moued that you, at the request of vs, haue refused to commit the examination of the election of our welbeloued in Christ, master Walter Gifford late of Bathe and Wells Bishop elect. and the confirmation of the same election, vnto some discreet persons of our Realme, we hauing detained and as yet detaining the same Gifford against his will, that he might not repaire personally vnto you: whereunto common right and the very custome of the Realme ought to haue lead you vnrequested, whilst you abide out of the Realme. Left therefore our too much patience might breed in you a contempt, we will you to vnderstand that henceforward we meane to beare lesse with such dealing, specially in these dayes, wherein there is no safe passage for Englishmen vnto you through the parts of France, as it is reported. Wherefore we thought good to desire you fatherhood and also to admonish you, giuing you moreouer in charge and commandement, and vpon the fealty wherein you are bound vnto vs firmly inioyning, that in respect of the foresaid election, and other ceremonies, you come personally into England to execute your office and charge, or send some other in your roome; or at least procure and cause some discreet persons of our Realme, whom you shall repute more meete for this matter, to serue the turne for you in this behalte: lest if with contumacy you refuse to heare our requests and commandements the second time, which you are by duty bound to obey, we be compelled to take indignation against you, as a contemner of the rights, liberties, and the customes of our kingdom, and so to proceede against you more sharply by way of reuenge: neither will we suffer, if you shall doe otherwise, that the reuenues of your said Archbishopricke shall henceforth be conuayed vnto you out of our Realme; but as you refuse the burthen, so will we in like sort doe what we can to withdraw hereafter the profits and commodities from you during your abode out of our land. Finally we, if neede shall be are ready to giue you a sure and safe conduct. Witnesse the King at Saint Pauls of London, the 25. of Iune, and the 48. yeere of our raigne.

Now after all this adoe, we read that at last Boniface returned, and becoming more holy to wards his end, he went with other Bishops to the King, requesting him that being murthered of the decay of his kingdom, by Ecclesiasticall liuings bestowed vpon strangers, he would hereafter preferre learned and goodly men of his owne nation. To whom the King answered that he would willingly doe it. Wherefore I thinke it meete that you, which are a stranger and unlearned, and also my brother Ethelmer bishop of Winchester, whom I haue preferred to such dignities onely for kindness sake, should first giue examples to others, and forsake your churches, and I will prouide other learned men to serue in them. Which answer of the King so pierced this Boniface, that he alwaies after liued a wearisome life in England. Wherefore perceiuing himselfe to be mistaked of the King and the people, he desired to returne into his Country. And thereupon first selling & selling the woods, letting out the archbishopricke, taking great fines of his tenants, and making a great masse of money of the Clergy of his prouince, he went with the curse of all men vnto Sauioy, where in the Castle of S. Helens, after he

had misgouerned the see six and twenty yeeres, six moneths, and sixtene daies from his consecration, being nine and twenty yeeres from his first election, he died the fifteenth kalends of August. And so ceased the troubles betwene the King and the said Bishop, whose contumacie in wordes, with others of the like kind, both largely appeare in this booke.

¶ But to leaue Boniface now dead, note this, that in this yeere, after the death of Pope Urban, succeeded in the said see of our Lord, An. 1265. Pope Clement the fourth: which Clement, as affirmeth Nic. Triuet, was first a married man and had wife and children, and was the soliciter and Counsellor to the French king; then after the death of his wife, was Bishop intituled Dobienfis; after that Archbishop of Parbon; and at last made Cardinal, who being sent of Pope Urban in legacie, for reformation of peace, in his absence was elected Pope by the Cardinals. About this time flourished Thomas Aquinas, reader at Paris among the Dominike friers, and Bonaventure among the Franciscan friers. Ex Nic. Triuet.

¶ Now after all the foresaid tumult and boyle of the king and his barons to the vocation of the whole land, it was thought meete and necessary that all parties at variance should be reconciled. Whereupon it was concluded amongst them as followeth.

### 30 A forme of peace betweene the King and his Barons.

¶ Ec est forma pacis à domino rege, & domino Edwardo filio suo, Prelatis & proceribus omnibus, & communitate tota regni Anglie communiter & concorditer approbata, &c. In English thus:

This is the forme of peace allowed of the King our Lord, of the Lord Edward his sonne, of all the Prelates and peeres and the whole communality of the Realme of England with common consent and agreement, to wit, that a certain ordinance or decree made in a parliament holden at London about the feast of the natiuitie of S. John Baptist last past, for the maintaining and keeping of the peace of the Realme, shall continue all the daies of the said king our soveraigne Lord, and the time of the Lord Edward, after he shall be receiued as king, even till the end and terme that shall be thought meete and convenient. The said ordinance or decree is this.

For the redressing of the state of the Realme of England, let there be chosen or named three discreet and trusty persons of the Realme, which may haue authority and power, from the Lord the King, to choose or name in the Kings behalfe nine Counsellors: of which nine, three at least by course or turnes may alwaies be present in the court. And let the Lord the King, by the Counsell of the said nine, order and dispose of the keeping of castles, and the managing of all the affaires in his realme. Let the Lord the King also, by the aduice of the foresaid nine, appoint iustices, Chancellors, treasurers, and other officers, greater and lesser in those matters that pertaine to gouernment of his Court and Realme.

The choosers or namers shall sweare first, that according to conscience they will choose or name such Counsellors, as they verily beloeue will be profitable and trusty in respect of Gods honor, the Church, the Lord the King, and his realme. The counsellors likewise and all the officers greater and lesser in their creation shall sweare, that to the bittermost of their power they will faithfully execute their offices to the honor of God and of the Church, and to the profit of the Lord the King and his Realme, without bribe or gift, meate and drinke, which are commonly wont to be set vpon the table, excepted. And if so be that the foresaid counsellors, or some of any of them, in the charge to them committed (whether they be he or they) haue behaved themselves ill, or that vpon some

The death of Pope Urban, Pope Clement the fourth, Pope Clement the fourth, had an enen maintained a wife and children. Thomas Aquinas, Bonaventure, at Paris.

Anno 1265.

Turris Lond.

Boniface his diuice disannuagable to himselfe.

Boniface murthered the Archbishop, picks, he is hated, and dieth.



other occasion such officers are to be changed: the the Lord the King, by the Counsell of the thre former chofers or namers, may remove such as he shall see mete to be remooved; and in their roomes by the same mens aduice may appoint and place o<sup>r</sup> ther persons trusty and seruiceable.

And if so be that either the greater officers or the lesser doe disorderly demean themselves in their offices, the Lord the King by the counsell of the foresaid nine may displace them, and without delay by the same aduice let others in their roomes. And if so be that the thre first or chiefe chofers or namers, in the choice or naming of Counsellors, or perhaps the Counsellors in the creating of officers, or in other affaires of the Lord the King and the Realme to be ordered or done, shall be at disagreement, then whatsoever by consent of two parts shall be concluded or decreed, let the same be firmly kept and obserued; so that of those two parts one be a Prelate of the church in the business belonging to the church. And if it so happen, that two parts of the said nine in some matter disagree; then shall they for their variance stand to the ordinance of the thre first chofers or namers or the greater part of them. And if so be it same expedient to all the prelates and Barons, by consent that some or one in place of some or one of the thre first namers be put and appointed: then let the Lord the King by the counsell of all the Prelates and Barons ordaine some others, or one other. And let the Lord the King doe all the premises by the aduice of the said nine in manner aboue mentioned; or let them doe it in the Lord the Kings behalfe and by his authority by this present ordinance, to continue and hold out till such time as this agreement, made and afterwards sealed by the parties, be perfected by consent, or some other prouiso be had which the parties by consent shall iudge allowable.

This ordinance was made at London by the consent, will, and commandement of the Lord the King, and also of the Prelates, Barons, with the communalty then and there present. In witness whereof H. Bishop of Lincoln, and W. Bishop of Ely, H. Carle of Dorset, and Marshall of England, Robert de Wre Carle of Arford, Humfrey de Bohun, William de monte Canis, and the Bais of London to this writing haue set their seales. Aced in the Parliament at London in the moneth of June, in the peare of our Lord, 1264.

It is also ordained, that the State of the English church shall be reformed into a State mete and convenient.

It is also ordained, that the thre chofers aboue said and counsellors, of whom mention is made in the said ordinance at London, and the keepers of Castles and others the Kings Bailiffs be homebred. And as for strangers borne, let them come, tarry, and depart peaceably, as well laimen willing to dwell vpon their possessions, as Clergymen residing vpon their benefices.

Merchants also, and all others to further and see to their affaires, shall come freely, and tarrie peaceably; but yet conditionally, so they come without armoz and a suspected multitude. And that none of them be receiued in any sort into any office or bailiweke in the Realme, or otherwise into the Kings house and seruice be entertained. As for the charters of generall liberties and forrests granted vnto the homebred of late by the King, and the Statutes made vpon renouing of grieuances, which the Lord the King the third peare past in euery thure by his letters patents hath caused to be published, with the commendable customes of his Realme, and a long time allowed, let be forer obserued: and that it might be prouided how they may be better and more soundly obserued: It is also prouided, that the Lord the King, and the Lord Edward, the Barons and those that stand with them, let goe all injury and rancor, so that they neither grieve, or suffer to be

grieved by any of theirs; no one of them by occasion of things done in the burly burly past; and also cause all their Bailiffs at the undertaking of their Bailiwicks, that they shall grieve none by the occasion aforesaid, but shall doe justice and right to euery body with equality. And let there be good security prouided how all these things may be firmly obserued.

When this agreement was dispatched, to set the Realme in some quietnesse, a little leasure was allowed to looke into the losses and damages of the church, whereupon it was prouided as followeth.

#### Of the repairing of trespasses committed against the Church.

It is provided by common assent of the King, of the Prelates, Carles, and Barons of the land, that the trespasses which are committed against the Church of England, by reason of the tumults and warres that haue borne in this Realme of England shall be reformed and amended in this manner.

There shall be chosen by the Carles and great estates of the land, with the liking and assent of the Prelates, thre Bishops authorized, and hauing full power to establish and prouide for such reasonable amends, as are to be made for the foresaid trespasses committed against holy Church, so farre forth as shall be fit and convenient.

Whoe that shall be found excommunicated, shall be absolved in forme of right by such as haue power and authority so to doe.

The authority of the Prelates shall be established in this manner: first, it shall be faithfully undertaken by the Carles, justices, and the other laimen of the Kings counsell, and other great Barons of the realme, that all those things which the Prelates, that shall be chosen, shall reasonably ordaine and appoint by way of reformation, they themselves shall obserue and fulfill, and shall doe their indeuor faithfully to cause the same to be obserued by others; and thereof they shall deliuer their letters patents.

Proceur, vnto the Prelates, after they shall be chosen, full power shall be granted by the King, and the communalty, the Carles, Barons, and great men of the land, to ordaine those things which are needefull and profitable to the full reformation of the estate of holy Church, to the honor due to the fealty of our Lord the King, and to the profit of the Realme.

And that the promise made by the King, and by the Carles and Barons aforesaid, and by the other great men of the land, may appeare to be made in good faith, they shall thereof make their letters patents; to wit of things that haue borne done a yere past before the last Easter.

If any be found that will not stand to the ordinance and appointment of the foresaid Prelates in the causes aforesaid, and according to the forme aforesaid, he shall be compelled thereunto by doome of holy Church; yea, if made be he shall be thereunto forced by the secular power. And that it may the better be done, the Justice shall haue a hundred or more of choice men at armes, or Sergeants, souldiers elect, to distraine the malefactors when by the said Prelates he shall be required. Whose souldiers to be sustained of the common goods of holy Church, during the time they shall be employed in that business. And this ordinance shall continue for a yere or two, till such time as matters be quieted, and that the prouisions of the Prelates, and the peace of the land be well obserued.

Prouided alwaies, that the profits of benefices of holy Church belonging to aliens, and others that haue borne enemies to the land, shall be collected and safely kept in the hands of the Prelate, until such time as order be taken by common aduice what is to be done therewithall. And for the more assurance and further testimony hereof, the King and the

{ KING }  
{ HEN. 3. }

Reformation of  
the church.

For strangers  
to be keepers  
of the Kings  
Castles, &c.



**KING** } highestates of the land haue unto this writing set  
**Han.** } their seales.

¶ Besides all this it was considered, that non-residence, being a default blame worthy, deserued reformation. Whereof the King hauing speciall regard wrote his mind to the Bishop of Hereford for the redresse of the same; whose letter because it is memorizable, and conuenient matter therein contained for Non residents of our time, we haue here intertured according to the record.

*A letter of King Henry the third directed to  
 the Bishop of Hereford concerning  
 Non residents.*

**Turis Lond.** **R**EX Episcopo Hereford salutem. Pastores gregibus prapronuntur ut diei noctisque vigilias exercendo, &c.

Against non-  
 residence of  
 Bishops.

**In English thus :**  
 The King to the Bishop of Hereford sendeth greeting. Pastors or shepherds are set ouer flockes, that, by exercising themselves in watching ouer them day and night, they may know their owne cattell by their looke, bring the hunger-starued sheepe into the meadowes of fruitfulnessse, and the straying ones into one fold by the Word of saluation, and the rod of correction; and to doe their endeuour, that vniity indissoluble may be kept. But some there be, who, damnably despising this doctrine, and not knowing to discreene their owne cattel from others, doe take away the milke and the wooll, not caring how the Lords flocke may be nourished they catch vp the temporall goods, and who perisheth in their parish with famishment, or miscarrieth in manners, they regard not: which men deserue not to be called pastors, but rather hirelings. And that euen we in these daies remouing our selues into the marches of Wales, to take order for the disposing of the Garrisons of our Realme, haue found this default in your Church of Hereford, we report it with griefe; for that we haue found there a Church destitute of a Pastors comfort, as hauing neither Bishop nor official, Vicar nor Deane, that may exercise any spirituall function and dutie in the same. But the Church it selfe, which in time past was wont to flow in delight, and had Canons that tended vpon dayes and nights seruice, and that ought to exercise the works of Charity, they forsaking the Church, and leading their liues in Countries farre hence, hath put off her stole or robe of pleasure, and fallen to the ground, bewailing the losse of her widowhood, and there is none among all her friends and louers that will comfort her. Verily whiles we beheld this, and considered it diligently, the pricke of pittie did moue our bowels, and the sword of compassion did inwardly wound our heart very sore, that we could no longer dissemble so great an injury done to our mother the Church, nor passe the same ouer vncorrected.

Non residents  
 strictly charged  
 to be personally  
 present and  
 binding vpon  
 themselves:  
 Note.

Wherefore we command and straitly chaige you, that, all occasions set aside, you indcuour to remoue your selues withall possible speed vnto your said Church, and there personally to execute the Pastoral charge committed vnto you in the same. Otherwise we will you to know for certainty, that if you haue not a care to doe this, we will wholly take into our owne hands all the temporall goods, and whatsoever else doth belong vnto the Barony of the same Church; which goods for spirituall exercise sake therein, it is certaine our progenitors of a godly deuotion haue bestowed thereupon. And such goods and duties as wee haue commanded hitherto to be gathered and safely kept and turned to the profit and commoditie of the same Church, the cause now ceasing, we will seaze vpon; and suffer no longer, that hee shall reape temporall things, which feareth not vnreuerently to withdraw and keepe backe spirituall things, whereunto by office and dutie he is bound; or that he shall receive any profits which refuset to vnder goe and beare the burthens of the same. Wit-

nesse the King at Hereford, the first of Iune in the 48. yeere of our raigne.

About this time (as appeareth by course or record, and thereby may well be gathered) a redresse of certain sects was intended, among which, one by name specially occurreth, and called the assembly of harlots: a kinde of people of a lewd disposition and vnciuill. Of whose manners and life the King hauing been informed, addressed his letters to the Sherriffe of Oxfordshire, a place which they haunted, and wherein they practised their euill conversation, whose letter here followeth.

An assembly  
 of ill disposed  
 people called  
 harlots, where-  
 by may be ga-  
 thered the au-  
 thenticke of  
 that name.

*A letter of King Henry the third to the  
 Sherriffe of Oxfordshire, concerning the banish-  
 ment of an unlawfull assembly called harlots,  
 out of that Countrey.*

**Turis Lond.** **R**EX vic. Oxon. salutem. Quia intelleximus quod quidam, qui se harlotos appellant, vagi & otium fouentes, in diuersis partibus regni nostri, congregationes & conuenticula, nec non contractus illicitos, &c.

**In English thus :**

The King to the Sherriffe of Oxfordshire sendeth greeting. Because we vnderstand that there be certaine vagrant persons which call themselves harlots, maintaining idleness in diuers parts of our Realme, most shamelessly making their meetings, assemblies, and unlawfull matches against the honesty of the Church and good manners, which abuse we will not, neither ought we to suffer; we charge thee that on our behalfe thou forbid the said harlots henceforth in the said countries to make any more such meetings, conuenticle, or contractis; or to presume according to their lewd manner and wonted fashion to rogue about our Realme; and heereto thou shalt (if need be) binde them, as bylaw may be done. Wherein so behaue thy selfe in this behalfe, as wee may commend thy diligence. Witnesse the King at Reading the 23. of Nouember, in the 48. yeere of our raigne.

Against an  
 assembly or  
 meeting of men  
 which called  
 themselves  
 harlots.

What manner of persons these were, or what their conuersation was, it doth not further appeare: neuerthelesse by the premises it may seeme to be some pretended order of religion. And it is most probable that the reproachfull name of harlot had his beginning from hence.

To conclude with speciall matters of the Church, wherein we haue made somewhat the longer delay, by occasion of such necessary recozces as came to hand, and brought with them their necessary vice, this one remembrance notwithstanding remaineth, no lesse note worthy than the rest, and falling within the reuolution of the forty eighth yeere of this Kings raigne, a yeere of great trouble, as by the premises may be gathered.

You are therefore to note, that at this time the Bishops of England stood vpon their pantophles, and toly fellowes (I tell you) they would be knowne to be. For in an inquisition made after the death of one Aluredus de Lincolne, being, as is supposed, a Baron of this Realme, there is found (Inter alia) as followeth; Quod predictus Aluredus tenuit quandam particulam parce de Dunetish & Tilei d. Abbate de Cerne, per seruicium tenendi stropem suum, quando Abbas debet ascendere equum suum, & dare ei locum in comitatu quando praefens fuerit; that is: That the forenamed Aluredus held a certaine peece of the Parke of Dunetish and Tilei of the Abbat of Cerne, by seruice of holding his stirrup when the Abbat should take horsebacke, and to giue him place in the thure at such time as he should be present. The circumstances hereof being considered, together with the time wherein it was done, giueth probable cause to coniecture that the occasion of this matter came by this meanes: viz. That whereas the said Alured



was desirous to enlarge his parke, and could not so doe but by purchasing of part of some other ground next adjoining, whereof the said Abbat was owner: he was therefore constrained either to lacke that he liked, or to admit such conditions as pleased my Lord abbate, who like all oꝝ (as you see) was content to let him have his land, reserving such service as is above said. Wherein would be noted the pompe of Prelates in those daies, and how nere they drew in imitation to the pope, in whose treading they traced.

But leaving these affaires of the Church, and churchmen, wherein we have bene somewhat large, we will now enter into other troubles of the temporal state. You heard before of a pacification concluded betwene the King and his Barons in the yere of our Lord 1264. the same having bene admitted by mutuall and common consent of the temporalty and Clergy, severally, as a soze not well searched and tented, but superficially and overly skimmed, doth bryake out into a moze dangerous botch; so it came to passe among the Lords and Barons, betwixt whom no such firme reconciliation was made as was like long to last. Whereupon ensued after secret grudge and pny-batred, open armes and conflicts. For in this yere 1265. the sons of Simon the Earle, to wit, Henry, Simon, and Guido, being all puffed up, and with the pride of their success eleuated, did that which nothing contented the Earle of Gloucester: inasmuch that he challenged Henry the eldest sonne of the Earle Simon, Count-fort at the Barriers, to be tried at Northampton. But that challenge was taken by, least some further inconvenience might have risen thereof. But the Earle of Gloucester, being mired therewith in his minde, sent unto his father the Earle that he should deliver him such prisoners being noble men, as he tooke at the battle of Lewis, among whom the king of Almaine was named first. But he by countermand answered him, and said, that it might content and satisfie him, for that he had saved and preferred to him his lands, that day the battle was fought at Lewis; and that furthermoze he would not send him such prisoners as he demanded; and that he himselfe kept moze noble than they in the Castle of Dover: among them was John Basset, which undermined and burst downe the walles of Northampton at that conflict, as is said before and specified.

The Earle of Gloucester being herewith displeased, so soone as he heard this answer, sent incontinently to the lord Roger Mortimer, which alwaies toke the Kings part, desiring that they two might talke together touching the benefit and commoditie of the King. Who, doubting some deceit, desired sureties and pledges for his safe returne, and he would come to talke with him, and so had. When they met, and had a while talked familiarly, the earle of Gloucester shewed him all that he was purposed to doe, and that further he lamented he had so much and so greatly offended the King; and that he would with all his power and ability make amends for that offence, in the restitution of the King againe to his Kingly dignity, as much as he possibly might. Wherefoze they sent secretly to Robert the brother of the Earle of Gloucester, which was neere about the earle Simon, and made him to consent with them therein. And to worke this thing moze circumspically, when opportunitie served thereunto, Roger Mortimer sent unto the Kings sonne an horse excellling all others in footmanhip, unto whom he might be sure to trust, when he saw convenient time thereunto. After which things thus contrived, Prince Edward desired leave of the earle to pꝛove his courser against such time as he should ride at the tilt, as they might when they listed. As soone as he had gotten leave, and that with galloping and ranging the field he had wearied divers of their horses: at the last, getting up upon the horse which for that purpose was sent, and

springing a servant on horsebacke comming toward him with two swords, he turned about unto his keeper, whose name was Robert de Rose, and to others his play fellows that were with him, saying: My loving lords, thus long have I kept you company, and have been in your custodies; and now not purposing to be your companies any longer, I beseeke you to God. And quickly turning his horse about, put to the spurres and away went he. The other picked after apace, but yet came farre enough behinde, and overtake him they could not. At last, when they saw Roger Mortimer comming from his Castle of Wigmore, accompanied with many armed men to meet him as before it was appointed, they returned againe home as wise as when they came forth. And when this the Princes escape was divulged, much people came unto him out of every quarter, with great joy thereof. Amongst whom, the first was the Earle of Gloucester, and the other Souldiers of the King, which had now long lien at Bristow, and thereabouts, and within a short space he had a great and a mighty host.

Which thing when the earle Simon under stood, he much doubted and mistrusted himselfe: and sending into Wales, he gat from thence a great many men and augmented his power as strongly as he might from every part of England. He sent also Simon his to some the noble men of the North parts, that with all possible speede he might bring them with him: who with a great company came with him, and at Kenelworth a while they staid, and there pitched their tents. But leaving Kenelworth for a certaine time, they went to Winchester, and spoiled the same and then returned againe to Kenelworth. And when this was declared to Edward the Kings sonne, who then was at Worcester, by a certain spiall, which he had gotten after he came from Gloucester a little before, he prepared himselfe with his Souldiers, in that night season to goe to the place where the spie should bring him, which was into a dape valley, neere unto the place where Simon & his company had pitched. And when in the morning they were very early about to arme them selves, and prepare their horses, they heard a great noise of their enemies comming towards them. When thinking that they had prepared themselves against their comming, and so had been betrayed, they set forth in battle array, marching forwards, till that they met certaine of their enemies stragling in long wings, thinking to have gone a foraging, & to have sought for buttralls: whom they tooke, & with their fresh horses new hoxed their Souldiers that had their horses tired with long travel. And so marching forward, came very early in the morning upon their enemies, whom for the most part they found sleeping; and laying lustily about them, they slue divers; some they tooke, the rest they put to flight, and assistance of their chiefest ensignes they tooke, with many other rich spoiles. But yong Simon himselfe lodged in the Castle, who with a few with him escaped and fled. And this was the fourth day before the nones of August, An. 1265.

But when Edward heard that earle Simon was comming toward Kenelworth, to joyne with his sonnes battle, he marched forward to meete him the third day after at Cusham, where he divided his host into three battles, he himselfe having the leading of one, the Earle of Gloucester the second, and Roger Mortimer the third, which came upon their backs. The Kings sonne Edward came Northward, as though he came from Kenelworth to Cusham: and because he would not be desiered, he caused his own standards and ensignes to be taken downe, and yong Simons which he had taken before to be advanced. But the earle Simons scurrier, whose name was Nicolas, shewed the Earle that such hands and companies were marching towards him, who thinking the same to have bene Simon his sonnes power, not knowing of the overthrow which he had before gave

{ KING  
{ HEN. 3.

Prince Edward escape from out of the custody of Earle Simon by a treach.

Dissention betweene Earle Simon and the Earle of Gloucester.

The Earle Simon sendeth about, and in all haste gathereth a power.

The first entry of Prince Edward after his escape by the means of a spie.

The Earle of Gloucester and Roger Mortimer conspire together against Earle Simon

The fighting of the Princes battell against Earle Simon fought at Cusham.

(small)



**KING** } small credit therunto, till that the said Nicolas, the  
**HEN. 3.** } better to view and descrite them, went up to the abbey  
 of Eufham, where he might plainly discern  
 them all and their standards: for by this time they  
 were mounted the hill which they labored to attain,  
 thinking to have that vantage, when they should  
 give their charge as they had purposed: and had also  
 advanced againe his owne standards, and pulled  
 downe Simons, whereby they were the more easie  
 descried and knowne. Then he cried aloud to the  
 Earle Simon, and said: We are all but dead men;  
 for it is not your sonne, as you suppose, that com-  
 meth, but it is Edward the kings sonne that com-  
 meth from one part, and the Earle of Gloucester  
 from another part, and Roger Mortimer from the  
 third part. Then said the Earle: The Lord be mer-  
 ciful vnto our soules, for so much as our bodies and  
 liues are now in their hands; commanding that eue-  
 ry man should make himselfe ready to God, and to  
 fight out the field, for that it was their wills to die for  
 their laines, and in a iust quarrell. And such as  
 would depart, he gaue leave to goe their wayes, that  
 they should be no discomfiture to the rest.

When came vnto him his eldest sonne Henry, and  
 comforted him, desiring him to haue no despaire, nor  
 yet mistrust in the good successe of this victorie, with  
 other such cheerefull words. So my sonne (saith he)  
 I despaire not; but yet, it is thy presumption, and  
 the pride of the rest of thy brethren that hath brought  
 me to this end you see: notwithstanding, yet I trust  
 I shall dye to God, and in a righteous quarrell. Af-  
 ter words of comfort giuen to all his host, and the  
 oration made as is the manner, they all armed  
 themselves. The king also (whom the Earle alwaies  
 kept with him) he armed in an armor of his owne:  
 and then diuiding their battles, they marched to-  
 wards their enemies. But before they joyned, the  
 Welshmen ran their wayes, and thinking to scape  
 ouer the river of Wye, were there some drowned, and  
 some slaine. When when the battles joyned and came  
 to hande strokes, within short space many of the  
 Carles part fell and were slaine: and the king him-  
 selfe beinge stricken at cryed with a loud voyce to  
 them, saying: Kill me not, I am Henry your king.  
 And with these the kings words the Lord Adam  
 Bonham knew him, and faued him. At whose  
 voyce and cry came also prince Edward his sonne,  
 and deliuered him to the guard and custody of cer-  
 taine knights. In the meane season the Earle Si-  
 mon was hard beset and beaten downe, and also  
 slaine before Edward the Prince came at him.  
 Howbeit, before he fell, when as he fought for life,  
 and Henry his sonne, and other noble men on his  
 part were about him, he brake out into these words  
 vnto his enemies, saying: What is there no mercy  
 and compassion with you? Who againe answered:  
 What compassion should there be shewed to trait-  
 fors? Then said he: The Lord be mercifull vnto our  
 soules, our bodies are in your hands. And soone  
 as these words were spoken, they mangled his body,  
 and diuided his members, and cut off his head, which  
 head Roger Mortimer sent vnto his wife. And not  
 farre off from him also was slaine Henry his eldest  
 sonne, the Lord Hugh Spenser, the Lord Radulph  
 Basset, the Lord Thomas de Beke, the Lord Wil-  
 liam Mandeville, the Lord John Beauchampe, the  
 Lord Guido Baillofer, the Lord Roger Rowle, and  
 many other noble men besides, with a great multi-  
 tude of people, the Lord knoweth how many. This  
 battell was fought in the moneth of August, and  
 continued from one of the clocke till it was night;  
 in the which was noles much as one man on the  
 Carles part, of any estimation, fortitude, and cou-  
 rage, but in that battle lost his life; more than the  
 Lord John, who by the great grace of God escaped  
 death. Neither is this to be forgotten that the same  
 day beinge tuesday, at that instant houre, when the  
 battle began, which was at one of the clocke at af-

ternone, there was such a darkenesse ouer all, such  
 thunder and such tempest, that the like before that  
 time was neuer seene, beinge very calme and faire  
 weather both immediately before and after: which  
 seemed (saith mine author) to giue a plaine demon-  
 stration of that which afterwards chanced and fol-  
 lowed.

After this great slaughter and overthrow, there  
 was a parliament summoned at Winchester by the  
 Earle of Gloucester, and others of his part. Where by  
 the way is to be considered, that the king although  
 he was in the campe of the earle of Leicester, being  
 then in custody, and his sonne Edward with the  
 Earle of Gloucester, yet the king was on that side  
 against his will, and therefore in the said parliament  
 the king was restored to his kingly dignitie, which  
 was before that time vnder the custody of the Bas-  
 tards. But after the battle was ended and done, cer-  
 taine of them that loued the Earle, vpon an old la-  
 der, gathered by such parts of his body as remained,  
 and couering the same with an old gobone, brought  
 it to Eufham, where they putting the same in a  
 faire linnen cloth, buried it in the Church. But not  
 long after, such as thought not themselves suffici-  
 ently reuenged with his death (to breake them of the  
 dead corps) tooke by the same and threw it in another  
 place, saying, that he which was both accursed, and  
 a traitor, was not worthy of Christian buriall.

The same yere also died Master Cantilopus  
 Bishop of Winchester, after whom succeeded Ni-  
 colas of Clie, the kings Chancelor.

The same yere the king perceivinge that vnto  
 the Castle of Kenelworth were recovered, and the  
 boldnesse of them restrained that kept the same, ma-  
 ny evils and inconueniences might ensue thereup-  
 on, to the prejudice of his Kingdome: for that the  
 number increased every day more and more, was  
 sing and spoiling the Countrey all about: therefore  
 he gathered an army and came downe to War-  
 wicke, where he a while tarried expecting the meeting  
 and assembling of his Harquebuses and Lords, with  
 ensignes and other munition fittable. When  
 their hands were furnished and mustered, and all  
 things ready, the morrow after Whitsunmorde day  
 he displayed his banner, and began his voyage, mar-  
 ching towards Kenelworth, and besieged the same.  
 During which siege, by the aduice and counsell of the  
 king, the Popes legate, and other noble men, twelue of  
 persons were chosen which should haue the disposing  
 of those things that pertained to the State of the  
 realme, and of those that had lost their lands and in-  
 heritances, who amongst other things made and  
 established this one prouiso, that was commonly  
 called Kenelworth decre: That all those which had  
 lost their lands by attendor (although not yet at-  
 teinted) should fine therfore at the kings pleasure,  
 and take their lands of him againe, payinge some  
 three pæres, some foure pæres, some two pæres re-  
 uenues of the same, according to the quality of the  
 crime and offence committed. All which prouiso  
 or prouisions were established and confirmed as  
 well by the corporall oath, as by signement of the  
 same with the hands and seales of all the Prelats  
 and Clergy of England, there assembled for that pur-  
 pose by the Popes legate vpon the feast of All saints.  
 When these things were thus finished, messengers  
 were sent on the kings behalfe, as well to those that  
 kept the Castle of Kenelworth, as also to those that  
 were assembled in the isle of Clie: willinge them to  
 come vnder the protection of the kings peace, and  
 yelde to the foresaid prouiso, established by the  
 twelue commissioners. Who all together answered  
 and said, that they would in no wise condescend there-  
 unto, both for that it was done without their con-  
 sents not beinge called vnto it, and also for that the  
 said decre was ouerstrait and intolerable. Within  
 short space after, great famine and pestilence chan-  
 ced amongst them which kept the Castle, in such  
 manner, that

Since Ed-  
 wards host de-  
 cied whereac-  
 the Earle was  
 such a battell.

The words of  
 Earle Simon  
 to his sonne.

King Henry  
 most slaine  
 in the battell  
 is length know-  
 n by his voice,  
 and rescued by  
 as some.

Earle Simons  
 slaine, and ma-  
 ny mo Lords  
 slaine at this  
 battell of  
 Eufham.

Anno. 1266  
 A Parliament  
 summoned at  
 Winchester,  
 where King  
 Henry was  
 againe restored  
 to his regality.

Kenelworth  
 Castle besieged  
 by the king.

Kenelworth  
 decree against  
 the attendors.

Kenelworth  
 decree gainesaid  
 by him.



that they were without all hope of keeping the same: wherefore soon after, the King sending againe to them to yelde the Castle and take their pardons, they consulting together of their owne estate, thus answered the kings messengers, If it please the king and his counsell to permit vs to send our messenger to the Lord Simon Mountfort, which is beyond the sea, that he may come by a certaine day to the defence of this his garrison and fort, and that in the meane space we be not disturbed by the kings army that hath inuironed vs, till the returne of our messengers; if by the day appointed he come not, we will yeld by the same, so that we may be pardoned of life, limbe, and membeables.

When the messengers were returned, and had declared to the King their answer; he consulting with his nobles about the matter, agreed vnto their petitions, and caused the truce to be proclaimed through out all his campe, after that sufficient hostages were on either side given for the performance of the same: whereupon they set forward their messengers, as before was said they would. But after that many of them within the castle being very graciously vexed with the bloody fire, and other diseases, insomuch that the whole men might not abide the corruption and annoyance of those that were diseased, they delivered by the Castle before the returne of the messengers againe, and were permitted to goe whither they would to refresh themselves, as men molested with great vexations and miseries. After the rendering of the Castle the King committed the custody thereof to his sonne Edmund, and so with his host departing from his siege, came vpon Christmas euens euen to White, where he with great solemnity and triumph kept his Christmas during seven dayes, and from thence with his host came to Windsor, from whence after a few dayes he marched towards Ely: in which Island he besieged those which were disherited, and sharply also assaulted them.

The same yere Pope Clement the fourth, promoted master Walter Gifford Bishop of Bath, to be Archbishop of Yorke.

In which yere also the Church of England began to pay the tenths of all their reuenues, as well spiritual as temporal, to the King, to continue for thre yeres space: and this was done by the authority apostolicall.

Within a while after, the Barons which were yet remaining, gathered themselves together againe: amongst whom John Dailwill (being a subtil and stout man of warre) began to haue a name, and was well esteemed amongst them: who altogether did what mischiefe they might, and in the month of May they assembled at Chesterfield, vnder the said John Dailwill and the earle of Ferrerence, vpon whom the Kings Souldiers coming suddenly in the night, tooke them sleeping, and slew many of them. Then the said John Dailwill quickly arming himselfe came forth, thinking with more defence both to saue himselfe and to escape. Who in the way strucke the Lord Gilbert Humfard such a blow with his demi lance, that he feld both him and his horse to the ground, and so fled with a few more after him. And thus while the poore souldiers fought and were slaine, the Barons fled away, and saued themselves. Also the Earle Ferrerence fled, and hid himselfe in a Church; but being betrayed by a woman he was taken forth, and led away prisoner. After this, the King kept a Parliament at Northampton, where he disherited all those that tooke part with the Earle Simon and all their children. Where also the popes Legat Adobonus held a conuocation, and excommunicated all such Bishops as had taken any part with Simon against the King: of whom diuers he sent vp to Rome, to be absolved of the Pope; and further the said Legat caused to be proclaimed certaine decrees, which he himselfe had made and also the new grant of Pope Clement to the King and Queene, of

all the tenths for seven yeres to come. And shortly after, a tare also was fined vpon the countrie of Dorset folke; to the gathering whereof Walter the bishop of Norwich was appointed. Ex Scala mundi.

After this, in the yere of our Lord, 1267. King Henry besieged againe the Castle of Kenelworth; from the seventh day before the first day of July, vntill the beginning of December; whither came Adobonus the Popes legat, by whose intreaty Henrie Hastings deliuered the same vnto the King, which stoutly had defended the same and resisted the King, having pardon granted both for him and his, of his life, lands, goods, and cattels. In which time also the Barons againe assembled with John Dailwill in the isle of Artoine, and so proceeded till they came to Lincoln, which they also toke, and spoiled the Jewes, and slew many of them; and entering their synagogue, tare and rent the booke of their law, and burnt the same, and all other writings and obligations which they could come by. Which thing when the King heard, he sent thither his sonne Prince Edward: but as soon as they heard that, they fled into the Isle of Ely, and fortified the same with bulwarks as strongly as they might, at every entrance into the same. This was in the month of April, when Edward the Kings sonne came thither; who, for the great abundance of waters in the same, could by no meanes enter the Island, till at length, by the counsell of the inhabitants of that prouince, he caused with a number of workemen great trenches and ditches to be made, somewhat to come away the water: and so long they used the counsell of them, in making bridges with planks and hurdles, till at the last they entered the Island, who as soon as they were entered the Barons fled to London, where they were of the Londoners well entertained. The rest which were in the Island yelded themselves (amongst whom was Roger Wake, Simon the younger, and Deches) saving their liues and members. After this, both the King and Edward his sonne came to London with a great power, but yet were kept out of the City by the Barons and Citizens for the space of forty dayes. And Adobonus the legat (who for feare was fled into the Tower) they narrowly laid for, that he should not escape. At length by the intreaty of the Earle of Gloucester, and other Earles that were his friends, both the Barons and Citizens were pardoned, and admitted to the Kings fauour. And foure Bishops and eight other noble men were chosen, such as were at Coventry first nominated, that they should order and dispose all matters betwixt the king and such as had lost their inheritance as also the forme of their peace and ranome. And proclamation was made vpon the feast of All saints, of perfect peace and accord throughout all the Realme.

In the fifty and two yere of this King Henries raigne, eight dayes after the feast of S. Martin, he held a Parliament at Harleberge, in the yere of our Lord above recited; where by the advice of wise and discrete men, and withall the consents of the nobles, he ordained and enacted diuers good and profitable statutes for the reformation and bettering of the state of the Realme and erection of common justice, which are called the statutes of Harleberge.

The same yere vpon S. Gregories day, Adobonus the legat called a councill at London, where were five Archbishops, and a great number of Bishops, Abbats, and other Prelates; which councill also within thre daies brake vp againe.

The same yere vpon S. Johns day the Bpist, Edward the kings son and diuers other noble men of England tooke vpon them the crosse by the legats hands at Northampton, to the releefe of the holy land, and the subuersion of the enemies of the crosse of Christ. Which done, the legat the same yere went out of England, not purposing after that to returne againe. This holy legat saith (mine author)

KING  
HEN. 3

Anno  
1267.  
The castle of  
Kenelworth  
againe besieged.

Another assembly  
of the barons at  
Artoine and  
discomfite  
ture of them.  
The Jewes  
spoiled and  
slaine at  
Lincolne.

The Barons  
fortified the  
Island of Ely.

The Isle of Ely  
assaulted and  
entered by  
Prince Edward.

The King kept  
out of London  
forty dayes by  
the Barons and  
Citizens.

A peace concluded  
betwene the  
Barons and the  
King.

The statutes of  
Harleberge.

A conuocation  
helden at London  
by Adobonus  
the Popes Legat.

The Legat departing  
out of  
England.

Kenelworth castle  
besieged by  
the King, he-  
fore the returne  
of the messen-  
gers out of  
France.

The tenths  
granted to the  
King by autho-  
rity apostolicall.

A new assembly  
of the Barons at  
Chesterfield,  
where they had  
the overthrow.

All the confeder-  
ates of Simon  
Mountfort which  
their children,  
disherited by  
the King.  
Simon Mount-  
fort and his  
confederates ex-  
communicated  
by the Popes  
Legat.  
Tenths grant-  
ed by the Pope  
to the King and  
Queene for seven  
yeres.

which



**KING ?**  
**HEN ?**  
 valuation ca-  
 tion of all chur-  
 ches by Decrees  
 as the Popes  
 had  
 sent down out  
 of the Popes  
 churches paid  
 the Popes  
 debts.

which might well be resembled to Lyon the mon-  
 strous beast, whose quick sight penetrateth every  
 thing, invollod to perpetual memoire the valuation  
 of all the Churches in the Realme of England so  
 narrowly, as by any meanes possible he might in-  
 quire the certainty thereof. The same was he that  
 made all the Cathedrall and conuentuall Churches  
 to pay pensions; so that the Churches, which gave  
 not the vacancie of their benefices to their clerkes  
 and strangers, should pay vnto them a certaine  
 yearly pension, during the vacancie of the benefices  
 which they should haue.

the fourth death  
 of Pope Gregory  
 the tenth.

The same yere died Pope Clement the fourth, af-  
 ter whose death the Church of Rome was two yeres  
 vacant: and then was chosen an Archeacon Cardi-  
 nall, whose name was Theardus, as he was taking  
 his journey into the holy land, and they called him  
 Gregory the tenth.

the marriage  
 of Edmund  
 Earle of Lan-  
 caster.

Then also did Edmund Earle of Lancaster and  
 Leicester, and second sonne of King Henry, take to  
 wife the Earle of Albemarle his daughter, and the  
 niece of the Earle of Gloucester; at which marriage  
 was the King and the queene, and all the nobility of  
 England.

toward the  
 King and com-  
 mon of Wynd.

The same yere was the body of S. Edward the  
 King and confessor, by Walter Gifford Archbishop  
 of York and other Bishops, intombed in a new and  
 rich shrine of gold and silver, beset with precious  
 stones, in the presence of Henry the King of Eng-  
 land. In which yere also fell a great raine and inun-  
 dation of waters, such as hath not lightly bene  
 scene, which increased and continued the space of for-  
 ty dayes, and more.

The bishop of  
 Sarum conse-  
 crated.

The same yere died Walter de Laitwill, Bishop  
 of Sarum, the third day before the nones of Janu-  
 arie. After whom succeeded Robert of Northhamp-  
 ton, the Deane of the same Church. And because the  
 See of Canterbury was then vacant, he was con-  
 firmed by the chapter of Canterbury, which chapter  
 had alwayes the iurisdiction in spiritual causes, dur-  
 ing the vacancie of that See, in as ample manner  
 as the Bishop himselfe had being alieue. After this,  
 the bishop elect comming thither, thinking to haue  
 had his consecration, was notwithstanding put  
 backe for two causes: one was, for that there was  
 present then, no more but one Bishop: the other was,  
 for that all the other Bishops had appealed, that he  
 might not be consecrated to their prejudice; that is,  
 by the authority of the chapter of Canterbury, saying  
 that they would not be vnder the obedience of the  
 Bponkes.

the death and  
 daughter of L.  
 Richard the  
 Kings sonne of  
 Almaine at  
 Aiterbur.

After this, sollemne messengers were for this cause  
 sent to the Cardinals of Rome, for that then the See  
 of Rome was vacant: who received answer, that  
 during the vacancie of that See, the confirmation  
 and consecration of the Bishop elect, pertained to the  
 foresaid chapter of Canterbury.

the death and  
 daughter of L.  
 Richard the  
 Kings sonne of  
 Almaine at  
 Aiterbur.

The same yere also was the Lord Henry, the son  
 and heire of the Lord Richard King of Almaine, and  
 brother to King Henry the third, slaine at Aiterbur-  
 um, in a certaine chappell hearing masse, by the lord  
 Simon and Guido the sonnes of the Lord Simon  
 Mountfozt Earle of Leicester.

the death of  
 Boniface Arch-  
 bishop of Can-  
 terbury.

During this Kings raigne, there was made a  
 great & generall expedition of blue and sundry chri-  
 stian Princes to Hierusalem, taking vpon them the  
 Lords character, that is, the Crosse: among whom  
 was also Edward the Kings sonne, vnto the which  
 expedition was granted him a subsidie throughout  
 all the Realme. And in the moneth of May, in the  
 yere of our Lord 1270. or as saith Florilegus, An.  
 1269, he set forward on his journey.

ANNO ?  
 1270.

About the time when Prince Edward was prepa-  
 ring his journey toward Asia, Boniface, of whom ye  
 heard before, the Archbishop of Canterbury, ended  
 his life in the Countrey of Sabaudia, going belike to  
 Rome, or comming thence. After whose death the  
 Bponkes of Canterbury, proceeding to a new electi-

on granted by the King, agreed vpon the Prior of  
 their house, named Adam Chelenden. But the King  
 and his sonne Prince Edward, consenting and spea-  
 king in the behalfe of Robert Burrell their chancel-  
 lor, did solicit the matter with the monkes, partly in-  
 treating, partly threatening them, to chuse the said  
 Robert to be Archbishop. Notwithstanding, the  
 monkes being stout, would neither relent to their  
 courteous request, nor yet bow to their vntoward  
 threats, but constantly persisting in their former  
 election, appealed from the King and Prince to the  
 Pope. Prince Edward being now on his journey,  
 and seeing himselfe thus frustrated of the Bponkes,  
 writeth backe to the King his father; devoutly pray-  
 ing and beseeching him in nowise to admit the elec-  
 tion of the foresaid Bponkes. And so passing to Douer  
 with Henry, the sonne of Richard his uncle King of  
 Romans, with their wiues, they took their passage  
 in the moneth of August. After this, the Prior thus  
 elected, as is foresaid, but not admitted by the King  
 to be Archbishop, went vp to Rome.

In the meane time, the Bponkes in the absence of  
 their elect, ordained one Geoffrey Bomenall to be  
 their officiall; who seeing himselfe advanced to that  
 dignity, and bearing belike some old grudge against  
 the Prior of Douer, caused him to be cited vp to ap-  
 peare in the chapter house of Canterbury. The prior  
 of Douer seeing this citation to bee prejudiciall to  
 him and to the Church of Douer, and knowing that  
 the monkes of Canterbury haue no such iurisdiction  
 (the See of Canterbury being vacant) but that all  
 things appertaining to that Church, ought to be re-  
 serued whole to the consecration of the new Archbi-  
 shop, therefore, for the state both of him, and of his  
 Church, he appealed by also vnto Rome. But to re-  
 turne to the Archbishop againe.

The second yere after, Chelenden the foresaid  
 Archbishop elect, remaining all this while at Rome,  
 at last resigned by his election to the popes hand, be-  
 ing Gregory the tenth; who then gaue the same to  
 Robert Kilwarby. Who then comming to Douer,  
 restored againe the prior of that house, being before  
 excludet vpon certaine causes. By these contenti-  
 ons judge good Reader of the religion of these men,  
 and of these times. And now to returne to our for-  
 mer story.

About this time came out the great concordance  
 by an English frier, called Iohn Wernington. Ex  
 Eulogio.

It was aboue declared, how a generall voyage  
 being proclaimed to warre against the Turkes, and  
 a subsidy being collected in England vpon the same:  
 Prince Edward with others was appointed to take  
 their voyage, & now were onward in their journey.  
 Who, at Michaelmas following, with his company  
 came to Egermorth, which is from Barfilia eight  
 leagues westward, and there taking ship againe  
 (having a merry winde and prosperous) within ten  
 dayes arrived at Sines at Tunician, where he  
 was with great joy welcommed and entertained  
 of the Christian Princes that were to this purpose  
 assembled, as of Philip the French king, whose fa-  
 ther Ludouicus died a little before, of Carolus the  
 King of Sicilia, and the two kings Buaar and Aza-  
 gon. And as the Lord Edward came thither for his  
 father the King of England, thither came also Hen-  
 ry the sonne of the King of Almaine for his father;  
 who, at his returne from the voyage, was slaine in  
 a chappell at Aiterburum hearing masse, by the Lord  
 Simon and Guido, the sonnes of the Lord Simon  
 Mountfozt Earle of Leicester.

Then Prince Edward demanded of these Kings  
 and Princes what was to be done, they answered  
 him againe, and said; The Prince of this city, said  
 they, and the prouince adjoining to the same, hath  
 bene accustomed to pay tribute vnto the King of  
 Sicilia every yere. And now, for that the same  
 hath bene for the space of seven yeres unpaid, and

Adam Chelen-  
 den elected  
 Archbishop of  
 Canterbury.

Appellation  
 from the King  
 to the Pope by  
 the monke of  
 Canterbury.

Adam Chelen-  
 den goeth vp to  
 Rome.

Variance be-  
 twene the offi-  
 ciall of Canter-  
 bury, and the  
 Prior of Douer.

Appellation to  
 Rome.  
 Adam Chelen-  
 den resigneth  
 to the Pope.  
 Robert Kil-  
 warby Archbi-  
 shop of Can-  
 terbury.

The concor-  
 dance.



more, therefore we thought good to make inuasion upon him. But the King knowing the same tribute to be justly demanded, hath now according to our owne desires satisfied for the time past, and also paid his tribute before-hand.

Then said he: My Lords, what is this to the purpose? Are we not here all assembled, and haue taken upon vs the Lords character to fight against the infidels and enemies of Christ? What meane you then to conclude a peace with them? God forbid we should doe so, for now the land is plaine and hard, so that we may approach the holy City Hierusalem. Then said they: Now haue we made a league with them: neither is it lawfull for vs to breake the same: but let vs returne againe to Sicilia, and when the winter is past, we may well take shipping to Actra. But this counsell nothing at all liked him, neither did he shew himselfe well pleased there-with: but after that he had made them a Princely banquet, he went into his closet or priuie Chamber from amongst them, neither would be partaker of any of that wicked money which they had taken. They notwithstanding, continuing their purpose, at the next merry wind took shipping, and for want of ships, left two hundred of their men ashore, crying out and pitiously lamenting for the perill and hazard of death they were in. Wherewith Prince Edward, being somewhat moued with compassion, came backe to the land, and receiued and stowed them in his owne ships, being the last that went aboard. Within seven dayes after, they arriued in the Kingdome of Sicilia, ouer against the city Trapan, casting their Anchors a league from thence within the sea, for that their ships were of great burthen and thoroughly fraught. And from the hauiers of the City they sent out barges and botes to receiue and bring such of the nobility to land as would: but their hories for the most part, and all their armoz they kept still within boord. At length towards the evening, the sea began to be rough, and increased to a great tempest and a mighty, insomuch that their ships were beaten one against anothers sides; and drownded there were of them, at that tempest lying at anchor, more than an hundred & twenty, with all their armour and munition, with unnumerable soules besides; and that wicked money also, which they had taken before, likewise perished and was drownded. But the tempest hurt not so much as one ship of Prince Edwards, who had in number thirtene, nor yet had one man lost thereby; for that, as it may be presupposed, he consented not to the wicked counsell of the rest. When in the morning the princes and kings came to the sea side, and saw all their ships drownded, and saw their men and hories in great number cast upon the land drownded, they had full heavy hearts, as well they might. For of all their ships and mariners, which were in number 1500. besides the common souldiers, there were no more saued than the mariners of one onely ship, and they in this wise. There was in that ship a good and wise matron (a Countesse or an Carles wife) who perceiuing the tempest to grow, and fearing her selfe, called to her the Master of the ship, and asked whether in attempting to the shore, it were not possible to saue themselves: Who answered that to saue the ship it was impossible, howbeit the men that were therein by Gods helpe he doubted not. Then said the Countesse, for the ship force no whit, saue the soules therein, and haue to thee double the baloz of the ship. Who, immediately haling the sailes, with all force runne the ship aground so nere the shore as was possible. Thus with the vehemencie of the weather and force he came with all, he bcast the ship, and saued all that was within the same, as the master of the same ship had shewed and said before.

Then the Kings and Princes (altering their purposes after this so great a shipwracke) returned

home againe euery one vnto their owne lands; onely Edward the Kings sonne remained behinde with his men and ships, which the Lord had saued and preserved. When Prince Edward (renouating his purpose) took shipping againe, and within fiftene dayes after Easter arriued he at Actra, and went aland, taking with him a thousand of the best souldiers and most expert, and carried there a whole month, refreshing both his men and hories, and that in this space he might learne and know the secrets of the land. After this, he took with him six or seven thousand souldiers and marched forward twenty miles from Actra, and took Hazereth: and those that he there found he slew, and afterward returned againe to Actra. But their enemies following after them, thinking to haue set upon them at some strait or other aduantage; they were by the Prince permonished thereof, and returning againe upon them, gaue a charge, and slew many of them, and the rest they put to flight. After this, about Midsummer, when the Prince had vnderstanding that the Saracens began to gather at Cackhow, which was forty miles from Actra; he marching thither set upon them very early in the morning, and slew of them more than a 1000. the rest he put to flight, and took rich spoiles, marching forward till they came to a Castle named Caltrum Peregrinorum, situate vpon the sea coast, and carried there that night, and the next day they returned toward Actra. In the meane season the King of Hierusalem sent vnto the Noblemen of Cyprus, desiring them with speede that they would come and aid the Christians; but they would not come, saying, they would keepe their owne land and goe no further. Then prince Edward sent vnto them, desiring that at his request they would come and sojgne in aid with him. Who immediately thereupon came vnto him with great preparation & furniture for the war, saying, that at his commandment they were bound to doe nolesse, for that his predecessors were sometimes gouernors of their land, and that they ought alwayes to shew their fidelity to the Kings of England. When the Christians being herewith animated made a third voyage or rode, and came as farre as the fort called Vincula S. Petri, and to S. Georges: and when they had staine certaine there, not finding any to make resistance against them, they retired againe from whence they came.

When thus the fame of Prince Edward grew amongst his enemies, and that they began to stand in doubt of him; they deuised among themselves, how by some policie they might circumuent him and betray him. Whereupon the great prince and admiral of Ioppa sent vnto him, faining himselfe vnder great deceit to become a christian, and that he would draw with him a great number besides, so that they might be honourably entertained and bled of the Christians. This talke pleased the Prince well, and persuaded him to finish the thing he had so well begun, by writing againe; who also by the same messenger sent and wrote backe vnto him diuers times about the same matter, whereby no mistrust should spring. This messenger, faith mine author, was one Ex caute nutritus, one of the stony hearted that neither feared God, nor dreaded death. The fifth time when this messenger came, and was of the Princes seruants searched, according to the manner and custome what weapon and armoz he had about him, as also his purse, that not so much as a knife could be found about him, he was had by into the Princes chamber, and after his reuerence done; he pulled out certaine letters, which he deliuered to the Prince from his Lord, as he had done others before. This was about eight dayes after which time, vpon a Tuesday somewhat before night; at which time the Prince was laid upon his bed bareheaded in his terkin, for the great heat and intemperature of the weather.

KING  
HEN. 3.

Prince Edward arriued at Actra and took Hazereth

He noble m of Cyprus the their desire to the Prince and King of England.

A gentle will doer of the Saracens pract against Prince Edward. Ex Gish, Sci mundi.

He messenger searched before he came to the Princes presence.

The great expedition to invade the Turke stated by the concluding of a peace.

The great rage of the French King against the Turke turned into a money matters.

The clemencie of Prince Edward to the people souldiers.

A great shipwracke of the Christians lying at anchor a little from Trapan. Many were lost. Non habet euentus sortida prada bonos.

Ex scala mundi.

Ex Gualt. Gif burn.

Ex Flor. hist. Prince Edward and his men perished from the tempest.

The intercity of Prince Edward rewarded of God.



KING  
HEN. 3.

When the Prince had read the letters, it appeared by them, that upon the saturday next following, his lord would be there ready to accomplish all that he had written and promised. The report of these newes by the Prince to the standers by liked them well, drawing somewhat back to consult thereof amongst themselves. In the meane time, the messenger kneeling and making his obeisance to the Prince, questioning further with him, put his hand to the belt, as though he would haue pulled out some secret letters, and suddenly he pulled out an enuonomed knife, thinking to haue stricken him into the belly therewith as he lay: but the prince lifting vp his hand to defend the blow, was stricken a great wound into the arme. And being about to fetch another stroke at him, the Prince againe with his foote toke him such a blow, that he feld him to the ground. With that the prince gat him by the hand, and with such violence wrested the knife from him, that he hurt himselfe therewith in the forehead, and immediately thrust the same into the belly of the messenger and striker, and slew him. The princes seruants, being in the next chamber not far off, hearing the busking, came with great haste running in. And finding the messenger lying dead on the floze, one of them toke vp a stoule, and beat out his braines; whereat the Prince was wroth, for that he stricke a dead man, and one that was killed before. The rumor hereof, as it was strange, so it sone went throughout all the court, and from thence amongst the common people; wherefore they were very heauy and greatly discouraged. To him came also the Captaine of the temple, and brought him a costly and precious drinke against poyson, lest the venome of the knife should penetrate the lvely blood, and in blaming wise said vnto him: Did I not shew your grace before of the deceit and subtilty of this people? Notwithstanding, saith he, let your grace take a good heart, you shall not dye of this wound; my life for yours. But straightway the surgeons and Physicians were sent for, and the Prince was dressed, and within a few dayes after, the wound began to putrefie, and the flesh to looke dead and blacke; whereupon they that were about the Prince began to mutter amongst themselves, and were very sad and heauie. Which thing he himselfe perceiving, said vnto them; Why mutter you thus amongst your selues? What see you in me, can I not be healed? Tell me the truth, be ye not affraid. Whereupon one said to him; and like your grace you may be healed, we mistrust it not; but yet it will be very painefull for you to suffer. Nay suffering, saith he againe, restore health; Yea, saith the other, on paine of losing my head. Then, said the Prince, I commit my selfe vnto you, doe with me what you thinke good. Then said one of the Physicians; Is there any of your nobles in whom your grace repositeth speciall trust? To whom the Prince answered, yea, naming certaine of the noble men that stood about him. Then said the Physician vnto the two whom the Prince first named, the lord Edmund, and the Lord John Mousie: And doe you also faithfully loue your lord and prince: Who answered both, Yea undoubtedly. Then saith he; Take you away this Gentlewoman and lady (meaning his wife) and let her not see her Lord and husband, untill such a time I will you thereunto. Whereupon they tooke her out of the Princes presence, crying out and wringing her hands. Then said they vnto her; We ye contented good lady and madam, it is better that one woman should wepe a little while, then that all the realme of England should wepe a great season. When vpon the morrow they cut out all the dead enuonomed flesh out of the princes arme, and threw it from them, and said vnto him: Wo to chaereth your grace? We promise you within these fiftene daies you shall shew your selfe abroad (if God permit) vpon your horse backe, whole and well as ever you were. And according to the promise he made the

Prince, it came to passe, to the no little comfort and admiration of all his subjects. When the great Soldan heard of it, and that the Prince was yet alive, he would scarcely beleue the same; and sending vnto him three of his nobles and Princes, he excused himselfe by them, calling his gods to witnesse, that the same was done neither by him, nor his consent. Which Princes and messengers standing aloofe off from the kings sonne worshipping him, fell flat vpon the ground. You (saith the Prince) doe reuerence me, but yet you loue me not. But they understood him not, because he spake in English vnto them, speaking by an interpreter. Neuerthelesse, he honorably intreated them, and sent them away in peace.

Thus when Prince Edward had bene eightene moneths in Accra, he tooke shipping about the assistance of our Ladie (as we call it) returning homeward, and after seven weekes he arrived in Sicilia at Trapes, from thence travelling through Palestine and Betmes and so through the midst of Apulia, till he came to Rome, where he was of the Pope honorably entertained: from thence he came into France, whole same and Noble promise was there much bated among the common people, and enuied of the nobility, especially of the Carle de Charlons, who sent vnto him and required him that he might breake a staffe with him at the tilt in his country. Which thing to doe, for that the Prince would not diminish his honor and fame (although he might haue well alleaged a sufficient cause and excuse by meanes of his trauell) yet he would not, but willingly consented thereto: whereupon it was proclaimed, that Prince Edward by such a day, with those that were with him, had challenged all comers at the tilt and barriers. Whereupon great assemblies were made in the Country all about, and diuers, as well horsemens as footmen, had conjured amongst themselves, and conspired against the Englishmen, selling their horses and armor aforehand, and drinking one to another in boon voyage of the spoyle of them whom they would take as their prisoners. Prince Edward in the meane time sent into England for diuers Carles and Barons, which come vnto him. When the day appointed was come, the Prince had with him more than one thousand horsemen, which were knights, besides his footmen, but yet there was as many more on the other side both in horsemen and footmen. When the parties should meete, the French footmen, which had before conspired, began both to speyle, rise, and kill.

The Englishmen resisted and defended themselves both with bowes and slings, many of them they slew, and draw them to the gates of their City, the other, they chased ouer a river, where many of them were drowned. In the meane season the Carle, with fifty of his knights which followed him, came forth and joyned together so many for so many, came and a long time together they tried it with their swords, laying one at another. At the last the earle, perceiving himselfe not able to match with him at the armes end, enclosed with him, and taking him about the necke, held him with his armes very strait. What means you my lord (saith the Prince) thinke you to haue my horse? Yea marry (quoth the earle) I meane to haue both thee and thy horse. Hereat Prince Edward, being alconied, lifted vp himselfe, and gaue him such a blow, that therewithall he, forsaking his horse, hung still about the Princes necke, till that he shooke him off to the ground. Herewith the Prince, being somewhat in a heat, left the people to take the aire, there by to refresh himselfe. But when he saw the injury of the Frenchmen towards his men, and how they had slaine many of them, he then said vnto them, that they bled rather the exercise of battell, than of toney. Spare ye not therefore (saith he) from hence forth any of them all, but giue them againe as good as they bring. When they assayed to kill each other freely on either part, and let their swords walke.

The Prince restored to health and the Soldan of Accra.

The Prince returned out of Sicilie into England.

A day of sport in France appointed, which turned to good earnest.

A conspiracye of the Frenchmen against the Englishmen.

The earle of Arles, tell in stead of barriers and toney.

And

Prince Edward wounded and hurt with an enuonomed knife by the Turks messenger.

The Prince in peril of death by reason of his hurt, is comforted of the Physicians.



And when by this time the English footmen were againe returned, and saw the conflict of horsemen, and many other Englishmen overthowne; they put themselves amidst the preale; and some panching the horses, some cutting a sunder the girths of the Frenchmens saddles, they overthrew the riders and gave them holy bread. When when the foresaid Carle was horsed againe by some of his men and amongst the throng, Prince Edward also rushed in amongst the thickest, and coupled again with him: to whom he often spake and cried, that he should yeld himselfe as vanquished; but that he would not doe. Notwithstanding, when his strength began to faile him, he was faine to yeld himselfe unto a simple knight, according as Prince Edward him bade, and all the rest of his horsemen and knights fled and saved themselves. Howbeit, many of them in that place were slaine, and our men returned having the victory. But when after this they thought themselves to be quiet and at rest, they were killed of the citizens, by two and by three at once as they went in the streets. Which thing when the Prince heard, he sent for the Mayor and Burgeses, commanding them to see the same redressed, and that immediately: for otherwise, of his knightly he assured them, that upon the morrow he would fire the City, and make it leuell with the ground. Whereupon they went their wayes, and set watchmen in diuers places of the same to keepe the peace, by which meanes the Prince and men were in safety and quiet. Thus in this pastime of toying and barriers, much blood was spilt, whereupon the name of the place was changed: so that it is not called Tormamentum de Chalons, but Parvum bellum de Chalons.

From thence the Prince came to Paris, and was of the French King honorably entertained: and after certaine dayes, he went from thence into Castonia, where he tarried till that he heard of the death of the King his father.

In the yere of our Lord 1272. died Pope Clement the fourth: after whom succeeded Pope Gregory the tenth; who in the next yere following, which was the yere of our Lord 1273. called a generallcouncell at Lions, about the controuersie betwene the Greeke Church and the Latine Church, and for the vacancie of the See apostolicall, &c.

Certaine notes of other occurrents changing in forren Countreies abroad, within the compassse of the yeeres and raigne of the foresaid King Henry the third.

Having thus accomplished the life and history of King Henry the third, with such accidents as happened within this realme, I thought good to adjoyne unto the same some other foreyn matters not unworthy the note, incident in other Countreies during the time of the said King: namely from the yeres of our Lord 1217 unto this yere 1272. which I thought the rather not to be omitted, for that, even from and about the beginning of this Kings raigne, sprang by the very well-springs of all mischiefe, the sects of monkish religions and other swarmes of popish orders, which with their grosse and horrible superstitious haue incumbered the Church of Christ euer since.

First, to omit the repetition of Pope Innocent the third, the great grandaunc of that foule monker transubstantion and auricular confession, with the friers Dominike and Franciscan friers. Thomas Aquinas, Jacobus de Moagaine, Vincentius, with Pope Bononius the third, coiner of the canon law, and the Cardinall Hostiensis, as also Bonauenture, Albertus Magnus, with Pope Urban the fourth, first founder of the sect of Corpus Christi, and procurer of the adozation of the body of Christ in the Sacrament, besides Mirandus and many more: it followeth further to be noted, that the Tar-

tarians about the yere 1240. issuing out of Muscovia into the parts of Polonia, made great waste in Christendome, so much the rather, because the princes about Polonia, being at variance amongst themselves, used none other remedy for their defence but heapes of masses, invocation of the dead, and worshipping of images, which indeede did nothing releue them, but rather increase their trouble.

The next yere following, the whole nation of the Scythians (mustering like locusts) invaded the parts of Europe with two mighty armies, whereof the one, entering upon Polonia, made great hauocke and carried away many Christians from thence captiues; the other, ouerrunning Hungaria, made no lesse spoyle there. Addeherunto another fresh army of Tartarians, to the number of 500000. who at the very same time joining themselves together, entered into Muscovia and Cracouia, and made most horrible slaughter, sparing neither sexe nor age, noble nor vnnoble within the land. From thence passing to Aratiliaua, they made great spoyle there also, and thinking there to winne the castle, were by the miraculous working of the Lord, at the instance and prayers of good people, discomfited beyond all expectation of man, by thunder and lightning falling upon them from Heauen in most terrible wise.

The same yere immediatly after Easter, another army of Tartarians were gathered against Ligimicum, drawing nere to Germany; by the brute whereof, the Germans, being put in great feare, were altogether dismayed, but yet not able to helpe themselves, by reason they lacked a good guide and gouernor amongst them. All which came to passe, specially by the mischieuous practice of the Roman Popes, raising variance and discord among them.

Notwithstanding, Henrie Prince of Polonia and Silesia, gathering a power as well as he could, did encounter with him; but in fine, his whole army was vanquished, and the King himselfe slaine.

Notwithstanding, which ouerthrow of Christians, it pleased God to strike such a feare into the hearts of the said Tartarians, that they durst not approach any further or nerer into Germany, but retired for that time into their country againe: who recounting their victory, by taking each man but one eare of euery one of the Christians that were slaine, found the slaughter to great, as that they filled nine great sackes full of eares. Neuerthelesse, after this in the yere 1260. the same Tartarians, hauing the Huscuits to their guides, returned againe into Polonia & Cracouia, where in the space of thre moneths, they ouerran the land with fire and sword to the Coasts of Silesia, and had not the Princes of Germany put to their helping hand in this lamentable case they had utterly wasted the whole land of Polonia, and the Coasts thereabouts.

This yere also in the moneth of Aprill, Richard king of Almaine died at the castle of Berkhamsled and was buried at the Abbey of Wailles, which he built out of the ground. The same yere also at Norwich there fell a great controuersie betwene the Monknes and the Citizens, about certaine tallages and liberties. At last, after much alteration and wrangling words, the furious rage of the Citizens so much increased and preuailed, and so little was the feare of God before their eyes, that altogether they set vpon the Abbey and Priory, and burned both the Church and Bishops palace. When this thing was heard abroad, the people were very soory to heare of so bold and naughty an enterprise, and much discomended the same. At the last, King Henry calling for certaine of his Lords & Barons, sent them to the City of Norwich, that they might punish and see execution done on the chiefest malefactors; inasmuch that some of them were condemned and burnt, some of them hanged, and some were drawne by the heels with horses throughout the streets of the City, and after

The victory of the Danes and Englishmen, against the earle of Chalons and the Frenchmen.

Prince Edward was in Castonia at the time of his fathers death.

Anno 1273. Pope Clement the fourth. Pope Gregory the tenth.

Ex Annalibus Silesie. The Tartarians make great spoyle in Christendome.

KING HEN. 3.

The Scythians army like locusts.

King Henry slaine, and his army vanquished.

Nine sackes full of Christians eares being slaine.

Richard King of Almaine dieth. A great variance betwene the Monknes and citizens of Norwich.

Execution done at Norwich by the commandment of King Henry the third.



**KING** after in much misery ended their wretched lives. The same yere Adam the prior of Canterbury and bishop elect, in the presence of pope Gregory the tenth refused to be Archbishop, although he was elect. Wherefore the Pope gave the same Archbishopricke to frier Robert Kilwarby the prouost of the preaching friers, a man of good life and great learning. He was consecrated at Canterbury the fourth day of March, by five Bishops of the same prouince. The same yere also at Michellmas, the Lord Edmund, the sonne of King Richard of Armaigne, married the sister of Gilbert earle of Gloucester. Also in this yere of our Lord 1273, the sixteenth day before the Ides of December, upon Saint Edmunds day the Archbishop and confessor, died King Henry, in the fire and fiftieth yere of his raigne, and was buried at Westmynster, leaving after him two sonnes, and two daughters, to wit, Edward the Prince, and Edmund Earle of Lancaster and Leicester, Beatrice and Margaret; which Margaret was married to the King of Scots. This King Henry in his life time began the building of the Church and Steeple at Westmynster, but did not thoroughly finish the same before his death.

## King Edward the first.

**I**n the time of the death of King Henry Edward his eldest sonne was absent in Gasconie, as a little before you heard; yet notwithstanding, by Robert Kilwarby Archbishop of Canterbury, and other Bishops and nobles, he was ordained heire and successor after his father, who, after he had heard of his fathers death, returned home to his country, and was crowned in the yere of our Lord 1274. who then laid downe his crowne, saying he would no more put it on, before he had gathered together all the lands pertaining to the same. This Edward as he had alwaies before bene a louing and naturall child to his father, whom he had deliuered out of prison and captiuitie; and bearing afterward both together of the death of his sonne, and of his father, wept and lamented much more for his father, than for his sonne, saying to the French king (which asked the cause thereof) that the losse of his child was but light; for children might after increase and be multiplied, but the losse of his parent was greater, which could not be recovered: Robert Auesburie. So Almighty God, for the same his piety to his father shewed, rewarded him againe with great successe, felicity, and long raigne: in so much that he being young, as he was playing at chess with a certaine souldier of his, suddenly hauing occasion giuen, rose vp and went his way; who was not so soon voided the place, but incontinent fell downe a mighty stone from the vault above, directly vpon the place where he sat, able to haue qualshed him in peces, if he had tarried neuer so little more. In the preservation of whom, as I see the present hand and mighty prouidence of the liuing God: so in the kings order againe, I note a fault or error worthy of reprehension for that he, receiuing such a liuely benefit at the hand of the liuing Lord, going therefore on pilgrimage to Walsingham, gaue thanks not only to our Lord, but rather to a rotten blocke. Ibidem. Of the gentle nature of this couragious Prince, sufficient proufe is giuen by this one example: that what time he being in his dispos of hauking, chanced sharply to rebuke the negligence of one of his Gentlemen, for what fault I cannot tell about his Hauke; the gentleman being on the other side of the Riuer, hearing his menacing words, was glad (as he said) that the Riuer was betwene them. With this answer the couragious blood of this Prince being moued, vpon present heate he leaped straight into the flood, both of a swift streame and of a dangerous deepe nesse, and no lesse hard in getting out. Notwithstan-

ding, either forgetting his owne life, or neglecting the danger present, and hauing a good horse, ventu-  
reth his owne death, to haue the death of his man. At length, with much difficulty recouering the bankes, with his sword drawne he pursueth his prouoker. Who hauing not so good an horse, and seeing himselfe in danger of taking, reineth his horse, and returning backe barchead vnto the prince, submitteth his necke vnder his hand to strike. The Prince, whose feruent stomacke the wafer of the whole riuer could not quench, a little submission of his man did so coole that the quarrell fell, his anger ceased, and his sword was put by without any stroake giuen. And so both returned to their game, good friends againe. Auesb. Nic. Triuet. & Tho. Wal-

Example of princely clemencie to be learned of Kings and Princes. Ex chron.

In the first beginning of his raigne, the King had much adoe in Wales, where he had diuers conflicts with the Welshmen, whom at last he subdued, and cut downe their woods, suppressed rebellions, and banquishing their Kings Lleweline and his brother, ordained his eldest sonne Edward, borne in the same countrey, to be Prince of Wales. This Lleweline Captaine of the Welshmen here mentioned rebelled against King Edward, asked Counsell of consuration, what euent should come vpon his attempt. To whom it was told, that he should goe forward boldly, for doubtlesse he should ride through Cheape side at London, with a crowne on his head. Which so came to passe. For being slaine, his head was carried through Cheape, with a crowne of silver to London bridge. Whereby men may learne not to seeke nor strike to these vaine prophecies, which though they fall true, yet are they frames of the diuell to deceiue men.

The Kings first sonne Prince of Wales.

Faine prophesies nor to be sought to.

About this time was a great Earthquake, and such a rot, that consumed a great multitude of sheepe in the land, though the occasion (as they say) of one scabbed sheepe that came out of Spaine. The king returning from Wales to England, ordered certaine new lawes for the wealth of the Realme. Among many others, this was one; that authority was giuen to all maiors, balliffes, and other officers to see execution and punishment of all bakers making bread vnder the size, with pilloy. Of millers stealing cozne, with the tumbrell, &c. And without two yeres after the statute of mortmaine was first enacted, which is as much to say, that no man should giue vnto the Church any lands or rents, without a speciall licence of the King.

Punishment for bakers and millers. The statute of mortmaine first enacted.

About which time also, being the seventh yere of his raigne, 297. Jewes for many clipping were put to execution. In which same yere began first the foundation of the blacke friers by Ludgate. And the towne of Boston was greatly walled the same yere with fire. The halfe penny and farthing began first to be coined the selfe same time, which was the eighth yere of his raigne. The great conduit in Cheape began the fourth yere after to be made, An. 1284. And the next yere following, the new worke of the Church of Westmynster (begun as is afore premonished in the third yere of Henry the third) was finished, which was sixty six yeres in edifying. The Jewes were utterly banished this Realme of England the same time, for which the commons gaue to the King a fifteenth, &c.

Anno 1279 Blackfriars by Ludgate builded. Boston blemished with fire. The great conduit in Cheape. Westmynster Church finished.

After that the countrey of Wales was brought in a full order and quiet, by the hewing downe of the woods, and casting downe the old holdes, and building of new; which all was brought to perfect end, about the 24. yere of this Kings raigne. Then ensued another boile as great or greater with Scotland, to the great disquiet of the King and the Realme of England many yeres after. This trouble first began by the death of Alexander King of Scots, who died without issue left a line behind him. Although Fabian in y. 7. be he of his chronicles affirmeth, that he left three daughters, the eldest married to sir John Baskol, the second, to Robert Bruce, the third, to one Hastings,

The death of King Henry the third.

Edward the first.

Piety to parents rewarded of God. Ex Chron. Tho. Walf. A miracle of God in preferring King Edward.

False worship reprehended. God giueth the cometic, and a pumbe stocke hath the thanks.



A place in Fab-  
ian corrected.  
Ex Tho. Walf.  
& Gualtero  
Gisburnensi.

Hastings. But this in Fabian is to be corrected, as which neither standeth with it selfe, and is clearly conuicted by the witnesse and history of Rob. Auesb. and also of Gisburne.

For first, if King Alexander had left his eldest daughter married to Sir John Baliol, then what controuersie might rise among the lords about succession, needing so diligent and anirous deciding by the King of England? Secondly, what claime or title could the King of Norway haue to the crowne of Scotland, which was one of the Challengers, claiming the said Crowne in the behalfe of Margaret, the neece of the foresaid King Alexander her grandfather, if the eldest daughter of the father had bene left alive? Thirdly, what can be more plaine, when by the affirmance of the foresaid story it is testified, that King Alexander had two wiues? Of the second whereof he had no issue. Of the first he had two children, Alexander which died before his father, and Margaret married to the King of Norway, which died also before her father, of whom came Margaret the neece of Alexander, and daughter to the King of Norway asfoze mentioned. And she also died in the journey between Norway and Scotland, the fourth yeare after the decease of her grandfather. Wherefore, as this matter standeth most cleare, so let vs now, returning from whence we digressed, prosecute the rest that followeth. After that Alexander thus, as is said, departed without issue, and also Margaret his neece in Norway was deceased, the matter came in a great doubt among the nobles of Scotland (especially twelue by name) to whom the right of the Crowne should next pertain. After much variance among parties, at length the election and determination of the matter was committed to the judgement of King Edward of England: who after sufficient prouue made to the Scots, and firme euidence brought out of all the ancient histories both of England and Scotland, testifying from time to time that he was chiefe head and Soueraigne of the Realme of Scotland; first, by necessity of the law, and by all their consents to take full possession of the same. And that done, adjudged the right of the crowne to John Baliol, who descended of the daughter of David Carle of Huntingdon, brother to David King of Scot in the daies of King Henry the second. This Carle David had three daughters, Isabel, married to Robert Bruce; Margaret, to Allen Carle of Galloway; and Ellen, to Henry lord Hastings. Allen Carle of Galloway had Ellen, married to Roger Quince earle of Winchester, Constable of Scotland; and Donagile, married to John Baliol, father to Edward King of Scots.

When these things were thus finished in Scotland, and Sir John Baliol as most rightfull inheritor had receiued the Crowne of Scotland at the hands of King Edward thankfully, and for the same, in the presence of the Barons of England and of Scotland, did vnto the said King Edward his homage, and swore to him fealty: the Scots with their new King returned into Scotland, and King Edward remoued againe to England.

But not long after, the falsenesse of this Scottish King sone appeared. Who, repenting him of his homage done vnto the King, forsooke his former oath and promise, and made warre against King Edward, through the counsell of the Abbat of Denros. Wherefore, the King with a great host sped him into Scotland, and in porsesse laid siege to the towne of Warwicke, which the Scots did eagerly defend, not onely to the discomfiture, but also to the derision of the King and his English host. But in conclusion, the Englishmen prevailed and wanne the towne, where were slaine of the Scots the number of twenty and five thousand. And while the King was there buied in winning other holds about the same, he sent part of his host to Dunbar, where the Englishmen againe had the victory, and slew of the Scots twenty thou-

sand: Gisburne saith but ten thousand; so that very few were lost of the English company. The King, with a great number of prisoners returning into his realme, shortly after sped him ouer into Flanders, where he sustained great trouble by the French King, till truce for a certaine space was betweene them concluded. But in the meane while that King Edward was thus occupied beyond the seas, the French King (resorting to his practised manner) set the Scots secretly against the Englishmen to keepe the King at home. Which Scots, making themselves a captaine named William Maleis, warred vpon the borders of Northumberland, where they did much hurt. At length the King, returning from Burdeau into England, shortly vpon the same took his journey into Scotland. Where meeting at Berke with his host, hee marched into the realme of Scotland, winning, as he went, towne and castles, till at length coming to the towne of Frankrich on Mary Magdalens day, he met with the power of Scotland, and had with them a fore fight, but through Gods prouidence the victory fell to the right cause of Englishmen: so that of the Scots were slaine in the field, as it is of diuers Writers affirmed, about the number of thirty and two thousand; and of Englishmen, but barely twenty eight persons. Whereupon the King, againe taking possession and fealty of the whole land, returned home.

And yet the false broth of the Scots would not thus be ruled, but rose up in a new boile: so that the King was enforced to make his power againe the yeare following into Scotland, where he so suppressed the rebellion of the lords and of the commons, that they, swearing to the Kings allegiance, presented themselves by great companies, and put them wholly in the Kings grace & mercy: so that the King thinking himselfe to be in peaceable possession, and in a great surety of the land, caused to be mooue vnto him the rulers of the boroughes, cities and towne, with other officers of the land, and so returned into Berwicke, and so into England, and lastly to Westminster.

The martiall affaires betweene England and Scotland, although they appertaine not greatly to the purpose of our story ecclesiasticall, yet so much by the way I thought briefly to touch, whereby, that which followeth in the sequell hereof, might the better be understood by these premises. As the Scots were thus warring and raging against the King, & saw they could not make their party good, they sent pntiuly to Pope Boniface for his aide and counsell: who immediately sendeth downe his precept to the King, to this effect, that he should hereafter surceale to disquiet or molest the Scots, for that they were a people exempt, and properly pertaining to his chapell. And therefore it could not otherwise be, but that the cite of Jerusalem must needs defend his owne citizens; and as the mount Sion, maintaine such as trust in the Lord, &c. Whereunto the King byiefly maketh answer againe, swearing with an oath, that hee would to his uttermost keepe and defend that which was his right, evidently knotone to all the world, &c. Thus the Scots bearing themselves bold vpon the Popes message, and also confederating themselves with the Frenchmen, passed ouer that yeare. The next yeare after that (which was 29. of the Kings raigne) the said Pope Boniface directeth his letters againe to the King, wherein he doth vindicate the kingdome of Scotland, to be proper to the Church of Rome, and not subject to the King of England. And therefore it was against God, against iustice, and also prejudiciall to the Church of Rome, for him to haue or hold dominion ouer the same, which he proued by these reasons:

First, that when King Henry, the father of this King receiued aide of Alexander King of Scots in his warres against Simon Deuntis, he recognosed and acknowledged in his letters patents, that he

KING  
EDWARD  
fallensse int  
punished.

The Scots re  
bell againe.

The second  
voyage of King  
Edward into  
Scotland.

Anno  
1298

Ex Fabiano  
A notable  
story against  
Scots.

Anno  
1299

The Scots  
sworne to the  
Kings allegi  
ance.

Ex Chron.  
Tho. Walf.  
Auesb.  
The Popes  
message vnto  
the King.

The Kings at  
tender to the  
Pope.

The Pope ch  
leneth the  
realme of Sc  
land to be fre  
from the dom  
inion of Eng  
land.

Ackle of succel  
tion, what di  
sturbance it  
worketh in a  
Realme.

The King of  
England pro  
ued by old re  
cords, chiefe  
head and soue  
raigne of Scot  
land.

Anno  
1291.

S. John Ba  
liol made King  
of Scotland by  
King Edward  
& King of Scots  
dowd homage to  
the King of  
England.

The fallensse of  
the Scottish  
King.

The towne and  
castell of War  
wicke won of  
Englishmen.



{ KING } received the same of king Alexander, not of any du-  
{ EDW. I } ty, but of speciall favour,

Item, when the said king Alexander, comming to England, did homage to the said king Henry; he did it not as king of Scotland, but onely for certaine lands of Tyndall and Penreth, lying in England.

Item, whereas the said king Alexander left behind him Margaret his heire, being naxe to the king of England, and yet under age; yet the tuition of the said Margaret was committed not to the king of England, but to certaine Lords of Scotland, deputed to the same.

Moreover, when any legacie was directed honyne from Rome to the realme of England, for collecting of tenths or other causes, the said legacie tooke no place in the realme of Scotland, and might well be resisted (as it was in king Alexander his dayes) except another speciall commission touching the realme of Scotland, were joyned withall. Whereby it appeareth, that these be two severall Dominions, 20 and not subject under one.

Adding furthermore, that the kingdome of Scotland first was converted by the reliques of the blessed Apostle saint Peter, through the divine operation of God, to the unitie of the catholike faith.

Wherefore upon these causes and reasons, Pope Boniface in his letters to the king, required him to give over his claime, and cease his warres against the Scottish nation: and to release all such both of the spiritualty and laity, as he had of them prisoners. Also to call home againe his officers and deputies, which he had there placed and ordained to the governance of that Nation, to the slander of all faithfull people, and no lesse prejudice to the church of Rome. And if he would claime any right or title to the said Realme, or any part thereof, he should send by his procurators specially to the same appointed, with all that he could for himselfe alledge, unto the sea apostolike, there to receive what reason and right would require.

Anno 1301.

he king replieth to the Pope.

Scotland all one with England.

Justus. Orcinus. Albanactus. Amber.

The king, after he had received these letters of the Pope, assembled a Councell or parliament at Lincoln: by the advice of which Councell and parliament, he answered other Letters responall to the Pope againe, wherein first in all reverend manner he desired him not to give light eare to the sinister suggestions of false reports, and imaginers of mischief. When he declareth out of old records and histories from the first time of the Britaines, that the realme of Scotland hath alwaies from time to time bene all one with England, beginning first with Brutus in the time of Heli and Samuel the Prophet: which Brutus, comming from Troy to this Ile called then Albion, after called by him Britania, had three sonnes, Locrinus, to whom he gave that part of the land, called then of him Logria, now Anglia; Albanactus his second sonne, to whom he gave Albania, now called Scotia; and his third son Camber, to whom he gave Cambria, now called Wales, &c.

And thus much concerning the first division of this Ile, as in ancient histories is found recorded. In which matter, passing over the death of King Humber, the acts of Dunwalde King of this Realme, the division of Belyn and Brenne, the victories of king Arthur, we will resort (saith the King) to more neerer times, testified and witnessed by sufficient authors, as Marianus Scotus, William Malmesbury, Roger Abyndon, Henry Huntington, Radulph de Bizoto and other. All which make speciall declaration, and give manifest evidence of the execution of this our right (saith he) and title of superiority, ever continued and preserved hitherto.

And first to begin with Edward the senior, before the conquest, sonne to Alured king of England, about the yeere of our Lord 900. it is plaine and manifest, that hee had under his Dominion and obedience the

King of Scots: And here is to bee noted, that this matter was so notorious and manifest, as Marian the Scot, writing that storie in those dayes, gianteth, confesseth and testifieth the same: and this Dominion continued in that state 23. yeeres. At which time, Athelstane succeeded in the crowne of England, and having by battell conquered Scotland, hee made one Constantine King of that partie, to rule and governe the countrey of Scotland under him, adding this princely word; That it was more honour to him to make a King, than to be a King.

Twenty foure yeeres after that, which was the yeere of our Lord 947. Eldred the King our progenitor, Athelstane brother, tooke homage of Irle then King of Scots.

Thirtie yeeres after that, which was the yeere of our Lord 977, king Edgar our predeceffour tooke homage of Kynald king of Scots. Here was a little trouble in England by the death of saint Edward king and martyr, destroyed by the deceit of his mother in law, but yet within memorie.

Forty yeeres after the homage done by Kynald to king Edgar, that is to say, in the yeere of our Lord 1017. Malcoline the King of Scots did homage to Knute our predeceffour. After this homage done, the Scots uttered some peece of their naturall disposition, whereupon (by warre made by our progenitor saint Edward the Confessour, thirty and nine yeeres after that homage done, that is to say, the yeere of our Lord 1056.) Malcoline king of Scots was vanquished, and the realme of Scotland given to Malcoline his sonne by our said progenitor saint Edward, unto whom the said Malcoline made homage and fealtie.

Within fortie yeeres after that, William Conquerour entred this Realme, whereof hee accounted no perfect conquest untill hee had likewise subdued the Scots: and therefore in the said yeere (which was in the yeere of our Lord 1068.) the said Malcoline king of Scots did homage to the said William the Conqueror, as his superiour by conquest king of England.

Twentie and five yeeres after that, which was the yeere of our Lord 1093. the said Malcoline did homage and fealtie to William Rufus, sonne to the said William Conquerour: and yet after that, hee was for his offences and demerits depofed, and his sonne substitute in his place: who likewise failed in his duty, and therefore was ordained in that estate, by the said William Rufus, Edgar brother to the last Malcoline, and sonne to the first, who did his homage and fealty accordingly.

Seven yeeres after that, which was in the yeere of our Lord 1100. the said Edgar king of the Scots, did homage to Henry the first our progenitor.

Thirtie seven yeeres after that, David king of Scots did homage to Matilde the Emperatrice, as daughter and heire to Henry the first. Wherefore being after required by Stephan, then obtaining possession of the Realme, to make his homage: hee refused so to doe, because hee had before made it to the said Matilde, and thereupon forbore. After which Davids death, which ensued shortly after, the sonne of the said David made homage to the said king Stephan.

Fourteene yeeres after that, which was in the yeere of our Lord 1150. William king of Scots, and David his brother, with all the nobles of Scotland, made homage to Henry the seconds sonne, with a reservation of their dutie to henry the second his father.

Twenty five yeeres after that, which was in the yeere of our Lord 1175. William king of Scotland, after much rebellion and resistance, according to their naturall inclination (King Henry the second then being in Normandy) knowledged finally his error, and made his peace and composition, confirmed with his great seale, and the seales of the nobi-



lity of Scotland, making therewith his homage and fealty.

Within fifteene yeeres after that, which was in the yeere of our Lord 1190. the said William king of Scots came to our cite of Canterbury, and there did homage to our noble progenitor king Richard the first.

Fourteene yeeres after that, the said William did homage to our progenitor king Iohn, upon a hill besides Lincolne, making his oath upon the crosse of Hubert, then Archbishop of Canturburie, being there present, and a marvellous multitude assembled for that purpose.

Twentie sixe yeeres after that, which was in the yeere of our Lord 1230. Alexander king of Scots married Margaret the daughter of our progenitor Henry the third, at our cite of Yorke, in the feast of Christmas: at which time the said Alexander did his homage to our said progenitor, who reigned in this Realme 56. yeeres. And therefore betweene the homage made by the said Alexander king of Scotland, and the homage done by Alexander, sonne to the said King of Scots, to us at our coronation at Westminster, there was about fifty yeeres. At which time, the said Alexander King of Scots repaired to the said feast of our Coronation, and there did hee his dutie as is aforesaid.

¶ Besides these Letters of the King, the Lords temporall also, in the name of the whole commonalty and parliament, wrote another letter to the Pope answering to that, whereas the Pope arrogated to him to be judge for the title of the realme of Scotland, which the king of England claimed unto himselfe, which letter I thought good also here to annere, containing, as in the wordes of the same here followeth to be read and seene.

*The Lords temporall, and the whole Barony of England to the Pope.*

A Letter of the  
Lords temporall  
to the Pope.

THE holy mother Church, by whose ministerie the Catholike Sea is governed, in her decedes (as we thoroughly beleve and hold) proceedeth with that ripeness in judgement, that shee will bee hurtfull to none: but like a mother would every mans right to bee kept unbroken as well in other, as in her selfe. Whereas therefore in a generall Parliament, called at Lincolne of late by our most dread Lord Edward, by the grace of God the noble king of England: the same our Lord caused certaine Letters received from you to bee read openly, and to bee declared seriously before us, about certaine businesses touching the condition and state of the Realme of Scotland: wee did not a little muse and marvell with our selves, hearing the meanings concerning the same, so wondrous and strange, as the like wee have not heard at any time before. For wee know most holy Father, and it is well knowne as well in this Realme of England; as also it is not unknowne to other persons besides, that from the first beginning of the realme of England, the certaine and direct government of the realme of Scotland in all temporall causes, from time to time, belonged to the Kings of the same realme of England, and realme of Scotland; as well in the times of the Britaines, as also of Englishmen. Yea rather, the same realme of Scotland of old time was in fee to the Ancestors of our foresaid Lords Kings of England, yea and to himselfe. Furthermore, the kings of Scots, and the Realme have not bene under any other than the kings of England, and the kings of England have answered, or ought to answer for their rights in the foresaid Realme, or for any his temporalities before any Iudge Ecclesiasticall or secular, by reason of free preheminance of the state of his royall dignitie, and custome kept without breach at all times. Wherefore, after treaty had and diligent deliberation of the contents in your foresaid Letters, this was the common agreeing and consent with one minde,

and shall bee without faile in time to come by Gods grace; that our foresaid Lord the King ought by no meanes to answer in judgement in any case, or should bring his foresaid rights into doubt; nor ought to send any Proctors or messengers to your presence: especially seeing that the premisses tend manifestly to the disheriting of the right of the Crowne of England, and the plaine overthrow of the state of the said Realme, and also hurt of the liberties, customes and lawes of our fathers: for the keeping and defence of which wee are bound by the dutie of our oath made, and wee will maintaine them with all power, and will defend them (by Gods helpe) with all strength. And further, wee will not suffer our foresaid Lord the King to doe, or by any meanes to attempt the premisses, being so unaccustomed, unwont, and not heard of afore. Wherefore, wee reverently and humbly beseech your holinesse that yee would suffer the same our Lord King of England (who among other Princes of the world, sheweth himselfe catholike and devout to the Romish Church) quietly to enjoy his rights, liberties, customes, and lawes aforesaid; without all impairing and trouble, and let them continue untouched. In witnesse whereof wee have set our seales to these presents, as well for us, as for the whole commonalty of the foresaid realme of England. Dated at Lincolne in the yeere of our Saviour 1301. & anno Edwardi primi 28.

The yere following, which was from Christ, Anno 1303. the said pope Boniface the eighth of that name, taking displeasure with Philip the French king, did excite king Edward of England to warre against him, promising him great aide thereunto. But he (as mine author saith) little trusting the Popes false unstable affection toward him well proved before, put him off with delates. Ex Rob. Auesb. Whereupon, the French king fearing the power of king Edward, whom the Pope had set against his friendship, restored unto him againe Gascone, which he wrongfully had in his hands detained. Concerning this variance here mentioned betwene the Pope and the French king, how it began first, and to what end it fell out, the sequell hereof (Christ willing) shall declare, after that first I haue finished the discourse begun betwene England and Scotland.

Ex R. Auesb.

In the yere 1303. the foresaid William Male is which had done so many displeasures to the King before, continuing still in his rebellion, gathered great multitudes of the Scots to withstand the King: till at length the yere following he was taken, and sent up to London, and there executed for the same. After which things done, the King then held his parliament at Westminster, whither came out of Scotland the Bishop of saint Andrewes, Robert Bruce above mentioned, Earle of Dunbarre, Earle of Arles, and sir John comming, with diuers other: The which voluntarily were sworne to be true to the king of England, and to keepe the land of Scotland to his use against all persons. But shortly after the said Robert Bruce, who, as is said, married the second daughter of Earle David, forgetting his oath before made unto the King, within a yere or two after this, by the counsell of the abbat of Stone, and Bishop of saint Andrewes sent up unto Pope Clement the fifth, for a dispensation of his oath made; insinuating to him, that king Edward bereaved and grieved the realme of Scotland wrongfully. Whereupon the Pope wrote unto the king to leave off such doings. Notwithstanding which inhibition of the Pope, the King prosecuting his owne right, after he had the understanding of the doings of the Scots, and of the mischief of Robert Bruce, (who had slaine with his owne hands sir John Comming, for not consenting with him and other Lords at his parliament) arreared his power and strength of men,

Another Scottish rebellion suppressed.

The Pope inhibited with due and true obedience of subjects towards their prince.

The Pope inhibition neglected in England.

Another rebellion of the Scots suppressed.



**{ KING }**  
**{ EDW. I }**  
men, preparing himselfe toward Scotland: to where  
he joyning with the said sir Robert and all the pow-  
er of Scotland in a plaine, nere unto saint Johns  
towne, put him to flight and so chased the Scots,  
that of them were slaine to the number of seven  
thousand. In the which victory, such Bishops and Ab-  
bats as were taken he sent to the Pope; the tempo-  
rall Lords and other Scots he sent unto London, &c.  
Sir Robert Bruce after this discomfiture, when hee  
had thus lost both the field and his chiefe friends, se-  
ing himselfe not able to make his partie good, fled  
into Norway, where he kept his abode during the  
time while king Edward lived. When this noble  
Edward had thus subdued the Scots, he yielded  
thanks to God for his victory, and so setting the  
land in a quiet, and an order, hee returned unto Lon-  
don, which was the 35. yere and last of his reign, &c.

Now to returne to that which I promised before  
touching the variance and greivous dissention be-  
twene Philip the French king, and Pope Boniface  
the eighth of that name: After the bishopricke of  
Rome had bene long void through the dissention of  
the Cardinals, for the space of two yeres and three  
moneths; at length Pope Celestinus was chosen  
successor to pope Nicholas the fourth. Which Ce-  
lestinus in his first consistory began to reforme the  
clergy of Rome, thinking to make it an example to  
all other churches. Wherefore, he procured to him-  
selfe such hatred among his clergy men, that this  
Boniface, then called Benedictus, speaking through a  
reede by his chamber wall, might admonish him,  
as it had bene a voyce from heauen, that he  
should giue ouer his papacy, as being a burthen big-  
ger than he could weild.

This pope Celestinus after he had late six months,  
by the treachery and falshood of this Boniface, was  
induced to giue up and resigne his bishopricke, partly  
for the voyce spoken of before, partly for feare; be-  
ing told of certaine craftily suborned in his cham-  
ber, that, if he did not resigne, he should lose his life.  
Who then after his resignation going to lue in  
some solitary desert (being a simple man) was vile-  
ly taken and thrust into perpetuall prison by Pope  
Boniface, craftily pretending that hee did it not  
for any hatred unto Celestinus, but that seditious  
persons might not haue him as their head to raise vp  
some stirre in the Church. And so he was brought to  
his death. Wherefore, this Boniface was worthily  
called the eighth Nero: of whom it was rightly  
said, He came in like a ffor, raigned like a Lion, and  
died like a dog.

This Pope Boniface succeeding, or rather innu-  
ding after Celestinus, behaued himselfe so imperi-  
ously, that hee put downe princes, excommunicated  
kings, such as did not take their confirmation at his  
hand. Divers of his Cardinals he deaue away for  
feare, some of them as schismatickes he deposed and  
spoyled of all their substance. Philip the French  
king hee excommunicated, for not suffering his  
money to goe out of the Realme, and therefore cur-  
sed both him and his to the fourth generation. Al-  
bertus the Emperour not once nor twice, but thize  
fought at his hands to bee confirmed, and yet was  
rejected, neither could obtaine vniuersitye of his realme.  
In the factious discord in Italie betweene the Guelphs  
and Gibellines, which the part of a good Bishop had  
bene to extinguish, so little he helped to quench the  
smoake, that hee of all other was the chiefest fire-  
brand to increase the flame. Insomuch that vpon  
Alwednesday, when Porchetus an Archbishop  
came and kneeled downe before him to receiue his  
athes; pope Boniface looking vpon him, and per-  
ceiuing that he was one of the Gibellines part, cast  
his handfull of athes in his eyes, saying; Memento  
homo quod Gibellinus es, &c. That is, Remem-  
ber man that a Gibelline thou art, and to athes  
thou shalt go. This pope moreover ordained first the

Iubile in Rome: in the solemnizing whereof, the  
first day hee shewed himselfe in his Pontificall bus,  
and gaue free remission of sinnes to as many as  
came to Rome out of all the parts of the world. The  
second day (being arrayed with imperall ensignes)  
hee commanded a naked sword to be carried before  
him, and said with a loude voyce; Ecce potestatem  
utriusque gladii, That is, Loee heere the power and  
authority of both the swords, &c.

From the which very peere (as most stories doe  
record) the Turkes doe begin the first count of their  
Turkish Emperours, whereof the first was Otto-  
mannus, as you shall heare discoursed hereafter by  
Gods grace in the history of the Turkes.

By this said Pope Boniface diuers constitutions  
extrauagants of his predecessors were collected to-  
gether, with many of his owne newly added thereto,  
and so made the booke called Sextus decretalium, &c.  
By whom also first sprang by pardons and indul-  
gences from Rome.

These things thus promised of Boniface the pope,  
now will I come to the cessation of the strife be-  
twens him, and the French king. Concerning Pope Boniface,  
which matter, first I find in the history of Nicholas  
Trivet, that in the yere of our Lord, 1301. the bi-  
shop of Appanham, being accused for a conspiracy  
against the French king, was brought vp to his  
court, and so committed to prison. The Pope hea-  
ring this, sendeth word to the king by his Legat to  
set him at liberty. The French king, not daring to  
the contrary, toseth the Bishop. But when he had  
done, hee dischargeth both the Bishop and the legat,  
commanding them to abide his Realme. Whereup-  
on, pope Boniface renoueth all the graces and priu-  
ledges granted either by him or his predecessors be-  
fore to the kingdome of France; al o not long after  
hee thundred out the sentence of his curse against  
him. Whereouer, hee citeth all the Prelats, all Diuines,  
and Lawyers both ciuill and canon, to appeare per-  
sonally before him at Rome, at a certaine day, which  
was the first of Nouember. Against this citation  
the king againe prouideth, and commandeth by  
straite proclamation, that no manner of person  
should export out of the Realme of France either  
Gold, or Silver, or any other manner of ware or  
merchandise vpon paine of forfeiting all their goods,  
and their bodies at the kings pleasure: providing  
withall, that the waies and passages, should diligent-  
ly be kept, that none might passe vnsearched. Duer  
and besides, the said French king defeated the Pope  
in giuing and bestowing prebends, and benefices;  
and other Ecclesiasticall things, contrary to the  
Popes profit. For the which cause, the pope writeth  
to the foresaid king in forme and effect as followeth.

Boniface Bishop, and servant to Gods servants,  
to his beloved sonne Philip by the grace of  
God, King of France, greeting and  
Apostolicall blessing.

Boniface the servant of Gods servants, &c. Feare  
God, and observe his commandments. Wee will  
thee to understand, that thou art subject to us both in  
spirituall things, and temporall. And that no gift of  
benefices or prebends belongeth to thee; and if thou  
haue the keeping of any being vacant, that thou re-  
serve the profits of them to the successors. But if thou  
haue given any, wee judge the gift to be void, and  
call backe how farre soeuer thou hast gone forward.  
And whosoever beleueveth otherwise, wee judge them  
hereticks.

Unto this letter of the Pope, king Philip maketh  
answer againe in manner and order as followeth;  
which is this:

¶ p 2

Philip



*Philip by the grace of God king of France, to  
Boniface not in deeds behaving himselfe  
for Pope, little friendship or  
none.*

*A Letter of King  
Philip of  
France to Pope  
Boniface.*

**T**O Boniface bearing himselfe for chiefe Bishop, little health or none. Let thy foolishnesse know, that in temporall things we are subject to no man, and that the gifts of Prebends and benefices, made and to bee made by us, were and shall be good, both in time past and to come. And that we will defend manfully the possessor of the said benefices, and we thinke them that beleeve or thinke otherwise, fooles, and mad men, Given at Paris the wednesday after Candlemas, 1301.

After these aforesaid and other writings passing to and fro, betwene the French king and the Pope; within a yere and a halfe after, the king summoneth a parliament, sending downe his letters to his Sheriffes and other officers, to summon the Prelates and Barons of the realme into the said court of parliament, according to the tenor of the kings letters here following :

*A parliament  
summoned by  
king Philip  
Paris.*

**P**hilip by the grace of God king of France, &c. Whereas we would take counsell with the Prelates, Barons, and other our faithfull, about weighty matters and hard, and such as belong greatly to our right and touching our honour, state, liberties, and lawes of this our Realme, Churches, and Ecclesiasticall persons, and would also goe forward and proceed in the foresaid matters according to their counsell: Wee command you, that ye diligently in our behalfe require and straightly charge all the Prelates in your Bailiwick, and also all and singular Abbats and Priors of the same: your foresaid Bailiwicke, ( to certaine of the which we have directed downe our speciall Letters for the same cause ) that as they favour our honour, the good state both of the Realme, of themselves and of the Church, they repaire to us in their owne persons, all letts and delaies set aside, and all other businesse left off. Shewing to them moreover, that wee can judge none of them to be either to us faithfull subjects, or friends to the Realme, which shall faile herein, or withdraw himselfe in the foresaid businesse, counsels, and helps in time. Wherein if peradventure any shall slacke or refuse to resort and come toward us within eight dayes from the time of this charge given by you, or your commandement; then wee require you to seize all his temporall goods in our hand, and so seised to hold them untill you receive other commandement from us. Given at Paris the monday before the Nativitie of S. Iohn Baptist, in the yere of our Lord 1303.

*A declaration of master William Nagareta,  
made against Pope Boniface the eighth, with  
his appellation also made at Paris, before  
the King and his Conncell in the  
Church of Paris.*

*The appeale of  
Nagareta made  
against Pope  
Boniface the  
eighth.*

**I**n the name of God, Amen. In the yere of our Lord 1303. Indictione secunda, the 12. day of March, and the ninth yere of the pope dome of the most holy father the L. Boniface the eighth by Gods providence Pope, and in the presence of vs common notaries, and witnesses under written, the noble man master William Nagareta knight (a worshipfull professor of the lawes) standing before the most excellent prince the lord Philip, by the grace of God most noble king of France, spake with lively words, and gave in writings these things that follow :

*Ex Registro.*

There have beene false prophets among the people, as there have beene also among you false teachers, &c. Saint Peter the glorious prince of the Apo-

stles; speaking to us by the spirit, told us things to come; that likewise as there were false prophets aforesimes, so there should come among you false teachers, bringing in sects of destruction: by the which the way of truth shall bee defaced: and covetously they shall make merchandise of you with fained words; and further addeth, that such masters did follow the way of Balaam; of Bosor, which loved the reward of wickednesse, and had his bridled Asse to correct his madnesse, which speaking in a mans voyce did stoppe the foolishnesse of the Prophet. All which things as they bee shewed to us by the greatest Patriarch himselfe; your eyes see them fulfilled this day according to the Letter. For there sitteth in Saint Peters chaire the master of lies, causing himselfe to bee called Boniface, i. a well-doer, where hee is notable in all kind of evill doing, and so hee hath taken to himselfe a false name; and where hee is not a true ruler and master, hee calleth himselfe

the Lord, Iudge, and master of all men. And comming in contrarie to the common order appointed by the holy Fathers, and also contrary to the rules of reason, and so not entering in at the doore into the Lords sheepfold, hee is not a shepherd nor hireling, but rather a theefe and robber. For hee (the true husband of the Romish church yet living) deceived him that was delighted in simplicitie, and enticed him with fained flatterings and gifts to let him have his spouse to bee his wife, against truth, which crieth; Those whom God hath coupled, let no man separate: and at length laying violent hands upon him, perswading him falsely that thing which the deceiver said to come from the holy spirit, was not ashamed to joyne to himselfe with wicked practice that holy church, which is mistresse of all churches, calling himselfe her husband, whereas hee cannot bee: for Celestinus the true Romish Bishop agreed not to the said divorce, being deceived by so great subtilty; nothing is so contrary to agreeing as error and deceit, as maus lawes beare witness, that I need not to speake of his violence. But because the spirit inspireth where hee will, and hee that is led with the spirit, is not under the law; the holy universall Church of God, not knowing the crafts of that deceiver, stumbling and doubting whether it came from the holy Ghost that Celestinus should leave off his government, and the finnes of the people deserving it, for feare of a schisme suffered the foresaid deceiver: although, according to the doctrine of our Lord, by his fruites hee might be knowne, whether hee came to the said regiment by the holy Ghost or otherwise: his fruites (as it is plainly here written beneath) are now manifest to all men, by which it is apparant to the world, that hee came not in by God but otherwayes; and so came not in by the sheepfold. His fruites are most wicked, and his end is death; and therefore it is necessary that so evill a tree (according to the Lords saying) should bee cut downe and cast into the fire. This cannot avails to his excuse, which is said of some men, that is, that the Cardinals did agree upon him againe, after the death of the said Celestinus the Pope, seeing hee could not bee her husband, whom it is manifest that hee defiled by adultery, her first husband yet living, and shee being worthy to have the promise of marriage kept unto her: therefore, because that which is done against the Lord turneth to the wrong of all men; and especially in so great a mischief, by reason of the consequence by which shee is judged of the people both a woman adulteresse or defamed: I, like a bridled Asse, by the power of the Lord, and not by the voyce of a perfect man, being not able to beare so great a burthen, take in hand to rebuke the madnesse of the said false prophet Balaam, which at the instance of King Balac, that is, of the prince of divels, whom hee serveth, ready to curse the people blessed of the Lord. I beseech you most excellent prince, and Lord Philip, by the grace of God King of France, that like as the Angell

(KING)  
(EDW. I.)

An invective  
against the  
placing of Boni-  
face 8. in the  
papall See.



**KING** } gell of God in time past met in the way, with a sword  
**EDW. I.** } drawne, the prophet Balaam going to curse Gods peo-  
 ple; so you { which are unwilling to execute justice,  
 and therefore like the Angell of the Lord, and mini-  
 ster of power and office } would meet with a naked  
 sword this said wicked man, which is farre worse than  
 Balaam, that hee performe not that evill which he in-  
 tendeth to the people.

The Pope well  
 compared to  
 Balaam which  
 as went to  
 curse Gods peo-  
 ple for reward of  
 wages.

Articles pro-  
 vided against  
 Pope Boniface.

First, I propound that the foresaid man, that na-  
 meth him selfe Boniface, is no pope, but wrongfully  
 keepeth the seate which he hath, indeed to the great  
 damage of all the soules of Gods holy Church. I  
 say also, that his entring many wayes was faulty,  
 and he entred not in at the dore, but otherwayes,  
 and therefore is to be judged a theefe and a robber.

2 I propound also, that the said Boniface is a  
 manifest hereticke, and utterly cut off from the body  
 of the holy Church, because of many kinds of here-  
 lies, which are to bee declared in convenient time  
 and place.

3 I propound also, that the said Boniface is an  
 horrible simoniacke, and such a one as hath not  
 beene since the beginning of the world: and the mis-  
 chiefe of this sin in him is notorious to all the world  
 (which thing is manifest to all that will plainly un-  
 derstand) inasmuch that he, being openly slandered,  
 said openly that he could not commit simonie.

4 I propound also that the said Boniface, being  
 wrapt in infinite manifest hatinous times, is so har-  
 dened in them, that hee is utterly not possible to be  
 corrected: and lieth in dungeon of mischiefe so deepe,  
 that hee may not be suffered any longer without the  
 overthrow of the state of the Church. His mouth is  
 full of cursing, his feet and steps are swift to shed  
 blood. Hee utterly teareth in peeces the Churches,  
 which he ought to cherish; wasting wickedly the  
 goods of the poore, and making much of wicked men  
 that give him rewards: persecuting the righteous,  
 and among the people not gathering but scattering,  
 bringing in new seeds of destruction that have not  
 bene heard of: Blaspheming the way of truth, and  
 by robbery thinking himselfe equall to the Lord Je-  
 sus Christ which is blessed for ever. And hee being  
 most conscious thirsteth for gold, coveteth gold, and  
 by some device getteth gold of every people: and ut-  
 terly not regarding the worshipping of God, with  
 fained words, sometimes by flattering, sometimes  
 by theatning, sometimes by false teaching, and all  
 to get money withall. He maketh merchandise of vs  
 all, envying all things but his owne; loving no man,  
 nourishing warre, persecuting and hating the peace  
 of his subjects. He is rooted in all unspeakable sins,  
 contrarying and striving against all the wayes and  
 doctrines of the Lord. Hee is truly the abomina-  
 tion of the people, which Daniel the Lords Prophet  
 described.

Therefore I answer, that lawes, weapons, and all  
 the elements ought to rise against him, which thus  
 overthroweth the state of the Church; for whose sins  
 God plagueth the whole world. And finally nothing  
 remaineth to him, being so unsatiable to satisfie him  
 withall, but onely the insatiable mouth of hell, and  
 the fire that cannot be quenched, continuing for ever.  
 Therefore seeing that in a generall councill it so be-  
 cometh, and I see this wicked man to be damned,  
 which offendeth both God and all men: I aske and re-  
 quire as instantly as I can, and beseech you my lord  
 and king aforesaid, that you would declare thus much  
 to the prelates, doctors, people, and princes your bre-  
 theren in Christ, and chiefly to the Cardinals and all  
 prelates, and call a Councell. In the which (when the  
 foresaid wicked man is condemned) by the worship-  
 full Cardinals, the Church may bee provided of a  
 shepheard: and for that Councell I offer my selfe  
 ready lawfully to pursue the foresaid things. And  
 whereas the said man, being in the highest dignitie, in  
 the meane time cannot be suspended of his superior;

therefore he ought to be taken, suspended indeed for  
 the things aforesaid, seeing his state is called into  
 judgement, by the meanes aforesaid.

I beseech and require the said Cardinals by you,  
 and I presently require them and the Church of God  
 that this wicked man being put in prison, the Church  
 of Rome may be provided of a vicar, which may mini-  
 ster those things that shall appertaine, untill the  
 Church of God bee provided of a Bishop, utterly to  
 take away all occasion of a schisme. And lest the  
 said wicked man should let and hinder the prosecu-  
 ting thereof, I require these things of you my Lord  
 King aforesaid, affirming you to be bound to doe this  
 for many causes. First, for the faiths sake. Secondly,  
 for your kingly dignity, to whose office it belongeth  
 to roote out such wicked men. Thirdly, for your oath  
 sake, which ye made for the defence of the Churches  
 of your Realme, which the foresaid ravenner utterly  
 teareth in peeces. Fourthly, because ye be the patron  
 of the Churches, and therefore ye are not bound only  
 to the defence of them, but to the calling for againe  
 of their goods, which this foresaid man hath wasted.  
 Fifthly, ye following the footsteps of your ance-  
 stors, ought to deliuer your mother the Romish  
 Church, from so wicked a band wherein by oppressi-  
 on she is tyed and bound. I require that a publike  
 instrument may be made of these requests by the no-  
 taries here present, under the witness of the wor-  
 shipfull men that be here present. These things were  
 done and spoken as is aforesaid at Paris in the  
 Kings house of Lupara.

After this protestation of master Pagaret, im-  
 mediately ensued the appeale of the King, pronoun-  
 ced and published against the said Boniface, in forme  
 as followeth.

*The appeale made by the King and the lovers of the  
 Realme against Boniface.*

IN the Name of God, Amen. In the yeere of our  
 Lord 1303. Indictione prima, 13. day of Iune, and  
 the ninth yeere of the Popedome of Boniface the  
 eighth. By the tenor of this publike instrument bee it  
 unto all men knowne, that the most noble Prince  
 and Lord, Philip by the grace of God, King of France,  
 the famous and reuerend Fathers in Christ, Archbi-  
 shop and Bishops, religious men, Abbats and Priors  
 here under-named, in the presence of us common  
 notaries here under written, especially called and requi-  
 red for this purpose, as it is contained in the subscrip-  
 tions here under, the famous and noble men, the  
 Lord Lewis, sonne of the French King. Guido of Saint  
 Paul, and Iohn Drocem Earles, and William of Plesi-  
 ano Lord of Vitenob Knight: Moored as they said  
 with a fervent faith, with affection of sincere love  
 and zeale of charitie to bee shewed to the holy Ro-  
 mish Church, and having pittie from their heart, on  
 their mother the universall Church, which, as they  
 said, is oppressed dangerously under the rule of the  
 said Lord Boniface, and suffereth outrageous defacing  
 and losse; and pitying the right faith (as they say) in  
 which stands the Salvation of Soules, and which  
 (alas for pittie) in their times miserably pineth a-  
 way, and perissheth for the lacke of wholesome go-  
 vernment of the Church through all Christendome;  
 and earnestly taking paines, as they said, for the re-  
 pairing and enhauncing of the Catholike faith: espe-  
 cially seeing it was necessary for the same Church, for  
 the foundation of the faith, and health of the soules,  
 that none should rule the fold of the Lords flocke,  
 but the true and lawfull shepheard; and also because  
 the same Church was the Spouse of Christ that hath  
 no spot nor wrinkle, all error, offence, wickednesse  
 and wrong should bee put away, and salvation, peace  
 and quietnesse through Gods mercy might bee pro-  
 cured to the whole world, which they say, lieth in  
 warres and darknesse by the wicked doctes, cursed

The appella-  
 tion of the French  
 King and Nobles  
 against Pope  
 Boniface the 8.

The nature of  
 his Pope and  
 how by his  
 rage painted  
 at.

The Pope  
 thinks himselfe  
 equall with  
 Christ.

Abominatio  
 desolationis  
 papa.



workes, and hurtfull examples of the said Boniface : They said and laid against the said Boniface heresie, and other diuers horrible and cursed faults, wherein they affirmed him to bee tangled, and commonly and notoriously reported, the King himselfe being present, with Archbishops, Bishops, and other Prelates and church-men ( which were assembled to intreate of their owne matters, and matters of their Churches ) beside Barons, Earles, and other Noble men, whose names are vnder-written.

The said William propounded and objected against him, swearing by the holy Gospell of God which hee corporally touched, that hee could prove all and every the premises to bee true. And the said William of Plesiano sware further this oath, that hee beleueed hee could prove the premises, and that hee would pursue to the full end against the said Boniface in the generall Councell, where, when, and before whomsoever of right it ought to bee done : requiring earnestly the said King as a champion of the faith, and defender of the Church; that for declaring of this truth to the praise of Gods Name, to the increafe and promoting of the Catholike faith, to the honour and wealth of the universall Church, and of all Christian people, and the congregation of the said generall Councell, hee would helpe and bestow his profitable labour, with souldiers and other like, for the love of men, and zeale to justice ( because his kingly house was ever a ruler of the truth ) and that hee would earnestly require the Archbishops, Bishops, and other Prelates; and that hee would be effectually instant with them. The Earles and Knights themselves besought earnestly many of the same Prelates (as they were pillars of the Church and the faith) that they would helpe and effectually bestow their labour to the calling and assembling of the said Councell, by all wayes and meanes lawfull, according to the ordinances of the holy Fathers, and decrees of the Canons. But when the Prelates heard and fully understood such objections, oppositions, and requests, as is aforesaid; and considered that such a matter was not onely most hard, but needed wise counsell, they departed out of the same place. But on the Friday next following, the fourteenth day of the same moneth of Iune, the foresaid Lord King being present, and also the Lords, Archbishops, Bishops, Abbats, Priors, and many witnesses here under written the same time being present, and in the presence of us common notaries here subscribed, and being specially called and required for this purpose : the foresaid William of Plesiano Knight; said, propounded, affirmed, objected, and read; as was contained more fully in a certaine paper which he held in his hand, whole tenor was after this fort.

I William of Plesiano knight, say, propound, and affirme that Boniface which now ruleth the Apostolicall See is a ranke heretike in heresies, and by heresies, outrageous doeds, and wicked doctrines hereafter to be declared, which things to be true, I beleuee I am able to proue : or else, such things as these, shall be sufficient to proue him a full heretike, in a convenient place and time, and before whom of right this can or ought to be done. This thing I sweare on the holy Gospell of God presently touched of mee.

1. First, that he beleueth not the immortallity of men, and of Christian soules, but thinking much like as the Sadduces did beleue, that there is no euerlasting life, and that men cannot get at the length joy, but that all the lot and part of comfort and gladnesse is in this world : and by this meanes hee affirmeth, that it is no sinne for the body to lue daintily in all dainties. And out of the abundance of this leuen, he was not ashamed to say and openly to confesse, that he had rather be an asse, or a dogge, or any other brute beaſt, than a Frenchman; which thing hee would not haue said, if hee beleued a

Frenchman had a soule that could enioy euerlasting life. This thing he taught many men, which knowledged this at the point of death, and the common report goeth on him thus in these things. { KING. } { EDW. I }

2 Also, hee beleueth not faithfully, that by the wordes ordained of Christ, and spoken ouer the host, after the fashion of the Church by a faithfull priest, that is lawfully ordered, the body of Christ to bee there : and therefore it commeth to passe, that hee giueth no reuerence to it (no not a little) when it is lifted vp of the priest, yea, he riseth not to it, but turneth his backe to it, and makes himselfe and his seat to be honoured where he sitteth, rather than the altar where the host is consecrate : and hee is commonly reported to doe this.

3 Also, hee is reported to say that whoredome is no sin, no more then rubbing of the hands together, and thus commonly runs the voyce and brute.

4 Also, hee said often, that to thrust downe the King and Frenchmen ( if it could not be otherwise done ) he would ouerthrow himselfe, the whole world and the whole Church. And when he had said so, some that stood by said, God forbid, hee answered, God grant. And when good men that heard the wordes replied against him, that he should not say so, because the Church of God and all Christian men should suffer great slander so : he answered, I care not what slanders sooner come, so that the Frenchmen and their pride be destroyed, for it is necessary that slanders and offences come.

5 Item, hee called againe and allowed a booke made by D. Arnold of Newton, containing and smelling of heresie, condemned by the bishop of Paris, and reponed by the masters of Diuinitie, and burned openly by Boniface himselfe : and in the full consistory of Cardinals being likewise reponed, condemned, and burned, yet hee allowed it being written againe, and containing the same fault.

6 Item, that he might make the most damnable remembrance of him perpetuall, hee caused his Images of silver to bee set in the Church, by this meanes bringing men to Idolatrie.

7 Item, hee hath a priuate duell, whose counsell hee vseth in all things, and through all things.

8 Item, hee said once that if all men were on one side, and he on another, they could not deceiue him neither in law nor in deed, which thing could not be done except hee vset a diuinish Art : and of this hee is openly thus reported.

9 Item, hee is a witch, asking counsell at soothsayers both men and women, and thus hee is commonly judged.

10 Item, hee said openly, that the Romish Pope could not commit simony, which is heretical to say. This is a sinne reponed as well in the old Testament, as in the new, and generally in the holy counsels. Also hee is wont to make merchandise of Prelates living, dignities, superiorities, and benefices, to the which holy orders hee necessarily joyned; and of absolutions and dispensations, like as blurers and merchants vse to buy and sell common things in the market, and of this the common brute reports him.

11 Item, hee letteth with all his might among Christian men the speciall embassage of Christ, made to his owne sonnes, saying; Peace I leaue to you, and so weth discord and warres : Wherefore once it was said before him, that certayne parties would friendly agree after a good sort, but hee letteth the peace : and when the other party did humbly beseech him, that he would giue licence to agree (he said) he would not : yea, if the Sonne of God or Peter the Apostle would come downe into the earth and command him; he would say, I will not beleue thee.

12 Item, because the French nation ( being manifestly a most Christian nation ) felloweth not his errors in the faith, he reckoneeth and openly calleth all and euery of them Paterniani.

13 Item,

Pope Boniface had rather be a dog then a Frenchman.



{ KING }  
{ EDW. I }

13 Item, hee is infected with sodomiticall sinne, keeping with him boyes for Concubines, and of this fault he is most commonly and openly reported.

14 Item, hee hath caused many murtheres of clerkes to be done in his presence, commendung it and crying out at their death: and if they were not deadly wounded at the first by his seruants, as oft as he saw them smiting, hee said, *Smite, smite*; by which example many were slaine.

15 Item, when he had condemned a certaine noble man, he forbad the Sacrament to be giuen him at the point of death, hee desiring it and being penitent: saying, *That the Sacrament of penance was not necessary to saluation.*

16 Item, hee compelled certaine priests to shew vnto him the confessions of men, and hee published them openly after ward contrary to the will of them that were confessed, to their shame and confusion, and compelled them to redeeme their sinnes. Inso-  
much that once hee deposed a certaine Bishop of Spaine for the faults that he confessed to a certaine Cardinall, confessing vnto him a certaine priuy horrible fault vnder Benedicite, and compelled the Cardinall against his will to declare his confession: and yet afterward hee restored the same Bishop againe to his place for a little money. Wherefore he is thought to play the heretike in the Sacrament of penance.

17 Item, he fasteth not on the fasting dayes, nor Lent, but eateth flesh indifferently, and without cause suffereth his household and friends to eate, saying it is no sinne: Doing in this thing against the generall state of the holy Church.

18 Item, he oppressed the order of the Cardinals, and hath oppressed the order of blacke and white monkes, of gray friers and preachers: and said oft, that the world was destroyed by them, and that they were false hypocrites, and that neuer good could chance vnto any that would be confessed to them, or would be familiar with them, or would keepe them in their house, and hee neuer said good word of any prelate, religious man, or clerke; but euer rebuketh and slandereth them, taking away their good name; and, to compell them to redeeme their faults, hee is glad of their accusations: and this is the common voyce and report of him.

19 Item, of old time, hee going about to destroy the faith, conceived a hate against the French king euen to the abhorring of the faith: because of the light of faith which is there, and because of the great witnesse and example of Christianity, which is and hath been there. And before he had this hate, he is proued to haue said, that if he were Pope, he would rather ouerthrow all christendome, but he would ouerthrow and destroy the nation, which he calleth the pride of the French.

20 Also, it is reported, that when the Embassadors of the king of England, in the name of the said king did require and intreat for the tenth of the Realme of England to be giuen him; hee answered, *What he would not giue them the tenth, but on this condition, that hee would make warre with them against the French king.* And besides this, he is reported to haue giuen great summes of money to certaine persons, to hinder that peace should not be betwixt the said kings. Hee himselfe also with all his might hath letted it, by messengers, letters, and other wayes that he could, yea by giuing bribes.

21 Item, he is reported also to haue commanded Frederike which keepeth the Ile of Sicill, that if he would betray Charles the king and breake the peace which he made, and sweare that hee would keepe with him, and would stir against the king, and kill the Frenchmen, that then he would giue him aid, helpe, and comfelle; and for so doing hee would giue and grant him the said kingdome.

22 He confirmed also the king of Almaine to be emperor, and said openly that hee did it to destroy the

nation, which he calleth the pride of the Frenchmen, which say, that they are subiect to none in temporall things. Wherein saith he, they lied on their heads, declaring moreouer, that whosoever (yea if it were an Angell from heauen) would say, that all kings of the world were not subiect to the same king of Almaine, he were accursed.

23 Further, he brake the agreements of peace betwixt the king of Almaine and the French king: in which, either of them should haue their owne lawes. And what encroachings soeuer had beene on either side should be brought to a due state, and vnder an oath orderly giuen and taken: hee is reported to haue commanded the same king of Almaine, that he should not keepe these conditions of peace, but be an enemy, and goe about to sow debate among Christian men.

24 Item, it is openly reported, that the holy land was betrayed through his fault, and came to the enemies of God and of faith; and that hee suffered this for the nonne, and denied to giue aide to the Christians which defended it, spending the treasures and money of the Church (which should haue beene bestowed on that use as the patrimony of Christ) in persecuting of faithfull Christians and friends of the Church, and therewith would enrich his friends.

25 Item, he is openly reported to vse summe, not onely in bestowing of benefices, but in giuing of orders, and making dispensations. He hath set to sale all benefices of the Church, and would bestow the church commonly on him that would offer most: and he made his seruants prelates of the Church, not for wealth of the faith, nor to thrust downe infidels; but to oppress the faithfull, and to enrich his kindred by the Church goods and of the patrimony of him that was crucified; and presumed to make them Marqueses, Carles, and Barons, and was not afraid to build them strong holds, woting out and oppressing many noble men and others.

26 Item, it is commonly reported, that hee hath diuorced many marriages lawfully made, to the contempt, hurt, and slander of many; and he did promote his nephew to a cardinallship, being married, vblearned, and altogether unworthy to liue; and openly married one that was diuorced, and compelled him to make a vow of chastity, and after that he is reported to haue had two bastards by her, and so goeth the common bruite of him.

27 Item, it is commonly reported, that hee handled vngently his predecessor Celestinus of holy memory, leading an holy life (peraduenture knowing in conscience that hee could not forsake his Pope-dome, and therefore Boniface himselfe had no lawful entrance to the Sea) and prisoned him, and there quickly and priuily caused him to dye. And of this the common bruite and report is through all the world, that hee caused many and great learned men liuing a regular life (which disputed of this, whether he might renounce the Pope-dome or not) to be set in prison, and there to dye.

28 Item, he is reported to haue raised at religious persons leading a regular life, without a reasonable cause to the world, to the slander of many.

29 Item, hee is reported to haue said that hee would within short time make all the Frenchmen either Partys, or forsakers of their faith.

30 Item, it is commonly reported, that hee seeketh not the health of the soules, but the destruction of them.

These things being propounded and read, the same William protested, said, declared, appealed, and added these wordes, reading them in waiting.

I William of Pleisano, knight, protest that I do not propound nor speak the foresaid things for any special hate of Boniface himselfe (for I hate not him, but his foresaid cruell deedes) nor doe I seeke his iniurie or slander, or any mans else: but I speake it for the zeale of the faith, and for the deuotion that I haue to the

Pope Boniface  
an enemy to  
peace.

Pope Boniface  
a murderer of  
his predecessor.

The protestation  
of William  
Pleisano.

Pope Boniface  
enemie to the  
Frenchmen.



**Dope Boniface**  
proued an here.  
ticke.

the holy church of God, and the holy Romish Sea; as well for those things that I haue seene and heard of credible men of his doings, and by likely presumptions gathered of the foresaid things, and many and diuers other things to be declared in his due place and time. And I sweare by the holy Gospel of God ( which I touch with my hand ) that I beleeue him to be a ranke heretike; and that I also beleeue that the foresaid things, and such other, may proue against him such things as shall bee sufficient to proue him an heretike, according to the state of the holy fathers. I sweare also that I will pursue a gainst him by the lawes, the foresaid things in the generall counsell that shall be assembled, in a place that shall be safe and sure for me, to the honour of God, and increase of the Christian faith, saving the right, honour, and state of the holy Apostolicall Sea in all things. Wherefore, earnestly and with reuerence I require you, my lord the King ( to whom belongeth the defence of the holy mother the Church, and the catholike faith, for of that ye shall make account in the last iudgement ) and you my Lords the Bishops which be the pillars of the faith, and which ought to be iudges of the foresaid things, together with other reuerend fathers, the catholike prelates of the holy Church, in the generall Council to be assembled; that ye would procure and take diligent paine that a generall counsell may be gathered in a fit and safe place, and convenient time, before which the foresaid things may be propounded, brought forth and proued against the said Boniface, as is permitted. And I earnestly also require you, my Lord King, that ye would require the same prelates present and absent, in what country soeuer they bee, or to whom it belongeth, and that ye would effectually induce them manfully to labour, and to require others faithfully, that the foresaid Council for the foresaid matters might be gathered in such sort as is aforesaid. And because so long as this is deferred to be proued, I suspect Boniface himselfe, lest hee being angry and incited for the foresaid things against me and my partakers, procurers and helpers, my friends and familiars, should goe about by some meanes to stay and stop my good purpose and theirs for going forward: therefore, by these writings before you my lord the King and diuers Bishops, and before your common notaries here present, I prouoke and appeale to the said holy generall Council Apostolicall and catholike that shall bee, and to the holy Apostolicall Sea, and to him and them to whom of right I may or ought: and I earnestly require, once, twice, and thrice, that testimoniall Letters may bee giuen mee from you; supposing my selfe, my followers, fauourers, familiars, friends, my procurators, and all them that will hereafter follow me, my goods and theirs to be vnder the protection and keeping of Saint Peter and Paul, and the said holy Council to be assembled by the holy Romish Sea, and the Catholike Apostolicall pope that shall bee: sticking neuerthelesse and willing to tricke to the appellation and appellations, p[ro]cesse and p[ro]cesses made hereupon by the noble man master William of Bagareta knight, in as much as they shall be found and made lawfull, and yet not forsaking this present appellation.

¶ Then these things were thus read and done, the foresaid King answered and required the foresaid prelates, psonoking and appealing and making request, pporocation, and appellaton, as is contained in the paper vnder wrytten, both there and then with other prelates: whiche things all are moze fully contained in these wrytings following, and were read to them that heard it, whose tenour is such.

Wee Philip by the grace of God, hearing and understanding the objections propounded by our belov'd faithfull Knight. W. of Nagareta, against Boniface now having the regiment of the Romish

Church; although wee would gladly cover with our owne cloke, the filthy parts of such a father; yet for the love of the Catholike faith and great devotion that wee beare to the holy Romish and universall Church our mother, and all faithfull men, and spouse of Christ, following the steps of our ancestors, which doubted not to shed their owne blood for the increase and defence of the Churches libertie and the faith; and coveting to provide for the puritie of the faith and state of the Church, as also to avoide the hurt of the generall slander, being not able to passe over any longer the premisses with winking and dissembling, and my conscience driving to the same; seeing this estimate and opinion of him in these matters is not rashly of us conceived, but vehemently and plainly increased by many and continuall cryings of credible men, and great authority oft and oftentimes beaten into us; fearing moreover the destruction of the faith, both of us and of all other subjects, and specially of Kings and Princes of the world, which ought to reprove negligence, which acknowledge that wee have received power given us from the Lord, to the promoting and increase of it; wee agree to your requests in this behalfe, and to the calling and assembling a Councell for the glory of God (saving the honour and reverence that is due to the holy Romish Church in all things) whereby the truth may appear in the premisses, and all error avoided: that the state of the universall Church, and all Christianitie, and the matters of faith, and the holy land may bee provided for, and the slanders and jeopardies hanging over us may bee withstanding; wee bee ready and offer our selves gladly, as much as in us is, to bestow our labour and diligent paine thereabouts: Earnestly requiring and beseeching in the mercifull bowels of Iesus Christ, you Archbishops and other Prelates here present, as children of the Church and pillars of faith, called of the Lord to the promoting, increase and preserving thereof, to care for the same, that with all diligence yee would give heed, as becommeth you, and effectually you would labour by all wayes and fit meanes, to the calling and assembling of this Councell, in which we intend to bee personally present. And lest the said Boniface, which hath boldly and wrongfully many times threatened to proceed against us, stopping and hindring our purposes and intent, lest any of his workes of darknesse (if there bee any) should come to light, directly or indirectly hindring the calling and gathering of this Councell; or lest any state being in the same Realme that will indeed proceed against us, or our state, Churches, Prelates, Barons, and other faithfull vassals, our subjects, our lands, or our Realme, and the state of the Realme, by abusing any spiritual sword, in excommunicating, suspending, or other wayes by any meanes: for us and our well-willers, and them that will follow us, we provoke and appeale in writing to the foresaid generall Councell (which we instantly desire to bee called) and to one lawfull chiefe Bishop that shall bee, or to any other to whom wee should appeale; and yet not going from the appellation made by M. William of Negaretta, to whom wee sticke then, and also yet sticke: requiring earnestly a witnesse of our appellation of you Prelates and notaries, expressly to renew such provocation and appellation when and before whom it shall be thought meete to you.

Then the Archbishop with his Bishops, Abbats, and Priors, answered the premises (as it is found in the acts) promoved and appealed, agreed to and protested, and made promocation, and appellati-  
on, agreement and protestation, as is contained more fully in a certaine paper there openly and plainly read, whose tenour followeth with these words.

We

The Kings answer.  
The appeale of  
Phillip the  
French King  
from the Pope



KING &  
F.D.W.I.  
the prelatation  
Bishops.

W. Archb. of Nicosen, Remen, Senorem, Narbonem, Turonem, and Bishops of Landuiren, Bellacen, Catoacen, Antisiodorem, Meldimen, Nurmien, Carnotem, Aurelianen, Ambiauen, Morinen, Silanen, Andeganean, Abricen, Constat, Ebroicen, Lexonicien, Sagien, Caloromont, Lemonicen, Avicen, Malticoren; And wee Abbats of Cluniac, premonstraten of the greater monastery of the court of S. Dyonesse in France, camped S. Victors, S. Genouene, S. Marten, Landmoen, Figiacem, and Bellicem in Lemociuo, and srier Hugh, Visitor of the houses of the order of Knights of S. Iohn in Ierusalem in France, and the father Prior of S. Martin in the field, hearing these things which were said, propounded, and objected yesterday, and to day by you the Lords, Earles, and Will. aforesaid, against the Lord Boniface the 8. and Pope, being moved with such sayings, purposes, assertions, and your oathes, your request and other lawfull causes, and compelled by need, considering that the matter of our faith, which is Christs, is handled in the premisses: wee that be called to part of this care, to the defence and maintenance of the faith of soules of the Realme, although unworthy, yet coveting to withstand the jeopardies that hang over us by reason of the premisses and other causes, thinking the calling and gathering of the said Council profitable and necessarie, that the innocence of the L. Boniface himselfe may clearly bee discussed, as wee desire (our consciences bearing witness) that it may bee determined on him by the Council, touching such things, as are laid against him, and that that which they decree may bee done according to the Canons: Wee answer you our Lord king, and you our Lords, Earles, and William, that (the honour and reverence of the holy Romish church salved in all points) wee agree to your due request in this behalfe for the calling of the Council, and are ready to give helpe and diligent labour to the calling and gathering of the said Council, according to the decrees of the holy Fathers, and to the lawfull orders of the Canons: not intending by any meanes, to make parties of this matter, nor to sticke to any that maketh parties. Yet lest the said Boniface being moved by these things, as wee feare, by likely conjectures and threatnings made against us for the foresaid things, that hee will proceed against our parish Churches and our subjects by some meanes, or cause to proceed against us by some authoritie of his owne or others, by excommunication, suspension, interdicting, deposing, depriving, or by some other meanes and colour sought to some impeachment or trouble of the said Council; and that wee may sit in the same Council to judge and doe all other things, that belong to the office of Prelates; that our friends that sticke to us, and would sticke to us in all things may remaine safe for our selves, our parish Churches, our subjects and them that sticke to us, or would sticke to us in this behalfe, wee provoke and appeale in writing to the foresaid Council, that is to bee gathered, and to him that shall bee the true and lawfull highest Bishop, and to him or them to whom of right wee should appeale, and earnestly require our appellations; committing us, our parish Churches, our subjects, friends, and them that sticke to us, our state and theirs, our right, goods, to the godly defence of the foresaid Council, and of him that shall bee true and lawfull highest Bishop: and wee protest to renew his appellation, where, when, and before whom it shall be thought meete.

This was done at Paris at Lupara in the chamber of the said Lord our King, Indictione prima, the ninth yeare of his popedom, the dayes of Thursday and Friday aforesaid, these noble men being present; The Lords of Auia and Bolons, the Lords Martins and other Earles named before, Matthew Dotera, Peter the Lord Chamberlaine, Philip the Lord of

Artimios, and Henry of Bologne knight, and also Philip Archdeacon of Bengem, Nicholas Archdeacon of Remen, William treasurer of Amien, Philip Beaspere, Rainold of Bourbon and John Montagre, and many more both clerkes and other specially required and called to be witnesses to this.

After these things thus in the parliament decreed and agreed, the Prelats of the clergy consulting with themselves what was to be done in so doubtful a matter, and dreading the Popes displeasure for this which was done already, to cleare themselves in the matter, contrived among themselves a letter to the Pope, partly to certifie him what there was done, and partly also to admonish him what he should doe: the tenor of which their letter contained these wordes following.

The forme of a Letter which the Prelats of France as well secular as religious, sent to Boniface, that he should cease his enterprise, wherein hee proceeded against the King.

To the most holy Father and their dearest beloved Lord, the Lord Boniface the chiefe bishop of the holy Romish Church, and the universall church, his humble and devout Archbishops, Abbots, Priors, Conventuals, Deanes, Provosts, Chapters, Covents and colleges of the cathedrall and collegiat Churches, regular and secular, of all the realme of France, being gathered together, doe offer most devout kissings of your blessed feet.

Wee are compelled, not without sorrow of heart and bitter teares, to signifie unto your holiness, the Letter of that the most famous Prince our most deare Lord Philip, by the grace of God, the noble King of France, when hee heard and saw the Apostolicall Letters sealed, which were sent to him of late, on your behalfe by the worshipfull man the Cardinall of Narbo your Notarie and messenger, and were presented by the same Cardinall to him, and certaine other of his Barons: Vpon the sight and perusing of those so bloody Letters, being read and declared to them sitting by him; both our Lord the King and the Barons themselves were highly moved with great marvelling and great trouble. Inasmuch that the said our Lord the King, by the advice of his Barons, commanded to be called before him the other Barons then absent, and us also; that is to say, All Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Conventuals, Deanes, Provosts, Chapters, Covents and Colleges, as well of cathedrall or collegiate Churches, regular and secular, and also all the Universities and communalities of the townes of his Realme; that wee Prelates, Barons, Deanes, Provosts, and two of the learnedst of every collegiate and cathedrall Church, should appeare personally, and should procure the rest likewise to appeare, by their Stewards, Officers, and sufficient Proctors, with full and sufficient commission at the appointed place and time. Further, when wee and the other Ecclesiasticall persons aforesaid, and also the Barons, Stewards, Officers, and Proctors and other of the communalty of the townes were thus called; and when, according to the forme of the foresaid calling by the Kings commandement, wee stood before the King this wednesday, the tenth of this present Aprill, in Saint Maries Church in Paris: Our Lord the King caused to bee propounded openly and plainly to all men, that it was signified to him, from you among other things by the foresaid Cardinall and Letters, that for his kingdome (which hee and his Ancestors hitherto doe acknowledge they hold of God onely) now ought in temporalities to bee subject to you, and hold of you, and that yee were not content with these so marvellous and strange words, and not heard of from the beginning of the world of any dwellers within the same Realme, but that



that ye went about to put them in practice; and that yee called to appeare before you the Prelats of the said Realme, and Doctors of divinitie, and such professors of both lawes, as were borne within the said Realme, for the correcting and amending of such excesses, faults, arrogancies, wrongs, and harmes, as yee pretend to bee done to the Ecclesiasticall prelates and persons Ecclesiasticall both regular and secular, abiding within the Realme and elsewhere, by our Lord the King himselfe and his officers or Bailiffes, by his Peers, Earles, Barons and other nobles, with the communalitie and people of the said Realme: To the intent, by this meanes the foresaid Realme might bee made strong, with precious jewels and durable treasures, which are to bee preferred before the bucklers or any armour of strong men, that is to say, by the wisdom of Prelates, and wise men, and others; through whose ripe faithfull counsell, and circumspect foresight, the Realme might bee ruled and governed, the faith might bee stablished, the Ecclesiasticall Sacraments might bee ministred, justice might bee executed; which by them being robbed of their goods and riches, and utterly spoyled, is in a doubtfull case and in jeopardy of miserable decay, and for ever to be destroyed.

Among these and divers other griefes, which were done by you and the Romish Church, to him, to his Realme, and the French Church, both in referring and wilfull ordering of Archbishoppikes, Bishoppikes, and bestowing of great benefices of the Realme upon strange and unknowne persons, yea, and oft upon suspected persons, never being at the Churches or benefices aforesaid: by reason whereof the decay of Gods worship ensued; the godly wils of the founders and givers are defrauded of their godly purpose; the accustomed almes-giving is withdrawne from the poore of the said Realme, the impoverishing of the Realme followeth, and Churches runne in danger to be defaced, while they remaine destitute of service: the Prophets being taken away, and the fruites of them that serve them, being appointed to the commoditie of strangers. And while Prelats have not to give, yea to reward men for their deserts; noble men (whose Ancestors founded the Churches) and other learned men, cannot have servants; and that for these causes, devotion began to be cold, and there was none at these dayes that would stretch out a liberall hand towards the Churches; and furthermore by the premises an evil example was given. Also he complained of new taxes, of pensions, newly laid on the Churches, of immeasurable bondages, exactions, and divers extortions with other prejudiciall and hurtfull novelties, by which the generall state of the Church is changed, in giving suffragans, as helpers to the higher Prelats, whereby neither the Bishops themselves nor the suffragans can doe their duties, but for them they must runne with gifts to the Apostolicall See. Hee complaineth also of divers causes and some articles long since, but true in the time that they were presented, that were done, and bee done continually: and also not purposing to suffer so great a dishonouring of him and his successors from the Realme, and so manifest a griefe, they could not suffer any longer the evident losse of the honour of him and the Realme, and said; that he was certaine that it was knowne to the whole world, that hee did maintaine in this matter a just cause, as hee had learned by the agreeable sentence of Doctors in Divinitie, and masters of both lawes, that were borne within his Realme and others, which among the Doctors and cunning men of the world were counted of the learned sort and more famous. Therefore hee required us, all and every one; both Prelats and Barons, and other, earnestly as our Lord; he praised and gently begged as a friend, to consult and take diligent paines, that hee might ordaine wholesome things, both for the keeping of their old libertie, the honour and state of the Realme and of the inhabitants thereof, for the easing of the

griefes aforesaid, for redressing of the Realme and the French Church, by our counsell and his Barons, to the praise of Gods name, the encrease of the Catholike faith, the honour of the universall Church, and promoting of Gods religion: specially seeing such griefes were done by his Officers and others of the Realme, to the Churches and church-men, for the which hee purposed a remedie of wholesome correction; before the coming of the foresaid Cardinall, and would now have put it in execution effectually, but that hee might bee thought to have done that for feare, or at your commandement, which thing yee cannot ascribe to your selfe. Furthermore, he would spend not onely his goods, but also his Realme, yea his children if the case required: and therefore wee should regard to bee ready with counsell and helpe in season as wee are bound by the dutie of fidelitie in these things: wherein it is manifest, that as all and every mans case is handled, generally and particularly their case is promoted, and every mans owne interest is touched. And then hee demanded by and by to bee answered plainly and finally in these things, of all and every one.

Then the Barons sitting aside with the officers and Proctors aforesaid, at the length after they had taken counsell, coming to our foresaid Lord the King, and praising greatly and heartily thanking him for his laudable purpose and good will, answered with one voice: that for those things they were ready not onely to spend their goods, but offered the same goods, riches, and also their persons to death, and not to flee any kind of torment. And said further with one voyce, that if our foresaid Lord the King would (as God forbid) suffer, or else willingly passe over those, they themselves would in no case suffer it.

Then when answer was asked of us afterward, although we desired longer respite of deliberation of the King himselfe our Lord, and of the greatest of the aforesaid Barons; and that for this intent; that in the meane while the Popes Letters might have come to our Lord the King; wee answered that wee would not offend against the liberty of the Realme, nor by any meanes innovate things contrary to the Kings honour in this behalfe.

Wee went about also to informe him with many godly words, and earnest perswasions, and with many kindes of helpe, and by sundry wayes to bring him to keepe the speciall bond of unitie, which is knowne to have continued to these present dayes, betwixt the holy Romish Church, and his predecessours. But when wee were denied any longer delay, and it was plainly and openly told to all men, that if any man were of a contrarie minde, from thenceforth hee should bee manifestly counted for an enemy of the King and the Realme: Wee considering warily, and seeing plainly, that except our Lord the King, and the Barons aforesaid were content with our answer, beside other dangers and great offences (whereof there could neither bee number nor end) and then the devotion both of the Romish and French Church, and also the whole Obedience of the Laitie, and all the people from thenceforth should bee taken away without recoverie, nor without great feare and doubt; wee therefore thought good to answer thus:

That wee would helpe our Lord the King with due counsell and convenient helpe for the preserving of his person, and of his earthly honour, and the libertie and lawes of the said Realme, like as wee were (certaine of us) by the dutie of allegiance bound to him, which hold of him Dukedomes, Earledomes, Baronies, fees, and other noble parts of the said Realme, by the forme of the oath, as all other doe: yet wee made humble sute to the same our Lord the King, that seeing wee were bound to obey the Popes holinesse and your holy seete, hee would suffer us to goe according to the tenour of your foresaid calling.

Then

SKING  
EDW. I



Then on the Kings and Barons behalfe followeth answer; that in no case they would suffer us to goe out of the Realme, and that by no means they would beare to bee handled so dangerously, yea rather to bee altogether wasted.

Then wee considering so great an anger, and trouble to jeopardous, and so great that none could bee greater, both of the King, the Barons, and other lay people of the Realme; and now knowing plainly, that the old enemy of peace, which goeth about from the beginning of his fall, with sowing of darnell, to breake the unitie of the Church; by troubling of peace, would breake charitie, and infect the sweetnesse of good workes with the poison of bitter envie, and would overthrow mankind utterly, and would trouble with wickednesse the band of lovely unitie, and singular friendship, which hitherto have had a happy increase betwixt the Romish Church and our Lord the King, and his Predecessors, and the Realme, to the praise of the highest God, the increase of Christian faith, and the setting forth of the honour of the Church, of the King and the Realme; and that now (alas) a doore was open, to the lamentable breaking and pittifull separating, of great offences to rise on every side, dangers are attempted against Churches and churchmen, to spoile their goods and riches, with jeopardy of life, seeing that the Laitie now doe abhorre and utterly flee the obedience of clerkes, utterly banishing them from their counsels and doings, and have taken courage to condemne the Ecclesiasticall censure and proceesse: all which jeopardies, with other sundry and divers dangers (which neither tongue is able to tell, nor writing can declare) wee seeing at hand, thought good, in this point of greatest necessitie, to runne with weeping voyce, and lamentable sighes to the circumpect wisdom of your holinesse: beseeching your fatherly mildnesse, and humbly praying you, that some wholesome remedie may bee provided in the premisses; by which, the sound profitable agreement and mutual love, which hath continued so long time betwixt the Church, the King, and the Realme, might bee maintained in that old sweet concord; the state of the French Church might continue in godly and quiet peace; and that yee would vouchsafe to foresee how to withstand the dangers and offences aforesaid, that wee and our states may bee provided for, by the foresaid commandment of your calling, by the study of your Apostolicall wisdom, and fatherly love. The Almighty preserve your holinesse to his holy Church a long time.

These things thus discoursed and done, then followed the yeare of our Lord 1304. In the which yeare, about the nativite of our Lady, came a garrison of harnessed souldiers well appointed, sent partly by the French King, partly by the Cardinals of Columpna, whom the Pope before had deposed, into the gates of Aruagium, where the Pope did hide himselfe, because hee was bozne in the towne. The captaines of which army was one Schaira, brother to the foresaid Cardinals; and another, William de Longareto, high Steward to the French king. Who inuading the Popes towne, and finding the gates open, gaue assault to the Popes frontire, where the Pope with his nephew, a Marquess, and three other Cardinals were immured. The totonemen, seeing all their intent and strength to be bent against the Pope, caused the common bell to be rung, and so, assembling themselves in a common councill, ordained Adolphus, one of the chiefest rulers of the towne, for their captaine, who (unknowing unto them) was a great aduersarie to the Pope. This Adolphus bringing with him Reginaldus de Supine, a great Lord in Campania, and the two sonnes of John Chitan, a noble man, whose father the Pope had then in prison; at length joined with the French company against the Pope, and so beset his palace on every side. And first, setting upon the palaces of the three

Cardinals, which were then chiefe about the Pope, they rifled and spoiled all their goods. The cardinals by a backe doore hardly avoided their hands: but the Popes palace, though munition and strength of the Marquess, was something better defended. At length the pope, perceiving himselfe not able to make his party good, desired truce with Schaira and his company, which was to him granted from one till nine. During which time of truce, the pope privately sendeth to the totonemen of Aruagium, desiring them to save his life: which if they would doe, hee promised so to enrich them, that they should all have cause neuer to forget or repent their benefit bestowed. To this they made answer againe, excusing themselves, that it lay not in their abilitie to doe him any good; for that the whole power of the towne was with the captaine. When the Pope, all destitute and desolate, sendeth unto Schaira, beseeching him to draw out in articles, wherein he had wronged him, and hee would make him amends to the uttermost. Schaira to this maketh a plaine answer, signifying to him againe, that hee should in no wise escape with his life, except upon these three conditions. First, to restore againe the two Cardinals of Columpna his brethren, whom he had before depriued, with all other of their flocke and kindred: secondly, that after their restitution hee should renounce his papacie: thirdly, that his body should remaine in his power and custodie. These articles seemed to the Pope so hard, that in no case he would agree unto them: wherefore the time of truce expired, the captaines and souldiers, in all forcible meanes bending themselves against the Bishop, first fired the gates of the palace, whereby the army, having a full entrance, fell to rife and spoile the house. The Marquess upon hope to have his life, and the life of his children, yieldeth him to the hands of Schaira and the other Captaine: which when the Pope heard, he wept and made great lamentation. After this, thoro' windowes and doores, at length with much ado they brast in to the Pope, whom they intreated with words and threats accordingly. Upon this he was put to his choyce, whether he would presently leave his life, or give over his papacie. But that he denied himselfe to doe, to die for it, saying to them in his vulgar tongue, Eccle col, eccle cape; That is, loe here my necke, loe here my head: protesting, that hee would neuer while he liued renounce his popedom. When Schaira went about, and was ready to slay him, but, by certaine that were about him, he was staied; whereby it happened that the Pope received no harme, although diuers of his ministers and seruants were slaine. The souldiers, which ranged in the meane time through all the corners of the Popes house, did lade themselves with such treasure of gold, silver, plate and ornaments, that the words of my Autho' (whom I follow) doe thus expresse it; Quod omnes reges mundi non possent tantum de thesauro reddere infra unum annum, quantum fuit de papali palatio asportatum, & de palatiis trium cardinalium, & Marchionis: That is, that all the kings of the earth together were not able to disburse so much out of their treasure in a whole yeare, as then was taken and carried out of the Popes palace, and of the palace of the three Cardinals, and the Marquess. Thus Boniface, bereaved of all his goods, remained in their custody three daies. During which space, they had set him on a wilde and unbroke Colt, his face turned to the hoxe taile, causing the hoxe to run course, while the Pope was almost breathlesse. Moreover, they kept him so without meat, that hee was thereby nere famished to death. After the third day, the Aruagians and people of the towne mustering themselves together (to the number of ten thousand) secretly brast into the house where the Pope was kept, and so slaying the keepers, delivered the pope by strong hand. Who then being brought into the middle of the towne, gaue thanks with

Pope Boniface brought to a street.

Three conditions put to the Pope.

Here may all Kings by the French King learne how to handle the Pope.

Boniface desired rather to die, than to give over his popedom.

Ex R. Aues. The ecclesiasticall treasures of the Popes house noted.

A very hardling of the Pope.

The Pope was thrust out of prison.

Anno 1304.  
Pope Boniface released.

60

70

weeping



What poverty  
and affliction  
can doe in pluck-  
ing downe the  
pride of man.

wee ping feares to the people for his life saued : pro-  
mising moreover, that forsomuch as hee was out of  
all his goods, having neither bread nor drinke to put  
in his mouth, Gods blessing and his, to all them that  
now would relieue him with any thing, either to eat  
or drinke. And here now see what pouvertie and af-  
fliction can worke in a man : the Pope before in all  
his pompe and most ruffing wealth was neuer so  
proud, but now he was as humble and lowly, that  
euery poore simple man (as mine author testifieth)  
might haue a bold and free access to his person. To  
make the story short, the pope, in that great distresse  
of famine, was not so greedy of their victuals, as  
they were greedy of his blessing. Whereupon, the  
women and people of the towne came so thick, some  
with bread, some with wine, some with water, some  
with meat, some with one thing, some with another,  
that the Popes chamber was too little to receiue the  
offering; insomuch that when there lacked cups to  
receiue the wine, they poured it downe on the cham-  
ber flaze, not regarding the losse of wine to win the  
Popes holy blessing. Thus pope Boniface, being re-  
freshed by the towne of Aruagium, tooke his journey  
from thence, accompanied with a great multitude  
of harnessed souldiers to Rome, where he shortly dy-  
ed on the same, partly for feare which he was in, partly  
for famine, partly for sorrow of so inestimable a trea-  
sure lost, died. After whom succeeded Benedictus the  
II. of whom these verses are written : A re nomen  
habe, benedic, benefac, benedicte. Aut rem perverte,  
maledic, malefac, maledicte, &c. And thus haue we  
the whole story of pope Boniface the 8. author of the  
Decretals. Which story I thought the more dili-  
gently to set forth, that all the Latine church might  
see what an author he was, whose lawes and decre-  
tals so deuoutly they follow.

Now, after the long debating of this matter be-  
tweene the French king and pope Boniface, let vs  
proceed in our English story. About this time, in the  
dayes of king Edward, the church of Rome began  
daily more and more to rise vp, and swell so high in  
pride and worldly dominion, that no king almost in  
his owne countrey could do anything, but as pleased  
the pope, who both had, and ruled all in all countries,  
but chiefly here in England, as partly by his intol-  
erable tallage and pillage before signified may ap-  
peare, partly by his injunctions and command-  
ments sent downe, also by his donations and refer-  
uations of benefices and church livings; also in depo-  
sing and disposing such as him listeth, in place and of-  
fice to beare rule : insomuch, that when the king and  
the church of Canterbury in their election had cho-  
sen one Robert Wornel bishop of Bath, to be Arch-  
bishop of Canterbury, pope Boniface of his owne  
singular presumptuous authority, ruling the matter  
after his pleasure, frustrated their election, and thrust  
in another, named John Becham : for among all o-  
ther, this hath alwaies been one practice of the court  
of Rome, euer to haue the Archbishop of their owne  
setting, or such one as they might be sure of on their  
side, to weigh against the king and other, whatsoever  
need should happen. So this John Becham Pope  
Boniface directed down a solenne bull from Rome,  
as also vnto all other quarters of the vniuersall  
church. In the which bull was contained and decreed,  
directly against the rule of Scripture and christian  
obedience; that no church, nor ecclesiasticall person,  
should henceforth pay to his king or temporall ma-  
gistrate, either any giuing or lending, or promising  
of tribute or subsidie, or portion whatsoever, of the  
goods and possessions to him belonging; but should  
bee clearly exempted and discharged from all such  
subjection of tallage or subvention to bee exacted of  
them in the behalf of the Prince and his affaires.  
Which decree manifestly rebelleth against the com-  
manded ordinance of God, and the apostolical canon  
of S. Peter, and all other examples of holy Scrip-  
ture. For as there is no word in the Scripture that

excludeth spirituall men more than temporall from  
obedience and subjection of princes: so if it chanced the  
prince in his exacting to be too rigorous or cruell in  
oppression, that is no cause for the clergy to bee ex-  
empted, but to beare the common burthen of obedi-  
ence, and to pray to God to turne and moue the prin-  
ces mind, and so (with prayer and patience, not with  
pride and disobedience) to helpe and amend that  
which is amisse. Concerning the bull of Boniface,  
if any there be that either doe not credit the same, so  
to containe, or would for his mind see and read the  
same, the words hereof follow.

*The copie of the Popes Bull, wherein the Clergy  
is exempted from giving tribute to  
Kings and Princes.*

Bonifacius, &c. Ad sempiternam rei memoriam:  
Clericis laicos infestos oppido tradidit antiquitas.  
Quod & presentium experimenta temporum manife-  
ste declarant, dum suis finibus non contenti nituntur in-  
vetitum & adilicita sua frena relaxant, nec pruden-  
ter attendunt quomodo sit eis in clericis ecclesiasticis  
personas, & bona interdicta potestas. Quinimo ecclesi-  
arum prelati, ecclesiis, ecclesiasticisque personis regula-  
ribus, & secularibus imponunt onera gravia, ipsos tal-  
liant, & eis collectas imponunt, & ab ipsis suorumque  
proventuum, vel bonorum dimidiam, decimam, seu vi-  
cesimam, vel quamvis aliam portionem, quotam exi-  
gent & extorquent, eosque moluntur multifarie subi-  
cere seruituti, suarumque subdere ditioni. Et quod dolenter  
referimus, nonnulli ecclesiarum prelati, ecclesiasticarum  
personarum trepidantes, ubi trepidandum non est, transito-  
riam pacem querentes, plus timentes maiestatem tem-  
poralem offendere, quam aeternam, talium abusus non  
tam temerarie, quam improvide acquiescunt, sedis a-  
postolicæ autoritate non obtenta. Nos igitur talibus  
actibus obviare volentes, de fratrum nostrorum consilio  
\* Apostolica autoritate statuimus; quod quicumque  
prelati, ecclesiasticæ personæ, vel seculares, quorum-  
cunque ordinum, conditionis, seu status, collectas vel  
tallias, dimidiam, decimam, vicesimam, seu centesimam  
suorum & ecclesiarum suarum proventuum vel bono-  
rum laicis soluerint, vel promiserint, vel se soluturos  
excesserint, aut quamvis aliam quantitatem, portio-  
nem, aut quicumque ipsorum proventuum, vel bono-  
rum estimationem, vel valorem ipsorum, subventionis,  
subsidii, vel doni nomine, seu quovis alio timore, vel mo-  
do, vel quæsito colore absque autoritate sedis ejusdem  
Necnon imperatores, reges, seu principes, duces, seu co-  
mites, vel barones, potestates, capitaneus, officiales vel  
rectores quocunque nomine censeantur, civitatum, ca-  
strorum, seu quorumque locorum constitutorum ubili-  
ber, & \* quis alius: cuiuscunque præminentia, conditio-  
nis & status, qui talia imposuerint & exegerint, vel  
recepierint, aut apud ædes sacras deposita ecclesiarum  
vel ecclesiasticarum personarum ubilibet \* arrestave-  
rint, sayserint seu occupare præsumperint, vel arresta-  
ri, sayfiri, aut occupari mandaverint, aut \* occupata,  
sayfita, seu arrestata receperint: necnon omnes qui sci-  
enter in prædictis dederint consilium, auxilium, vel fa-  
vorem, publicè vel occultè, eo ipso sententiâ excommu-  
nicationis incurant. Vniuersitates quoque quæ in his  
culpabiles fuerint ecclesiasticis supponimus interdicto:  
prelatis, & personis ecclesiasticis prædictis, in virtute  
obediencie, & sub pœna depositionis districte mandantes,  
ut talibus absque licentia expressa dictæ sedis nullatenus  
acquiescant. A prædictis autem excommunicationis  
& interdicti sententiis nullus absolvi valeat, præter-  
quam in mortis articulo absque sedis Apostolicæ autori-  
tate & licentia speciali, &c.

This bull being directed (as is said) from Rome  
to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and likewise thro-  
row the whole vniuersall church, under the popes au-  
thority; it chanced not long after, the king held his  
parliament at S. Edmundsbury; where was great

KING  
EDW. I.  
The Pope pro-  
ceedeth against  
the manifest  
word in setting  
the clergy free  
from the kings  
tributes.

Ex Canon.  
Rob. Gisle-  
menfis.

\* Apostolica  
authoritas  
frustra obte-  
ditur, ubi A-  
postolica  
scriptura coi-  
temnitur.

\* Quivis, p-  
quisquis, ta-  
barismus A-  
postolicus.

Flores An-  
ci ex ipso H-  
licone de-  
sumpti.

Étéclog.  
Rhetorica.  
Tauri corn-  
uare the bu-  
horne.

The clergy  
neth to give  
tribute to the  
king.

The kings ele-  
ction in his owne  
realme frustrate.  
John Becham  
Archbishop of  
Canterbury.  
A point of pra-  
ctice in the court  
of Rome.

Ecclesiasticall  
persons exempted  
by the Pope  
for not paying  
tribute to the  
king.



KING.  
EDW. I.

ted to him of all cities and boroughs an eighth, and of the commons a twelfth of their goods. Wherby the clergy, by vertue of his bull, stood stout, denying to pay any thing to the king. This answer not well pleasing the king, he willeth them to deliberate better with themselves upon the matter; and after long aduise ment, so to giue him answer against the next parliament, which should be holden the next Hilary terme at London.

In conclusion, the parliament came, the clergy persisteth still in the denial of their subsidy, allea-  
ging the popes bull for their warrant and discharge. Wherupon the king likewise secludeth them from under his protection and safegard of his lawes. And as concerning the archbishop of Canterbury, aboue mentioned, because he was found more stubborne than the rest, and was the inciter to the other: he seized vpon all his goods, and caused an inuentory of the same to be inrolled in the exchequer. Notwith-  
standing, diuers of the other bishops relented some after to the king, and contributed the fifth of their goods vnto him, and were receiued againe to fauor.

In the life of this kings father, it was declared befoze how the said king Henry the third, father to this king, after diuers warres and commotions had with his barons, had granted certaine liberties and freedomes written and contained in Magna Charta, and in Charta de foresta. Concerning which matter, much businesse happened in this kings dayes also in the realme, betwene the king and his barons and commons. The occasion was this: A packe of wooll which befoze paled but a mark to the king, was now by this king raised vp to forty shillings. After this the king hauing a journey to make into Flanders, sent to his barons and diuers other to giue their attendance, and seruice in the same, which they refused and denied to doe. Notwithstanding, the king persisting in his purpose, with such a power as he had, prepareth toward his journey. To whom being in his way at Winchester, the foresaid Carles and Barons, and commons, sent certaine petitions contained in writing vnder the name of the Archbishops, bishops, abbats, and priors, earles and barons, with the commonalty of the realme. In which writing, first lamenting and complaining of their afflicted state and misery, after humble manner they desired their lord the king to redresse and amend certaine grieuances among them. And first they declared in the name of the whole commons, that the promotion of writs directed to them for their attendance vpon his grace into Flanders, was not sufficient: for that there was no certaine place in the said writs specified vnto them, whether to come for making their prouision, and preparing money and other things accord-  
ing to the same. And if the place had been to them signified, yet, because none of their ancestors euer serued the king ouer into Flanders befoze, the commons therefore thought themselves not bound to any seruice in that country. And albeit they had been so bound the reunto, yet they were not able to doe it, being so heauily oppressed with so many tallages, taxes, tolles, customes, and prices of cozne, oates, tyme, wooll, leather, oren, kine, flesh, fish, &c. And besides all this, hauing no penny of wages giuen them to relieue their charges: Duer and besides, the lacke of the kings wages not paid them, their owne poverty like an heauy burthen did so miserably lie vpon them, that some of them had no sustentation, some of them were not able to till their own ground. They alleaged moreover, that they were not now handled after the old lawes and customes of the land, as their ancestors were wont. Many also found themselves grieued in that they were not used according to the articles contained in Charta magna, and againe, that the Charta de foresta was not obserued nor kept, as it was wont to bee. Wherefore most humbly they beseeched the king, both for his owne honour and for the wealth of his

people, that of these things they might find redresse. For the custome mozeouer of wooll, the whole commons bewailed to the king their grieue, in that for euery packe of wooll was fined to the king xl. s. and for euery sacke of tosed wooll, seven markes. The which wooll of England, as it both rise vp to the value of halfe the realme, so the tollage of the same surmounteth to the fifth part of the valuation of the whole land. And because therefore the commons wished the honor and preservation of their king (as they were bound to doe) they thought it not good for his grace to saile ouer to Flanders, vntill hee had better assurance of their fidelity, especially at this time the Scots being so busie: who if they began to rebell, he being at home in his land, much more were they like to stirre, he being abroad out of the land. And that not only for the Scots, but also for that the like perill was to bee doubted of other foraine nations and kingdomes, which as yet were in no firme peace with England, &c.

To these petitions, the king said that he could as yet make no resolute answer, for that some of his counsell was gone ouer already to Flanders, some were yet at London. Notwithstanding, at his returne againe from Flanders (which he trusted shuld be speedily) they should then heare his answer, and know moze of his minde concerning the same. In the meane time this he required of them, to keepe good rule at home while he was forth. What answer the king had minded to make them at his returne, it is vncertaine, which peraduenture had turned to a bloody answer: but occasion serued other wise, and turned all to agreement. For the Scots with their Captaine William Wallis aboue specified, in the meane time, the king being absent, invaded the realme with such violence, that prince Edward the kings son, who was left to rule in his fathers stead, was forced to assemble a parliament, and to call for the earle of Hereford, the earle of Northfolke, high Marshall of England, earle of Gloucestre, high Constable, with other earles, barons, knights, and esquires, to intreat peace and concord betwene his father and them. Who coming by to London with 1500 well armed souldiers, and obtaining the gates of the city with their owne men, fell at length to agreement with the prince vpon composition to haue the Articles of Magna Charta, and of Charta de foresta confirmed; and that by his meanes and mediation they might bee assured of the kings displeasure to bee removed from them. The which foresaid articles of Magna Charta, with the other articles adioyned withall, here follow vnder written.

First, no tollage or subsidy by the king or his heires to be imposed or leued hereafter within the realme of England, without the common assent of the archbishops, bishops, abbats and other prelates, earles, barons, knights, bargesses, and commons of the realme.

Item, no taker or seruitor of the king, or of his heires, henceforth within this realme, to take graine, wooll, leather, or any goods of any man, without the will and consent of him which is the owner.

So taking to be hereafter, in name of tribute, for any pack of wooll.

Item, to be granted by the king and his heires after him, both to the clergy and laity of the foresaid realme, to haue and to enjoy their lawes, liberties and customes, in as ample manner as they were wont at any time heretofore.

Item, if any decrees or statutes shall hereafter be made and set forth contrary to these foresaid articles, the same to stand voyd and of no effect for euer.

Besides these articles also, in the same composition was contained, that all grudge and displeasure betwene the king and the barons for not going to Flanders ceasing; the earles and barons might bee assured to bee receiued againe into the kings fauour.

Custome of wooll.

The kings answer to the petitions of the Barons and commons.

Humphrey Boine. Roger Bigot.

The articles contained in Magna Charta.

Agreement concluded and sealed betwene the king and his Barons.

he clergy se-  
clud from the  
ings prote-  
tion.  
he Archbi-  
shop of Canter-  
bury for his  
stubbornes-  
in his goods  
allied to the  
ing.

the variance  
betwene king  
Edward and  
his barons and  
commons.

petitions of  
the barons and  
commons to the  
king.

Magna Char-  
ta. Charta de  
foresta.



The moderate  
and good na-  
ture of king  
Edward noted.

These things thus agreed upon, and by mediati-  
on of the prince also confirmed and sealed with the  
king his fathers seale: so was all the variance pa-  
cified, to the great comfort of the people, and no lesse  
strength of the realme against their enemies: and  
most chiefly to the commendation of the gentle, and  
wise nature of the king, who as he was gentle in  
promising his reconciliation with his subjects, so no  
lesse constant was he in keeping that which hee had  
promised.

Rob. Wilshe-  
ley, archbishop  
of Canterbury.

After the death of John Becham Archbishop of  
Canterbury, above mentioned, who in the parla-  
ment had resisted the king in the right of certaine li-  
berties pertaining to the crowne, touching patrona-  
ges and such Church matters, succeeded Robert  
Wilsheley, with whom also the king had like vari-  
ance, who accused him to the Pope for breaking the  
peace, and tooke part with them that rebelled against  
the king about blages and liberties of the realme.

R. Edward  
was troubled  
with two arch-  
bishops of Can-  
terbury.

Wherefore, the king being cited up to the court of  
Rome, and there suspended by the meanes of the said  
Archbishop, directed his letters againe to the Pope,  
taken out of the parliament rolles, where I finde di-  
vers letters of the king to Pope Clement, against  
the said Robert Archbishop of Canterbury, the con-  
tents whereof here follow, Videlicet, Qualiter idem.

The Church of  
Rome and Ro-  
mish prelats set  
against kings  
and rulers.

And as this king was troubled in his time with  
both the archbishops, John Becham, and also Robert  
Wilsheley, so it happened to all other kings for the  
most part, from the time of Lanfrancus (that is,  
from Pope Hildebrand) that everie king in his time  
had some businesse or other with that sea. As Will-  
iam Rufus, and Henry the first were troubled with  
Anselmus; Henry the second with Thomas Becket;  
king Richard I all England with William bishop  
of Ely, the Popes legate; King John with Stephan  
Langton, king Henry the third with Edmund  
Archbishop, called saint Edmund. Polyc. lib. 7. A like  
wife this king Edward the first, with John Becham  
and Robert Wilsheley aforesaid. And so other  
kings after him, with some prelate or other: whereby  
ye haue to understand, how and about what time the  
church of Rome, which before time was subject to  
kings and princes, began first to take head above, and  
against kings & rulers, and so hath kept it ever since.

Kings of Eng-  
land commonly  
troubled with  
archbishops of  
Canterbury.

Priests to haue  
but one benefice.

By this John Becham aforesaid mentioned, it was  
ordained that no spirituall minister should haue any  
more benefices than one, which also was decreed by  
the constitutions of Dao and Dabonus, the Popes  
legates the same time in England.

Variance be-  
tweene the arch-  
bishop of Dorke  
and the clergy of  
Dureline.

About the beginning of this kings raigne, after  
the deceale of Walter archbishop of Doreke, Will-  
iam Wilsheley, succeeding in that see, minding  
to goe on visitation, came to Dureline to visit the  
Church and chapter there. But the clergy and the  
people of the city shut the gates against him, and  
kept him out, whereupon rose no small disturbance.  
The Archbishop let sic his curse of excommunica-  
on and interdiction against them. The bishop of Du-  
resline againe, with his clergy, despised all his cur-  
sings, grounding themselves upon the constitution  
of Innocentius the fourth, De censibus & exactioni-  
bus. And so they appealed to Rome, saying, that  
he ought not to be received there, before he had first  
begun to visit his owne chapter and Diocesse, which  
he had not done. For so say the words of the consti-  
tutions, Nemo ordaine and decree, that every Arch-  
bishop, that will visit his province, first must procure  
to visit his owne Church, City, and Diocesse, &c.

Inquisition  
made against ill  
rulers and false  
officers.

Among other things in this king to be noted, that  
is not to be passed over; that where complaint was  
made to him of his officers, as justices, maiors, the-  
risses, bailiffes, elchebers, & such other, who, in their  
offices abusing themselves, extorted and oppres-  
sed the kings liege people, otherwise than was ac-  
cording to right and conscience: the said king, not  
suffering such misdoer to be unpunished, did appoint  
certaine officers or inquisitors, to the number of

twelve, which inquisition was called Traibastoun, or  
Traibastoun: by meanes of which inquisition, diuers  
false officers were accused, and such as were offen-  
ders were either remoued from their place, or forced  
to buy againe their office at the kings hand; to their  
no small losse, and great gaine to the king, and much  
profit to the common-wealth.

KING  
EDW. I.  
Traibastoun.

In the chronicle of Robert Anselbury, it is reco-  
ded of the said king, that he being at Anselbury to  
see his mother (who was then in that monastery pro-  
fessed) there was a certaine man, that fained him-  
selfe blinde a long time, brought to the presence of  
the said king, the Kings mother, saying, how that  
he had his sight againe restored at the tombe of king  
Henry her late husband, insomuch that the was easi-  
ly perswaded the miracle to be very true. But king  
Edward her son, knowing the man a long time to  
be a vile dissembler, and a wicked person, used to ly-  
ing and crafty decyuing, perswading his mother not  
to giue credit to the vile vagabond, declaring that he  
knew so well of the iustice of his father, that, if hee  
were aloue, he would twice rather plucke out both  
his eyes, than once restore him one. Notwithstan-  
ding, the queene his mother, remaining still in the  
former fond perswasion, would heare or beleue no-  
thing to the contrary, but was so in anger with her  
sonne, that she bid him depart her chamber; and so  
he did. By the example whereof may easily be con-  
ceined, how and after what sort these blinde miracles  
in those dayes, and since, haue come by among the  
blind and superstitious people. For had not the king  
here bene wiser than the mother, no doubt but this  
would haue bene rung a miracle, and percase king  
Henry been made a saint.

Ex Chron.  
Tho. Wal-  
singhami.

A false miracle,  
well fained out  
the King.

But as this was a fained miracle, and false no  
doubt, so in the same author wee reade of another  
manner of miracle, sounding more nere the truth,  
and so much the more likely, for that it serued to the  
conuerfion into Christian faith: to which vse proper-  
ly all true miracles doe appertaine. The miracle  
was this. In the raigne of this king, and the latter  
yeere of his raigne, Callanus king of the Tartar-  
ans (of whom come those whom now we call Turks)  
fighting against the Soldan king of the Saracens,  
in the plaine of Damascus, slew of them a hundred  
thousand of Saracens: and againe at Babylon, fight-  
ing with the said Soldan, slew him in the field, and  
200000 of the Saracens, calling vpon the helpe of  
Christ, & thereupon became Christian. This Calla-  
nus I say, had a brother a Dagan, who being in loue  
with the daughter of the king of Armenia a christi-  
an woman, desired of her father that he might marrie  
with her. Whereunto the king her father would not  
agree, vnlesse he promised to be a christian. Notwith-  
standing, the other being stronger in power & threat-  
ning to get her by war: the king at length was fore-  
ced to agree. In conclusion, it happened that the child  
being borne betwixt them was ouergrowne, and all  
rough with haire like the skin of a beare: which child  
being brought to the father, he commanded it to bee  
thowen into the fire and burned. But the mother, de-  
siring first to haue the child baptised, caused all things  
therunto to be prepared. The infant being three times  
in water plunged, after the sacrament of holy baptis-  
me receiued, incontinently was altered & turned from  
all his hairy roughnesse, & then as faire & smooth skin-  
ned as any other. The which thing after his father saw  
& beheld, he was christened himselfe & all his house, &c.

Ex eodem  
Chron.

A true miracle

Victory again  
the Saracens.

In the raigne of this king, Walter Herton bishop  
of Rochester builded Herton Colledge in Dorset.  
In whose raigne also liued Henricus de Gaudano, Ar-  
noldus de villa noua, Dantes, and other mo, and Scot-  
tus called Duns. Who in his fourth booke of Sent.  
Dist. 18. complaineth of the abuse of excommunica-  
tion and of the popes keies. Whereas before, excom-  
munication was not used, but vpon great & iust cau-  
ses, & therfore was feared: now, saith he, it is brought  
forth for euery trifling matter, as for not paying  
the

Herton col-  
ledge builded  
Dorset.  
I. Scotus,  
Duns.



KING  
EDW. I.

the priests wages, &c. and therefore, saith he, it groweth in contempt. Under the same king, about the beginning of his reign, was the year so hot and so dry, that from the month of May, untill the month nere of September, fell no raine: insomuch that many died for heate, and the vulgar people, in their reckoning of years, did count the time from the said dry year long after.

After pope Benedict above mentioned, succeeded Pope Clement the 5. who translated the popes court to Avinion in France, where it remained the terme of 74. yeeres after. At the coronation of this Clement was present Philip king of France, Charles his son, & duke John duke of Britanny, with a great number of other men of state and nobility. At which coronation, they being in the middle of the pompe, or procession, a great wall brake downe and fell upon them: by the fall whereof duke John with twelue other were slaine, king Philip hurt and wounded, the Pope stricken from his horse, and lost out from his mitre upon his head a carbuncle, esteemed to the value of 6000. florence. Plat. de vit. Pont. By this Clement was ordained, that the emperor, though he might be called king of the Romans before, yet he might not enjoy the title and right of the Emperor, before he was by him confirmed. And that the Emperors seat being vacant, the pope should raigine as emperor, till a new emperor was chosen. By him the order of the Templaries (who at that time were too abominable) was put downe at the councill of Avienne, as hereafter Christ willing shall be declared. He also ordained and confirmed the feast of Corpus Christi, assigning indulgences to such as heard the service thereof. And as pope Bonifacius before heard by the booke of decretals, called Sextus Decretalium, so this Clement compiled the 7. booke of the decretals, called of the same Clement, the Clementines. In the time of this Pope, Henricus the 6 of that name, emperor, was poisoned in receiving the sacrament, by a false dissimbling monk called Bernard, that fained himselfe to be his familiar friend; which was thought to be done not without the consent of the Popes Legat. The Emperor, perceiving himselfe poisoned, warned him to flee and escape away; for else the Germans would sure have slaine him; who although he escaped himselfe, yet divers of his order after that with fire and sword were slaine.

As this Pope Clement the 5. had well provided now (as ye have heard) against the empire of Rome to bring it under his girdle, insomuch that, without the Popes benediction, no emperor might take the state upon him, &c. now he proceedeth further to intermeddle with the empire of Constantinople. Where he first exercised his tyranny and power of communication against Andronicus Paleologus, emperor of Constantinople, an. 1306. declaring him to be a schismaticke and heretike, because he neither would nor durst suffer the Greeks to make their appeale from the Greek church to the Pope, neither would acknowledge him for his superior, &c. Whereby it may appcare, that the Greeks church did not admit the popes superiority as yet, nor at any time before; Save onely about the time of pope Innocent the 3. an. 1202. at what time the Frenchmen with their captain Baldouinus, earle of Flanders, joined together with the Venetians, were set against the Greeks, to place Alexius in the right of the empire of Constantinople, upon condition (as witnesseth Blatina) to subdue the Greek church under the Church of Rome. Which Alexius being restored, & shortly after slaine, the empire came to the Frenchmen, with whom it remained the space of 58. yeeres, till the coming of Michael Paleologus in the dayes of pope Gregory the ninth, who restored the empire from the Frenchmen unto his pristine state againe. During all which time of the French Emperors, the Greek Church was subject to Rome, as by the decretals of Pope Gregory the ninth may appcare. Then followed

after this, that the foresaid Michael Emperor of Constantinople, being called up to a councill at Lyons by pope Gregory the tenth, about the controuersie of the proceeding of the holy Ghost (as is above specified) and obedience to the church of Rome: there because the said Michael the emperor did submit himselfe and the Greeks to the subjection of Rome (as testifieth Baptist Egnat.) he thereby procured to himselfe such grudge and hatred among the Greek monks and priests, that after his death they denied him the due honour and place of buriall. The sonne of this Andronicus was Michael Paleologus above mentioned: who, as ye have heard before, because he was constrained by the Greeks, not to admit any appellation to the Bishop of Rome, was accused by the popes censures for an heretike. Whereby appeareth, that the Greeks, recovering their state againe, refused all subjection at this time unto the Church of Rome, which was the year of our Lord 1327. After this Clement the 5. followed Pope John the 22. with whom Lubouike the emperor had much trouble. After whom next in course succeeded pope Benedict the 12. Which Benedict upon a time, being desired to make certain new cardinals, to this answered againe; that he would gladly so doe, if he also could make a new world. For this world (saith he) is for those cardinals that be made already. Ex scripto Engethusensis. And thus much of the Popes: now to returne a little backe to the kings story againe.

In the year of our Lord 1337. which was 34. of the reign of this king, in the beginning of Hilary Terme, the king kept a parliament at Carlisle, where great complaints were brought in by the nobles and ancient of the realme, concerning the manifold and intolerable oppressions of churches and monasteries, and exactions of money by the popes legat William Tessa (otherwise termed Gala Tessa) lately brought into the realme of England. The coming of which William Tessa was upon this occasion, as followeth: Pope Clement, who, as ye heard before, had translated his court from Avienne into France, where he had been archbishop before, because hee contemned to come and remaine at his owne sea; the princes of Rome thought him therefore unworthy to enjoy Peters patrimony. And so by that meanes, falling into barenesse and poverty, he liued only of such money of bishops as came to him to be confirmed, and with such other gifts and gifts. So that by this meanes, partly of bishops and other religious men and persons, partly under the name of courtesie & beneuolence, partly under the pretence of borrowing, he had within the first year 9500. marks of silver, all his other charges and expences, which he largely that year bestowed, chiefly bozne. Wherof this, he sent moreover the foresaid legat William Tessa into England with his bulls: in the which he referred the first fruits of the first year of all churches being vacant at any time, or by any man within the realme of England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, and also the fruits of abbeys and priories within the said realmes, &c. Whereupon the king with his nobles, seeing the inconuenience and harme thereof ensuing to the whole realme: in the foresaid parliament, holden at Carlisle, with the said legat, charging & commanding him by the assent of the earles and barons, that henceforth he should abstaine from all such exactions. And as concerning his lord the pope, he would direct certaine his messengers unto him purposely for the same matter appointed: by the which ambassadors, the king wrote unto the foresaid pope, declaring and manning the Pope, as right and reason was, that he should not exact the first fruits of churches and abbeys, by his predecessors and noble men of the land, founded for the honour and maintenance of Gods service, for almes & hospitality: which otherwise, in so doing, should all be overthrown. And so by this meanes, the pope at that

Ex Baptist.  
Egnat.  
Rom. princ.  
1.7.

The Greek  
church denieth  
subjection to  
the church of  
Rome

Ex Chron.  
Nic. Triuet.  
The Popes ex-  
actions com-  
plained of in the  
Parliament.

Ex hist. qua  
incipit ab  
Henrico  
tercio.

The Popes get-  
ting in one year  
all the the  
Popes legat sent  
into England.

First fruits first  
brought in by  
the pope.  
King Edward  
withstandeth  
the Pope and  
his legat.

First fruits of  
abbeys deuied  
to the Pope.

Pope Cle-  
ment 5.  
the Popes  
court translated  
to France.  
laughter of  
foles at the  
pope's cor-  
onacion.

scribinge in  
the Popes mi-  
nistry valued at  
1000. flo.  
ence.  
emperor no  
emperor, except  
were confir-  
med by the pope.  
the Empla-  
is put downe.

the feast of  
corpus  
christi.  
optimus de-  
cretalium  
called the Cle-  
mentines  
entines 6.  
emperor, follow-  
d in the host.

paleologus  
emperor of  
Constantinople  
communica-  
d with all his  
herents by  
pope Clement.  
he not suffering  
the Greeks  
appeale to  
ome.

Anno  
1306.

Note the gra-  
uitie of the Go-  
nally prelates.

Latina in vit.  
noentii.

When and how  
the Greek  
church was  
subject to  
Rome.



First fruits for  
two pcces gran-  
ted to the king.

time changed his purpose as concerning abbeyes. But after that the fruit of English Churches was granted to the king for two pcces, in which space he obtained the fruits of the foresaid Churches, &c.

During the which parliament afore specified, as men were talking many things of the popes oppressions, which he began in the English Church; in the full of the parliament, suddenly fell downe, as sent from Heauen, among them a certaine paper, with this superscription.

An Epistle of Cassiodorus to the Church of England, concerning the abuses of the Romish Church.

Ex vetusto  
Chronico  
Albanensi.

**T**O the noble Church of England, seruing in clay and bricke as the Iewes did in time past vnder the tyranny of the Egyptians; Peter the sonne of Cassiodore a Catholike souldier, and deuout champion of Christ, sendeth greeting, and wishing it to cast off the yoke of bondage, and to receiue the reward of liberty.

To whom shall I compare thee, or to whom shall I liken thee O daughter of Ierusalem? to whom shall I match thee, O daughter of Sion? Great is thy perturbation, like vnto the Sea. Thou fittest alone without comfort all the day long, thou art confounded and consumed with heauinesse. Thou art giuen vp into the hands of him from whence thou canst not rise without helpe of one to lift thee vp: for the Scribes and Pharises sitting vpon the chaire of Moyles, the enemies of the Romans are as thy Heads and Rulers: enlarging their garded phylacteries, and seeking to be enriched with the marrow of thy bones, laying heauie burthens, and not able to be borne vpon thy shoulders, and of thy ministers, and they set thee vnder tribute, (which of old time hath bene free) beyond all honesty or measure. But manuell not thereat, for thy mother, which is the lady of people, like a widow hauing married and coupled herselfe to her subject, hath appointed him to bee thy father: that is to say, the Bishop of Rome, who sheweth no point of any fatherly loue towards thee. Hee magnifieth and extendeth to the vttermost his authoritie ouer thee, And by experiente he declareth himselfe to bee the husband of thy mother. Hee remembreth oft with himselfe the prophetically saying of the Prophet, and well digested the same in the inward part of his breast: Take to thee a great booke, and write therein quickly with the penne of a man; Take the spoile, rob quickly. But is this it which the Apottle saith, that hee was appointed for, where hee writeth thus? Every Bishop, taken from among men, is appointed for men in those things that be long to the Lord: not to spoyle, nor to lay on them yeerely taxes, nor to kill men, but to offer gifts and sacrifices for sinnes, and to sorrow with them that be ignorant and doe erie. And so wee read of Peter the fisher (whose successor he boasteth himselfe to bee) that after the resurrection of Christ, he returned with other Apostles, to the office of fishing: who when hee could take nothing on the left side of the ship, at the bidding of Christ, turned to the right side, and drew to the land a net full of fishes. Wherefore the profitable ministry of the Church is to be exercised on the right side, by the which the deuil is overcome, and plenty of soules bae lucrified and wonne to Christ. But certainly the labour on the left side of the ship is far otherwise: for in it the faith stumbleth, heauinesse beareth rule, when that thing that is desired by seeking, is not found. For who is so foolish to thinke, that hee can both at one time serue God and man, and to satisfie his owne will, or to sticke to the reuelations of flesh and blood, and to offer worthy gifts to Christ? And doubtlesse that shepherd that watcheth not for the edifying of the flocke, prepareth another way to the roring Lion, seeking whom he may deuoure. And now behold, I say, O daughter, the deeds of him that is called thy father, such as

haue not bene heard of before: he driueth away the good shepherd from the sheepefold, and placeth in their stead Bishops, to rule, but not to profit (his nephewes, cozins, and parents) some that know no letters, and other some dumbe and deafe, which vnderstand not the plaine voyce of the sheepe, not curing their wounds, that be hurt of the wolues: but like hirelings, plucking off the fleeces apace, and reaping that which other men haue sowne, whose hands moreouer bee alwayes ready in their baskets and pouches, but their backs are turned from their burthens. By which thing it is manifest, that the priestthod is cleane changed at these dayes, the seruice of God decayed, almes diminished and brought to naught, the whole deuotion of Kings, Princes, and Christians, is banished. May not this bee thought wonderfull in the eyes of all men; that whereas Christ commanded tribute to bee payd to kings for him and for Peter, hee now goeth about by dominion of his stile, to subdue to him both realmes, and princes of realmes (against his will, whose vicar hee saith he is, and who refused the realmes and iudgements of the world) which this Bishop contrariwise challengeth, claiming all that which hee in his stile writeth to be his? Alacke, O daughter, what doth he yet more against thee? marke, he draweth from thee whatsoever pleaseth him, and yet hee thinketh not himselfe content, to haue the tenth part onely of thy goods from thee; except hee haue also the first fruits of the benefices of the ministers, whereby he may get a new patrimony, as well for himselfe as for his kindred, contrary to the godly wils of the first founders.ouer and besides all this, hee inferreth other execrable taxes and stipends for his legats and messengers, whom hee sendeth into England; which not onely take away the feeding and clothing of thee and thine, but also beare in peeces like dogges your flesh and skinner. May not this Prince bee compared to king Nebuchadonozet, which destroyed the Temple of the Lord, and robbed away the siluer and golden vessels thereof? The very same doth this man also; hee robbed the ministers of God his house, and left them destitute of due helpe. In like manner doth hee: Truly they bee better that are killed with the sword, than they which be pined with hunger: for they are dead straight, but these are wasted with the barrenesse of the earth, O daughter, all they that passe by, let them haue pittie and compassion on thee, for there is no sorrow like thy sorrow. For now thy face is blacker then coales, through much sorrow and weeping, and thou art no more knowne in the streets: thy foresaid ruler hath placed thee in darkenesse, and hath giuen thee wormewood and gall to drinke. O Lord, heare the sorrow and sighings of thy people, behold Lord, and descend, for the heart of this foresaid man is more indurate than the heart of Pharaoh. For hee will not suffer the people to depart, except in the fortitude onely of thy hand. For hee scourgeth them not onely miserably vpon the earth, but also after their death, hee intendeth to incroch the goods of all Christians vnder the name and title of dying intestate, or making no will. Therefore, let the chiuallry of England well remember, how the Frenchmen in times past, directing their greedy eyes on the realme of England, labored with all their power how to bring the same vnder their subjection. But it is to be feared, lest the new devices and practice of this new enemy supply that which hitherto hath bene lacking in them. For in diminishing of the treasure of the realme, and spoiling of the churches goods; the realme shall bee brought into such inability, that it shall not bee able to helpe it selfe against the enemy. Therefore, O daughter, and you the ministers thereof, suffer not your selues to bee led any more into such miserable bondage. Better it is for the wealth of thee and thine, that the Christian king and the powers of the realme, which haue indued thee with great benefits, and you also which are indued with their bene-  
fits,

{ KING  
{ EDW. I.



**KING. 2** fits doe labour with all your power how to resist the  
**EDW. 1** devices, conspiracies, arrogancy, presumption, and  
 pride of the foresaid person: who not for any zeale of  
 God, but for the enriching of his parents, and for his  
 owne kindred (exalting himselfe like an eagle) by these  
 and such other exactions goeth about, after another  
 kind of extortion, to scrape vp and devour all the mo-  
 ny and treasure of England. Now, lest the dissembled  
 simplicity of the realme in this behalte doe bring vtter  
 subuersion, and afterward bee compelled to seeke re-  
 medy when it is too late: I beseech the Lord God of  
 hosts to turne away the veile from the heart of that  
 man, and to giue him a contrite and an humble minde,  
 in such sort as hee may acknowledge the wayes of the  
 true God, whereby he may bee brought out of darke-  
 nesse, and beinforced to relinquish his old sinister at-  
 tempts; and that the vineyard, which the Lords hand  
 hath planted, may bee replenished continually with  
 the Preachers of the Word. Let the Words of the  
 Lord, prophesied by the mouth of Ieremy, stirre vp  
 your minds to withstand and resist the subtil practi-  
 ces of this man, by the which words the Lord spea-  
 keth: O thou pastor which hast scattered my people,  
 and hast cast them out of their habitations, behold I  
 will come and visit vpon thee, and vpon the malice of  
 thy studies: neither shall there bee any of thy seede  
 which shall sit vpon the seat of Dauid, neither which  
 shall haue power any more in Iuda. So that thy nest  
 shall become barren, and vterly subuerted, like So-  
 dome and Gomor.

And if hee being terrified by these words, doe not  
 leaue off from this which hee beginneth, and doth not  
 make restitution of those things which hee hath recei-  
 ued, then let all and singular persons sing for him be-  
 ing indurate, to him that seeth all things, the Psal. 108.  
 Deus laudum, &c. For truly as fauor, grace, beneuo-  
 lence, remitteth and neglecteth many things; so a-  
 gaine the gentle benignity of man, being too much  
 oppressed and grieved, seeking to bee deliuered and  
 freed from the same, striueth and searcheth to haue the  
 truth knowne, and casteth off that yoke by all meanes  
 possible that grieueth him, &c. Hac Cassiodorus.

What effect this letter wrought in them to whom  
 it was directed, is not in story expressed. This by the  
 sequell may be conjectured; that no reason or per-  
 suasion could preuaile, but that the Pope retained  
 here still his exactions, whatsoeuer was sayd or writ-  
 ten to the contrary notwithstanding.

And thus much being written hitherto of these  
 acts and beings here in England; now to slip a little  
 into the matters hapning the same time in France,  
 vnder the raigne of the foresaid king Philip aboue  
 mentioned: so far as about this time, an. 1307.  
 was commenced a parliament by the said king of  
 France against the Pope, touching the jurisdiction  
 both temporall pertaining to princes, and ecclesiasti-  
 call belonging to the church; I thought it not unpro-  
 fitable for the reader to heare and learne the full dis-  
 course and tractation hereof, according as wee haue  
 caused it to be excerpt faithfully out of the true copy  
 and records of Peter Bertrand bishop of Conuenen,  
 and chiefe doer and prolocutor in the said parliament  
 vpon the popes side, against y<sup>e</sup> king & state temporall.

For so much as the high prelat of Roine, other wise  
 called antichrist, being then in his chiefe ruffe, extol-  
 ling himselfe aboue all princes and potentates of the  
 world, as in other countries, so also in France exten-  
 ded his vsurped jurisdiction, aboue the princely au-  
 thority of the king, claying to himselfe full gouerne-  
 ment of both the states, as well secular as also eccle-  
 siasticall: the king therefore, not suffering the excel-  
 sue proceedings of pope Clement the 5. aboue specifi-  
 ed, directeth his letters mandatorie to the prelates  
 and barons of the realme of France, to conuent and  
 assemble themselves together at Paris, about the  
 beginning of December, the were aboue prefixed:  
 The tenor of which letters of the king directed to the  
 prelates, followeth in this forme and manner.

### The summons of a Parliament by Philip the French king.

Philip by the grace of God King of France, to our  
 welbeloued bishop of Edeus, greeting and salu-  
 tation, Reuerend father in God, right truly and wel-  
 beloued, wee greet you well. The more sight and  
 knowledge you haue in diuinitie and the holy Scrip-  
 tures of God, with the practise and experience of  
 other good qualities and vertues; you know the bet-  
 ter a great deale, how that the clergy and laity of  
 this our realme (as members of one body) ought to  
 cleaue and sticke together; and how by their helping  
 hand, vnity and peace should bee maintained of all,  
 and the contrary eschewed and auoided, euey state  
 contenting it selfe, and not inuolching one vpon a-  
 nother. And because wee are aduertised, how that our  
 barons and officers (as well in time past as of late)  
 haue diuersly in diuers points injured you, assembla-  
 bly you and yours in many causes haue wrongfully  
 damaged them; by occasion whereof, the knot of  
 vnity and concord, which ought to haue flourished  
 among you, is quite loosed and vndone: To the end  
 therefore by Gods grace some good reformation  
 and redresse may bee had herein; We most studious of  
 vnity and concord, require you, and by these our let-  
 ters command you, to appeare personally before vs  
 at Paris the 15. day of December next ensuing the  
 date hereof, and there before vs to make relation of  
 such wrong as yee haue receiued at the laities hands;  
 And wee likewise straitly charge and command you  
 our barons, bailiffes and officers, not to faile, but to  
 make your personall appearances, before vs, the day  
 and place aboue written, and there to exhibit before  
 vs a bill of such complaints, wherewith you burden  
 our prelates and clergy, with their officials: that wee  
 with our counsell, consulting thereupon, with due  
 regard may see redresse therein; whereby perpetuall  
 loue and charity may euer hereafter raigne and remaine  
 among them for ever. Giuen at Paris the first day of  
 September, an. 1309.

At the day in the letters aboue specified, the pre-  
 lates and clergy assembled themselves before the  
 king at his palace in Paris, that is to say, the Lord  
 Bisturicen, the lord of Auritan, the lord Turoner,  
 the lord Rothom, and the lord Senon, all archbi-  
 shops: the lord Beluacen, the lord Cathalen, the lord  
 Laudun, the lord of Paris, the lord Montonon, the  
 lord Carnoten, the lord Constan, the lord Andega-  
 uen, the lord Vidanen, the lord Spelden, the lord of  
 Cameracen, the lord of S. Fieri, the lord Briore, the  
 lord of Cabillon, and the lord of Eouen, all bishops.  
 Where after due reuerence done vnto the kings  
 grace, there sitting in his owne person, with his ba-  
 rons and counsell about him; a certaine noble and  
 wise person, lord Peter de Cugneris, (being one of  
 the kings counsell) rose vp, and openly in the parli-  
 ament house spake in the kings behalfe on this wise,  
 taking for his Theme; Reddite quæ sunt Cesaris,  
 Cesar; & quæ sunt Dei, Deo: which is to say; Giue  
 and render vnto Cesar, that which is his; and vnto  
 God, that which is Gods: which hee very artificia-  
 lly prosecuted and applied, diuiding it into two  
 parts. First, that obedience and reuerence is due  
 vnto the king. Secondly, that there ought to bee  
 a difference betwene the jurisdiction of the clergy  
 and laity, so that spirituall matters should be defi-  
 ned and ordered by the Prelates and Spirituall  
 men, and temporall causes ruled and determined by  
 the king, his barons and temporall men. Which all he  
 proued by many reasons both of fact & law, as more  
 fully appeareth beneath in the answer of the Bishop  
 of Eouen: finally, hee concluded, that the clergy  
 ought onely to deale and haue to doe with spiri-  
 tuall matters, in defence whereof, the kings  
 highnesse would stand and their good Lord and maintai-  
 ner. His oration being ended, he repeated certaine

The letter of  
Philip king of  
France, to the  
bishops and  
prelates.

The parliament  
conuened.

Lord Peter  
speakes in the  
parliament.  
The theme of  
his oration.  
The oration di-  
uided into two  
parts.  
Obedience to  
the king.  
Difference be-  
tweene the juris-  
diction of the  
state temporall  
and ecclesiasti-  
call.

A parliament in  
France assem-  
bled, wherein is  
discussed the  
jurisdiction eccle-  
siasticall, how  
far it extendeth.  
AD 1307.



words in the French tongue, which imported that the kings will and pleasure was in some points to renew the temporall state and jurisdiction; and there with he exhibited a certaine bill in French, whereof also he gaue a copie to the prelates, containing certaine points and articles under written, the contents whereof he affirmed not to appertaine to the order and jurisdiction of the spirituality, but onely to the temporallty, complaining that the clergy had wrongfully proceeded in the same. But notwithstanding standing the premises, and for all this his complaint, he said that the prelates should haue time to consult and deliberate thereupon with the king. The copie of which articles, with answere ensuing upon the same, and the grieuances of the kingdome of France, wrought by the clergy, and exhibited to the king, hereafter followeth.

Articles in the parliament pronounced, concerning the iust complaints of the laity against the clergy.  
Causes reall.

1 Item, the cognition of causes reall, whether they touch possession, or their propriety, or not, by common law appertaineth to the jurisdiction temporall. But the prelates with their officials, to the end to infringe the temporall jurisdiction, take upon them the determination of such causes reall, especially concerning possession and all other interdicts.

2 Item, when a temporall man is sued by any clerke or spiritual man for the possession of his land, obtaining an adonment of the secular power, in the cause of mouite or otherwise: the prelates officials, stopping hereby the temporall jurisdiction, at the instance of the clerke, calleth by procelle before them both the secular iudge and the partie, inhibiting them to proceed any further in the cause, under paine of excommunication and forfeiture of a certaine summe.

3 Item, although the secular iudge haue the cognition of all lay mens matters (except in spiritual causes) yet will the Bishops officials, at the instance of any party, call such before them. And if the temporall men doe except against their jurisdiction, alleging the incompetency of the iudge, or else if they require the cause to be remitted to them (under whom they are) as the right iudges, yet doe the Officials refuse this to doe, yea and by excommunication, or compell the parties to proceed before them.

Bishops interfere in temporall mens matters.

4 Item, the Bishops officials at the instance of the clerkes, alleging that they are injured in matters of inheritance by a lay man, call by procelle the laity. And if it be allegeded that those causes stand upon reality, being so indeed, and that for that consideration the cause ought to be remitted to the temporall law: this notwithstanding, the Officials prohibite them under paine of excommunication, or some great forfeit, not to proceed but before them.

5 Item, the Bishops Officials take upon them to heare the plea of such contracts, as either be concerned in writings, or made by word of mouth in the temporall law; sending out their monition of excommunication against them that stand bound concerning the same contracts.

6 Item, the Bishops and prelates decreë provincial counells and synodall statutes, enacting and ordering therein many things to the high and great prejudice of the temporall jurisdiction, wherein they ought to haue no cognition at all, neither to intermeddle themselves therewith.

7 Item, the foresayd Officials take upon them, before Notaries to sweare persons for performance of contracts and bargaines (made by them in places under the jurisdiction temporall) concerning the sale of inheritance or otherwise; incroching thereby upon their jurisdiction, when verily they haue nothing to doe with any contracts and obligations, but with such as are made and agreed upon within the compasse of their owne seat and jurisdiction.

Ex Officio.

8 Item, the said Officials, of their mere office, call before them the laity, to answer to such matters of correction as shall be layd to their charge, the cognition whereof, as they say, doth appertaine vnto

them. And when the sayd persons doe appeare before them, and deny the crime objected against them, the Officials detaine them and put them in prison, although in such cases they are to be released; and although imprisonment appertaineth only to the temporall power, and not to them.

KING  
EDW. I.  
Imprisonment pertaineth not to the clergy

9 Item, in the cases aforesaid, although by making of their purgations and other the procelle therein, they be found cleere of that which is layd to their charge, and are acquitted: these yet the said Officials will in no wise discharge and dismisse, before they haue to the uttermost paid, for the writings and procelle in that behalfe, a good peece of money, when by law it ought to be done gratis, and for nothing.

10 Item, it must not be forgotten to talke of the sentence of excommunication, which is decreed by vertue of one onely citation, so often as a man saileth in his appearance.

11 Item, mention is to bee made of those kinde of obligations De nisi. Whereby a man is excommunicated by and by, if he make not payment at the day prescribed, although he be not able so to doe.

12 Item, whosoever by vertue of excommunication in the bishops court is excommunicate, and hee so excommunicate doe not satisfie the summe due about the excommunication, by and by the summe is doubled. And the secular power is charged by the Bishops or their Officials, that they vnder paine of excommunication compell the excommunicate, by attaching their goods, to pay the said sum, and not to misse a jot: which monition if the laity refuse to put in execution, they themselves are then excommunicate, and in no wise to be absolved, before they disburse that money, the which the principall excommunicate person should haue paid.

13 Item, if the bailiffes, headborowes, or other the kings officers and iudges of the temporallty, receiuing the foresaid monitions, doe put the same in execution, and find those that be excommunicate, to be beggerly and nothing worth: the said officers are bound, at their owne proper costs and charges, to resort to the bishops sea or consistory, wheresoeuer it is, and there to take a corporall oath, that the parties excommunicate are nothing worth. Whis if they faile, those officers are faine to be excommunicate, and thereby enforced to disburse the due of the first excommunicate persons.

14 Item, if two lay men be in suite together before a temporall iudge, about an action either reall or personall, and one of them after confession of law, and great procelle therein, doe appeale vnto an ecclesiasticall iudge, he will presume then to detaine before him the plea of such cases and actions, both reall and personall, causing, by vertue of his monitions and authority, the temporall iudge to cease and leaue off from meddling therein: which if the secular iudge obeyeth not, he is pronounced excommunicate and compelled to make satisfaction, by occasion whereof, the temporall jurisdiction is much annoyed and cleane loseth the prerogative thereof, because by law no man may appeale from a spiritual iudge to the temporall law.

Action reall, personall.

No man may appeale from a spiritual iudge to the temporall law by the Popes authority

15 Item, if a lay man, inhabiter of any of the kings townes, procureth his debtor, being also a lay man, to be arrested by vertue of secular iustice in that place; and he which is so arrested appealeth, and causeth also his creditor to be arrested, the officials will take upon them to heare this matter: and if anything be attempted concerning the appeale, they must not to demand cost and satisfaction both of the iustice, and also of him to whom the arrest was made. And if any of the princes refrefuse to compell them to resist this injury, they are straightwayes pronounced excommunicate.

16 Item, if the said Bishops haue a number of Officials vnder them, whom they terme deanes of the clergy, which usually causeth all sort of people through



KING.  
EDW. I  
Deanes of the  
clergy.

through the Kings dominions, onely by word of mouth, to come afore them, and that sometime without commission: when that in euery diocesse there ought only to be but one seate of consistory, wherein matters should be heard and decided. And hereby it happeneth diuers times, that many are wrongfully and without cause cited; to the end that they may pay money enough, to rid themselves thereof: which is to the no small prejudice of the Kings maiesties subjects, and the temporall iurisdiction.

17 Item, the said rulers of the clerkes, seale by the houses of their Clergy, which are situate in the Kings towncs, and other of his noble mens villages, to the prejudice of the Kings maiesties iurisdiction, and other of his nobility: for that in such kind of places the Bishops haue no such kind of iurisdiction.

Married clerks.

18 Item, the said prelates or their officials, doe presume to seale by the moneable goods of married clerks, and of merchants; whereas in such cases the order thereof appertaineth to the temporall law.

19 Item, they compell the laity to put in surety to answer clerks before them in the spirituall court, yea, and chiefly the Kings owne seruitors.

20 Item, they presume to heare and haue the cognition of actions, which are reall, or at leastwise mixt, that is, both reall and personall.

21 Item, the said prelates goe about to haue cognition of such temporall mens matters as dwell in hospitals, almes-houses, and the Kings peculiars, and in villages of his subjects, although the plea thereof appertaineth to the King himselfe, and his subjects: forbidding vnder paine of excommunication, and great forfeitures, any man to be so hardie as to commence any sute against any of them, but before themselves, in paine of a great summe of money.

22 Item, to the end the clergy and ecclesiasticall rule should bee multiplied, they conferre a number of Conferences to children vnder age, some of them being sons of bondmen, other some balliards bozne; yea and to many more married folkes insufficient, unable, and vnlearned.

23 Item, they doe cause by the gouernours of their clerkes, widowed women to be inforced and defiled, and will haue the discussing thereof: as in like manner, they will determine the matters of pupils, applying their goods when they die, as they doe the goods of them which die intestate, to their owne vse; the cognition whereof belongeth to the king himselfe because those kind of persons with their goods are ward to the King and vnder his tuition.

24 Item, they procure through the said deanes of the clergy, of malice, temporall men of the Kings dominions or other where (without all order of law) to be apprehended, objecting against them that they haue straped from some article of christian faith, and therewith shut them vp, when as their imprisonment appertaineth to the king till they be conuicted thereof.

25 Item, they exercise their iurisdiction in all places, hauing no regard, neither to the Kings peculiar towncs, nor yet to his subjects; but runne in euery hole, when by law they ought to haue no iurisdiction, without their owne limits and precinct.

26 Item, when these prelates or their officials by vertue of their monitions doe charge the Kings officers and his iustices to execute any thing, if they doe not performe that, which is prescribed vnto them, the forfeit which the monition containeth is taken: yea and excommunication denounced. And this is a new inuention sprung vp of late amongst them, much to the prejudice of the King and his subjects.

27 Item, when the Bishops or their officials doe prosecute a matter of office before themselves against any temporall man, and haue no power thereof; they compell many of the laity to bee depofed therein what they know, hauing no respect whether they be the Kings burgeses, or no, or what they be; and yet will they not allow any charges and expenses for their paines taken in that behalfe. But if

they appeare not at their day, they are sure to be excommunicate.

28 Item, if malefactors be apprehended by any of the Kings iustices, and indicted of theft, and hee (whose goods they were which were stolen) cometh before the Kings sheriffes, and praueth them to bee his, and that therefore the matter ought to bee excused by them: if after wards the Bishops or their officials affirme the said felon or malefactor to bee a clerke, they will by vertue of their decrees or monitions compell the Kings sheriffes to restore and bring in the stolen goods: and if they doe it not, they are pronounced excommunicate.

29 Item, if it happen the Kings sheriffe or bayliffe to take an offender for his offence, and hee affirmeth himselfe to bee a clerke: although hee neuer tooke any kinde of confitures, or orders, wearing no habit appertaining therunto; yet the Bishops or their officials will cause the detainers of them by their censures to deliuer vnto them the said malefactor as their clerke.

30 Item, if it happen the Kings sheriffe or other his iustices to take a theefe or murderer, which beareth a clerkes marke and confiture, and therefore deliuereth him to the clergy to be ordered, if shall not be long before he be acquainted by them, although he afterward recognise his fact; yea and notwithstanding, that his fellowes and partners of that office, being mere temporall, receiued iustice for the same, and appeached him thereof; and so the like malefactors are encouraged thereby to commit after the like.

31 Item, if any complaineth and saith that hee is spoiled, by and by the officials will decre a monition against the spoiler: by vertue whereof, some one of the deanes of the clergy shall monish him to restore the things comprised in the monition, and also minister to him an oath whether he hath not spoiled the plaintiffe of such things, as he saith he was spoiled off. But if he refuse to take an oath before him, then the deane will straightwayes seale by the monition and excommunicate him, and by no means shall he be absolved before he restore and satisfie the contents in the monition, whereof the plaintiffe sayd first he was spoiled.

32 Item, if any for his offence be cast into prison by the secular power, although at the time of his taking he weare temporall habit, and was in no orders, but all the dayes of his life liued like a temporall man: yet if hee shall auouch and vow himselfe to be a clerke, to the intent to haue more expedition at the clergies hands, and to escape unpunished; the clergy will incontinently giue to the laity in commandement to restore vnto them the malefactor, or else suspension shall be denounced through out the whole towneship, where the said malefactor shall be so imprisoned. And for auoiding the jeopardy which might arise of the sayd seafement; the secular iudge of necessity is compelled to deliuer them the offender, to the great prejudice of the Kings temporall iurisdiction, to whom the cognition thereof might appertain, in case of resort and prerogative.

Reformum.

33 Item, when any offender is deliuered by the temporall magistrates to the clergy, as their clerke; his friends will make sute to the Bishops officials for him, and compound with them, by reason whereof they dismiss him unpunished, and so doe worse and worse, although their fact was neuer so notorious.

34 Item, so soone as any married clerke, being a merchant or of whatsoever other science hee be of, for any his offence by him committed, is called before the secular iudge: the sayd clerke obtaineth of the officials a monition, bringing with them some priest, who doth inhibit the secular iudge vnder paine of 100. or 200. markes, yea and of excommunication too, not to proceede further, nor to meddle in such causes, and not to molest such parties, neither

in

Churche to get  
money.



in bodie nor goods: But if the Judges obey not, they shall bee suspended from hearing of masse in that place, although the matter concerneth the fact of merchandise.

35 Item, the said officials grant citations without number against the laitie in cases of warrancies personally to asste before them persons unknowne. But if they be knowne, it is contained in the citation, that in no wise, and that vnder a great paine, he cause his aduersary to bee called before a secular judge, during the returns of the citation.

36 Item, when one is excommunicated in any place, the officials grant out personall citations against them, which doe participate, and are conversant with the excommunicate: causing a whole country by the space of eight miles about to be cited together. And further, the friends and acquaintance of the party so excommunicate (sometimes by 40. sometimes 60. yea and sometimes by a 100. at once) are compelled to make their purgation before them, that they doe not participate nor keep company with their friends the excommunicate. Whereby ensueth that many honest, old and ancient men, for avoyding of troubles and expences, doe pay some twelue pence, some two shillings. By occasion whereof many vines are unlocked to, much ground untilled, yea, and many good men constrained to lay the key vnder the doore, and run away.

37 Item, the said officials doe burden many persons of good name and fame, to be blurers: whereby they are constrained to agree with them, for avoyding the infamy that thereby might insue.

38 Item, the foresaid officials call by citation afore them, the honest wedded (as well man as woman) charging them, that they haue committed adultery to the perpetuall infamy of their husbands and wiues. And for nothing else but by extortion to wyning money from them.

39 Item, mention must bee made of the multitude and number of proctors, which eate and deuoure by all the world with their citations, catching by clients, and keeping abroad in the country courts and assises, who for money returne not the citations, which by extortion they receiue of them which are cited.

40 Item, there be many other griefes and enormities, which the Chapters, Abbats, Priors, Prioules, and other ecclesiasticall persons in the realme of France, practise against the people. As when they cause to be cited before them, many of the kings burgesses, and others in diuers places being privileged: that is to say, Baioucesnes, Hanmedans in Brittain, L'udons, Bastions, with other more. But specially the Prioules of hospitals be more commonly thus stricke, than any other do whereby the people is much indamaged, and will bee every day more and more, if remedy be not had therein.

41 Item, ecclesiasticall magistrates labour to haue cognition of causes of injury, in whatsoeuer cause it be: whether the injury be committed by word or fact. Likewise they take vpon them to heare the causes of married clerkes, and of their wiues, although they both be merchandise. And if at any time such couples bee taken by the secular magistrates, the officiall causeth a suspension to bee denounced in that parish, by force of the counsell Siluaneusen.

42 Item, they challenge to haue cognition concerning widowes goods, both moueable & vnmouable. And if it happeneth at any time that a merchant widow, in any of the kings peculiars by way of arest, procureth any temporall man be conuicted before the secular judge: the matter to be so fartrauised, that he should haue been condemned by the sentence of the secular judge, and then it come to the care of the ecclesiasticall magistrates, how and before whom the widow did conuent him: the said temporall judge shall bee constrained to withhold the same.

And by their monitions and censures they will correct the same, and this oftentimes happeneth.

43 Item, many of the tenants and inhabitors of the bishops lands call one another to the court of the officials, by a kinde of appellation: by vertue whereof the officials take vpon them to proceede in the same, and to haue cognition thereof, to the prejudice of the temporall iurisdiction of our soveraigne lord the king.

44 Item, if any man be apprehended by secular justice in the shedding of blood; hee is to be ordered by them, if he be lay: if he be a clerke he is to be restored to the ecclesiasticall judge. But whether hee be a temporall man or clerke that is so taken, and appealeth to the officials court, they will be so bold to haue cognition thereof, requiring herewith amends of the secular court, which enterprised the foresaid apprehension. If this be suffered, the malefactor shall neuer be punished. For by and by they will appeale, and immediately after the appellation flee & avoid away.

45 Item, when they cause many, of office, to be cited before them, they will admit them to haue no proctors: to whom when they come at the day of appearance, they object the crime of vsury. And except they answer as the promoters will themselves, they are trodden vnder feet (although they be mere lay) and shall not be dismissed, before they fine euen as the officials list themselves, although they be no blurers. But if any be blurers, they take of them faction and bribes: and so they bee permitted to vse their vsury, no lesse than before; so that they may haue their oldfades and bribes.

46 Item, they procure their officers to apprehend clerkes in whatsoeuer soile they be found: albeit by justice they may appeale therefrom. But if by any they be let of their will herein, they doe forthwith, by sentence of excommunication, cause them to desist therefore.

47 Item, as oftentimes as any temporall magistrat doth apprehend any person, which afterward, being required of the clergy, is quietly deliuered vnto them: yet for all that, the officials cause those magistrates to be denounced or communicate by law.

48 Item, the prelates giue order of censures as well to men of thirty yeares as vpwrd, as also to married men, when they come vnto them, for feare of imprisonment and punishment due vnto them for their criminall offences, before committed. And this is oftentimes put in practise.

49 Item, if it happen any of the kings seruants or any other to be excommunicate, who would faine be absolved, being glad to pay reasonably for the same: the clergy will not receiue satisfaction but such as shall please them, whereby many of them remaine still excommunicate.

50 Item, when two persons haue bin at strife and law together for the possession of land, & the matter contentious bee put into the hands of the king by some seruant or officer of the king, for the taking vp of the matter: then doe the prelates admonish the one part not to trouble the other which is in possession. Otherwise if he doe, they doe excommunicate him.

51 Item, the foresaid prelates, deanes, chaplaines, and other the rout of the clergy, put the kings officers to so much trauell and expences in trying out the kings vsurped iurisdiction, as they tearme it, that oftentimes many of them spend and consume, in the trauell of the right and title therof, all that they haue and more too.

52 Item, if any secular iusticer in a true and iust cause, at the request of the party, puteth in his helping hand concerning the inheritance of clerkes: the ecclesiasticall judges, and their ministers, send out monitions in writing against the said iusticer; yea vnder paine of excommunication and forfeiture, to take away his hand & leaue off: Enioyning him further to suffer the other party quietly to enioy the said things. Otherwise they denounce him excommunicat, and

{ KING }  
{ EDW. I }

The clergy preiudiciall to common iustice.

Ex officio.

Usury craueth to be punished by the clergy against lay men.

The prelates make the church a den of thieves



KING ?  
EDW. I

Note the practice of officials to get money.

and he shall not be absolved before he have well paid for it, even as pleaseth master official to his high pre-  
wice of the authority of our soueraign lord the king.

53 Item, the ecclesiasticall magistrates, so soone as they heare any rich or fat cob to die, or think that he will not live long, send out forthwith letters under seale to their chaplaine, commanding him in any wise not to presume to bury him, although he made his testament, and receiued the rites of the Church. And when afterward the friends and kinsfolkes of the dead respect vnto them to know the cause of their inhibition; they declare vnto them that he was an blurer, and that he kept not the commandements of holy Church; and so long keepe they the cozpes of the dead vnburiued, till the friends of him buy it out with good store of mony, heaping and hoarding by these meanes abundance of riches.

54 Item, if there be any violent shedding of blood in any churchyard, wherby the interdict taketh place, the clergy causeth a certaine imposition to be leued of the parishioners there, for the salarie towards the restoring thereof: Although some of the parishioners be of an exempt jurisdiction; yea, and although he which shed blood be able to pay the whole fare which they leued and moze to.

55 Item, certaine chaplaines affirme themselves to haue certaine apostolicall priuiledges, by vertue whereof they may appoint what judges they will (yea and oftentimes of their owne house) and so they be judges in their owne cause, which is plain against the law. Whereby oftentimes it hapneth, that after great proccesse and expences had made in any great cause of inquest (moze often about realtie than otherwise) when they haue notice by the proctors and aduocates that they shall haue the soile therein; they reuoke forthwith those named judges, and so the kings subjects are dammaged, & can haue no iustice nor redresse at their hands.

56 Item, if any tempozall man call a clerke before a secular iudge in a case of inheritance, the ecclesiasticall iudge procureth a stop to be made therein, attributing to themselves the cognition thereof: and so by aduocating & remouing, the lay man is constrained to make satisfaction.

57 Item, the clergy challengeth the cognition of such causes as married clerkes being merchants and artificers do commence: when by law it doth appertaine to the tempozall, especially about the trade of merchandise.

58 Item, they oftentimes make interdictions in many of the kings townes and holds, and cause the diuine seruice to cease: against the priuiledges gaunted by many of the high Bishops of Rome to our soueraigne lord and master the king.

59 Item, to and for the maintenance and keeping of their temporalities, they appoint bailiffes and other officers: who, if they doe offend, may not condignely be punished according to law and iustice.

60 Item, the ecclesiasticall iudges haue promoters belonging to them: whom, when any man is excommunicated (be it right, or be it wrong) they cause to be made, that no man shall worke or doe any thing for him that is excommunicate: whereby the lands and vniuers are oftentimes vnlodged to and vntilled, to the no small prejudice of the king and his common people.

61 Item, the foresaid promoters cause citations to be made out, by vertue whereof they call in one citation twenty, thirty, forty persons to appeare, for participating with such interdicted persons; taking of some ten, of other some twenty shillings, as much as they be able to make: whereby the common people are much oppressed.

62 Item, the ecclesiasticall iudges cause all the aduocates of their courts to be swozne, that none shall retaine them of their counsell against any of them, without their licence: whereby oftentimes the poore man quite loseth his right, and the kings cause

is delayed; because his solicitors cannot freely retaine counsell, without speciall licence.

63 Item, they will make inventories of their goods which die intestate, or without making of Will; and will haue the possession of their goods, as well moucable as brimoucable, in their owne hands to distribute to the heires, or to whom they list.

64 Item, the execution also of testaments they take into their owne hands, taking inventories of dead mens goods, and keeping and disposing them to the heires after their pleasure. And they haue officials properly deputed for the execution thereof.

65 Item, they will not giue credit (sometimes) to testaments made before witnesse, vnieste they be first by their owne officials approued.

After he had thus spoken, the prelates required to haue time to answer thereunto. Whereupon the Friday next ensuing, was appointed for the same.

On the which day the bishop Euen, and archbishop of Senon elect, in the name of the whole clergy answered for them all before the king, holding his parliament as that day at Nicenas, and thus he there propounded: Forasmuch as the lord Peter Cugner of late propounding against the Church of France, took to his theme that which is writ ten in the 22. of Mattheu, I render vnto Cesar that which is Cessars, and vnto God that which is Gods; by which words, he said, two points were to be noted: First, the reuerence & subjection of the prelates, that they ought to haue to the king their soueraigne: Secondly, the dis-

tribution of the tempozall jurisdiction from the spirituall. The which first part he proued out of the first epistle of Peter in the second chap. where it is written, Submit your selues vnto every creature, for the Lords sake, whether it be vnto the king, as vnto the superior, or vnto gouernours, as vnto them that are sent of him, for the punishment of euill doers, and for the praise of them that doe well. The second point he proued by the words of our Sauour Christ in the 22. of Luke, where the apostle saith, Luk. 22. Behold, here are two swords: And he said vnto them, it is enough, signifying by the two swords the two jurisdictions. And likewise out of the tenthenthy of Mattheu, where Christ would pay tribute for him and Peter; March. 17. Giuing hereby an example, how that ecclesiasticall persons were bound to pay and yield to the tempozall power the tempozalties: which also is proued in the 11. quest. prim. cap. Si tributum. & cap. magnum.

And further, because this is proued by mans law, where it is said, two great gifts are bestowed, priesthood and empire; the priesthood to rule ouer matters diuine, the empire to beare domination ouer humane matters. Whereby he concluded, that seeing these jurisdictions are distinguished of God; the one being giuen and limited to the Church, and the other to the tempozall: the Church in no wise ought to intermeddle, or to haue any thing to doe with the tempozall jurisdiction. For it is written in the two and twentieth of the Prouerbes, Thou ought not to passe the old limits and bounds, which the fathers haue set. And well by the way he bringeth in this word, old and ancient: Because customes, brought in to the contrary, be of no force, but rather are counted abuses and corruptions. Neither can prescription take place, for that Ius Asci is inprescriptible, neither can the king abrogate from himselfe such law, nor renounce his right, prouing the same by many chapters contained in the 10. Dist. Whereby seeing the king, at what time he was crowned, sweare not only not to alienate or infringe the lawes of his realme, but also to call in such lawes as were alienated and vsurped either by the Church, or by any other: the king was bound by his oath to reuoke the same abuses.

In especiall he did exhibit many articles in writing, wherein (as he said) the church did vsurpe vpon the jurisdiction tempozall. To answer these articles with reconciling of the places, vnder protestation that whatsoener I say or shall say, it is not to growe

Bishop Euen and Archbishop of Senon elect prolocutors for the prelates.

Repetition of the lord Peters oration aboue touched, pag. 461.

Luk. 22.

March. 17.

Two gifts bestowed, priesthood, empire.

Pro. 22.

Dist. 10.



1 Pet. 2.

ground or make any small judgement or determination herein; but onely to informe the conscience of our soneraigne lord the King and his assistants here assembled, alleging the first epistle of Peter the second chapter, where he saith, feare God and honoꝛ the king. By which words, the holy Apostle Saint Peter teacheth vs two things: first, that loue, feare and obedience, is due vnto God for the mightinesse and puissance of his Maiesty; saying, feare God, Secondly, that speciall honoꝛ and reuerence is due to the king, for the excellencie of his dignitie; saying, Honoꝛ the king. But note you by the way, how the Apostle placeth his words: first he saith, that feare is due vnto God, because principally and in chiefe we ought to feare God. For if the king or any other should command things contrary to God, we ought to haue no regard thereof, but to contemne the king and feare God. For it is written in the fifth of the Actes of the Apostles; We ought rather to obey God than men: and also in the seuenth chapter of Iachabes the second booke, where it is said, I will not obey the commandements of the king, but the law.

Acts 5.  
2 Mach. 7.

II. quest. I.

The reason whereof S. Augustine giueth both in the Glosse vpon the Romans, and also in the 11. quæst. I. He that resisteth the superior power, resisteth the will and ordinance of God. But put case thou art commanded to do that which thou maist not do, or not to do that which thou oughtest to do. Doubtlesse, thou must neglect the lesser power, and feare the higher, learning the degrees of worldly things.

As for example, be it so that a pryncer commandeth thee any thing, and the same be against the Proconsull, thou oughtest not to follow it. Yea and further, put case the Proconsull commandeth one thing, the emperor another, and God willett the third: Thou must not care for them, but obey God, for God is the greater power. For they may threaten thee with prison, but God threatneth thee with hell fire: they may slay and kill the body, but God may send thee body and soule to perpetuall hell fire. And therefore woorthily it is put first, feare God. And here the place in the last of Ecclesiast. is to be adioyned, where it is written; feare God and keepe his commandements.

Feare of God  
standeth in three  
points.

And me thinketh that man is bound to feare God chiefly in three sorts. What is to say: first, in the bountifull bestowing of his gifts and benefits. Secondly, in the evident promoting of his seruants: and lastly, in the full rending and restoring vnto man that is his.

First, I say in the bountifull, &c. and for this cause the Emperor Iustinian writeth: Although there is nothing to be accounted good, which doth excede and is too great, yet for a pryncer to bestow accordingly vpon the Church it is very good. For why, the king and Emperour is bound to bestow so much the more substance, how much the more God hath giuen to him, and to bestow the same both frankly, and especially to famous churches, wherein the best and greatest measure is of the Lords gifts, that is, a great gift. And to this end Gregory enacteth a law, cap. I. de extra. de donationibus, that nobilitie ought in manner to prescribe this law to himselfe, to thinke himselfe bound to giue, when he giueth freely, and vntlesse he increase in giuing still, to thinke that he hath giuen nothing.

Numb. 18.

Wherefore Abel, as appeareth in the 4. chapter of Genesis, who offered of the best to the Lord, was blessed of God. And therefore other kings, the more they offered to God, the more they were both spiritually and temporally blessed of him: as we reade of Iohna, David, Salomon, and others in the booke of the kings, and therefore it is so written in the eighteenth of Numbers: and ye shall separate vnto the Lords treasury, things that bee chiefe and most principall. As likewise David saith in the first of Paralipomenon the last chapter: I haue giuen all this with a glad heart, even with a good will, and

I. Paral. cap.  
216.

now haue I had joy to see the people which here are present, offer with a free will vnto the. And no maruell, for David saith in that place: For of thy hand we haue receiued all, & to thee we giue. And therefore it seemeth to me, because that the kings of France and barons of the same, haue giuen to God and his church more than any other, therefore they were happy and blessed aboue all other kings, and the more they did giue to God, the more they receiued at his hands.

KING.  
EDW. I.What benefit  
commeth by  
giuing to the  
church.

Examples whereof we haue of Clodoue, Charles, and S. Lewis: the more one giueth to God, the more he receiue of him: for he in the first of Luke hath promised, Giue and it shall be giuen vnto you: Wherefore a gift that a pryncer bestoweth vpon the Church is rended againe with triple increase, and that no lesse in time of warre, than in time of peace. I say in warre time, because victorie proceedeth of no other, but onely of God, for it is written in the first of Iachabes the third chapter; the victorie of the battell standeth not in the multitude of the host, but the strength cometh from Heauen. And likewise, in the seuenteenth chap. of Exodus it is declared that when Moses held vp his hands, Israel had the victorie: but when he let downe his hands, Amaleck had the victorie. To this end also serueth the last chapter of 2. Iachabes 2. Where Judas being at the point to haue the victorie, thought he saw Urian and Jeremy (which had bin high priests & very vertuous men) holding vp their hands towards heauen, and praying for their people and all the whole cite, &c. Likewise in peace time now, the long dayes of the king and of his sons, their peace, prosperity, and obedience (by the prayer of the Church) is maintained and supported in the realme. For as long as Salomon was bent and giuen in building the house of God, so long he had peace: who thus in the sixteenth chapter of the Iachabes teacheth vs: When a mans wayes please the Lord, he maketh his very enemies to be his friends: And also in 1 Esdras the first chapter, where it is read, how the priests were commanded to offer sweet sauiours to the God of Heauen, and pray for the kings life and his children. And well therefore may it be called a gift both sauourable and irrevocable, whereby victorie is giuen, life granted, and peace with security conserued. To serue God therefore, and liberally to giue toward the worshipping of him, is the chiefeest signe and token of diuine feare and loue. Ecclesiast. chap. 2. Who feareth the Lord, belaueth him, and your reward shall not be emptye.

Luke 6.

Time of war.

I Mach. 3.

Exod. 17.

2 Mach. 2.

Time of peace.

Prou. 16.

I Esdras 6.

Eccles. 2.

Secondly, concerning the feare of God, I doe you to vnderstand, that among the precepts of the Lord, the first and chiefeest commandement of the second table is, to honoꝛ thy father. Which precept is very well expounded in the twelfth chapter to Hebrewes: Where it is not onely meant of the fathers of our bodies, but also of the father of spirits. For as spirituall things doe farre excede temporall matters, so much more a great deale the spirituall sonne is bound to reuerence the spirituall father, and to be in subiection vnto him, that he may liue. And that the priests and prelates bee the spirituall fathers, it is proued in the fourth booke of the Kings, the first chapter. Where the King of Israel called Elzeus father, saying: My father, shall I smite them? Vnto this effect serueth the tenth of Luke, where our Saviour said to the Apostles (whose successors the bishops are) He that heareth you, heareth me, and he that despiseth you, despiseth me. Also in the first to the Thessalonians the fourth chapter, He that despiseth you, despiseth not men but God. Wherefore Iustinian the Emperour in another place saith, We haue great care to the Church of God, that therein may be true doctrine and integritie of priests life. Which hauing, we trust that for our great gifts we shall receiue such rewards at Gods hands, both as be durable, and shall remaine: yea and also that his

The second  
part of teaching  
God.

Heb. 12.

Honoring of  
spirituall fa-  
thers.

4 Kings 6.

Luke 10.

I Thes. 4.



KIRK.  
EDW. I.

I. Quest. ca.  
Sacerdoti-  
us.

rod. 22.

alach. 2.

omo; to be gi-  
ven to priests.

two powers  
temporal and  
spiritual, and  
yet difference  
between them  
th.

e mai. &  
p. Solit.

double subie-  
ction upon merit  
virtues, and  
honour of  
celibacy.

he authority  
of a Bishop and  
king compa-  
rison.

chose Kings.

cclef. 4.

cclef. 4.

he third part  
fearing God.

cclef. 18.

thereto have not happened. Blessed saint Hierome in his register writing to a certaine Emperour, which is also to be seene in the decrees, Decret. 11. quast. 1. saith; Let not the Emperour disdaine priests, but he use speciall regard on them for his sake whose seruants they be; and so let him rule over them that due and conigne reuerence bee given unto them. For they in diuine Scriptures are sometime termed Gods, sometimes named Angels, Eccl. 22. When shall both their causes come before the gods. Also Malachi the secon, the priests lips should bee sure of knowledge, that men may seeke the law at his mouth: For hee is a messenger of the Lord of hosts. And therefore it is no maruell, if we should vouchsafe to honour them, when God himselfe in his speech, attributing to them honour, tearmeth them gods and angels. And here is to bee noted, how Constantine the Emperour, when certaine of his subiects presented unto him libels accusatorie against the Bishops, receiued them at their hands. But calling before him those bishops which were accused therein, in their sight he cast those libels into the fire, saying; Depart you hence and discusse these matters within your selues. For it is not conuenient and meete that wee iudge Gods, because it is written; God shode in the synagoge of Gods, and in the midst of them hee did iudge Gods. In which chapter it is declared, how that the Pagans, who too; shipped golden and wooden gods, attributed great honour to the priests: What maruell is it then, if the godly and great and chistian Emperours doe honor and reuerence the priests of the true God? And doubtlesse, it is their dutie so to doe. And it is reason, which the lord Peter the last day said in this point; That there are two powers, p; testhood and dominion, the one spirituall, the other tempozall which no lesse differ one from the other, than the Sunne from the Moone, the heauen from the earth, and gold from lead. And therefore if honour is due to be giuen to the lesser power, by them that be vnderneath him; he that is chiefe of the higher power, of right god duty, is to be honozed, and reuerenced of all vnder him, as expressly is declared, Cap. Solit. De ma. & ob. In which chapter answer is fully made to the allegation of the lord Peter (alleged by him to make for his purpose) that is to say; We see subiect to all creatures for Gods sake, &c. Where he speaketh of the subiection which standeth vpon the merit of vertue, and not vpon the dutie of necessity. For else if he should speake of the subiection which is by duty of necessity; then must it needs follow, that every bishop ought to be subiect to euery beggerly rascall in the city of Paris. For the text is. We see subiect to all humane creatures; but a rascall is a humane creature: Ergo, bishops must subiect to a rascall. Of the dignitie of a Bishop Ambrose talketh in his pastozall. The honoz, saith he, and the maiesty of a Bishop is without all comparison. If you compare it to the royaltie of a king, it is euen as you would compare metall or lead to the beauty of gold: For that is to be seene, that Kings and Princes kneeling vnder the knees of Priests and kissing their right hand; thinke themselves to bee defended by their prayer. And because the kings of France haue, more than other honozed and reuerenced the prelates, they haue aboue all other flourished and prospered. It is sayd in Ecclef. 4. Hee that honozeth his father, shall reioyce in his sonnes. And it followeth there; Hee that honozeth his fathers, shall liue a long life. This is therefore the signe of the feare of God. And as it is written in Ecclef. 4. Hee that feareth God honozeth his parents.

Wherby I say, that a man ought to feare God, in the full reuerencing and restoring vnto man that is his: For hee that doth not giue to another that is his, but goeth about to surpe, doubtlesse he feareth not God. Contrary, he that restoreth all againe, hee is sayd to loue and feare God. Ecclesiast. 18. Hee

that feareth God will doe good things. And in the Psalme, I haue bene afraid of thy judgements, and haue done judgement and iustice. For as the lawyers say, which is true; A thing may be made mine diuers waies, as by succession, commutation, prescription, or any other acquisition, either by law or custome; And so of the rest. And whereas the Lord Peter the last day, by distinction of iurisdiction tempozall and spirituall, endeouored to proue that he, which had spirituall iurisdiction, ought not to haue tempozall; otherwise there were no distinction thereof, but rather a confusion of iuridictions: I will therefore proue the contrary, that these iuridictions are compatible both in one person, especially in an ecclesiasticall man. And this will I proue by the law of God, by the law of nature, canon law, ciuill law, by custome and priuiledge. But first I allege, that accidentall formes some of them are distinct, that they are not cleane contrary, but dislike, as whitenesse and swetnesse. Other formes there bee which are so distinct, that they are cleane contrary one to the other, and are not compatible in one subiect. For one contrary expels another, and impozteth the negatiue of the other. Wherefore those things be contrary, which one from another are most of all distant and disagreeing, and in one susceptible may come one after the other, but not together, as the philosopher teacheth in the Medicaments. But those formes which are so distinct that they bee not contrary but dislike, are compatible in one subiect, as quantity and quality, which, being distinct in respect of their Genus generalissimum, yet may bee in one person. And fortitude and temperance, being vnder one kind of moral vertue, are found to be in one man, as Logicke and Grammar, which are also species and kinds in one genus, viz. of intellectus. Therefore it is no good argument: These formes be distinct, Ergo, they be not compatible in one subiect. And therefore that the iuridictions tempozall and spirituall are so distinct, that they are not contrary but compatible, it is euident hereby, because things contrary be so, that the one cannot be ordained to concurre with the other, but rather the one confoundeth and destroyeth the other: but in this case iurisdiction tempozall is ordained for the spirituall; and contrary, the spirituall for the tempozall. And rather, the one to dependeth on the other, as the clearnesse of the Moone both on the brightnesse of the Sunne. Also the one iurisdiction so helpeth and comports the other, that there is no contrariety in them. And therefore it is no good consequence, because they are distinct: Ergo, they are not compatible in one person. This also is to be proued de facto. For the earth is the Lords, and the plenty of the whole vniuersall world, and all that dwell therein. It is proued likewise by this reason. For if the iuridictions not compatible, it should follow, that no ecclesiasticall person should haue any sort of tempozall iurisdiction; neither land, towne, castle, lordship, nor any other thing else, which is most absurd: and so by this means it should follow, that no ecclesiasticall person should be in subiection vnto the king, which were to the great derogation of the kings maiesties crowne and dignitie. It must needs be therefore that these iuridictions be compatible, notwithstanding the distinction of them one from another. And thus much for answer to all these reasons, by the which lord Peter proued the distinction of these iuridictions.

These things premised, thus I proceed further to proue that a person ecclesiasticall, which hath iurisdiction spirituall, may also haue tempozall iurisdiction: and that the iurisdiction tempozall may bee in an ecclesiasticall person, I will proue it by the Scriptures; and first out of the old testament, to the euident probation whereof, it is to bee vnderstood: That God, after the creation of the world and man, sent vnto Noe three, would gouerne the world

A thing made;  
mine diuers  
waies.

Sit prole  
1 By diuine law.  
2 By the law of  
nature.  
3 By canon law.  
4 By ciuill law.  
5 By custome.  
6 By priuiledge.

Formes being  
dislike and not  
contrary, may  
be comparable  
in one subiect.

Prooues out of  
the old Testa-  
ment.







**KING** } may not lose and bind. **DW.I** } By logick thus I may reason; There is nothing bound by the Church, that is not bound in heaven: which argument is good by a certaine rule of logick, which saith; that contraries, if the negation be put after, are equivalent. For everie thing and nothing, whatsoever things, and no manner of thing, be contrary one to the other. And so nothing not, is as much to say, as all things. Secondly, I doe prove it out of another text of Saint Luke, chap. 22. Which place hee alleaged to make for his purpose; but I will strike him with his own weapon. For where he said, that by the two swords the two powers temporall and spirituall were to be understood, it was so indeed: but to whose hands would hee (I pray you) have these two swords committed? To the hands of Peter and other the Apostles, &c. But the holy father the Pope succeeded Peter and the other Apostles, the bishops disciples, Curats, Parsons, as in the Glosse appeareth. Luk. 10. whereby thus I argue: That by the two swords, the two powers are meant: But Christ willed those two swords to be put into the Churches hands: Ergo, likewise the two powers. But you may reply and say, that Christ did reprehend Peter because hee strooke with a temporall sword, and cut off an eare, saying unto him, But by thy sword, &c. Which reason is of no force: for Christ did not will Peter to cast away quite from him the sword, but to put it in to the scabbard and to keepe it, giuing to understand thereby, that such power, although it be in the churchs hands; yet the execution thereof (as much as appertaineth to bloodshedding in the new law) hee would haue to appertaine to the secular Judge; notwithstanding yet perhaps, according to the discretion and will of the Clergy.

**1 Cor. 6.** } Thirdly, I prouethis by the intent of S. Paul in the 1. Cor. 6. where he saith, that they which haue secular business, and contend one against another, ought to be iudged by the Saints. And that they should iudge therein, therefore hee made this argument; Know you not that the Saints shall iudge the world? And if the world be iudged by you, are ye not good enough to iudge small trifles? As though he would say, doe ye not know how that ye shall iudge the Angels? How much more then may you iudge things secular? And it followeth; If you haue iudgement of secular and worldly matters, take them which are despised in the Church and congregations, and make them Judges. Neither both it make any thing against it, because the Apostle in the same place inferreth; Ad verecundiam vestram dico; I say it to your shame: for that is to be referred to those, where he saith, Appoint those which are despised. Therefore the Apostle speaketh ironically in this matter, as meaning thus, Sooner and the rather you ought to run to the iudgement of the despised which be in the Church, than to the iudgement of those which be out of the Church.

Ergo, the rather to resort to the iudgement of the wise, who remaine in the Church and congregation. Therefore the Apostle by and by added, when he said, I speake to your shame: What not one wise man amongst you that can iudge betwene brother & brother? Meaning thereby that there were some. By these therefore and many other like reasons (which for breuitie I omit) it appeareth that both the powers may be in an Ecclesiasticall mans hand: and that an Ecclesiasticall man, is Capax both of the temporall and spirituall iurisdiction. For is it any matter if it be objected, that Peter, and other Apostles, and Christ himselfe wiled little this temporall power: for in them was not the like reason as now is in vs, as is proued in the 22. q. 1. cap. and in many other places of the law. The Apostles at the first beginning tooke no receipt of lands and possessions, but the price onely thereof; which now the Church with very good reason doth receiue, and that to the great merit both of the giuer and of

ferer, as it appeareth in Constantine and others: in the which foresaid 1. cap. the reason of ciuility is wel proued: for that the Apostles did foresee, that the church should be among Gentiles, and not be only in Judea, &c. And further, at the beginning Christ and his Apostles were wholly bent and giuen to our health, saluation and erudition; little sticking or standing vpon the exercise of euerie churchs iurisdiction, hauing regard to that which is written in the sixth chap. to the Corinthians. All things are lawfull vnto men, but all things are not expedient. And likewise in the 8. chap. of eccles. it is read, that euery thing hath his time. But now (through the grace of God, the whole people of the realme of France haue submitted themselves to the christian faith; worthily therefore the church is occupied about ministering of justice, and punishing of vice; for peace shall be the worke of justice, Chap 33. chap. And in these iudgements this onely is to be considered, that the life of man be reformed, &c. Thus you see, how this our conclusion somewhat is confirmed by the Scriptures. Now will I proue it by naturall law and reason, and first after this manner: He seemeth most fit to play a good Judges part, which followeth nearest God; for properly God is the ruler and director of all iudgements, who saith, Prouerb. capite octauo; By me the law maker shall decree justice and just things: but Ecclesiasticall persons follow next to God, and be nearest him; so that they be elected of God into a peculiar people, whereof it is said, 1 Pet. 2. You are a chosen generation, a royall priesthood, a holy nation, and a peculiar people, that you should shew the vertues of him that called you, &c. Ergo, it is most fit that persons Ecclesiasticall, and churchmen should iudge of such matters. Whereouer, none doubteth, but that the correction and punishment of sinne belongeth to ecclesiasticall persons: wherefore when such things be not committed without sinne and offence of the one party, it is evident that the Church may haue cognition thereof. Also, who so hath power to iudge of the end, hath also power to iudge of things ordained to the end; for the consideration of the things ordained to the end, riseth of the end. When therefore the body is ordained for the life and soule, & temporall things for spiritual, as for the end; the church which doth iudge of spiritual things, may in like manner lawfully iudge of temporall things. All which is sufficiently confirmed In extr. c. iudicis. where it is said, that the necessary followeth the nature of the principall, which appeareth sufficiently by example. For so much therefore as these two iurisdiccions be compared to two lights, that is to say, to the Sunne and to the Moone, and all the whole clearenes and brightnes of the Moone, both in forme and vertue, dependeth of the Sunne, and in the Sunne; and that the brightnesse of the Sunne is not of the Moone, or in the Moone; it is plaine that spiritual iurisdiction, which is compared to the Sunn hath in it, both in forme and vertue, the iurisdiction temporall, and not contrary. Any other like reasons might be brought in. But for that the time waiteth short, I will omit them.

Thirdly, I moue it by the ciuill law, Auth. Disse. Iud. c. Si tamen ix. col. where it is said, If a secular Judge be suspected, let the bishop of the City be joined vnto him. But if he be negligent, then let the whole iudgement be referred to the Bishop. In like sort Theodosius the emperour enacted such a law; that whatsoever suter being plaintiffe in any kind of matter, whether at the beginning thereof, or after contestation of law, or when the matter came to confirmation, or to sentence; if the plaintiffe had once chosen the Court and iurisdiction of the holy see; there without all doubt, though the defendant resisted and dissented, the matter before the bishops and other Ecclesiasticall Judges should be determined & ended. Which law afterward Carolus the great, who was king of France, confirmed in these words;

Ey 33.

M. Probation, by ciuill law and reason.

1 Pet. 2.



We will and command, that all our subjects, as well Romans and Frenchmen, as others vnder our dominion whatsoever, be by law and custome henceforth bound and charged to keepe this for a perpetuall and prescript law; That whosoever began, or commenced a sute, &c. as is aboue mentioned, &c. II. quest. 1. Quicunque, &c. 2. But you may object and say, that this law is abrogated, as the Glosse saith there to touch. But all will not serue; for although this law is not redaded into the body of the law, yet for all that it is not abrogated. But surely it is a priuiledge honourably granted to the whole vniuersall Church, which the Emperour cannot take away, no more than any other liberty of the Church. By the canon law also this priuiledge is confirmed, extra. de iud. c. timor. Nouil. and moreover, it saith to be confirmed by the ciuill law, C. de sacros. Si. Ecclie. priuilegium: although it be not expressely, but generally named. And so it is cleare by the ciuill law, that such jurisdiction doth pertaine to Ecclesiasticall persons. By canon law in like manner in places infirmite: Distinct. 22. cap. Omnes Patriarche. 2. quest. 5. ca. Si quis presbyter. II. quest. 1. cap. Relatum. 25. distinct. cap. ecce. Extra. de iudiciis. Novit. De competentis foro. cap. Licet; with many other places infirmite. And further, the canon law so farre pprocedeth, that whosoever goeth about by custome to interrupt or hinder any having such jurisdiction, incur the sentence (ipso facto) of excommunication, as is proued ca. Quoniam intelleximus de immunitate ecclie. lib. sext. Which is most plaine by the notorious custome, time out of minde, in the dayes of the good and Christian Princes, where to violate such custome, it is plaine sacrilege: II. quest. 1. cit. I. &c. 2. For by the law, custome winneth and gaineth jurisdiction, especially to him that is Capax thereof: yea and further, custome (time out of minde) is amongst all persons in place of written and confirmed law. Now seeing the Church of France hath in common with the temporality, to iudge and decre both of actions personall and reall touching the Church, it is plaine, that such custome winneth jurisdiction to it. Ergo, &c. But the Lord Peter auouched, that the custome could not preuaile in this case, because here lacked true dealing. Besides, the said law is called inprescriptible, for that it is *Ius fisci*. But this maketh nothing against vs: for the Church of France rather challengeth this law by custome, than by prescription. Which custome saith rather to be brought in of the free will and election of the people, frequenting more the Ecclesiasticall Consistories, than the secular Courts. Besides this, custome in that it hath been oftentimes decided in iudgement contradictory (many of the Barons dissenting, and not consenting therunto) is much thereby confirmed. This custome I say, of the Church, hath been fast established by the consent and assent of the Prelates, and then confirmed by the Kings of France your predecessors, and so peaceably obserued of the Church.

And yet may the church challenge this by prescription, for that there are but three things which are required in prescription: that is to say, title, true dealing, and continuance of time. And it is without doubt that the Churches both purely haue, and in times past had a good title, as appeareth by the priuiledge granted of Theodosius the Emperour, and confirmed by Charles, who gaue in commandment, to keepe the same inuicably, which title it hath both by diuine, naturall, and humane law, as before is mentioned. Therefore it must needs haue true dealing, when so many great and cleare titles are knowne to condescend therunto. Also there concurreth such continuance of time, that euen against *Ius fisci* it is prescriptible: for it hath not onely continued by the space of 100. yeares, but also more than 600. yeares past. Neither is this alwaies true, that this law is inprescriptible, especially of the Church, the which, in as much as it appertaineth to the spirit

ually, is not subiect to the king, but is much more noble, and far excelleth; Euen no lesse than the Sun doth the Moone, gold lead, and heauen the earth. And this is certaine, and no lesse reason, that the higher and equall may duly prescribe law against him, that is either equall or lower in degree; as one king may doe to another. Wherefore it appeareth, that the Church may prescribe this, although it were *Ius fisci*, as indeed it is not.

Finally, this is proued by priuiledge granted by Carolus the great king of France, as before, and by Ludouike the second, and by Philip your uncle, and Ludouike and Philip your kindred, which priuiledges we haue here ready to shew. But perhaps you will say, that these things cannot agree: that the Church hath this jurisdiction, both by law, custome and priuiledge, which all cannot well hang together: for if the Church haue it by one of these, it should follow, that the Church lacketh it by another. But this may I answer two manner of waies; first, that the priuiledge may be double, one as a bringer in of a new law, and thus it cannot be reconciled: the other as a confirmative and declarative of the old law; and this way it may well be agreed: which distinction may also take place in custome. Wherefore it may thus be answered, that although this jurisdiction is due vnto the Church by law, it appertaineth also vnto the same by priuiledge and custome, but yet not by such kind of custome and priuiledge, which induceth a new law; but which declareth and confirmeth the old law. And if any will reply, demanding wherefore the Church of France should moue challenge this, than any other churches in other realmes, which haue no such prerogative; I can none answer them. If the kings of France (whom God with singular grace, honor and priuiledge, farre aboue all other Princes, hath blessed and indued for three speciall causes, to wit, for their great faith and deuotion vnto God, for their honor and reuerence to the church, and for their good justice shewed vnto the people) haue granted to the Church speciall liberties, or haue permitted those which before were granted, peaceably to be kept and obserued; why then they should haue them, it is no maruall. Yea and further, their deuotion vnto the Church hath been such, that the nearer the Churches were vnto them, the more liberties they enjoyed; and yet had these Princes neuer the lesse therfore, but rather the more: which is euident, and redoundeth to the great honour and nobility both of the king and his Realme.

I haue oftentimes heard of other, how that foure or five things doe especially nobilitate and adorne this Realme.

First, their sincere and inuolable faith, for it was at no time read, that the kings of France (since the receiuing of the faith) did euer swaue fro the same.

Secondly, the nobility of blood, which descended from Adamus the king of the Troians, and successuely from Carolus and other royall kings.

Thirdly, the vniuersity and peace of concord, which especially aboue all other reigned and flourished in the Realme of France.

Fourthly, the solemnity and pompe of the Prelates and Clergy.

Fifthly, the good disposed readinesse of the Barons and subjects to obey.

If therfore the Prelates of this realme should not haue this law and priuiledge, but should be deprived thereof, then should the king and his realme lose one of his noble estates, whereby they are highly magnified, I meane the bzaury, solemnity, and royalty of the Prelates: for then, they should not only be neither pompous nor royall, but more beggerly and miserable than any other, the most part of their living consisting herein. I doe conclude therfore, that it is proued both by diuine law, naturall law, canon law, ciuill law, custome and priuiledge, that the right of determining such temporall matters

KING  
EDW. 2

Probation by  
the canon law.  
N.

Custome.

Iudicium con-  
tradictorium.

Three things  
pertaining to  
prescription.  
1. Titulus.  
2. Bona fides.  
3. Temporum  
continuatio.

Ius fisci.

The church not  
subiect to the  
king.

Objection.

Answer.

The French  
king more blef-  
sed than other  
in three things  
1. Faith to God  
2. Honour to the  
church.  
3. Justice to the  
people.

Five things  
doth nobilitate  
the realme of  
France.

The blood of  
France came  
out of Adam  
king of the  
world.



{ KING }  
{ EDW. I }

I Reg. 21.

Daniel 5.

Ambrose in case  
remeth to obay  
the Emperour.

Reg. 21.

Abath deneth  
to the king his  
vineyard.

of the Church may of right appertaine to the church  
of France; and so I returne the lord Peters theame  
against himselfe. Besides this, I will propound that  
which is most plaine and manifest; that whatsoever  
things be offered up to the church, and are conuer-  
ted to the dominion and property of the same, bee  
Gods, and appertaine to him; forsomuch as they  
are said, to be dedicated and sanctified by him, as suf-  
ficiently throughout the Auites may appeare, as is  
declared in the 21. cap. I Regum, concerning the  
bread offered to God, where it is said; I haue no  
common bread vnder my hands to eate; but holy  
bread. Therefore, it was not lawfull for the laity  
to eat of the same bread, but in time of great necessi-  
ty, which is also proued in Daniel the fifth chapter  
where it is read; Because King Balthazar, and his  
Lords, with his Quene, drinke in the golden, and  
silver vessels, which his father Nabuchodonosor had  
taken out of the temple of Ierusalem; in the same  
very house there appeared fingers as it had bin of a  
mans hand, writing right ouer the Candlesticke vp-  
on the plaine wall in the kings palace. And the king  
saw the palme of the hand that wrote, and that which  
was written was Mene, Thekel, Phares: the interpre-  
tation whereof is this, as there it appeareth: Mene,  
God hath numbred this kingdome and brought it to  
an end: Thekel, thou art weighed in a balance and  
art found to be light: Phares, thy kingdome is dealt in  
parts, and giuen to the Medes and Persians. The  
very selfsame night was Balthazar the king of the  
Caldees slaine, and Darius succeeded in the king-  
dome of the Medes; the Monarchy of the Assyrians  
being then translated vnto the Medes. Whereby it  
appeareth, that those things which are offered up to  
the Church, belong to God, and are so dedicated to  
him, that no lay man may vse them; which if they do,  
they must looke to receiue vengeance at Gods hand,  
as Balthazar did. These things now ended, I will  
argue out the Lord Peters theame (which was) Due  
vnto the Emperour that is the Emperours, and vnto  
God that is Gods. But this jurisdiction, which (as I  
proued before) is diuersly conuerted to the dominion  
and property of the French Church, is now Gods;  
and therefore to be referred to and for him. Where-  
fore, whensoever any goeth about to take away the  
same, the good and goodly ought to answer, as Am-  
brose did to the Gothen Shoulders sent to him by the  
Emperour, which was to this effect: If the emperour  
(quoth he) had requested that which had bene mine  
I would not haue denied him, albeit that whatsoe-  
uer I haue, all is the prizes: But because he deman-  
deth those things which belong to God, wherein hee  
hath no right, or interest, I had rather he should im-  
pison me, yea and cut off my head, then to conde-  
scend to his request therein: alluding to the history  
of Naboth, which is to be seene in the 21. chapter  
3. Reg. how Naboth the holy man, possessor of his  
vineyard, was requested by the king to giue vp his  
vineyard; who made answer, I will not giue vnto  
thee the inheritance of my fathers: at which answer  
the king was maruellously offended: wherefore  
(quoth Ambrose) if Naboth would not deliuer his  
vineyard, shall we deliuer to you the Church of  
Christ? No, God forbid that I should deliuer you  
Christs heritage. Naboth did not deliuer the vine-  
yard, nor surely will I deliuer Christs Church. And  
further he addeth a good saying; I can neither dimi-  
nish, nor adde any thing to the Church of God, for  
that I took not vpon me the charge of keeping it: be-  
sides this, it is my duty and office to consult with the  
high Emperour of saluation, in this matter what is  
to be done: and doubtlesse I may not deliuer any  
thing to him, nor yet he receiue any thing of me, as  
is proued 24. questione vltimo capite conueni-  
qui. Therefore by these and the like reasons it ap-  
peareth, that not only jurisdiction spirituall (as the  
L. Peter falsly hath suggested) doth belong to God,  
but also, all other kind of jurisdiction whatsoever

touching the Church, whether it be by law, custome,  
or priuledge: insomuch that neither may we sur-  
render the same to any, nor yet may the king at our  
hands take the same. Further the Lord Peter affir-  
med, that Christ for example sake did pay tribute:  
which is vnture, as appeareth in Genesis the forty  
eight chapter. For the lands of priests were free from  
paying of all kind of toll and tribute. And if the lord  
Peter well considered the seventeenth of Matthew  
he should haue found there, how that Christ did not  
onely not pay tribute for example sake; but rather  
proued, how hee was not bound to pay any at all.  
To conclude therefore, the children be free; but ye  
pay, to avoid slander and offence: wherefore the text  
saith: Let us we should offend them, goe to the sea, &c.  
But peraduenture it may be answered, that by the  
example of Christ (to auoide offence) ye ought to  
pay. But this is vnture, because there is double of-  
fence of the weakelings and of the Pharisees: for as  
concerning the offence of the weakelings, which  
commeth of ignorance and not of malice, some  
things are to be omitted for a time, while they bee  
better instructed; as the Apostle saith to the Ro-  
mans in the 14. chapter. But for the offence of the  
Pharisees, which commit and offend of a pretended  
malice; there is nothing to be omitted, as Christ  
saith in Mat. 16. Whereunto his disciples saying: Do  
you not know how that the Pharisees hearing this  
word are offended? hee answered; Behold, suffer  
them, they are blind, and leaders of the blind; for  
that in the time of Christ, the offence then was of  
little ones. But now is the offence of the Phari-  
sies. Therefore, then it was to be paid for auoi-  
ding of offence: but now not so. Now therefore it is  
apparent that the third token of the feare of God  
consisteth in the whole true respecting of gods: And  
of him, which hath such feare whereby hee restored to  
God his owne, it is spoken in Eccl. 1. chap. The  
seed of the man that feareth God shall be brought to  
honour: but the seed which transgresseth the com-  
mandement of the Lord shall be shamed. And thus  
it fully appeareth, how louing feare and obedience  
is due vnto God, for the excellency of his maiesty:  
because the words be; feare God.

Secondly, I doe say, that especiall honour and re-  
uerence is due vnto the king, for his dignity sake:  
which followeth in the theme. Now it is said, Ho-  
nour the king. I will allege the 10. of Ecclesiast.  
where it is specified; In the midst of the brethren  
the ruler is holden in honour among them. Where-  
fore it seemeth to me, that there are two kinds of ho-  
nours, one which proceedeth from the lips, and that is  
named flattery, whereof it is spoken in Mat. the 17.  
chap. This people doth honour me with their lips,  
but their hearts are farre from me. There is another  
kind of honour which is reall, and commeth from  
the heart. And this is the very true honour inward,  
wherewith the king ought to be honoured. But me  
thinketh that hee doth really, and defectiue in very  
deed honour the king, which wisheth and counsel-  
leth him to keepe and doe these things. Whereby his  
dominion is beloued, his royaltie not diminished;  
his honour and fame preserved, and his conscience  
not burthened: and he that perswadeth him contra-  
ry to these, I thinke doth not honour the king. To  
proceed therefore further: I say first, that he doth de-  
fectiue honour the king, who perswadeth him these  
things, whereby he may be beloued of his subjects:  
for a Prince ought to study rather to be beloued, than  
feared. And what more greater treasure can a  
Prince wish, than to haue the hearts of his subjects?  
According to the saying of Seneca; The loue of the  
Citizens is a foxresse inuincible, and a bulwarke not  
faultable. What thing is more to bee wished for?  
What better, than to liue and raigne, every man  
willing and rejoycing thereof? And in my opinion,  
there is nothing which causeth a prince more to be  
beloued, than if he keep, and maintaine his ancient

Gen. 48.

Matth. 17.

Offence how it  
ought to be  
worded.

Rom. 14.

Matth. 16.

The third note  
of the feare of  
God.

Eccles. 15.

Honour of the  
king.

Eccles. 10.

Two kinds of  
honours.

Matth. 17.  
Double hono-  
with lips and  
with heart.

Since rather  
to be beloued  
than feared.  
Seneca de cle-  
mentia ad Ne-  
ronem.  
A sentence.



Pron. 22.

In alteration  
what is to be  
considered.

3. Reg. II.

Matt. 20.

25. q. 2. cap.  
Si.D. H. Petri  
S. b. l.A dreaming  
fable.

John 8.

Eccles. 4.

liberties, & bring in no alteration. Wherefore it is said in the 22. chap. of Psalms. Thou shalt not remove the land-markes, which thy forefathers have set. This place the lord Peter alleaged to make for himselfe; which I will prouue to make against him, and that by this reason; We ought not to transgresse the old limits and boundes which the fathers haue set; for novelty and alteration doth ingender discord. And for this cause in making of new alterations there ought to be both euident utility, and bygent necessity. If therefore the Prince will abrogate and take away the liberties granted by his forefathers and predecessors; he shall not be of his Realme beloued, as it appeareth by Roboam in the 11. chap. of the 3. Reg. All which likewise is to be seene in the Chronicles, how that by these meanes many kingdomes and dominions were translated from nation to nation, and from their owne native regiment to the rule of strange people. And now for this time certaine it is, that your grand predecessors Charles the great, S. Ludowick, Philips the faire, Ludowick and Philips his sonnes, with many others, haue sealed and confirmed this liberty of the Church. Wherefore for a man to counsell and perswade your highnesse to spoile the Church of any thing, it is euen the next way to spoile and vnde your selfe, and bereaue you of that, by which your dominion is beloued. And for this cause I thought good to put your grace in remembrance of the 20. of Matthew, where it is written, Remember the wordes of your forefathers, which they haue done in their generations, and you shall receiue great glory and renown for euer. Note here, your highnesse, by the way, how that Ieing Philips, grandfather to S. Lewis, fostered and kept in his realme S. Thome. Archbishop of Canterbury: who, for that he stoutly defended the liberties of his Church, was banished out of England. How much more therefore are you bound to defend and maintaine your owne Prelates in their liberties ratified and confirmed by your graces predecessors, according to the saying of Gregory in 25. quest. cap. Si. If I should destroy and pull down those things which my predecessors haue built and obtained, I should not be called a builder and maker, but justly accounted a destroyer and puluer down, as the voice of the Lord saith: Every kingdome diuided within it selfe shall be confounded: All knowledge and learning, diuided one against the other, shall be destroyed: In another place he saith: It is ouertharpe, and against all good manner and ciuility (vpon what reason and excuse soeuer) to breake and subuert those things which are well obtained: as by his example, to teach others at their pleasures to dissolve old constitutions. Marke here a story about a Castle which was giuen to S. Remige, to the Churches use, by Clobois the king, which after ward king Pipine desired to haue by exchange and recovery. To whom the said Saint Remige appeared in his dreame, and highly blamed him therefore, saying, A better man than thou gaue it me, and yet wilt thou take it away from me: And with that he smote him, who the next day was found all black. Since which time, no king of France durst ever lie in that Castle. Verily therefore he doth not honour the King, which giueth him counsell to passe the old limits that his old fathers did set. Yea rather the kings maiesty ought to say vnto them, that which is written in S. John, chap. 8. I do honour and glorifie my father; that is, in keeping the liberties of the Church, as they did which granted them: but you haue dishonoured me, in counselling me that, which seemeth best to please your selues, as it is written in Eccles. 4. The worship of a mans father is his owne worship, and where the father is without honour, it is the dishonour of the sonne.

Secondly, I say, that he truly doth honour the king, who counselleth him: whereby his power and dignity is not diminished. For as it is great honour to the kings highnesse to encrease and augment his

power: so is it as much dishonour for him to diminish any jot thereof. And therefore the emperours were wont to call themselves victorious, of augmenting and encreasing their common wealth. And to say that you and your predecessors could not grant these things to the church, it were too too absurd, and to the too much derogation of your Majesties most honourable estate. And therefore for you (most soueraigne Lord) who hold and possesse so ample right and title in the Realme of France, both by election and inheritance, not to grant and leaue this to your posteritie, it were to the great debasing of your majesties honour, crowne and dignity. Yea, if it were (as God forbid) it would follow, that your predecessors liued continually in sinne: yea and farther, it were as much to say (which were too vile) that blessed S. Lewis, by whom all France is beautified, could not be justly canonized.

For as the Lord speaker declared, if he took his oath at his coronation both to alienate nothing, and also to call in that which was before alienated, which is inseparable from the Crowne: it should follow that he was forsworne, and consequently committed deadly sinne, and so could neuer be canonized, which is too too absurd to be talked of. And if reply be made, that he might haue repented: it is come to be answered; That his sinne is read of, but of his repentance it is not found, as it is said of Salomon. But put case it be true that the Lord Peter said, then it must needs follow, that your grace could bestow nothing, neither country, towne nor tower. And yet there be few, which willingly would not receiue them, notwithstanding their allegiance and homage, which they pretend to your highnesse. Keep therefore and confirme (most renowned prince) that which was granted by your noble progenitors: otherwise your royall honor shall decrease; that it may be verified in you which is read of, in the eleventh to the Romans; I will honour my ministers.

Thirdly, I doe affirme, that he rightly honoureth the king, which perswadeth him that, whereby his honour and renowne is preferred. For in matters of weight, and of great importance, next after conscience we must haue regard to name and fame, as it is written in the 22. of Psalms. It is better to haue a good name than riches. A good name farre passeth all things, and is above siluer and gold. And Saint Augustine saith, Two things are necessary for thee, conscience and name: conscience for God, and name for thy neighbour. And therefore it is written in the 4. chap. of Eccles. Labor to get a good name, for that will continue surer by thee than a great treasure of gold. A good life hath a number of dayes. Which renowne and name the Lord (who appointed your grace with the oyle of gladnesse) hath in so little time more abundantly blessed you withall, than any other Prince: wherefore you ought to be more vigilant and carefull how to keepe & enjoy the same still: for it is no lesse vertue to keepe that which is gotten, than to seek and get: whereby not only while you liue but also when you are dead, your glorious renowne may liue for euer: yea and farther, that by you nothing be done, whereby any blot or soile should craepe into that your so great renowne; applying that to your grace, which is said in the 10. of the Proverbs: The memoriall of the just shall haue good report, &c. Beware therefore most noble Prince, and take heed that in your dayes and time the liberties of the Church be not taken away (which God forbid) or diminished in any jot: for if your glorious name should be blotted there with, there be thousands which would Chronicle the same to perpetuall memory. Wherefore most Christian Prince, if such (as trusted after their death) no other life, but onely for same and renowne) liued a life most goodly and vertuous: how much more ought we Christians, which looke after another life, by our well-doings here, to win vs a perpetuall

KING  
EDW. I.

Rom. II.

Who honoret  
the King.Pron. 22.  
Conscience  
good name.

Eccles. 4.



KING }  
EDW. I }

perpetuall name and memory after our death: And you besides, if you should dishonour your name and fame; what a matter were it? considering how the kings of France were ever counted the most Chast, an princes, and most bountifull towards the Church giving examples to other princes, how to enrich their churches & liberties thereof. And now especially, if your grace, the Church in some places being in great persecution (which God forbid) should shew light to other to pull and take away that which was given by your forefathers to the church, what might the world say: for then by the like reason might the Emperour deprive the Church of all, which was given to it by Constantine the Emperour. Also other kings would doe the like in their realmes. God forbid that your highnesse should give such example. And for my part, I would rather with my selfe to be dead, then give you such counsell, that in so pernicious and naughty a matter you should be example to other: especially, when the kings of France, your predecessors, were defenders alwayes against such as went about to take away the liberties from the church, which is the office of a king. Hieronymus saith upon Jeremy, which is found also in the 24. quest. 5. c. 1. Regum & C. princeps, after this manner; Let the Princes of the world know and understand, how they are bound to make an account to God for the church which they take upon them to keepe. Note you also, and reade some examples out of histories and commentaries, what regard the kings of France had in observing those things; and see you by their example, to follow and doe the like: and then shall it be verified in your grace, which is written in the 37. chap. of ecel. A wise man shall obtaine honour amongst his people: As also in the third of the same; He that honoureth his mother, is like one that gathereth treasure together.

Fourthly, I say, that he indeed should honour the king, which perswadeth him to doe that whereby his conscience is not hurt. For above all things, a Christian man ought to beware how he doe that thing, which should be a grudge unto his conscience, because the life is more than is meat. Mat. the 6. chap. And assuredly I believe, that your grace would not commit that thing willingly, where with your conscience should be burdened, for all the worlds good, and that justly. For the more miraculously God hath called your highnesse to the state of a king, and hath endued you with his grace; so much the more care ought you to have, and take heed that you offend him not. For is it to be doubted, whether in doing the contrary, he will not be the more grievously displeased with you, as he was with Saul, 1 King chap. 15. Consider therefore most soveraigne Lord, that at what time you were crowned, you sware only these things following, and no other. First, that you would defend and maintaine the canonically law, privilege and justice, granted to the Bishops and the Church, and, as much as in you did lie, to enlarge and amplifie the same. Also that by your arbitrement all christian people at all times should keepe the true peace of God and his Church. Also that you should forbid to all nations all kind of sacrileges, swelings and iniquities. Also that in all kind of judgements you should will and command equitie and mercy. Also that, throughout your whole territories and jurisdiction, you should sincerely with all your endeavour study to exterminate, and cut off from the church the noted heretikes: which all, and no other, your majesty sware to fulfill, at the time of your Coronation: vnder the leane and Correction of the Lord Peter, which affirmed you were sware to some other thing besides. Now therefore, seeing it is a Canonically privilege of the church, & in the heart of the whole, Cano. 6. q. 1. Quicunque licem habens, incorporetur: when also by custom, which is canonically, it came in, that the church and spiritualty may have cognition in a number of cases, against which divers articles have been here laid in: If this amongst the laity

should not be observed in the Church, your graces conscience thereby might somewhat be burdened. In like manner, if you be bound with all your whole might and power to procure, that all whole Christendome should keepe the true peace of God and his Church: much more have you to procure the same amongst your owne Barons and people, who ever more were all one with the Church. And alwayes, where any Church was in honour and estimation, there were belonging to it twenty stout Barons and knights, whose office, as it was to defend the church; so was it the part of the Church to pray for them, and to offer sacrifice for them unto God. And to this end, that blessed S. Lewis so much laboured in his time: who, when the greatest barons of his realme, had confederate to suppress these liberties of the church, and had consulted to give him (to that end) the hundredth part of their goods, would never condescend thereunto, but alwayes dissuaded them there from: and finally, by his authority sealed and confirmed these liberties of the Church. Consider here your majesty, how that Pope Innocentius at that time proceeded against those Barons, &c. I dare be bold to say, that if there should be now dissension betwene the prelates and Barons; it would not be long before the comminallty would usurpe to rule and beare domination. As by experience it hath bene sene in many places, and likewise by p. itise we of late time might have sene: at what time the people, making the spiritualty in the parts of Campania and Burgundy, at last rose and made in euery towne a king; and therewithall caused the officers, which brought citations and absolutions from the Pope and other, to be well banged: and not long after, made insurrection against the Lords temporall, and served them with the like saunce; untill that by the kings power they were suppressed, and many of them banged. And this doubtlesse was in the dayes of Lewis last king of that name. Truly the noble men ought not to be grieved with that that the Church is possessed with, all, for that there be few of them, who have not their brothers and kinsfolks which live, and are maintained by the goods and revenues of the Church. Amongst whom if they should divide their inheritance perhaps they would bring a little to nothing at all. Let the barons also consider, how that there are but few which believe not in the church: for the church is one, as in the 6. of Cant. My Dove and Darling is one. Wherefore without great perill of transgression can they not perswade and counsell such liberties of the Church to be abrogated and taken away.

That therefore your Majesties conscience may remaine pure and immaculate; please it your highnesse by your authoritie to seale and confirme this good ancient and Canonically privilege; and contrary attempts (if any be made by way of Proclamation or otherwise) to revoke and call them in. And further, to keepe your mother the Church of France in her ancient franke choice, liberty and customes. And then by you in all things God shall be glorified and honoured: to whom be honour and glory for ever and ever Amen. Who then will honour you, as is said, 1 Reg. 2. 1. Whosoever shall honour me, I will exalt him with that glory, in which consisteth the true honour, and is granted to none unworthily. Whereunto also none is admitted but worthy, as blessed Saint Austen saith: which honour grant he unto you and us, who is blessed world without end, Amen. And because a bill of many articles was exhibited, whereof part did infringe the whole ecclesiasticall jurisdiction, to the defence thereof we will according to the fourth chapter of Ecclesiasticus stand even to the death, where it is said: For the truth strive thou unto the death, and God shall fight for thee against thine enemies. Some other of them containe onely abuse, and was belovue none such to be. But if there be, we will see redresse therein. Wherefore for the honour of God, for the honour

Arg. By the possessions of the Church many Stephen and Thomas of the nobles be maintained, such possessions are not to be grided at: To believe in the Church is not in our duty,

1. Reg. 2. 1.

To the bill of articles exhibited.



dening of our consciences, for the things majesties reverence, and for the peoples profit and peace; All we here assembled have concluded to see remedy, that the aforesaid abuses, if any such be, shall be left, to the quickness of the people, and praise of almighty God. To whom be honour and glory world without end, Amen.

Another sitting in the Parliament.

Another daies sitting in the Parliament.

Bishop of Ewen againe speaketh.

The next Friday following, being the 29. of December, the Prelates assembled themselves againe together at the Kings Palace in Paris, where the reverend father the Lord Peter Bertrand, by Gods permission Bishop of Ewen, spake openly there before the king, sitting with his Counsellors and Barons about him; taking to his theme that which is written in the 18. of Genesis; O Lord be not angry that I speake yet more, &c. the which he applied to this end; that for the majesty of the king, the prudence of his Council, and insufficiency of himselfe (considering the weightinesse of the cause) he trembled and was afraid to speake: yet neuertheless, trusting upon his accustomed clemency, he tooke to him audacity, and presumed that which was appointed to him by the prelates. Beginning with the 89. psalme, Lord thou art our refuge, &c. which he prosecuted in extolling the king his person, and his miraculous attaining to the Crowne of France; preaching further, how he ought to be the champion and defender of the faith; all which he pouted in few words by many reasons and authorities. Afterward, he touched those propositions which were propounded by the foresaid lord Peter of Cugner, and for no other cause as he protested, but only to informe the conscience of his soveraigne lord and king, and to advise his grace concerning the same: not going about to make any final judgement, determination, or answer, whereby either sentence, order, statute, right to any man, or other processe, might thereof ensue or be grounded. And namely, he first beginning with the theme of the lord Peter, first affirmed (tender unto the Emperour which is the Emperours, & unto God which is his; Mark. 12.) By which words was signified the obedience and subjection to a king, with the difference of the spiritualty from the temporality, whereof the first member is proved by the 1 Pet. 2. where it is said; We are subject to every humane creature, &c. Also by the Cap. solite, extra. de maio. & ob. and by the c. novit extra. de judicijs cap. de sacerdotibus 10. q. 1. with the notes about the same. Moreover, as touching the distinction of both jurisdictions, whereof the Lord Peter proved the temporall jurisdiction to pertaine to secular men, the spiritual to the Clergy, by the words of our Saviour Christ, Luk. 22. where he said; Behold two swords. Also for that Christ did pay tribute, teaching thereby, how that the temporalities were to be referred to the temporall men, Mat. 17. 11. q. ca. Si tribu. ca. Magnum.

Matth. 12.  
Mark. 12.

In like manner by the law of Justinian, where it is written, that two great gifts were ordained and granted of God; a bishopricke and a kingdome: the first, to beare rule over Gods matters, the other over worldly things, &c. And said moreover, that these two be the cases which in no wise could be altered or changed. Dion. 20. de Tion mol. lib. 1. & vlt. And affirmed also, that of such princely right the king could not arrogate and deprive himselfe; for that it was inexpressible, appertaining to the crowne and his regall seat, (considering how he tooke his oath at the time of his coronation) not only not to breake or alienate the lawes of his realme, but also to restore and revoke such as were broken and alienated. To which his reasons it was answered, that the jurisdiction and determination of civil causes (whereabout the controuersie now standeth) belongeth to the Church, both by Gods law and mans law. By Gods law it was proved, even from Adams time to Christs coming: per Innoc. c. licet extra de foro, compe. And from

Christs coming, to Peters time and his successors, 22. di. c. omnes patriarche. Matth. cap. 16. But how the church, in the realmes of catholike princes, attained unto this right and interest which at this present it doth enjoy, the law proueth, 2. q. ca. 5. Si quis Presbyter 11. q. 1. Relatum 25. dist. Ecce. Which also is confirmed by the Emperors in the body of the law, ff. 3. q. Si causam. col. 9. 23. q. vlt. c. his, & a quibus. The canon furthermore teacheth, how that St. Peter commanded all the Princes of the earth, and others, to obey and give place to the bishops: c. omnes, extra de major. & ob. 16. dist. duo. sunt. Wherefore it was concluded, that in no wise this right is to be separated and taken away from the church. And albeit it, in the realmes of tyrannous princes, this state of the church is violated and not kept: yet in this blessed Realme of France it hath been alwayes even to these daies duly observed: c. novit. extra. de judicijs. This jurisdiction the lawes of Theodosius the emperor, 400. and Carolus the great, hath also confirmed: extra. de judicijs. c. nonne. all. 11. q. 1. quæcunque, &c. 11. q. 1. cap. 1. & 2. fe. jurisdiction. c. expresse. Where it is mentioned, that the same Carolus king of France (and Emperour) especially constituted the said law. And likewise to speake of custome, it hath been knowne from time out of mind, the same to have belonged to the church of France: the therefore which shall goe about to violate this law, committeth sacrilege. 11. q. 1. ca. 1. & 2. And let not the Kings majesty marvel, if that in this most noble Realme of France this prerogative be due unto the Church; As when hereby his power and nobility is beautified. Anth. vt. ind. sine quoquo suffra. h. in principio Col. 2. Besides this, our soveraigne lord and king, at what time he was crowned, was sworn by the Evangelists to keepe and observe this canonical privilege of the Church. Further, the Barons, who in a manner are all sworn to the church, whose fidelity to the same: by which oath of fidelity they are bound to keepe these liberties and rites of the church. When therefore everypoth, which tendeth not to the perdition of the soule, is to be kept a fortiori that oath, which is taken in the favour of the church, is much more to be observed: c. Si vero extra de iure iurando. 22. quæst. 4. c. vlt. Besides this, blessed Ambouicke, Philip of Arragon, Philip, the faire, Ambouicke, Carolus the great, and Philip, confirmed these privileges, customes, and liberties of the church, which all were sworn at their coronations, as before, &c. These things considered, who can advise the kings majesty, without damming of his own soule, contrary to these liberties granted, and confirmed to the church: To him belongeth great reward, whosoever bestoweth any thing upon the church: Antho. de non alie. at permut. re. ecce: ff. si minis col. 2. Neither maketh it against vs where it is said, that there are two swords, &c. Neither yet the distinction betwene the bishopricke and kingdome. Because it is true that there are two swords, the power whereof is left to the churches hand, although the erection of the materiall sword is committed to the temporall and secular men; Mat. 26. where Christ saith to Peter, Convert and put up the sword into the place. But as touching the distinction betwixt the bishopricke and kingdome, indeed it is true as much as appertaineth to the end, and to the execution of blood, but not concerning the beginning and subject: for that in one subject, both the powers are, may be, and ought to be, as is before powned. To that point where it is said, that Christ paid tribute, it is answered, that not therefore he paid it, because he ought, or was bound thereunto: because it is certainly true, that the finnes of the king (as he was) ought not to pay; but this he did to avoid offence; yea also the Clergy is not bound herunto, Eldre 1. & vlt. Therefore, such things do not inferre a consequence. Neither yet maketh that against vs, where it is said that the king our soveraigne lord and master cannot abdicate from himselfe this right, especially for that he

{ KING;  
{ EDW. I.

11. q. 1. cap. 1. & 2.

22. q. 4. ca. 5. vero.

Marth. 26.

Christ paid tribute.



{ KING }  
{ EDW. I }

he was sworne thereunto at the time of his coronation, &c. for it is answered, that he may well advocate the same. And how doth he advocate it from himselfe, which he giueth and bestoweth to God and the Church? The land is the Lords. And doubtlesse, to giue, is nothing else, but to render to God and the Church their owne: for then by that reason, the gift giuen to the Church by Constantine is naught and nothing worth, which is false: and this is proued 16.

16. Dist. cap. Constantinus. dist. ca. Const. Whereby it appeareth, that an Empe-

35. Dist. cap. ab exordio.

roue and king may alienate things of the Empire, ff. de legatis i. l. apud Iulianum ff. vit. and yet hereby the empire or kingdome not be damaged: for that the thing returneth to the prestinat state, ff. de pactis l. vnus ff. pactus 35. dist. ab exordio. Furthermore, by this reason propounded, al the kings of France which euer were (and especially blessed Ludouick) should be spotted: for if that were true (as God forbid) then all they were periured and died in mortall sin, which is too too abhurd. Last of all, it hurteth not where it is said, that such things are imperceptible. It is true indeed, they cannot of subiects, or otherwise than off the Church be preferred: but in this cause we talk not of subiects. Also saying they may be alienated, they may be preferred especially (the kings thus consenting, who confirmed the same so long a time) whichercludeth all right both fiseall & Ecclesiastieall. The prests therefore, all with one consent, agree and affirme to the same as a verity to be maintained and defended: beseeching the kings majesty their Lord, both for his soules health, and peace of the Church, to maintaine the same, and to keepe the liberties of the Church: Desiring him to consider what commodity daily he receiueth by the church: and that his church neuer failed him yet, when he had need of the lattie, shewing the dangers and examples of them who did to the contrary. Further, he beseeched his highnesse to weigh how entirely his lord the Pope doth & hath loued his person and Realme; affirming, that neuer any, placed in the seat of Peter, loued better his Realme, than he doth. Alleaging the text of Eccles. 6. where it is said, Stand in the multitude of the prests, and beloue them with thy heart.

Eccles. 6.

Speciall answers to the articles presented by Bishop Edeu.

After this in the said session, the foresaid Bishop of Edeu prolocutor inferred many things beside, and answered particularly to the Articles aboue specified, and exhibited by the Lord Peter in writing to the king and parliament: which, because they touch moze the subtilty of the law and stiles of the Courts, than are necessary to this our history and because we would not burden the volume with them, they containing no great profit in them, we haue here of purpose for breuities sake omitted them, passing to the next sitting, which was the friday next following the same, as ensueth.

Another daies sitting in the Parliament.

The next friday after this, the Prelates assembled at Wincas before the king, to heare their answer: where the foresaid lord Peter of Cugner (being prolocutor for the king) spake on this wise, taking for his theame; I am peace vnto you, doe not feare, &c. Which he prosecuted, monishing that they should not be troubled in any thing that there had been spoken: for that the intent and mind of the soueraine Lord their king was, to keepe the rites of the Church and Prelates, which they had by law & by good and reasonable custome: Where betwene the first and second conclusion, he went about to proue, that the cognition of ciuill causes ought not to appertaine to the Church: for that such things were temporal, and ought to pertaine to the temporalitie, as spirituall things to the spirituality. And besides his other reasons he alleaged the 86. dist. declaring for a truth, that for this intent first the clerks scowles were shawen, in signe that they should be free from all worldlinesse, and forsake all temporal things. Alleaging to that end the 12. q. 2. Furthermore he declared, that the Bishops had cognition in certaine cases expressed by law. Wherefore, these said cases ministered

86. Dist. cap. cum ad verum shewing of Prelates scowles wherefore, 12. quest. 2.

a certaine rule against him, alleaging for the prooue thereof, De reg. iur. ff. de leg. i. l. 1. &c. Also so he affirmed, that by reason of sinne, the decretall Nouit. could not make for them. For the same did speake of the king of France his state, which hath no superiour: but in other persons it was (he said) otherwise. And these things thus being proued, he said he, and concluded, That neuertheless, their lord and king was ready to heare the information of them, which would instruct him of any custome, and those customes which were good and reasonable he would obserue. Which answer because it did not seeme to please and suffice the Prelates, incontinently the bishop Edeu answered for them all in manner following; first, commending the good and general answer, he spake in this wise; The Prince of the people (said he) shall be praised for the patience of his talke, commending therewith, as touching the former good general answer of the king, his purpose and talke propounded. But as concerning the words of the Lord Peter, which engendered & brought darkenesse and obscurity, and might giue occasion to the temporal Lords to breake and infringe the rites and customes of the Church; his answer seemed not full and plaine to the Prelates. Speaking moreouer to the said Peter, he alluded to the words of the Virgins speaking in the Scripture thus to her sennie, Somie, why did you so to vs? And so he prosecuted the same, both matuelling with himselfe, and yet covertly complaining of his answer. Afterward answering to those things which the Lord Peter affirmed, and first to the chapter, Ad verum, he said, that it was before answered, touching the diuision of the two iurisdicions, that they may be in one subiect, as before is proued. Neither doth it let which the lord Peter, said, that these two iurisdicions could not be in one subiect, because that things which be in themselves diuerse, and be vnder one Genus, as a man and an asse cannot be in one subiect. But if they were vnder diuers kinds, as whitenesse and blacknesse in milke, they might be well in one subiect. It was answered, that this rule was not true, because iustice and temperance are two diuerse vertues, and vnder one kind, and yet be in one subiect. Besides these differing species, a man and an asse be not compatible in one subiect. Also to that which was spoken concerning the shawing of the Crowne, it was answered, that the crowne did beoken rule and excellency; and the shawing did signifie, that they ought not to heape by store of temporal things, so to apply their hearts thereunto: but that the temporal things ought to be subiect to them, and not they to the temporalty, as is proued in the said chapter, duo sunt genera. Also as concerning the thing, which was talked of de regula: he answereth, that this maketh for the Church, as before was proued: yea also, the custome doth make the rule for the Church. Also lawes in all kind of sense doe alwaies except the custome. And therefore, his saying makes nothing against it. And now to that place which the Lord Peter spake about the decretall Nouit. That the case was onely in the kings person; yet for all that it is expressly said in the same text of euery Christian man. And although their late doth speake onely of the Pope, yet the same is applied to all bishops in their diocesse. Wherefore the said bishop concluded and beseeched the king that it would please his grace to giue vnto them a more plaine and comfortable answer, and that they might not depart from his presence all penfune and sad, whereby occasion might be giuen to the laity to impugn the rites and liberties of the Church: and that they doubted nothing hereof in the good nature and conscience of their soueraine Lord and king. In the end it was answered to them in the behalfe of the king, that his mind and intent was not to impugn the customes of the Church.

The Sunday following, the Bishops assembled themselves againe before the king at Wincas, where

The Bishop doth fault with the kings answer.



The gentleman  
father of the King  
to the Bishop.

where the Lord Bishop of Euen repealed their last supposition, with the last answer made unto them in the behalfe of the king, when the bishop of Byrtuier had giuen them to vnderstand howe the king willed them not to soare; for that they should suffer no hurt or damage or damage in his time; yea, and he would defend them in their rites and customes, because it should not be said, that he would giue ensample to others to impugn the Church, assuring them, that euen the kings grace willed him so to declare unto them. The said Lord Bishop of Senon in the name of the whole Prelats gaue humble thanks to the king therefor, and the said Bishop of Senon beseeched that such proclamations, which were made to the prejudice of the ecclesiasticall jurisdiction, might be repealed, and called in. Hereunto the king himselfe answereth with his owne mouth, that they were not published at his commandement, neither did he know of them, nor ratifie them. Thirdly, the Bishop proposed, that those abuses which the temporallie complained of, should be so ordered and reformed, that every man should be well contented therewith. Last of all, he beseeched the kings highnesse, that he would of his gracious goodnes giue them a more comfortable and fuller answer. Then answered the Lord Peter in the name of the king: That if the Prelats and Bishops would reformation of those things which were to be amended (whereabouts he would take respite betwixen this and Christmas next following) his grace would inuocate nothing in the meane season. And if in the foresaid space they would not correct and reforme that which was amisse, his maiesty would appoint such order and remedy, that should be acceptable both to God and his subjects. After this, the Prelats had leaue of the king to depart, and went home.

The final answer  
of the king  
to the Prelats.

*A briefe recapitulation of the Bishops answer,  
with certaine notes answering to his Popish reasons vnto the Reader.*

Notes vpon the  
Bishops answer  
last pag. 471.  
col. 1.

1. The feare of God  
consisteth in  
three things.  
1. In giuing.  
2. In honouring.  
3. In restoring.  
Honour to the  
king, double.  
In word flatter-  
ing: in deed  
effectuall.  
Honour effectuall  
standeth in  
four points.  
1. In maintain-  
ing the kings  
loue.  
2. In maintai-  
ning his dig-  
nity.  
3. In maintai-  
ning his good  
name.  
4. In maintai-  
ning his consi-  
deration.

The answer of bishop Eduen, in the name of the other Prelats, to the oration and articles before objected by the Lord Peter, consisteth of two parts. First, in declaring the feare due to God. Secondly, the honor due to the king. Whereof the first is, the feare of God, which (he saith) consisteth in three things. 1. In giuing to God 2. In honouring his ministers. 3. In restoring that which hath beene taken away, &c. The second, which is, the honouring of the king, he saith, consisteth in a double sort, that is; in words only, wherein is flattery; and in deed: which againe he diuideth into four members; First, when a man counselleth a King to that whereby his dominion is loued. 2. When the King is counselled to that whereby his honor and excellency is not diminished. 3. When the King is counselled to that, whereby his fame and renown is maintained. 4. When a King is counselled to that, whereby his conscience is not wounded, &c. And this is the order of his whole tractation. Now remaineth with like breuety to recite the reasons and arguments in order, whereby he proueth the premisses, with the subdiuision of euery member and part thereof. Wherein the studious Reader may note both the subtile proceedings of these popish prelates, and also the feeble and impotent ground whereupon they build. Whose building (as by this discourse and many other may appere) wholly and finally tendeth to this, to maintain their liberties, pompe, and estimation aboue all other secular Princes and persons.

First, as concerning feare to be giuen to God, which hee diuideth into three parts, in giuing, in honouring, and restoring: for the first, he proueth that Princes ought to giue largely and without measure to the Church by these arguments.

By the testimony of Iustinian: Although nothing is good which is too much, yet, &c. pag. 466. col. 1. I answer, that in the time of Iustinian, goods then gi-

uen to the Church, were the goods of the poore: wherein was vsed faithfull distribution, voluntary giuing, and necessary charity. But now in our popish Churches, reuenues and lands giuen are not distributed to the poore: and yet are men compelled against their will to giue still. And againe, so little necessitie is now to giue to such, that the most wealth of realmes almost is in their hands and houses; insomuch that they, flowing in such wealth, are now waxen so proud, that kings can scarce beare any rule for them, as was proued before, pag. 457. c. 1. that the popes reuenues here in England, mounted to more than three times double the stint of the Kings Crowne. Wherefore by the Counsell of Iustinian, is was so then, and then might stand, quod Religio peperit diuitias: But now as the time is altered, so that Countsell holdeth not, postquam nunc filia deuorauit matrem; that is, after that the daughter hath deuoured the mother. Finally, concerning mens giuing to the Church in these

our popish daies, foure faults I note:

First, that they giue superfluously more than sufficient is to necessity of life.

Secondly, that they giue to such as abuse it wickedly.

Thirdly, that in giuing to them that need not, noble men in meane time defraud their poore neighbours, which need indeed, and yet do not complaine.

Fourthly, because of this title of giuing, men haue vsed and yet doe vse to put great hope of saluation therein, contrary to the testament of God in Christs death, whereof examples are before.

Pag. 466. col. 1. Abel offered of the best to the Lord, and was blessed of God. Ergo, euery great man that would be blessed of God, must offer of the best he hath vnto the Church. Answer: This argument as it is farre fet, so it is soone answered, wherein three notes are to be obserued.

First, that hee, which offereth vnto the Church of God, doth not therein offer vnto God immediately as Abel did.

Secondly, neither is this to bee granted, that hee which offereth to all Churchmen, offereth by and by to the Church of God: for many times the Churchmen are one; and the Church of God is another. Laurence the martyr, shewing forth the Church of God, brought out the poore of the parish, and not of the Priests of the Church.

The third note is; that if noble persons should offer vnto God (by the example of Abel) that which is the best and fattest of the flocks; then should they offer vnto the Lord of their flock onely, and not of their lands. Yea, and to note the very truth, they are taught thereby to offer to God, neither cattell nor lands, but that which is the very best, that is their owne bodies for a liuely sacrifice to God. Herethat offereth vp to God a proud heart, and killeth it with the axe of humility, giueth vnto him the best and fattest bullocke he hath in all his flock. With like reason also I answer the place of Num. 18. and of Paral. cap. vlt. that to offer vp, or to separate vnto the Lords treasury, is not now to giue to Priests and chaplaines of the Church, which peradventure haue more than they doe well occupy: but to giue liberally to the communion of Saints, which are needy, and are the true treasury of the Church indeed, as Laurence the true treasurer said.

Pag. 466. col. 2. By Gods Commandment we are bound of duty to honour our temporall fathers. Ergo, by the same duly we are bound much rather to honour our spirituall fathers, that is, priests, and prelates. Answer. A father in common speech is diuersly taken, as by age, by nature, by office. And to all these we of duty are bound to yeeld honour, reuerence, obedience, submission; albeit not all after one sort, nor in like degree. For as we are bound to honour our fathers and mothers; so aged men and elders haue also their honour and name of fathers; So Magistrates, and spirituall teachers, in their kind haue their honour

Religio pe-  
perit diuitias:  
nunc filia de-  
uorauit  
matrem.

4. Incommo-  
dities that come  
in giuing to the  
Church.

Pag. 466. col. 1.

Three things to  
be noted, in of-  
fering to God  
and to the  
Church.

Rom. 12.

Pag. 46. col. 1.

Pag. 466. col. 2.

Pag. 466. col. 1.



**SKING**  
**EDW. I**  
**1 Tim. 5.**  
Two things to be noted in giving honour, wherein consisteth honour, giving to Priests

honour and reuerence. And S. Paul saith, that such are worthy of double honour, qui bene praesunt, & qui laborant in sermone. But in this two things are to be noted, wherein this honour consisteth, and how farre it extendeth. These spirituall fathers of the Church thinke they be not honoured enough, vnlesse Kings and Emperours giue and surrender vnto them all the temporall rule and gouernment, to doe what they list, and none to controule them: and vnlesse noblemen and subiects endow them with temporall lands and possessions, so much as they would haue. And this they call honour, which they define onely by giuing temporally: where indeed it rather consisteth in giuing spirituall, as to haue a reuerent opinion of their ministratiō, to yeeld a prompt obedience to their doctrine, reuerence to them as the ministers of God, and not to despise, defame or molest their persons; whereof Saint Paul also about the same place speaketh, writing to Timothy; Let no man despise thy youth, &c. Also to Titus, Let no man despise thee, &c. And this is to honor our spirituall fathers.

**1 Tim. 5.**

**Titus 2.**

**Qui bene praesunt.**  
How farre honour given to Priests extendeth.

Secondly, to consider how farre this honour extendeth: as no man doth deny, but these pastors are worthy their double honour, which rule well; so if they administer not their office well, they are vnder the oversight of the King bearing the temporall sword, worthy of double punishment. And yet to consider this double honour in them that rule well, how farre it doth extend: if it be compared to the honour due to our parents, case of necessity will soone decide it. For be it that our parents on the one side, and Pastor of the other, stand in extreame need of the sonnes supportation, wherein he can helpe but the one: nature, I suppose, will and ought sooner run, and the word of Christ will sooner driue vs to our father, than to the Priests Corban, Marke 7. So that this distinction here may haue place; that as the one standeth vpon merit of vertue, so the other standeth vpon mere duty of necessity.

**Marke 7.**

**Pag. 467. col. 2.**

Pag. 467. col. 2. These iurisdiccions temporall and spirituall are compatible in one person. Answer. I grant pro ratione subjecti: That is, in the subject it selfe there is no cause to the contrary, but these vocations may be exercised both of one person, as they haue been of the Pope, one after the other, (and so may contrary formes also) and yet the popes person hath bene able to sustaine them both. But now here is to bee considered, not what the nature of the subject is able to beare by Logick, but what order is taken herein by the will of God, whose order is this: That they, which with Peter are called to the feeding of the flock, should leaue their fishing-nets, and fish for men; and that they, which labour in the warfare of the Lord, should not intangle themselves with the businesse of this life, whereby they may be more free to please him, whose souldiers they are. Tit. 2. &c.

**Titus 2.**

**Pag. 467. col. 2.**  
Two formes not contrary may be compatible in one subject.

Pag. 467. col. 2. The iurisdiccions temporall and spirituall, are to distinct that they are not contrary, &c. Answer. And what let is there then, but our Queene now, and other Kings hereafter may haue the gouernment of both states, aswell Ecclesiasticall as temporall: Seeing both the formes being compatible, may concurre both in one subject: why not alwell in the person of the King, within the Realme, as in the person of the Pope without the Realme?

**Pag. 467. col. 2.**

Pag. 467. col. 2. God after the creation of the world, &c. vnto Noes time, &c. Answer. If God vnto Noes time gouerning the world as King, gaue sentence himselfe against Cain (as we say) how then did he that by the ministry of Angels? If he did it by the angels his ministers whether is more like then that to make for the Pope, or rather for Kings and Princes, whom the Scripture thrice in one chapter calleth the ministers of God to execute punishment to him that doth euill, Rom. 13.

**Rom. 13.**

**Pag. 468. col. 1.**

P. 468. col. 1. Noe also which offered, &c. Answer. If

offering of burnt sacrifices to God, to make a Priest, it was Cain also, Abel, Abraham, Isaac, and all Priests. archs Priests. If he had both temporall and spirituall iurisdiction ouer them which were in this Ake, I would much rather than that he should haue returned not to him againe.

Pag. 468. col. 1. Melchisedech likewise, &c. Answer. Pag. 468. col. 1. Melchisedech properly did beare a figure of Christ, both King and Priest, and of none other.

Pag. 468. col. 2. A. I haue giuen to me, &c. Answer. Pag. 468. col. 2.

10 That Christ hath all power giuen him, no man doubteth: but yet the same Christ saith, that lastly, dome is not of this world; neither would he be made a king in this world, &c. Non eripit mortalini, qui regna dat caelestia, hymn, &c.

Pag. 468. col. 2. B. Whom Christ made his Vicar, Pag. 468. col. 2.

&c. Answer. Here in one line be two lies. For neither had Peter the very same power in heauen and earth as Christ had, neither was he the Vicar of Christ.

Pag. 468. col. 2. C. As the offence of Ananias and Sapphira was not temporall but spirituall; so did Peter

20 kill them not judicially, that is, as a temporall iudge, but spirituall, that is, by the power of the spirit, which spirit wrought by him, not as by a iudge, but as a minister. And although this act of Peter was extraordinary for a singularexample; yet notwithstanding let any Prelate with the like power of spirit so doe, and none will blame him.

Pag. 468. col. 2. D. And so likewise the condemnation of Paul against the Corinthian, was only spirituall and

30 not temporall,

Pag. 468. col. 2. E. must be referred to the order, &c. Pag. 468. col. 2.

Answer. Christ would haue these causes to be referred to the hearing of the Church, for spirituall admonition, but not for temporall iurisdiction of the Prelates.

Pag. 468. col. 2. F. All things that the true Church doth truly bind are bound, I grant: but first let the

Pope proue his Church to be the true Church, and himselfe to be the vniuersall head thereof, and then let him claime the keyes.

Ibid. The two swords doe as much signifie the two regiments; as do the two fishes wherewith Christ did feed foure thousand persons.

Ibid. Christ bade Peter put vp his sword, and not to cast it away: Ergo, the Church may haue the temporall sword. Answer. God giue you good morrow, I haue brought you a Capon.

Pag. 469. col. 1. I. Know yee not the Saints, &c. Pag. 469. col. 1.

Answer. S. Paul here willing the Corinthians to pleade their matters, not before the Heathen, but before the Saints, meaneth the faithfull of the congregation; not onely Prelates.

50 K. In them was not the like reason, &c. Answer. I grant: for Christ and true Christians is one thing; Antichrist and his Church is another thing.

Ibid. As yee say, the Apostles had no leasure to take lands and possessions for preaching: but now, for lordly loitering you haue leasure enough.

Pag. 469. col. 2. M. They are most fit to beare temporall rule, which follow neere to God. Prelates of the

60 Clergy follow neere to God. Ergo, Prelates of the Clergy are most meet to beare temporall rule.

Resp. If God here be taken for that God, which is called the belly; I grant they seeme to follow neerer. But if it be taken for the true God, not I, but their owne fruites, life and doctrine; and Elay also would deny their minor, and say; that this people draweth neere to me with their lips, but their heart is farre from me.

Pag. 469. col. 2. You are a chosen generation, a royall

70 Priesthood, &c. Answer. This place of Peter was written not onely to persons Ecclesiasticall, but to the whole congregation of the Saints disperfed as the words following may declare: Qui erat quondam non populus, &c.

And thus much concerning French matters, which because they be Ecclesiasticall, I beare with them some bignity to the diligent Reader (such as list to



to search, note and obserue the acts of men, and course of religion) I thought therefore here to place and adioyne them next after the other contention before proceeding betwene Philip the French King and Pope Boniface. Albeit as touching the perfect keeping of yeeres and time, I am not ignorant that this foresaid parliament, thus summoned and commenced against the French Prelates, falling in the yeere of our Lord 1229. was to be referred rather to the raigne of king Edward the 2. of whom now remaineth (by the grace of Christ) in order of history to prosecute, declaring first the instructions and informations of his father given to him in the time of his departing. The yeere of our Lord 1207. and the last yeere of the king, the foresaid king Edward, in his journey marching toward Scotland, in the north fell sicke of the fire, which increased so feruently upon him, that he despaired of life. Wherefore calling before him his Carles and barons, he caused them to be sworn, that they should crowne his sonne Edward in such convenient time after his death as they might, and keepe the land to his use, till he were crowned. That done, he called before him his sonne Edward, informing and lessoning him with whole some precepts, and he charged him also with diuers points upon his blessing: first, that he should be courteous, gentle, upright in judgement, faire spoken to all men, constant in deed and word, familiar with the good; and especially to the miserable to be merciful. After this, he gaue him also charge, not to be too hasty in taking his crown, before he had reuenged his fathers injuries stoutly against the Scots: but that he should remaine in those parts to take with him his fathers bones, being well boiled from the flesh: and so being inclosed in some fit vessel, should carry them with him till he conquered all the Scots: saying, that so long as he had his fathers bones with him, none should overcome him. Moreover, he willed and required him to loue his brother Thomas & Edmund: also to cherish and tender his mother Margaret the Quene. Duer and besides, he straightly charged him upon his blessing (as he would auoid his curse) that he should in no case call to him againe, or send for Peter Caueston: which Peter Caueston the king before had banished the Realme, for his naughty and wicked familiarity with his sonne Edward, and for his seducing of him with sinister counsell. For the which cause he banished both Peter Caueston out of the Realme, and also put the said Edward his sonne in prison. And therefore so straitly he charged his sonne, in no wise to send for this Caueston, or to haue him in any case about him. And finally, because he had conceived in himselfe a vow to haue returned in his owne person to the holy land (which for his manifold warres with the Scots he could not performe) therefore he had prepared 32000. pounds of silver; for the sending of certaine souldiers with his heart unto the holy land. Which thing he required of his sonne to see accomplished: So that the foresaid money, vnder his curse and malediction, be not employed to other uses. But these iniunctions and precepts the disobedient sonne did nothing obserue or keepe after the decease of his father. Who, forsaking and leaving off the warre with the Scots, with all speed halsted him to his coronation. Also, contrary to the mind of his nobles, and against the precept of his father, he sent for the foresaid Peter Caueston, and prodigally bestowed upon him all that treasure which his father had bequeathed to the holy land. He was moreover a proud despiser of his peres and nobles; and therefore raigned unfortunately, as by the sequell of the story here following, by the grace of Christ, shall be declared. Thus king Edward first of that name, leaving behind him three sonnes, Thomas and Edmund by his third wife, and Edward by his first wife, whom he had sufficiently thus with precepts instructed, departed this mortall life, An. 1207. after he had raigned

yeeres 35. Of whom this Epitaph was written:

Dum vixit rex, & valuit tua magna potestas,  
Fraus latuit, pax magna fuit, regnauit honestas.

The Epitaph  
King Edward

In the time and raigne of this king many other things happened, which here I omit to speake of, as the long discord and strife betwene the prior of Canterbury, and the prior of Dover, which continued about foure yeeres together; with much wrangling and iniquitennesse betwene them. Likewise another like contention growing betwene John Romain, Archbishop of Poike, and the Archbishop of Canterbury upon this occasion; that when John Archbishop of Poike after his consecration returned from the Pope, comming to Dover, contrary to the inhibition of Canterbury, he passed through the middle of Kent, with his crosse borne up; although the story reporteth, that he had the kings consent thereunto: An. 1286.

Item, betwene Thomas Bishop of Hereford, and John Becham, Archbishop of Canterbury fell another wrangling matter, in the time of this king. Which Bishop of Hereford, appealing from the Archbishop to the Pope, went up to Rome, and in his journey died. Who with lesse cost might haue taried at home: 1282.

## King Edward the second.



Edward the second of that name, and son of Edward the first, borne, as is aforesaid, at Carnaruan in Wales, after the departure of his father, entered the gouernment of the land, An. 1307.

But was not crowned before the yeere next following, An. 1308. by reason of the absence of Rob. Winchelsey, who was banished by king Edward the first. Whereupon the king this present yeere writeth to the Pope for the restitution of the said Archbishop; for that, by an ancient law of the Realme, the coronation of the king could not otherwise proceede without the archbishop of Canterbury. Which Edward as he was personable in body and outward shape, so in conditions and euill dispositions much deformed; as vnderfall of his word, and light to disclose secrets of great counsell: also, refusing the company of his lords and men of honour; he much haunted among villains and vile personages: given moreover to ouermuch drinking, and such vices as thereupon he went to ensue. And as of his owne nature he was to the said vices disposed, so was he much wooed by the counsell and familiaritie of certaine euill disposed persons, as first of Peter, or Pierce Caueston before touched. Then after him, of the two Spenders and other, whose wanton counsell he following, gaue himselfe to the appetite and pleasure of his body: nothing ordering his commonweale by gravity, discretion and iustice: which thing caused first great variance betwene him and his nobles; so that shortly he became to them odious, and in the end was deprived of his kingdome. In the first yeere, he tooke to wife Isabel, daughter of Philip king of France: with whom (the yeere after he was crowned at Westminster by the bishop of Winchester: for that, Robert Winchelsey Archbishop of Canterbury was yet in exile not returned home.

Notwithstanding, the Barons and Lords made first their request to the king to put Peter Caueston from him, or else they would not consent to his coronation. Whereupon he was enforced to grant them at the next Parliament to haue their requests accomplished, and so he was crowned. In the meane season, the foresaid Peter or Pierce, bearing himselfe of the kings fauour bold; continued scumpping and setting

Anno 1207.  
The sickness and death of king Edward.

Godly lessons and precepts given to the young Prince.

The king commended his bones to be carried in the field against the Scots.

The fatherly care of king Edward in excluding wicked company from his sonne.

A rash voto of king Edward. The kings heart to be carried to the holy land.

King Edward the second.

Anno 1308.

King Edward led by wicked counsell.

Peter Caueston or Pierce, borne a wicked doer about the king.



{ KING }  
{ EDW. 2 }

setting at light all other states and nobles of the Realme, so that he ruled both the king & the realme, and all things went as he would: neither had the king any delight else, or kept company with any, but with him: with him only he brake all his minde, and conferred all his counsels. This as it seemed strange unto the Lords and Barres, so it inflamed their indignation so much against this Peter, that, through the exciting of the nobles, the bishops of the land did proceed in excommunication against the said Gaueston, unless he departed the land. Upon the occasion, whereof, the king the same first yere of his raigne, being grieved with the Bishops, writeth to the Pope, complaining that they had proceeded to excommunication of the said Peter unless he departed the realme within a time certain. The which letter of the king what answer againe it had from the Pope, I find not set downe in story. Duer and besides, it befell in the said first yere of the king, that the bishopricke of Poike being vacant, the king gaue the office of the treasure to one of his owne Clerkes: whereof the Pope hauing intelligence, writeth to the king, commanding him to call back the same gift, & withall citeth vnto Rome the said Clerke, there to answer the matter to a nephew of one of his Cardinals, vpon whom he had bestowed the said dignity: wherunto the king maketh answer: Quod citationes huiusmodi, & illarum executio, &c. i. That if such citations and the execution of the same should proceede to the impeachment of our kingly jurisdiction, and to the prejudice of our lawfull inheritance, and the honour of our Crowne (especially if the deciding of such matters which principally concerne our estate, should be prosecuted in any other place than within this our Realme by any manner of waies, &c.) certes, although we our selues would wincke thereat, or through sufferance permit matters so to passe our hands; yet the states and nobles of our kingdom, who vpon allegiance are obliged and sworne to the protection and defence of the dignity of the Crowne of England, will in no wise suffer our right, and the lawes of the land so to be violated.

Besides this, the foresaid Pope wrote to the king, complaining, that by certaine counsellors of king Edward his father lying sicke, utterly ignorant thereof, a certaine restraint was given out, charging his nuncios and legats (whom he had sent for the gathering of the first fruits of the benefices vacant within the Realme) not hereafter to entermeddle therewith, &c. Wherunto the king maketh answer: viz. Pater Sanctif. Datum fuit vobis intelligi, &c.

In English thus:

Most holy Father, it hath been given you to vnderstand otherwise than the truth of the matter is for most true it is indeed that the foresaid inhibition was ratified by good act of Parliament holden at Karlin, vpon certaine causes concerning the execution of such collections (the said our father not onely being not ignorant, but also witting, willing, and of his owne meere knowledge agreeing to the same) in the presence not only of his owne Earles, Barons and states, and commons of the Realme, but also your legates and liegers being called thereunto.

Item, vpon other letters brought from the Pope to the king, for the enstalling of one Peter de Subaudia his kinsman into the Bishopricke of Worcester being then vacant, and withall requiring that if the said Peter would not accept thereof, the election should be referred to the Prior and Couent of the same place, The king therewith grieved, maketh answer by his letters to the Pope and sundry his Cardinals: Quod cum electiones de futuris prelatibus in Ecclesiis Cathedralibus, &c. That forsomuch as elections of Prelats, to be placed in Cathedral Churches within his Kingdom, are not to be attempted without his licence first had and obtained, &c. Therefore he could not abide that any such strange and vnaccustomed referuations should, or could take place in his realme

without manifest prejudice of his kingly estate, requiring further that he would not cause any such novelties to be brought in into his kingdom, contrary to that which his ancestors before him haue accustomed to doe.

This the time proceeded, and at length the Parliament appointed came, Anno 1310. which was the fourth of this kings raign. The articles were drawn by the nobles to be exhibited to the king, which articles were the same contained in magna carta, and de foresta above specified: with such other Articles as his father had charged him with before; to wit, that he should remove from him and his Court, all aliens and peruerse counsellors, and that all the matters of the common wealth should be debated by common counsell of the Lords both temporall and spirituall: and that he should stir no war out of England in any other forein Realme, without the common assent of the same, &c. The king perceiving their intent to be, as it was indeed, to sunder Peter Gaueston from his company; and seeing no other remedy, but needs he must yield and grant his consent, agreed that the said Gaueston should be banished into Ireland. And so, the Parliament breaking by: the Lords returned to their owne, well appeased; although of the other Articles they could not speed, yet that they had driven Peter Gaueston out of the Realme, at this time it did suffice them.

This Peter Gaueston was a certain Gentleman son of Gascoigne: whom being young king Edward the first (for the good service his father had done him in his warres) receiued to his court, and placed him with his sonne Edward now raigning. Who, in process of time growing by with him, incensed and provoked him to much outrage and wantonnesse. By whose occasion first he began, in his fathers daies, to break the park of Walsley of Gleser, then Chancellor of England, and after executor to the king: for the which so doing, the king (as is partly touched before) imprisoned his son, and condemned this Peter to perpetual banishment. Notwithstanding the young king after the death of his father (as ye haue heard) sent for this Gaueston again. And withall he so persecuted this foresaid Bishop, that he clapt him in the tower, and seized vpon all his goods. Whereouer, he caused most strait inquisition to be made vpon him for guiding his office, wherein if the least crime might haue been found, it would haue cost him his life. And thus much of Peter Gaueston, and of his origine. Now to the matter.

The king thus separated from his old compere (that is, from the company of Peter Gaueston, now exiled into Ireland) continued in great mourning and pensiveness, seeking by all meanes possible how to call him home again, and conferring with such as were about him vpon the same: who did insinuate to the king, that for so much as the Earle of Gloucester was a man well loued and fauored in all the realme; if a marriage might be wrought betwixt his sister and Peter Gaueston, it might be a meane both for him to obtaine more friendship, & for the king to haue his desire. To make short, Peter Gaueston in al hast was sent for, and the marriage, through the kings procuring, proceeded betwene the earles sister, and the foresaid Peter; albeit for against the Earles mind. Gaueston thus restored & dignified, was so surprized in pride and exaltation more than euer before, that he disdained and derided all other, whose rule and power more and more encreased. Insomuch, that he, hauing the guiding of all the kings jewels and treasure, conveyed out of the kings iewel house at Westminster a table and a paire of tressels of gold, vnto merchants beyond sea, with other jewels more; to the great impoverishing both of the king and quen, & of the land. And ouer all that, he brought the king (by meane of his wanton conditions) to manifold vices, as adultery, and such other like. Wherefore the lords seeing the mischiefe that daily increased by occasion of this unhappy

{ Anno }  
{ 1310. }

Peter Gaueston.

The bitter affection of the king to Peter Gaueston.

The pride of Peter Gaueston.

Peter Gaueston spoileth the kings treasure.



The Duene  
complained to  
the French king  
her father of  
Peter Caueillon

Caueillon again  
excluded out of  
the land.

The Crotoched  
friers.  
The knights of  
S. John called  
the knights of  
the Rhodes.

Templaries  
burned at Pa-  
ris, to the num-  
ber of 54.  
The order of the  
Templaries  
put downe.

The horrible  
fact of the  
Templaries.

Cistercian  
monks for mo-  
ney redeeme  
their exempti-  
ons of the pope.

The friers Mi-  
norites deceived  
of Pope Cle-  
ment.  
Ex Chron.  
Tho. Wall.  
One chiefe be-  
guiled ano-  
ther.

Unhappy man, took their counsell together at Lin-  
colne, and there concluded to auoide him againe out  
of England; so that shortly after he was exiled a-  
gain, and went into Flanders: for in France or his  
owne country he durst not appeare, for feare Philip  
the French king, to whom the queen of England his  
daughter had sent ouer great complaints of the said  
Caueillon, who had so impouerished her & the whole  
Court, that she had not wherewith to maintaine her  
estate. Upon which complaint, the French king tho-  
row all his dominions laid strait watch to appe-  
hend the said Caueillon: but he, not vnwarned there-  
of, secretly coasted into Flanders, from whence it  
was not long but he was fet againe by the King, as in  
further processe followeth: so much was the Kings  
heart infatuated by this wicked person.

About this yeere, or the next before, came in first  
the Crotoched friers: and also first began the knights  
of the order of S. John Baptiste, otherwile called the  
knights of Rhodes, for that they by manly knight-  
hood put out the Turkes from the Ile of Rhodes.

In the history of King Edward, this kings father  
before precedent, mention was made of Pope Cle-  
ment the fifth, who succeeded after Benedict; also of  
putting downe of the Templaries, which in this  
yeere hapned by means of the French king: who as  
he caused to be burned in the City of Paris this yeere  
fifty foure Templaries, with the great master of the  
same order; so by his procurement the foresaid pope  
Clement called a councel at Vienna, where a whole  
order and set of Templaries, being condemned, was  
shortly after by the consent of all Christian kings de-  
posed all in one day. After whom the French king  
thought to make his sonne King of Jerusalem, and  
to conuert to him all the lands of the said Templa-  
ries. But Clement the pope would not thereto agree,  
transferring all their lands to the order of Hospita-  
lers, for the great summe of money giuen for the  
same. The cause why these impious Templaries  
were put downe, was so abominable and filthy, that  
for the reuerence of chaste eares it were better not  
told, if it be true that some write.

Another matter tooke to be noted of like abo-  
mination, I thought here to insert, touching a cer-  
taine Summey in France called Monines, within  
the which, at the cleansing and casting of a fishpond,  
were found many bones of young children, and the  
bodies also of some infants as yet whole unconsum-  
ed: upon occasion whereof diuers of the Summs of  
the said Summey, to the number of twenty seven,  
were had to Paris, and there imprisoned: what be-  
came of them afterward I find not in mine autho-  
r. Apontacus Burdegalensis.

In the same councell also was decreed by the said  
Clement, that all religious orders exempted should  
be subiect vnder the common lawes as other were.  
But the Cistercian Monks with money and great  
gifts redeemed their priuiledges and exemption of  
the pope, and so had them granted: Tho. Wall. These  
Cistercians sped better herein, than did the Mi-  
norites of the Franciscans in their suite. Of which  
Franciscans when certaine of them had offered un-  
to the said Pope Clement forty thousand florenzes  
of gold, beside other silver, that the Pope would  
dispence with them to haue lands and possessions a-  
gainst their rule: the Pope asked them where was  
that money. They answered, in the merchant mens  
hands. So the space of three daies being giuen them  
to bring forth these Merchants: the pope absolved the  
merchants of their bond made to the friers, and com-  
manded all that money to be employed and reuerted  
to his use: declaring to the friers, that he would not  
infringe or violate the rule of S. Francis lately ca-  
nonized, neither ought he to doe it for any money. And  
thus the beggerly rich friers lost both their money  
and their indulgence. Ex eodem autore.

Concerning this Pope Clement the fifth, Sabel-  
lus writeth, that he excommunicated the Veneti-

ans, for aiding and preferring of Azoda into the  
State of Ferrarie; and wrote his letters throughout  
all Europe, condemning them as enemies of the  
church, and giuing their goods as a lawfull prey vnto  
all men; which caused them to sustaine great harme.  
But Francis Dandulus a noble man of Venice, be-  
ing Ambassadour from the Venetians to the said  
Clement, for the obtaining of their abolition and  
safegard of their city and country, and for the pacify-  
ing of the Popes fury toward them, was faine so  
to humble himselfe before this proud tyrannicall Pope,  
lat, that he suffered a chaine of iron to be tyed about  
his necke, and he to lie downe flat before his table,  
and so to catch the bones and fragments that fell  
from his table, as it had been a dog, till the popes fu-  
ry was towards them asswaged: so that after that,  
he in reproach (because hee so humbled himselfe for  
the behalfe and helping of his country) was of some  
called a dog. But the City of Venice shewed them  
selues not unkind againe to Dandulus for his gen-  
tle good will declared to his Country: for as hee had  
abased himselfe before in the vile and ignominious  
condition of a dog for his countries sake, so they ex-  
tolled him with as much gloze againe being retur-  
ned home, decking and adorning him after the best  
array, with the chiefe princely ornaments of the city,  
to make him amends for his former reproach recei-  
ued. Sabel, Ennead. 9. lib. 7.

Concerning the constitutions of this Pope Cle-  
ment, and of his decretals and Clementines; and  
how Henricus the Emperour in his dayes was por-  
tioned in receiuing of the Sacrament, we haue heard  
before. About this time Robert Wineschell archbi-  
shop of Canterbury (whom this Kings father had  
banished before) was released and returned home  
from Rome.

These things thus declared, let vs procede by the  
Lords grace to the next yeere, which is of the Lord  
1311. and the fifth yeere of this Kings raigne. In the  
which yeere, counting the yeare from Michaelmasse  
to the same feast againe, as then the blage of the  
realme was, Peter Caueillon, who had wandered the  
Countries about, and could find no safe resting place  
(notwithstanding he was utterly banished, upon for-  
feiting life and goods out of the Realme, yet trusting  
vpon the Kings fauour, and the good will of the earle  
of Gloucester, whose sister hee had married) secretly  
returning into England with a certaine company of  
strangers, presented himselfe to the Kings sight. At  
the beholding of whom the King for joy ran to him,  
and embracing him, did not only retaine him, but al-  
so for his sake vndid all such acts as had been in the  
Parliament before enacted. The queen and the whole  
court, seeing this doating of the king, made an hea-  
uy Christmas. After this returne of Caueillon was  
noised among the Commons, the Peeres and nobles  
of the Realme were not a little stirred, asking with  
themselves what way were best to take. If he were  
suffered still, they saw not onely themselves rejected,  
but also that the Duene could not enioy the loue of  
the King, neither could there be any quietnesse in the  
realme. Again, to stir by war in the land, it were not  
the best: to ber or disquiet the king, also they were a-  
fraid. But forasmuch as they could not abide all the  
nobility to be thrust out and vilipended for the loue  
of one stranger, & also the realme so to be spoiled and  
impouerished by the same: this way they tooke, that  
Thomas earle of Lancaster should be elected among  
them the chiefe, and chiefe doer in that businesse:  
to whom all other earles and barons, & prelates also  
did concolorably condescend and consent, except onely  
Walter bissh. of Couentry, whom Robert the archbi-  
shop afterwar did excommunicate. Which Tho-  
mas of Lancaster, by the publike assent of the rest,  
sent to the King (lying then at Poys) humble petiti-  
ons, in the name as well of a whole nobility, as of the  
commons: desiring his grace to giue the foresaid Ca-  
ueillon into them, or else according to the ordinance

{ KING }  
{ EDW. }  
Pope Clement  
excommunica-  
teth the Veneti-  
ans for making  
a Duke.

The pride and  
tyranny of Pope  
Clement 5.  
Francis Dan-  
dulus humbleth  
himselfe for his  
country.  
Out of Sabel-  
lus, and is al-  
leged in the  
booke named  
the Image of  
tyranny.  
he pietie of  
Dandulus to  
his country.  
Dierich thank-  
fully rewarded.

Robert Wines-  
chellsey return-  
home from ba-  
nishment.

{ Anno. }  
{ 1311. }  
The counting  
of the yeere was  
in the old time  
from Michael-  
masse to the sam-  
day againe.

Ex Chron.  
Tho. Wall.

The rebbi-  
shop of Cant-  
burp excomm-  
nicateth the  
shop of Couen-  
try for holding  
with Peter Ca-  
ueillon.



**KING** of the realme, that the land might be quieted of him. But the tyrannous king, who set more by the love of one stranger than by his whole realme beside, neither would hearken to their counsell, nor give place to their supplications; But in all hasty furie removed from Woketo Newcastle, where he remained almost till midsummer.

In the meane season the Barons had gathered an host of sufficient and able souldiers, coming toward Newcastle: not intending any molestacion against the king, but only the execution of the lawes upon the wicked Gaueston. The king, not having wherewith to resist their power, remoueth in all speed by manner to Winmouth where the Queen lay. And hearing there that Newcastle was taken, he taketh shipping and saileth from thence (notwithstanding the Queen there, being great with childe, with weeping teares & all instance desired him to tarry with her, as safely he might) but he, nothing relenting to her, took Peter his compare with him, and coasted over to the castle of Scarborough; where he leaving Peter Gaueston to the safe keeping of his men, himselfe journeyeth toward the coast beside Warwicke. The Lords, hearing where Peter was, bend thither all their power: so that at length Gaueston, seeing no remedy but he must needs come in to their hands, yieldeth and submitteth himselfe, requiring none other condition, but onely that hee might talke but a few words with the king in his presence. Thus Gaueston being apprehended, the king hearing thereof sendeth unto the Lords, requiring his life to be spared; and that hee might be brought to his spech, and promised, that in so doing he would satisfie their mindes and requests, whatsoever. About this aduise ment was taken: but then the Earle of Pembroke, hearing the kings promise, persuaded the Barons to grant unto his petition: promising himselfe, upon losing all his lands, to take the charge upon him to be brought unto the kings spech, and so to be recommitted to them againe. And which when he had obtained, he taketh Peter Gaueston with him, to bring him where the king lay. And so coming to Dedington, not far from Warwicke, he leaueth him in the keeping of his souldiers, while he that night went to his wife, being not farre off from thence.

The same night it chanced Guido the Earle of Warwicke to come to the same place where Gaueston was left: who, taking him out of the hands of his keepers, carrieth him to the castle of Warwicke, where incontinently they would haue put him to death: but, doubting & fearing the kings displeasure, a little they stayed. At what time one of the company (a man of sage and wise counsell, as mine author writeth) standing by among them, with his graue oration declareth the nature of the man, the wickednesse of his owne condition, the realme by him so greatly endamaged, the nobles despised and reiected, the pride and ambition of the man intolerable, the ruine of things like to ensue by him, and the great charges and expences they had bene at in so long pursuing and getting of him: And now being gotten and in their hands, he exhorteth them so to vse and take the occasion now present; that hereafter, being out of their hands, they afterward might sake, and should not finde it.

Wise, in such sort he perswaded the hearers, that forthwith he was brought out, and by common agreement beheaded in a place called Blakelow; which place in times I finde to be called Gauestead; but that name (as I thinke) was deriued upon this occasion, afterward. And thus he, that before had called the earle of Warwicke the black dog of Ardeine, was thus by the said dog woeried; as ye haue heard, &c. His carcase the Dominicke friers of Wroth had in their monastery interred the space of two yeeres: but after that, the king caused the said carcase to be taken vp and buried within his owne Manor of Langley.

After this, great disturbance began to rise betwixen the king and the lords: who, hauing their power lying about Dunstable, sent stout message unto the king at London, to haue their former acts confirmed. Gilbert earle of Gloucester the kings nephew (who neither did hold against the king, nor yet against the nobles, with the bishops and prelates of the realme, went betwixne both parties with great diligence, to make vnitie. At which time also came two cardinals from Rome, with letters sent unto them from the pope. The nobles answered to the message of the cardinals, lying then at Saint Albans: that as touching themselves, they should bee at all times welcometo them; but as touching their letters (for as much as they were men vnlettered, and onely brought up in warre and feates of armes) therefore they cared not for seeing the same. Then message was sent againe, that they would grant at least but to speake with the popes legates, which purposely came for the intent to set quiet and vnitie in the realme. They answered againe, that they had business both goodly and learned, by whose counsell they would be led onely, and not by any strangers, who knew not the true cause of their commotion. And therefore they sayd precisely, that they would haue no foreigners or aliens to be doers in their business and affaires pertaining to the realme. Yet notwithstanding, through the mediation of the archbishop, and of the earle of Gloucester, the matter at length was so taken vp, that the barons should restore to the king, or his attourney of Saint Albans, all the treasure, horses, and iewels of the foresaid Gaueston taken at Newcastle, and so their requests should be granted. And so was the matter at that time composed.

Shortly upon the same, Isabel the queene was deliuered of a faire child at Warwicke, whom Lewis the French kings sonne (the queenes brother, with other Frenchmen there present) would haue to be called by the name of the french king: but the English lords were contrary, willing him to be called by the name of Edward his father: At the birth of which Edward great reioysing was through all the land, and especially the king his father so much ioyed thereat, that he began daily more and more to forget the sorrow and remembrance of Gauestons death, and was after that more agreeable to the will of his nobles.

Thus peace and concord betwixene them began to be in a good forwardnesse; which more and more might haue been confirmed in wearing out of time, had not Satan, the author and sower of discord, stirred vp his instruments (certaine Frenchmen, with illars and make-bates about the king) which ceased not, in carping and deprauiing the nobles, to inflame the kings hatred and grudge against them. By the exciting of whom, the old quarrels being renewed afresh the king in his parliament, called upon the same, began to charge the foresaid barons and nobles with sedition and rebellion, and for slaying Peter Gaueston. Neither were the nobles lesse stout againe in defending their cause, declaring that they in so doing had deserued rather thanke and fauour with the king than any displeasure, in vanquishing such a publike enemy of the realme, who not onely had spoiled and waisted the kings substance, but also raised much disturbance in the realme. And forasmuch as they had begun with the matter to their so great labours and expences; they would proceed further, they said, not ceasing till they saw an end thereof.

To be short, great heats there were on both parts, and a foule matter like to haue followed. But againe, through the diligent mediation of the queene, the prelates, and the foresaid earle of Gloucester, the matter was taken vp and brought to reconciliation upon these conditions, that the lords, and barons continually in Westminster hall should humble themselves before the king, and aske pardon there of their doings, and every man there to receiue a letter of the kings

The nobles of England cared not for the popes letters. The popes legates not admitted of them, being of England.

Anno 1312. The king ruled by foreign counsell. Make-bates about the king.

Occasion for making peace.

The king reconciled againe with his nobles.



Kings pardon for their indemnitie, and assurance. And so passed ouer that yere, within the which yere died Robert Winchelsey Archbisshop of Canterburp. In whose roome, Thomas Cobham was elected by the king and church of Canterburp to succeed: but the Pope, frustrating the election, placed Walter Ricinold bisshop of Worcester.

In the meane time the Scots, hearing this ciuill discord in the realme, began to be busie, and to rebell of new through the meanes of Robert Bruce: who being chased out of Scotland by king Edward the first, as is aboue premised, into Norway, was now returned againe into Scotland: where he demeaned himselfe in such sort to the Lords there, that in short pcesse hee was againe made king of the realme, and warred so strongly vpon them that tooke the Kings part, that hee wan from them many castles and strong holds, and inuaded the borders of England. The king hearing this assembly a great power, and by water entred the realme of Scotland. Against whom encountered Robert de Bruce with his Scots at Eddinburg, where was fought a strong battell: in the end whercof the Englishmen were discomfited, and so eagerly pursued by the Scots, that many of the noble men were slain, as the Earle of Gloucester, sir Robert Clifford, sir Edmund Haule with other Lords to the number of forty two, and knights and barons 227. besides men of name, which were taken prisoners, of common souldiers ten thousand, or, after the Scottish story, fifty thousand slaine. After which time, sir Robert Bruce reigned as king of Scotland.

About which time, and in which yere, died Pope Clement, who, keeping in the realme of France, neuer came to the Sea of Rome: after whose death the papacy stood doide two yeres.

The Scots after this, crastled with pride and ferce- nesse, inuaded the realme of England to soze, killing and destroying man, woman, and child: that they came winning and wasting the both parts as far as to Porke. Besides this, such dearth of victuals, and penurie of all things so oppressed the whole land, such murraine of sheep and oxen, as men were faine to eat horse-flesh, dogs, cats, mice, and what else they could get. Moreover, such a price of corne followed withall, that the king hardly had bread for the sustentation of his owne household. Moreover, some there were that did steale children and eate them, and many for lacke of victuall died. And yet all this amended not the king of his euill liuing.

The cause and origen of this great dearth, was, partly the warres and dissention betweene them and the Scots: whereby a great part of the land was wasted. But the chiefest cause was the intemperate season of the yere, which contrary to the common course, was so moist with abundance of raine, that the graine laid in the earth could haue no ripening by heat of the Sunne, nor grow to any nourishment. Whereby they that had to eat could not be satisfied with saturity, but oftentimes were as hungry againe. They that had nothing were driuen to steale and rob: the rich were constrained to auoide and diminish their households: the poore for famine died. And not so much the want of victuall, which could not be gotten, as the brutishness of the same when it was taken, so consumed the people, that the quickes were not sufficient to bury the dead. For the corruption of the meates, by reason of the unseasonableness of the ground, was so infectious, that many died of the sir, many of hot feuers, diuers of the pestilence. And not onely the bodies of men thereby were infected, but also the beasts by the putrifaction of the herbes and grasse fell into as great a murraine: so farre forth, as that the eating of flesh was suspect and thought contagious. A quarter of corne and salt, from the moneth of Iune to September grew from thirte shillings into forty shillings. The flesh of horses was then pretious to the

poore. Many were driuen to steale fat dogs and to eat them: some were said in secret corners to eat their owne children. Some would steale other mens children to kill them and eat them priuily. The prisoners and thieues that were in bands, for hunger fell vpon such as were newly brought in vnto them, & tearing them in pieces did eat them halfe alive. Whereby, this extreame penury had extinguished and consumed (as it was thought) the greatest part of the people of the land, had not the king by the aduice of the Londoners giuen forth commandement through all his land, that no coze should at that time be turned to the making of drinke. Such a Lord is God, thus able, to not where he is disposed to strike. And yet we miserable creatures, in our wealth and abundance will not surcease daily to prouoke his terrible Majesty.

But let vs returne to the order againe of our story. After the Scots had thus plagued miserably (as we haue heard) the realme of England: they inuaded also Ireland, where they kept and continued warre the space of foure yeres. But in fine, the Irishmen (by aid sent to them from England) quit themselves so well, that they vanquished the Scots, and slew Edward Bruce, & many of the nobles of Scotland with many other, & drove the residue out of the countrey.

The king about the twelfth yere of his raigne, assembled a new host and went into Scotland, where he laid siege to Barwicke. But in the meane time the Scots by another way, inuaded the merchants of Porke, robbing and harrying the countrey, and they slew much people. Wherefore, the archbisshop of Porke, and other abbats, priors, clerkes, with but- bandmen, assembled a great company, & gaue them battell at a place called Pitton, where the Englishmen were discomfited, and many of them slaine: but the Archbisshop, and the Abbat of Selbie, and diuers others there escaped. But because there were so many spirituall men there slaine, it was called therefore the white battell. By reason wherof, the king hearing of this, and partly because winter did approach, was constrained to brake vp his siege, and so returned not without great danger.

At this time the two Spencers (sir Hugh Spencer the father, and Hugh Spencer the sonne) were of great power in England, and by the fauor of the king practised such cruelty, and bare themselves so haughtily and proud, that no Lord of this land might gainsay them in any thing that they thought good, where- by they were in great hatred and indignation both with the nobles, and the commons, no lesse than Des- ter Gaueillon was before.

Soone vpon this, came two Legats from Rome, sent by pope John the 22. vnder pretence to let agree- ment betweene England and Scotland: who for their charges and expences, required of euery spirituall person foure pence in euery marke. But all their labour nothing auailed: for the Legats as they were in the Northparts (about Werlinton) with their whole family and train, were robbed and dispoiled of their horses, treasure, apparell, & what else they had, and with an euill fauoured handling, retired backe againe to Duresme, where they staid awhile waiting for an answer from the Scots. But when neither the popes legacy nor his curse would take any place with the Scots, they returned againe to London, where they first excommunicated and cursed as black as soot all those arrogant and presumptuous robbers of Northumberland. Secondly, for supplying of the losses received, they exacted of the clergy to be giuen and paid vnto them eight pence in euery marke. But the clergy thereunto would not agree, seeing it was their owne conetoulnesse (as they said) that made them venture farther than they needed. Only they were contented to relieue them after foure pence in a marke, as they promised before, further they would not grant. Whereof the king being aduertised, and taking part with his clergy, directed his letters to the said Legats in forme as followeth:

{ KING }  
{ EDW 2 }

Anno 1312.  
That discord  
both in a com-  
mon weale,  
& the Scots re-  
bell against the  
realme of Eng-  
land.

Englishmen o-  
uercome by the  
Scots.

Pope Clement  
neuer came in the  
see of Rome.

Anno.  
1314

Diserable  
dearth and fa-  
mine in Eng-  
land.

A description of  
an horrible fa-  
mine in the  
realme of Eng-  
land.

Ex Chron.  
Tho. Wals. in  
vita Eduar-  
di 2.

The Scots dri-  
uen out of Ire-  
land.

{ Anno }  
{ 1317 }

The white bat-  
tell of the spiri-  
tuall men in  
Porke.

The two Syn-  
ders.

Two Legats  
sent from Rome  
The popes ul-  
lage.  
The popes Le-  
gats spoiled of  
all their god-  
den treasure.  
The popes  
curse concerning  
of the Scots.

The clergy of  
England dem-  
eth to contrib-  
ute to the popes  
Legats.



**KING** **R**ex Magistro Rigando de Asserio, canonico Aureli-  
an. S. litem, &c. In English thus.  
**EDW. 2** The King to master Rigand of Asserio, canon of  
Aurelia, greeting. We have taken notice of the cla-  
mourous and lamentable petitions of the subjects of  
our realme, perceiuing by the same that you pra-  
ctise many and sundry inconueniences very strange,  
neuer heretofore accustomed nor heard of in this  
our realme, as well against the clergy and ecclesiasti-  
call persons, as against the laity, euen to the utter  
oppression and impouerishing of many our liege  
people, which if it should be winked at (as God for-  
bid) may in proceesse of time be occasion of greater  
perils to us hereafter we are (not without cause)  
moued, and not a little grieved : Wee forbid you  
therefore, that from henceforth you practise not, ne  
presume in any case to attempt any thing within  
this our Realme, either against our clergy or laitie,  
that may any manner of way tend to the prejudice  
of our royall person, or of our crowne and dignitie  
regall. Witnesse the King at Windsor the fifth  
day of February in the eleventh yere of his raigne.  
Per concilium.

Likewise in the same yere the said King writeth  
to the same effect to the Archbishop of Canterbury,  
as followeth : Rex venerabili in Christo Patri, W.  
eadem gra. archiepiscopo Cant, &c. In English thus.

The King to the reverend father in God, W. by  
the same grace archbishop of Canterbury : primate  
of England, greeting. We are credibly informed  
by many our subjects, that certaine strange imposi-  
tions, neuer heard of before within any our domi-  
nions, upon lands and tenements, goods and cat-  
tels, concerning the testaments and cases of matri-  
mony, are brought into our realme to be executed  
upon our subjects by you or some others ; which if it  
should proceed to execution, would manifestly tend  
to the disherison, and impeachment of our crowne and  
dignitie regall, and the intolerable damage of the  
subjects of our Realme, to the due preservation of  
the which you are bound by solemn oath of allegi-  
ance. Wee therefore command and straitly charge  
you, that you proceed not in any case to the execu-  
tion of any such letters, either in your owne person  
or by any other, nor yet presume by colour of the  
same to attempt any thing that may be prejudiciall  
or hurtfull to our crowne or dignitie regall. And if  
you or any other in your name haue done or at-  
tempted any thing by colour of the same, that wee  
call backe and reuoke the same forthwith without  
delay. Witnesse the King at Shene the 17. of Fe-  
bruary the 11. yere of his raigne.  
Per ipsum Regem.

The like letters in effect were directed to the arch-  
bishop of Yorke, and to euery other Bishop through  
England. By force of which letters the greedy W.  
gates, being restrained of their rauening purpose,  
taking what they could get, and settling a peace  
(such as it was) betweene the King and the Earle  
of Lancaster, were faine to packe.

Besides the restraint aboue mentioned for strange  
impositions, there followed moreover the same  
yere the Kings prohibition for the gathering of  
Peter pence, directed to the foresaid Legat, the tes-  
timony whereof followeth.

#### A prohibition of Peter pence.

Rex magistro Rigando, &c. In English thus.

The King to master Rigand of Asserio Canon of  
Aurelia, greeting. We are giuen to understand that  
you doe demand and purpose to leuie the Peter peny  
within our realme, other wise than the said Peter pe-  
ny hath bene heretofore accustomed to be leuied in  
the time of any our progenitors, exercising herein  
griuous censures ecclesiasticall to the great annoy-  
ance and dammishing of the subjects of our realme :

for present remedy whereof our louing subjects haue  
made their humble supplication vnto vs. And for as  
much as the said Peter peny hath bene hitherto ac-  
customed to be gathered and leuied upon lands and  
tenements within our Realme after a due manner  
and forme : we not willing that any such vnaccus-  
tomed impositions shall in any wise bee made vpon  
the lands and tenements of any our subjects within  
our dominions, prohibite you, vpon grieuous paine,  
straitly charging that in no wise you presume to ex-  
act, gather, or leuie the said Peter peny in any other  
forme or manner than hath bene heretofore accu-  
stomed to be gathered and leuied in the time of our  
progenitors, or since the beginning of our raigne ;  
vntill further order bee taken in our high court of  
parliament by the aduice of the nobles and peeres of  
our realme, such as may well bee taken without pre-  
judice of our crowne and damage of subjects. Wit-  
nesse the king at Westminster the 1. day of March.

#### Per ipsum Regem & Concilium.

To the same effect Letters were directed to the  
Archbishops, Deanes, Archdeacons, and the rest of  
the clergy.

Touching the first originall of which Peter pence  
though mention be made before in the life of King  
Edwa and others : yet to make a briefe recapitula-  
tion of the same, according to the rolles as they come  
to our hands, thus it followeth : De Denariis beati  
Petri sic scriptum, &c. That is to say : It is thus  
found recorded in ancient Chronicles touching the  
Peter pence of Saint Peter, An. 187. Edwa king  
of Mercia travelled vnto Rome in the time of pope  
Adrian the first, to obtaine the canonizing of Saint  
Albone. And hauing performed his voye, visiting the  
Colledge of English Students which then flourish-  
ed in Rome, he did giue to the maintenance of the sch-  
olers of England, students in Rome, one penny out  
of euery tenement within this realme that had land  
belonging to the same, amounting to the yeerely va-  
lue of thirty pence. And for this his munificence he  
obtained of the Pope Adrian, that no person within  
his dominion publicke, repenting him for not perfor-  
ming enioyned penance, should therefore be banished.

Anno Domi. 857. Adewulfus Rex Westsaxonum,  
tempore Leonis papæ quarti Romæ singulis annis 300.  
Manculas portari præcipit, taliter dividendas ibidem,  
viz. 100. Manculas in honorem scilicet Petri speciali-  
ter ad emendum oleum, quo implerentur omnia Lumi-  
naria ecclesiæ Apostolicæ in vespere pasche & in galli-  
cantu : & 100. manculas in honorem scilicet Pauli  
eisdem de causis : 100. preterea manculas præcepit ex-  
hiberi Vniuersali Papæ ad suas elemosynas amphan-  
das. Et sciendum, quod secundum antiquorum Anglo-  
rum interpretationem differunt manculla, & manca :  
quia manculla idem erat apud eos quod marca argentea :  
Marca vero erat moneta ariæ quadra, & valebat com-  
muniter 30. denarios argenteos.

Of which Peter pence is found a transcript of the  
originall Rescript apostolicall, the tenor whereof is  
this : Gregorius episcopus servus servorum Dei, vene-  
rabilibus fratribus Cantuar. & Ebor. archiepiscopis  
& eorum iussuraneis & dilectis filiis abbatibus,  
prioribus, archidiaconis, eorumque officialibus per  
regnum Angliæ constitutis, ad quos literæ istæ per-  
uenerint, salutem & Apostolicam Benedictionem.  
Qualiter denarii beati Petri, qui debentur Camere  
nostræ, colligantur in Angliā, & in quibus episcopa-  
tibus & diocesi. debeantur, ne super hoc dubitari con-  
tingat, & presentibus fecimus annotari, sicut in Re-  
gistro sedis apostolicæ continetur. De Cantuar. dio-  
ces. 7. l. 18. s. sterlingorum, De London. diocesi. 16. l. 1.  
10. s. De Rossens. diocesi. v. l. 12. s. De Norwicens. di-  
ocesi. 21. l. 10. s. De Elenum. v. l. De Lincol. 42. l. 1. De  
Cilrenf. 8. l. De Winton. 17. l. 6. s. 8. d. De Exon.  
9. l. 5. s. De Wigorne. 10. l. 5. s. De Hereford. 6. l.



De Bathon. diocesi. 12. l. 5. s. De Sarisbur. 17. l. De Coventre. 10. l. 5. s. De Eborac. 11. l. 10. s. Datum apud urbem Veterem. 10. Kal. Maii. Pontificatus nostri anno secundo.

Summa, 30. marce & dimidi.

Concerning which Peter pence, it is touched in the laws of king Edward the Saint, chap. 10. when, where, of whom, under what paine this Peter pence must be gathered, being but the kings more almes, as is also said. And thus much touching Peter pence. Now for other letters written by the king to the Pope, the same year, for other matters, as craving the Popes helpe in compounding the variance between the two Archbishops of Canterbury and Poze, for bearing the crosse from the one Province to the other, thus it followeth: that the king grievously complaineth, quod tante dissentiones. I. that such hurly burly and uprore arose thereof, that they could not meete together in one place through the great multitude of armed men assistants on both parts in the very bearing of the crosse, to the great disturbance of the people.

Now after this long digression to turne to our English matters againe: mention was made before of the variance between the king and the Earle of Lancaster, and of a peace concluded betweene them. But this peace did not long endure: which the king by his owne default did breake; sending to the Scots a priuy messenger (which was taken in the way) to haue the foresaid Earle of Lancaster, by their means made away.

The pride of the Spensers.

In the meane time the Lords and nobles of England, detesting the outrageous pride of the Spensers whereby they wrought daily both great dishonour to the king, and hindrance to the common weale, in such wise conspired against them, that gathering their power together, they made a request to the king, that he should remoue the Spensers from his person. For the which there was a Parliament called at London, and the barons came together with a great company. At the which parliament both the Spensers were banished the land for terme of their liues: and they took shipping at Dover, and so voyaged the land. But it was not long after, but the king (contrary to the ordinance made in the parliament) sent for the Spensers againe, and set them in high authority, and they ruled all things after their sensuall appetites, nothing regarding justice nor the common wealth. Wherefore, the Barons intending againe to reforme this mischief, assembled their powers: but the king (making so hallic speed, and gathering his people to some) was stronger than they, and pursued them so in diuers places, that the Barons not fully joyned together (some flying, and some departing to the king, someaine by the way) in the end were chased so eagerly, that in short space, the foresaid Thomas earle of Lancaster was taken and put to death with the rest of the nobility, to the number of two and twenty of the greatest men, and chiefe captaynes of this realme. Of whom onely Thomas Earle of Lancaster, for the nobility of his blood, was beheaded: All the other lords and barons, were hanged, drawne, and quartered, &c. Which bloody unmercifullnesse of the king toward his naturall subjects, not onely procured to him great dishonour within the realme, but also turned afterward to his much more greater harme and hinderance, in his foren warres against the Scots: and finally wrought his utter confusion, and overthrow of his seat royall, as in the sequell of his end appeared, and worthily.

After the ruine of these noble personages, the king as though he had gotten a great conquest (who then indeed began first to bee overcome and conquered himselfe, when he so oppressed and cut off the strength and liues of his chivalry) began to triumph not a little with the Spensers; and so count himselfe sure as though hee were in Heauen, to exercise

more sharpe seneritie upon his subjects, trusting and committing all to the counsell onely of the foresaid Spensers: inso much, that both the Duene and the residue of the other nobles could little bee regarded. Who, as they grew euer in more contempt with the king, so they increased in more hatred against the Spensers: but strength and abilitie lacked to worke their will.

The next year the king being at Poze, after hee had made sir Hugh Spencer Earle, and sir John Baldocke a man of euill fame, to be chancellor of England; hee then arreared a mighty host against the Scots. But for lacke of skilfull guiding, expert Captaynes, and for want specially of due prouision of victuals necessary for such an armie, the great multitude, to the number reckoned of an hundred thousand (wandering through Scotland, from whence the Scots had conueyed all their goods and cattell into mountaynes, and marishes) were so pinched and starued with famine, that a great part of the army, there presently perished; and they that returned home, as soone as they tasted of meats, escaped not. The king not hauing resistance of his enemies, and seeing such a destruction of his subjects, was forced without any ad done to retire. But in his retiring, sir James Douglas and the Scots hauing knowledge thereof, pursued him in such wise: that they slew many English men, and had well nere taken the king himselfe. After which distress, the king, thus beaten and wearied with the Scots, would faine haue joyned in truce with the Scots: but because they stood excommunicate by the Pope, hee standing in feare thereof, desired licence to treatate with them of peace, the said excommunication notwithstanding: which licence being obtained, a treatie was appointed by commissioners on both parts at New castle at the feast of Saint Nicolas next ensuing; and so truce was taken for 12. yeeres. Whereupon this is to bee noted by the way (gentle Reader) not without of obseruation, that whereas in former times, and especially of the late king Edward the first, so long as the Scots were under the popes blessing, and were in displeasure with his holinesse for dealing with them, so long wee preuailed mightily against them, even to the utter subuersion in manner of their whole estate. But now so soone as the Pope took our part, and the Scots were under his curse and excommunication, then gave they great victories against vs, than at any time either before or since, inso much as being before not able to defend themselves against vs, they now pursued vs into the bowels of our country.

The king purposing to erect a house of Friars Augustines, within the Towne of Wotton in Lincolnshire, first payed the Popes licence in that behalf.

Polydorus Virgilius among other Histories of our English nation which he intermedleth withall, prosecuting also the ads and life of this present king, and comming to write of the Duenes going ouer into France, inferreth much variety and diuersity of authoys and story-writers concerning the cause thereof. Otherwise, hee giueth himselfe no true certaintie of that matter, neither yet toucheth hee that which was the cause indeed. By reason partly, that hee being an Italian and a forreiner, could not understand our English tongue; And partly againe, being but one man, neither could hee alone come to the sight of all our Latine Authoys. One I am sure came not to his perusing, an old ancient Latine history faire written in parchment (but without name) belonging to the library of William Cury Citizen of London. In which storie, the truth of this matter, without all ambiguity, is there fully and with all circumstances expessed, as here briefly is inserted.

The king of England had bene diuers and sometimes

{ KING }  
{ EDW 2 }

{ Anno }  
{ 1323 }

The king distressed againe in Scotland.

{ Anno }  
{ 1321 }

That Thomas Earle of Lancaster came of Edmund younger son of king Henry the third. Twenty two of the greatest nobilitie of the Realme put to death by the king.

{ Anno }  
{ 1322 }

The cruellest torturing of the king.

Polydorus Virgilius, an Italian writer of our English story.



{ KING }  
{ EDW. 2 }  
{ Anno }  
{ 1324. }

{ Anno }  
{ 1325. }

The Queene put  
to her pension.

The Queene  
sent to France.

Prince Edward  
made Duke of  
Aquitaine and  
Earle of Pon-  
tine.

The Queene  
and the prince  
came to returne  
into England.

The Queene  
and the prince  
proclaimed tray-  
tors in Eng-  
and.

The King con-  
sidered punitly the  
death of the  
Queene and of  
his sonne.

die times cited vp to the Court of France, to doe homage to the french king, for the Dukedome of Aquitaine, and other lands which the king then held of France. Which homage, because the king of England refused to tender, the french king began to enter all such possessions as the king then did hold in France: whereupon great contention and confusions there were on both sides. At length in this year now present, a Parliament was called at London. Where (after much alteration) at last it was determined; that certaine should be sent over, to wit, the Bishops of Winchester, and Norwich, and the earle of Richmond, to make agreement betwixt the two kings. For the better helpe and fortification of which agreement, it was thought good afterward, that queen Isabel, sister to Charles then the french king, should be sent over. And here is to be noted first, that the Queenes lands, possessions and castles a little before, upon the breach betwixt the french king and the king of England, were seised into the kings hands, and the queene put vnto her pension, &c. Thus the Queene being sent over with a few to attend vpon her, onely Sir John Cromwell baron, and foure knights, toke their passage into France: by whose mediation, it was there concluded, that the king of England (if he would not himselfe come to doe his homage) he should giue to his sonne Edward the dukedome of Aquitaine, and the earldome of Ponthine, and so hee to come to make his homage to the king, and to possesse the same. This being in France concluded, was sent over by message to the king of England, with the kings letters patents adjoynd for the safe conduct of him & of his sonne. Upon this, deliberation was taken in the Councell of England. But the two Spensers fearing either to take the Seas with the king, or else without the king to remaine behind, for feare of the nobles, so appointed, that Prince Edward the kings sonne was sent, which happened after to their utter desolation, as it followed. For all things being quitted and ordered according to the agreement in France, king Edward of England, some after Michaelmasse, sendeth for his wife and his son againe out of France. But the sending home most part of her familie, refused her selfe to returne. For what cause it is not fully certaine, whether for indignation that her possessions and lands were seised to the king, as is before premised; or whether for feare and hatred of the Spensers, as is likely; or else for loue and familiaritie of Sir Roger Mortimer. For here is to be noted, that the said Sir Roger Mortimer, with diuers other of the barons part, which had been prison in England, were fled before into France and now reposed vnto the Queene. The king seeing this, giueth forth in proclamation, and limiteth a certaine day to the Queene and his son to returne; or else to be proclaimed traytors to the king and to the realme. Notwithstanding, the Queene persisting in her purpose, denyeth to returne, vntill she the other nobles which were fled might be permitted safely also to returne with her. Whereupon, the king immediately caused them both to be proclaimed traytors, and all them that tooke their parts.

Here then began great hatred betwixt the king and king, betwixt the king and the Queene, much preparation of warre, great spoyling on the Sea, much sending betwixt the pope and them; but that would not serue. When the king (by the counsell of the Spensers) senteth priuily to procure the death of the Queene and of his sonne; which should be wrought by the execution of the Earle of Richmond, the Queenes familiar. But as the Lord would, that imagination was prevented and utterly frustrate. Albeit, the Queene yet notwithstanding, (whether misdoubting what corruption of money might do in the court of France: or whether the french king, being threatened by the king of England, and by the Pope durst not detain her) removed from thence,

and was receiued, with Edward her sonne, topouly and honorably in the court or country of the Earle of Denawde. Where by means of such as were about her, a marriage was concluded betwixt the said Edward her sonne being of the age of fourtene yeeres, and Philip the foresaid Charles daughter. When this was noised in England, diuers men of honor and name came over to the queene. And some after the earle of Hainawde prepared a crew of five hundred men of armes to set over the young prince with his mother into England. Of this the fame sprang shortly through the realme. Wherefore the king in all defensible waies made prouision to haue the hauens and ports of his land surely kept, to resist the landing of his enemies. On the contrary side the queen with no lesse preparation prouideth all things to her expedition necessary. Who when the saw her time, spending her selfe to the Sea coast with Prince Edward her sonne, lord Edmund earle of Kent the kings brother, Sir Roger Mortimer, the lord Mowbray and other earles of England, accompanied also with the foresaid Hainawders, of whom Sir John Denawde the Charles brother was capitaine, hauing with her of Englishmen and strangers, the number of 2757. souldiers: shee tooke shipping in those parts and had the winde so fauorable, that they landed in England at a port called Wywell beside Harwich in Suffolke, in the dominion of the Earle Marthall, the moneth of September. To whom after her landing reposed Earle Marthall, the Earle of Leicester, with other Barons, knights, and Bishops also; namely of Lincolne, Hereford, Duresme, and Elie. The Archbishop of Canterbury, though hee came not himselfe, yet sent his apye and money. Thus the Queene, well furnished with plenty both of men and victuall, setteth forward toward London: so that the further shee came, the more her number daily increased, and the kings powder contrarily decreased; insomuch that, as mine author affirmeth, not one almost in all the realme could be hired with any wages to fight on the kings behalfe against the Queene, neither did the queenes army hurt any man or childe, either in goods or any other thing, by the way.

At the arriuing of the Queene, the king was in London, which first would not beleue it to be true. Afterward (seeing and perceiving how it was) hee asketh helpe of the Londoners. Who after mature aduilement, rendered this answer to the king and their sonne (the lawfull Heire of the kingdome) they were ready with all dutie and seruice to honor and obey. As for strangers and traytors to the Realme, they would receiue none such within their Citie gates. Furthermore, to goe out of the Citie to fight, that they said they would not, brieffe it were so, that according to the liberties of their Citie, they might returne home againe before Sunne set. The king hearing this answer (which liked him not well) fortifieth the Tower of London with men and victuall: committing the custodie thereof to John Gatham his younger sonne, and to the wife of Hugh Spenser his noce. And leauing Walter Stapleton Bishop of Creter behind him to haue the rule of the citie of London, hee himselfe hearing daily the great recourse of the people that drew to the Queene, for more safeguard to himselfe, fled with a small company Westward toward Wales. But before his departing from London, hee caused a proclamation to be made: wherein all and singular persons were charged, vpon forfeit of life and goods, euery man with all his power to rise and invade the rebels and destroy them all, onely the life of the Queene, his son, and his brother reserved. Also that no man upon paine of forfeiture, should helpe, rescue, or releue the said rebels, with goods, victuall, or otherwise. Item, it was also proclaimed, that whosoever would hang to the king the head

Prince Edward  
became to the  
Earle of Den-  
awdes daughter  
&c.

The queene re-  
turneth to Eng-  
land.

The landing of  
the Queene.

{ Anno }  
{ 1326. }

The King de-  
scribed of helpe  
and souldiers.

The answer of  
the Londoners  
to the King.

The liberties of  
the citie of Lon-  
don in going out  
to warre.

The kings pro-  
clamation.



and body of Sir Roger Mortimer, either dead or alive, should haue out of the Kings coffers a thousand pounds.

In contrariwise, the Quene setteth forth another proclamation, wherein it was forbidden to take or spoile violently the value of any mans goods against the will of the owner, vnder paine of losing his finger, if it were thre pence: Of his hand, if it were five pence: Of his head, if it were twelue pence. Moreover, whosoever would bring to the Quen the head of Hugh Spenser the younger, chapt off from his body, should receiue for so doing of the Quene, two thousand pounds. This done the Quene sendeth her letters to the citie of London for aide and succor to subdue the oppressor of the realme, to the which letters first no answer was made. Againe, she wrote the second Letter, which was then tacked vpon the crosse in Cheape, which was then called the new crosse. The copie and tenour of which letter was this.

*The copie of a Letter that the Quene sent  
vnto the Maior and Citizens  
of London.*

I Sabell by the grace of God, Queene of England, Ladic of Ireland, and Countesse of Pountif: And wee Edward the first sonne of the King of England, Duke of Guyan, Earle of Chester, of Pountif, and of Meunstrell, to the Maior and all the communalty of London, send greeting. For as much as we have before this time sent to you by our Letters, and how we come into this Land in good array, and good manner, for the profit of Holy Church, and of our right deare Lord and King, and all the Realme, with all our might and strength to keepe and maintaine the Realme, as all good people ought to doe: and vpon that wee prayed you and desired you that yee would be helping to us for the health and profit of the Realme; and wee have had none answer of you, nor know not your will in that part. Wherefore wee send to you againe, and pray you, and charge you, that yee beare you so toward us, that ye have nor make us no cause to grieve, but that ye be helping to us in all the wayes that you may. And weete ye well in certaine, that wee and also those that come with us into this realme, intend nothing to be done, but what shall be pleasing to God, and the common profit to all the Realme: nor any thing else, but to destroy the Spensers, enemies to the Realme, as ye well know. Wherefore wee pray and charge you in the faith that ye owe to our Lord the King, to the crowne and to us, and vpon all that wee may forfeit, that if Hugh Spenser, both the father and the sonne our enemies, come within your power, that yee cause them hastily to be taken, and safely kept, till wee have ordained for them our will, as yee desire profit and honour of us, and of the Realme. Understanding well, if it be so that ye doe our desire and prayer, we shall the more be beholden to you: And also wee shall doe you profit and worship if that you send us hastily word againe of your will. Given at Baldocke the sixth day of October.

These foresaid letters being published and perused, the bishop of Exeter, to whom (as ye heard) was committed the rule of the citie: sent to the Maior for the keyes of the gates, bling so sharpe words in the kings name, that variance began to kinde betwene him and the citizens; so far sooth that the commons in their rage tooke the foresaid Bishop and beheaded him and two of his household at the Stanbard in Cheape. When the King went to Wyllow, and ordained Sir Hugh Spenser the father there to keepe the castle and the towne; and the King with Hugh Spenser the sonne, and Sir Robert Baldocke chancelor, and the Earle of Arundell went into Wales. And the Quen so pursued them, that first they tooke the towne and added it to her; When they tooke Sir

Hugh Spenser the father, whom being drawne and torne, they at last hanged by at Wyllow in chaines of iron. As the King was thus lying, the Quene caused to be proclaimed through her army, that the King should come and appeare, and so receiue his kingdome againe, if he would bee comfortable to his liege subjects. Who when hee did not appeare, prince Edward his sonne was proclaimed high Ruler of the realme.

In the meane time Henry Earle of Lancaster, and brother to the good Earle Thomas which before was beheaded, also Lord William Souche, & master Appowell were sent by the Quene into Wales to pursue the King; and there they tooke him and sent him to the castle of Kenelworth: and tooke Hugh Spenser the sonne, and Sir Robert Baldocke Chancellor, and Sir John Earle of Arundell, and brought them all to the towne of Hereford. And anon after Hugh Spenser the sonne was drawne and hanged on a gallows fifty fote high, and after beheaded and quartered, whose quarters were sent into foure quarters of the Realme. Sir John of Arundell was beheaded, Sir Robert Baldocke was put in Newgate at London, where shortly after he pined away and died among the theenes. This done, a parliament was assembled at London, from whence message was sent to the King, that if he would resigne by his crowne, his sonne should haue it after him: If not, another should take it to whom the lot would giue it. Whereupon the King, being constrained to yield up his crowne to his sonne, was kept in prison, and after had to Barkley: where hee is said to take great repentance. After this message being sent, and the King halfe condescending thereto (the parliament notwithstanding prosecuting and going forward) there was a bill exhibited and put up, containing certaine articles against the said King, then in prison in the castle of Barkley, touching his misbehaviour and imprudent governing of the realme: which bill openly befoze the Lords and commons, by the speaker of the parliament house was read. After long consultation thereof amongst themselves touching those articles, and also for the better and more circumspect government of the Realme from that time forth: it was consulted and agreed vpon by the lords spiritual and temporall, and commons there assembled, that the said Edward was a man not meete to be their King, nor from that time forth any more to beare the crowne royall or title of a King: But that Edward his eldest sonne, who there in the same court of high parliament was present, as hee was rightfull heire and inheritor therunto, so should hee be crowned King thereof in his fathers stead, with these conditions therunto annexed, That he should take wife, sage, and true counsellors vnto him, that the realme might be better and more circumspectly governed, than before in the time of Edward his father it was: That the old King his father should be honourably provided for and kept, so long as he liued, according as vnto his estate it appertained, &c. These and other things thus finished and ended, the Parliament breaketh up, and all things necessary to the coronation of a Prince appertaining were in speedy wise prepared, whercof more hereafter (Christ willing) shall be specified.

In the meane time as touching the King which was yet in prison, it is thought by some writers, that the next yere following by the meanes of Sir Roger Mortimer hee was miserably slain, with a Spite (as is said) being thrust up into his body, and was buried at Glocestre, after he had reigned nineteene yeres.

In the time and raigne of this king, the Colledge of Cambridge, called Michael house, was founded and builded by Sir Henry Stanton knight, to the use and increase of learning: a thing in a commonwealth very profitable and necessary to be had; the want and neede whercof, many sundry times, is

KING  
EDWARD  
Hugh Spenser  
the father, tak  
and hanged in  
chaines.

The King tak  
in Wales.  
Hugh Spenser  
the sonne taken  
and executed.

A bill exhibitte  
in the parlia-  
ment house a-  
gainst King  
Edward the  
second.

King Edward  
deposed by con-  
sent of the pa-  
rliament house,  
and his sonne  
Edward chapt  
King.

The bishop of  
Exeter beheaded  
of the commons  
at the standard  
in cheape.  
This bishop of  
Exeter builded  
in Oxford two  
Colledges, Ex-  
eter Colledge,  
and Hart hall,  
whose name  
was Qualter  
Stapleton.

Michael house  
in Cambridge  
founded  
Henry Stanton  
founder of Mi-  
chael house in  
Cambridge.  
sonne



KING  
FDW 2Nicholaus de  
yria,  
Julielmus  
Ocham.pymmy obvious  
the people.Spirituall Isi-  
op called and  
called before a  
cullar iudge.x Tho. Wal-  
ag.he foune of  
ords when a  
bishop doth  
allenge the  
iudgement of the  
secular iudge.he Bishop re-  
ted by the  
eage.he King pro-  
cedeth in iudge-  
ment against the  
Bishop: the pri-  
uileges of the  
church notwith-  
standing to the  
contrary.Simon Be-  
ran Archbi-  
op of Canter-  
bur.pope John 22.  
monke Ca-  
rcian.

soner felt in this realme of ours and other realmes abroad, than is the discommoditie thereof of most men commonly understood.

About the same time also was Nicolaus de Lyra, which wrote the ordinary Glosse of the Bible. Also Gulielmus Ocham, a worthy Duine, and of a right sincere judgement, as the times then would either give or suffer.

In the tradation of this Kings Historie, before was declared what grudge did kinde in the hearts of the Barons against the King, for revoking such acts and customes, as had bene before in the parliament established, both for Peter Gaveston, and for the two Spencers. Also what severe punishment the king did execute upon them for the same, in such cruel and rigorous sort, that as he spared none of them, whom he could there finde; so he neuer ceased all his life after to enquire out, and to be revenged of all such, as had bene in any part, or consenting to that matter. For the which his extreame and implacable tyranny, he was in such hatred of all the people; that as he said, he could not finde one of all the commons to take his part, when need required. Among all other which were for that matter troubled, was one Adam bishop of Hereford: who being impeached of treason with other mo, was at length arrested in the parliament to appeare and answer to that which should bee to him objected. Many things there were laid against him, for taking part with them that rose against the King, with matters moe, and hapyous rebukes, &c. Un hereunto the bishop a great while answered nothing.

At length the Bishop claiming the libertie and privileges of the Church, answered to the King in this forme. The due reverence of your princely Majesty ever lauded, Ego Sanctæ ecclesiæ Dei minister humilis, membrum ejus, & Episcopus consecratus, licet indignus, ad tam ardua nequeo respondere, nec debeo, absque D. Cant. Archiepiscopi, post summum pontificem mei directi iudicis, cujus etiam sum suffraganeus, auctoritate, & aliorum parium meorum Episcoporum consensu. That is, I am humble Minister and member of the holy Church of God, and Bishop consecrate (albeit unworthy) cannot, neither ought to answer to these so high matters without the authority of the archbishop of Canterbury my direct iudge, next under the high bishop of Rome, whose suffragan also I am, and the consent likewise of the other my fellow bishops. After which words by him pronounced, the Archbishop and other Bishops with him were ready to make humble intercession for him to the King, and did. But when the King would not be wonne nor turned with any supplication; the said Bishop, together with the Archbishop and the clergy, coming with their crosses, took him away, challenging him for the Church, without any more answer making: charging moreover, under the censures of the Church and excommunication, none to presume to lay any further hands upon him. The King, moved with this boldnesse and stoutnesse of the clergy commandeth notwithstanding to proceed in judgement, and the jury of twelve men to goe upon the inqurie of his cause: who finding and pronouncing the Bishop to bee guilty, the King caused immediately all his goods and possessions to bee confiscated unto himselfe: moreover, hee made his plate and all his household prouision to bee throvne out of his house into the street; but yet hee remained so still under the protection and defence of the Archbishop, &c.

This archbishop was Walter Melchellsey, after whom succeeded Simon Stephan in the same See of Canterburie, Anno 1327. Ex Thom. Walsingham.

After Pope Clement the fifth, by whose decease the Romish See stood vacant (as we have heard) two yeres and three moneths, next was elected Pope John the two and twentieth a Cistercian Monk,

who late in that papacie eightene yeres. He was stout and inflexible, given so much to the heaping of riches, that hee proclaimed them heretikes, which taught that Christ and his Apostles had no possessions of their owne in this world. At this time was Emperour Ludowicus Bavarus, a worthy man, who with this Pope, and other that followed him, had no lesse contention, than had Fredericus before mentioned in the time of king Henry the third. In somuch that this contention and variance continued the space of foure and twenty yeres. The cause and first origine of this tragical conflict, rose upon the constitution of Clement the fifth predecessor to this Pope; by whom it was ordained, as is afore mentioned, that Emperours by the Germane princes elected, might bee called kings of the Romans, but might not enjoy the title or right of the Empire, to be nominated Emperours, without their confirmation given by the Pope. Wherefore, this foresaid Emperour, because hee used the imperiall dignity in Italy, before hee was authorized by the Pope; the said Pope therefore excommunicated the Emperour. And notwithstanding the Emperour oftentimes did proffer himselfe to make entreaty of peace and concord; yet the Pope inflexible would not bend. The writings of both parts yet be extant, wherein the said Bishop doth make his count, that hee had full power to create and depose kings and Emperours at his pleasure. In the same time were divers learned men, which seeing the matter, did greatly disallow the Bishop of Romes doings; among whom was Gulielmus Ocham, whose tradations were afterward condemned by the Pope, for writing against the temporall jurisdiction of their See. And another named Marcellus Patavinus, which wrote the booke intituled Defensor pacis, which was given into the hands of the said Emperour; wherein the controuersie of the Popes unlawfull jurisdiction in things temporall is largely disputed, and the blurred authoritie of that See set forth to the uttermost. It is found in some writers, that a great cause of this variance first began, for that one of the Emperours secretaries, unknowne to the Emperour, in certaine of his letters had likened the papall See to the beast rising out of the sea in the Apocalypse. At length when the Emperour after much lute made to the Pope at Avinion, could not obtaine his coponation, coming to Rome hee was there received with great honour, where hee with his wife were both crowned by the full consent of all the Lords and cardinals there; and moreover, another Pope was there set up, called Nicolas the fifth. After which things done, the Pope not long after departed at Avinion in France, after whom succeeded then Benedictus the twelfth a monke of Benedictus order, and reigned seven yeres. Who by the counsell of Philip the French king, confirmed and persecuted the censures and curfings that John his predecessor had published against Lewis the Emperour: Moreover, hee deprived him of his Imperiall crowne, and also of his Dukedome of Bavaria. The Emperour upon this cometh to Germany, and assembling the Princes Electors, Dukes, Bishops, Nobles, and the learned in a counsell at Frankford, there declared before them out of the ancient lawes and customes of the Empire, how it standeth onely in the Princes Electors, and in none other to elect the kings or the Emperours of the Romans (for in both these names was no difference) so that the same Electors, in choosing the King of the Romanes, did also elect and chuse the Emperour. Which Emperour is by them constituted had lawfull right, without any information of the Apostolicall See, to exercise the administration of the Empire. And if hee were lawfully elected, hee ought to bee anointed of the Romane Bishop: which if hee doe refuse, then might hee bee anointed and declared Emperour and Augustus by any other Catholike Bishop therunto appointed;

A new Count  
heretic.  
Heeelle with the  
Pope so far that  
Christ and the  
Apostles had no  
proper posses-  
sions here.

Strife betwene  
the pope and the  
Emperour.

The Emperore  
crowned against  
the will of the  
Pope.  
Pope Benedi-  
ctus 12. a monke  
of Benedictus  
order.  
Benedictus the  
Emperour de-  
prived and de-  
posed by Pope  
Benedict 12.  
A counsell at  
Frankford.  
The Emperours  
protestation to  
the counsell of  
Germany.



Ex Hieron.  
Mario.  
Et ex Crant-  
zio.

appointed (as by the old manner and custome hath bene) especially seeing these injunctions are but certaine solemnities added and invented by the Bishops, only for a token of unitie betwene the Church and Empire, to governe and defend the faith together. Wherefore in that the emperor sweareth to the bishop of Rome, in that is to be understood no homage or fealty made to the Bishop, but onely it is a Sacrament and a promise given to defend the faith. The which oath or sacrament so given giveth no majoritie to the Pope in any temporall rule, but onely bindeth the Emperour to be prest and ready to defend the faith and church of Christ, when neede shall require obedience. Wherefore, whereas the Pope leaveth only to the electors authority to make the king of Romans, and taketh upon himselfe alone power to make the Emperour; that, as it is newly brought in and devised a late by Pope Clement the 5. so is it contrary both to all ancient order, and also derogatory to the liberty and majesty of the sacred Empire. Again, neither is that also lesse absurd and contrary to all right and reason, that the Pope, in time of the Imperiall seate being vacant, taketh upon him to have the whole and full doings of the Empire, as lawfull Emperour for the time. Which prerogative and function, by ancient orders of our forefathers, should properly and onely appertain to the Palatine of Rhene, the Constitution Clementine of the foresaid pope Clement to the contrary notwithstanding. Then in the end, for his own erule, he in the presence of them all reciteth the publike confession of his faith, to answer and purge himselfe of those objections laid to him by the Pope. This did the make Emperour Ludovike in that council. Yet all this notwithstanding, the said Emperour remained still excommunicate, till time that variance fell between this pope Benedict and Philip the french king. Wherefore to make his party good, at least to have some friends to flie to, he began to pretend favour and absolution, rather for necessity, than for any good will to the Emperour. But not long after, this Pope died; of whom this Epitaph was made.

Ex Chron. de  
6. mundizet-  
atibus, intitul.  
rudimentum  
novitorium.  
Pope Clement  
the sixth.  
The trouble of  
Ludovike the  
Emperour.

Hic situs est Nero, laicis mors, vipera clero,  
Deuius à vero, cupa repleta mero.

After whom followed Pope Clement the sixth, a man most furious and cruell. Who renewing againe the former excommunications of his former predecessors, caused his Letters to bee set upon Church doores, wherein he threatned and denounced most terrible thunderbolts against the said Lewis the emperour, unless within three dayes hee should satisfie to God and the Church, and renounce the Imperiall possession of the Crowne. The Emperour upon this cometh to franchford, and, there ready to stand in all things to the ordinance of the Pope, sendeth his Orators to the court of Rome, to intreat the Pope of his favour and good will towards him. To the which messengers the Pope answered againe, that he would neuer pardon the Emperour, before he gaue over and confessed his errors and heresies, and resigning by his Empire to his hands, would submit himselfe, his children, and all his goods to the will and pleasure of the Bishop; promising that he should not receive againe any part of the same, but upon his good grace: as his will should be to ressove them.

Heretic of the  
Popes making  
objection against  
the Emperour.

The heretic here mentioned, which was to this Emperour objected by the Pope was this; because (as I have touched) hee bled and executed the Imperiall dignitie after his election, before he was of the Pope confirmed. Over and besides, the Pope sendeth to the Emperour by the said Orators a certaine forme of a bill contained in writing with certaine conditions, which he commanded to be given to the hands of the Emperour, Where if the Emperour Lewis had

had as much minde to set upon the Pope with dint of sword, as hee lacked neither occasion nor power so to doe: what blood might here have bene spilt? But the good Emperour, sparing the effusion of blood, receiveth gently the bill: and not onely with his seale doth confirme it, but also sweareth to observe all the conditions thereof. Which the Pope hearing of doth greatly marvell. But yet all this would nothing helpe to mollifie the modest heart of this Pharao.

{ KING }  
{ EDW. }  
The proud head  
of the pope.

The Princes and Electors, seeing the bill of the articles and conditions, whereof some sounded to the malicious defacing and destruction of the Empire, abhorring the wickednesse thereof, desired the emperour to stand to the defence of the Imperiall dominion, as he had begun: promising that their assistance and aide to the uttermost thereunto should not lacke. Upon that other Orators were sent to Pope Clement from the Princes, desiring him to abstaine from such manner of articles conceived against the state and majesty of the Empire. The Pope furnishing all this to spring from Lewis the Emperour, to the utter subversion of him and all his posterity, on munday Thursday bludtreth out most black curses against him, also reneweth all the former proceses of his predecessor against him, as against both an heretike and a schismatike: commanding moreover the Princes electors to proceed in choosing a new Emperour. The Archbishop of Mentz, seeing the innocencie of the Emperour, would not consent to the violating of his Majesty; wherefore hee was deputed by the Pope of all his dignities. The other Bishops electors, as the Archbishop of Colen, which took eight thousand markes, with the duke of Sargenie, which took two thousand markes, being corrupted with money by John king of Boheme, elected Charles the sonne of the said John, whom pope Clement esteemes in his consistory did approue. What he seeth not here what matter of warre and bloudshed was ministered by the Pope between these two Emperours, if the patience of Ludovike had not bene more prudent to quench the fire, than the Pope was to kindle it? Charles then the new Emperour elected sped him to Aquilgrace, according to the custome, there to be crowned. But by the citizens there, and the Emperesse (Ludovikus wife keeping thereabout) he was repelled. All this happened in the time and raigne of Edward the third, King of England; with whom the said Charles, with the french king, and king of Boheme, set on by the Pope, encountered in warre; where the king of England had against them a noble victory, and due a great number of the frenchmen and Almaines, and put Charles the new emperour to flight. In the meane time, among the princes and cities of Germany what sorrow and what complaints were against Pope Clement and those Electors, it cannot be expessed. For as they were all together at Spire congregated in a general assembly, so there was none among them all, that allowed the election of Charles, or that cared for the Popes processe, promising all to adhere and continue faithfull subjects to Ludovike their lawfull Emperour. But Ludovike, remembering his oath made before to the Popes bill, voluntarily and willingly gaue over his imperiall dignitie, and went to Burgavia; where shortly after, through the procured practice of Pope Clement (as Hieronymus Marius doth write) poison was given him to drinke.

After the which being drunke, when he would have vomited out and could not, hee took his horse and went to hunt the beare, thereby through the chafing and beate of his body to expell the venom. And there the good and gentle Emperour, wickedly persecuted and murdered of the Pope, fell downe dead, whom I may well recount among the innocent and blessed martyrs of Christ. For if the cause being righteous both make a Party, what Papist can justly disprove his cause or faith? If persecution formed a Party there,

Lewis the Em-  
perour scorned  
by the Pope to  
be an heretike.

A good faith-  
full Archbishop  
of Mentz.

Withers com-  
ted with money

The pope too  
of discord and  
bloudshed.

The pope again  
streth by war

Charles the new  
Emperour put  
to flight by the  
Englishmen.

Ludovike the  
right Emperour  
resigneth by the  
Empire.

Ludovike the  
Emperour p-  
soned.

Ludovikus Em-  
perour and  
disprove his cause  
or faith.



**KING?**  
**1 DW. 2**  
Ludowick the  
first and  
marry.

Gunterus de  
Monte Nigro,  
made Emperour.

Gunterus right  
Emperour por-  
tioned.

The reigne of the  
Germane Em-  
perour, and the first  
cause thereof.

The yeere of  
jubile reduced  
to the fiftieth  
yeere.

Pilgrimes in  
ye yeere of Ju-  
bile at Rome.

The Abomina-  
ble and blasphemous  
bull of  
Pope Clement.

The pope com-  
mandeth the  
Angels.

D blasphemy of  
ye Pope.

Ex bulla Cle-  
mentis.

Ex Chron.  
Walfr. in vit.  
Edw. 3.

thereunto caueth martyrdom, what martyr could be more persecuted than hee who hauing three popes like three houndes upon him, at length was deuoured by the same. The princes then, hearing of his death, assembled themselves to a new election: who, refusing Charles aforesaid elected another for Emperour, named Gunterus de Monte Nigro. Who, shortly after falling sicke at Franckford, was likewise paysoned through his physicians seruant, whom the foresaid Charles had hired with money to worke that feate. Gunterus falling of the popson although hee did partly cast it vp againe, yet so much remained within him, as made him unable afterward to serue that place. Wherefore for conceyts sake, being counselled thereto by the Germanes, hee gaue ouer his Empire to Charles. For else, great bloudshed was like to ensue. This Charles thus ambitiously aspiring to the Imperiall seate contrary to the mindes of the states, and peeres of the Empire as hee did wickedly and unlawfully come by it: so was hee by his ambitious guiding, the first and principall meane of the utter ruine of that Monarchy. For that hee, to haue his soune set vp Emperour after him, covenanted and granted to the Princes electours of Germanie all the publike taxes and tributes of the Empire. Which covenant, being once made betwene the Emperour and them, they afterward held to fast, that they caused the Emperour to sweare neuer to reuoke or call backe againe the same. By reason whereof, the tribute of the countreies of Germanie, which then belonged onely to the Emperour for the sustentation of his warres, euer since to this day is disperfed diuersly into the hands of the princes, and free cities within the said Monarchie. So that both the Empire being disurnished and left desolate, and the Emperours weakened thereby, they haue neither bene able sufficiently since to defend themselves, nor yet to resist the Turke, or other foraine enemies. Whereof a great part, as ye haue heard, may be imputed vnto the Popes, &c. Hieronymus Marius.

This pope Clement first reduced the yeere of Jubile to euery 50. yeere, which before was kept but on the hundredth yeere. And so he being absent to Auinion (which he then purchased with his money to the Sea of Rome) caused it to be celebrated at Rome, An. 1350. In the which yeere were numbered, of Peregrines going in and coming out euery day at Rome, to the estimation of fife thousand. Pramonstrat. The bull of pope Clement, given out of this present yeere of Jubile, proceedeth in these words as followeth: What person or persons sooner for deuotion sake shall take their peregrination vnto the holy city, the same day when he setteth forth out of his house, hee may chuse vnto him what confessor or confessors either in the way or where else he listeth: vnto the which confessors wee grant, by our authority, plenarie power to absolve all cases papall, as fully as if it were in our proper person there present. Item, wee grant that whosoever being truly confessed shall chance by the way to die, hee shall bee quit and absolved of all his sinnes. Moreover, wee command the Angels of Paradise to take his soule out of his body, being absolved, and to carry it into the glory of Paradise, &c. And in another Bull, We will (saith hee) that no paine of hell shall touch him; granting moreover to all and singular person and persons, signed with the holy crosse, power and authority to deliver and release three or foure soules, whom they list themselves, out of the paines of purgatory, &c.

This Clement (as mine author affirmeth) tooke vpon him so prodigally in his popedom, that hee gaue to his Cardinals of Rome bishopricks and benefices, which then were vacant in England, and began to giue them new titles for the same livings he gaue them in England. Wherevnto the king (as good cause he had) was offended, and void all the

provisions of the pope within his realme: Commanding, vnder paine of imprisonment and life, no man to be so hardy, as to induce and bring in any such provisions of the Pope, any more within his land. And vnder the same punishment he charged the two Cardinals to auoide the realme: An. 1343. In the same yeere of all the tenths, as well of the templaries as of other spiritual men, were giuen and paid to the king through the whole realme. An. 1343. And thus much concerning good Ludowicke Emperour and martyr, and pope Clement the sixth his enemy. Wherein, because wee haue a little exceeded the course of peeres whereat we left, let vs returne somewhat backe againe, and take such things in order as belong to the Church of England and Scotland, setting forth the reigne of king Edward the third, and the doings of the Church which in his time haue happened, as the grace of Christ our Lord will assist and enable vs therunto.

20 His foresaid king Edward the second in his time builded two houses in Oxford for good letters, to wit, Quall college, and S. Mary hall.

Here I omit also by the way the furious outrage and confid which happened in the time of this king, a little before his death, Anno 1326. betwene the towneshmen and the Abbie of Wurt; wherein the towneshmen gathering themselves together in a

30 great multitude (for what cause or old grudge betwene them, the register doth not declare) invaded and sackt the monastery. And after they had imprisoned the monkes, they rifled the goods and treasure of the whole house, spoiling and carrying away their plate, money, copes, vestiments, censers, crosses, chalices, basons, Jewels, cups, maisters, bookes, with other ornaments and implements of the house, to the value inestimable. In the which confid, certain

40 thousand, to whom they promised liberty and freedom, by vertue of such writs which they had out of that house, first they got into their hands all their evidences, copies and instruments, that they could finde; then they toke off the lead; that done, setting fire to the Abby gates, they burnt vp neere the whole house. After that they proceeded further to the farmes and granges belonging to the same Abby, whereof they wasted, spoiled and burnt to the number of 22. manors places in one wake, transporting away the corne, horses, cattell, or other moucables belonging to the same, the price whereof is registered to come to 922. li. 5. s. 11. besides the valuation of other riches and treasure within the Abbey, which cannot be esteemed.

50 The Abbat all this space was at London in the parliament, by whose procurement at length such rescue was sent downe, that 24. of the chiefe of the towne (submitting themselves) were committed to ward; carts full of the towneshmen were carried to Norwich, of whom 19. were there hanged, diuers conuict were put to prison. The whole towneship was condemned in seuen score thousand pound to be paid for damages of the house. John Berton alderman, W. Werling, with 32. priests, 13. women, and 138. other of the said towne were outlawed. Whom diuers, after grudging at the Abbat for breaking promise with them at London, did congregate themselves together; and priuily in the night coming to the manor of Chenington, where the

70 Abbat did lie, brast open the gates, who then entring in first bound all his family; and after they had robbed him of all his plate, Jewels and money, they tooke the Abbat and shamed him, and secretly with them conueyed him away to London; where they remouing him from street to street unknowne, from thence had him ouer Thames into Kent; at length ouer the sea they ferried to Delft in Spabant: where they

The king red-  
deth the Pope.

The tenths of  
Church goods  
giuen to the  
king.

Anno 7  
1326. S.  
Stell college  
and S. Mary  
hall in Oxford  
builded by king  
Edward 2.  
A note of the  
commotion be-  
tweene the  
towne and Ab-  
bey of Bury.

Ex Latino  
quodam  
Registro.

The Abbat  
robbed.

The Abbat  
fled away to  
Spabant.



The Abbate.  
Soyed againe.

they a sufficient time kept him in much penury, misery and thalborne, till at length the matter being searched out, they were all excommunicate, first by the archbishop of Canterbury, then by the Pope. And at last it being knowne to here hee was, by his friends hee was deliuered and rescued out of the thauers hands, and finally brought home with procession, and restored to his house againe. And thus was that abbey with the Abbat of the same (for what demerits I knowe not) thus bered and afflicted about this time, as more largely I haue scene in their Latine register. But thus much briedly; the rest I omit here (about the latter end of this Edward the 2. sealeth the billopy of Nic. Triuet, and of Flor. hist.) passing over to the reigne of the next king.

## King Edwrad the third.



Concerning the ads and stoy of King Edward the second, his deposing, and cruel death, wrought by the false and counterfete letter of sir Roger Mortimer, sent in the kings name to the keepers (for the which hee was charged, dralorne, and quartered.) I haue written sufficiently before, and more peradventure than the profession of this ecclesiasticall history will well admit. Notwithstanding, for certaine respects and causes I thought somewhat to extend my limits herein the more; whereby both kings, and such as climbe to be about them may take a better example by the same; the one to haue the loue of his subjects: the other to learne to flee ambition, and not to beare themselves too bragge of their fortune and state, how high soeuer it be: Considering with themselves nothing to be in this world so firme and sure, that may promise it selfe any certaine continuance, and is not in perpetuall danger of mutation, vntil it be fastened by God his protection.

After the suppression of this king, as is aboue expressed, Edward his sonne was crowned king of England, being about the yeres of 15. and reigned the space of 50. yeres, who was a prince of much and great temperance, in feats of armes very expert, and no lesse fortunate and lucky in all his warres, than his father was infortunate before him. For liberality also and clemency he was worthily commended; briefly, in all princely vertues, famous and excellent. Concerning the memorabile ads of which prince, done both in warres and peace, as how he subdued the Scots, had great victories by the sea, how he conquered France, Anno. 1332. won Calice, An. 1348. and translated the staple thither, tooke the French king prisoner, and how the French armes first by him were brought in, and conioyned with the English armes, also how the order of the Garter first by the said king was inuented and ordained, An. 1356. also An. 1357. How the king in his parliament at Nottingham decreed, that all such in fflanders, or other where, that had skill in making cloth, should peaceably inhabite the land and be welcome. For thre yeres before that, it was enacted, that no wolle should be transported ouer the sea. Which was to briedle the pride of the fflemmings, who then loued better the sackes of wolle, than the nation of Englishmen. All these, with other noble ads of this worthy prince, although in other chronicles they be fully intreated of: yet according to that order I haue begun (saying some what of each kings raigne, although not pertinent to our ecclesiasticall history) I haue here inserted the same, making halfe to other matters, shortly and compendiously abridging them out of diuers and sundry authours together compaced, mentioned in this wise.

The coronation and solemnities of King Edward the third, and all the pompe therof was no sooner en-

ded: but Robert of Bruce King of Scotland, understanding the state and government of the realme to be (as it was in daie) in the quene, the young king, the earle of Kent, and sir Roger Mortimer: And that the lords and barons, as he was informed, did scarcely well agree amongst themselves (although he grew now in age, and was troubled with the falling diseale) yet thought he this a meete time for his purpose, to make inuasion: hoping for as good success and like victorie now, as but lately before he had at the Castle of Cultruelin. Whereupon, about the feast of Easter he sent his embassadors with heralds and letters of defiance to the young king Edward the third, the quene and the counsell, declaring that his purpose was with fire and sword to enter and inuade the realme of England, &c. The king quene, and counsell hearing this bold defiance, commanded in all speedy preparation matters to be made throughly, out all the realme: appointing to euery band capitaines conuenient, and at the city of Porke by a day assigned them, commanding euery man to be with all their necessary furniture ready and thoroughly provided. They directed their letters also with all speed to sir John of Heinault, requiring him with such souldiers and men at armes as he might conveniently provide in fflanders, Heinault, and Brabant, to meete the king and quene upon the Ascension day next ensuing at their city of Porke.

The king and quene made speedy preparation for this expedition: the noble men prouided themselves of all things necessary thereunto: the English captaines and souldiers (their bands thoroughly furnished) were ready at their appointed time and place: sir John of Heinault, lord Bedmount mustering his men as fast, was ready to take shipping: where at Calysant (in English Wottoms, there lying for him ready) he went aboard, and with a merry wind landed at Douer, travelling from thence by small iournies daily, till he came within thre dayes after the feast of Pentecost to the city of Porke: where the king and quene with a great power of 60000. men (within and about the city of Porke) expected his coming: Before whom, in courteous wise he presented himselfe, and mustered his troope, wherein he had to the number of 500. good men at armes well appointed and mounted. His coming and furniture was well liked both of the king and quene: and he was by the Harbinger appointed to be lodged, with his household retinue, in the abbie of white monkes. To be briefe, such grudge and variance fell betwene some of the kings souldiers and his, within the suburbs of the towne being together lodged, that from the little to the more, whilst the king and quene with diuers other of the nobles, (strangers and others) were at dinner, the said fray so greatly increased, that the whole army, so many as were in the towne then lodged, stood to their defence: so that there were slaine of the English archers in short space by the strangers to the number of 300. men.

Whereupon grew (after the fray was with much difficulty both of the king and quene ended) such heart-burning betwene the parties; as that the number of 6000. conspired together against them, thinking to haue burnt them in their lodgings, had they not bene, by the great grace of God and discreet handling, otherwise prevented and let. Whereupon the Heinaults were faine to take and keepe the field, being as diligent watch and ward, as though they had bene among their hostile enemies. After this, the king let forward his army towards Durham, and encamped himselfe nere about the same, who also sent the lord Wifford and the lord Dromby to Carlisle with a sufficient company to keepe that entrance, and also the lord marshall of England to keepe the towne of Newcastle with a sufficient company to defend the same, and the countrey adioyning. For well knew the king, that by one of these two entries the Scots must passe into England,

{ KING }  
{ EDW 3 }

The defiance of  
the king of  
Scots.

The King and  
Quene at  
Porke, with an  
army of 60000.  
men ready to  
meet the king  
of Scots en-  
tering the  
realme.

The great fray  
in Porke.

Carlisle and  
Newcastle then  
the keyes of  
England.  
Northward  
a kept with  
armies.

King Edward  
the third.

{ Anno. }  
{ 1327. }



**KING** England, standing both of them upon the river of  
**EDW. 3** Wine, 24. miles distant.

The Scots piously  
pass over  
the river of  
Wine, burning  
and spoiling the  
countrie all  
about.

The Kings ar-  
me and the  
Scots are to  
see, that each  
sith other.

But the Scots piously with their army passed the  
river betwixt the two townes into England, few un-  
derstanding thereof, till that the great fires which the  
Scots had kindled and made in England bewaied  
them : who came burning and destroying the coun-  
try all about as farre as Stanop partie, This thing  
being declared to the king, he commandeth his host  
with all speed to march towards them; which so long  
trauelled that they came in sight each of other. The  
king also commanded the passages of the river to be  
so straitly and narrowly garded, that by no means  
the Scots could retire and haue escaped backe a-  
gaine into Scotland, without battell giuen them of  
the king. But the Scots, vnderstanding the great  
power the king was of, kept alwaies the aduantage  
of the hills, retiring in the nights from one to ano-  
ther : that without great odds and aduantage on the  
one side, and hazard to the other, the king could not  
set vpon them.

Thus in the day time the Scots keeping the ad-  
uantage of the hills, and in the night time retiring  
to the aduantage of such other like, came nere a-  
gainst that river where they first passed over, where  
they made a shew to offer battell to the king vpon  
the morrow. Whereupon the king being busied in  
putting his men and battels in a readinesse to fight  
the next morning, being almost forebearthed in pur-  
suing the Scots from place to place : the Scots in  
the meane season gate ouer the river, and escaped  
the danger of the king. Which thing as it could not  
be done without great treason of some nere about  
the king; so sir Roger Mortimer was grieuouly  
suspected thereof, and after it was laid vnto his  
charge. But to be short, by this meanes the Scots  
escaped the river; after whom it should haue auailed  
the king very little to haue made pursuite, as the wil-  
ly Scots knew full well. For the joy whereof, the  
lord William Douglas one of the Scots Generals,

The Scots  
rough creation  
cape out of  
England in-  
ough withall.

The moultion  
fit in the Scots  
myt.

The King return-  
eth to London.

with 200. horses gaue alarm in the kings campe;  
and came so nere, that he cut certaine of the lines of  
the kings tent in funder with his sword, and retired  
to his company without great losse of any of his  
men. When on the morrow the king, perceiving the  
Scots to bee gone, came to the place where ouer-  
night they lodged, where were found 500. great oxen  
and kine ready killed; five hundred Cauldrons  
made of beafts skins full of flesh, ouer the fire see-  
thing; a thousand spits full of flesh ready to be ro-  
sted, & more then 10000. howes of raw leather (the  
haire still vpon the same) which the Scots had left  
behinde them; and five poyze English prisoners tied  
to fress and their leggs broken. All which the king se-  
ing returned with his army (and left any further  
pursuing the Scots) to Durham: where he dismis-  
sed his army, and came againe to London, sending  
with sir John de Heinol two hundred men at  
armes for their better safeguard against the English  
archers (with whom at Poike, as you haue heard,  
they frayed) till they had taken Whipping, and so re-  
turned home.

The king then being at London, confirmed the li-  
berties of the Citizens, and ordained that the Maior  
should sit in all places as chiefe Justice within the  
liberties of the same. And that what Alderman soe-  
uer had bene Maior before, should be a Justice of  
peace with in his owne ward.

Then the king, the queen, & the counsell sent ouer to  
the Earle of Hereford certaine Embassadors, tou-  
ching the solemnization of the marriage betwene  
the king and the Lady Philip his daughter: who in  
such soe speed their message, that the was soone after  
conueyed ouer to England very honourably, and at  
Dover arrived. And from thence he came to Lon-  
don (some chronicles affirme to Poike) where vpon  
the day of the conuersion of S. Paul, the yere a-  
boue specified, the marriage and coronation of the

Quene was with much triumph during the space  
of three weekes solemnized.

After which coronation and marriage, the king a parliament at  
summoned his parliament to be kept at Northamp-  
ton: whereat, by the meanes of sir Roger Mort-  
imer and the old Quene, a peace was purchased for  
the Scots (who had for that purpose sent their em-  
bassadors) for foure yeres to endure. Also the king  
(then being within age) granted to release the Scots  
of all their homage and fealty vnto the realme of  
England which by their charter sealed they were  
bound to; as also their indenture, which was cal-  
led the Ragman Role, wherein was specified the  
foresaid homage and fealty to the king and crowne  
of England, by the said king of Scots, nobles, and  
prelats to be made; hauing all their scales annexed  
to the same. Also there was then belivered vnto them  
the blacke crosse of Scotland, which king Edward  
besore for a rich Jewell and relique had conquered  
and brought from Scone abbey; with all such rights  
and titles as any the Barons else had enjoyed in the  
said realme of Scotland, with many other things  
more, to the great prejudice both of the realme and  
discontent of all the nobles and Barons for the most  
part, more then the old Quene, sir Roger Mortimer,  
and the Bishop of Ely. Who in such sort ruled the  
roff, that all the rest of the nobles and barons call  
with themselves how best they might redresse and  
remedy the great inconueniences, that vnto the  
realme by meanes of them grew and happened.  
Whereupon the king and Quene, and sir Roger  
Mortimer, caused another parliament to be called at  
Salisbury, where the said sir Roger Mortimer was  
made earle of March, against all the barons wills, to  
preuent and disapoint the foresaid purpose of them;  
but the Earle Henry of Lancaster, with others,  
would not be at the same: wherefore it was laid vnto  
their charges, that they went about to conspire  
the kings death.

The Ragman  
role belivered vnto  
to the Scots.

The black crosse  
of Scotland.

The Barons  
rule by their  
rules in Scot-  
land.

A parliament at  
Salisbury.

Earle Henry of  
Lancaster re-  
fused to come to  
the parliament.

And further, for that the king was as well vnder  
the gouernment of the Earle of Kent his vnckle, as  
the Quene his mother, and the Earle of March, and  
for that they could not doe in all things as they li-  
sted for the said earle the kings vnckle, who loued the  
king and the realme: enuy began to rise betwene the  
earle Mortimer and him; and, by labell the quenes  
practise, he found the meanes to perswade the king,  
that the earle of Kent (to enjoy the crowne, as next  
heire vnto the king) went about to poyson him.  
Whereunto the king giuing light credit caused his  
said vnckle to be apprehended; and, without answer  
making to his accusation and accusers, to be behea-  
ded at Winchester, the third of October, and third  
yere of his raigne. But the iust judgement of God  
not permitting such odious crimes in him to be un-  
punished nor undetected, so in fine it fell forth, that  
labell the old Quene, the kings mother, was found  
and vnderstood to be with child by the said Mortimer.  
Complaint hereof was made to the king, as also of  
the killing of king Edward his father, and of the  
conspiracie of him against the Earle of Kent the  
kings vnckle before put to death. Whereupon, diuers  
other articles laid against him, and manifestly read  
in the court, hee was arraigned and indicted, and by  
verdict found guilty; hauing his iudgement as in  
cases of high treason, and suffered death accordingly  
at London: where, vpon London bridge, next vnto  
Spencers, his head obtained a place. The Quene his  
mother also (by good aduice of his counsell) was re-  
strained of her liberty, and within a certaine talle  
not permitted once to come abroad: vnto whom the  
king her sonne once or twice a yere would resort,  
and visit her.

The Earle of  
Kent put to  
death guiltles.

The Quene  
with child by  
sir Roger Mort-  
imer.

Sir Roger  
Mortimer earle  
of March ar-  
raigned, con-  
demned and put  
to execution.  
The Quene vnto  
in prison and kept  
a long time.

This yere prince Edward was borne at Wood-  
stocke; who in procelle of time and yeres grew to prince Edward;  
hee a most valiant Prince, and was, before he died,  
accounted throughout the world the follower of  
chivalry.

After

The marriage of  
the Edward  
demised.



The expedition  
of king Edward  
into Scotland.

The Scottish  
kynes.

King Edward  
waiteth and de-  
stroyeth the  
realme of Scot-  
land.

Barwicke besie-  
ged and yielded  
up to the king.

The king enter-  
eth the town of  
Barwicke and  
appointeth the  
captaine thereof.

Sir Robert de  
Artois a noble  
man of France  
inciteth the king  
to prosecute his  
title in France.

The king deliber-  
ateth with his  
councell concer-  
ning the title of  
France.  
Embassadours  
are sent to the  
earle of Heinault  
concerning the title.

After this the king prepared another army into Scotland in the yere prested. But first hee summoned king David of Scotland, who had (in the last truce, foure yeres to continue as you heard, his last then living) married the lady Jane, sister to the king; (termed Jane make peace) to doe his homage to the king; but that hee refused. Whereupon, not forgetting their withall the scoffing times, which daily from that time of truce the Scots had in their mouthes; hee did so much, that with an army well furnished he entred Scotland by the river of Twebe; for the Scots had then the possession of the towne of Barwicke. The Scottish Jigges and rimes were these, Long beards heartlesse, Painted hoods witlesse, Gay coates gracelesse, Makes England thrustlesse. To be short, the king waited the land, burnt, destroyed, and tooke townes and castles with small resistance or none: and the space of six moneths together did in that land what him listed, without any battell offered to him. For the king of Scots was but a child and not above the age of 15. yeres, and wanted good captaines that should haue defended the Realme: inso much that they were all faine, leaving those that kept in holds for their defence, to take the Forrest of Godworth, and there kept themselves so long as the king remained in Scotland. Who at length, when he had sufficiently waited, and spoiled, and burnt the same, returned toward Barwicke, about the which he bent his siege, bowing not to remoue the same, till hee had gotten the towne.

The Scots that kept the same, after a certaine time and many assaults made, were contented by on certaine conditions to haue deliuered by the towne. But that the king refused, vntlesse that, all conditions set apart, they would with baggage and baggage depart. Whereupon they condescended to the king, that if by a certaine time they were not by the king of Scots rescued, they would render by the towne, and with baggage and baggage depart: and so the time expired, frustrate of all hope and rescue, at the day appointed they did. The king then entred the towne, and tarried there the space of twelue daies: who after he had appointed sir Edward Baillew Captaine ouer the towne, and leaving also behind him other knights, Squires, and souldiers, as well to keepe the same as other holds the king had conquered in Scotland and frontiers thereof; hee returned with his people towards London, permitting every man to depart and goe what way them liked.

Then sir Robert de Artois, a noble man of France and which descended of the blond royall, being in England with the king, ceased not oftentimes to aduertise the king, and put him in memo<sup>r</sup>y of his good and right title to the inheritance of the crowne of France. This sir Robert for a certaine displeasure that Philip the French king tooke against him for a certaine plea which by him was moued befoze the king, was faine for the safeguard of his life to flee the realme of France, and so come to the Kings court. King Edward was not unwilling at all to heare thereof, but tooke delight oftentimes to reason and debate that matter with him concerning his right, title, and inheritance to the crowne of France. But yet notwithstanding, he thought it not good to make any attempt thereunto without aduised and circumspect counsell; for that it contained matter of no small, but most difficult importance: neither yet he tooke it to deserve the same either of wisdome or promise to let so good a title dye, or so fit opportunity to passe. Wherefore he, calling together certaine of his counsell, bled their deliberats aduices touching the seriousness of this matter. In fine it was by them thought good, that the king should send certaine embassadours ouer to the earle of Heinault, whose daughter he had married, as well to heare his aduice and counsell herein; all also what friends and

aide, by him and his meanes, in this so great an expedition to be begun in the Empire, to him might be procured. The king hereunto condescended, and appointeth for this embassage the Bishop of Lincoln with two other Baronets, and two Doctors: who in such speedy wise made their voyage, that in short space they returned againe to the king with this answer: That not onely the Earle his counsell and aduice should be herein prest to the king of England their master, but also the whole countrey of Heinault. And further, for that to such an expedition as appertained, he said, the province of Heinault was but a small matter to make account of; hee would procure for the king greater aide and friendship in the Empire, as the Duke of Babant his cousin germane, and a puissant Prince, the Duke of Guerles, the Archbishop of Colerne, the Marquesse of Juliers, &c. which are all good men of warre, and able to make tenne thousand fighting men, saith hee. Which answer well liked the king, and made him joyous thereof. But this counsell of the king, as secret as it was, came to Philip the French kings eares: whereupon he stayed the voyage of the Crosie which then he had in hand, sending forth countermands to stay the same, till he knew further the purpose of the king of England.

The king hereupon himselfe taketh shipping accompanied as to a king appertained, and when hee had consulted with all the foresaid Lords of the Empire in this matter, and understood their fidelitie, he made his repaire to the Emperour, at whose hands hee was well entertained and honourably received, whom the Emperour appointed to be his lieutenant generall, hauing thereby more authority both to will and command such as for this his expedition hee sent unto, and had made conuention with. Philip, hearing this, prepared his army and rigged his navy, that so loone as the king should enter into the dominion of France, they also might enter into England, requiting like for like.

The king of England, after the feast of S. John Baptist, according to his purpose prepared all things ready to such an expedition, conducting his army, and gathering a greater strength in the Empire, as before to him was promised, vntill the Emperours authority therein, as his lieutenant generall, howbeit at the charge altogether of the king of England. The French king, as soone as king Edward had landed his army at Backline in Flanders, hearing of the defiance, which the king and other noble men of the Empire had sent unto him, sent certaine ships lying ready thereunto, and waiting for such opportunitie upon the coast of England; which vpon a Sunday, whilst the Townesmen were at the Church little looking for any such matter, entered the Haven of Southhampton, tooke the towne and spoiled the same, deflowered maidens, enforced wiues, burnt, kild, tooke captiues, and carreyed away rich spoiles and great booties to their ships, and so againe departed into France. Further as the king of England had allied himselfe with the noble men of the Empire, and had the friendly fauor of the Emperour also thereunto: so the French king made the like league and alliance with David the king of Scots, whom the king had so hardly dealt withall in Scotland (as partly befoze you heard) and kept the most part of Scotland under his subjection: Binding the said David as well by writing as oath and pledge, that without his consent he should make no peace, nor conclude any truce with the king of England. Who againe assured him of aide, and rescue, and helpe, and to recover his kingdome and dominion to his vie: and forthwith sent certaine Garrisons and bands into Scotland to keepe play with the Englishmen, and there to fortifie diuers places till further opportunitie serued. He also fortified with men, money, vittual, and munition, the towne of Cambray: which hee suspected would be

{ KING }  
{ EDW }  
}

The Embassa-  
dours returne  
with answer  
from the Earle  
that pleareth the  
king.

King Philip of  
France heareth  
of the kings  
purpose, and sta-  
eth his voyage of  
the Crosie.

King Edward  
assigned lieuten-  
ant generall of  
the Empire.

The first voyage  
of king Edward  
into France.

Southhampton  
burnt of the  
Frenchmen.

The Scots  
risen up against  
England by the  
French king.

besieged,



**KING** } besieged, lying so nere upon the empire as indeede  
**EDWARD** } it came to passe. For King Edward, departing  
 from Harbeline, set forward his host toward Hes-  
 mant, and by the way assembled such power  
 as in the Empire hee looked for, marching forward  
 still till that they came to Cambray, and besieged  
 it with 40000. men while that with another com-  
 pany the Flemings, Brabanters, and hollanders,  
 went to S. Dunstin. But in effect, neither there,  
 nor at Cambray, nor else where, anything notorious  
 was achieved. But the summer being well spent,  
 and little prevailing in the siege of Cambray, being  
 of situation strong and well defended therewithall  
 with men and munition, he brake up the siege, & mar-  
 ched further into the heart of France towards Gunt-  
 terell. Which thing the French King having under-  
 standing of, prepared himselfe to give battell to the  
 King of England, who with another great army  
 came to Otremonfse, where dayes were appointed to  
 meete in battell: but in the end, nothing was done  
 nor attempted betwene the princes. And the King  
 of England, without any battell eyther giving or tak-  
 ing, returned with his army from thence to Gaunt.  
 Concerning the cause of the sudden removing of  
 the King out of France, it seemeth most specially to  
 rise of the pope: which at the same time sent downe  
 his legats, for the order of a peace to be taken be-  
 twene the Kings. At Gaunt were gathered by the  
 Kings appointment all the nobles as well of Eng-  
 land, as of the empire in counsell together what was  
 best to be done. What plaine answer was made  
 to the King of England, that unless he would take  
 upon him the claime and title of France, as his  
 lawfull inheritance and as king thereof prosecute  
 his warres; it might not be lawfull for them any  
 further to ayde the King of England, or to fight with  
 him against the French King: for that the pope had  
 bound them in two millions of florens of gold,  
 and under paine of excommunication, that they  
 should not fight against the lawfull King of France.  
 Whereupon, the king thought god therefore pre-  
 sently to make open challenge to the realme and  
 crowne of France: and further, to quarter and in-  
 termingle the armes of France with the armes of  
 England in one Scutcheon. Whereupon esteemes  
 King Edward made answer unto the pope againe,  
 directing unto him his letters, wherein he declareth  
 at large his right and title unto the crowne of  
 France, purging thereby himselfe and his cause un-  
 to the bishop. The copy and tenour of which letter,  
 because it is too long to expresse, it is to be found in  
 the booke of Tho. Walsingham remaining in the li-  
 brary of J. Stephenson citizen of London, who so  
 hath list or leisure to peruse the same. Besides this  
 letter to the Pope he directed another to the pates  
 and prelates of France (he remaining yet at Gaunt)  
 in tenour as followeth.

The letter of King Edward to the Nobles and  
 commons of France.

**E**Dward by the grace of God King of France and  
 of England, lord of Ireland. Vnto all prelates and  
 ecclesiasticall persons, to the peeres, dukes, earles,  
 barons, and to the commons of France, greeting. The  
 high lord and King above, to whom although his  
 will bee in his owne power, yet would that power  
 should bee subject vnto law; commanding every  
 thing to bee given vnto him which is his, declaring  
 thereby that justice and judgement ought to bee the  
 preparation of the Kings seat. Wherefore seeing the  
 kingdome of France, through the providence of  
 God, by the death of Charles last King of France of  
 famous memory, brother germaine to our lady mo-  
 ther, is fallen vnto vs by plaine and manifest law;  
 And forasmuch as lord Philip de Valois, being the  
 sonne of the vncle of the foresaid King, and so being  
 farre from the crowne by a farther degree of consan-

guinitie, through force and usurpation hath intruded  
 himselfe in the foresaid kingdome (whilst wee were  
 yet in our minority) and so contrarie both to God  
 and to justice doth detaine and occupie the same;  
 And lest wee should seeme to neglect our owne  
 right and the gift given us of God, or not to  
 submit our will to Gods ordinance: We have thought  
 good to acknowledge the title of France, and by sup-  
 portation of the almighty King have taken upon us the  
 defence and regiment of the said kingdome; Fier-  
 ly purposing with our selves (as every good man  
 ought to doe) graciously to minister justice to eve-  
 ry one, according to the rites and laudable custome  
 of the foresaid kingdome. Also to renew the good  
 lawes and customes which have beene in the time  
 of Ludovike our progenitor; adding moreover, that  
 which shall seeme expedient according to the  
 condition and qualitie of the time. As any change of  
 coine, or any other inordinate exactions, wee intend  
 not to seeke our profits by your detriments: when  
 as (the Almighty bee praised therefore) we abound  
 and have enough. And as concerning the affaires of  
 the Realme, our purpose is not to proceed rashly or  
 by our owne will, but by the discrete advice  
 and counsell of the Peeres, Prelates, Nobles, and o-  
 ther our faithfull subjects of the kingdome, so farre  
 forth as shall make for the honour of God, the de-  
 fence and advancement of the Church (which in  
 all fulnesse of devotion wee doe reverence) and to  
 the profit both publike and private of all the subjects  
 thereof, with full execution of justice by the grace of  
 God to bee executed upon all and singular persons,  
 being earnestly carefull for the honour, profit, and  
 tranquillitie of you all. For, as the Lord knoweth,  
 nothing shall bee more gratefull to us, than that by  
 our carefull solicitude, peace may bee engendered,  
 specially betwixt us, and universally among all Christi-  
 an men: so that by our concord the force and  
 strength of all Christian Princes may bee joyned to-  
 gether for the recoverie of the holy land: which our  
 Saviour and Redeemer hath dedicated with his owne  
 proper blood, whereunto wee will endeavour our  
 selves through the grace of the holy Ghost. And for-  
 asmuch as wee have offered to the foresaid Lord  
 Philip divers friendly and reasonable conditions of  
 peace, whereunto he would neither condescend,  
 neither agree to any conformation; yea, rather mo-  
 veth against us unjust warre, to the utter subversion  
 of our state: wee are enforced of necessitie to the  
 uttermost of our power (for the defence both of us,  
 and recoverie of our right) to defend our selves by  
 force of battell; not seeking any slaughter of good  
 and humble subjects, but desiring their safegard and  
 profit.

For the which cause, all and singular such subjects  
 of the kingdome of France, which shall submit  
 themselves to us as the true King of France, at or  
 before the feast of Easter next ensuing, professing  
 unto us their fealtie, and doing to us as to the King  
 of France by dutie appertaineth, so as our be-  
 loved Subjects of Flanders have done alreadie,  
 or bee readie to offer themselves so to doe; all such  
 wee willingly admitte and receive to our peace and  
 grace under our protection to bee defended,  
 them to maintaine as is convenient from all mo-  
 lestation and inquietnesse whatsoever, in person  
 or goods hereafter to bee enforced either by us or by  
 our officers, upon whatsoever occasion of rebellion  
 afore passed. And forasmuch as the premises can-  
 not easily bee intimated to all and singular persons;  
 wee have provided the same to be fixed upon Church  
 doores and other publike places, whereby the mani-  
 fest notice thereof may come to all men, to the  
 comfort of you that bee to us devout, and to the  
 true information of them, which through sinister  
 surmises of our enemies are otherwise informed of  
 us. Dated at Gaunt the 8. of February, the yeere of  
 our kingdome of France the first, of England the 14.

T t

This

Note the grievous-  
 nes of this time  
 when the blood  
 of Christ was  
 thought but one-  
 ly dedicated to  
 the holy land.

King Edward  
 to the nobles  
 and commons  
 of France.

The title of  
 France how  
 it came to King  
 Edward.



Southampton burnt and spoiled by the Frenchmen.

This done, for that the winter then drew on, neither was there any hope as the time served, of farther doing good; the king thought best for a season to returne againe to England with his company, giuing ouer the warres vntill the next spring; and so did, taking shipping, and so arrived at Dover. When he came to London, it was declared vnto him, of the great spoyle the Frenchmen had made at Southampton: who answered againe, that withun one yeere he doubted not but the same should bee well paid for and recompensed. And according to the same purpose of his he lingered no time, but calling a parliament at Westminster, with much grudge and euill will of his subiects there was for the maintenance of his warres granted to him a great subsidy, which was the 5. of euery mans goods, and also the customes of his wools 2. yeares before hand, and the 9. theafe of euery mans corne. At the spring the king againe prepared his army, and rigged his navy, preparing to land in Flanders. But the archb. of Cant. then lord Cancellor, hauing vnderstanding of the French power vpon the sea lying for the king, gaue him aduertisement there, willing him to goe more strongly, or else not to venture. But the king not crediting the archbishop, and being angry with him therefore, said that he would goe forward: whereupon the bishop resigned the chancelloxship, and removed himselfe from his counsell: then the king consulting hereupon farther with the lord Hoxley his Admirall, and others (hearing also the same of them) furnished himselfe with stronger power, and committed him to his ship: and did so much, that a few dayes before midsummer, he was vpon the sea with a great fleet. Before the towne of Sluse, the French king to stop his passage, had laid ready a great navy, well nere to the number of twentyscore saile; and had made the Christopher of England (which before the Frenchmen toke at Southampton) their Admirall: betwixt which two nauiies was a long and terrible fight. But in the end, the victory by Gods grace fell to the king of England, in which fight he himselfe was personally. So that of the number of thirty thousand Frenchmen few or none were left and escaped aliue, and two hundred saile of ships taken: in one of the which were found 400. dead bodies.

Counsell of the Archbishop giuen to the king.

Battle vpon the sea between king Edward and Frenchmen.

The Frenchmen broken vpon the sea.

The words of the foole to the French King.

After this great slaughter of the Frenchmen (of whom many for feare of the sword leapt into the sea) when no man durst bring tidings thereof to the French king; they which were next about the king did suborne his foole, to insinuate the vnderstanding thereof by subtilty of couert words; which was thus. As the foresaid foole being in the kings presence, and was talking of many things; among other talke hee suddenly brast out (being prompt by others) into a vehement railing against the Englishmen, calling them cowards and dastards, with many such opprobrious words tending to that effect. The king not knowing wherunto the words of the foole did appertaine, asked the foole, why he called the Englishmen such weaklings and cowards, &c. Why, saith the foole: Because the fearefull and cowardly Englishmen had not the hearts to leape into the sea so lustily, as our Normans, and Gentlemen of France had. Whereby the French king began to vnderstand the victory of his part to be lost, and the Englishmen to be victors.

This victory achieved, the same thereof spreading abroad in England, first was not believed till letters thereof came from the king to prince Edward his son being then at Matbam, directed to the bishops and prelates of the realme: the effect of which letters here followeth vnder written.

The bountifull benignitie of Gods great clemency powred vpon vs of late, for your true certification and rejoycing, wee thought good to intimate vnto you. It is not vnkowne (we suppose) to you, and to

The letters of King Edward to the Bishops of England.

other our faithfull subjects, which also haue bene partakers with vs of the same, with what stormes of boisterous warres of late wee haue bene tossed and shaken, as in the great Ocean. But although the rising surges of the sea be maruellous, yet more maruellous is the Lord aboue: who turning the tempest into a calme, in so great dangers, so mercifully hath respected vs. For whereas we of late did ordaine our passage vpon vrgent causes into Flanders: the Lord Philip de Valoys our bitter enemy vnderstanding thereof, laid against vs a mighty navy of shippes, intending thereby either to take vs, or at least to stop our voyage. Which voyage if it had bene staid, it had bene the cutting off of all the great enterprises by us intended and taken in hand, and moreover wee our selues had bene brought to a great confusion. But the God of mercies, seeing vs so distressed in such perils and dangers, hath graciously and beyond mans expectation sent to vs great succour and strength of fighting souldiers, and a prosperous wind after our owne desires. By the meanes and helpe whereof, we set out of the heauen into the seas, where we estoones perceived our enemies well appointed and prepared with a maine multitude to set vpon vs vpon midsummer day last past. Against whom notwithstanding Christ our Lord and Sauour hath rendered to vs the victory, through a strong and vehement conflict. In the which conflict, a mightie number of our enemies were destroyed, and well nere all their whole navy was taken; with some losse also of our part, but nothing like in comparison to theirs. By reason whereof wee doubt not but our passage by the seas hereafter shall be more quiet and safe for our subjects, and also many other commodities shall ensue thereof, as wee haue good cause to hope well of the same. For which cause wee, deuoutly considering the heavenly grace so mercifully wrought vpon vs, doe render most humble thanks and praise to Christ our Lord and Sauour: Beseeching him, that as he hath bene and alwayes is ready to preuent our necessities in time of opportunitie, so hee will continue his helping hand euer towards vs, and so to direct vs here temporally, that we may raigne and joy with him in heauen eternally. And in like sort wee require your charity, that you also with vs rising vp to the praise of God alone, who hath begun so fauourably to worke with vs to our goodnesse, in your prayers and diuine seruice doe instantly recommend vs vnto the Lord, traouelling here in these forraigne countries, and studying to recouer not onely our right here in France; but also to aduance the whole Catholike Church of Christ and to rule our people in iustice. And that also yee call vpon the clergy and people, euery one through his diocese to doe the same, inuocating the name of our Sauour, that of his mercie he will giue to vs his humble seruant a docible heart, to so judge and rule hereupon rightly, doing that which hee hath commanded, that at length wee may attaine to that which he hath promised, &c. Which letter was written to the Bishops and prelates, Anno, 1340.

{ KING }  
{ EDW. 3 }

After this foresaid victory vpon the sea, and newes thereof, with due thanks to our Sauour, sent into England: the king striking into Flanders came to Gaunt in Brabant where he had left the queene, who joyfully receiued him, being a little before purified or churched, as wee terme it, of her fourth sonne, whose name was John, and commonly called John of Gaunt, and was earle of Richmond, and duke of Lancaster. At Willenorth the king assembled his counsell, whereat the noble men of Flanders, Brabant, and Hernalt conioyning together in most firme league the one to helpe and defend the other, with the king of England, against the French king, purposing a determining from thence to march toward Tourney & it to besiege. But the French king, vnderstanding their counsell, fortified and buidualed the

A council at Willenorth.

Flanders, Brabant and Hernalt take part with King Edward.



{KING.} the same before their coming thither. Further  
{EDW.3} more the said French King the same time, to stop the  
siege of King Edward, sent with King David of  
Scotland a great power, to that intent to make in-  
vasion in England, thereby the sooner to cause the  
King to remove his siege. In the meane time King  
Edward wrote his letters to Philip de Valois,  
making vnto him certaine requestes, as in the same  
his letters here following is to be seene: who, for that  
he wrote not vnto him as King of France, but by  
the name of Philip de Valois, refused to answer  
him touching the same, as by their letters here pla-  
ced may be seene.

The letter of the King of England, to Philip  
de Valois, the French King, going to the  
siege of Tournay.

The letter of  
King Edward  
to the French  
King.

Philip de Valois, of long time wee haue gently re-  
quested you by our Embassadors (by all the rea-  
sonable meanes wee might) to that intent you should  
haue rendred vnto vs our lawfull right and inheri-  
tance to the crowne of France, which from vs a  
long time you haue by great wrong and force de-  
tained. And for that wee well perceiue you meane  
to perseuere in the same your purpose and injurious  
detinue, without making any reasonable answer to  
our demand: Wee let you vnderstand, that wee are  
entered into the country of Flanders, as the foue-  
raigne Lord of the same, and so passe through the  
countrie. And further signifie vnto you, how that  
by the helpe of our Sauour Iesus Christ and our righ-  
teous cause therein, and with the power of the said  
country, our people, and allies, wee purpose to reco-  
uer the right which wee haue to that inheritance you  
detaine from vs by your injurious force, and there-  
fore approach wee towards you to make a short end  
of this our rightfull challenge, if you also will doe  
the like. And for that so great an host assembled as  
we bring with vs on our part (supposing you also on  
the other part to doe the like) cannot long remaine  
together without great destruction both to our  
people and countrie, which thing euery good Chris-  
tian ought to eschew; especially princes and others  
which haue the government of the same, auoiding,  
by as short an end as may be, the mortalitie of Chris-  
tian men, according as the quarrell is apparant be-  
tweene you and mee: For the which causes heere  
touched, let the challenge (if you thinke meete) be-  
tweene our owne persons and bodies bee discussed,  
that the great nobility and prowesse of each other,  
may ofensely one bee seene. And if you refuse this  
way, then let there (to finish this challenge) bee an  
hundred of the best souldiers you can chule out of  
your part matched with so many of our liege sub-  
jects to try the same. And if of these two wayes you  
refuse both the one and the other, then that you will  
assigne vnto vs a certaine day before the towne of  
Turney, to fight with vs power against power,  
which may bee within ten dayes next ensuing after  
the date of these our letters: offering the said con-  
ditions vnto you aboue specified (as wee would all  
the world to know and vnderstand) not vpon any  
orgoile, presumption or pride wee take therein, but  
for the causes before allcaged, and to the end that  
(the will of our Sauour Iesus Christ betwixt vs two  
herein declared and shewed) rest and peace might  
grow amongst christian men; the power and force of  
Gods enemies may bee abated: and in fine, the li-  
mites of Christianitie enlarged and enfranchised.  
And therefore heereupon consider with your selfe,  
what way you will take concerning our foresaid  
offers, and by the bearers of these our letters send  
vnto vs herein quicke and speedie answer. Given  
vnder our great seals at Chin in the plaine of Laxe  
the 27. day of this present moneth of July.

The answer of the lord Phillip de Valois vnto  
the Letter aforesaid

The answer  
of the French  
King  
Edward.

Philip by the grace of God, King of France, to Ed-  
ward King of England. We haue seene the letters  
which you haue sent vnto our court to Philip de Va-  
lois, wherein are contained certaine requestes which  
you make to the said Philip de Valois. But for that  
the said letters come not as directed vnto vs, neither  
yet the said requestes seeme to bee made vnto vs  
(which thing clearly by the tenour of the said let-  
ters appeareth) wee therefore write vnto you no an-  
swere touching the same. Notwithstanding this suf-  
ficeth, that wee vnderstand by the sayd letters of  
yours, as also other wayes, that you are entered into  
our realme of France, to the great damage both vn-  
to vs, our realme and people (more proceeding of  
will, than reason) and not regarding that which a  
liegeman ought to doe vnto his lord. For you are  
entered into our homage by you lieged vnto us, ac-  
knowledging your selfe as reason is, a liege man vn-  
to the king of France; and haue promised vnto vs  
such obeisance as men are wont to doe vnto their  
liege lords (as more plainly by your letters patents  
appeareth, ensealed with your great seale, the which  
we haue with vs:) for the which thing wee will you  
to understand, that our purpose is (when it shall  
seeme good vnto vs) to driue you out of our realme,  
to the honour both of vs and our kingdome, and to  
the profit and commoditie of our people. And this  
thing to doe wee haue firme and assured hope in Ie-  
sus Christ, from whom wee haue all our power and  
strength. For by your vnreasonable demand more  
wilfull then reasonable, hath beene hindred and stai-  
ed the holy voiage to those parts beyond the Seas,  
where a great number of Christian men haue bene  
slaine; the diuine seruice diminished, and the seruice  
of the Church lesse reuerenced. And as touching that  
where you say, Yee intend to haue the obliuance of  
the Flemmings, we thinke and beleue that the good  
people and commons of that countrie will behaue  
themselves in such sort toward our cosin the Coun-  
tess of Flanders their Ladie, as it bee not to their re-  
proch; and to vs their foueraigne lord, they will  
respect their honour and loyalte. And that thing  
wherein they haue done otherwise then well hither-  
to, hath beene by the euill counsell of such people;  
as neither regard the weale publike nor honour of  
their country, but their owne onely gaine and com-  
moditie. Giuen in the field neere adjoyning to the  
priorie of S. Andrew, vnder our priuylege in absence  
of our great seale, the 30. day of Iuly. Anno 1340.

Mention was made a little before of David  
king of Scots, whom the French King had supplor-  
ed and stirred by against the King and realme of  
England: which David (with the aid of the Scots  
and Frenchmen) did so much preuaile, that they re-  
couered againe almost all Scotland, which before he  
had lost, and was constrained to lye in the forrest of  
Gedworth many yeres before. Then invaded they  
England, and came with their army, wasting and  
burning the country before them, till they came as  
farre as Durham, and then returned againe into  
Scotland, where they recovered all their holds a-  
gaine, saving the towne of Barwicke. Then bo-  
rough they tooke by a stratagem or subtil device pra-  
ctised by Douglas and certaine other: who apparell-  
ing themselves in poore mens habits, as vnderlings  
with coze, and prauender, and other things, remain-  
ed the porter early in the morning what made they  
had thereof. Who nothing mistrusting opened the  
outward gate where they should tarry till the capitaine  
rose: and perceiuing the porter to haue the keyes of  
the inward gate, they threw downe their ladders in  
the outward gate, that it might not be shut againe,  
and slew the porter, taking from him the keyes of the

The Scots  
invaded Eng-  
land.

Edenborough  
recovered from  
the Englishmen  
by the Scots.

At 2 towne,



towne. Then they blew their horn as a warning to the bands, which priuily they had laid not farre off: who in hastie comming, and finding the gates ready opened, entred upon the sudden, and killed as many as resisted them, and so obtained againe the city of Cotenborough.

The Scots thus being busie in England, the French king in the meane season gathered together a puissant power, purposing to remoue the siege from Tourney: and among other, sent for the king of Scots, who came to him with great force, besides diuers other noble men of France: insonmuch that the French king had a great army, and thought himselfe able enough to raise the siege, and thither bent his holt. But the French king, for all this his foresaid huge power and force, durst not yet approach the king so nere, as either to giue him battle, or else remoue his siege: but kept himselfe with his army alwaie, in a sure place for his better defence. And notwithstanding the king of England wasted, burnt, spoiled and destroyed the country, twenty miles in manner compass about Tourney, and toke diuers and sundry strong townes and holds, as Asteois, Arles, Greney, Archies, Doint, S. Amand, and the town of Lille, where he slew about thre hundred men of armes, and about S. Omers, he slew and kild of noble men, the lord of Dufkune, of Hauti-Neleu, of Kely, of Chastillon, of Bellig, of Fenis, of Hamelard, Monstaucion, and other barons, to the number of fourtene, and also slew and killed about 130. knights, being all men of great possessions and powerte, and toke other small cities and townes to the number of thre hundred: yet for all this Philip de Valois, the French king, durst neither rescue his townes, nor relieue his owne men: but of his great army he leste (which is to be marvelled at, being in the midst of his owne country) by famine and other inconueniences, and for want of water, more than twenty thousand men without any battle by him giuen. Whereupon at the intreaty of the said Philip by his embassadors to the king sent, and by the mediation of the lady Jane, sister to the said Philip, and mother to the Earle of Henault, whose daughter king Edward, as you heard, had married: a truce containing the number of fiftene articles for one yere was concluded, the king of England being very unwilling and loth thereunto. Yet notwithstanding, partly by the instance of the foresaid lady, but specially for that the king was greatly disappointed, through the negligence of his officers in England, which sent him not euer such mony as he needed for the continuance of his warres and payment of his souldiers wages (the articles being somewhat reasonable) he agreeth to the truce thereof: the conditions of which truce there concluded, here follow vnder written.

1 First, that during the said truce no sales or mis-trust of either part shall be a detriment or cause of breach of the same.

2 Item, that during the said respite or truce either of the princes, their helpers, coadiutors and allies whatsoever, shall remaine and be in quiet possession of all such possessions, holds, territories and lands, as at this present day they keepe and enjoy within the realm and Dominion of France, in what manner soeuer they haue atchieued the same, during the said truce.

3 Item, that the said princes, their aiders, coadiutors, and allies whatsoever, shall passe safely from one country to another, and all merchants with their merchandise, as well by sea as by land, as accustomedly they haue bene wont: except such banished men as haue bene banished out of the said realmes, or any of them for other causes, than the warres, betwene the said princes.

4 Item, that the said two princes shall not procure, eether by themselves or any other, any practice or other molestation to be made the one to the other,

by the bishop of Rome or any other belonging to the holy Church whatsoever, either for the warres begun, or any other cause, nor for the seruice of any of their allies, coadiutors, and aiders, or any of them: And that neither our holy father the pope, nor any other shall disturbe or molest either of the said two kings during the said time.

5 Item that immediately after the truce be proclaimed in both the hosts that they may stand bound of either side, to keepe and obserue all and euery such article as shall be therein contained.

6 Item, that within 20. dayes next and immediately ensuing, each of the princes shall cause to be proclaimed in Gascoyne and Guyen, and other their lands these articles of truce, to the intent they may be the better obserued, kept and knowne.

7 Item, if by any the said princes, their allies, people or coadiutors, any siege be laid in Gascoyne or the Duchy of Guyen or any other isles of the sea, Tier-nese, or Cersey, or any other: that the same sieges be raised so soone as they shall heare of this truce.

8 Item, that such as are theues and fugitiues out of the country of Flanders shall not returne during the truce: and if they doe, that then such as apprehended them shall see justice done vpon them, and they shall forfeit all the goods they haue in Flanders.

9 Item, it is recognized, that the debts due to Arras, Arlespois, or other titles of France, shall neither be demanded nor executed during the said truce.

10 Item, that all such prisoners, as haue bene taken during these warres, shall be released out of prison and sent home vpon their faith and oath to returne, if they be not ransomed during the said truce. And if any shall refuse so to doe, that then the Lord vnder whom he is, shall constrain him to returne againe to prison.

11 Item, that all the bands whatsoever they be, which he made before this said truce in the time of warre (whether they be of goods spirituall or temporal) be released without restitution during the said truce.

12 Also, that these conditions of truce immediately may take effect betwene the English and Scots, their lords, aiders, and allies: and the same to endure until the natiuity of saint John Baptist. And that certaine persons be appointed by a certaine day to be at the marches of England and Scotland to confirme the said truce, vnder such conditions as haue bene accustomed in those parts. And if the said Scots refuse so to doe, that then they haue no aid out of France during the said truce.

13 Item, that this said truce be proclaimed in England, and in Scotland, within 26. dayes after the date hereof.

14 Item, it is accorded that within this truce be contained Espainels, Chatellon, Genouois, the bishop & the town of Cambrey and castles of the same.

In witness whereof, we John by the grace of God king of Bohemia, and earle of Luxemburge, Adolph bishop of Liege, Radulphe duke of Lozein, Armes earle of Saroy, and John earle of Darmenacke on the one party: And W. duke of Sabant, C. duke of Celce, D. marques of Juliers, sir John of Henault, and sir Beaumont on the other party, be-twixt the high and puissant princes of France and England, haue sealed this instrument of truce and peace, and deliuered the same accordingly in the church of Esplesteline on Monday the 25 day of September, the yere of grace, 1340.

This truce thus finished, king Edward brake by his campe, remouing his siege from Tourney, and came againe to Cant. From whence (very early in the morning) he with a small company toke shipping, and by long sea came to the towne of London, very few or none hauing understanding thereof. And being greatly displeased with diuers of his counsell and high officers (for that through their default he was constrained against his will, not ha-

{ KING }  
{ EDW. 3 }

King Edward  
returneth from  
Tourney.

The King de-  
cided by his  
officers.

Tourney be-  
sieged.

Articles of  
truce.



{ KING } using money to maintaine his wars, to condescend  
{ EDW. 3 } into the foresaid truce hee commanded to be appe-  
hended and brought vnto him to the tower, the lord  
John Donhore chiefe Justice of England, and sir  
John Doulney with diuers others. And the next  
morning, he sent for L. A. bishop of Chichester, & the  
lord Wake, the lord treasurer, and diuers other such  
that were in authoritie and office, and commanded  
them all to be kept as prisoners in the said tower, on-  
ly the said bishop excepted: whom for feare of the con-  
stitution of pope Clement, which commanded that  
no bishop should be by the king imprisoned, he set at  
liberty and suffered him to goe his way, and in his  
place substituted Sir Roger Bourcher knight lord  
chancellor of England.

No bishop may  
be imprisoned by  
the popes law.

Conetous offi-  
cers.

John Stratford  
Archbishop of  
Canterbury.

The historiie intreating of this matter reporteth  
thus: that the king had at this time vnder him euill  
substitutes, and conetous officers: who, attending  
more to their owne gaine than to the publike hono-  
r and commoditie of the realme, left the king destitute  
and naked of money. With which crime also John  
Stratford then archbishop of Canterbury was ve-  
hemently noted and suspected, whether of his true de-  
serving, or by the setting on of other, hereafter shall  
more appeare. Insomuch that the king exceedingly in-  
censed against him, charged him with great falshood  
vied against his person, as by these his letters wit-  
ten and directed to the dean and chapter of Pauls a-  
gainst the said archbishop, manifestly appeareth, the  
tenor of which letter here followeth vnder written.

Edward by the grace of God King of England  
and France, and lord of Ireland, To his welbeloued in  
Christ the Deane and Chapter of the Church of  
S. Paul in London, greeting in the Lord.

The Kings let-  
ter to the deane  
and chapter of  
Pauls.

IT is manifest by ancient histories, but more plainly  
it appeareth by those things which daily are pra-  
ctised amongst vs; that many men abusing (through  
pride) the fauor of princes, and honour bestowed vpon  
them, haue maliciously gone about to depraue the  
laudable endeavour of Kings. And now that the words  
which wee speake may be more manifest vnto our  
subjects; wee suppose that neither you nor they haue  
forgotten, that wee being established in our kingly  
throne in yonger yeeres, and coueting euen then to  
guide this our regall charge taken vpon vs with  
whole some counsels, haue called vpon vs Iohn the  
bishop of Winchester, now Archbishop of Canter-  
bury, whom wee supposed for his fidelitie and discre-  
tion to exceed others: whose counsell in matters ap-  
pertaining vnto the health of our soule, as in matters  
also respecting the augmenting and conseruation of  
our kingdome both spirittually and temporally wee  
vied, and he was receiued of vs into all familiaritie.  
Wee found in him also such humanitie, that hee was  
saluted by the name of father, and of all next vnto the  
king had in honour. Now afterwards when by right  
of succession the Kingdome of France should haue  
descended vnto vs, and was by violent iniurie by the  
lord Philip of Valois holden from vs: the said arch-  
bishop by his importune instance perswaded vs to en-  
ter league of amitie with the princes of Almaine a-  
gainst the said Philip, and to commit our selfe and  
ours vnto the hazard of warres; promising and affir-  
ming that hee would bring to passe, that the reuenues  
of our lands, and other helps by him deuised, should  
suffice abundantly for the maintenance of our said  
wars: Adding moreover that our onely care should  
bee for the furniture of strong and able souldiers, such  
as were fit for the purpose, and expert in warfare; for  
the rest hee himselfe would effectually procure, for  
money convenient to suffice our necessitie, and the  
charges thereof. Whereupon (intending great ex-  
ploits) wee conueied our army beyond the Seas, and  
with marvellous great charges (as behoued) wee set  
forward: wee became also bound in great sums of mo-  
ney, making sure account of the aid aforesaid promised

vnto vs. But alas, vnhappie is that man that reposeth  
confidence in mans decentfull staffe of brittle reede;  
whereunto (as saith the prophet) if a man leane, it  
breaketh and pearceeth the hand. Thus being defraud-  
ed of our long looked for subsidie, for very neces-  
sitie sake wee were constrained to take vpon vs impor-  
table charges of debts by grieuous vsurie. And so our  
expedition being staied, wee were compelled to retire  
into England, desisting from our enterprises so vali-  
antly begun. Now when wee were returned into En-  
land, wee laid before our Archbishop our manifold  
calamities and misfortunes before rehearsed, and there-  
upon called a parliament: wherein the prelates noble  
men and other the faithfull subjects of our dominions,  
granted vnto vs a new subsidie of corne, lambe, wooll,  
&c. besides the tenth granted by the clergie: which  
subsidie (if it had bene faithfully collected and obtain-  
ed in due time) had greatly auailed for the expedi-  
tion of our said warres, the payment of our debts, and  
confusion of our enemies. Our said Archbishop pro-  
mised diligently to doe his endeavour, as well in collec-  
ting the same, as also in procuring other necessaries  
to serue to our purpose. Whereupon trusting vnto these  
faire promises, hauing all things in a readinesse, both  
men and furnished shippes, wee made Saile towards  
Flanders, and by the way vpon the dangerous Seas  
buckled with our enemies (sworne to the destruction  
of our English nation) of whom wee triumphed and  
were victors, not by our merits (their multitude farre  
exceeding ours) but by the mercifull clemencie of  
him that ruleth both winde and sea. Which being  
done, wee passed from thence with a mightie power  
for the recouerie of our right, and pitched our tents  
neere vnto the puissant citie of Tournay: where be-  
ing detained for a time in the siege thereof and wearied  
with continuall toile, our charges still increa-  
sing, a waiting with silence our promised aid; day by  
day we hoped from our Archbishop to receiue suc-  
cour in these our so great necessities. At length being  
frustrate of all conceiued hope, wee signified vnto our  
said Archbishop, and other his adherents, by diuers  
messengers and sundry letters, our great necessitie  
and perils which wee were in for lacke of the said sub-  
sidie granted vnto vs. We added also the vtilitie and  
honour, which wee law might be achieved, if we had  
receiued mony in time. All this notwithstanding we  
receiued from them no succour at all; for that, pre-  
ferring their private businesse and proper commodi-  
ties, they cloaked their sloth, or rather (as I may call  
it) their fraud and malice with vaine excuses, and  
painted glosing words, like vnto the deceitfull,  
which (as saith Esay) vse to deride with these words;  
Manda remanda, &c.

By meanes whereof (alas for sorrow) it came to  
passe, that whiles good hope of subduing our ene-  
mies graciously smiled vpon vs wee were constrained  
(penury preuailling against vs) to take truce to our  
shame; the hinderance of our expedition, and no  
small reioicing of our euill willers: and so wee re-  
turned into Flanders all void of money, oppressed  
with infinite debts, neither had wee in our treasuries  
wherewith to discharge our necessities, nor yet to  
pay our souldiers wages: insomuch, that wee were  
compelled to enter into the deuouring gulfe of vsury,  
and to sustaine on our shoulders great burthens of  
debts, heape vpon heape. This being done, our faith-  
full friends, companions in warres, and partakers of  
our tribulations came vnto vs, with whom we con-  
sulted diligently by what meanes weemight best de-  
liuer our selues from this dangerous storme of euill  
fortune. They all agreed, affirming certainly, that  
the protracting of our warres, and cause of our ma-  
nifold necessitie happened vnto vs through the fault  
and negligence (or rather the malice) of the said arch-  
bishop (vpon whose discretion the disposition of  
the whole kingdome seemed to depend) and other  
officers whom wee had adioyned in counsell with him  
touching the affaires of our kingdome: vehement-  
ly

Archbishop of  
Cant. false to the  
king.



ly swearing and murmuring amongst themselves (for that we had left so long vncorrected the insolency of the Bishops and other officers) that if remedy in these cases were not had with speede, they would withdraw themselves from our allegiance, and the covenant which they had sworne vnto; to the vtter subuersion of our kingdome, and perpetuall ignominy; and the euerlasting shame of our English Nation, which God our most mercifull father forbid should come to passe in our dayes, in whom is fixed immoueably the anchor of our hope. Whereupon intending the due correction of our officers, wee remooued from offices (as seemed good to our wisdom) diuers persons, whom wee suspected in causes eident, of euill administration of justice, of subuersion, and oppression of our subjects, of corruption, of bribes, and other hainous offences. Others also of inferior degree offending in the premisses, wee caused to bee detained in safe custody; left by their liberty, justice might be troden vnder foote, and the inquisition of the truth concerning the premisses not to come to light. Forasmuch therefore as the knowledge of the truth in these cases might of none more certainly be knowne, than from the secret brest of our foresaid archbishop, for that nothing pertaining to our information ought to lye hid from him, vnto whom of so long a time had bene committed the administration of our whole common-weale, and summe of our businesse: Wee sent vnto him our faithfull subject Nicolas de Cantilupe with speciall commandments from vs, that all delays set apart hee should forthwith make his personall appearance before vs at our citie of London. But hee (as one alwayes timorous as well in prosperity as in aduersity, and fearing where no feare was) vntrely alleageth that some of our assistants had threatened him, and laid waite for his life, if at any time he departed from the Church of Cant, which (God wee take to witnesse and a pure conscience) wee neuer meant nor any of our assistants.

We suppose he touched thereby our cosin, although to all other as well of the clergy as commonalty through his malicious misdeameans he was become odious.

Wherefore, intending the safeguard of our subjects by letters or otherwise called before vs, wee appointed our trusty and welbeloued Raffe Stafford our harbinger, to offer vnto him safe conduct, and moreouer to present vnto him our letters patents vnder our seale, willing and commanding him thereby againe personally to come before vs, that wee might be informed what of so long a time hee had done touching the affaires of the kingdome. Whereunto commending our commandement and gentle request, hee answereth, that neither he would in person appeare, neither yet in any matter conferre with vs, except it were in a full parliament, which for diuers reasonable causes could not then bee called. Thus may you see this archbishop whom our royall benignitie had amplified with large honors, admitted into all familiarity, receiued into the bond of vnanimie and friendship, vpon whom as on a father our whole hope did consist (who, so long as wee accomplished his will in all things, pretended towards vs a face of counterfeite loue, cloaked with dissembling beneuolence, euen as though hee had bene a louing father) how cruelly against reason he hath now forsaken vs, requiting benefits with ingratitude; oppressing his benefactor with the arrogancy of feare: and finally (according to the vulgar prouerbe) rewarded vs as a horse in a fatchell, a snake in a mans bosome, and fire cherished next the skin, rewardeth their receiuers. When wee were first exalted vnto the throne of our kingdome, descended vnto vs by right of inheritance (Gods diuine providence so working) wee thought, and alwayes thinke it a detestable thing to abuse to high authoritie, but rather desire to gouerne with clemencie, lenity, and moderation of justice, that peace, of all men desired, might firmly take place.

Neuerthelesse, our said Archbishop hath gone about to defame our innocencie, and the fidelitie and diligence of our faithfull counsellours, prosecutors of true justice: openly declaring in his letters patents, and publishing abroad in diuers places, that hee was oppressed by the kings power contrary to justice; the clergie and commonaltie confounded, and the Church ouercharged with diuers grieuous taxes and exactions. Hee subtilly vsurped the name of a good pastor, when indeede he was nothing lesse, but rather (as it should seeme by his owne confession, and the common opinion had of him) a very hireling. Hee cloaked his craftie subtilnesse with the zeale of defending the church, although hee himselfe in very deed was the onely cause, by his euill counsell and craftie deuices, of the tribulation of the same. He also rained that not long agoe, certaine writings were brought vnto him to bee sealed, containing in effect the defence and exculpation of all such in generall that were violaters of the liberties of the Church: hoping thereby to defame the opinion had of vs and our faithfull counsellours, to stirre vp sedition amongst the people, and finally to withdraw from vs the hearts of our nobilitie. Hee gave commandement by his letters, that these things should bee proclaimed in all places of great resort by diuers speciall articles contrary to his former order in his provinciall counsell. Wherefore, respecting the integritie of our fame, intending to preuent the malice of the sayd Archbishop, and also to decline from vs the snares prepared for vs and ours: wee haue thought good at this present (ouer and besides those which before are rehearsed) amongst so many which wee omit, to declare vnto you some of his peruerse and wicked acts. When in our minoritie wee were constituted ouer our dominions, hee caused vs through his vnadvised counsell and rash perswasion (thereby to winne excessive fauour) to giue away so many wastfull gifts, and so many vnlawfull alienations, that now by means thereof our treasury is cleane consumed, the reuenues of our exchequer without all order diminished, and hee corrupted with bribes innumerable. Oftentimes also without cause why, when neither necessitie nor vilitie so required, onely through his perswasion, hee forgauē diuers men great summes of money due vnto vs, yea and the rents and reuenues which ought to haue bene conferred for our necessitie and profit, wee applied to the use of his friends, largely bestowing vpon such as euill deserved it. Moreouer (accepting as well persons as money) contrary to our mind, and his oath of fidelitie made vnto vs; hee admitted vnto publike offices throughout our dominions, persons vniworthily, neglecting those that had well deserved. Many other things hee rashly tooke in hand, to the detriment of our state, the hurt of our dignitie royall, and no small damage of our subjects, by abusing his authoritie and office committed vnto him. But if hee persist in his proud obstinacie and stout rebellion, wee shall hereafter in convenient time and place, cause it to bee more openly knowne: willing and commanding you to publish and cause to be published, all and singular the premisses openly and distinctly in places where you shall thinke it expedient, and to set forth (as shall seeme best to your godly wisdomes) our good intent for the suppressing of incommoities, and furthering of the commodities of our subjects, that wee may worthily commend your circumspect care herein.

Teste me ipso apud Westm. 10. die Februar. Anno regni nostri Angliæ 15. Regni vero Franciæ secundo.

By these foresaid objections and accusations of the king premised, and laid against the archbishop of Canterbury, what is to be thought of the doings of the said archbishop, I leave it to thy judgement, gentle reader (as I said before) to be considered: for so much as our histories somewhat bearing with the said Archbishop, seeme either to be vncertaine of the truth

Evill officers  
displaced by the  
king.

Archbishop of  
Cant. odious to  
all the clergy.

The Archb.  
of Cant. denieth  
to come to the  
king.

The Archb.  
charged with  
dissembling, and  
ingratitude.

The Archb.  
abuses his  
office.

KING  
EDWARD  
The Archbishop  
father of the  
king.



**KING** } truth of the matter, or else covertly to dissemble some  
**EDW. 3** } part of that they knew. And especially of Polydor  
 Virgil & maruell, who hauing so good occasion to  
 touch the matter, both so sleightly passe it ouer with-  
 out any word of mention. In which matter, if proba-  
 ble conjecture (beside history) might here be heard, it  
 is not vnlike but that some old practice of prelates  
 hath herein bene put in vze, through some crafty  
 conspiracie betwene the pope & the archbishop. And  
 the rather it is to be gathered, for that as the Pope  
 was enemy vnto the king in this his challenge to  
 the crowne of France: so the archbishop against his  
 prince (as for the most part alwayes they haue been)  
 was a friend, as no man need to doubt thereof, vnto  
 the Pope. Which thing also more probable may be  
 supposed, because of the continuing downe of the two  
 cardinals the same time, from the pope to the king of  
 England, about the matter of further truce: where-  
 of (Christ willing) more hereafter shall follow. Al-  
 beit, the archbishop (this yet notwithstanding) sub-  
 tilly and feately curieth himselfe to the king of the  
 foresaid objections, and cunningly handleth the mat-  
 ter in words by his letter directed to the king as  
 followeth.

*The letter of the Archbishop of Canterbury  
 to the King.*

*The letter of the  
 Archb. to the  
 King.*

**R** Edoubted Sir, may it please your majesty to vn-  
 derstand, that the most chiefe and speciall thing  
 that keeps kings and princes in the fauour of God, and  
 best preferueth them in their estate is sage, wise, and  
 deliberate counsell. And therefore saith the wise  
 man concerning counsell in this wise; Good men  
 haue thereby their safetie. And it is written in the  
 booke of kings, how Salomon, which was the wisest  
 prince that euer was, tooke vnto him the most an-  
 cient and sage men of his realme to be his counsellors:  
 by whose aduisement and discretion, hee alwayes kept  
 the land of Israel in quiet, and in peace, and besides  
 that, had all other kings and princes that bordered vpon  
 him at his will and commandement. After whose  
 death reigned Rehoboam his sonne, who neg-  
 lecting the good counsell of his father, and good  
 aduice of his sage and discreet counsellours, hearke-  
 ned to such counsell as lighter and younger men per-  
 swaded him vnto, that sought rather how to please  
 and flatter him, than the quiet state of his realme;  
 whereby hee lost all the whole land of Israel, the 12.  
 part onely excepted. In like manner haue many  
 kings of Israel, and other kingdomes beside, by rash  
 and euill counsell come to great ruine and mischiefe.  
 And Sir (sauiug your princely patience) you may call  
 to remembrance your owne time; for by the wicked  
 and sinister counsell to our late soueraigne lord your  
 father giuen (whom God forgiue) which hee tooke  
 and followed, both against the law of his land, and  
 grand charter of the peeres and other his people  
 of the land: some hee put to shamefull death; from o-  
 ther some hee tooke their goods; and such as fled hee  
 put vnto their ranfome; and what enemies he purcha-  
 sed thereby, your grace well vnderstandeth. And  
 after this Sir, you know, even in your owne time,  
 how by following and beleeuing ouerlight counsell,  
 you your selfe lost the hearts of many of your sub-  
 jects, from the which God deliuer you, if it bee his  
 will. And after that time againe vntill now, by the  
 good aduisement of your prelates, peeres, and sage  
 counsellours of your land, your graces businesse and  
 affaires haue bene so demeaned and ordered; that  
 you haue had the hearts againe of all your subjects,  
 as well spirituall as temporall; as much, or rather  
 more, than any of your graces predecessours, Kings  
 of England haue had. So that by meanes of the sayd  
 good counsell, the good will and aide of your peo-  
 ple, and speciall grace of God, you haue had the vi-  
 ctory of all your enemies, as well in Scotland as in  
 France, and all other places besides; that vnto this

*Good counsel-  
 lers necessary  
 about a king.*

day (Gods name be blessed therefore) your grace hath  
 bene esteemed as one of the most good princes in  
 all Christendome. And now your grace, the second  
 and penultie course of some such within the realme  
 which are not so wise as they might be, and such also  
 as consider and respect rather their owne private  
 commodity, than your graces honour and safety of  
 your realme; beginneth to apprehend diuerse clerkes,  
 peeres, and other people of the land, and to direct  
 10 procelle against them, not beleeming, but contrary  
 to the law of the land, which to keepe and maintaine  
 you are bound by the oath you tooke at your coro-  
 nation; and contrary to the grand charter, whereof  
 all the realme are witnesses, and all the prelates of the  
 same, and contrary to the sentence confirmed by the  
 Bull of our holy father the Pope, which wee haue to  
 shew. All which things, as they are to the great pe-  
 rill and danger of your realme; so are they also to the  
 vtter debasing of your regall state and honour. And  
 20 Sir, although such as bee your graces gouernours and  
 counsellours (being a calling about their degree) doe  
 giue your grace to vnderstand that their enterprises  
 and yours doe please and content your subjects and  
 commons: yet your grace shall know for certaine,  
 and proue it your owne selfe to be true otherwise,  
 than they beare you in hand. And that vnlike God  
 doeremedy the same, if you prosecute your purpose  
 begun in this order, you will lose the hearts of all  
 your subjects, as also your good and rightfull enter-  
 prise; and shall see such discord about the same, that  
 you shall not be able to performe that you haue be-  
 gun, but rather enforce your enemies to take your  
 destruction, to lose your noble and renowned name,  
 and in the end your kingdom to selfe, which God  
 forbid. Wherefore soueraigne lord and king, I be-  
 seech you, that for the safegard of your honour and  
 realme, and enterprife begun, you will take vnto you  
 the most discreet and wisest men within your realme,  
 and worke by their aduice and counsell, as before this  
 time you haue bene accustomed: without the aide  
 and counsell of whom, you can neither maintaine  
 your enterprife, nor gouerne your realme. And for  
 that some such as are about your grace falsly deuise  
 against vs treason and such like troubles (and there-  
 fore are of vs excommunicate, and as persons excom-  
 municate wee doe esteeme of them) as your spirituall  
 pastor, wee also desire you so to esteeme and thinke  
 of them; which also make like report of other that  
 haue bene with your grace beyond the seas, that  
 they haue naughtily and falsly serued you, whereby  
 you haue lost the towne of Tournay and much ho-  
 nour else, which you might haue wonne and gotten  
 there. May it please your grace to call before you  
 the prelates and peeres of your realme in some con-  
 uenient place, where wee and other moe may safely  
 come and resort, and there also to make search and  
 inquiry, in whose hands, after the beginning of your  
 warres, the mony and what things else fouer,  
 which was ganted vnto you in ayde of the same  
 your warres, vntill this present day, doth remaine and  
 is not laid out againe, as also by whose default you  
 were so enforced to leaue the said siege of Tournay:  
 and that those which shall bee found in any point  
 faulty and guilty therein against you, as a good iudi-  
 cer, your grace will cause to bee punished according  
 to the law: and in so much as appertaineth vnto vs  
 therein, wee aske iudgement of our peeres (the state  
 alwayes of holy Church, of vs, and of our order re-  
 serued inuiolate) according as wee haue written vnto  
 you herein. And for Gods sake sir, beleue not ei-  
 ther of vs or any other your true subjects else, more  
 than that you shall vnderstand the verity of; for if  
 men should be punished without making answer to  
 that which is objected against them, there should bee  
 then no difference in iudgement betwixt the good  
 doer and the bad.

*Excommuni-  
 cation in his owne  
 private cause  
 abused.*

And sir, may it please you well to consider of the  
 great enterprife you haue in hand, the great good  
 will



will which you haue neede of for this cause, and of our great enemies the Scots, and the great jeopardy of your realme besides. For, if your prelates, your nobles, and all the wisemen of your realme were of one minde and will ( without any discord or diuision amongst them ) to dispose and set in order those things which are needefull in so great affaires and busines: they should haue all enough to beate their heads about, for the maintenance of your great enterprise begun, the honour of you, and safeguard of your realme. And sir, may it please your grace, not to bee displeased that so rudely and grossly we declare vnto you the verity: for why, the great loue and affection which wee beare vnto you, and alwayes haue done the same, the preservation of your honour and safeguard of your realme, as also for that wee are ( although vnworthy ) the primate of the whole realme of England, which thing appertaining vnto vs by our office ( and wee being your spirituall father ) doth incite vs the rather both to say and command that which may turne to the benefit of your soule and profit of your realme and kingly estate. Thus the holy spirit saue you both body and soule, and giue your grace both to heare and beleue good counsell, and further, giue you victory ouer all your enemies. Written at Cant. the first day of Ianuary. By your graces chaplaine the Archbishop of the same.

Heremite of  
the Kings army  
from Tournay.

And thus stood the case betwene the king and the archbishop of Canterbury, who comming thus ( as is sayd ) in secret wise into England from the siege of Tournay, his army in the meane while by thys was conueyed to little Britaine. Of whom a great number, though vnseasonable and inconuenient meats and drinckes, was there consumed. To whom also no lesse danger happened by the seas comming out of Britaine into England by tempest, thunder and lightening stirred vp, as is thought, by the percomancers of the french king.

{ Anno }  
1341.

Truce taken for  
three yeeres be-  
tween King Ed-  
ward and the  
French king.

About which season, approaching to the yere of our Lord 1341. were sent from the pope two other cardinals to entreat with King Edward for three yeeres truce more to be concluded with the french king, beside the former truce taken before for one yere, and all by the popes meanes. For here is to be vnderstood, that as it was not for the popes purpose to haue the king of England to raigne ouer so many countries, so his priuy supposition lacked not by all meanes possible, both by the archbishops and cardinals, and also by the Emperour to maintaine the state of the french king, and to stablish him in his possessions. Ex Thom. Walsing. Ex Chron. Albanens.

In the said histories where these things be mentio-  
ned it is also noted, that the same yere such plenty  
there was heere in the realme of victuals, that a  
quarter of wheate was sold for ij. s. a fat ore for a no-  
ble, and as some say, a therpe for iiii. d. And thus far  
endureth the history of Ranulphus Cestrensis called  
Polychronicon.

{ Anno }  
1342.

The next yere following, which was 1342. Lu-  
dovicus Bavarus the Emperour, who before had  
shewed great courtlesse to King Edward, in his first  
voyage ouer, insomuch that he made him his vicar  
or vicegerent generall, and offered him also aide  
against the french king; now ( either turned by in-  
constancy, or seduced by the Pope ) writeth to him  
contrary letters, wherein he reuoketh againe the  
vicegerentship granted to him, and seeketh all  
meanes in the fauor of the french king, against  
King Edward, as by his letters here vnder written  
may better appeare.

The letter of the Emperour vnto the  
King of England.

I vdonicus by the grace of God Emperour of the  
Romans alwayes Augustus, &c. To Edward King  
of England his beloued brother, greeting & vntained

loue. Although great and vrgent businesse of our  
owne doe oppresse vs, and about the same our  
waightie affaires we are daily incumbered, yet with  
the discord and variance betwene your kingly dig-  
nitie and the renowned Philip the King of France  
our cosin, for your sake, wee are not a little trou-  
bled. And the rather, the great charges which may  
hereafter grow both to you and to your kingdome  
thereby considered, both of men and money vnlesse  
the same bee taken vp, doth more easily prouoke vs  
to giue our selfe to the carefull study of your affaires.  
Wherefore wee giue you to vnderstand, that the fore-  
said Philip ( at our request ) hath giuen vnto vs by  
his letters authoritie and power to intreat and conclude  
a peace betwene you, touching the variance begun:  
which peace ( all the state diligently considered both  
of your selfe, your kingdome, and subjects ) wee take  
and beleue to be right expedient for you: mouing  
therewithall your charitie, and earnestly desiring you,  
that to this also you will giue your consent; whereby  
wee may bring you both to concord and vnitie, and  
establissh betwene you a firme peace to endure, where-  
unto with willing minde wee would apply our selfe and  
bestow our painefull labour in prosecuting of the same.  
And hereinif you will condescend and agree vnto our  
counsell, as wee trust you will; it may please you by  
your Letters to giue vnto vs the like authoritie as is a-  
boue said, to entreate peace or ordering of a truce for  
one yere or two at least to continue. Neither let it  
moue you, that betwene vs and the said Philip of  
France a truce is taken. For seeing that you without  
our consent tooke truce with him: wee by the aduise  
of our Princes which know the bonds, deeds, and co-  
uenants betwixt vs, who also though no lesse, but that  
sauing your honour wee might doe the same; haue al-  
so made a league with the said Philip king of France:  
and for certaine causes doe reuoke and call backe the  
Lieutenantship which wee assigned vnto you by our  
Letters. Neuerthelesse, giuing you for a certaine  
to vnderstand, that in our said treatie and peace  
concluded, wee haue so brotherly considered you, that  
if you will agree and condescend vnto our counsell;  
your cause ( by our meane and helpe ) shall be brought  
to good passe and effect. About which things further  
to conferre with your brotherhood herein, wee haue  
sent a deuout and religious man Eliahardus, reader  
and brother of the Heremites of saint Augustine, and  
Chaplain of our Court: whom about the premises  
wee desire with speedie expedition to bee sent vnto vs  
again.

Dated at Franckford the 14. day of Iune in the 24.  
yeere of our raigne, and 14. of our Empire.

The answer of the King of England,  
to the Emperour.

TO the high and mighty Prince Lord Ludouike, by  
the grace of God, Emperour of the Romanes, al-  
wayes Augustus, Edward by the same grace King of  
France, and England, and Lord of Ireland, salutation  
and prosperous successe.

Wee haue reuerently receiued your highnesse let-  
ters, amongst other things containing, that the no-  
ble Philip de Valois ( to the intent a peace and con-  
cord betwene vs and him might bee concluded ) hath  
giuen vnto you by his Letters full power and autho-  
ritie thereunto at your highnesse request; And that  
if the same might content vs to doe in like sort, your  
highnesse would trauell to bring the concord to  
passe; And that it would not moue vs any whit at  
all, that your highnesse and the said Philip are in  
league together: For insomuch as wee without your  
assent and consent ( you say ) tooke truce with the said  
Philip, you haue also done the like with him ( which  
thing you might well doe sauing your honour, by the  
counsell of all your nobles and princes ) and for cer-  
taine causes you reuoke againe the Lieutenantship  
which



**KING. } which you committed unto us. Doublesse the zeale**  
**EDW.3 } and good will you have to make this concord and**  
 agreement, wee much commend; letting you to understand, that wee alwayes have bene desirous, and still are, to have a reasonable peace with the said Philip; which peace as much as to us (our honour saved) appertained, wee have in justice and by law prosecuted: and in very deed, it should bee to us acceptable, and as wee would wish, if by such a Mediator as your celsitude is, it might bee brought to passe. But for as much as wee understand the same our right and title to the kingdome of France to bee manifest and cleare enough; wee purpose not to commit the same by any of our Letters to doubtfull arbitrement. But while wee well consider and revolve with our selves, how upon circumspect consideration (you manifestly beholding our just and rightfull doing, and the strait dealing and obstinate purpose and injurie of the said Philip) your gracious highnesse made a special league with us, and in our behalfe against the said Philip, adopting us of your great and bountifull love towards our person to be one of your sonnes: wherefore you should thus againe alter and breake the same, wee cannot sufficiently marvel: Seeing your invincible highnesse being instituted of God to the laud and commendation of good men, and revenge of evil and wicked doers, hath made a league against us with the said Philip de Valois our notorious and injurious enemy. And as touching that which you say, without your assignement and consent we tooke a truce or dayes of respite with the said Philip, which wee ought not to have done: if your grace well consider the circumstance of the matter, wee have done but as wee might therein. For when we laid our siege to Tournay, it was requisite that wee should follow their advice, whose aide and societie therein wee had. Besides the sudden and imminent necessitie which wee there stood in, and the distance of the place betwixt your highnesse and us furthermore was such, as that by no meanes wee might attaine the same, nor use your assent therein. Yea and further, if your grace well remember your selfe, your grant unto us was such; that whensoever opportunitie thereunto should serve, wee might intreat of any peace, and grant what time wee thought meete thereunto, without your consent therein: So that to conclude any final peace with the said Philip de Valois, without either your consent or otherwise making your highnesse privie thereunto, it might not bee lawfull for us: which thing without your said counsell, consent and advice, wee never minded or purposed to doe; but have in all our doings done that which us beseeemed, so farre as by any meanes our power would stretch: hoping likewise that your brotherly benevolence for a time would have more lovingly supported us. It is thought also by some, that the revoking backe againe, or restraint of your foresaid Lieutenantship, was premature or done all out of time: when as according to your promise made to us herein by your Letters imperiall, you ought not so to have done before the Realme and kingdome of France (or at the least the greatest part thereof) were of us obtained and quietly in peaceable wise enjoyed. These things premised therefore we desire you, according to your nobilitie, duly to consider, and hereafter to doe that which shall be thought both meete and convenient, because that (God willing) wee meane to recompence and gratifie both you and yours, according to the measure of your benevolence bestowed upon us. The Almighty grant unto your celsitude so much felicitie as your heart desireth. Dated at London the 18. day of July in the second yeere of the raigne of our kingdome of France, and of England 15.

In this meane time died Pope Benedict the 12. mentioned a little before: after whom succeeded in that same pope Clement the 6. Of whom it is reported in stories, that he was very liberall and boun-

tifull to his Cardinals of Rome, enriching and bestowing them with goods and possessions, not of his owne, but with the Ecclesiasticall dignities and preferments of the Churches of England. For so recordeth the author, that he bestowed upon his cardinals the livings and promotions, such as were or should be vacant in the Churches of England, and went about to set up new titles for his Cardinals, here within this realme. But the king being offended therewith, made boide and frustrate all those foresaid promotions of the Pope, charging moreover and commanding that no person whatsoever should busie himselfe with any such provisions, under paine of imprisonment and losing his life. Which law was made the next yeere following, which was An. 1344. It followeth then, that the said Pope Clement againe began to make new provisions, for two of his cardinals, of benefices and Churches that should be next vacant, beside bishopricks and abbatships, to the extent of two thousand Markes. Whereupon the procurators of the said Cardinals were sent downe for the same. But the king and nobilitie of the Realme not suffering that, under paine of imprisonment caused the said procurators forthwith to depart the Realme, whereupon the Nobles and Commons shortly after wrote a fruitfull Epistle to the Pope, for the libertie and maintenance of the English Church. Whereunto, as saith the Author, the pope and the cardinals were not able to answer: The argument and tenor of which Letter, out of French, wee have caused to be translated into English, as ensueth.

*The Letter of the King of England and Nobles of the same, to the Pope, against the reservations and provisions which he had in England.*

**TO** the most holy father in God, Lord Clement, by the grace of God, of the holy Church of Rome, and of the universall Church, chiefe and high Bishop, his humble and devout children, the Princes, Dukes, Earles, Barons, Knights, Citizens, Burgessees, and all the Commonalties of the Realme of England, assembled at the parliament holden at Westminster the 15. day of May last past: Devout kissings of his holy feete, with all humble reverence and humility. Most holy father, the holy discretion, government and equitie which appeareth to be in you and ought of dutie so to be (being so high and holy a Prelate, and head of the holy Church) by whom the holy universall Church and people of God ought to be, as by the Sunne beames, enlightened, giveth us good hope and likelihood, that the just petitions (to the honour of Iesus Christ and holy Church, and your holinesse also) by us declared, shall be of you graciously heard and considered; And that all errors and other iniquities shall bee quite taken away and removed; in stead whereof, fruitfull exploits and necessarie remedies (by the grace of the holy spirit which you in so high an estate have received) may bee by you likewise graciously ordained and disposed. Wherefore, most holy father, all wee (upon great deliberation and common assent) come unto your holinesse; shewing and declaring, that the noble Kings of England our progenitors, our Ancestors, and wee (according to the grace of the holy Spirit to them and us given, every one according to his devotion) have established, founded, and endowed, within the Realme of England Churches, Cathedrals, Colledges, Abbies, Priories, and other divers houses of religion in the same ordained; and to the Prelats and governors of the same places, have given lands, possessions, patrimones, franchises, advowsons, and patronages of dignities, revenues, offices, Churches, with many and divers other benefices unto them given; whereby the Service of God and faith of Christ might have bene honoured and had in reverence,

Ex Chron. Albanens.

The King dissuaded the popes provisions.

The Popes procurators driven out of England.

A letter of the nobles and commons of England to the Pope.

Pope Clement the sixth.



ence, that the Hospitals and Almes-Houses that are made, with all the Churches and edifices, might bee honestly kept and maintained, and that devout prayers might in those places bee made for the founders, and the poore parishioners aided and comforted. And such onely ought to haue the cure thereof, as are able to heare confessions; and in their owne naturall tongue are otherwise meete to informe and teach their parishioners. And forsomuch as (most holy father) you cannot well come to the notice of diuers such errors and defaults, neither yet vnderstand the condition of the places being so farre off, vnlesse your holinesse bee informed and aduertised; Wee hauing the perfect intelligence and vnderstanding of the said errors and defaults of the places abovesaid, within the said realme, haue thought meete to signifie the same vnto your holinesse: That diuers reseruatiens, prouisions and collations by your predecessours apostolike of Rome, and by you most holy father in your time haue bene granted (and that more largely then they haue bene accustomed to bee) vnto diuers persons, as well strangers, and of sundry nations, as vnto some such as are our enemies hauing no vnderstanding at all of the tongue and conditions of them, of whom they haue the government and cure. Whereby a great number of soules are in perill, a great many of their parishioners in danger, the seruice of God destroyed, the almes and deuotion of all men diminished, the hospitals perished, the Churches with their appurtenances decayed, charity withdrawne, the good and honest persons of our realme vnaduanced, the charge and government of soules not regarded, the deuotion of the people restrained, many poore scholars vnpreferred, and the treasure of the realme carried out against the minds and intents of the founders. All which errors, defaults and slanders, most holy father, wee neither can nor ought to suffer or endure. We therefore most humbly require your holinesse, that the slanders, errors and defaults, which wee haue declared vnto you, may bee through your great discretion considered: and that it may please you that such reseruatiens, prouisions and collations may bee vterly repelled, that from henceforth the same bee no more amongst vs used; and to take such order and remedy therein, that the said benefices, edifices, rights, with their appertinances, may bee to the honour of God by our owne countrey men cured, defended, and governed. And that it may further please your holinesse by your letters to signifie vnto vs, without delay and other protract of time, what your pleasure is touching this our lawfull request and demand; that wee may doe our endeavour with diligence herein for the remedy, correction, and amendment of those enormities aboue specified. In witness whereof, vnto these letters patents wee haue set our seales. Given in the full Parliament at Westminster the 18. day of May. Anno 1343.

After these things thus passed over, the king shortly after sent ouer his Procurators, the earle of Lancaster and Darby, Hugh Spencer, lord Ralph Stafford, with the Bishop of Exeter and diuers other, to the Popes court to discusse and pleade about the right of his title, before the Pope. Vnto whom the said Pope Clement the sixth, not long after sent vnto this message; how that Ludowick Duke of Bauary the Emperour, whom the Pope had before depozed, had submitted himselfe to him in all things; and therefore deserued at his hands the benefit of absolution: and how the pope therefore had censured and reposed vnto him iustly and graciously the Empire, which he before vniustly did hold, &c. Which message when the king did heare, being therewith moued to anger, he answered againe saying; What if he also did agree and compound with the french king, he was ready to fight with them both, &c. Ex Chron. Albanen.

Within the time of this yere, pence, halfe pence, and farthings began to be coyned in the Tower. And the next yere following, which was An. 1344 the Castle of Windsor (where the King was borne) began to bee repaired: and in the same house called the round table was citrate, the diamiter whereof, from the one side to the other, contained 200. feet, to the expences of which house weekly was allowed an hundred pound, for the maintaining of the Kings chivalrie, till at length by the occasion of the french warres, it came downe to nine pounds a weeke. By the example whereof, the french King being prouoked, hee began also the like round table in France, for the maintaining of the knight-hood. At which time the said french King moreover gaue free liberty through his realme to sell downe Trees for making of ships and maintaining of his Flaute, whereby the Realme of England was not a little dammified.

During the same yere the Clergy of England granted to the King tenths for three yeres: for the which the King in recompence againe granted to them his charter containing these priuiledges: That no archbishop nor bishop should bee arreigned before his Iustices, siue ad sectam suam, siue patris, if the sayd clerke doe submit and claime his clergy, professing himselfe to be a member of holy Church; who so doing, shall not be bound to come to his answer before the Iustices. And if it shall bee layd vnto them to haue married two wiues, or to haue married a widow, the Iustices shall haue no power to procede against them, to enquire of the matter: So that the cause shall be referred to the spiritual court, &c.

About this present time at the setting vp of the round table, the King made prince Edward, his eldest sonne, the first prince of Wales. All this while yet continued the truce betwene the two Kings. Albeit it is likely to bee thought that the french King gaue many attempts to inuenge the same. Whereupon Henry earle of Lancaster, with 600. men at armes, and as many archers, was sent ouer to Gascoine, the yere after, 1345. who there so valiantly is sayd to haue behaued himselfe, that hee subdued 55. towneships vnto the King, 23. nobles men hee took prisoners, encountering with the frenchmen at Alibroke. So courteously and liberally he dealt with his souldiers, that it was a joy to them and a preferment to fight underneath him. His manner was in winning any towne, to reueue little or nothing to himselfe, but to spare the whole spoyle to his souldiers. One example in the author (whom I follow) is touched; how the foresaid earle at the winning of the towne of Briers, where he had granted to euery souldier, for his boot, the house with all the implements therein, which he by victory should obtaine; among other his souldiers to one named Ikeh. fell a certaine house with the implements thereof, wherein was contained the mint and money coyned for that countrey, to the value of a great substance: which when the souldier had found, in breaking vp a house where first the grosse mettall was not yet perfectly wrought, he came to the earle declaring to him the treasure, to know what was his pleasure therein. To whom the earle answered, that the house was his, and whatsoeuer hee found therein. Afterward the souldier, finding a whole mint of pure silver ready coyned, signified the same to the earle, so much as hee thought such treasure to be too great for his portion: to whom the said earle, againe answering, declared that he had once given him the whole house; and that he had once given, he would not call backe againe, as children vse to play. And therefore bad him inioy that which was granted to him: and if the money were thicke as much, it should bee his owne; Ex Chron. Albanen.

Which story whether it was true or otherwise in those dayes, I haue not to affirme. But certes, if in these our couetous wretched dayes now present, any

KING  
EDW. 3  
Anno  
1344  
The castle  
at Windsor  
enlarged.  
The round  
table build  
in Windsor.

Truthe granted  
to the King  
by the clergy  
3 yeres.  
Priuiledges  
granted by the  
clergy.

By this it is  
like that the  
King had  
wines.

Prince Edward,  
first  
Prince of  
Wales.

Anno  
1345.  
Henry earle of  
Lancaster,  
sent ouer to  
Gascoine.

A rare exam  
ple of a libeall  
caine to his  
souldiers.

The libeall  
heart and con  
stant voyce of  
worthy cap  
taine.

Decay of the  
church of Eng  
land by the  
Popes.

The Popes  
message to the  
king.

The Kings an  
swer to the  
Popes message.



KING  
EDW 3  
The Scots  
cripp a meane  
of breaking  
truce.

Anno 7  
1346.  
The 2. voyage  
of King Ed-  
ward into  
France.

The battell at  
Cardone.

thoſe ſhould report the like ad to bee practiſed, I  
would hardly believe it to be true.

As the earle of Lancaſter was thus occupied in  
Gaſcoine, the Scots were as buſie here in England,  
waſting and ſpoiling without mercy: Which were  
thought (and not unlike) to be ſet on by the French  
king. And therefore he was judged both by that,  
and by other diuers wayes to haue broken the con-  
ſtants of truce betwene him & the king of England.

Wherefore the next yeere enſuing, An. 1346 king  
Edward firſt ſending his letters to the court of  
Rome, and therein complaining to the pope of Phi-  
lip de Valois, how he tranſgreſſed and broken the  
truce betwene them made, which by evident proba-  
tions he there made manifeſt: about the month of  
July he made his voyage into Normandy in ſuch ſe-  
cret wiſe, that no man well knew whither he inten-  
ded. Where firſt he entred the towne of Hogs, from  
thence proceeded into Cardone. Where, about the  
27. of July, by the river of Cardone he had a ſtrong  
battell with the Normans and other French men,  
which to ſtop his paſſage defended the bidge. At the  
which battell were taken of the lords of France, the  
earle of Cleve, the earle of Tankerville; And of  
knights with other men of armes, to the number of  
one hundred: of ſoldiers ſixe hundred; and the  
towne and ſuburbs beaten downe to the heard  
woales. And all that could be bozne away was tranſ-  
ported to the ſhips.

A little before mention was made how the  
French king began firſt to infringe the truce taken,  
and how the earle of Lancaſter, upon the ſame, was  
ſent into Gaſcoine. Now for the more evidence of  
the matter concerning the falling of the French  
king from the league, and other his wrongs and un-  
true dealing, it ſhall better in the kings letter ap-  
peare: who bearing word that the lord Philip de  
Valois (contrary to the forme of truce taken at  
Manes) had apprehended certaine of his nobles of  
England, and had brought them to Paris to bee  
imprisoned and put to death; beſides other ſlaugh-  
ters and ſpoilings made in Britaine, Gaſcoine, and  
other places moe: He therefore ſeing the truce to  
be broken of the French kings part, and being there-  
to of neceſſity compelled, in the yeere above preſcribed,  
the 14. of the moneth of June, did publiſh and ſend a  
broade his letters of defiance, containing this effect.

The kings letters of defiance againſt the French king.

To all and ſingular, to whom theſe Preſents ſhall  
come, publike greeting. We thinke it is not un-  
knowne vnto you all, that after the deceaſe of Charles  
late king of France of Famous memory, brother to  
our redoubted lady mother Queene Iſabell, Queene  
of England: the crowne of France, by juſt inheri-  
tance hath fallen vnto vs, as to the next heire male  
now living after the ſaid king. Now Philip de Va-  
lois, being ſonne but onely to the vncle of the fore-  
ſaid King Charles, and therefore by degree of con-  
ſanguinity being further off removed from the ſame  
(we being in the time of our minority) hath violent-  
ly by force and power contrary to God and juſtice  
ſurped, occupied, and yet doth occupie the ſame, in-  
uading further and ſpoiling our lands in the duke-  
dome of Aquitania, and joyning himſelfe with our  
rebellious enemies the Scots, ſeeking our ſubverſion  
both by land and by ſea, to the vttermoſt of his en-  
deauour: And although wee, to prevent the dama-  
ges which might riſe by warre, haue offered to the  
ſaid Philip diuers friendly wayes of peace; to the  
intent wee might better intend our purpoſed voy-  
age againſt Chriſts enemies the Turkes: yet could  
nothing preuaile with him in obtaining any peace-  
able way of reformation, driving vs off by craftie  
diſimulation, through faſe pretended words, but  
performing nothing with heart and deed. Where-  
upon, wee not neglecting the grace and gift of God,  
to defend the right of our inheritance, and to repulſe

the injuries of our enemy, haue not reſuſed by forces  
of armes, coming downe to Britany, to encounter  
with him in open field. And ſo wee being occupied  
in our warres, there repaired vnto vs the reuerend  
father Biſhop of Preuſſ, and of Tuſculane Cardinals,  
and legats from Pope Clement the 6. to entreat ſome  
reformation of peace betwene vs. At whoſe requeſt  
wee conſented, agreeing to ſuch formes and condi-  
tions of peace as then were taken betwene vs, ſen-  
ding moreover our embaiſadours to the court of  
Rome, ſpecially to entreate of the ſame matter. And  
thus while ſome hope of truce ſeemed betwene vs  
to appeare; newes ſuddenly came vnto vs, which  
not a little aſtonied our minde, of the death of cer-  
taine of our nobles and adherents, whom the ſaid  
Philip vnjuſtly and cruelly at Paris commanded to  
be executed. Beſide the waſting and ſpoiling our  
lands and ſubjects in Britany, Gaſcony, and other  
places; with innumerable wrongs and injuries, de-  
ceitfully intended againſt vs both by ſea and land.  
By reaſon whereof, the truce on his part being noto-  
riouſly broken, it is moſt manifeſt that it had bene  
lawfull for vs, forthwith to haue ſet vpon him with  
open warre. Yet notwithstanding, to auoide thoſe  
incommodities that come by warre, wee thought firſt  
to proue, if by any gentle meanes ſome reformation  
might be had touching the premiſſes. And therefore  
ſundry times, wee haue ſent Embaiſadours to the  
Popes preſence for the treatie of a peace, and reform-  
ation to bee had in thoſe aforeſaid exceſſes: requi-  
ring alſo, for the tractation thereof, certaine termes  
of times to bee appointed, alwayes reſeruing to our  
ſelues notwithstanding free liberty to reſume warre  
at our pleaſure, according as the doings of the ſaid  
Philip ſhall conſtraine vs thereunto. And now for-  
ſomuch as the foreſaid termes bee already expired,  
and yet no reaſonable offer of peace appeareth, nei-  
ther will the ſaid Philip come to any conſormitie, be-  
ing required and moniſhed notwithstanding by the  
Popes letter thereunto (as the Pope by his letter hath  
written vnto vs) but alwayes hath multiplied his  
conſpiracie and obligations, vſing extremities againſt  
vs: and to omit here to ſpeake of the exceſſiue enor-  
mitie of the Popes legat, who being ſent by the Bi-  
ſhop of Rome for the keeping of truce, and whoſe  
part had bene rather to haue quenched and ſtayed  
the diſcord, hath ſtirred vp our enemies more eage-  
ly againſt vs. In the which doing, neither hath the  
Biſhop of Rome (ſauing his reuerence) as yet pro-  
vided any remedy, albeit hee hath bene diuers times  
required of vs ſo to doe. Which thing being ſo, wee  
ought to be excuſed both before God and man, if for  
the defect of other remedy to be had, wee ſhall bee  
conſtrained our ſelues to finde remedy againſt ſuch  
wronges and injuries; the caſe of juſtice and neceſſi-  
ty conſtraining vs to giue out theſe our letters of de-  
fiance againſt the violater of the truce, and the vnjuſt  
inuaider of our kingdome. Proteſting that this wee  
doe, not vpon any diſpleaſure to the Biſhop of  
Rome, or to the Apoſtolike ſea, but onely for the  
moderation of equitie, ſtanding vpon the defence of  
our owne right and lawfull inheritance, intending  
alwayes rather to haue peace, if by any reaſonable  
way it might be had. And thus much, for the ſtop-  
ping of ſlanderous ſame and the mouthes of back-  
biters. Wee thought good to ſignifie, firſt to the high  
Biſhop of Rome, and the foreſaid cardinals; that by  
them as perſons indifferent, and mediators, the ſame  
may bee inſinuated to the contrary part; and alſo vnto  
your whole Vniuerſitie in generall, recommen-  
ding vnto you all the innocency of my cauſe and the  
community of juſtice, Dated at Weſtmiſter the 14.  
of June, the 19. yeere of our raigne in England, and  
of France the ſixth.

And thus much for the kings letters. Now let vs  
againe returne to his paſſage, from whence a little we  
haue digreſſed. Concerning the which paſſage of the  
king, with the order of his aduatching into the ſame,

The Popes legat ſtirred up  
warre.  
Like legat like  
Doct.

The Kings let-  
ters of defiance  
againſt the  
French king.



from the winning of Cobane or Carboine, into the towne of Puslake, it is sufficiently described by one of the kings chaplaines and his confessor, who being a Dominicke frier, and accompanying the king through all his journey, writeth thereof as followeth.

A letter of the kings confessor touching his acts doing at Carboine.

Benedicere debemus Deum Coeli, &c. Great cause we haue to praise and laud the God of heauen, and most worthily to confesse his holy name, who hath wrought so his mercy to vs. For after the conflict had at Cadane, in the which many were slaine, and the citie taken and sackt euen to the bare wals, the city of Baia immediatly yielded it selfe of his owne accord, fearing lest their counsels had bene bewraied. After this the Lord, our King directed his progresse toward Roane: Who being at the towne of Lexon, there came certaine cardinals to him, greatly exhorting him to peace. Which cardinals being courteously entertained of the King for the reuerence of the Popes Sea, it was thus answered to them againe; That the King being much desirous of peace, had assayed by all wayes and meanes reasonable how to maintaine the same; and therefore hath offered conditions and manifold wayes of peace, to bee had to the no small prejudice of his owne cause. And yet is ready to admit any reasonable offer of peace, if by any meanes it may be fought, &c. With this answer the cardinals going to the French King the Kings aduersary, to perswade with him in like manner, returned to King Edward againe, offering to him in the French Kings name, the dukedome of Aquitania, in as full assurance as his father before him euer had it: besides further hope also of obtaining more, if intreaty of peace might be obtained. But forsomuch as that contented not enough the Kings mind, neither did the cardinals find the French King so tractable and propense to the study of peace as they looked for, the cardinals returned, leauing the matter as they found it. And so the King speeding forward, by the way as his journey did lie, he subdued the country and the great townes without any resistance of the inhabitants, who did all flee and runne away. Such feare God strooke into them, that it seemed they had lost their hearts. In the same voyage, as the King had gotten many townes and villages, so also hee subdued castles and munitions, very strong, and that with little stresse. His enemy being at the same time at Roane had reared a great army, who notwithstanding being well manned, yeteuer kept on the other side of the river Seane, breaking downe all the bridges that wee should not come ouer to him. And although the country round about continually was spoiled, sackt, and with fire consumed by the circuit of 20. miles round about: yet the French King being distant scarce the space of one mile from vs, either would not or else durst not (when hee might easily haue passed ouer the river) make any resistance for the defence of his country and people. And so our King journeying forward came to Puslake or Poissy, where the French king had likewise broken downe the bridge, and keeping on the other side of the Riuer would rest in no place.

The cardinals againe entreat for peace.

The kings answer to the Cardinals.

The French King sheweth no carefull study of peace.

The King comming to Puslake.

After whole comming to Poisie, the foresaid chaplaine & confessor to the king, named Michael Northburgh, describing the kings voyage and the adoe of the Englishmen from the towne of Poisie, to his comming to Calis, in his letters writeth in this wise.

A letter of William Northburgh the Kings confessor, describing the Kings voyage into France.

Salutations premised, wee giue you to vnderstand, that our soueraine lord the king came to the towne of Poisie, the day before the assumption of our Lady, where was a certaine bridge ouer the water of Seane broken downe of the enemy, but the king tarried there so long till that the bridge was made againe. And whiles the bridge was in repairing there came a great number of men at armes, and

other souldiers armed, to hinder the same. But the earle of Northampton issued out against them and slue of them more than one thousand; the rest fled away, thanks be to God. And at another time our men passed the water, although with much trauell, and slue a great number of the common souldiers of France, about the citie of Paris, and country adjoining, being part of the French Kings armie, and thorowly well appointed: so that our people haue now made other good bridges vpon our enemies, God bee thanked, without any great losse and damage to vs. And on the morrow after the assumption of our lady, the king passed the water of Seane, and marched toward Poisie, which is a towne of great defence and strongly immured, and a marvellous strong castle within the same, which our enemies kept. And when our vandguard was passed the towne, our rereguard gaue an assault thereunto and tooke the same: where were slaine more than three hundred men at armes of our enemies part. And the next day following, the earle of Suffolke and sir Hugh Spenser marched forth vpon the commons of the country assembled and well armed; and in fine discomfited them, and slue of them more than two hundred, and tooke sixty gentlemen prisoners beside others. And after that, the king marched toward ground Villers, and while he was there encamped, the kings vandguard was desiered by the men of armes by the King Bename: whereupon, our men issued out in great haste and joyned battell with them, but were enforced to retire. Notwithstanding, thanks be vnto God, the earle of Northampton issued out and rescued the horsemen with other souldiers: so that few or none of them were eyther taken or slaine, sauing onely Thomas Talbot, but had againe the enemy in chafe within two leagues of Amiens: of whom wee tooke 8. and slue 12. of their best men at armes; the rest being well horsed, tooke the towne of Amiens. After this, the King of England marched toward Pountise vpon Bartholomew day, and came vnto the water of Som, where the French King had laid 500. men at armes, and three thousand footmen, purposing to haue kept and stopped our passage; but thanks be to God, the King of England and his host entered the same water of Som, where neuer man passed before, without the losse of any of our men: and after that encountred with the enemy, and slue of them more than two thousand; the rest fled to Abeuyle, in which chafe were taken many knights, squires, and men at armes. The same day sir Hugh Spenser tooke the towne of Croylay, where hee and his souldiers slew foure hundred men at armes, and kept the towne, where they found great store of victuals. The same night encamped the King of England in the forrest of Cressly vpon the same water, for that the French Kings host came on the other side of the towne neere vnto our passage: but hee would not take the water of vs, and so marched toward Abeuyle. And vpon the friday next following, the King being still incamped in the sayd forrest, our Scuriers desiered the French King, which marched toward vs in foure great battles. And hauing then vnderstanding of our enemies (as Gods will was) a little before the euening tide wee drew vnto the plaine field, and set our battles in array; and immediatly the fight began, which was sore and cruell, and indured long, for our enemies behaued themselves right nobly. But thanks be giuen to God, the victory fell on our side, and the King our aduersary was discomfited with all his host, and put to flight: where also was slaine the King of Bename, the duke of Loreine, the earle of Dabeson, the earle of Flanders, the earle of Blois, the earle of Arcot, with his two sonnes, the earle of Damerler, the earle of Nauers, and his brother, the lord of Tronard, the archbishop of Meymes, the archbishop of Saundes, the high prior of France, the earle of Sauoy, the lord of Morles, the lord de Guis, Segniour de S. Nonant, Segniour de Rosinburgh, with

SKING  
EDW:



{ KING }  
{ EDW.3 }

with six Earles of Almaine, and divers other Earles, Barons, Knights, and Squires, whose names are unknowne. And Philip de Valois himselfe, with another Marqueise, which was called Lord Electour among the Romanes, escaped from the battell. The number of the men at armes which were found dead in the field, besides the common souldiers and footmen, were one thousand five hundred fortie and two. And all that night the King of England with his host abode armed in the field where the battell was fought. On the next morrow before the Sunne rose, there marched toward us another great host, mightie and strong, of the Frenchmen. But the Earle of Northampton, and the Earle of Norfolk issued out against them in three battels; and, after long and terrible fight, them in like wise they discomfited by Gods great helpe and grace (for otherwise it could never have beene) where they tooke of Knights and Squires a great number, and slew above two thousand, pursuing the chafe three leagues from the place where the battell was fought. The same night also the King encamped himselfe againe in the forest of Crefley, and on the morrow marched toward Boleine, and by the way hee tooke the towne of Staples; and from thence hee marched toward Calis, where hee intendeth to plant his siege, and lay his battery to the same. And therefore our soveraigne Lord the King willesh and commandeth you, in all that ever you may, to send to the said siege victuals convenient. For after the time of our departing from Chaam, wee have travelled through the countie with great perill and danger of our people, but yet alwayes had of victuall plenty, thanks bee to God therefore. But now as the case standeth, wee partly need your helpe to be refreshed with victuals. Thus fare you well. Written at the siege before the towne of Calis the 14. day of September.

{ Anno. }  
{ 1346. }

Siege of Calis.

After the siege and winning of Poissie, the third day of September anno 1346. the king through the midst of France directed his passage unto Calis, as by the tenour of this letter you heare, and besieged the same. Which siege he continued from the third of September aforesaid till the third day of August the yere next ensuing; upon the which day it was rendered up unto the said king Edward the third, and subdowed unto the crowne of England; as after, the Lord willing, shall more appeare.

David king of  
Scots invadeth  
England.

In the meane time, during the siege of Calis David the Scottish king, at the request of the French king, with a great army brast into the North parts of England; and first besieging the towne of Lidel, within six dayes obtained the greatest part of the towne; and there taking all that hee could finde, with Sir Walter Salby a valiant knight, which was the keeper of the hold, he caused him uncourteously to bee put to the sword: and so from thence proceeded further into England, till at length being met withall by William Surch archbishop of York and the Lord Percy, and the Lord Penil, with other nobles of those parts (calling and gathering their men together) in the plaine neere to Durham, the seventeenth day of October in the yere aforesaid, through the gracious hand of Christ, there they were subdowed and conquered. In the which conflict, the Earles of Murrise, and Stratheron, with the flower of all the chivalry and principall warriors of Scotland were slaine. Also the foresaid king David, with the Earles of Pentiffe and Jiffes, and other Lords, and William Douglass Maskline, Fleming, and William Douglass, and other many more men of armes were taken prisoners, so the mischief which they intended to other, fell upon their owne heads.

The Scots  
murthered.

David the Scots  
king taken  
prisoner.

During moreover the said siege of Calis, the foresaid Pope Clement the 6. writing to the king of England, went about under the pretence of peace to stop his proceedings: whose letters follow here under written.

*The letter of the Pope to the King of England,  
in the behalfe of the Frenchmen.*

Clement the Bishop, servant of Gods servants, To his welbeloved sonne in Christ, Edward the puissant King of England, salutation and apostolical blessing. If you diligently consider, deare sonne (as ought a Catholike prince to doe) the slaughter of such an innumerable sort, bought with the precious blood of Christ our Redeemer; the losse of their substance and soules, and the lamentable perils which the dissensions and warres stirred up betweene you and our welbeloved sonne Philip, the noble King of France, have brought upon us, and yet daily doe without intermission; and also the bewailing of so many poore people, crying out of orphans and pupils, lamentation of widowes, and other miserable people which bee robbed and spoyled, and almost famished; what exclamation they make with teares running downe their cheekes, yelling and crying unto God for helpe; as also the destruction of Churches, Monasteries, and holy places, holy vessels, and other ornaments unto Gods service dedicated; the sacrilegious robberies, sackings, and imprisonings, the spoyling of holy Churches and religious persons, with many other such innumerable, detestable, execrable mischiefs, offending the eyes of the divine majesty: all which, if your princely heart would consider and well remember; with this also, that catholike faith (especially in the East parts) and the Christians there abiding by meanes of the same dissensions and warres, destitute of the helpes of such catholikemen as are in the West parts, are so afflicted of the Infidels, seeing the other parts of Christendome so troubled with cruell persecutions, yea, and more cruell than ever it hath beene (although in these times to amplify this our faith in the said East parts is cruell persecution shewed, more than hath beene of many yeeres past) doubtlesse we beleeve it would pitie your heart. And to the end that such and so great evils should no further proceede; nor yet that so great good might bee done by dilating of our foresaid faith in these times should be let and hindered, wee desire you that you would apply your minde to make some agreement and peace with the foresaid King. For if (my welbeloved sonne) God hath given unto you prosperous successe and fortune, ye ought rather to humble than to extoll your selfe; and be so much the more readier to incline to his peace, and to endeavour your selfe to please God, which loveth peace, and delighteth in peaceable men; and to eschew the foresaid evils, which without doubt doe grievously offend him. Furthermore, we marvell greatly, that unto our reverend brother Anibaldus Bishop of Tusculane, and our beloved sonne Stephan, of the title of S. Iohn, and Paul, priest and cardinal of the Apostolical Sea, being sent as Legates by us and the same Sea Apostolically to intreat a peace, who diligently and faithfully labouring for the same, as lovers of verity, justice, and equitie, and therewithall regards of your honour, could not be suffered touching the intreaty of the same peace to come unto your graces presence.

Wherefore we desire your kingly highnesse more earnestly, and for the mercie of God with more vehemencie require the same; that you taking up the foresaid horrible evils, and preventing the sweetness of piety and compassion, may escape the vengeance of Gods indignation, which were to be feared, if you should persevere in your former evils, as God forbid. And as touching the intreaty for peace, for which our foresaid Cardinals were sent unto you, (howbeit secretly, lest it should bee any derogation to your honour) wee desire you to condescend thereunto, and that with all your affection you will incline your minde to the same, so pleasant unto God, so desired of the world, as also to you, the foresaid King, and unto the catholike faith profitable.

¶

And



And that the same peace by Gods helpe and grace established and made perfect, you might assay your puissant strength about Gods businesse in the foresaid East parts (so good occasion serving, as before is said, in these our times) being so apt advancements of your honour, and happy increasing of your princely name: for we have heard it of you reported, that you behave your selfe fervently in all your attempts. Thus we doubt not but that you will write unto us againe touching the premisses, and the purpose of your intention touching the same. Dated at Avinion the 18. of February, and fift yeere of our pacapie.

*The answer of the King of England, to the foresaid letter of the Pope.*

King Edward  
answereth to the  
Pope.

**M**ost holy father, wee understand by the Letters of the reverend fathers in God, the Bishop of Tusculan, and Stephan of the title of Saint Iohn Priest, Cardinals and Legates of the court of Rome, as also by the Letters of your holinesse sent unto us, that yee marvell greatly for that your said Legates were of purpose sent unto us, and commanded to intreat of a peace betweene our adversary of France and us, that wee would not suffer them secretly to talke with us, for the safeguard of our honour: The intention of your heart being to make the foresaid peace; complaining and bewailing therein the death of Christian men, the losse of their goods, the perill of their soules, the lamentable wailings of the poore, of Orphanes, of widowes, and destruction of other pitifull persons, the pillage and robberies of Churches, and other mischiefs innumerable, and namely, the diminishing of Christian faith in the East parts, which by the warre betweene our adversary of France and us is fore decayed, as the said letters plainly doe import. And that forasmuch as God hath given us triumphant fortune, so much the more wee ought to abase and humble our heart, and to bee the readier to make and incline to a peace. As touching these things, holy Father, wee give your holinesse to understand, that as well unto your foresaid Legates, as other messengers sent from you unto us, wee have offered unto every of them reasonable wayes of peace, and every day declare the same, and that not secretly, but openly. For wee doubt not to let our purpose bee understood; for he that is the high judge both of him and us, in whose disposition all things lie, hath given unto us the Crowne of France to our right and proper heritage. The which right our foresaid adversary hath by force of long time detained from us, wee seeking to obtaine the same in peaceable wise; and yet doe, if wee might obtaine the same in any good manner, rather for the benefit of Christian men, and that the foresaid evils might cease, which by his wrongfull meanes onely have increased and growen. Yet notwithstanding, as before this time you know wee assented to a truce, with certaine articles contained in the same writing; all this he hath infringed: Neither doth the wrong suffice him which hee offereth us in our foresaid heritage, but hee endeavoureth himselfe, during the said truce, to invade our Realme of England and other our lands; and furthermore, maintaineth the Scots, and aideth them to the utter destruction of us, our people and lands aforesaid; wherein wee were inforced for the safeguard of our people and lands, by such lawfull meanes as wee may, to defend our selves and put him from his wicked purpose. And furthermore for the same, our quarrell being in the hands of God, have wee come against him to conquer our inheritance of France; over whom God hath given us divers victories, as wee have trusted hee would by his right wise judgement and power; which thing hee hath shewed upon us, (all chance of fortune set apart) in respect of our rightfull title therein, and without our deserts: wherefore with all humilitie of heart wee give him thanks

alwayes therefore, most devoutly night and day praising his holy name; for wee acknowledge the same cometh not by our strength and force. Wherefore, most holy father, wee desire your holinesse, and, so much as in us lieth, require the same, that you that supply the place of the Sonne of God in earth, and have the government of the soules of all Christian men, and ought to bee upright and equall towards all men, without exception of persons; that yee, I say, will receive good information and true of the objections aforesaid, and will put to your holy helping hand; as much as in you is, that our said adversary of France may acknowledge his wrong which hee hath done to us herein, and may bee by your aide redressed, and that hee in this his wrong have no maintenance and aide at your hand. For if it bee so, wee then appeale unto the Iudge of Iudges, which suffereth for a time wrongs to bee done for the sinfull default of man; but in the end redresseth the same, leaving no good deed unrewarded, nor evil unpunished; most humbly requiring him to be to us a true and upright judge of all our controversies; for his mercies sake, as in the meane time wee repose our full trust and confidence in him. The holy Spirit of God, &c.

{ KING }  
{ EDW. 3 }

Moreover, during yet the siege of Calis, the French king had sent certaine offers to the men of Flanders, that if they would relinquish the King of England, and adhere to him:

The King appealeth from the Pope to God.

First, he would remit all their former transgressions.

Secondly, he would unburden them of their indit.

Thirdly, he would send unto them such plenty of come, that what was sold for twelue shillings with them, should be sold for foure shillings, and that for six pences.

Fourthly, he would store them with plenty of French wooll to make cloth, for a small price; and that they might sell the said clothes both in Flanders and in France, and that the Frenchmen should use the same cloth, so much as all other manner of cloth should be forbidden in France, so long as any of that (made of French wooll) might be found.

Fifthly, he would restore to them these three cities, Insulam, Roworum, and Westony.

Sixthly, he would defend them from all their adversaries; and in pledge of the same, would send them money beforehand.

Seventhly, such as were able and forward men among them, hee would retaine and promote them, &c.

But these offers, seeming to procede more of faire words to serve the present turne, than of any hearty truth, were not received. When the Lord Iohn, prince and heire to the French king, during the foresaid siege of Calis above mentioned, coming with a mighty army of Frenchmen, set upon the men of Flanders and Englishmen in the towne of Cassels. In the which conflict, during from morning to none, the Frenchmen were vanquished, and the young Dolphin driven backe from whence he came. Of whose number divers were slaine and taken prisoners. Where on the other side (through the Lords defence) not one is reported to be grievously wounded.

The Dolphin with the French discomfited at Cassels.

As this passed on, not long after about the seventh day of June, An. 1347. king Edward continuing still his siege against Calis, Philip the French king came downe with a mighty army, purposing to remove the siege: where, not farre off from the English host, he encamped himselfe. Which done, two cardinals, Ambaldus and Stephanus (procured for the same purpose) going betweene the two kings, gaue to the king of England thus to understand: That if he would condescend to any reasonable way of peace, the French king was ready to offer such honest proffers unto him, as to reason and to his

{ Anno. }  
{ 1347. }



{ KING }  
{ EDW.3 }

his contentation should some agreeable. But in conclusion when it came to talke, the nobles could not agree upon the conditions. Wherefore the french king, seeing no other remedy, caused it to be signified to king Edward, that betwene that present tuesday and the next friday, if he would come forth into the field, he should have battell given him. Thus the place being viewed of foure capitaines of either host for the battell to be fought, it so fell, that the french king on wednesday at night, before the battell should joine, secretly by night setting his pavilions on fire, returned backe with his army out of the sight of the Englishmen.

The french king lieth before the battell.

The towne of Calis wonne.

Upon the friday following, they which were besieged in the towne of Calis, seeing the king to be retired (upon whose helpe they trusted, being also in great penury and famine for lacke of victuals, and otherwise in much misery vehemently distressed) surrendered the towne to the kings hands: who like a mercifull prince, onely detaining certaine of the cheefe, the rest with the whole commons hee let goe with bagge and baggage, diminishing no part of their goods, shewing therein more princely fauour to them, than they did of late in Queene Maries dayes unto our men, in recovering the said towne of Calis againe.

Truce concluded between England and France.

After the winning thus of Calis, as hath been promised, king Edward, remaining in the said towne a certaine space, was in consultation concerning his voyage and proceeding farther into France. But, by meanes of the foresaid Cardinals, truce for a certaintime was taken, and instruments made (so provided, that certaine noblemen as well for the french king, as for the king of England, should come to the Pope there to debate upon the articles. Unto the which king Edward, for peace sake, was not greatly disagreeing. Which was An. 1347. Ex Tho. Walsingham.

{ Anno }  
{ 1348 }  
vehement pestilence in England.

The next yeare following, which was An. 1348, fell a sore plague, which they call the first general pestilence in the realme of England. This plague (as they say) first springing from the East, and so proceeding Westward, did so mightily preuaile here in this land, beginning first at Dorchester, and the countries thereabout, that euery day lightly twenty, some dayes forty, some fiftie, and mo dead corpses were brought and laid together in one pit. This beginning the first day of August, by the first of November it came to London. Where the vehement rage thereof was so hot, and did increase so much, that from the first day of february, till about the beginning of May, in a Churchyard then newly made by Smithfield, about two hundred dead corpses euery day were buried, besides them which in other churchyardes of the city were layd also. At length by the Grace of Christ ceasing there, it proceeded from thence to the north parts. Where also the next yeare after, Anno 1349, it swaged.

Isle called the Charterhouse churchyard.

{ Anno }  
{ 1350 }  
Calis almost lost by treason. The death of the french king.  
{ Anno }  
{ 1351 }  
the towne of wines taken.

After this, in the next yeare ensuing, An. 1350, the towne of Calis was, by treason of the keeper of the castle, almost betrayed and won from the Englishmen. Within the compasse of which yeare died Philip the french king. After whom king John his son succeeded in the crowne. Who the next yeare after, vnder false pretence of friendship, caused the Constable of France Earle of Cleue, to be beheaded; who being taken prisoner before in war by Englishmen, and long detained in prison in England, was licensed by king Edward to visit his country of France. In the same yeare the towne of Oiwines was taken by Englishmen, while the keepers of the hold were negligent and asleepe.

{ Anno }  
{ 1352 }  
the death of the duke of Burgundy.

The yeare next following, the marshall of France with a great army was put to fight by sir Roger Bentele knight, and Captaine in Britaine, hauing but onely 600. souldiers with him. In this battell were taken nine knights, esquires and gentlemen one hundred and forty. The frenchmen and Brit-

taines by this victory were exceedingly discouraged, and their pride cut downe.

In the yeare after, was Henry first made Duke of Lancaster, which before was earle of Darby and Lancaster. Also diuers good ordinances were appointed in the parliament at Westminster. Which after, by auarice and partiall fauor of the head men, were againe vndone.

First Duke of Lancaster.

Concord and agreement about the yeare 1354, began to come well forward, and instruments were drawne upon the same betwene the two kings. But that the matter being brought up to Pope Innocent the sixth, partly by the quarrelling of the frenchmen, partly by the winking of the Pope, which euer held with the french side, the conditions were repealed, which were these: That to the king of England all the dukedome of Aquitaine, with other lands there, should be restored, without homage to the french king. And that king Edward againe should surrender to him all his right and title, which he had in France; whereupon rose the occasion of great war and tumult, which followed after betwene the two realmes.

{ Anno }  
{ 1354 }  
Doge of Venice.

It followed after this, the yeare of our Lord 1355. Chron. Adz. that king Edward hearing of the death of Philip the french king, and that king John his sonne had granted the dukedome of Aquitaine to Charles his eldest son and Dolphin of Vienna, sent ouer prince Edward with the Carles of Barwicke, of Salisburie, of Oxford, and with them a sufficient number of able souldiers into aquitania. Where he being willingly receiued of diuers, the rest partly by force of sword he subdued, partly receiued, submitting themselves to his protection.

Not long after this, in the same yeare, word being brought to king Edward, that John the french king was ready to meet him at S. Omers, there to giue him battell, he gathered his power, and set ouer to Calis with his two sonnes, A conel Carle of Wilton, and John of Gaunt Earle of Richmond, and with Henry Duke of Lancaster, &c. Who being come to Saint Omers, the french king with a mighty army of his franklings, hearing of his coming, the nearer he approached to them, the further they retired backe, wasting and destroying behinde them, to the intent that the English army in pursuing them, should find no victuals. By reason whereof, king Edward following him by the space of nine or ten dayes vnto Hadem (when neither he could find his enemy to fight, nor victuals for rage for his army) he returned vnto Calis: where warre againe being offered in the name of the king vpon vnsutable conditions, and yet the same not performed, king Edward seeing the thinking of his enemy, from Calis crossed the seas into England, where he recovered againe the towne of Barwicke, which the Scots before by subtilt fraine had gotten. At which time was granted vnto the king in parliament, 50. s. for euery sacke or packe of wool that should be carried ouer, for the space of six yeeres together. By the which grant, the king might dispend euery day by estimation, about 100. marks sterling. And forasmuch as euery yeare 100000. sackes of wool were thought to be reported out of the realme, the summe thereof for six yeeres space was estimated to amount to 1500000. pound sterling.

The third boy, age of king Edward into France.

The french king retreateth to the battle with king Edward.

Fiftie shillings for euery sacke of wool carried out of England.

The custome of wool for six yeeres 1500000 pounds sterling to king Edward.

The same yeare, when king Edward had reconquered Barwicke, and subdued Scotland, prince Edward being in Gascome made toward the french king. Who, notwithstanding by the way all bridges were cast downe, and great resistance made; yet the victorious prince made way with his sword, after much slaughter of the frenchmen, and many prisoners taken, at length joining with the french king at Poitiers, scarce with 2000. gaue the overthrow to the french king with 7000. men of armes and mo. In which conflict, the french king himselfe, and Philip his sonne, with lord James

{ Anno }  
{ 1356 }



The French  
king taken pri-  
soner by prince  
Edward.

of Bourbon, the Archbishop of Senon, 11. Charles, 22. Lords weretaken. Of other warriors and men of armes 2000. Some affirme, in this conflict were slain two Dukes, of Lords and noblemen 24. of men of armes 2002. of other souldiers about 8000. The common report is, that moe Frenchmen were there taken prisoners, than were the number of them which tooke them. This noble victory, gotten by the grace of God, brought no little admiration to all men.

It were too long, and little pertaining to the purpose of this history, to comprehend in order all the doings of this King, with the circumstances of his victories, of the bringing in of the French King into England, of his abode there, of the ranome leuied on him, and of Dauid the Scottish King; of which, the one was rated at three millions of Scutes, the other at 100000. markes, to be paid in ten yeeres, how the staple was after translated to Calis, with suchlike. I referre them that would see more, to the chronicle of Tho. Walsing. of S. Albans, of John Froylard, Adam Merimouth, who discourse all this at large.

Thus hauing discoursed at large all such martiall affaires and warlike exploits, incident in the raigne of this King betwixt him and the realmes of France and Scotland: now, to returne againe to our matters ecclesiasticall, it followeth in order to recapitulate and notifie the troubles and contentions growing between the same King and the Pope, and other ecclesiasticall persons in matters touching the church in order of yeeres remaining in the tower, taken out of the records, as followeth. As where first in the fourth yeere of his raigne, the King wrote to the archbishop of Canterbury to this effect: That whereas King Edward the first his grandfather did give to a clerke of his owne, being his chaplaine, the dignity of treasurer of Poike, the archbishopricke of Poike being then vacant and in the Kings hands, in the quiet possession whereof the said clerke continued, untill the Pope mistaking therewith would have displaced him, and promoted to the same dignity a Cardinal of Rome, to the manifest prejudice of the crowne of England: the King therefore straitly chargeth the Archbishop of Poike not to suffer any matter to passe, that may be prejudiciall to the donation of his grandfather, but that his owne clerke should enjoy the said dignity accordingly, upon paine of his highnes displeasure.

The like precepts were also directed to these Bishops following, videl. to the bishop of Lincoln, Bishop of Worcester, Bishop of Sar. Housier Bar. mion, archdeacon of Richinord, archdeacon of Lincoln, the prior of Lewen, the prior of Lenton, to master Rich of Bentworth, to master Thierico de Concore, to the Popes puncio, to master Guido of Calma. And withall, he wrote his letters unto the pope, as touching the same matter consisting in three parts. First, in the declaration and defence of his right and title to the donation and gift of all manner of tempozalties, of offices, prebends, benefices and dignities ecclesiasticall, holden of him in capite, as in the right of his crowne of England. Secondly, in expostulating with the Pope for intruding himselfe into the ancient right of the crowne of England, intermeddling with such collations, contrary to right and reason, and the example of all his predecessours, which were Popes before. Thirdly, intreating him that he would henceforth abstaine and desist from molesting the realme with such نوelties and strange usurpations; and so much the more, for that, in the publicke parliament lately holden at Westminster, it was generally agreed upon by the vniuersall assent of all the estates of the realme, that the King should stand to the defence of all such rights and jurisdictions as to his regall dignity and crowne any way appertained.

After this, in the ninth yeere of the raigne of this

King, pope Benedict the twelfth sendeth downe letters touching his new creation, with certaine other matters and requestes to the King: whereunto the King answering againe declareth how glad he is of that his preferment; adding moreover, that his purpose was to haue sent unto him certaine Ambassadors for congratulation of the same. But being otherwise occupied by reason of warres, could not attend his holinesse requestes: notwithstanding hee minded to call a parliament about the feast of Ascension next, where, upon the assembly of his clergy and other estates, he would take order for the same, and so direct his Ambassadors to his holinesse accordingly.

The next yeere after, which was the tenth yeere of his raigne, the King writeth another letter to the Pope; that forasmuch as his clergy had granted him one yeeres tenth for the supportation of his warres, and for that the Pope also had the same time to take by the payment of five yeeres tenths granted him by the clergy a little before, therefore the Pope would vouchsafe at his request to forbear the exaction of that money for one yeere, till that his tenth for the necessities of his warres were dispatched.

The same yeere he wrote also to the Pope to this effect: That whereas the prior and chapter of Poze- wich did nominate a clerke to be bishop of Poze- wich, and sent him to Rome for his inuestiture, without the Kings knowledge; therefore the Pope would withdraw his consent, and not intermeddle in the matter appertaining to the Kings peculiar jurisdiction and prerogative.

After this, in the sixteenth yeere of this King, it happened that the Pope sent ouer certaine Legats to heare and determine matters appertaining to the right of patronages of benefices: which the King perceiuing to tend to the no small derogation of his right, and the liberties of his subjects, writeth unto the said Legats, admonishing and requiring them not to proceed therein, nor attempt any thing vniadvisedly, otherwise than might stand with the lawfull ordinances and customes of the lawes of his Realme, and the freedom and libertie of his subjects.

Writing moreover the same yeere to other Legats being sent ouer by the Pope to treat of peace betwene the King and the French King, with request that they would first make their repaire to the French King, who had so often-times broken with him, and poue what conformity the French King would offer: which if he found reasonable, they should soone accord with him: otherwise he exhorted them not to enter into the land, nor to proceed any further in that behalfe.

The yeere following, which was the seuenteenth of his raigne, enueth another letter to the Pope against his promissions and reseruations of benefices, worthy here to be placed and specified, but that the summe thereof is beforeset downe to bee found in the pag. 505.

The yeere following, another letter likewise was sent by the King to the Pope, upon occasion taken of the Church of Poze- wich, requiring him to surcease his reseruations and promissions of the bishopricke within the realme, and to leaue the elections thereof free to the chapters of such cathedrall Churches, according to the ancient grants and ordinances of his noble progenitors.

Proceeding now to the nineteenth yeere of this Kings raigne, there came to the presence of the King certaine legats from Rome, complaining of certaine statutes pass in his parliament tending to the prejudice of the church of Rome, and the Popes primacie; viz. that if Abbats, Priors, or any other ecclesiasticall patrons of benefices should not present to the said benefices within a certaine time, the lapse of the same should come to the ordinary or chapter thereof, or if they did not present, then the

{ KING }  
{ EDW. 3 }

Every Scote  
payning five shil-  
ling eight pence,



{ KING }  
{ EDW.3 }

the Archbishop; if the Archbishop likewise did faile to present, then the gift to pertaine not unto the lord pope, but unto the king and his heires. Another complaint also was this, that if Archbishops should be slacke in giving such benefices as properly pertained to their owne patronage in due time, then the collation thereof likewise should appertaine to the foresaid king and his heires. Another complaint was that if the Pope should make void any elections in the Church of England for any defect found therein, and so had placed some honest and discret persons in the same, that then the king and his heires was not bound to render the temporalities unto the parties placed by the Popes provision. Whereupon the Pope being not a little agrieved, the king writeth unto him, certifying that he was mis-informed, denying that there was any such statute made in that Parliament. And further, as touching all other things, he would conferre with his prelates and nobles, and thereof would returne answer by his Letters.

In the 20. yere of his raigne, another letter was written to the Pope by the king, the effect whereof, in few words to expresse it, was this; to certifie him that, in respect of his great charges sustained in his warres, he hath by the counsell of his nobles taken into his owne handes the fruits and profits of all his benefices here in England.

To proceed in the order of yeres, in the twenty sixth yere of this king, one Nicholas Heath clerke, a bulle-headed body, and a troubler of the realme, had procured diuers Bishops, and others of the kings Councille to be cited up to the court of Rome, there to answer such complaints as he had made against them. Whereupon commandement was given by the king to all the ports of the Realme for the restraint of all passengers out, and for searching and arresting all persons bringing in any buls or other proccesse from Rome, tending to the derogation of the dignitie of the crowne, or molestation of the subjects: concerning which Nicholas Heath, the king also writeth to the Pope his letters, complaining of the said Heath, and desiring him to give no eare to his lewd complaints.

The same yere the king writeth also to the popes legat resident in England, requiring him to surcease from exacting diuers summes of money of the clergy, in the name of first fruits of benefices.

The 31. yere of this kings raigne, the king by his letters complaineth to the Pope of a troublesome fellow named Nicholas Stanway, remaining in Rome, which by his slanderous complaints procured diuers citations to be sent into the Realme, to the great disturbance of diuers and sundry honest men. Whereupon he prayeth and abuseth the Pope to strap himselfe, and not to send ouer such halcy citations vpon euery light occasion.

To passe further to the 38. yere of the same king, thus we find in the rolles: That the king the same yere take order by two of his clergy, to wit, John a Stocke, and John of Dorseton to take into their hands all the temporalities of all deanries, prebends, dignities, and benefices being then vacant in England, and to answer the profits of the same to the kings use.

The same yere an ordinance was made by the king and his counsell, and the same was proclaimed in all port townes within the Realme, that good and diligent search should be made, that no person whatsoeuer, coming from the court of Rome, &c. doe bring into the realm with him any bul, instrument, letters patents, or other proccesse, that may be prejudiciall to the king, or any of his subjects; nor that any person, passing out of this Realme toward the court of Rome, doe carry with him any instrument or proccesse that may redound to the prejudice of the king or his subjects; and that all persons passing to the said court of Rome, &c. with the kings speciall

licence, doe notwithstanding promise and fine surety to the Lord Chancellor, that they shall not in any wise attempt or pursue any matter to the prejudice of the king or his subjects, under paine to be put out of the kings protection, and to forfeite his body, goods, and chattels, according to the statute thereof made Anno 27.

And thus much concerning the letters and writings of the king, with such other domesticall matters, perturbations, and troubles passing betwene him and the Pope, taken out of the publike records of the realme, whereby I thought to giue the Reader to vnderstand the horrible abuses, the intolerable pride, and the insatiable auarice of that bishop, more like a proud Lucifer, then a pastor of the Church of Christ, in abusing the king, and oppressing his subjects with exactions vnicurable: and not onely exercising his tyranny in this Realme, but raging also against other princes both sacre and more, amongst whom neither spared he the Emperour himselfe. In the story and acts of which Emperour Ludouicus, mentioned a little before, pag. 488. whom the Pope did most arrogantly excommunicate vpon Maundy Thursday, and the selfe same day placed another Emperour in his roome, relation was made of certaine learned men which took the Emperours part against the Pope. In number of whom was Marsilius Patavinus, Guillelmus Ockam, Iohannes Gandavensis, Luitpoldus, Andreas Landensis, Vlricus

Hangenor treasurer of the Emperour, Dantes, Abigerius, &c. Of whom Marsilius Patavinus compiled and exhibited unto the emperour Ludouike a worthy work intituled Defensor pacis, written in the Emperours behalfe against the Pope. Wherein (both goodly and learnedly disputing against the Pope) he proueth all Bishops and priests to be equally, and that the Pope hath no superiority aboue other Bishops, much lesse aboue the Emperour; That the word of God ought to be onely the chiefe iudge in deciding and determining causes Ecclesiasticall, that not onely spirituall persons, but laymen also being goodly and learned, ought to be admitted vnto generall Councils; That the Clergy and the Pope ought to be subject vnto magistrates; that the church is the vniuersality of the faithfull, and that the foundation and head of the Church is Christ, and that he neuer appointed any Vicar or pope ouer his vniuersall church; That bishops ought to be chosen eueryone by their owne church and clergy; That the marriage of priests may lawfully bee permitted; That Saint Peter was neuer at Rome; That the clergy and Synagogue of the Pope is a den of thieues; That the doctrine of the Pope is not to be followed, because it leadeth to destruction; And that the corrupt manners of the Christians doe spring and flow out of the wickednesse of the spirituality, &c. He disputeth moreover in another worke of free justification by grace; And extenuated merits, saying that they are no causes efficient of our saluation, but only sine qua non, that is to say, that workes be no cause of our justification, but yet our justification goeth not without them. For the which his doctrine, most sound and catholike, he was condemned by the Pope, Anno 1324. by the Popes decree Extravagant, cap. Licet intra doctrinam. Concerning the which man and his doctrine, I thought good thus much to commit to history, to the intent men may see that they which charge this doctrine now taught in the Church with the note of nouelty or newnesse, how ignorant and vnskillfull they be in the histories and order of times forepast.

In the same part of condemnation at the same time also was Iohannes de Gunduno, Anno 1320. and contained also in the foresaid Extravagant with Marsilius Patavinus. Which Iohannes wrote much vpon Aristotle and Averrois, and his bookes are yet remaining. And no doubt but he wrote also of diuinity, but it is not unlike that these workes haue been abolished.

Marsilius Patavinus author of the booke called, Defensor pacis. Articles of Marsilius against the Pope.

Articles cause of saluation, sine qua non.

Marsilius condemned of the Pope. Extrav. cap. Licet intra doctrinam.

Iohannes Gandavensis condemned by the Pope.



Guillelmus Ockam wrote against the pope.

Michael general of the grayfriars, wrote communicated for an heretike. Ascensius in prefatione ejus autoris. The dialogue betwene the souldier and the clerke, of Ockams making.

Eight questions inspired by Ockam.

Gregorius Ariminensis maintained the same doctrine now received. Ex Trithemio.

Andreas de Castro and Burdianus both gospellers 200 years agoe.

Eudo Duke of Burgundy wrote decrees about 200 years since. Ex Carolo Molino. Dantes an Italian writer against the pope.

In the same number and catalogue cometh also to Guillelmus Ockam, who was in the yere of our Lord 1326: as is afoze mentioned, pag. 487. and wrote likewise in defence of Ludovicus the emperor against the Pope; and also in defence of Michael, General of Grayfriars, whom the pope had excommunicated and cursed for an heretike. Divers treatises were by the said Ockam set forth, whereof some are extant and in print, as his questions and distinctions: some are extinct and suppressed (as Ascensius reporteth) quod essent aliquando asperiora. Some againe be published under no name of the author, being of his doing; as the dialogue betwene the souldier and the clerke: wherein it is to be considered, what bookes and workes this Ockam had collected against the Pope. Of this Ockam, John Sleidane in his history inferreth mention, to his great commendation, whose wordes be these: Willian Ockam in time of Ludovicus the fourth, Emperour, did flourish, about the yere of our Lord 1326. Who among other things wrote of the authority of the bishop of Rome. In the which booke he handleth these eight questions very copiously: whether both the administrations of the bishops office, and of the emperours, may be in one man; secondly, whether the Emperour taketh his power and authority onely of God, or else of the Pope; thirdly, whether the Pope and church of Rome haue power by Christ to set and place kings and Emperours, and to commit to them their jurisdiction to be exercised; fourthly, whether the Emperour being elected hath full authority, upon the said his election, to administer his empire, fifthly, whether other kings besides the Emperour and king of Romans, in that they are consecrated of priests, receive of them any part of their power, sixthly, whether the said kings in any case be subject to their consecrators; seventhly, whether if the said kings should admit any new sacrifice, or should take to themselves the diademe without any further consecration, they should thereby lose their kingly right, and title; eighthly, whether the seven princes electors give as much to the election of the Emperour, as succession rightfully giueth to other kings. Upon these questions he disputeth and argueth with sundry arguments and sundry reasons on both sides, at length he decideth the matter on the part of the civil magistrate; and by occasion thereof entrencheth into the mention of the Popes decrees Extravagant; declaring how little force or regard is to be given thereunto.

Trithemius maketh mention of one Gregorius Ariminensis, a learned and a famous and right godly man; who not much differing from the age of this Ockam, about the yere of our Lord 1350. disputed in the same doctrine of grace and free will as we doe now, and dissented therein from the Papists and Sophisters, counting them worse than Pelagians.

Of the like judgement, and in the same time was also Andreas de Castro, as appeareth super lit. I. Sent. dist. 45. and Burdianus upon the Ethikes of Aristotle: which both maintained the grace of the Gospel, as is now in the Church received about 200. yeres since.

And what should I speake of the duke of Burgundy, named Eudo, who at the same time, An. 1350. persecuted the french king not to receive in his land the new found constitutions, decretall and Extravagant, nor to suffer them within his realme: whose sage counsell then given, yet remaineth among the french kings records, as witnesseth Carol. Molinæus.

Dantes an Italian writer, a Florentine, lived in the time of Ludovicus the Emperour, about the yere of our Lord 1300. and took part with Parisius Patavinus against three sorts of men, which he said were enemies to the truth: That is, the Pope: Secondly, the order of religious men, which count

themselves the children of the Church, when they are the children of the devil their father: Thirdly, the doctors of decrees and decretals. Certain of his writings be extant abroad, wherein he proueth the pope not to be above the Emperour, nor to haue any right or jurisdiction in the Empire. He proueth the donation of Constantine to be a forged and a fained thing, as which neither did stand with any law or right: for the which he was taken of many for an heretike. He complaineth moreover very much, the preaching of Gods Word to be omitted; and in stead thereof, the vaine fables of Monkes and Friars to be preached and belaued of the people, and to the flocke of Christ to be fed not with the fode of the Gospel, but with winde. The Pope, saith he, of a Pastor is made a Wolfe, to waste the Church of Christ, and to procure with his clergy not the Word of God to be preached, but his owne decrees. In his canticle of Burchardie, he declareth the Pope to be the whoze of Babylon. And to her ministers, to some he applyeth two houses, to some foure. As to the Patriarches, whom he noteth to be the tower of the said whoze Babylonickall. Ex libris Dantes Italice.

Hereunto may be added the saying out of the booke of Iordanus, impainted with the foresaid Dantes; that solemuch as antichrist cometh not before the destruction of the empire, therefore such as goe about to haue the empire extinct, are in so doing forerunners and messengers of antichrist. Wherefore let the Romans (saith he) and their bishops beware, lest their times and wickednesse be deserting, by the just judgement of God, the priestly to be taken from them. Furthermore, let all the prelates and princes of Germanie take heed, &c.

And because our aduersaries, which object unto us the newnesse of our doctrine, shall see and perceiue the course and forme of this religion now received, not to haue bene either such a new thing now, or a thing so strange in times past: I will adde to these afoze recited, master Causlerus a preacher of Argentine in Germanie, Anno 1350. Who, contrary to the Popes proceedings, taught openly against all mens merits, and against imorations of Saints, and preached sincerely of our free justification by grace; referring all mans trust onely to the mercy of God, and was an enemy to all superstition.

With whom also may be adjoynded Franciscus Petrarca, a writer of the same age, who in his workes and his Italian meter, speaking of Rome, calleth it the whoze of Babylon, the schoule and mother of error, the temple of heresie, the nest of treachery, growing and increasing by the oppressing of others: and saith further, that she, (meaning the Popes court) extollet her selfe against her founders; that is, the Emperours who first set her up, and did so enrich her: and seemeth plainly to affirme, that the pope was antichrist, declaring that no greater evil could happen to any man, than to be made Pope. This Franciscus was about the yere of our Lord, 1350.

And if time would serue us to seeke out old histories, we should find plenty of faithfull witnesses, of old an ancient time, to giue witness with vs against the Pope, beside the other afoze rehearsed: as Iohannes de rupe scissa, An. 1340. Who so rebuking the spiritualitie for their great enormities, and neglecting their office and duty, was cast into prison.

Illyricus a writer in our dayes, testifieth that he found and read in an old pamphlet, that the said Iohannes should call the Church of Rome the whoze of Babylon; and the Pope to be the minister of antichrist; and the cardinals to be the false prophets. Being in prison, he wrote a booke of propheties, bearing the title: Vade mecum in tribulationem: in which booke (which also I haue scene) he prophesied and admonished, affliction and tribulation to hang ouer the spiritualitie. And he pronounceth plainly, that God will purge his Clergie, and will haue

{ KING }  
{ EDW.3 }

Donation of Constantine a thing forged.

The Pope the whoze of Babylon.

Ex lib. Iordanici.  
Pope antichrist

An admonition to the Romans.

Causlerus of Germany a preacher against the Popes proceedings.  
Franciscus Petrarca.  
Vide 20. epistolam Francisci Petrarce.  
Rome the mother and school of error.

Iohannes de rupe scissa.  
John cast into prison.

The Church of Rome, the whoze of Babylon.

The deformation of the clergie before prophesied.



{ KING }  
{ LDW.3 }

Priests that shall be poore, godly, and that shall saith fully feede the Lords flocke: Moreover, that the goods of the church shall retorne againe to the lay men. We prophesied also the same time, that the french king and his Army should haue an overthrow. Which came likewise to passe during the time of his imprisonment. Of this Iohannes de rupe, writeth fropard in his time, and also Wickliffe: of whose prophecies much more may be said at more leisure (Christ willing) hereafter.

Conradus  
Hager.

About the same yere of our Lord 1340. in the cite of Herbipoli, was one named master Conradus Hager. Who (as appeareth by the old buls and registers of Deho bishop of the said cite) is there recorded to haue maintained and taught the space of twenty foure yeres together, the masse to be no manner of sacrifice: neither that it profiteth any man either quicke or dead, and that the money giuen of the dead for masses, be very robberies and sacrileges of priests, which they wickedly doe intercept and take away from the poore. And he said moreover, that if he had a troupe full of gold and siluer, he would not giue one farthing for any masse. For the same his doctrine, this good preacher was condemned and inclosed in prison: what afterward became of him, we doe not finde.

Themasse to be  
no sacrifice.

Conradus cast  
into prison.  
Ex bullis qui-  
buldam O-  
thonis Episc.  
Herbipoli.

There is, among other old and ancient records of antiquitie belonging to this present time, a certaine monument in verses poetically compiled, but not without a certaine morall, intituled Penitentiarius Asini, the Asses confessor; bearing the date and yere of our Lord in this number, Compleus, Ann. 1343. In this treatise are brought forth the wolfe, the fox, and the asse, conning to thurst and doing penance. First, the wolfe confesseth him to the fire, who easily doth absolute him from all his faults, and also eraseth him in the same. In like manner the wolfe, hearing the foxes thurst, helowed to him the like fauor againe. After this cometh the Asse to confession, to whose fault was this; that he being hungry toke a strait out from the chear of one that went in peregrination into Rome. The Asse both repenting of this fact, and because he thought it not so heinous as the faults of the other, he hoped the more for his absolution. But what followed? After the silly Asse had uttered his crime in auricular confession, immediately the discipline of the law was executed vpon him with fenerity: neither was he judged worthy of any absolution, but was apprehended vpon the same, slaine, and deuoured. Whosoever was the author of this fabulous tale, he had a mysticall vnderstanding in the same; for by the Wolfe no doubt was meant the Pope: But the foxe was resembled to the prelates, curtelans, priests, and the rest of the spiritualitie. Of the spiritualitie the lord pope is some absolved, as contrarily, the pope some doth absolute them in like manner. By the asse is meant the poore laitie, vpon whose backe the strait censure of the law is sharply executed; especially when the Germanie Emperours come vnder the popes inquisition, to be examined by his discipline, there is no absolution nor pardon to be found, but in all haste he must be depesed, as in these stoxies may partly appeare before. And though the matter bee not the weight of a straw, yet what saith the holy saith the wolfe, if it please him to make any matter of it?

Immensum scelus est, injuria quam peregrino  
Fecisti, stramen subripiendo sibi.  
Non advertisti quod plura pericula passus,  
Plurima passurus quod peregrinus erat.  
Non advertisti quod ei per maxima terræ  
Et pelagi spacia, sit peragrandia via.  
Non advertisti sanctos, nec limina sancta;  
Sanctorum sanctam sedem nec Hierusalem,  
Ille retrorsum eadem loca, tam violentum  
Ex inopinato sensit adesse malum.

De papataceo, cuius p[ro]fectio talem  
Conduxit cuius tu vilipendis opem.  
Totius Ecclesie fuit quam nuncius iste,  
Peritulis abstracto gramine damna viz, &c.

And thus they, aggerating and exaggerating the fault to the uttermost, flue vpon the poore asse and deuoure him. By the which apologic, the tyrannicall and fraudulent practises of these spirituall Romanius are liuely described.

Not long after these about rehearsed, about the yere of our Lord 1350. Gerhardus Rudder wrote also against the monkes and friers a booke intituled Lacryma Ecclesie: wher in he disputeth against the foresaid religious orders, namely against the begging friers; prouing that kinde of life to be farre from Christian perfection, for that it is against charitable to liue vpon others, when a man may liue by his owne labors: And affirmeth them to be hypocrites, filthy liuers, and such as for mans fauor, and for lucre sake, doe mire with true diuinitie, fables, Apocryphes, and decaies of vauitie. Altho that they, vnder pretence of long prayer, deuote widowes houses, and with their confessions, sermons, and vtiuals, doe trouble the Church of Christ manifold waies. And therefore perswaded the prelates to banke and keepe short the inordinate licence and abuses of these monasticall persons, &c.

Gerhardus  
Rudder  
a writer against  
monkes and  
friars.

Yet I haue made no mention of Michael Celsus, pryncipall of the gray friers, nor Petrus de Corbaria, of whom writeth Anconinus, in quarta parte summae, and saith they were condemned in the extrauagant of pope John, with one Iohannes de Poliano. Their opinions, saith Antoninus, were these, That Peter the Apostle was no more the head of the Church, than the other Apostles: And that Christ left no vicar behind him or head in his Church: And that the pope hath no such authoritie to correct and punish, to institute or depose the Emperour: Item, that all priests, of what degree soeuer, are of equall authority, power and iurisdiction by the institution of Christ: but by the institution of the Emperour, the pope to be superior, which by the same Emperour also may be reuoked againe. Item, that neither the Pope nor yet the Church may punish any man, punitione coactionis: What is, by externe coaction; vntilse they receiue licence of the Emperour. This foresaid Michael, general of the gray friers, wrote against the tyrannie, pride, and primacie of the pope, accusing him to be antichrist, and the Church of Rome to be the whore of Babylon, dunke with the blood of saints. We said there were two Churches, one of the wicked flourishing, wherein raigned the Pope: the other of the godly afflicted. Item, that the veritie was almost utterly extinct; And for this cause he was depriued of his dignitie, and condemned of the Pope. Notwithstanding, he stood constant in his assertions. This Michael was about the yere of our Lord 1322. And he left behinde him many fauors and followers of his doctrine, of whom a great part were slaine by the Pope: some were condemned, as William de Cant, some were burned, as Iohannes de Castilione, and Franciscus de Arcatara. In extrauag. Ioan. 23.

Michael Celsus,  
Petrus de  
Corbaria,  
condemned of  
the Pope.  
Iohannes de  
Poliano.

The opinion of  
Michael against  
the pope.

Michael Celsus  
was depriued  
and condemned  
of the Pope.

William de  
Cantilione,  
Franciscus de  
Arcatara  
burned.

With him also was condemned, in the said extrauagant, Iohannes de Poliano about touched, whose assertions were these: That the Pope could not giue licence to heare confessions to whom he would, but that every pastor in his owne Church ought to suffice. Item, that pastors and bishops had their authority immediately from Christ and his Apostles, and not from the Pope. Item, that the constitution of pope Benedict 11. wherein he granteth larger priuiledges to the friers about other pastors, was no declaration of the law, but a subuersion. And for this he was by the said friers oppressed, about the yere of our Lord, 1322.

After Simon Sepham Archbishop of Canterbury before mentioned, who liued not long, succeeded

John



Archbishops of  
Canterbury the  
one succeeding  
the other.

John Strathford. After whom came John Oford, who lived but tenne moneths. In whose roome succeeded Thomas, and remained but one yeere Anno 1350. And after him Simon Kyp was made archbishop of Canterbury, by Pope Clement the 6. who late 17. yeeres, and builded Canterbury College in Oxford. Which Simon Kyp succeeded the Bishop of Ely, named Simon Langham, who within two yeeres was made Cardinall. In whose stead Pope Urban the 5. ordained William Wittlesey Bishop of Worcester to be Archbishop of Canterbury, An. 1366. In which yeere, William Bishop of Winchester elected and founded the new Colledge in Oxford.

New Colledge  
in Oxford found-  
ed, an. 1366.

Pope Inno-  
cent. 6.  
Two Francis  
were burned at  
Aunion.

Ioannes Roch-  
aylada  
Martyr.  
Ex chron.  
Henrici de  
Herfordia.

The Church of  
Rome declared  
to be the whor-  
e of Babylon by  
Gods reuelation.  
Rochaylada  
with another  
Frier martyrs.

A priest for co-  
uing the Popes  
bull before the  
Popes seat,  
secured, cast in  
prison, and after  
burned at Aun-  
ion.

{ Anno }  
{ 1354. }

Ex Icanne  
Froylard  
volu. I. cap.  
211.

Again, in the order of the Popes, next unto Pope Clement the 6. before mentioned, about the same time, An. 1353. succeeded Pope Innocent the 6. In the first yeere of which Pope, two friers minors of Francis were burned at Aunion, Pro opinionibus (as mine author saith) erroneis, prout D. papa & eius Cardinalibus videbatur. I. For certaine opinions, as seemed to the Pope and his Cardinals, erroneous. Ex chron. Wall. Of the which two friers I finde, in the Chronicles De actis Rom. pontificum, and in the history of Premonstratensis, that the one was Ioannes Rochaylada; & rather, as I finde in Catal. testium cited out of the Chronicle of Henricus de Herfordia, his name to be Hayabalus. Who being (as he recordeth) a frier Minore, began first in the time of Pope Clement the 6. an. 1345. to preach and as firme openly, that he was by Gods reuelation charged and commanded to preach; that the Church of Rome was the whor of Babylon, and the pope with his Cardinals to be very Antichrist. And that Pope Benedict, and the other befoze him his predecessors were damned with other such like words tending much against the Popes tyrannicall majesty. And that the foresaid Hayabalus being brought before the Popes face, constantly did stand in the same, saying; that he was commanded by Gods reuelation so to say, and also that he would preach the same if he might. To whom it was then objected, that he had some hereticall bookes, and so was committed to prison at Aunion. In the time of his accusation it happened that a certaine Priest, coming befoze the Pope, cast the Popes bull downe befoze his face, saying; Lohere, take your bull unto you, for it doth me no good at all. I have labored now these thre yeeres withall, and yet notwithstanding, for all this your bull, I cannot be reformed to my right. The Pope hearing this commanded the poore Priest to be scourged and after to be laid in prison with the foresaid frier. What became of them afterward, the foresaid writer Henricus de Herfordia maketh no mention. But I may probably conjecture this Priest and this frier Rochayladus, or rather Hayabalus, were the two, whom mine author Thom. Wall. writeth to be burned at this time in Aunion, about the first beginning of this Pope Innocentius the 6. Of this Rochaylada I thought good here to inferre the testimony and mention of John Froylard, written of him in his first volume, chapter 211. in these wordes:

There was (saith Froylard) a frier minor, full of great Clergie in the City of Aunion, called Frier John of Rochaylada, the which frier Pope Innocent the sixth held in prison in the Castle of Waignour, for shewing of many marualls after to come; principally he shewed many things to fall onto the prelats of the Church for the great superfluity and pride, that was then used among them. And also he spake many things to fall of the Realme of France, and of the great lozes of christendome, for the oppressions that they did to the poore common people. This frier, said he, would proue all his saying by the authority of the Apocalyps, and by other bookes of holy Saints and Prophets, the which were opened to him by the grace of the holy Ghost: he shewed many things hard to beleue, and many things fell after as he said,

He said them not as a Prophet, but he shewed them by authority of ancient Scriptures, and by the grace of the holy Ghost, who gave him understanding to declare the ancient Prophets, and to shew to all Christian people the yeeres and times when such things should fall. He made diuers bookes founded on great sciences and Clergy, whereof one was made the yeere of our Lord 1346. wherein were written such marualls, that it were hard to beleue them; howbeit many things according thereto fell out after. And when he was demanded of the warres of France, he said that all that had been scene was not like that should be scene after. For he said that the wars in France should not be ended, till the realme were utterly wasted and spoiled in euery part. The which saying was well scene after, for the noble Realme of France was sore wasted and spoiled, and specially in the terme that the said frier had set. The which was in the yeeres of our Lord 1356, 57, 58. & 59. He said in those yeeres, the princes & Gentlemen of the Realme should not for feare shew themselves against the people of low estate, assembled of all countries without head or captaune, and they should doe as they list in the Realme of France; the which fell after, as ye haue heard, how the companions assembled them together, and by reason of their robbery and pillage waxed rich, and became great Captaines.

About the same time happened in France a certaine contention betwene the French Prelate, and the friers of Paris, testified and recorded by Godfridus de Fontanis; the brieft effect of which story is this: The Prelats of France contenting and assembling together in the City of Paris, after a long deliberation among themselves, caused by the Prelates to be called together all the students, masters, and batchelors of euery faculty, with the chiefe heads also of all the Religious houses and friers in the Vniuersity of Paris. Who being all there congregated together in the Bishop of Paris his house, where there were present foure Archbishops, and twenty bishops; first stood by the Bishop of Bituricensis, who, there making his sermon, took for his theme the place of Saint Paul to the Ephesians; Fratres, vt sciatis quæ sit longitudo, latitudo, altitudo, & profunditas charitatis, &c. and concluded thereupon, first, that true charity would compell them to see and prouide for their flockes. Secondly, that the vigour of charity would arme them to withstand errors. Thirdly, he concluded, that by duty of charity they were bound to giue their liues for the soules of their flocke committed to their charge. Fourthly, that by the same charity euery man ought to hold himselfe content with that which was his owne, and not to intermeddle or busie himselfe further then to him appertained or belonged to his office. For there (saith he) all order Ecclesiasticall is dissolued, whereas men, not containing themselves in their owne precincts, presume in other mens charges where they haue nothing to do. But this charity (saith he) now adates wareth cold, and all Ecclesiasticall order is confounded and utterly out of order. For many there be, which now adates presume to thrust in themselves where they haue nothing to doe; so that now the Church may seeme a monster. For as in a naturall body appeareth a monster, where one member doth the office of another; so in the spirituall body which is the Church, it may be thought likewise. As when our learned and prudent brethren, to wit, the friers majors and minors, doe take upon them to blurpe and occupy the office to vs especially appertaining; namely, whereas the Scripture warneth vs all, none to take upon him any office, except he be called therunto of the Lord, as Aaron was. Wherefore we haue heretofore oftentimes caused the said friers both by the king himselfe in his owne person, and also by other nobles to be spoken to & desired to surcease from doing and intermeddling in our office, and yet they

{ KING }  
{ EDW. 3 }

Ex scriptis  
Godfri. de  
Fontanis.

A contention in  
France betwene  
the Prelates  
and the friers  
there.

A sermon of the  
Bishop of Syren  
to the students of  
Paris against  
the friers.

That is the  
Dominicke fri-  
ers, and the Fran-  
ciscan friers.



**KING** they would not, but haue preached against our wills  
**EDW. 3** through all our diocesses, and haue heard confessions, saying, that they haue the Popes priuiledge to beare them out therein. For the which cause we come to you, and not we here present onely, but also we haue the handwriting, and the full consent of all other our fellow Bishops throughout the kingdome of France, to complaine to you of this so great insolencie and presumption of the Friers. For that as we are, you shall be. Neither doe I thinke that there be any of vs Prelats here now, which haue not sometime bene taken out of this Vniuersity of yours. We haue desired moreover, and caused to be desired of the foresaid friers, that they would send their priuiledges to the Sea Apostolicall, to be interpreted and expounded more plainly by the lord Pope: which they refused also to do. Wherefore to the intent you may the better vnderstand and see what their priuiledges be, and how farre they do extend, we haue appointed the said priuiledges here openly to be read vnto you.

The constitution of Pope Innocent 3. Omnis vtriusque sexus.

Then stood vp another in the publike place, and there read the priuiledges of both the orders: and afterward read also the constitution of Pope Innocent 3. written in the 5. of the decretals, and beginneth: Omnis vtriusque sexus, &c. Which constitution was repugnant & contrary to the foresaid priuiledges, as he there manifestly proued, declaring how both the priuiledges were derogatorie to that constitution.

The friers priuiledges proued contrary to the Popes constitution. The Bishop Ambianensis, Friers ought not to preach in Churches which in special licence of them or whom the Church belongeth.

This done, then rose vp the bishop Ambianensis, a great lawyer, who, discoursing from article to article, there proued by good law, that the said constitution stood in his full force and vigor, and ought not to be infringed by the friers priuiledges in any part. And therefore by the vertue of that constitution, that the friers ought not so misorderly to intrude themselues in hearing confessions, in imposing of penance, and in preaching in Churches and diocesses without special licence of the Bishop of the diocesse, and curate of the Parish: vnto whose words neuer a frier at that time replied againe. And so the bishop proceeding to his conclusion, desired the Vniuersity to assist them in that case, wherein they were all determined (saith he) to stand firmly to the shedding of their blood, in resisting that misorder and injuries of the friers. This happened the 6. day of December which they dedicated to Saint Nicolas.

The friers contrary against the Prelats.

The next day being Sunday, one of the order of the Dominicans or Franciscans, went to the Church of the Sorbonites or preaching friers: where he made a sermon (which was neuer scene before, the one order to come and resort to the other) beginning in the foresaid matter to reply, and to expound in order through euery article as well as hee could; adding moreover and saying, that they went not so farre in their priuiledges, as they lawfully might. And hee said moreover, that what time the said priuiledges were in obtaining in Rome, the bishop Ambianensis was there present himselfe, resisting the same with all his power; yea all the Prelats also of France sent and wrote vp to the court against the same, and yet did not preuaile. For when the friers their presently declared and opened to the Pope in what manner and how farre they had used their priuiledges; the Pope the same time said, Placet, that is, agreed vnto the same. And now (saith he) the Prelats require and demand of vs to send vp our priuiledges to the Court; which were great folly in vs. For in so doing, what should we els but giue place and occasion, to reuoke againe the authority which is giuen into our hands already? Furthermore, our Warden and Master is now lately dead, and the Master here of the Dominick friers is not now present. Wherefore we dare not determine in such a weighty cause (touching the priuiledges of our order) without the presence of them. And therefore we desire you of the Vniuersity to hold vs therein excused, and not so be so lightly started against vs, for we are not the worst and vilest

part of the Vniuersity, &c.

The next day, being the 8. day of the same month, is also dedicate to the conception of our Lady: vpon which day it was determined likewise, that one of the Dominicke friers should preach in the Church of the Franciscan or gray friers, and so he did: tending to the same end, as the other frier in the other church had done before. Whereof it may seeme the proverbe well answered, wherof we lead in the Gospel: facti sunt amici Herodes & Pilatus in ipsa die.

Orator and Preacher were made their names in English being of Christ.

It was not long after, that the feast of S. Thomas the Apostle followed, in whole August all the heads of the Vniuersity againe were warned the third day after to congregate together in the Church of saint Bernard at the sermon time. Which being done, and the assembly meeting together, another sermon was made by a diuine of the Vniuersity, whose theame was: Prope est Dominus omnibus inuocantibus eum in veritate, &c. Wherein he with many words and great authorities argued against them that would not be obedient vnto their Prelate, &c. The sermon being ended, then rose vp againe the Bishop Ambianensis, who prosecuting the rest of the theame, and comming to the word in veritate diuided it into three parts, according to the common gloss of the decretals:

Another sermon against the friers.

Bishop Ambianensis. In veritate &c.

*Est verum vire doctrine, infirmitasque, Primum semper habet, duo propter scandala lingue.*

Shewing and declaring by many authorities both of canonick Scriptures and out of the law, and by euident demonstration of experience: that the friers first had no verity of life, because they were full of hypocrisie; neither had they verity of doctrine because in their hear they bare gall, in their tongue hon: neither verity of justice, because they usurped other mens offices. And thus concluding with the same, he caused againe to be read the said priuiledges, with the constitution above specified. And so expounding place by place, hee did argue and proue that the said constitution in no part was enuacated or infringed by the priuiledges aforesaid. Which thing being declared, he added moreover, that whereas the friers say (saith he) that I should be present in the obtaining of the priuiledges, I grant it to be true; and when word came to me thence thereof, I went to the Pope reclaiming and requiring the said priuiledges to be reuoked: but the next day after, it pleased the Pope to send me out abroad vpon weighty affaires, so that then the matter had no end. After that, we sent also other messengers with our letters for the same cause vnto the Court of Rome, whom the friers say not to haue preuailed, but they lie therein. For the said messengers again brought vs letters, from the chiefe of the Court of Rome, sealed with their seales: which letters we haue diuers times presented to our King, and will shortly shew them vnto you all. In the which letters the lord Pope hath promised the said priuiledges either to be utterly abrogate, or els to be mitigated with some more plaine interpretation; of the which we trust shortly to haue the publike bul or writ from the pope.

Trinity in three parts confuted.

The friers proued with alie.

At last, the said Bishop required and desired of all there, of what diocesse or country soeuer they were, that they would copie out the foresaid priuiledges, and send them abroad into their countries, that all men might see what they were, and how farre they did extend. In fine the matter comming into open disputation, it was concluded by Master Giles one of the Austin friers (who was thought to be most reasonable of all the other friers) in this wise, that after his sentence the prelats were in the truer part, &c. Hic ex Godfrido de Fontanis.

The friers priuiledges confuted in disputation at Paris.

Concerning this wangling contention betweene the Vniuersity and friers of France here before mentioned, wherof partly the originall cause may be vnderstood, by that which hath bene said, to rise vpon



upon certaine priuiledges granted by Popes to the friers, to intermeddle in matters of parish Churches; As to heare confessions, to preach and teach, with power thereto annexed to gather for their labour, to bury within their houses, and to receiue impropriations, &c. because it were too long here to describe the full circumstances thereof, also because the said contention did indure a long time not onely in France, but also came ouer into England: the whole discourse thereof more amply (Christ willing) shall be declared in the beginning of the next booke following, when we come to the story of Archimanus.

About what time and yere this trouble was in the Uniuersity of Paris betwene the friers and Bishops there, as hath bene declared; the like contention happened also in the Uniuersity of Oxford in the yere aboue prefixed, 1354. saue onely that the strife among the masters of Paris, as it rose upon frierly ceremonies, so it went no further than brawling words and matter of excommunication: but this tumult, rising of a drunken cause, proceeded further into bloody stripes. The first original whereof began in a tauerne, betwene a scholar and the good man of the house. When falling together in altercation, grew to such heate of words, that the student (contra ius hospitii) polued the wine upon the head of the host, and brake his head with the quart pot. Upon this occasion giuen, effcones parts began to be taken betwene the townesmen and the scholars. Insomuch that a grievous sedition and conflict followed upon the same; wherein many of the townesmen were wounded, and to the number of twenty slaine. Diuers also of the scholars were grievously hurt. The space of two dayes this hurly burly continued. Upon the second day certaine religious and deuout persons ordained a solemne procession generally, to pray for peace. Yet notwithstanding all that procession, as holy as it was, it would not bring peace. In the which procession (the skirmish still waring hot) one of the students, being hardly pursued by the townesmen, for succour in his flight came running to the priest or frier, which carried about (as the manner was) the pyx; thinking to finde refuge at the presence of the transubstantiated God of the altar there carried inured. Notwithstanding, the God being not there present, or else not seeing him, or else peradventure being asleep, the scholar found there small helpe. For the townesmen in heate of the chafe, forgetting belike the vertue of the Popes transubstantiation, followed him so hard, that in the presence of the pyx they brake his head, & wounded him grievously. This done, at length some peace or truce for that day was taken. The next morning following, other townesmen in the villages about, joyning with the townesmen of Oxford, conferred together in great force and power to set upon the students there, and so did, hauing a blacke flag borne before them, & so inuaded the Uniuersity men. Whereupon the schollars being ouermatched, and compelled to flee into their halls and hostles, were so pursued by their enemies, that twenty of the doores of their halls and Chambers were broke open, and many of them wounded (and as it is said) slaine and throughte into priuies; their bookes with knives and bills cut all in pices, and much of their goods carried away. And thus the students of that Uniuersity being conquered by the townesmen of Oxford, and of the country about, departed and left the Uniuersity. So that for a time the schooles there, and all scholasticke acts, did utterly cease from all exercise of study, except only Hertons Colledge hall, with a few other remaining behind.

This being done the 12. day of February, the Quene at the same time being at Woodstocke was brought to bed, and purified on the first Sunday in Lent with great solemnity of iusting. About which time the Bishop of Lincolne their Diocesan, hearing of this excessive outrage, sendeth his inhibition to all parsons and priests, forbidding them throughout all Oxford, to celebrate masse or any diuine seruice in the presence of any lay person within the said towne of Oxford, interdicting withall the whole towne. Which interdiction indured the space of a whole yere and more.

The king also sent thither his Iustices to examine and inquire of the matter. Before whom diuers lay men and of the clergy were indicted, and foure of the chiefe burgessees of the said towne were indicted, and by the kings commandement sent to the tower of London, and were there imprisoned. At length through much labour of the nobles, the king so took by the matter, that sending his writings vnto all sheriffes in England hee offered pardon to all and singular students of that Uniuersity, (wherefore dispersed) for that transgression: Whereby the Uniuersity in that time was replenished againe as before. Whereafter it was granted to the Archchancellor or commissary (as they terme him) of the towne and Uniuersity of Oxford, to haue the aulise of Bread, Ale, Wine, & all other vntual, the Houshold of the said towne being excluded. Also it was granted and decreed, that the commons of Oxford should giue to the Uniuersity of Oxford, 200. pound sterling, in part of satisfaction for their excesses: reserved notwithstanding to euery one of the students his feuerall action against any seuerall person of the townesmen, &c.

About the yere of our Lord 1354. the king, with the consent of his counsell, reuoked home againe out of Flanders the staple of Wooll, with all things therunto appertaining, and stablished the same in sundry places within the realme, namely in Welford, Canterbury, Chichester, Bristow, Lincoln, and in Hull. Which Staple after An. 1362. was translated ouer into Calis.

Of Simon Illep Archbishop of Canterbury mentioned a litle before, pag. 512. I reade in the said author aboue specified, that he by his letters patent directed to all parsons and vicars within his province; straightly charged them and their parishioners, vnder paine of excommunication, not to abase the same from bodily labor, upon certaine saints daies, which before were wont to be hallowed and consecrated to bodily idleness. Item, that to priests should be giuen no more for their perly stipend, but 3. pound 6. s. viij. d. which made diuers of them to rob & steale, &c. An. 1362. The next yere following, which was 1363. the foresaid king Edward kept his Parliamt at London in the month of October: wherein was prohibited, that gold nor silver should be wrought in knives, girdles, brooches, rings, or in any other ornament belonging to the body, except the weaver might spend 10. pound by yere. Item, that none should weare either silks or costly fures, except such as might spend 100. pound by yere. Also that Merchant venturers should not export euery any merchandise out of the realme, or seeke for wines in other countries; whereby other nations should be constrained rather to saue to vs, &c. But none of this did take any great effect.

After this Simon Illep, as is aboue recorded, followed Simon Langham, then William Wifflesey, after whom next in the place succeeded Simon Sudbury.

Much about the same time the Pluns of saint Brides order began first. About which time also was builded the Quenes colledge in Oxford, by Queen Philippa of England, wife to king Edward the third; Circa annum Domini 1360.

Whereafter in the time of this pope Innocent, frier John Wyle Bishop of Ely, moued with certaine iniuries (as he thought) done to him by the lady Blanch, made his complaint to the Pope. Who sending down his curse to the bishop of Lincoln, and other prelates to be executed vpon the aduersaries of

ring of this excessive outrage, sendeth his inhibition to all parsons and priests, forbidding them throughout all Oxford, to celebrate masse or any diuine seruice in the presence of any lay person within the said towne of Oxford, interdicting withall the whole towne. Which interdiction indured the space of a whole yere and more.

The king also sent thither his Iustices to examine and inquire of the matter. Before whom diuers lay men and of the clergy were indicted, and foure of the chiefe burgessees of the said towne were indicted, and by the kings commandement sent to the tower of London, and were there imprisoned. At length through much labour of the nobles, the king so took by the matter, that sending his writings vnto all sheriffes in England hee offered pardon to all and singular students of that Uniuersity, (wherefore dispersed) for that transgression: Whereby the Uniuersity in that time was replenished againe as before. Whereafter it was granted to the Archchancellor or commissary (as they terme him) of the towne and Uniuersity of Oxford, to haue the aulise of Bread, Ale, Wine, & all other vntual, the Houshold of the said towne being excluded. Also it was granted and decreed, that the commons of Oxford should giue to the Uniuersity of Oxford, 200. pound sterling, in part of satisfaction for their excesses: reserved notwithstanding to euery one of the students his feuerall action against any seuerall person of the townesmen, &c.

About the yere of our Lord 1354. the king, with the consent of his counsell, reuoked home againe out of Flanders the staple of Wooll, with all things therunto appertaining, and stablished the same in sundry places within the realme, namely in Welford, Canterbury, Chichester, Bristow, Lincoln, and in Hull. Which Staple after An. 1362. was translated ouer into Calis.

Of Simon Illep Archbishop of Canterbury mentioned a litle before, pag. 512. I reade in the said author aboue specified, that he by his letters patent directed to all parsons and vicars within his province; straightly charged them and their parishioners, vnder paine of excommunication, not to abase the same from bodily labor, upon certaine saints daies, which before were wont to be hallowed and consecrated to bodily idleness. Item, that to priests should be giuen no more for their perly stipend, but 3. pound 6. s. viij. d. which made diuers of them to rob & steale, &c. An. 1362. The next yere following, which was 1363. the foresaid king Edward kept his Parliamt at London in the month of October: wherein was prohibited, that gold nor silver should be wrought in knives, girdles, brooches, rings, or in any other ornament belonging to the body, except the weaver might spend 10. pound by yere. Item, that none should weare either silks or costly fures, except such as might spend 100. pound by yere. Also that Merchant venturers should not export euery any merchandise out of the realme, or seeke for wines in other countries; whereby other nations should be constrained rather to saue to vs, &c. But none of this did take any great effect.

After this Simon Illep, as is aboue recorded, followed Simon Langham, then William Wifflesey, after whom next in the place succeeded Simon Sudbury.

Much about the same time the Pluns of saint Brides order began first. About which time also was builded the Quenes colledge in Oxford, by Queen Philippa of England, wife to king Edward the third; Circa annum Domini 1360.

Whereafter in the time of this pope Innocent, frier John Wyle Bishop of Ely, moued with certaine iniuries (as he thought) done to him by the lady Blanch, made his complaint to the Pope. Who sending down his curse to the bishop of Lincoln, and other prelates to be executed vpon the aduersaries of

{ KING }  
{ EDW.3 }

He the towne of Oxford interdicted.

Granted to the commissary of Oxford to haue the aulise of Bread and Ale, and other vntuals above the Houshold of the towne.

A wholesome decree of a good Archbishop to abstaine from bodily labour vpon certain holy daies

A Parliament

Simon Sudbury Archbishop of Canterbury

The muns of saint Brides order.

This lady Blanch was Duchesse of Lancaster.

A seditious commotion betwene the townesmen and the schollars in the Uniuersity of Oxford.

A procession for Peace. The holy procession would bring no peace.

Transubstantiation will not helpe in time of needs.

A conquest of the schollars of Oxford.

The Uniuersity of Oxford dissolved for a time.



{ KING }  
EDW. 3  
Deadmen  
communicated  
by the Pope.

of the Bishop of Ely, commanded them, that if they did know any of the said aduersaries dead and buried (that notwithstanding) they should cause the same to be taken up: which also they performed accordingly, of whom some had bene of the Kings Council. Wherefore the King being displeased, and not worthily, did trouble and molest againe the said prelates. This coming to the Popes hearing, certaine were directed downe from the Court of Rome, in the behalfe of the foresaid Bishop of Ely: who meeting with the Bishop of Rochester the Kings treasurer, deliuered vnto him, being armed, letters from the Bishop of Rome, the tenor whereof was not known. Which done, they incontinently auoided away. But

certaine of the Kings seruants pursuing, did ouertake them: of whom some they unprisoned, some they brought to the Iustices, and to they were condemned to be hanged. Wherein may appeare what reuerence the Popes letters, in this Kings daies, had in this realme of England. *Ex Chro. Walling.* This Pope Innocent ordained the feast of the holy speare, and of the holy naites.

The Popes messengers hanged.  
The feast of the speare and of the holy naites.

And here to make an end of this fourth booke, now remaineth after our order and custome before begun, to prosecute the race of the Archbishops of Canterbury, in this foresaid fourth booke contained, beginning where before we left, pag. 220. at Lanfrancus.

## A Table of the Archbishops of Canterburie in this fourth Booke contained.

Polydor Virg. lib. 9. numbereth this Lanfrancus to bee the thirtieth archbishop. But by the count of other authoꝝ (namely by the chronicle of the Monke of Douer) hee seemeth to bee deceiued, as hee was in the 28. yeeres of Dunstan, which indeede did sit but nineteene or twenty at the most. This error of Polydore seemeth to come by leauing out either Elsius, which was the 23. or by leauing out Elfricus, which was the 26. as in some authoꝝ I finde.

Howeouer, here is to bee noted, that although the said Elfricus were left out, yet Lanfrancus cannot be 33.

Note also, that in the table of the third booke before, after Siricius, you must put in Sanctus Aluredus. Which in the order of archbishops I left out in the end of the third booke, page 120.

This Lanfrancus was an Italian, and a stout champion of the pope. After his stubborn dissention with Thomas archbishop of Doꝝke he wrote against Berengarius, intitling his booke, *Opus Scintillarum*, page 225.

Also the same Lanfrancus builded the new Church at Canterbury, and pluckt downe the old. By him was builded the Church of S. Gregorie. At length he was expelled by King William Rufus.

Of this Anselmus, and the strife betwene him and the King, wee see in the page 241.

Under Rad. the order of Cistercians began.

By this Al. the new woꝝke of the Church of Saint Martins at Douer was builded.

By this Theobald, Monkes were first brought into the Church of Douer. He was expelled by H. Stephan. In his time the Church of Saint Gregorie was burned at Canterbury.

Of the life and death of this Becket, see the page 267.

*Ex Crickeladensi:* Magnates in Anglia interdixerunt, ne quis martyrem Thomam nominaret, ne quis eius miracula predicaret, interminantes minas mortis seu maxima-

rum poenarum omnibus contentibus cum fuisse martyrem, & miracula eius pradicantibus, &c.

40. Richar. 10. This Richard was a monke: in his time Christs Church at Canterbury was burned.

Betweene this Baldwin and the Monkes was great discord. He suspended the Prior from his Priorship, and 22. Monkes from all Service. He caused the Subprior with all his adherents to be excommunicated through all Kent.

42. Hubertus 14. In the time of this Hubert the Chappell of Lambeth was pluckt downe. Also the Church of Douer was burned.

This Stephan, with the monkes of Canterbury, were expelled by King John.

This Stephan, intending to gaine orders in the Chappell of Lambeth, was stopped by the monkes of Canterbury, through their appeale and prohibition. Wherefore he required Custace Bishop of London to minister the same orders in the Church of S. Paul.

In his time fell great variance betwene the Monkes of Rochester and the monkes of Canterbury, for the election of their Bishop, which election the monkes of Canterbury would not admit before the Rochester monkes had presented the bishops staffe in the church of Canterbury, so that both the Churches sent their messengers to the Court of Rome.

At the consecration of this Richard, contention rose betwene the Bishop of Rochester and the Bishop of Bath, who should consecrate him.

Item, betwene the said Richard & the Monkes of Canterbury fell a grieuous discord, about certaine liberties belonging to the archbishop.

The said Archbishop, for certain quarrels against the King, went up to Rome, who died in Tuscany.

After this Richard the election of three Archbishops was dissuaded at Rome, of Radulphus de noua villa, of John Prior of Canterbury, of John Blund.

This

34. Lanfrancus. 19.

40

50 43. Stephanus Langton. 22.

60

44. Richardus Magnus. 4.

70

35. Anselmus. 20.

36. Radulphus. 8.

37. Gulielmus Curbuil. 13.

38. Theobaldus. 24.

39. Thomas Becket. 9.

Histor. Crickeladensi.



{ KING }  
{ EDW.3 }45. Edmund  
of Abenden.

7.

This Edmund was called saint Edmund, at whose election the prior of Douer thinking to be present, as at the marriage of his mother, was not permitted by the monkes of Canterbury. For the which iniurie he appealed and went to Rome to complaine, not against the elect, but against the election: where he obtained of the Pope, for all the priors and successors of Douer to haue full interest in the election of the archbishops, besides other priuiledges which he obtained, percase not without some good store of money. Afterward the monkes of Canterbury accused him to the Archbishop, as though he had against the person of the elect, and so obtained of the Archbishop being angrie with him, to haue brought him vnder the chapter of Canterbury, there to be punished. Whereupon the prior, seeing himself to destitute of all helpe of Lawyers, was constrained in the foresaid chapter to cry peccauit. Then being suspended from his priorship, he was at length sent hometo Douer, being compelled first to let his hand to a certaine composition between him and the foresaid monkes.

The said Edmund Archbishop, hauing also some quarrell against the King, went up to Rome, and died before his coming home.

In the time of this Boniface, Pope Gregory wickedly granted to king Henrie the third (for the getting of the Kingdome of Sicille, which belonged not to him to giue, nor to the other to take) tenths of goods temporall and spirituall, for five yeeres. Item, all the first yeeres fruits of Churches that should be vacant for five yeeres. Item, halfe of all the goods of beneficed men, not resident at their benefices. Item, all Legacies not distinctly giuen. And yet the Kingdome of Sicille neuer came to his hands, which belonged to Manfredus, sonne of Fredericke the Emperour. Strife there was between this Boniface, and the Prior of Canterbury: Item, betweene him and Bishop of Ross. Item, betweene him and the chapter of Lincoln: all which was after agreed; Chro. Douerens. fol. 20. pag. 2.

Strife also in Winchester, about chusing the Bishop after the death of Aponarus the Kings brother.

46. Bonifacius.

25.

Strife also in the Conuocation which Boniface did hold at Lambeth. In the which counsell were recited the statutes of Anabonus, and other new statutes made, against which John Hennekingford the Kings chaplen with other moe, and Prince Edward on the Kings behalfe, did appeale. Chro. Douer. fol. 21.

Under this Boniface archbishop Dunbridge and Hable first came vnder the custodie of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

10

20

30

40

47. Robert  
Kilwarbie.  
Frier. 6.

50

60

70

Walter John of Exeter bought the bishopricke of Winchester for 6000. markes, which being known he was faine to pay the same sum again to the pope, so was sent home.

Boniface the Archbishop being in the parts of Subaudia, Anno 1262. there fell another altercation betweene the Prior and chapter of Canterbury on the one part, and the Prior and Chapter of Douer on the other part. Which two houses almost were neuer in quiet, and all about certaine liberties and priuiledges: as for making the Subprior, for receiuing in of Honors, and for visitations of the Church of Douer.

An. 1268. Boniface Archbishop interdicted the cite of London, because in the same cite the archbishop of Yorke did hold by his crosse, the Archbishop of Canterbury being there present, the king holding then his parliament at Westminster.

This Archbishop died in the parts of Subaudia.

John prior of Canterbury was elected by the monkes against the Kings minde, but by the Pope refused.

Adam Chelinden was elected, but he resigned his election to the pope.

In the time of this Robert Kilwarby, appeale was taken against the chapter of Canterbury by the bishop of Winchester, of Worcester, Exeter, for the which cause the said bishops went up to Rome to prosecute the appeale. The matter was, because they did not their obedience to the monkes of Canterbury, the See being emptye.

Walter Giffard Archbishop of Yorke, going toward the generall counsell, bare up his crosse through the middle of Kent, in the time of this Robert Archbishop of Canterbury, Anno 1272.

By pope Gregorie 10. in the generall counsell at Lyons, all the orders of friers were put downe, 4. orders onely excepted, that is, Dominicks, Franciscans, Carmelits, and Augustines.

This Robert Kilwarby by the commandement of Pope Nicolas was made Cardinall of Rome, bishop of Poauenis.

There is to be noted an untruth in Polydore Virgil, which saith that he was made Cardinall by Pope Gregorie, which could not be.

Robert Burnell bishop of Bath was elected, but by the Pope refused; for whom John Beckham a gray frier, was placed by pope Nicolas.

In the first yeere of this frier Beckham, W. Willewance archbishop of York coming from his consecration at Rome to Douer, bare up his crosse through the midst of Kent, wher at was no little adoe.

Robert Cernemine archdeacon of Canterbury went to law at Rome for the liberties and possessions of his archdeaconship 2. yeeres and there died.

In

An untruth in  
Polyd. Virgil.



{ KING }  
{ EDW.3 }

In this time alſo another wraſ-  
ling fell betwene the Monkes of  
Canterburie and the Monkes of  
Douer, in the time of this John  
Beckhame, for admitting certaine  
nonices of Douer into orders. Ex  
chr. Monach. Douer. fol. 42.

This Beckham, holding a Coun-  
cell at Lambeth ordeined diuers  
ſtatutes, and cauſed the ordinances  
of the Council of Lions, and of  
Boniface Archbiſhop of Canter-  
bury, and his predeceſſor to be obler-  
ued.

Great griefe and hatred was be-  
tween this Beckham and Thomas  
Biſhop of Hereford: who being ex-  
communicated by Beckham, ap-  
pealed to Rome, and went to the  
Pope.

The Prior and Couent of Cant.  
made their appeale againſt this  
Archbiſhop Beckham, that hee  
ſhould not conſecrate Walter le  
Schamel new elect Biſhop of Sal-  
isbury, in any other place, except  
onely in the Church of Canterbu-  
ry, but by their leaue and licence  
firſt obtained. Notwithſtanding the  
archbiſhop, nothing regarding their  
appeale, proceeded in the conſecra-  
tion of the ſaid Biſhop nere to the  
towne of Reading, whereupon the  
Prior and couent ceaſed not to pro-  
ſecute their appeale againſt the  
Archbiſhop.

Betwene Richard Ferrings  
Archdeacon of Cant. of the one  
partie, and the barons of Douer of  
the other partie, the ſame yere fell  
out another like wraſtling, for  
that the archdeacon claimed to viſit  
the Church of Douer: contrarily  
the barons affirmed, that none had  
nor ſhould haue to doe there to or-  
der or diſpoſe in ſpirituall matters  
but onely the Archbiſhop, and the  
Prior and couent of Saint Martin,  
Ex eod. chron. fol. 46.

After the death of William  
Whitwanc Archbiſhop of Porke,  
John de Roma ſucceeded after  
him; and coming from his con-  
ſecration at Rome to Douer, bare  
his croſſe through the middes of  
Kent, contrary to the inhibition of  
John Beckham.

This Robert, which was archb.  
in the later time of king Edward  
the 1. for certaine diſpleaſure of the  
king conceived againſt him, depar-  
ted the realme, and in his baniſh-  
ment remained two or thre yeres.  
And about the beginning of the  
raigne of king Edward the ſecond  
was reſtored againe: Anno 1309.  
Ex chro. Rich. 2. Thus few archbi-  
ſhops of Canterbury wee finde,  
with whom kings haue not had  
ſome quarrell or other. The cauſe  
betwene the king and him (ſaith  
mine authoꝝ) was this: that the  
king accuſed him to pope Clement  
to diſturbe his realme, and to take  
part with rebels, &c. Ex Chro. S. Al-  
bani.

This Robert alſo excommunicat-  
ed Walter, Biſhop of Couentry,

for holding with the king and Pe-  
ter Sauelton againſt the ordinan-  
ces of the Barons; wherefore the  
ſaid Biſhop appealed to the Pope,  
againſt whom the Archbiſhop ſent  
Adam Herimouth.

In the time of this Robert Arch-  
biſhop, the order of Templaries  
were abolithed by Pope Clement 5.  
in the council of Vienna with this  
ſentence definitiue: *Quamquam de  
jure non poſſumus, tamen ad ple-  
nitudinam poteltaris dictum ordinem  
reprobamus.*

After the deceaſe of Robert  
Wincheſley, who departed Anno,  
1312 Thomas Cobham a learned  
man was elected by full conſent of  
the Monkes: who came to Aunton  
to haue his election confirmed.  
But the pope referring the vacant  
ſeate in his owne hands, put in  
Walter Reynald Biſhop of Wor-  
ceſter, Chancellor of England, who  
gouerned the ſeate 15. yeres.

The Chronicle of Saint Albans,  
recordeth alſo how in the dayes of  
this Archbiſhop, Anno 1319. cer-  
taine Lepers conſpiring with the  
Turkes and Jewes went about to  
impotionate, and infect all chriſten-  
dom, by inuenoming their foun-  
taines, lakes, pits, barrells, and  
ſuch other places. Of the which  
crime diuers of them being conuict  
were worthily burned in France.  
About the which yere, the ſaid au-  
thoꝝ maketh alſo relation, how in  
the realme of England much mur-  
ren fell among the beaſts: inſo-  
much, that the dogges eating vpon  
their fleſh (infected belike by the  
waters and fountaines) fell downe  
dead incontinently. Neither durſt  
men for that cauſe almoſt taſte of  
any beaſt: An. 1318. 1319. Ex Ch.  
Alban.

This Walter archbiſhop taking  
part with the Ducene Mabel a-  
gainſt king Edward her husband,  
died the ſame yere in which he was  
depoſed: An. 1237. Ex Chro. Sanct.  
Albani.

After Walter the archbiſhop as  
affirmeth the Chronicle of Saint  
Alban, ſucceeded Simon Deſphant.  
Of whom I maruell that Wolſdor  
maketh no word nor mention: be-  
like he ſate not long: after followed  
John Stratford.

In the Story of Adam Heri-  
mouth, it is recorded that this  
John Stratford, intending to viſit  
the diocelle of Dorſolke, was not  
receiued by the Biſhop, the chapter  
and clergie there alleaging that he  
obſerued not the ordinary canon  
therein. To whom the Archbiſhop  
ſaid againe, he had the Popes let-  
ters, and ſhewed the ſame. But  
the other answered, that theſe  
letters were falſely obtained and  
ſent to the ſuppreſſion of the cler-  
gie, and therefore they would not  
obey: wherefore the Archbiſhop ex-  
communicated the Biſhop, and ſuf-  
pended the prior, and interdicted the  
couent: An. 1347.

¶ Walter

This Adam  
Herimouth  
was compiler  
of the Story of  
St. Edward.

48. John  
Beckham.

13.

10

20

30

50. Gualter  
Reynald, 15.

40

50

60

51. John  
Stratford.

70

29.

49. Robert  
Wincheſley.  
19.



52. Iohn Of-  
ford 10. mo-  
neths.

Master Iohn Oford chancelloz  
of England was elected and con-  
firmed Archbishop of Canterbury,  
but not consecrated, and sate but  
tenne moneths, about the yere of  
our Lord, 1350. Pestilencia in An-  
glia.

53. Thomas  
Braidwarden  
I.

This Thomas Braidwarden  
following after Iohn Stratford  
sate not long, but died within 10.  
moneths of the plague, as they say.  
Which was called then the first  
great plague in England, raging  
so sore in all quarters, that it was  
thought scarce the tenth part of  
men to be left alive.

In the time of Simon Meppe,  
which followed after Braidwarden,  
king Edward Anno 1362. is re-

54. Simon  
Meppe. 17.

10

ported, after the blinde superstition  
of those dayes, to offer in the church  
of Westminster the Vestments  
wherein Saint Peter did celebrate  
Mass. Which belike were well  
kept from mothes, to last so long.  
Ex Chron. Alban.

The same Simon Meppe, a-  
mong other constitutions, ordai-  
ned through all Churches and chap-  
pels under paine of excommuni-  
cation; that no man should abstaine  
from bodily labours upon certaine  
saints dayes, as is before touched:  
which fact of his is not a little noted  
in our monethly histories.

This Simon builded Canterbu-  
rie colledge in Oxfozd.

5 KING  
2 EDW. 3

The vestment  
wherein S. Pe-  
ter said masse,  
or else the pas-  
sions doe lie.

Canterbury  
colledge builded  
in Oxfozd.

The first great  
plague in Eng-  
land.

## The conclusion of this fourth Booke.

The conclusion  
of this booke.  
Antichrist in  
his pride.

Forasmuch as Satan being chained up all this while for the space of a thousand yeeres beginneth about this time  
to be loosed and to come abroad, according to the forewarning of Saint Iohns Revelation: Therefore to con-  
clude the fourth Booke, wherein sufficiently hath beene described the excessive pride and pompe of Antichrist,  
flourishing in his ruffe and securitie, from the time of William Conquerour hitherto: Now (Christ willing and  
assisting us thereunto) we minde in these latter Bookes hereafter following, in order of Historie to expresse the  
latter persecutions and horrible troubles of the Church, raised up by Satanas in his minister Antichrist, with  
the resistance againe of Christs Church against him. And so to prosecute (by the mercifull grace of Christ)  
the proceeding and course of times, till wee come at length to the fall and ruine of the said Antichrist.

The looking out  
of Satan.

To the intent that if any be in such errour to thinke that Antichrist is yet to come, hee may consider and  
ponder well the tragickall rages, the miserable and most sorrowfull persecutions, murders, and vexa-  
tions of these latter three hundred yeeres now following, and then I doubt not but he will  
be put out of all doubt, and know that not onely Antichrist is already come, but  
also will know where he sitteth, and how he is now falling apace  
(the Lord Christ be thanked for ever) to his  
decay and confusion.







## The Fifth Booke, containing the last three hundred yeeres from the loosing out of Satan.



**T**hus having discoursed in these former books the order and course of yeeres, from the first tying vp of Satan vnto the the yeere of our Lord 1360. I haue a little ouerpassed the stint of time in the Scripture appointed, for the loosing out of him againe. For so it is written by S. John, Apoc. 20. that after a thousand yeeres, Satan the old Dragon shall be let loose againe for a season, &c.

For the better explanation of the which mystery, let vs first consider the context of the Scripture: afterward let vs examine, by histories and course of times, the meaning of the same: and first, to recite the words of the Apocalypse, the text of the prophete is this, chap. 20.

And I saw an Angell descending from heaven, having a Key of the bottomlesse pit, and a great chaine in his hand. And hee tooke the Dragon the old serpent, which is the diuell and Satanas, and bound him for a thousand yeeres, and put him in the bottomlesse dungeon and shut him up, and signed him with his seale, that hee should no more seduce the Gentiles, till a thousand yeeres were expired. And after that he must be loosed againe for a little space of time. And I saw seates, and they sate upon them, and iudgement was given unto them; and the soules I saw of them which were beheaded for the testimony of Iesus, &c.

By these words of the Revelation, here recited, these speciall times are to be noted.

First, the being abroad of Satan to deceiue the world.

Secondly, the binding vp of him.

Thirdly, the loosing out of him againe, after a thousand yeeres consummate, for a time.

Concerning the interpretation of which times, I see the common opinion of many to be deceiued by ignorance of histories, and state of things done in the Church, they supposing that the chaining vp of Satan for a thousand yeeres, spoken of in the Revelation, was meant from the birth of Christ our Lord. Wherein I grant that spiritually the strength and dominion of Satan, in accusing and condemning vs for sinne, was cast downe at the passion and by the passion of Christ our saviour, and locked vp not onely for a thousand yeeres, but for ever. Albeit as touching the malicious hatred and fury of that serpent, against the outward bodies of Christs poore saints (which is the haele of Christ) to afflicke and torment the Church outwardly, that I judge to be meant in the Revelation of S. John, not to be restrained till the ceasing of those terrible persecutions of the primitive church. At what time it pleased God to pite the sorrowfull affliction of his poore flock, being so long under persecution, the space of three hundred yeeres, and so to allwaie their griefes and torments.

Which is meant by binding vp of Satan; tooke of all those mischiefs: understanding thereby, that for so much as the diuell, the prince of this world, had now by the death of Christ the some of God lost all his power and interest against the soule of man, he should turne his furious rage and malice, which hee had to Christ, against the people of Christ (which is meant by the haele of the seed, Genes. 3.) in tormenting their outward bodies. Which yet should not be for ever, but for a determinate time, when as it should please the Lord to bide the malice, and snaffle the power of the old serpent, and give rest vnto his Church for the tearme of a thousand yeeres. Which time being expired, the said serpent should be suffered loose againe for a certaine or a small time, Apoc. 20.

And thus to expound this propheticall place of Scripture I am led by three reasons.

Three reasons.  
The first reason.

The first is, for that the binding vp of Satan, and closing him in the bottomlesse pit by the Angell, importeth as much that he was at liberty, raging and doing mischiefe before. And certes those so terrible and so horrible persecutions of the primitive time vniuersally through the whole world, during the space of three hundred yeeres of the Church, doe declare no lesse. Wherein it is to be thought and supposed, that Satan all that time, was not fastened and closed vp.

The second reason, mouing me to thinke that the closing vp of Satan was after the ten persecutions of the primitive Church, is taken out of the twelfth chapter of the Apocalypse. Where we reade, that after the woman (meaning the church) had trauelled forth her manchild; the old Dragon the diuell, the same time being cast downe from heauen, drawing the third part of the starres with him, stood before the woman with great anger, and persecuted her (that is, the Church of God) with a whole flood of water; (that is, with a abundance of all kindes of torments) and from thence went mozeouer to fight against the residue of her seede, and stood upon the sands of the Sea, whereby it appeareth that he was not as yet locked vp.

The second reason.

The third reason I collect out of the Apocalypse thirtieth chapter; where it is written of the beast, signifying the imperiall Monarchie of Rome, that he had power to make warre forty and two moneths. By the which moneths is meant, no doubt, the time that the Dragon, and the persecuting Emperours should haue in afflicting the Saints of the Primitive church. The computation of which forty two moneths (counting euery moneth for a Sabbath of yeeres, that is, for seuen yeeres, after the order of Scripture) riseth to the summe (counting from the passion of the Lord Christ) of three hundred yeeres lacking five; at what time Diocletius the last persecutor in Rome, fighting against Constantine, was drowned with his soldiers, like as Pharaoh persecuting

The third reason.  
Apoc. cap. 13

the moneths in the Apoc. cap. 13. was moneths.

Et 2 the

The first booke.

The yeeres and time of loosing out Satan examined.

Apoc. 20.

The place of the Apoc. 20. examined, for the loosing out of Satan.

What the loosing out of Satan doth mean in Scripture.



the children of Israel was drowned in the red Sea. Unto the which xlii. months, or Sabbaths of yeeres, if ye adde the other fire yeeres wherein Licinius persecuted in the East, ye shall find just three hundred yeeres, as is specified before in the first booke of this volume, pag. 113.

At that time Satan was tied up.

After the which forty and two moneths, being expired, manifest it is that the fury of Satan, that is, his violent malice and power over the Saints of Christ, was diminished and restrained vniuersally through the whole world.

Thus then the matter standing eident, that Satan after 300. yeeres, counting from the passion of Christ, began to be chained vp, at what time the persecution of the primitive Church began to cease: now let vs see, how long this binding vp of Satan should continue, which was promised in the booke of the Revelation to bee a thousand yeeres. Which thousand yeeres, if ye adde to the xlii. moneths of yeeres, that is, to 294. yeeres; they make 1294. yeeres after the passion of the Lord. To these more ouer adde the 30. yeeres of the age of Christ, and it cometh to the yeere of our Lord 1324. which was the yeere of the letting out of Satan, according to the prophetic of the Apocalypse.

About what time and yeere Satan was let out by the count of the Apocalypse.

- A Table containing the time of the persecution both of the Primitive, and of the latter Church, with the count of yeeres from the first binding up of Satan, to his loosing againe, after the minde of the Apocalypse.

The first persecution of the Primitive Church, beginning at the 30. yeere of Christ, was prophesied to continue 42. moneths, that is, Anno 294

The ceasing of the last persecution in the Primitive Church.

The ceasing of the last persecution of the Primitive Church by the death of Licinius the last persecutor, began An. 324. from the nativity of Christ, which was from the 30. yeere of his age. 294

The binding vp of Satan after peace giuen to the Church, counting from the 30. yeeres of Christ, began Anno 294

The binding vp of Satan.

And lasted a thousand yeeres, that is, counting from the thirtieth yeere of Christ, to the yeere, 1294

The time of loosing of Satan.

About which yeere Pope Boniface the eighth was Pope, and made the sixth booke of the decretals, confirmed the orders of friers, and prouided them with great freedoms, as appeareth by his constitution Super cathedram. An. 1294

The time of Antichrist, examined.

Unto the which count of yeeres both not much disagree that which I found in a certaine old chronicle prophesied and written in the latter end of a booke, which booke was written, as it seemeth, by a Donke of Douer, and remaineth yet in the custody of William Carie, a Citizen of London; alleging the prophetic of one Hapnecardus a gray frier, grounded vpon the authority of Joachim the Abbat, prophesying that Antichrist should be borne the yeere from the nativity of Christ 1260. Which is, counting after the Lords passion, the very same yeere and time when the orders of friers both Dominickes and Franciscans began first to be set vp by Pope Honorius the third, and by pope Gregorius the ninth, which was the yeere of our Lord, counting after his passion. 1226

And counting after the nativitie of the Lord, was the yeere, 1260. { KING EDW. 3 }

Whereof these verses in the autho were written.

Cum fuerint anni completi mille ducenti,  
Et decies seni post partum virginis almae:  
Tunc Antichristus nascetur demone plenus.

These prophesies of the coming of Antichrist.

And these verses were written; as appeareth by the said autho, An. 1285.

These things thus premised for the loosing out of Satan, according to the prophetic of the Apocalypse, now let vs enter (Christ willing) to the declaration of these latter times which followed after the letting out of Satan into the world. Describing the wondrous perturbations and cruell tyranny stirred vp by him against Christs Church; also the valiant resistance of the Church of Christ against him and Antichrist, as in these our bookes here under following may appeare.

The argument of which bookes consisteth in two parts, first to entreate of the raging fury of Satan now loosed, and of Antichrist; against the Saints of Christ fighting and travelling for the maintenance of the truth, and reformation of the church. Secondly, to declare the decay and ruine of the said Antichrist, through the power of the word of God, being at length, either in a great part of the world overthrowne: or at least vniuersally in the whole world detected.

Thus then to begin with the yeere of our Lord 1360. wherein I haue a little, as is aforesaid, transgressed the limit of the first loosing out of Satan: we are come now to the time wherein the Lord, after long darknesse, beginneth some reformation of his Church, by the diligent industry of sundry his faithful and learned seruants: of whom diuers already we haue foretouched in the former booke before, as namely, Guliel. de Sancto Amore, Marsilius Patavinus, Ockam, Robertus Gallus, Robertus Grossthead, Petrus de Cugneriis, Iohannes Rupescissanus, Conradus Hager, Iohannes de Poliano, Cesenas, with other moe; which withstood the corrupt errors, and intolerable enormities of the Bishop of Rome, beside them which about these times were put to death by the said Bishop of Rome, as Chastilio and Franciscus de Arcatara in the booke before recorded; also the two Franciscans, martyrs, which were burned at Autun, mentioned pag. 312.

Now to these (the Lord willing) we will adde such other holy martyrs and confessors, who following after in the course of yeeres with like zeale and strength of Gods word, and also with like danger of their liues, gaue the like resistance against the enemy of Christs religion, and suffered at his hands the like persecutions. First, beginning with that goodly man, whosoever hee was, the autho of the booke (his name I haue not) intitled the prayer and complaint of the Ploughman, written as it appeareth, about this present time.

Which booke as it was faithfully set forth by William Tindall, so I haue as truly distributed the same abroad to the Readers hands: neither changing any thing of the matter, neither altering many words of the phrase thereof. Although the oldnesse and age of his speech and tearmes be almost growne now out of use; yet I thought it to befit, both for the utility of the booke to referue it from obliuion, as also in his owne language to let it goe abroad, for the more credit and testimony of the true antiquity of the same. Adding withall in the margent for the better vnderstanding of the Reader, some interpretation of certaine difficult tearmes and speeches, which otherwise might perhaps hinder or stay the Reader. The matter of this complaining paper of the Ploughman thus proceedeth:

The autho of the Ploughmans prayer knowne.



{ KING }  
{ EDW. 3 }

*An old ancient writing intituled, The prayer  
and complaint of the Plough-  
man.*

I Iesus Christ that was ybore of the maide Marie, have  
on thy poore servants mercy and pitie, and helpe  
them in their great need to fight against sinne, and a-  
gainst the divell that is author of sinne, and more need-  
nesse there never was to crie to Christ for helpe, than  
it is right now. For it is fulfilled that God said by Ilay  
the Prophet; yceriseth up earlich to follow drunken-  
nesse, and to drinke till it be even, the Harpe and other  
minstrelies beeth in your feasts and wine. But the  
worke of God ye ne beholdeth not, ne taketh no keepe  
to the workes of his hands: And therefore my people  
is take prisoner, for they ne had no cunning. And the  
noblemen of my people deyceden for hunger, and the  
multitude of my people weren drie for thirst, and  
therefore hell hath drawne abroad their soule, and hath  
yopened his mouth without any end. And esfloones  
saith Ilay the prophet; The Word is floten away, and  
the highnesse of the people is ymade sicke, and the  
earth is infect of his womyners, for they have broken  
my lawes, and ychanged my right, and han destroyed  
mine everlasting bond and \* forward betwene them  
and me. And therefore cursing shall devoure the earth,  
and they that womneth on the earthly shallen done  
sinne. And therefore the earth tilyars shullen waxe  
wood, and few men shullen ben yleft upon the earth.  
And yet saith Ilay the prophet, This saith God, Foral-  
much as this people nigheth me with their mouth, and  
glorifieth me with their lips, and their heart is farr  
from me; And they han ydrad more mens commande-  
ment, than mine, and more draw to their doctrines,  
than mine; Therefore will I make a great wondring  
unto this people, wisdomed shall perish away from  
wisemen, and understanding of ready men shall bee  
yhid. And so it seemeth that another saying of Ilay is  
fulfilled, here as God bad him goe teach the people,  
and said, Goe forth and say to this people: Eares have  
ye, and understand ye not, and eyes ye have and sight,  
ne know ye not. Make blind the heart of this people,  
and make their eares heavie, and close their eyen, lest  
he see with his eyne, and yheare with his eares, and un-  
derstand with his heart, and be turned, and ych heale  
him of his sicknesse. And Ilay said to God; How long  
Lord shall this bee? And God said, For to that the ci-  
ties ben desolate withouten a womier, and an house  
withouten a man.

Heere is mychel nede for to make sorrow, and to  
crie to our Lord Iesus Christ heartilich for helpe and  
for succour, that hee wole forgive us our sinnes, and  
give us grace and conning to serve him better here-  
after. And God of his endlesse mercie give us grace  
and conning trulich to tellen which is Christs  
law in helping of mens soules; for we beth lewd men  
and sinfull men, and uncunning, and if hee woll bee  
our helpe and our succour, we shullen well performe  
our purpose. And blessed be our Lord God that hideth  
his wisdomed from wise men, and fro readie men, and  
teacheth it to small children; as Christ teacheth in the  
Gospell.

Christen men have a law to keepe, the which law  
hath two parties. Beleeve in Christ that is God, and  
is the fundament of their law; and upon this found-  
ment, as he said to Peter, and the Gospell beareth wit-  
nesse, he woll byelden his Church, and this is the 1. par-  
tie of Christs law. The 2. partie of this law beth Christs  
Commandements that beth written in the Gospell, and  
more verilich in Christen mens hearts.

And as touching the beleeve, we beleven that Christ  
is God, and that there ne is no God but he. We be-  
leven neverthelesse that in the Godhead there bene  
three persons, the Father, the Sonne, and the holy  
Ghost, and all these three persons ben one God, and  
not many gods, and all they beth ylich mightie, ylich

good, and ylich wise, and ever have ben, and ever  
shullen ben. We beleven this God made the world  
of nought, and man hee made after his owne like-  
nesse in Paradise, that was a land of blisse, and gave  
him that land for his heritage, and bad him that hee  
should not eate of the tree of knowledge of good  
and evil, that was \* amid Paradise. Then the di-  
vell, that was fallen out of heaven for his pride, had  
envie to man, and by a falsc suggestion hee made man  
eate of this tree, and brake the commandement of

God, and tho was man overcome of the divell, and  
so hee lost his heritage, and was put out thereof into  
the world that was a land of travell, and of sorrow  
under the fiends thraldome, to bee punished for his  
trespasse. There man followed wickednesse and sinne,  
and God for the sinne of man sent a flood into this  
world, and drowned all mankind save eight soules.  
And after this flood hee let men multiply in the  
world, and so he assayed whether man dread him or  
loved him, and among other hee found a man, that

hight Abraham: this man hee proved whether hee  
loved him and dread him, and bad him that he  
should offeren Isaac his sonne upon an hill; and  
Abraham as a true servant fulfilled the Lords com-  
mandement: and for his buxumnesse and truth, God  
sware unto Abraham, that hee would multiply his  
seed as the gravell in the sea, and as the starres of  
heaven, and hee beight to him and to his heires  
the land of behest for heritage for ever, gif they wol-  
den ben his true servants and keepe his hefts. And

God \* held him forward, for Isaac Abrahams sonne  
begat Jacob and Esau: and of Jacob, that is ycleped  
Israel, comen Gods people that hee chose to bee his  
servants, and to whom he beight the land of behest.  
This people was in great thraldome in Egypt under  
Pharaoh that was king of Egypt: and they crieden  
to God that hee should deliveren them out of that  
thraldome, and so hee did: for hee sent to Pharaoh,  
Moses and his brother Aaron, and bad him deliver  
his people to done him sacrifice: and tofore Phara-  
oh hee made Moses done many wonders, or that

Pharaoh would deliver his people, and at the last by  
night he delivered his people out of thraldome, and  
led them through a desert toward the land of behest,  
and there hee gave them a law; that they shoulde  
liven after; when they comen into their country, and  
in their way thitherward, the ten commandements  
God wrote himselfe in two tables of stone: the rem-  
nant of the law hee taught them by Moses his ser-  
vant, how they should doe everichone to other, and  
gif they trespassed against the law, hee ordained how  
they shoulde bee punished. Also hee taught them  
what manner sacrifices they should doe to him, and  
hee chose him a people to ben his priests, that was  
Aaron and his children, to done sacrifices in the ta-  
bernacle, and afterward in the temple also. He chose  
him the remnant of the children of Levi to ben ser-  
vants in the tabernacle to the priest, and hee said;  
When ye come into the land of behest, the children  
of Levi they shullen have none heritage amongst  
their brethren, for I would bee their part, and their  
heritage, and they shullen serve mee in the taberna-  
cles by dayes and by nights; and hee ordained that  
priests should have a part of the sacrifices that were  
offred in the tabernacle, and the first begotten bea-  
sts, both of men and bea-  
sts and other things, as the law  
tellet. And the other children of Levi, that served  
in the tabernacle, should have tithings of the people  
to their livelode, of the which tithings they should  
given the priests the tenth party in forme of offering.

The children of Levi, both priests and other, should  
have houses and crofts, and lesswes for their bea-  
sts in the land of behest, and none other heritage: and  
so God gave them their land of behest, and bad them  
that they ne should worship no other than him:  
so hee bad them that they should keepe his com-  
mandements; and gif they did so, all their enemies  
about them should drede them, and bee their ser-

vants.

\* And the  
divell that  
was in the  
middest of  
Paradise.

Abraham

\* Left him for-  
ward, that is,  
kept him with  
him.

\* Forward, that  
is, conning.

The law of  
Christ han-  
deth  
on two parts.

An old booke  
intituled, The  
ploughmans  
complaint  
as it seemeth a  
hoor, which  
lives time.  
The complaint  
of the plough-  
man.



vants. And gif they worshipped false gods, and so forsaken his lawes, hee behight them that hee would bring them out of that land, and make them serve their enemies : but yet he said he would not bene-men his mercie away from them, if they would crie mercy and amend their defaults ; and all this was done on Gods side.

God's love to man.

a feile times that is, oft-times.

And here is much love showed of God to man. And who so looketh the Bible, hee shall finde that man showed him little love againeward : for when they were come into their heritage, they forgotten their God, and worshipped false gods. And God sent to them the Prophets and his servants a feile times to bid them withdrawn them from their sinnes, and other they have slown them, or they beaten them, or they led them in prison : and oft-times God rooke upon them great vengeance for their sinnes; and when they cried after helpe to God, hee sent them helpe and succour. This is the generall proceffe of the old Testament, that God gave to his people by Moses his servant. And all this testament and this doing ne was but a shadow and a figure of a new Testament that was given by Christ. And it was by-hoten by Ieremie the Prophet, as Saint Paul beareth witnesse in the Epistle that hee writeth to the Iewes. And Ieremie faith in this wise ; Loedaies shall come, God faith, and I will make a new band to the house of Israel, and to the house of Iuda, not like the forward that I made with their fathers, in that day that I tooke their hand to lead them out of the land of Egypt, the which forward they maden veine, and I had lordship over them. But this shall bee the forward that I wold make with them, after thote dayes : I will give my lawes with them in their inwardnesse, and I will written them in their hearts, and I will bee their God, and they should bee my people : and after that a man shall not teach his neighbour, ne his brother. For all (God faith) from the least to the most, should know me, for I will forgiven them their sinnes, and will no more thinke on their sins.

This is the new Testament, that Christ both God and Man, borne of the maide Mary, hee taught here in this world to bring man out of sinne, and out of the devils thraldome and service to heaven, that is a land of blisse and heritage, to all tho that beleeven on him, and keeplen his commandements, and for his teaching hee was done to the death. But the third day hee arose againe from death to life, and fet Adam and Eve, and many other folke out of hell, and afterward he came to his Disciples, and comforted them. After, hee stied up to heaven to his father, and tho he sent the holy Ghost amongst his Disciples ; and in time coming, hee will come and demen all mankind after their works, and after the words hee spake upon earth ; some to blisse, within body and in soule ever withouten end ; and some to paine withouten end, both in body and in soule.

This is our beleve and all christen mens, and this beleve is the first point of the new Testament, that ych Christen man is hold stedfastly to beleve, and rather to suffer the death, then forsaken this beleve ; and so this beleve is the bread of spirituall life, in forsaking sinne, that Christ brought us to life.

But forasmuch as mans living ne stondeth not all onlych by bread, he hath ygiven us a draught of water of life to drinke. And who that drinketh of that water he ne shall never afterward ben athurst. For this water is the cleare teaching of the Gospell, that enclofeth seven commandements.

Speciall precepts or lessons of the Gospell.

The first is this : Thou shalt love thy God over all other things, and thy brother as thy selfe, both enemy and friend.

The second commandement is of meeknesse, in the which Christ chargeth us to forsake lordship upon our brethren, and other worldly worships, and so hee did himselfe.

The third commandement, is in stonding stedfastlich in truth, and forsaking all fallenesse.

The fourth Commandement, is to suffer in this world diseases and wrongs, withouten againston-dings. { KING } { EDW. 3 }

The fifth Commandement is mercy, to forgiven our brethren their trespasses, as often time as they gulteth, without asking of vengeance.

The sixth Commandement is poorenesse in spirit, but not to ben a beggar.

The seventh Commandement, is chastitie ; that is, a forsaking of fleshlich likings displeasing to God.

10 These commandements enclosen the ten Commandements of the old, and somewhat more.

This water is a blessed drinke for christen mens soules. But more harme is, much folke would drinke of this water, but they mowe not come thereto : for God faith by Ezechiel the Prophet, When ich geve to you the most cleane water to drinke, ye troubled that water with your feet, and that water is so defouled, ye geve my sheepe to drinke. But the cleane water is yhid for the sheepe, and but gif God cleare this, it is dread lest the sheepe dyen for thirst. And Christ that is the wisefome of the Father of heaven,

Christ's sheepe stopped from cleane water, and compellid to drinke muddy.

20 and well of this wisefome, that come from heaven to earth to teach man this wisefome ; through the which man should overcome the sleights of the devill, that is the principall enemy of mankind ; have mercy and pitie of his people, and shew, if it bee his will, how this water is troubled, and by whom : and a sith cleare this water that his sheepe mowne drinken hereof, and kele the thirst of their soules. Blessed mote our

e sith, that is, afterward.

30 Lord ben ; for he hath ytaught us in the Gospell ; that ere then he would come to the univerfall dome, then should come many in his name, and sayen, that they weren Christ ; and they shoulden done many wonders, and begilen many men ; and many false Prophets shoulden arisen and beguilen much folke.

A Lord, yblessed mote thou ben of everich creature : which ben they that have ysaied that they weren in Christ, and have thus begiled thy people ? Trulich Lord-I trow, thilke that sayen that they ben in thy steed, and binemen thy worship, and maken the people worhippen them as God, and have hid thy lawes from thy people : Lord, who durst sit in thy steed, and benemen thee thy worship and thy sacrifice, and durst maken the people worhippen them as Gods ? The Sauter tels, that God ne wole not in the day of dome demen men for bodilich sacrifices and Holocaustes ; but God faith, Yeld to me sacrifice of heryng, and yeld to God thine avowes, and clepe me in the day of tribulation, and ich wil defend thee, and thou shalt worship me.

50 The heryng of God standeth in three things. In g heryng, that is, worshipping, loving God over all other things ; in dreading God over all other things ; in trusting in God over all other things.

These three points Christ teacheth in the Gospell. But I trow men loven him but a little. For who so loveth Christ, he wole kepen his words. But men holden his words for heresie and folly, and keepeth mens words. Also men dreden more men and mens lawes and their cursings, than Christ and his lawes and his cursings. Also men hopen more in men and mens helpe, than they doe in Christ and in his helpe.

The honour of God standeth in three things.

60 And thus hath hee, that setteth in Gods stede, bynomen God these three heryngs, and makes men loven him and his lawes, more than Christ and Christs law, and dreden him also. And there as the people shulden yeeld to God their vowes, he faith, hee hath power to asfoylen them of their avowes, and so this sacrifice hee nemeth away from God. And there as

h nemeth, that is, taketh.

the people should cry to God in the day of tribulation, hee letteth them of their crying to God, and by-nemeth God that worship. This day of tribulation is when man is fallen through sinne into the devils service, and then we shulden cry to God after helpe, and axen forgivenesse of our sinne, and make great sorrow for our sinne, and ben in full will to doe so no more, ne none other sinne, and that our Lord God wole forgiven

us



**KING** vs our sinne, and maken our soule cleane. For his mercy is endlesse.

**D.W.** But Lord, heere men haue benomen thee much worship: for men seyn that thou ne might not cleane asfoylen vs of our sinne: But if we knowledgen our sinnes to priests, and taken of them a penance for our sinne, gif we mowen speake with them.

**Exposition** A Lord, thou forgaue sometime Peter his sinnes, and also Mary Magdalen, and many other sinfull men without shriuing to Priests, and taking penance of Priests for their sinnes. And Lord thou art as mighty now as thou were that time, but gif any man haue benomen thee thy might. And wee lewd men beleuen, that there is no man of so great power, and gif any man maketh himselfe of so great power, he heighteth himselfe aboue God. And S. Paul speaketh of one that sitteth in the Temple of God, and heighten him aboue God; and gif any such be, he is a falsche Christ.

**Direction of the Priests** But hereto seyn Priests, that when Christ made clean leprous men, he bade them go and shew them to Priests. And therefore they seyn that it is a commandement of Christ, that a man should shewen his sinne to Priests. For as they seyn, lepre in the old law betokeneth sinne in this new law. A Lord God, whether thine Apostles knew not thy meaning as well as men doe now? And gif they hadden yknow that thou haddest commanded men to shiuen them to Priests, and they ne taught not that commandement to the people; ne thinketh they hadden ben to blame. But I trow they knewen well that it was none of thy commandements, ne needfull to heale of mans soule. And as, me thinketh, the law of lepre is nothing to the purpose of shriuing: for priests in the old law hadden certaine points and tokens to know whether a man were leprous or not: and gif they were leprous, they hadden power to putten them away from other cleane men, for to that they weren cleane; and then they hadden power to receiuen him among his brethren, and offeren for him a sacrifice to God.

**Exposition** This is nothing to the purpose of shriuing. For there is but one Priest, that is Christ, that may know in certaine the lepre of the soule. Ne no Priest may make the soule cleane of her sinne, but Christ that is Priest after Melchisedeks order: ne no Priest here beneath may ywit for certaine whether a man be cleane of his sinne, or cleane asfoyled, but gif God tell it him by reuelation. Ne God ordained not that his Priests should set men a penance for their sinne, after the quantitie of the sinne, but this is mans ordinance, and it may well be that there commeth good thereof. But I wot well that God is much vnworshipped thereby. For men trust more in his absolutions, and in his yeeres of grace, than in Christs absolutions, and thereby is the people much appaired. For now the sorrow a man should make for his sinne, is put away by this shrift: and a man is more bold to doe sinne for trust of this shrift, and of this bodilich penance.

**Direction of the Priests** Another mischief is, that the people is ybrought into this beliefe, that one Priest hath a great power to asfoylen a man of his sinne and clennere, than another Priest hath.

**Exposition** Another mischief is this, that some Priest may asfoylen them both of sin and paine: and in this they taken them a power that Christ granted no man in earth, ne he neued it dought on earth himselfe.

**Direction of the Priests** Another mischief is, that these Priests sellen forgiveness of mens sinnes and absolutions for money; and this is an heresie accursed that is ycleped simony: and all thilke Priests that axeth price for granting of spirituall grace, a beth by holy lawes depriued of their Priesthood, and thilke that assenteth to this heresie. And be they ware; for Helye the Prophet toke no mony of Naaman, when he was made cleane of his lepre; but Giesi his seruant; and therefore the lepre of Naaman abode with him and with his heires euermore after.

Here is much matter of sorrow, to see the people thus faire ylad away from God and worshupen a falsche God in earth, that by night and by day hath ydone away the great sacrifice of God out of his temple: of which mischief and discomfort, Daniel maketh mention, and Christ beareth thereof witness in the Gospell. Who that readeth it vnderstand it. Thus we haue yold apertly, how he that sitteth in Christs stede by synneth Christ has worshup, and his sacrifice of his people, and maketh the people worshupen him as a god on earth.

**Exposition** Cry we to God, and knowledge we our sinnes curichone to other, as S. James teacheth, and pray wee heartilich to God curichone one for other, and then we shulen hopeen forgiveness of our sinnes. For God that is endlesse in mercy saith, that he ne will not a sinfull mans death, but that he be turned from his sin and liuen. And therefore, when he came downe to saue mankind, he gaue vs a law of loue and of mercy; and bade, gif a man doe a trespass, amend him priuily, and gif he leue not his sinne, amend him before witness, and gif he ne amendeth not; men should tell to the Church; and gif he ne amendeth not then, men should shone his company as a publican, or a man that is misbeleued: and this law was yfigured in the law of lepre, who that readeth it, he may see the tooth.

**Exposition** But Lord God, he that sitteth in thy stede hath vndoe thy law of mercy and loue; Lord, thou biddest louen enemies as our selfe; and sheweth in the Gospell there as the Samaritan had mercy on the Iew. And thou biddest vs also prayen for them that curse vs, and that defamen vs, and pursuen vs to death. And so Lord thou diddest, and thine Apostles also. But hee that clepeth himselfe thy vicar on earth, and head of thy Church, he hath vndone thy law of loue and mercy. For gif we speaken of louing our enemies, he teacheth vs to fight with our enemies, that Christ hath forboden. He curseth and desireth vengeance to them that so doth to him. Gif any man pursueth him, he curseth him, that it is a sorrow a Christen man to hearken the cursings that they maken, and blasphemies in such cursing. Of what thing that I know, I may beare true witness.

**Exposition** But gif we speake of louing of our brethren, this is vndone by him that saith he is Gods Vicar in earth. For Christ in the Gospell biddeth vs, that we shoulder clepen vs no father vpon earth: but clepen God our Father, to maken vs love perfittlich together. And he clepeth himselfe father of fathers, and maketh many religions, and to euerych a father. But whether is loue and charity encreased by these fathers and by their religions, or else ymade leise? For a Frier ne loueth not a monke, ne a secular man neither, nor yet one Frier another that is not of the order, and it is agaynward.

**Exposition** A Lord, me thinketh that there is little perfection in these religions, For Lord, what charite hauen such men of religion, that knowne how they mowen againstand sinne, and fleen away from their brethren that ben more vncunning than they ben, and sufferen them to trauelen in the world withouten their counsell as beasts? Trulich Lord, me thinketh that there is but litle charite, and then is there litle perfection. Lord God, when thou were on earth, thou were among sinfull men to drawen them from sinne, and thy Disciples also. And Lord, I trow thou ne grantest not one man more cunning than another all for himselfe: and I wote well that lewd men that ben laborers, ne trauell not alonlich for himselfe. Lord our beliefe is, that thou ne were not of the world, ne thy teaching neither thy seruants that liuen after thy teaching. But all they forsaken the world, and to euery christen man must. But Lord, whether thou taughtest men to forsake their brethrens company and trauell of the World, to liuen in ease and in rest, and out of trouble and anger of the world, by their brethrens trauell, and so forsaken the world?

**Exposition** A Lord, thou ne taughtest not a man to forsaken a poore

**Exposition** b Synneth, that is taken away.

**Exposition** The Pope here teacheth the law of loue and mercy.

**Exposition** The Pope would be a father, but he teacheth no loue.

**Exposition** To forsake the world, is not to liue in ease from company.

**Exposition** mince for his mans ordinance, and of Gods.

**Exposition** Dischies that me by auiciae confession.

**Exposition** opith priests ared with mony.

**Exposition** Beth, that is,



apoor estate and trauell, to ben afterward a Lord of his brethren, or beene a lords fellow, and dwelling with lords, as doth men of these new religions. Lord thou ne taughtest not men of thy religion thus to forsake the world, to liuen in perfection by themselfe in ease, and by other mens trauell. But lord they sayen they ben ybound to thy seruice, and seruen thee both night & day in singng their praiers, both for themselfe and for the other men, that done them good both quicke and dead, and some of them gone about to teach thy people when they haue leifure.

A Lord, gif they be thy seruants; whose seruants ben wethat cannot preien as they done? And when thou were here on earth, for our neede thou taughtest thy seruants to preien thy father priuily and shortlich: and gif there had beene a better manner of preying, I trow thou wouldest haue taught it in help of thy people. And Lord thou reproveist hypocrites that preyen in long prayer, and in open places, to ben yholden holy men. And thou seyst in the Gospell; Wo to you Pharisees hypocrites. And Lord thou ne chargedst not thy seruants with such manner seruice: but thou seyst in the Gospell, that the Pharisees worshopen thee with their lips, and their heart is farre from thee. For they charge more mens traditions than thy commandement.

And Lord, we lewed men han a beliefe, that thy goodnesse is endlesse: and gif we kepen thine heftes, then ben we thy true seruants. And though we preyen thee but a little and shortlich, thou wilt thinke on vs, and granten vs that vs nedeth, for so thou a be-hited vs sometime. And Lord I trow, that pray a man neuer so many quaint prayers, gif hee ne keepe not thine heftes, hee is not thy good seruant. But gif hee keepe thine heftes, then hee is thy good seruant. And so me thinketh, Lord; that praying of long prayers ne is not the seruice that thou desirest, but keeping of thine heftes: and then a lewd man may serue God as well as a man of religion; though that the ploughman ne may not haue so much siluer for his prayer, as men of religion. For they skunnen not so well preien their praiers as these other chapmen: but Lord, our hope is, that our praiers be neuer the worse, though it be not so well fold as other mens prayers.

Lord, Ezechiel the Prophet saith, that when he spake to the people thy words, they turned thy words into songs and into tales. And so Lord men done now: they sing in merilich thy words, and that singng they clepen thy seruice. But Lord I trow that the best fingers he herieth thee not most: but he that fulfilleth thy words, he fherieth thee full well, though hee wepe more than sing: and I trow that weeping for breaking of thy commandements be more pleasing seruice to thee than the singng of thy words. And would God that men would serue him in sorrow for their sins, and that they shoulde afterward seruen thee in mirth. For Christ saith; yblessed ben they that maken sorrow, for they shoulde ben ycomforted. And woe to them that ben merry, and haue their comfort in this world. And Christ said, that the world shoulde joyen, and his seruants shoulde be sorry, but their sorrow shoulde be turned into joy.

A Lord, hee that clepeth himselfe thy vicar vpon earth hath yordained an order of Priests to doe thy seruice in Church to fore thy lewd people in singng mattens, euen song, and masse. And therefore hee chargeth lewd men in paine of cursing, to bring to his Priests tithings and offrings to finden his Priests, and he clepeth that Gods part, and due to Priests that seruen him in Church.

But Lord, in the old law the tithings of the lewd people ne were not due to priests, but to that other childer of Levi that serueden thee in the temple, and the priest hadden their part of sacrifices, and the first bygeten beasts and other things as the law telleth. And Lord S. Paul thy seruant saith, that the order of the priesthood of Aaron ceased in Christs comming and the law of that priesthood. For Christ was end

of sacrifices yoffered vpon the crosse to the father of heauen, to bring man out of sinne, and become himselfe a priest of Melchisedeks order. For he was both King and priest, without beginning and end; and both the priesthood of Aaron, and also the law of that priesthood ben ychanged in the comming of Christ: And S. Paul saith it is reproued, for it brought no man to perfection. For bloud of goats, ne of other beasts ne might done away sinne, for to that Christ shad his bloud.

A Lord Iesus; whether thou ordenest an order of priests to offren in the auter thy flesh and thy bloud to bringen men out of sin, and also out of peine? And whether thou geue them alonely a power to eate thy flesh and thy bloud, and whether none other man may eate thy flesh and thy bloud withouten leue of priests? Lord, we beleuen, that thy flesh is very meat, and thy bloud very drinke; and who eateth thy flesh, and drinketh thy bloud; dwelleth in thee, and thou in him, and who that eateth this bread shall liue without end. But Lord thine Disciples said; this is a word; but thou answerest them and saidest; when ye feeth man soone sluuen vp there he was rather, the spirit is that maketh you liue, the words that ych haue spoken to you ben spirit and life. Lord, yblessed mote thou be, for in this word thou teachest vs that he that keepeth thy words, and doth after them, eateth thy flesh, and drinketh thy bloud, and hath an eueralsting life in thee. And for we shoulde haue minde of this living, thou gauest vs the sacrament of thy flesh and blood, in forme of bread and wine at thy supper, before that thou shouldest suffer thy death, and tooke bread in thine hand, and saidest; Take ye this, and eate it, for it is my body: and thou tookest wine, and blessedst it, and said; This is the bloud of a new and an eueralsting Testament, that shall be shed for many men in forgiuenesse of sins: as oft as ye done this, do ye this in minde of me.

A Lord, thou ne bede not thine Disciples maken this a sacrifice, to bring men out of peines, gif a priest offred thy body in the altar; but thou bed them goe and a fullen all the folke in the name of the father, and the sonne, and the holy ghost, in forgiuenesse of their sins; and teach ye them to keepe thole things that ych haue commanded you. And Lord, thine Disciples ne ordained not priests principallich to make thy body in Sacrament, but for to teach the people, and good husbandmen that well gouerne their households, both wiues and children, and their meiny, they ordeined to be priests to teachen other men the law of Christ, both in word, in dede, and they liued ein as true christian men, every day they eaten Christs body, and drinken his bloud, to the sustenance of lining of their soules, and other whiles they token of the sacrament of his body in forme of bread and wine, in minde of our lord Iesus Christ.

But all this is turned vpsedowne: for now who so will liuen as thou taughtest, hee shall ben holden a foole. And gif he speake thy teaching, he shall ben holden an hereticke, and accursed. Lord, haue no longer wonder hereof, for so they seiden to thee when thou were here sometime. And therefore we moten take in patience their words of blasphemy as thou diddest thy selfe, or else we were to blame. And trulich Lord I trow, that if thou were now in the world, and taughtest as thou diddest sometime, thou shouldest ben done to death. For thy teaching is damned for heresie of wise men of the world, and then moten they needes ben heretikes that teachen thy lore, and all they also that traoulen to liue thereafter.

And therefore lord, gif it be thy will, helpe thine ynkunning and lewd seruants, that wolen by their power and their kunning helpe to destroy sinne. Leue Lord, sith thou madeest woman in helpe of man, and in a more fraile degree than man is, to be governed by mans reason: What perfection of charity is in these priests and in men of Religion, that haue forsaken spoushod that thou ordeinedst in Paradise betwixt

man

KING  
EDW.3The order of  
priests, not  
made to offer  
Christs body.The Sacrament  
of the body of  
the Lord about  
a fullen that  
is, baptize.Hee that prei-  
eth, hee that  
preacheth, not to  
say masse, or to  
make the Lords  
body.He that spea-  
keth Gods tea-  
ching, is holde  
an hereticke.e Charges that  
is, they care for.a Be-hited that  
is, promised.e True seruice of  
God standeth  
not in long  
prayers, but in  
keeping Gods  
commande-  
ments.e Skunnen that  
is, they can.e Singng in  
churches, falsly  
called Gods  
seruice.e Heretich, that  
is, worshippeth,  
atteyning for  
sins, better ser-  
uice than sin-  
gng in Church.



**KING** man and woman, for perfection to forsaken traueile,  
**EDW.3** and liuen in ease by other mens traueile? For they  
mow not doe bodilich workes for defouling of their  
hands, with whom they touchen thy precious body  
in the altar.

Leue Lord, gif good men forsaken the company of  
woman, and needs they moten haue the gouver-  
naile of man, then moten they ben ye coupled with  
shrewes, and therefore thy spousehood that thou ma-  
dest in cleanness from sinne, it is now ychanged into  
liking of the flesh. And Lord, this is a great mischiefe  
vnto thy people. And young Priests and men of re-  
ligion, for default of wiues, maken many women ho-  
ren, and drawne through their ensample many other  
men to sinne, and the ease that they liuen in, and their  
welfare; is a great cause of this mischiefe. And Lord  
me thinketh, that these ben quaint orders of religion,  
and none of thy feyt that wolen taken hore, whilke  
God forfends, and forsaken wiues that God ne forfen-  
deth not: and forsaken traualle that God commands,  
and geuen their selfe to idleness, that is the mother of all  
naughtinesse.

And Lord, Mary thy blessed mother and Ioseph tou-  
ched oftentimes thy body, and wroughten with their  
hands, and liueden in as much cleannes of soule, as our  
Priests done now, and touched thy body, and thou tou-  
chedest them in their souls. And Lord our hope is,  
that thou goen not out of a poore mans soule that  
traueileth for his liuelode with his hands. For Lord, our  
beliefe is, that thine housle is mans soule, that thou  
madest after thine owne likenesse.

But Lord God, men maketh now great stonon houses  
full of glazen windowes, and clepeth thilke thine houses  
& Churches. And they fetten in these houses mawmets of  
stocks and stones, before them they knelen priuillych and  
apert, and maken their praiers; and all this they sayen  
is thy worship, and a great cherying to thee. A Lord,  
thou forbiddest sometime to make such mawmets, and  
who that had yworshipped such, had ben worthy to be  
dead.

Lord in the Gospell thou sayst, that true heriers  
of God ne herieth him not in that hill beside Samaria,  
ne in Hierusalem neither, but true heriers of God  
herieth him in spirit and in truth. And Lord God,  
what herying is it to bilden thee a Church of dead  
stones, and robben thy quicke Churches of their bo-  
dilich liuelode? Lord God, what herying is it, to  
cloth mawmets of stocks and of stones in siluer and  
in gold, and in other good colours? And Lord I see  
thine image gone in cold and in hete, in clothes all  
to broken, without shone and hosen, an hungred and  
athrust. Lord what herying is it to teende tapers and  
torches before blinde mawmets that mowen not I  
seyen? And hide thee that art our light and our lan-  
terne towards heauen, and put thee vnder a bushell,  
that for darknesse we may not seene our way to-  
ward blisse? Lord what herying is it to kneele tofore  
mawmets that mow not yheren, and worshopen  
them with preyers, and maken thine quicke images  
kneele before them, and asken of them absolutions  
and blessings, and worshopen them as gods, and put-  
ten thy quicke images in thraldome and in traueile  
euermore as beasts, in cold and in heate, and in feeble  
fare to finden them in liken of the world? Lord what  
herying is it to fetch deed mens bones out of the  
ground, there as they shoulde kindelich rotten, and  
thrinen them in gold and siluer; and suffren the quick  
bones of thine images to rot in prison for default of  
clothings? And suffren also thy quicke images to pe-  
rish for default of sustenance, and rooten in the hoore-  
house in abominable lechery? Some become theues  
and robbers, and manquellers, that mighten ben  
yholpen with the gold and siluer that hongeth about  
deed mens bones, and other blind mawmets of stocks  
and stones.

Lord, here ben great abominations that thou  
shewdest to Ezechiel thy Prophet, that Priests done  
in thy temple, and yet they copen that thine herying.

But leue Lord, me thinketh that they louen thee little  
that thus defoulten thy quicke images, and worshippen  
blinde mawmets.

And Lord, another great mischiefe there is now in  
the world, an hunger that Amos thy Prophet spea-  
keth of; that there shall comen an hunger in the earth,  
not of bread, ne thrust of drinke, but of hearing of  
Gods Word. And thy sheepe woulde be refreshed, but  
their shepheards taken of thy sheepe their liuelode, as  
tythings, &c. and liuen themselfe thereby where them  
liketh.

Of such shepheards thou speaketh by Ezechiel thy  
Prophet, and seyst; Woe to the shepheards of Israel  
that feden themselfe, for the flocks of sheepe shoulde  
be yfed of their shepheards: but ye eaten the milke,  
and clothen you with their wolles, and the fat sheepe  
ye slow, and my flocke ye ne fede not, the sick sheepe  
ye ne healed not, thilke that weren to broken ye ne  
knit not together, thilke that perished ye ne brought  
not againe; but ye ratted them with sternship and  
with power. And so the sheepe be sprad abroad in  
denouing of all the beafts of the field. And Ieremie  
the Prophet saith; Woe to the shepheards that de-  
sperseth abroad and teareth the flock of my e lefew.

A Lord, thou were a good shepheard, for thou  
puttest thy soule for thy sheepe. But Lord, thou tel-  
dest that thilke that comen not in by the dore ben night  
theeues and day theeues, and a cheefe, as thou seyst,  
commeth not but for to steale, to slein, and to destroy.  
And Zechary the Prophet saith; that thou wouldest  
rener vp a shepheard ynkunning, that ne wol not hele  
thy sheepe that beth sicke, ne seeke thilke that beth  
lost. Vpon his arme is a swerd, and vpon his right eye;  
his arme shall waxe dry, and his right eye shall lese his  
light. O Lord, help, for thy sheep beth at great mischiefe  
in the shepherds default.

But Lord, there commeth hired men, and they ne  
feden not thy sheep in thy plenteous lefew, but feden  
thy sheepe with g sweuens, and false miracles and  
tales. But at thy trith they ne comen not: for Lord, I  
trow thou fendest them neuer. For haue they hire of  
thy sheepe, they ne careth but little of the feding and  
the keping of thy sheepe. Lord, of these hired men  
speaketh Ieremie the Prophet, and thou seyst that  
word by him; I ne send them not, and they ronne  
h blue; I ne speake vnto them, and they prophiden.  
For if they hadden stonden in my counsell, and they  
had made my words knowne to the puple, ech would  
haue turned them away from their yuill way, and  
from their wicked thoughts. For Lord, thou seyst  
that thy words ben as fire, and as an hammer breaking  
stones. And Lord, thou seyst; Lo I to these Prophets,  
meeting sweuens of lesing, that haue yold her swe-  
uens, and haue begiled my puple in their lesing, and  
in their false miracles, when I neither sent, ne bed  
them. And these haue profiter nothing to my puple.  
And as Ieremie saith; From the least to the mest all  
they studien couetise, and from the Prophet to the priest  
all they done gile.

A Lord, here is much mischiefe and mater of sor-  
row; and yet there is more. For gif a lewd man would  
reach thy people truth of thy words, as hee is yhold  
by thy commandment of charity, he shall be forbo-  
den and put in prison gif he do it. And so Lord, thilk  
that haue the key of conning, haue ylockt the truth  
of thy teaching vnder many wardes, and yhid it from  
thy children. But Lord, sith thy teaching is ycome  
from heauen aboue, our hope is, that with thy grace  
it shall breake these wardes, and shew him to thy  
puple, to kele both the hunger and thrust of the soule.  
And then shall no shepheard, ne no false hind-man  
begile thy puple no more. For by thy law I write, as  
thou iightest sometime, that from the least to the  
mest, all they shullen knowen thy will, and b weten  
how they shullen please thee euermore in certaine.

And leue Lord, gif it be thy will helpe at this need,  
for there is none help but in thee. Thus Lord, by him  
that maketh himselfe thy vikar in earth, is thy com-  
mandement

De complainte  
of false pastore  
that lue be  
their flocke, but  
feed not them.

Life, that is,  
pasture.

Best, that is,  
bre.

Against hire-  
lings.  
g Sweuens, that  
is, deuices.

h Blue, gate, &c.

i Best, most.

Josephus writes  
neither teach  
the nethies, nor  
will suffer others  
besides them  
to teach.

k Thighte,  
promised.  
l Certeyn knowe

What income-  
mence by the  
nummeryd lines  
of Priests.

De complainte  
of the idleness  
of Priests.

What is the  
true Church of  
Christ.  
b Colours, that is  
begyle.

De herying, that  
is, worshipping  
of heriers, wor-  
shippers.

De complainte  
of images in  
Churches.



e twine, that  
is two.

mandement of loue to thee and our brethren ybroken, both to him and to thy puple. But Lord God mercy and patience, that beth e twine of thy commandments, beth destroyed, and thy puple hath forsake mercy. For Lord, Dauld in the Sauter saith; Blessed beth they that done dome and rightfulness in euerich time.

O Lord, thou hast ytaught vs as rightfulness of heauen, and hast ybeden vs forgeuen our brethren as oft as they trespassen against vs. And Lord, thine old law of iustice was, that such harme as a man did his brother, such he should suffer by the law, as eye for an eye, and tooth for a tooth. But Christ made an end of this law, that one brother should not desire wracke of another: but not that he would that sin should ben vnpunished, for thereto hath he ordained Kings and Dukes, and other lewd officers vnder them; whilke as S. Paul saith, ne carien not the swerd in vaine, for they ben the ministers of God, and wrakers to wrath, to them that euill done. And thus hath Christ ymade an end of this old law, that one brother may not suten another his selfe, for that to wreken without sinne, for breaking of charity. But this charity Lord hath thy vicar ybroke, and says that we sinnen, but gif we suten for our right. And we see, I wor, that thou taughtest vs sometime to giue our mantell also, euer that we shoulde suten for our coat. And so Lord beleuen we, that we ben ybonden to done by thy law, that is all charity, and officers duty is to defenden vs from thilke theuery, though we complainen not. But Lord, thy law is turned vpsidowne.

a fox, that is,  
wile.

he complaineth  
for punishing  
little fautes,  
and to let great  
fautes escape.

A Lord, what dome is to sleen a theefe that take a mans Cattell away from him, and sufferen a Spoule-breaker to liue, and a lecherour that killeth a womans soule? And yet thy law stoned the Spoule-breakers and lecherous, and let the theues liuen and haue other punishment.

A Lord, what dome is it to sleen a theefe for stealing of an horse, and to let him liue vnpunished, and to maintaine him that robbeth thy poore people of their liuelode, and the soule of his food?

? the be an he-  
retike that brea-  
keth mans law,  
what is the  
dome that brea-  
keth Gods  
law?

A lewd man,  
that is, a la-  
man.

Lord, it was neuer thy dome to fayne, that a man is an heretike, and cursed for breaking of mans law, and demen him for a good man for breaking thy hefts.

Lord, what dome is it to curse a lewd man if he smite a Priest, and not curse a Priest that smiteth a lewd man, and leese his charity?

Lord, what dome is it to curse the lewd people for tithings, and not curse the parson that robbeth the people of tithings, and teacheth them not Gods law, but feedeth them with painting of stone walles, and songs of Latine, that the people known not?

Lord, what dome is it to punish the poore man for his trespass, and suffer the rich to continue in his sinne for a quantity of money?

Lord, what dome is it to sleen an vncunning lewd man for his sinne, and suffer a Priest, other a Clerke that doth the same sinne, scape aliue? Lord the sinne of the priest or of the Clerke is greater trespass than it is of a lewd vncunning man; and greater ensample of wickednesse to the common people?

Against the ca-  
non law.

Lord, what maner people be we, that neither keep thy domes and thy rightfulness of the old testament, that was a law of dread, nor thy domes and thy rightfulness of thy new testament, that is a law of loue and of mercy: but haue another law, and taken out of both thy lawes, that is liking to vs, and remnant of heathen mens lawes? and Lord this is a great mischief.

The dopes  
law against  
Gods law, in  
sauling men to  
accuse their  
felows.

O Lord, thou saiest in thy law, deme ye not and ye should not be demed; for the same mesure that ye meten to other men, men shall meten to you againward: and Lord thou saiest that by their worke we should know them; and by what we know that thou commanded vs not to demen mens thoughts, not their works, that were not against thy law expressly. And yet Lord he, that faith he is thy Vicar, will demen our thoughts, and aske vs what we thinke: not of the Lord, of thy hefts, for they caren little for them,

but of him and of his, whilke they late aboute thine, and maken vs accusen our selfe, or else they willen accusen vs, for our accusers mowen we not knowne. And Lord, thou saiest in thine old law, that vnder two witnes at the least, or three, should stand euery matter: and that the witnes shoulde euer be the first the shoulde helpe to kill them.

And when the Scribes and the Pharises sometimes brought before thee a woman that was ytake in spoule breaking, and exeden of thee a dome, thou didst write on the earth, and then thou gaue this dome; He that is without sinne, throw first at her a stone, and Lord they went forth away from thee and the woman: and thou forgave the woman her trespass, and bade her goe forth, and sinne no more.

Sweet Lord, if the Priests tooke keepe to thy dome, they would be agast to demen men as they done, O Lord, if one of them breake a commandment of thy law, he will aske mercy of thee, and not a peine that is due for the sinne, for peine of death were too little. O Lord, how daren they demen any man to the death for breaking of their lawes, other assent to such law? for breaking of thy law they will set penance, or pardon them, and maintaine them as often as they trespassen. But Lord, if a man once breake their lawes, or speake against them, he may done penance but once, and after be burnt. Trulich Lord thou saiest, but if euery one of vs forgiue not other his trespass, thy father will not forgiue vs our sinnes. And Lord when thou hong on the Crosse, thou praiedst to thy father to haue mercy on thy enemies.

And yet they sein Lord, that they demen no man to the death, for they sein, they ne mowne by their law demen any man to the death. A leue Lord, euen so saiden their forefathers the Pharises, that it ne was not lawfull for them to kill any man: and yet they bidden Pilate to done thee to the death against his owne conscience, for he would gladly haue yquit thee, but for that they threatened him with the Emperor, and broughten against thee false witnes also: and he was an heathen man.

O Lord, how much truer dome was there in Pilate, that was an heathen Iustice, than in our Kings and Iustices that woulde demen to the death, and burne in the fire him that the Priests deliueren vnto them withouten witnes, or prefe? For Pilate ne would not demen thee; for that the Pharises say den that gif thou haddest not ben a misdoer, we ne would not deliuer him vnto thee; for to, they broughten in their false witness against thee. But Lord, as thou saidst sometime that it should ben lighter at domesday to Tyro, and to Sydon, and Gomorra, than to the Cities where thou wrought wonders and miracles: so I dred, it shall be more light to Pilate in the dome than to our Kings and domes-men, that so demen without witnes and prefe. For Lord, to demen thy folke for heretikes, is to holden thee an heretike; and to brennen them, is to brennen thee: for thou saidst to Paul when he persecuted thy people; Saul, Saul, wherefore persecutest thou me? and in the dome thou shalt say; that ye haue done to the least of mine, ye haue don to me.

Thus Lord is thy mercy and justice soredone by him that faith he is thy Vicar in earth: for he neither keepeth it himselfe, nor will not suffer other to doe it.

The third commandment, that is, patience and sufferance, is also ybroken by this Vicar. Lord thou biddest sufferen both wrongs and strokes withouten againstanding; and so thou diddest thy selfe to geuen vs ensample to sufferen of our brethren. For suffering nourisheth loue, and againstandeth debate. All thy lawes is loue, or else the thing that draweth to loue.

But Lord, men teachen, that men shoulde pleten for their right, and fighten also therefore; and else they sein, men ben in perill: and thou bid in the old law men fight for their cuntry. And thy selfe haddest two swords in thy company, when thou shouldest goe to thy passion; that as these Clerkes sein, be tokeneth a spiritual sword, and a temporall sword, that

King  
Edw.  
Down, that  
is may.

To the keep,  
that is, to the  
brede.

The breaking  
the dopes law  
more punished  
than the break-  
ing of Gods  
law.

For to, that is  
therefor.

Pilate more  
commended  
than the King.

The dopes  
law, that  
is, patience.



{KING} that thou gaue to thy Vicar to rule thy Church with.  
 {EDW.3} Lord, this is a sleight speech; but Lord we beleuen that thou art King of blisse, and that is thine heritage and mankind's country; and in this world we ne ben but strangers and pilgrimes. For thou Lord ne art of this world, ne thy law neither, ne thy true servants that keepe thy law. And Lord, thou were King of Iuda by heritage, if thou wouldest haue yhad it; but thou forsooke it, and pletedest not therefore, ne fought not therefore.

But Lord, for thy kinde heritage, and mandkinde's country, that is a land of blisse, thou foughtest mightilich. In battell thou ouercame thy enemy, and so thou won thine heritage. For thou that were a Lord mightiest in battle, and also Lord of virtues, are rightfull King of blisse; as Dauid saith in the Psalter. But Lord thine enemy smote thee dispitfullich, and had power of thee, and hang thee vpon the crosse as thou hadst ben a theefe and benomin thee all thy clothes, and sticked thee to the heart with a speare.

O Lord, this was an hard assault of a battell, and here thou ouercome by patience mightilich thine enemies; for thou ne wouldest not done against the will of thy father. And thus Lord thou taughtest thy seruants to fight for their Country. And Lord this fighting was in figure ytaught in the old law. But Lord, men holden now the shadow of the old fighting and leauen the light of thy fighting, that thou taughtest openlich both in word and in deed.

Lord, thou gaue vs a sword to fighten against our enemies for our country, that was thine holy teaching, and Christen mens law. But Lord thy sword is put in a sheath, and in Priests ward, that haue forsake the fighting that thou taughtest. For as they seyn, it is against their order to ben men of armes in thy battell, for it is vnseemlich, as they seyn, that thy Vicar in earth, other, his Priests shulden suffer of other men. And therefore gif any man smite him, other any of his Clerks, he ne taketh it not in patience, but anon he smiteth with his sword of cursing, and afterward with his bodelich sword, he doth them to death. O Lord, me thinketh that this is a fighting against kind, and much against thy teaching.

O Lord, whether axedest thou after swerds in the time of thy passion to againstond thine enemies? nay forsooth thou Lord. For Peter, that smote for great loue of thee, had no great thanke of thee for his smiting. And Lord, thou were mighty enough to haue againstond thine enemies, for through thy looking they fellen downe to the ground, Lord yblessed mote thou be. Here thou teachest vs that we shoulde suffren: for thou were mighty ynow to haue againstond thine enemies, and thou haddest wepen, and thy men weren hearty to haue smitten.

O sweet Lord, how may he for shame clepen himselfe thy Vicar and head of the Church, that may not for shame suffer? Sith thou art a Lord, and sufferedst of thy subjects, to giuen vs ensample, and so did thy true seruants.

O Lord, whether geue thou to Peter a spirituall sword to curse, and a temporall sword to sle mens bodies? Lord, I trow not, for then Peter that loued thee so much, would haue smit with thy swerds. But Lord, he taughten vs to blessen them that cursen vs, and suffren and not smiten. And Lord, he fed thy people as thou bed him, and therefore he suffred the death as thou didst.

O Lord, why clepeth any man him Peters successor, that hath forsaken patience, and feedeth thy people with cursing, and with smiting? Lord thou saidest in thy Gospell, when thy Disciples knewen well that thou were Christ, and that thou mustest go to Ierusalem, and sufferen of the Scribes and Pharises spittings, reproofes, and also the death. And Peter tooke thee aside, and said; God forbid that. And Lord, thou saydest to Peter, Goe behinde me Sathanas, thou sclaundereest me in Israel. For thou ne sauorest not thilke things that ben of God, but thilke

that ben of men. Lord to mens wit it is vnreasonable, that thou or thy vicar, gif thou madeest any on earth, shoulde suffren of your suggets.

A Lord, whether thou ordeinest an order of fighters to turne men to the beliefe? Other ordeinest that knights shoulde sweare to fight for thy words? Faith commeth not by outward force.

A Lord, whether bed thou, that gif any man turne to the faith, that he should geue his goods and cattell to the vicar that hath great lordships, and more than to him needeth? Lord I wot well, that in the beginning the churchmen that were conuerted threwen adown their goods afore the Apostles feet. For all they weren in charity, and none of them said this is mine, ne Peter made himselfe no lord of these goods.

But Lord, now he that clepeth himselfe thy vicar vpon earth, and successor to Peter, hath ybroke thy commandement of charity, for he is become a lord, And hee hath also broken thy commandement of mercy, and also of patience. Thus Lord wee be fallen into mischief and thraldome, for our chieftaine hath forsaken war and armes, and hath treated to haue peace with our enemies.

A Lord, gif it be thy will, draw thy sword out of his sheath, that thy seruants may fight therewith against their enemies, and put cowardise out of our hearts: and comfort vs in bataille, or than thou come with thy sword in thy mouth, or take vengeance on thine enemies. For gif wee be accorded with our enemies till that time come, it is dread lest thou take vengeance both of them and of vs together. A Lord, there is no helpe now in this great mischefe but only in thee.

Lord, thou geuest vs a commandement of truth, in bidding vs say yea, yea, nay, nay, and sweare for nothing. Thou geue vs also a maundement of meekenesse, and another of poorenesse: but Lord, he that clepeth himselfe thy vicar on earth, hath both ybroken these commandements; for he maketh a law to compell men to sweare, and by his lawes he teacheth that a man, to saue his life, may forswear and lie. And so Lord, through comfort of him and his lawes, the people ne dreadeth not to sweare and to lie; ne oft times to forswearen them. Lord here is little truth.

O Lord, thou hast ybrought vs to a living of souls that stands in beleueing in thee, and keeping thy hefts, and when wee broken thy hefts, then wee selen our souls: and lesse harme it were to suffer bodilich death.

Lord, King Saul brake thine hefts, and thou tooke his kingdome from his heires euermore after him, and giue it to Dauid thy seruant, that kept thine hefts. And thou saidst by Samuel thy Prophet to Saul the King, that it is a manner of worshipping of false gods to breake thy hefts. For who that loveth thee ouer all things, and dreadeth thee also, he nole for nothing breake thine hefts.

O Lord, gif breaking of thine hefts be herrying of false gods, I trow that hee that maketh the people breake thine hefts, and commandeth that his hefts ben kept of the people, maketh himselfe a false god on earth; as Nebugodonosor did sometime that was king of Babylon.

But Lord, we forsaken such false gods; and beleuen that there ne ben no mo Gods than thou: and though thou suffer vs a while to ben in disafe for knowledging of thee; we thanken thee with our heart, for it is a token that thou louest vs, to giuen vs in this world some penance for our trespass.

Lord, in the old law, thy true seruants tooke the death, for they woulde not eaten swines flesh that thou haddest forbidde them to eat. O Lord, what truth is in vs to eaten vnclean mete of the soule, that thou hast forbid? Lord thou saidst, he that doth sinne is seruant of sin, and then he that lieth in forswearing himselfe, is seruant of lesing: and then he is seruant to the diuell, that is a lier and father of lesings. And Lord, thou sayest, no man may serue two Lords at once. O Lord then, euery lier for the time that he lieth, other

Thilke Vicar  
in his Priests  
counsell nos  
ting.

So temporall  
word giuent  
Peter.

Thilke things,  
of things.

Dope breaketh  
the rule of cha-  
rity of mercy,  
and of patience.

Do than disafe  
that.

The Pope breaketh  
the law of  
swearing.

Dolet that is  
would not.

for-



forfeareth himselfe, and forsaketh thy seruice for dread of his bodily death, becommeth the diuels seru-  
uant.

Servant of  
seruants, the  
Dogs stile abun-  
dant.

O Lord, what truth is in him that clepeth himselfe  
seruant of thy seruants, and in his doing hee maketh  
him a Lord of thy seruants. Lord thou were both  
Lord and Master, and so thou said thy selfe; but yet  
in thy works thou were as a seruant. Lord this was  
a great truth, and a great meeknesse: but Lord, bid  
thou thy seruants that they should not haue Lordship  
ouer their brethren. Lord thou saydest Kings of the hea-  
then men han Lordship ouer their subiects, and they  
that vie their power be cleped well doers.

But Lord, thou saidst it should not be so amongst  
thy seruant. But he that were most, should be as a  
seruant. Thou Lord, thou taughtest thy Disciples to be  
meeke. Lord in the old law thy seruants durst haue no  
Lordship of their brethren, but if that thou bid them;  
and yet they should not doe to their brethren as they did  
to thralles that serued them. But they should do to their  
brethren that were their seruants, as to their owne bre-  
thren: for all they were Abrahams children: and at a  
certaine time, they should let their brethren passe from  
them in all freedom, but if they would wilfullich abide  
full in seruice.

Thralles, that  
is to say, bond  
men.

O Lord, thou gaue vs in thy comming a Law of  
perfect loue, and in token of loue thou clepedst thy  
selfe our brother. And to make vs perfect in loue,  
thou bid that we should clepe to vs no father vpon  
earth, but thy father of heauen wee should clepe  
our father. Alas, Lord, how violently our brethren, and  
thy children ben now put in bodily thraldome, and  
in despite as beasts euermore in grievous trauell  
to finde proud men in ease. But Lord, if we take this  
desoule and this disafe in patience, and in meeknesse,  
and keepe thine hefts, we hope to be free. And Lord  
gve our brethren grace to come out of thraldome  
of sinne, that they fall in through the desiring and vlsage  
of Lordship vpon their brethren. And Lord, thy Priests  
in the old law had no Lordships among their brethe-  
ren; but houses and pastures for their beasts: but Lord  
our Priests now haue great Lordships, and put their bre-  
thren in greater thraldome than lewde men that be lords.  
Thus is meeknesse forsaken.

Pride of Priests.

Lord, thou biddest in the Gospell, that when a  
man is bid to the feast, he should sit in the lowest  
place, and then he may be set higher with worship,  
when the Lord of the feast beholdeth how his guests  
sitte. Lord it is dread that they, that sit now in the  
highest place, should be bid in time comming sit be-  
neath: and that will be shame and villany for them.  
And it is thy saying, those that hyeth himselfe should  
be lowed, and those that loweth himselfe should be  
an heyghed. O Lord, thou biddest in thy Gospell  
to beware of the Pharisees, for it is a point of pride  
contrary to meeknesse. And Lord, thou sayest that  
they loue the first sittings at suppers, and also the  
principall Chaires in Churches, and greetings in chee-  
ping, and to bee cleped masters of men. And Lord,  
thou sayest be yee not cleped masters, for one is your  
master, and that is Christ, and all ye be brethren: and  
clepe ye to you no father vpon earth, for one is your  
father that is in Heauen. O Lord, this is a blessed les-  
son to teach men to be meeke.

Meeknesse  
commended in  
Apostles.

Their in earth  
were tolerable in  
the Pope.

But Lord, he that clepeth himselfe thy Vicar on  
earth, he clepeth himselfe father of fathers against  
thy forbidding. And all these worshipp thou hast for-  
bad. He approueth them, and maketh them masters  
to many, that teach thy people their owne teaching,  
and leaue thy teaching that is needfull, and hidden it by  
quaint glosses from thy lewd people and feede thy  
people with sweuens that they meete, and tales that  
doth little profite but much harme to the people.  
But Lord, these gloters object, that they desire not  
the state of masterie to be worshipped, thereby, but  
to profit the more to thy people, when they preach  
thy word. For as they suggest the people will beleue  
more the preaching of a master that hath taken a

Sweuens, that  
is, deceits.

state of schoole, than the preaching of another man that  
hath not taken the state of mastery. { KING }  
{ EDW. 3 }

Lord, whether it be any need that masters bearen  
witness to thy teaching, that it is true and good? O  
Lord, whether may any master now by his estate of  
mastery, that thou hast forbidden; draw any man  
from his sinne, rather than another man that is not a  
master, ne wole be none; for it is forbidden him in  
thy Gospell? Lord thou sendest to masters to preach  
thy people; and thou knowdest in the Gospell to  
thy father, that he hath hid his wisdom from wise  
men and redy men; and shewed it to little children.  
And Lord, masters of the law hyden thy teaching  
folly, and saiden that thou wouldest destroy the peo-  
ple with thy teaching. Trulich Lord, so these ma-  
sters seggeth now; for they haue written many bookes  
against thy teaching, that is truth; and so the pro-  
phetic of Ieremy is fulfilled when he saith; Trulich  
the false points of the masters of the law hath  
wrought leasing. And now is the time come that S.  
Paul speaketh of, where he saith; Time shall come  
when men shall not sustaine wholesome teaching;  
But they shall gather to hepe masters with hut-  
ching eares, and from truth they shall turne away  
their hearing, and turnen them to tales, that masters  
haue made to shewne their mastery and their wise-  
dome.

Masterly or  
wisdom in pre-  
chers.

And Lord, a man shall beleue more a mans  
workes than his words, and the deede sheweth well  
of these masters, that they desire more mastery for  
their owne worship, than for profit of the people. For  
when they be masters, they ne preachen not so oft  
as they did before. And gif they preachen, common-  
lich it is before rich men, there as they mowne beare  
worship and also profit of their preaching. But be-  
fore poore men they preachen but seldom, when they  
ben masters: and so by their workes we may seene that  
they ben false gloters.

And Lord, me thinketh that who so wole keepe  
thine hefts, him needeth no glotes: but thilke that  
clepen themselves Christen men, and liuen against thy  
teaching and thine hefts, needelich they more glofe  
thine hefts, after their liuing, other ellemen shulden  
openlich yknow their hypocrisie and their falsheid.

False glotes.

But Lord, thou sayst that there is nothing yhid  
that shall not be shewed sometime. And Lord yblessed  
mote thou be: For somewhat thou shewest vs now  
of our milchieffes that we beene fallen in through  
the wisdomes of masters, that haue by sleights ylad  
vs away from thee and thy teaching, that thou, that  
were the master of Heauen, taught vs for loue,  
when thou were here sometime to heale of our  
soules, withouten error or heresie. But masters of  
worlds wisdom and their founder haue ydamned is  
for heresie and for error.

O Lord, me thinketh it is a great pride thus to re-  
proue thy wisdom and thy teaching. And Lord,  
me thinketh that this Nabugodonosor king of Babylon,  
that thus hath reprooued thy teaching and thine hefts,  
and commandeth on all wise to keepe his hefts, maketh  
thy people hearken him as a God on earth, and maketh  
them his thralls and his seruants.

But Lord, we lewd men knowen no God but  
thee; and we with thine helpe and thy grace forsaken  
Nabugodonosor and his lawes. For he in his proud  
estate wole haue all men under him, and he nele  
vnder no man. He ondoth thy Lawes that thou or-  
dainedst to ben kept, and maketh his owne lawes as him  
liketh: and so he maketh him King aboue all other  
Kings of the earth, and maketh men to worshipping  
him as a God, and thy great sacrifice he hate ydone  
away.

Hele, that is  
will not.

O Lord, here is thy commandement of meeknes,  
mischilich to broke: and thy blessed commandement  
of poornes is also to broken, and yhid from thy peo-  
ple. Lord, Zechary thy Prophet saith, that thou that  
shouldest be our King, shouldest ben a poore man.  
and so thou were: for thou saidest thy selfe; Foxes  
haue

Poverty of  
Christ not  
followed.



**KING** } have dens, and birds of heaven nests, and mans sonne  
**EDW. 3** } hath not where to ligge his head on. And thou saidest,  
 yblessed ben poore men in spirit, for thy kingdome of  
 heaven is therein : and woe to rich men, for they han  
 their comfort in this world. And thou bad thy Disci-  
 ples to ben ware of all covetise, for thou saydest, in the  
 abundance of mans having, ne is not his lifelode. And  
 so thou teachest, that thilke that han more then them  
 needeth to their living liven in covetise. Also thou  
 sayst, but gif a man forsake all things that he oweth, he  
 ne may not ben thy Disciple. Lord, thou sayst also,  
 that thy word, that is sowne in rich mens hearts, bring-  
 eth forth no fruit; for riches and the businesse of this  
 world maken it withouten fruit.

O Lord, here bene many blessed teachings to teach  
 men to ben poore, and love poorenesse. But Lord  
 harme is, poore men and poorenesse ben ybated, and  
 rich men ben yloved and honored : and gif a man bee  
 a poore man, men holden him a man withouten grace;  
 and gif a man desireth poorenesse, men holden him but  
 a foole : and gif a man be a rich man, men clepen him  
 a gracious man, and thilke that ben busie in getting  
 of riches, ben yhold wile men and ready : but Lord,  
 these rich men sayen, that it both lesfull to them to  
 gather riches together. For they ne gathereth it for  
 themselves, but for other men that ben needy, and  
 Lord their workes shewen the truth. For if a poore  
 needy man would borrowen of their riches, he nele  
 lean him none of his good; but gif he mow be seker  
 to have it againe by a certaine day.

But Lord, thou bed that a man should lend, and not  
 hoping yelding againe of him that he lendeth to : and  
 thy father of heaven wole quite him his mede. And  
 gif a poore man aske a rich man any good, the rich  
 man will give him but a little, and yet it shall be little  
 worth. And Lord me thinketh that here is little love  
 and charity, both to God and to our brethren.

For Lord, thou teachest in thy Gospell, that what  
 men doe to thy servants, they done to thee. A Lord,  
 gif a poore man axe good for thy love, men giveth  
 him a little of the wurst. For these rich men ordi-  
 nen both bread and ale for Gods men of the wurst  
 that they have. O Lord, sith all good that men hath,  
 cometh of thee; how dare any man geve thee of  
 the wurst, and kepe to himselfe of the best? How  
 may such men say that they gatheren riches for o-  
 thers need, as well as himselfe, sith their workes ben  
 contrary to their words? and that is no great truth.  
 And be ye seker these goods that rich man han, they  
 ben Gods goods, ytake to your keeping, to looke  
 how he wolen be setten them to the worshipping of  
 God. And Lord, thou saiest in the Gospell, that who  
 so is true in little, he is true in that thing that is more :  
 and who that is false in a little thing, who wole taken  
 him toward things of a greater value? And therefore  
 be ye ware that han Gods goods to keepe. Spend  
 ye thilke trulich to the worship of God, lest ye leesen  
 the blisse of heaven, for the untrue dispending of Gods  
 goods in this world.

O Lord, these rich men seggen that they don much  
 for thy love. For many poore labourers ben yfound  
 by them, that shoulde fare febelich, ne we not they  
 and their readinesse. Forsooth me thinketh that  
 poore laborers giveth to these rich men, moren then  
 they given them againeward. For the poore men  
 more gone to his labour in cold and in heat, in were  
 and dry, and spend his flesh and his bloud in rich  
 mens workes, upon Gods ground, to finde the rich  
 man in ease, and in liking, and in good fare of meate,  
 of drinke, and of clothing. Here is a great gift of the  
 poore man, for he giveth his owne body. But what  
 giveth the rich man againward? Certes feeble meat,  
 and feeble drinke, and feeble clothing. What ever  
 they seggen, such bee their workes, and here is little  
 love. And whosoever looketh well about, all the  
 world fareth as we seggen : and all men studieth on  
 every side, how they may wex rich men : and everich  
 man almost is ashamed to ben holden a poore man.

And Lord, I trow for thou were a poore man, more  
 token little regard to thee, and to thy teaching. But  
 Lord thou came to give us a new testament of love;  
 and therefore it was semelich that thou came in poore-  
 nesse, to prove who would love thee, and kepen thy  
 helts. For gif thou haddest ycome in forme of a rich  
 man and of a Lord, men wold rather for thy dread  
 then for thy love, have yclept thine helts. And so  
 Lord, now thou might well ysee which loved thee as  
 they should in keeping thine helts. For who that lo-  
 veth thee in thy poorenesse and in thy lownesse, needs  
 he mote love thee in thy lordship and highnesse.

But Lord, the world is turned upse downe, and  
 men love poore men but a little, ne poorenesse nei-  
 ther. But men be ashamed of poorenesse; and there-  
 fore Lord, I trow that thou art a poore King. And  
 therefore I trow that he that clepeth himself thy vicar  
 on earth, hath forsaken poorenesse, as he hath do the  
 remnant of thy Law, and is become a rich man and a  
 lord, and maketh his treasure upon the earth, that  
 thou forbiddest in the Gospell; and for his right and  
 riches, he will plete, and fight and curse. And yet Lord  
 he will segge, that he forsaketh all things that he ow-  
 eth, as thy true disciple mete done after thy teaching in  
 the Gospell.

But Lord, thou ne taughtest not a man to forsak-  
 en his goods, and plete for them, and fight, and  
 curse. And Lord, he taketh on him power to assoile  
 a man of all manner things, but if it be of debt. Truly  
 Lord, me thinketh he knoweth little of charity. For  
 who that beth in charity, possesseth thy good, in  
 common, and not in proper at his neighbors neede.  
 And then shall there none of them segge this is mine,  
 but it is Gods that God granteth to us to spenden it  
 to his worship. And so if any of them boroweth a  
 portion of those goods, and dispendeth them to  
 Gods worship, God is payed of this spending, and  
 alloweth him this true doing. And if God is payed of  
 that dispending, this is the principall lord of those  
 goods, how dare any of his servants axen thereof ac-  
 counts, other challenge it for det? Serten, of one  
 thing I am incerteine, that these that charge so much  
 det of worldly cattell, they know little of Chrills  
 law of charity : for if I am a baily of Gods goods in  
 the world; if I see my brother in need, I am hold by  
 charitie to part with him of these goods to his nede;  
 and if he spendeth them well to the worship of God,  
 I mote be well apaid, as though I my selfe had had  
 spendeth them to the worship of God. And if the  
 principall Lord is well payed of my brothers doing,  
 and the dispending of his goods, how may I segge  
 for shame that my brother is dettoure to mee of the  
 goods that I tooke him to spend in Gods worship at  
 his nede? And if my brother spendeth amisse the  
 goods that I take him, I am discharged of my delive-  
 rance of the goods, if I take him in charity thilke  
 goods at his nede. And I am hold to bee sorry of  
 his euill dispending, ne I may not axen the goods,  
 that I tooke him to his nede in forme of det, for  
 at his need they were his as well as mine. And  
 thus is my brother yhold to done to me gif he see me  
 in nede, and gif we bed in charity, little shoulde we  
 chargen of det. And ne we shoulde not axen so dets,  
 as men that knowen not God : and then we be poore  
 in forsaking all things that we own. For gif we ben  
 in charitie, we wollen nother fight nor curse, ne plete  
 for our goods with our brethren.

O Lord, thus thou taughtest thy servants to liuen;  
 and so they liueden while they hadden good shep-  
 hears, that fedden thy sheep, and robbed them not  
 of their lifelod, as Peter thy good shepheard and  
 thy other apostles. But Lord, he that clepeth him-  
 selfe thy vicar vpon earth, and successor to Peter, hee  
 robbeth thy purple of their bodilich lifelode, for hee  
 ordeineth proud shepheards to liuen in ease by the  
 tenth party of poore mens trauell : and hee giueth  
 them leaue to liuen where them liketh. And gif men  
 no wolen wilfullich giuen them the tithings, they  
 wolen

The point of  
 Christ righte  
 continuance.

A poore King,  
 and a poore vicar,  
 carly, as some  
 these times geve  
 thee:

Christ a frend  
 upon earth the  
 Pope a Lord.

The Pope for  
 his right and  
 riches will  
 plete, fight and  
 curse.

Properity of  
 goods here, is  
 not taken away  
 but charity is  
 required to be  
 the need of our  
 neighbor.



wolen han them against their will by maisterie and by cursing, to maken them rich.

Lord, how may any man segge that such shepheards that loven more the wolles than the sheepe, and fedden not thy sheepe in body, ne in soule, ne ben such ravenors and theeves? And who may segge, that the mainteinour of such shepheards ne is not a mainteinour of theeves and robbers? How wole hee affoile shepheards of their robbing, without restitution of their goods, that they robben thy sheepe of against their will? Lord of all shepheards, blessed mote thou bee. For thou lovedst more the sheepe then their wolles. For thou feedest thy sheepe both in body and soule. And for love of thy sheepe, thou tooke thy death to bring thy sheepe out of wolves mouthes. And the most charge that thou gove to Peter was to feede thy sheepe. And so hee did truelich, and tooke the death for thee and for thy sheepe. For hee came into the fold of sheepe by thee that were the doore. And so I trow a few other did as hee did, though they clepen themselves successors to Peter; for their workes shewen what they ben. For they robben and sleene and destroyen; they robben thy sheepe of the tenth part of their travell, and feeden themselves in ease. They sleene thy sheepe, for they pyenen them for hunger of their soule to the deeth. They destroyen the sheepe, for with might and with sternship they ruler thy sheepe; that for dred they ben disperfed abroad in mountaines, and there the wilde beaſts of the field destroyeth them for default of a good shepheard.

¶ O Lord, gif it be thy will deliver thy sheepe out of such shepheards ward that retcheth not of thy sheepe, so they han their wolles to make themselves rich. For thy sheepe ben in great mischiese, and foule accombred with their shepheards.

¶ But for thy shepheards wolden ben excused, they have ygetten them hired men to feed thy people, and these comen in sheepes clothing. But dredlesse their workes shewen that <sup>b</sup> within forth they ben but Wolves. For han they their hire, they ne retcheth but a little how sorilich thy sheepe ben kept. For as they leggen themselves, they ben but hired men that han no charge of thy sheepe. And when they shulden feden thy sheepe in the plenteous <sup>c</sup> lefew of thy teaching, they stonden between them and their lefew, so that the sheepe ne han but a sight of thy lefew, but eaten they shall not thereof. But they feden them in a sorrie fowre lefew of lesings and of tales. And so thy sheepe fallen into grievous sicknesse through this evil lefew. And gif any sheepe breake ouer into thy lefew to tasten the sweetnesse thereof, anone these hired men drive him out with hounds. And thus thy sheepe by these hired men ben ykept out of their kindlich lefew, and ben yfed with fowre grasse and sorrie barren lefew. And yet they feden but seldome, and when they han sorilich fed them; they taken great hire, and gone away from thy sheepe and letten them a worth.

And for dread lest thy sheepe wolden in their abience goe to thy sweet lefew, they han enclosed it all about so stronglich and so high, that there may no sheepe comen there within, but gif it be a <sup>d</sup> walisch leper of the mountaines, that may with his long legs lepen over the vallys. For the hired men ben full certaine, that gif thy sheepe had once ytaſted the sweetnesse of thy lefew: They ne would no more bene yfed of these hired men in their fowre lefewes, and therefore these hired men kepen them out of that lefew. For haden the sheepe once ytaſted well of that lefew, they wolden without a leader goe thider to their mete, and then mote these hired men sechen them another labor to live by than keeping of sheepe. And they ben fell and ware ynow thereof, and therefore they feeden thy sheepe with fowre meat that naught is, and hiden from thy sheepe the sweetnesse of thy lefew. And so though these hired men gon in sheepes clothing, in their workes they ben wolves, that much

harne done to thy sheepe as we have ytold.

¶ O Lord, they comen as sheepe, for they seggen that they ben poore and have forsaken the world to liven perfidich as thou taughtest in the Gospell. Lord this is sheepes clothing. But Lord thou ne taughtest not a man to forsaken the travellous living in poorenesse in the world, to liven in ease with riches by other mens travell, and have lordship on their brethren. For Lord, this is more to forsaken thee and goe to the world.

10 ¶ O Lord, thou ne taughtest not a man to forsake the world to liven in poorenesse of begging by other mens travell that ben as feeble as they ben. Ne Lord thou ne taughtest not a man to live in poorenesse of begging, that were strong enough to travell for his lifelode. Ne Lord, thou ne taughtest not a man to ben a begger to begge of men more than him needeth, to build great castles and make great feasts to thilke that han no neede.

¶ O Lord, thou ne taughtest not men this poorenesse, for it is out of charitie. But thy poorenesse, that thou taughtest, nourisheth charitie. Lord, sith Paul saith, that hee that forsaketh the charge of thilke that ben <sup>e</sup> homelich with him, hath forsaken his faith and is worse then a misbeleven man: How then now these men seggen that they beleven in Christ, that han forsaken their poore feeble friends, and let them live in travell and in diseafe, that travelled full fore for them, when they weren yong and unnightrie to helpen themselves? And they wolen live in ease by other mens travell, evermore begging withouten shame.

¶ Lord thou ne taughtest not this manner poorenesse, for it is out of charitie. And all thy law is charitie and thing that nourisheth charitie; and these shepheards send about to keepe thy sheepe, and to feden them other whiles in bareine lefewes. Lord thou ne madest none such shepheards, ne keepers of the sheepe that feede forilich thy sheepe, and for so little travell taken a great hire, and sithen all the yeece afterward, doe what them liketh, and let thy sheepe perish for default of keeping.

But thy shepheards abiden still with their sheepe, and feeden them in thy plenteous lefew of thy teaching, and gone before thy sheepe, and teachen them the way into the plenteous and sweete lefew, and kepen thy flocke from ravening of the wilde beaſts of the field.

¶ O Lord deliver the sheep out of the ward of these shepheards, and these hired men, that stonden more to keepe their riches than they robben of thy sheepe, than they stonden in keeping of thy sheepe.

¶ O Lord when thou come to Ierusalem, sometime thou drove out of the temple sellers of beaſts and of other chaffare, and saidst: Mine house shoulde ben cleped an house of prayers, but they maden a den of theeves of it. O Lord thou art the Temple in whom we shoulde praen thy Father of Heaven. And Salomons temple, that was ybelded at Ierusalem, was figure of this temple. But Lord, he that clepeth himselfe thy vicar upon earth, and saith that he occupieth thy place here on earth, is become a chapman in thy Temple; and hath his chapmen walking in diuers countries to sellen his chaffare, and to maken him rich. And hee saith, thou gave him so great a power aboven all other men, that whatever he bindeth other unbindeth in earth, thou bindest other unbindest the same in Heaven. And so of great power hee selleth other men forgiveness of their sinne. And for much money he will affoilen a man so cleane of his sinne, that he <sup>f</sup> behoteth men of the blisse of Heaven withouten any paine after that they be dead, that given him much money.

Bishoppricks and chirches, and such other chaffares he selleth also for money, and maketh himselfe rich. And thus he beguiled the people.

¶ O Lord Iesus here is much untruth, and mischiese, and matter of sorrow. Lord thou saidest sometime, that

KING  
EDW. 3.

The complaint  
against the  
bad beggers  
of the  
city.

e Homelich,  
that is, of his  
household.

f Unlawful power  
of the  
abbots.

The poverty  
of the  
good shep-  
herds.

The Pope's  
chapman in  
the temple

g Behoteth,  
that is, promitteth

The Pope a  
maintainer of  
theeves and  
robbers.

Christ a good  
shepheard in  
deed.

Comparison be-  
tweene the popes  
shepheards and  
Christs.

a But for that  
is, but because.

b Within forth,  
that is, inwardly.

c Lefew, pasture.

d A walisch le-  
per.

Wolfes in  
lambskins  
describied.



**KING** that thou wouldest bee with thy servants unto the end of the world. And thou saidest also, there as twene or three ben ygaded toggeder in thy name, that thou art in the middle of them. A Lord, then it was no need to thee to maken liefetenant, fith thou wolte be evermore amongst thy servants.

**LORD**, thou axedst of thy Disciples, who they trowed that thou were. And Peter answered and said, that thou art Christ Gods Sonne. And thou saidest to Peter; Thou art yblestid Simon Bariona, for flesh and bloud ne showed not this to thee, but my Father that is in heaven. And I say to thee that thou art Peter, and upon this stone ych would bilde my Church, and the gates of hell hee shullen not availen agens it.

And to thee ych wole geve the keyes of heaven, and what ever thou bindest upon earth shall bee bound in heaven, and what ever thou unbindest on earth, shall be unbounden in heaven. This power also was granten unto the other Disciples, as well as to Peter, as the Gospell openlich telleth. In this place men seggen that thou granted to Peters successours the selue power that thou gave to Peter. And therefore the Bishop of Rome, that saith he is Peters successour, taketh this power to him to binden and unbinden in earth what him liketh. But Lord, ych have much wonder how hee may for shame clepen himselfe Peters successour: for Peter knowledged that thou wert Christ and God, and kept the hefts of thy law: but these han forsaken the hefts of thy law, and hath ymaken a law contrary to thine hefts of thy law. And so hee maketh himselfe a false Christ, and a false god in earth. And I trow thou gave him no power to undoe thy law. And so in taking this power upon him, maketh him a false christ and antichrist.

For who may be more agens Christ, than hee that in his words maketh himselfe Christs Vicar in earth, and in his werkes undoth the ordinance of Christ, and maketh men beleeven that it is needfull to the heale of mans soules, to beleeven that he is Christs vicar in earth? And what ever he bindeth in earth, is ybounden in heaven, and under this colour hee undoth Christs law, and maketh men alwayes to kepen his law and hefts.

And thus man may yseene that hee is against Christ, and therefore hee is antichrist that maketh men worshippen him as a god on earth, as the proud king Nabugodonosor did sometime, that was King of Babylon. And therefore wee lewde men that knowen not God but thee Iesus Christ, beleeven in thee that art our God, and our King, and our Christ, and thy lawes; and forsaken Antichrist, and Nabugodonosor that is a false god, and a false Christ, and his lawes ben contrary to thy preaching.

And Lord strength thou us against our enemies. For they ben about to maken us forsaken thee and thy law, other else to putten us to death.

O Lord, onlich in thee is our trust to helpe us in this mischiefe, for thy great goodnesse that is withouten end.

Lord thou ne taughtest not thy Disciples to assoilen men of their sinne, and setten them a penance for their sinne, in fasting, ne in praying, ne other almous deed; ne thy selfe, ne thy Disciples, useden no such power here on earth. For Lord, thou forgoe men her sinnes, and bede him sinne no more. And thy Disciples fulleden men in thy name, in forgiveness of her sinnes. Nor they tooke no such power upon them as our priests dare now. And Lord, thou ne assoildest no man both of his sinne and of his paine, that was due for his sinne, ne thou grantedst no man such power here on earth.

And Lord, me thinketh that gif there were a purgatorie, and any earthlich man had power to deliveren sinfull men from the peines of purgatorie, hee should, and hee were in charitie, saven everich man that were in way of salvation from thilke peines, fith

they make them greater than any bodilich peines of this world. Also gif the Bishop of Rome had such a power, hee himselfe shuld never comen in purgatorie, ne in hell. And fith wee see well that hee ne hath no power to kepen himselfe, ne other men nother out of these bodilich peines of the world, and he may goe to hell for his sinne as another man may: I ne beleeeve not, that he hath so great power to assoilen men of their sinne as hee taketh upon him aboven all other men. And I trow that in this hee higheth himselfe above God.

As touching the selling of Bishopricks and parsonages, I trow it be a point of falshede. For agens Gods ordinance hee robbeth poore men of a portion of their sustenance, and selleth it, other giveth it, to find proud men in idleness that don the lewd people little profit, but much harme, as we told before. Thus ben thy commandements of truth, of meeknesse, and of poorenesse undone by him, that clepeth himselfe thy Vicar here upon earth.

A Lord, thou gave us a commandement of chastite, that is, a forsaking of fleshlich lusts. For thou broughtest us to a living of soules, that is, ygoverned by the word. For Lord, thou ordeinedist women more frele than man to ben ygoverned by mans rule, and his helpe, to please thee and keepe thine hestes. Ne thou ne ordeinedist that a man should desire the company of a woman, and maken her his wife, to liven with her in his lustis, as a swine doth or a horse. And his wife ne like him not to his lustes, Lord thou ne gave not a man leave to departen him from his wife, and taken him another.

But Lord, thy marriage is a common accord betweene man and woman, to liven together to their lives end, and in thy service either the better for others helpe, and thilke that thus ben ycome together, ben joynd by thee, and thilke that God joyne. may no man depart. But Lord, thou saiest, that gif a man see a woman to coveten her, then he doth with the woman lecherie in his heart. And so Lord, gif a man desire his wife in covetise of such lusts, and not to flie from whoredome, his weddins is lecherie, ne thou ne joyneest them not together. Thus was Raguels daughter ywedded to seven husbands that the divell intrangled. But Toby tooke her to live with her in cleanness, and bringing up of her children in thy worship, and on him the divell ne had no power. For the wedding was I maketh in God, for God, and through God.

A Lord, the people is farre ygo from this manner of wedding. For now men wedden their wives for fairenesse, other for riches, or some such other fleshlich lusts. And Lord, so it preveth by them for the most part. For a man shall not find two wedded in a land, where the husband loues the wife, and the wife is buxum to the man, as they shoulde after the law of marriage. But other the man loves not his wife, or the wife if not buxum to her man. And thus Lord is the rule of prefe, that never failleth no preue whether it bee done by thee or no. And Lord, all this mischiefe is common among thy people, for that they know not thy word, but their shepheards and hired men fedden them with their sweuens and leasings. And Lord, where they shoulde gon before us in the field, they seggen their order is too holy for thy marriage. And Lord, he that calleth himselfe thy Vicar upon earth will not suffren priests to taken them wiues, for that is agens his law: But Lord, hee will dispensen with them to kepen hore for a certaine summe of money. And Lord, all whoredome is forfended in thy law. And Lord, thou never forfendedst priests their wiues, ner thy Apostles neither. And well I wote in our land, priests hadden wiues untill Anselmus dayes in the ycare of our Lord God 1129. as Huntingdone writes. And Lord, this makes people for the most part beleven, that lecherie is no sinne. Therefore wee lewde men

Y y 2 praye

Selling of Bishopricks and parsonages

Marriage

A lesson how to marry

Sweuens, that is, leasings

Priests had wiues till the time of Anselmus

Fulleden, that is, baptised

Purgatorie

The place of gif we go to Peter he heere, etc.ounded.

The Pope pro to a false antichrist in earth.



prayer thee that thou wolt send vs shepheards of thine own, that wolen feeden thy flocke in thy lefew, and gon before themselfe, and so written thy law in our hearts, that from the least to the most all they mayen knowen thee. And Lord, geue our king and his Lords heart to defenden thy true shepheards and thy sheepe from out of the wolues mouthes, and grace to know thee that art the true Christ, the Sonne of thy heavenly Father, from the Antichrist, that is, the sonne of pride. And Lord, geue vs thy poore sheepe patience and strength to suffer for thy Law, the cruellnesse of the muchieuous wolues. And Lord, as thou hast promised, shorten these daies. Lord we axen this now, for more neede was there neuer.

I doubt not, gentle Reader, but in reading this godly treatise aboue prefixed, the matter is manifest and plaine of it selfe without any further explication, what is to be thought and judged of this vicar of Christ, and successor of Peter, whom we call the Bishop of Rome: whose life here thou seest not only to be disordered in all points, swarming from the steps and example of Christ the Prince and Bishop of our soules, but also whose lawes and doctrines are so repugnant and contrary to the precepts and rule of the Gospell, that almost there is no conuenience betwene them: as in the perusing of this complaining prayer, thou mayest notoriously vnderstand. Wherefore hauing no need to stand in any further expelling of this matter, but leaving it to thine owne consideration and discretion, I will speed my selfe (Christ willing) to proceed toward the time of John Wickliffe and his fellows, taking by order of yeares as I goe, such things by the way, as both happened before the said time of Wickliffe, and also may the better prepare the minde of the Reader, to the entering of that story. Where first I thinke it not inconuenient to insert a propheticall parable, written about this time, or not much before, which the authoꝝ morallly applyeth vnto the bishop of Rome. To what authoꝝ this prophesy or morall is to be ascribed, I haue not certainly to asseigne. Some say, that Rupescissanus (of whom mention is made before) was the authoꝝ thereof, and alleage it out of Froylard; but in Froylard as yet I haue not found it. In the meane season, as I haue found it in Latine expressed, because it painteth out the Pope so rightly in his feathers and colours; as I thought the thing was not to be omitted, so I toke this present place, as most fit (although peraduenture missing the order of yeares a little) to insert the same. The effect of which parable followeth here vnder written.

In the time of Pope Innocent the sixth aboue specified, this Ioannes de Rupescissa, a frier, among other his Prophecies maruellously forepake (as alleageeth Froylard, who both heard and saw him) of the taking of John the French King prisoner, and brought forth many other notable collections concerning the perils, mutations and changings in the Church to come. And at what time the Pope kept him at Aninion in prison (where Froylard is said to see him, and to speake with him) the said Froylard heard in the Popes court this example and parable recited by the foresaid frier Rupescissanus, to the two Cardinals, to wit, Cardinall Hostiensis, and Cardinall Auxerensis, which followeth in these words.

When on a certaine time a bird was brought into the world all bare and without feathers, the other birds hearing thereof, came to visit her: and for that they saw her to be a marvellous faire and beautifull bird, they counselled together how they might best doe her good, with by no means without feathers she might either die, or liue commodiously. They all wished her to liue for her excellent forme and beauties sake, inso much that among them all there was not one, that would not grant some part of her

owne feathers to decke this bird withall: yea, and the more trim they saw her to be, the more feathers still they gaue vnto her, so that by this meanes shee was passing well penned and feathered, and began to flie. The other birds that thus had adorned her with goodly feathers, beholding her to flie abroad, were maruellously delighted therewith. In the end this bird seeing her selfe so gorgeously feathered, and of all the rest to be had in honour, began to ware proud and haughty, inso much that shee had no regard at all vnto them, by whom shee was advanced: yea, shee pyned them with her beake, plucked them by the skin and feathers, and in all places hurted them. Whereupon the birds sitting in counsell againe, called the matter in question, demanding one of another what was best to be done touching this unkind bird, whom they louingly with their owne feathers had decked and adorned: affirming that they gaue not their feathers, to the intent that shee, thereby pufft vp with pride, should contemptuously despise them all. The Peacocke therefore answereth first; Truly, saith he, for that shee is brauely set forth with my painted feathers, I will againe take them from her. When saith the Faulcon; And I also will haue mine againe. This sentence at length toke place among them all, so that euery one plucked from her those feathers which before they had giuen, challenging to them their owne againe. Now this proud bird, seeing her selfe thus to be dealt withall, began forthwith to abate her haucie stomacke, and humbly to submit her selfe openly, confessing and acknowledging, that of her selfe shee had nothing; but that her feathers, her honour and other ornaments was their gift: she came into the world all naked and bare, they clad her with comely feathers, and therefore of right may they receiue them againe. Wherefore in most humble wise shee desired pardon, promising to amend all that is past, neither would shee at any time hereafter commit, whereby through pride she might lese her feathers againe. The gentle birds, that before had giuen their feathers, seeing her so humble and lowly, being moued with pity, restored againe the feathers which lately they had taken away, adding withall this admonition: We will gladly, say they, beheld thee flying among vs, so long as thou wilt vnto thine office with humbleness of minde, which is the chiefest comeliness of all the rest. But this haue thou for certaintie, that if at any time hereafter thou extol thy selfe in pride, wee will straightwayes deprive thee of thy feathers, and reduce thee into thy former state wherein we found thee. Then so, Oh you cardinals (saith Ioannes Rupescissanus) shall it happen vnto you: for the Emperours of the Romanes and Almains, and other Chriftian Kings, Potentates, and Princes of the earth, haue bestowed vpon you goods, lands and riches, that should serue God, but you haue poured it out, and consumed it vpon pride, all kind of wickednesse, riot and wantonnesse.

Armachanus.

In the Catalogue of these learned and zealous defenders of Christ against Antichrist aboue rehearsed, whom the Lord about this time began to raise up for the reanination of his church, being then far out of frame, I cannot forget nor omit something to write of the reuerend prelate, and famous clerke, Richard Armachanus, primate and Archbishop of Ireland: a man for his life and learning so memorable, as the condition of those dayes then serued; that the same dayes then as they had but few good, so had they none almost his better. His name was Richard ffigra, made primate and archbishop, as is said, of Ireland. First brought up in the Vniuersity of Oxford in the study of all liberall knowledge, wherein he did exceedingly profit vnder John Barenthope

KING  
EDW.

The Pope compared to a bird feathered with other birds feathers.

The first rising of the Pope. The proud spirit of the Pope.

The decay of the Pope's feathers.

A parable prophesying the destruction of the Pope.

The life and history of Armachanus, Archbishop and primate of Ireland.



{ KING }  
{ EDW. 3 }

henthope his tutor and instructor. In this time the begging friers began greatly to multiply & spread, unto whom this Bakenhope was ever a great enemy: whose steps the scholars also following, began to doe the like. Such was the capacity and desert of this ffray, that he, being commended to *St. Colv.* the third, was promoted by him, first, to be archdeacon of Litchfield, then to be the Commissarie of the University of Oxford; at length to be Archbishop of Armach in Ireland. He being Archbishop, upon a time had a cause to come by to London: at what time here in the said city of London was contention betwene the friers and the clergy about preaching and hearing confessions, &c. Whereupon, this Armachanus, being requested to preach, made seven or eight sermons. Wherein he propounded nine conclusions against the friers, for the which he was cited by the friers before this Pope Innocent the sixth to appeare; and so he did: who before the face of the Pope boldly defended, both in preaching and in writing, the same conclusions, and therein stood constantly unto the death, as the words of John Wickliffe in this *Trilogio* doe well testifie in this wise: Ab Anglorum episcopis conductus Armachanus novem in Avione conclusiones coram Innocentio 6. & suorum cardinalium coetu, contra fratrum mendicitatem, audeat publicavit; verbosq; ad scriptis ad mortem usque defendit. The like also testifieth of him Waldenus in fasciculo zizaniorum. Also Volateranus reporteth the same. Gulielmus Bocerius testifying of him in like manner, saith, that Armachanus first repoued begging friers for hearing the confessions of professed nuns, without licence of their superiours, and also of married women without knowledge of their husbands. What dangers and troubles he sustained by his persecutors, and how miraculously the Lord delivered him from their hands; inasmuch, that they meeting him in the open streets, and in cleare day light, yet had no power to see him, nor to apprehend him. In what perill of thames and fear, chers he was, and yet the Lord delivered him, per, and caused his money, being taken from him, to be restored again to him by portions in time of his necessity and famine: And in what dangers he was of the Kings officers, which comming with the Kings letters, laid all the havens for him; and how the Lord Jesus delivered him, shewing him by what wayes, and how to escape them. Moreover, what appeals were laid against him, to the number of sixtene, and yet how the Lord gaue him to triumph over all his enemies; how the Lord also taught him, and brought him out of the profound vanities of Aristotles subtilty to the study of the Scriptures of God. All this, with much more, he himselfe expresseth in a certaine prayer or confession made to Christ Jesus our Lord, in which he describeth almost the whole history of his owne life. Which prayer I haue to shew in old written hand, and hereafter (Christ willing) intend, as timeseruet, to publish the same. The beginning of the prayer in Latine is this:

Tibi laus, tibi gloria, tibi gratiarum actio, Iesu piissime, Iesu potentissime, Iesu dulcissime; qui dixisti, Ego sum via, veritas & vita. Via sine devio; veritas sine nubilo; & vita sine termino. Quod tute viam mihi ostendisti, Tute veritatem me docuisti; Et tute vitam mihi promissisti. Via eras mihi in exilio; Veritas eras in consilio; Et vita eris mihi in premio. With the rest that followeth in the foresaid prayer.

Thus what were the troubles of this good man, and how he was cited by the friers to the Pope, you haue partly heard. Now what were his reasons and arguments wherewith he defended his cause in the Popes presence, followeth to be declared. For the tradition wherof, first, I must put the Reader in remembrance of the controversie mentioned before in the story of Gulielmus de sancto Amore, pag. 410. Also in the story of the University of Paris con-

tending against the friers, pag. 512. For so long did this controversie continue in the Church, from the yeere 1240. when the Oxford men began first to stand against the friers, to the time of this Armachanus, that is, to the yeere 1360. and after this time yet more increased. So it pleased the secret providence of God (for what cause he best knoweth) to suffer his church to be entangled and exercised sometimes with matters and controversies of no great importance; either to keepe the wantie of mens wits thus occupied from idleness, or else to prepare their nundes, by these smaller matters, to the consideration and searching out of other things more grave and weighty. Like as now in these our Quenes daies we see what tragedies be raised up in England about formes and fashions of Minsters wearings, what troubles grow, what placing and displacing there is about the same. Such so at this time hapned the like stre about the liberties and priviledges of the friers, which not a little troubled and occupied all the churches & Minnes almost throughout Christendome. The which controversie, to the intent it may better be understood of all the circumstances thereof being explained we will first begin from the originall and foundation of the matter, to declare by order and course of yeeres, upon what occasion this variance first rising, in continuance of time increased and multiplied in gathering more matter, and burst out at length to this tumultuous contention among learned men.

Concerning therefore this present matter, first, it is to be understood, that in the yeere of our Lord 1215. under Pope Innocent the third, was called a generall council at Laterane, mentioned before, pag. 331. in the daies of King John. In the which council among many other things, was constituted a certaine law or canon, beginning Omnis viri- usque sexus, &c. the tenor of which canon in English is thus:

Be it decreed, that every faithfull Christian, both man and woman comming to the yeares of discretion, shall confesse himselfe alone of all his sinnes to the Priest of his owne proper parish, once in the yeere at least: and that hee shall endeavour by his owne selfe to fulfill the penance, whensoever he receiveth the sacrament of Eucharistie, at least at the time, of Easter. Vnlesse by the assent of his Minister, upon some reasonable cause, hee abstaine for the time. Otherwise doing, let him both lack the communion of the Church being alive, and christian buriall when he is dead. Wherefore bee it decreed, that this wholesome constitution shall be published accustomedly in Churches, to the end that no man of ignorance or of blindness make to himselfe a cloke of excuse. And if any shall confesse himselfe to any other priest than of his owne parish upon any just cause, let him aske and obtaine first licence of his owne priest: otherwise, the priest shall have no power to bind him or to loose him, &c.

In the time of this Innocentius, and of this Laterane Council, was Dominicke, the first author and founder of the preaching friers; who laboured to the said Pope Innocent for the confirmation of his order, but did not obtaine in his life time.

The next yeere after this Laterane council died pope Innocent, An. 1216. after whom came Honorius the third. Who in the first yeere of his popedom confirmed the order of the frier Dominicke, and gaue to him and his friers authority to preach, and to heare confessions, with divers other priviledges more. And under this Pope, which governed ten yeeres, lived Dominicke five yeeres after the confirmation of his order, and died, An. 1221. About which yeere the order of the franciscan friers began also to grow, and to spread in the world, through preaching and hearing confessions.

After this Honorius, next followed pope Gregory

Can. omnis viri-  
usque sexus,  
us, Sex. ex, de  
De & re.

Note here, he  
collected it not  
the account  
of the altar.

Frier Domin-  
ick in the time  
of Pope Inno-  
cent the third  
did not the con-  
firmation of his  
order.

The order of  
frier Dominick  
first confirmed  
by pope Honor-  
us the third.

The commendation of Armachanus.

Armachanus cited by the friers to appeare before the Pope.

The troubles and persecutions of Armachanus.

Armachanus persecuted many old wayes by the Lord.

The prayer of Armachanus.



**F**he order of the Franciscans continued shortly after the Dominicks, gaue out this Bull, in tenour as followeth.

**The Bull of Pope Gregorie in the behalfe of the Dominick friers.**

**a** Integrity hath adorned at Rome.

**b** May, to the preaching rather of mens traditions against the word of God. The friers are thought to heare confessions, and to enioyne penance.

**Pope Innocent the fourth a-**  
**gainst the friers.**

**Pope Alexander the fourth w-**  
**doth the acts of Pope Innocent the fourth, his predecessor.**

**Extra. non si-**  
**ne multa.**  
**Gul. de sancto**  
**Amore. Si-**  
**mon Iorna-**  
**lenfis, God-**  
**fridus de fon-**  
**tibus. Hen-**  
**de Gandauo,**  
**four champions**  
**against the**  
**friers.**

**Articles of the**  
**Students of Pa-**  
**ris against the**  
**friers.**

the ninth, about the yere of our Lord 1228. who for the promoting of the foresaid order of Dominicks, gaue out this Bull, in tenour as followeth.

Gregorius bishop, servant of Gods servants, to his reverend brethren, Archbishops, bishops, and to his welbeloved children, Abbats, priors, and to all prelates of Churches, to whomsoever these presents shall come, greeting, and Apostolicall blessing. Because iniquitie hath abounded, and the charity of many hath waxt cold; Behold, the Lord hath raised up the order of our welbeloved children the preaching friers, who not seeing things of their owne, but pertaining to Iesus Christ, to the extirping aswell of heresies, as to the rooting out also of other pernicious pestilences, have dedicated themselves to the preaching of the word of God. We therefore minding to advance their sacred purpose, &c. And followeth: commanding you to see the said persons, gently to bee received among you; and that your flockes committed to your charge doe receive devoutly the seed of Gods word out of their mouth, and doe confesse their sinnes unto them, all such as list, whom we have authorized to the same, to heare confessions, and to enioyne penance, &c. Dat. Perusii. an. Pont. nostri 8.

This Pope Gregory died about the yere of our Lord 1241. after whom came Celestinus the fourth, and sate but eighteene dayes: then came Innocentius the fourth, and sate 11. yeres and five moneths. Who, although he began first to fauour the friers, yet afterward being altered by certaine Diuines of Aniuersities, prelates of churches, and curats, he debarred them of their liberties and priuiledges, and gaue out againe precepts and excommunications, as well against friers, as all other religious persons. And not long after the same he was dispatched and made away.

Innocentius being thus remoued out of the way, about the yere of our Lord 1353. then succeeded Pope Alexander the fourth, a great maintainer of the friers, and sate seuen yeres. He renoued and repealed the acts and writings of pope Innocent his predecessor, gaue forth against the friers: where with the Diuines and Students of Paris being not well contented, stirred up foure principall Doctors: the first and chiefe captaine was Guliel. de sancto Amore, mentioned before, pag. 397. against whom wrote Albertus Magnus, and Thom. Aquine. And at last he was condemned by this foresaid pope Alexander the fourth, in the Extrav. Non sine multa. The second was Simon Iornalenfis, the third, Godfridus de fontibus, the fourth Henricus de Gandavo. These foure with other their complices, compiled a certaine booke against the begging order of friers, both Dominicans and Franciscans, intituled, De periculis Ecclesie, containing foureteene chapters, whereof the fourteenth, which is the last, with thirtynine articles against the friers, we haue already translated and expressed, pag. 416. Beside these thirtynine articles, be other seuen articles moxouer to the said booke annexed, vnder the name of the students of Paris against the friers, prouing why the said friers ought not to be admitted into their society. Which seuen articles, because they are but short, I thought here better to place, than to omit them.

Certaine Articles given out by the Students of Paris, against the Friers, why they should not be admitted to their Society.

**F**irst we say, they are not to be admitted to the society of our schoule, but vpon our will and licence. For our company or fellowship ought not to bee co-actiue, but voluntary and free.

Secondly, we say they are not to be admitted, for so much as we oft praued their community manifold wayes to be hurtfull and incommodious.

Thirdly, seeing they bee of a diuerse profession from vs (for they are called regular, and not scholasticall) wee therefore ought not to bee ioyned and affociate together in one scholasticall office; forasmuch as the counsell of Spaine doth say, Thou shalt not plough with an oxe, and with an asse together. Which is to say, Men of diuers professions ought not together to be matched in one kind of calling, or standing, for their studies and conditions bee disagreeing and diuiered from eurs, and cannot frame or couple together in one communion.

Fourthly, we affirme by the Apostle that they are not to be admitted, because they worke dissensions and offences; for so saith the Apostle, Rom. vlt. We desire you brethren, that ye obserue and take heed of such as make dissensions and offences about the doctrine which you haue learned by the Apostles, and auoid them: for such serue not the Lord, but their owne belly. Gloss. Some they flatter, some they backbite, whereby they might feed their bellies. That through their sweet and pleasant words, and by their benedictions, they may deceiue the hearts of the simple. Gloss. That is, with their fine sugered and trim couched words they set forth their owne traditions, wherewith they beguile the hearts of the simple innocents.

Fifthly, we say they are not to be admitted, for that we feare lest they be in the number of them, which goe about and deuoure mens houses: for they figuist in themselves into euery mans house, searching and sacking the conscience and states of all persons: and whom they find easie to be seduced, and women, such they do circumsent, and lead them away from the counsell of their prelates, binding them either in act or oath: from such we are warned by the Apostle to auoid.

Sixthly, we say they are not to be admitted, because we feare they are false Prophets. Which being neither Bishops, nor parish Priests, nor yet their vicars, nor sent by them, yet they preach (not sent) against the mind of the Apostle, Rom. 10. saying, How shall they preach except they be sent: for else there appeareth in them no such great vertue, for the which they ought to be admitted to preach vncalled. Seeing therefore that such are so dangerous to the Church, they ought to be auoided.

Seuenthly, we say they are not to be admitted, because they be a people so curious in searching and inquiring of other mens doings and spirituall deuianoz. And they yet be neither Apostles, nor yet successors of the Apostles, as bishops nor of the number of the seuentie two disciples of the Lord; nor their successors, that is, parish priests nor their helpers, nor yet vicars. We therefore, seeing they liue so in no order, by the sentence of the apostle we are commanded to auoid them, 2 Thes. vlt. where he saith: We admonish and denounce vnto you (O brethren) in the name of our Lord Iesus Christ; that is, as the Glosse saith, (Wee command you by the authority of Christ) that you withdraw your selues from euery brother that walketh inordinately, and not after the tradition which you haue received of vs, &c. We take vpon the common glosse of this place, and you shall find, that such are to be auoided till time they amend from so doing, &c.

Besides these articles aboue rehearsed, certaine propositions or conclusions were also propounded in the schoules of Paris the same time, seemmely to be disputed and defended against the friers: which, in a brieue summe of words to collect them, were these.

First, that the begging friers were not in the state of saluation.

Secondly, that they were bound to labour with their hands that could, and not to beg.

Thirdly,

{ KING }  
{ EDW. }

Concilium  
Hispan.

The friers  
make dissenti-  
ons.

Friers deuoure  
mens houses  
Penetrantes  
domos.

Friers preach  
vncalled.

Friers haue no  
order of any  
calling in the  
Church.

Certaine con-  
clusions in the  
Aniuersitie of  
Paris to be di-  
sputed of a  
society of a  
gainst the fri-  
ers.



**KING** Thirdly, that they ought not to exercise the office of preaching, or to heare the confessions of them that will come unto them, although being licen'd thereunto by the Bishop of Rome, or by the Diocelan; for so much as the same is prejudiciall to the Ministers and Priests of the Parishes.

**EDW. 3** All these Pope said articles and conclusions, with the book set forth by these Paris men, this Pope Alexander the fourth condemned to be abolished and burned, writing his precepts to the French king, and also the University of Paris, in the fauour of the friers; willing and commanding the said friers to be restored to all their priuiledges and liberties in as ample manner, as in Pope Gregories time before.

Not long after Pope Alexander the fourth followed Clement the fourth, Ann. 1263. and late three yeeres: who also gaue the priuiledge to the friers, beginning, Quidam temere, &c. In which priuiledge he condemneth them that say, that no man without licence of his Curator or Minister, ought to confesse him to the friers, or that a subiect ought to aske licence of their Ministers to so do, which was against the canon Omnis vtriusque sexus, &c. made by Pope Innocent the third, before recited.

After this Clement againe came Pope Martine the fourth, An. 1281. who renewed againe the canon, Omnis vtriusque sexus, in the behalfe of the Curates against the friers.

When Pope Boniface the eighth began to sit, Ann. 1294. and late eight yeeres & nine moneths. Who taking side with the friers, gaue to them another priuiledge, beginning, Supra Cathedral, &c. In the which priuiledge he licensed the friers, that without licence of Curates of Churches they shall first present themselves to the Prelates to be admitted; by whom if they be refused the second time, then they, vpon speciall authoritie of this Pope, shall be priuiledged, without either Bishop or Curate, to preach to bury, and to heare confessions, whosoeuer will come to them: reuoking all that was decreed by his predecessors before to the contrary.

By this Pope Boniface, a certaine Dominick fryer was made Cardinall, named Nicolaus de Teruissio, and after the death of Boniface he was also made Pope, Ann. 1303. surnamed Pope Benedictus 11. who, seeing the constitution of Boniface his predecessor to gender dissention betwene the Priests and friers, made another constitution, beginning, Inter cunctas, &c. reuoking the constitution of Boniface his predecessor. vpon which constitution of Pope Benedict, Ioannes Monachus making a glosse, reuoked also his other made vpon the constitution of Boniface before.

Againe, after this Benedictus the eleuenth, followed Pope Clement the fifth, Ann. 1305. and late nure yeeres. Who, in his generall councill holden at Vienne, reuoked the constitution of Benedictus his predecessor, and renewed againe the former decree of Boniface, by a new constitution of his, beginning Dudum a Bonifacio 8. &c. Which constitution moreover was confirmed afterward by Pope John the 22. An. 1316. Which Pope also caused Ioannes de Poliacco to recant.

vpon this variable diuersity of the Popes (one dissenting and repugning from another) rose among the Diuines and Scholermen in Vniuersities great matter of contention, as well in the Vniuersity of Paris, as the Vniuersity of Oxford about the begging friers, some holding one way, some another way. But especially five principall opinions be noted of learned men, wh, then disputing against the friers, were condemned for heretiks, and their assertions repponed.

The first was the opinion of them which defended, that the friers might not by the licence of the bishop of Rome and of the Prelats preach in parishes, and heare confessions. And of this opinion was Gulielm. de sancto Amore, with his fellows, who, as

it is said, were condemned.

The second opinion was this, that friers, although not by their owne authority, yet by priuiledge of the Pope, and of the Bishop, might preach and heare confessions in Parishes, but yet not without licence of the parish Priests. Of this opinion was Bernardus super cap. Omnis vtriusque sexus, afore mentioned.

The third opinion was, that friers might preach and heare confessions without licence of the parish Priests; but yet the said parishioners notwithstanding were bound, by the canon Omnis vtriusque sexus to reapeate the same finnes againe, if they had no other, to their owne proper curat: and of this opinion were many, as Godfr. de fontibus, Henr. de Gaudauo, Ioannes Monachus cardi. Ioannes de Poliacco, &c. which Ioannes de Poliacco Pope John the 22. caused openly in Paris to recant and retract.

This Ioannes de poliacco Doctor of Diuinity in Paris, being complained of by the friers for certaine articles or assertions, was sent for to the Pope: where time & place being to him assigned, he, in the audience of the Pope and of frierly Cardinalls and other Doctors, was straitly examined of his Articles. To make the story short, he, at length submitting himselfe to the authority of the terrible Sea of Rome, was caused to recant his assertions openly at Paris: his assertions which he did hold were these,

The three assertions of Ioannes de Poliacco, which he was caused by the Pope to recant at Paris.

Whereof the first was, they which were confessed to friers, although hauing a generall licence to heare confessions, were bound to confesse againe their finnes to their owne parish priest, by the constitution Omnis vtriusque sexus, &c.

The second was, that, the said constitution Omnis vtriusque sexus standing in his force, the Pope could not make, but parishioners were bound once a yeere to confesse their finnes to their priest. For the doing otherwise importeth a contradiction in it selfe.

The third was, that the Pope could not giue generall licence to heare confessions so, but that the parishioner so confessed was bound to reiterate the same confession made, vnto his owne curat. Which he proued by these places of the canon law. 25. 25. q. 1. Quæ quest. 1. Quæ ad perpetuum. Those ad perpetuum things which be generally ordained for publike vtilitie, ought not to be altered by any change, &c. Item, the decrees of the sacred Canons, none re aliquid nec ought to keepe more than the Bishop huius qui apostolicall, &c. Ibidem. Item, to alter dem sedis ter or to ordaine any thing against potest autoritatis the decrees of the fathers, is not in the tas. authority or power, no not of the apostolicall Sea: Ibidem.

The fourth opinion was, that the friers by the licence of the Pope and of the bishops might lawfully heare confessions and the people might be of them confessed and absolved. But yet notwithstanding, it was reason, conuenient, honest, and profitable, that once in the yeere they should be confessed to their Curats (although being confessed before to the friers) because of the administration of the Sacraments, especially at Easter. Of which opinion duno, Henricus de monte Landuno, Henricus de cus de Gaudano also held it not onely be conuenient, but

The second opinion.

Bernardus super cap. Omnis vtriusque sexus.

The third opinion.

Ioan de Poliacco.

Ex libro fratris Egberti.

John de Poliacco caused to recant by Pope John 22.

The three assertions of John de Poliacco against the friers.

The fourth opinion.



The fifth opi-  
nion.

ent but also that they were bound so to doe.

The fifth opinion was, that albeit the Friers might at all times, and at Easter also, heare confession as the curats did; yet it was better and more safe, at the time of Easter, to confesse to the Curats, than to the Friers. And of this opinion was this our Armachanus, of whom we presently now intreate.

And thus haue we, as in a brieve summe, opened vnto you, what was the matter of contention betwene the Friers and the Churchmen. What Popes made with the friers, and what Popes made against them. Moreover, what learned men disputed against them in Paris, and other places, and what were their opinions.

The matter of contention about the Friers stood in foure points: First, preaching without licence of Curats; Secondly, in hearing confession. Thirdly, in burring; Fourthly, in begging and taking of the people.

Popes that maintained the Friers,	Popes that maint'ned Curats.
Honorius. 3	Innocentius. 3
Gregorius. 9	Innocentius. 4
Alexander. 4	Martinus. 4
Clemens. 4	Benedictus. 11
Boniface. 8	
Clemens. 5	

*The learned men that disputed against  
the Friers.*

Gulielmus de S. Amore.	All these were con- demned by the Popes, or else caused to recant.
Bernardus super capitulum,	
Omnis vtriusque leus.	
Godfridus de Fontibus.	
Henricus de Gandauo.	
Gulielmus de Landuno.	
Ioannes Monachus Cardin.	
Ioannes de Poliano.	
Armachanus.	

These considerations and circumstances hitherto premised, for the more opening of this present cause of Armachanus sustained against the idle beggerly sects of Friers, in whom the Reader may well perceiue Antichrist plainly reigning and fighting against the church: it now remaineth, that as I haue before declared the trauels and troubles of diuers goodly learned men in the church striving against the said Friers, continually from the time of Gulielmus de Amore, hitherto; so now forasmuch as this our Armachanus laboured, and in the same cause sustained the like conflict with the same Antichrist, we likewise collect and open his reasons & arguments offered in the consistorie and in the audience of the Pope himselfe, wherewith he maintaineth the true doctrine and cause of the Church against the pestiferous canker creeping in by these Friers after subtill wayes of hypocrisie, to corrupt the sincere simplicitie of Christs holy faith and perfect Testament. The which reasons and arguments of his, with the whole procelle of his doings, I thought good and expedient for the vtilitie of the Church more amply and largely to discourse and prosecute, for that I note in the sects, institutions, and doctrine of these Friers, such subtill poyson to lurke, more pernicious & hurtfull to the religion of Christ and soules of christians, than all men peradventure doe consider.

Thus Armachanus, joining with the Clergy of England, disputed and contended with the Friers

here of England, An. 1358. about a double matter. Wherof the one was concerning confession and other excheates which the Friers incroched in parish Churches against the curats, and publike pastors of Churches. The other was concerning wilfull beggery and pouerty, which the Friers then took upon them, not vpon any necessity, being otherwise strong enough to worke for their living, but onely vpon a wilfull and affected profession. For the which cause the Friers appealed him vp to the Court of Rome. The occasion whereof thus did rise.

It befell that Armachanus, vpon certaine businesse comming vnto London, found there certaine Doctors disputing and contending about the beggung of Christ our Saviour. Whereupon he, being greatly wged and requested oft times therunto, at request made seuen or eight sermons vnto the people at London, wherein he offered nine conclusions: whereof the first and principall conclusion was, touching the matter of the friers priuiledges in hearing confessions. His conclusion was this.

First, that if a doubt or question be moued for hearing confessions, which of two places is rather to be chosen; The parish Church is to be preferred before the Church of the Friers.

Secondly, being demanded, whether it is to be taken to heare the confession of the parishioners, the parson, or curat, or the frier (it is to be said, rather the parson or the Curat.

Thirdly, that our Lord Iesus Christ in his humane conuersation was alwaies poore, but that he loued not pouerty, or did Couet to be poore.

Fourthly, that our Lord Iesus Christ did neuer beg, wilfully professing to be poore.

Fifthly, that our Lord Iesus Christ did neuer teach wilfully to beg, or to professe wilfull beggery.

The sixth conclusion was, that Christ our Lord held the contrary, that men ought not wilfully or purposely without more necessity to beg.

Seuenthly, that it is neither wise nor holiness, for any man to take upon him wilfull beggery perpetually to be obserued.

The eighth, that it is not agreeing to the rule of the obseruants, or Friers minozites, to obserue wilfull pouerty.

The last conclusion was, touching the Bull of Pope Alexander the fourth, which condemned the libell of the Pastors of Paris: that the same Bull touched none of these seuen last conclusions.

Vpon these nine conclusions premised, Armachanus being appealed, cited, and brought vp to the presence of the Pope; began to proue the same his foresaid conclusions or assertions vnder profession made, that his intention was not to affirme any thing contrary to the christian faith, or to the catholicke doctrine, or that should be prejudiciall or destructive to the orders of the begging friers, such as were approued by holy Church, or confirmed by the high Bishops; but onely his intention was, to haue the said orders reduced to the puritie of their first institution. Concerning which matter, he desired his reasons to be heard; which if they should be found weaker than the reasons of the Friers, the punishment should be his. If otherwile, that then the friers might justly be rewarded for their slanderous obredation and publike contumelies, and injurious dealings both priuately and publicly wrought and sought against him: and so taking for his theame,

Nolite iudicare secundum faciem, sed iustum iudicium iudicare. &c. That is, Judge not after the outward face, but judge true iudgement, &c. John the seventh; he entereth to the probation of his conclusions: first, beginning with the former conclusion; that the parish church was a place more fit and convenient for the confessions or burials of the parishioners to be used, than any other exempt church or place of the friers. Which he proued by three causes; first,

KING  
EDW. 3.

Armachanus  
led up to the  
Pope by the  
Friers.  
The more  
of Armachanus.

His theame.  
John 7.

The first con-  
clusion pro-  
posed.

Probation  
for



KING  
EDW. 3  
Ser's rep.  
Commodity.

The first part  
of the first con-  
clusion confir-  
med.  
Deut. 12.

Leuit. 4. 5.

The first part  
of the first con-  
clusion confir-  
med by another  
reason.

The second  
part of the first  
conclusion con-  
firmed.

Another confir-  
mation of the  
second part of  
the first article.

The third part  
of the first con-  
clusion proved.

The second  
conclusion of  
article.

for the more surenesse or certaintie to the conscience of the parishioners confessed. Secondly, for the more utility and profit of him. Thirdly, for the lesse incommodity ensuing by confessions taken in parish Churches, than in friers Churches.

As touching the first, for the more assurednesse and certaintie, thus he argued upon the place of Deut. 12. Into that place which the Lord your God shall assigne of all your tribes, to place his name and dwell therein; thither shall you resort, to offer up your oblations, tithes, &c. And in the same place God saith; See thou offer not thy sacrifice in every place that liketh thee, but in that place alone which the Lord hath elect in one of the tribes; and thou shalt doe in all things as I command thee. Also upon the words of Leuit. 4. and 5. which be these, Whosoever sinneth of ignorance shall offer to the priest, and he shall pray for him, and hee shall be forgiven, &c. Upon these places thus he argued; that forasmuch as the Sacraments of the Church are to be frequented and used in no other place, but only in that, which by God himselfe peculiarly is assigned and commanded for the same; and seeing that elect place in the law representeth the parish Churches; neither can it be proved that the friers Church is the place prescribed of God, but onely permitted by Bishops of Rome; he concluded therefore, that parish Churches for confessions and burials were more sure and certaine to the conscience of parishioners, than the exempt places of the friers.

By another reason also he confirmed the same, for that the parish Church standeth free from the Popes interdiction, so doe not the Churches of the friers as which stand not so cleare, but that they are under suspicion and doubt of the Popes interdiction, by the decretall, De sepulturis in sexto cap. Animarum periculis. In which decretall, all such conventuall Churches and Churchyards of friers be interdicted, which doe induce any person or persons, either by oath or promise made, to chuse their burying places in their Churches, as commonly the friers are reported to do: for else what parishioner would forsake his owne Church and parish where his ancestors doe lie, to be buried among the friers, if the friers did not induce them so to doe?

Moreover, for the second part, concerning the utility of the place, that he confirmed doublewise; first, for that confession, made within the parish Church, hath a double merit of obedience, both for obeying the commandment of God in opening his confession (thus hee speaketh according to the blindness of that time, for that auricular confession hath any commandment of God cannot be proved) and also in obeying the Commandment of God in observing the place by him appointed, the which second merit of obedience lacketh in the friers part. Secondly, hee proved it to be greater utility for a parishioner to confesse him in his parish Church, than with the friers; because commonly the number of Christian people praying is ten times more in parish Churches. Whereby it is to be thought, that each singular person may better be helped thorough more prayers, than in the Oratories of friers, &c.

Further, as touching the third part of the first conclusion or article hee proved, that it had fewer inconveniences every man to resort to his parish Church than to the friers; for that both great utility, and more certaintie (as hath bene proved) did issue thereof: which two being taken away, (as must needs, in resorting to the friers Church) then two speciall commodities should be hindered, and so great inconveniences thereof should follow. And thus much for the place of the friers.

Now to the second conclusion or article, touching the person of the frier, and of the ordinary curate. If the question be, which of these two is to be preferred in the office of Ecclesiasticall administration; the

opinion of Armachanus was, that the ordinary Curate was better than the extraordinary frier, and that for the three foresaid respects, to wit, for certaintie or assurance, for utility, and for incommodity to be avoided.

First, that it is more safe and sure for the parishioners to resort to their ordinary or parish priest, he argued by three reasons: first, because the person of the lawfull ordinary or priest is expressly of God commanded, whereto the person of the frier is not, and therefore is forbid. Secondly, because the parishioner may more trust to his ordinary Curate; as who is more bound and obliged to pouldre, and to be careful for him, than any other extraordinary person. Thirdly, because in the person of the ordinary Curate, commonly there is no doubt of any interdiction to bind him; whereas contrary in the friers behalf there is good matter to doubt, whether he stand bound under the Popes censure of excommunication or not, and that for divers causes, as by the

cap. Religiosi, in Clementinis de decimis. Where it is decreed, That all such Religious men which have uningno benefices or cure of soules, presume to improprieate unto them glebe land, or other tithes due unto Churches, and not appertaining to them (by any manner of colour or fraudulent circumvention) doe incur the sentence of excommunication, ipso facto. Also by another cap. Religiosi, De priuilegiis, in Clement. Where it is said, that all such Religious men are excommunicated De facto, who soeuer doe absolute any, against whom the sentence of excommunication hath bene denounced by statute prouinciall, or synodall; as it is commonly said, that the friers hearing mens confessions are accustomed to doe, in losing them within the censure of Prelats or their officials have bound. Whereof the said Armachanus bringeth forth example of his owne Diocese: For I (saith he) in mine owne Diocese of Armachane have as good as two thousand under me, who by the censure of excommunication every yere denounced against wilfull murderers, common thieves, burners of mens houses, and such like malefactours, stand accursed of all which number notwithstanding, scarcely fourtene there be which come to me, or to any about me for their absolution. And yet all they receive the Sacraments as other doe, and all because they be absolved, or because they saue themselves to be absolved by none other than by friers; who in so doing are proued to be under the danger of excommunication, both the friers, and also the parishioners, if they knowing thereof doe consent to their error.

Also out of the said Clementines by three other places in one chapter, he proued the friers to be excommunicate, to wit, in the chapter Cupientes, De poenis in Clement. In the which Chapter; First, all such Religious men are excommunicate, which in their sermons presume to withhold their hearers from their tythes-paying, due unto Churches. Secondly, in the said chapter all such friers are suspended from preaching, and so are excommunicate, which within a certaine time did not make a confession to such as come to their confessions, they paying their tithes truly and duly to the Church. Thirdly, in the foresaid chapter also, all such Religious persons be bound in excommunication, which induce men by any manner of meanes, either by vow, oath, or promise, to chuse their burials within their Churches, or not to change the same, if they haue made any such promise before. In all which three points hee proued the friers to be culpable and excommunicate.

Moreover, that it is the more sure way for the parishioners to resort to their appointed Curate, than to the friers, hee argued thus: For that the parish Priest or Curate, being better acquainted with his owne parishioner than is a stranger, can better judge of the nature and disposition of his disease, and minister

Three respects  
of confessions  
be proued.

Ca. Religiosi,  
Clement. de  
decimis.

The friers proued to be excommunicated by the Popes law.

Cap Cupientes de poenis, Clement.

The friers proued to be excommunicated by the Popes law.

And hee prooue that the parishioner may more safely go to his Curate, than to the friers.



minister to him due physicke of penance for the same, and also will be more careful in curing him.

The second part of the second conclusion is proved.

Thus the first part of the second conclusion or article being proved and argued, Armachanus proceedeth further to prove the second part; that it is better for the parishioners to leave the friers, and to resort to their owne pastors. Which he proves by eight or nine reasons.

First, for that the ordinary pastor is properly appointed of God unto that ministry: whereas the frier is but onely permitted of man thereunto.

Secondly, for that in resorting to the ordinary of the parish is a double reward of merit, whereas in coming to the friers there is but one.

Thirdly, because the ordinary is more bound to his owne flocke, and is to be thought to be more tender and careful over them, than a stranger.

Fourthly, because in resorting to the person of his owne ordinary there is more assurance and certainty (as is above declared) than to another.

Innocent. cap. Si animarum.

Fifthly, because (as Innocentius, cap. Si animarum, saith) the coming to the Curat or Pastor ordinary is more easie and light, both in the night and in necessity.

Sixthly, forasmuch as the parishioner must come to his Curat at sometime, and especially being in necessity it is expedient and profitable, that his former life before were knowne to him, rather than to the other.

Seventhly, for that (as the said Innocentius affirmeth) it striketh more shame of his sinne to the parishioner to be confessed to his curat whom he seeth every day, than to a frier unknowne.

Eighthly, because it is more profitable, especially for them that live in matrimony, that he which beareth the confession of the one, should heare also the confession of the other. So that hearing the confession of them both, as a spirituall physician taking two cures in one body, may better know what spirituall counsell is to be ministered to the one, after he hath cured the other, &c.

The third part of the second conclusion is argued.

These things thus proved before, then Armachanus consequently proceedeth to the third part; arguing, how that greater detriments and inconveniences doe ensue by confessions, burials, and other ecclesiasticall functions exercised by the friers, than by pastors and secular Curats, serving in parishes. About the which matter, the said Armachanus learnedly and worthily inferreth a long discourse, proving and inferring how pernicious these orders of friers are to the whole state of the church: and what mischief cometh by the privileges of certaine Popes, which have privileged them to intermeddle in the office and function of ecclesiasticall ministers, to preach and to take almes, and tithes of the people, and impropriations from the Church. All which his reasons and arguments to prosecute in order as he hath left them in writing, would make a matter of a large booke. Notwithstanding, because it shall not be unfruitfull both for the time present and the posterity, to know the manifold detriments and discommodities received by these friers, and to know what great benefit God hath done for us in unburdening the Church of this monstrous generation; and especially because the booke of Armachanus is rare otherwise to be found, intituled, Defensorium Curatorum; I have briefly therefore contracted out of the same certaine of his reasons, such as seemed most appertaining and most worthy of noting.

Defensorium Curatorum. Armachanus.

And first, alleging the authority of Innocent the fourth; he imposeth foure inconveniences rising by the friers, which be these; Contempt of the people against their ordinaries: decaying of deuotion; taking away of shame from the people by confessing to the friers, detaining of oblations, such as the people are wont to give at their confessions and

burials, and which by right belong to the parish Churches.

KING EDW. 3.

Cap. Duden

Item, by the said privileges of the Popes, granted to the friers, many other great enormities do arise. As first, because thereby the true shepherds do not know the faces of their flocke.

Item, by the occasion of these privileges given to the friers, great contention, and sometimes blowes rise betwene the friers and secular Curats, about titles, impropriations, and other auailles.

The harmes that come to the world by the friers, declared

Item, by the occasion of the foresaid privileges, diuers young men as well in Uniuersities, as in their fathers houses, are allured craftily by the friers their confessors to enter their orders: from whence afterward they cannot get out though they would, to the great griefe of their parents, and no lesse repentance to the young men themselves.

The example whereof Armachanus in the said his treatise inferreth, of a certaine substantiall englishman being with him at his Inne in Rome; who having a sonne at the Uniuersity of Oxford, which was enticed by the friers to enter into their order, could by no means after release him out. But when his father and his mother would come vnto him, they could not be suffered to speake with him, but vnder the friers custody. Whereas the scripture commandeth plainly, that who so sleaeth any man and selleth him (being thereof convicted) shall be put to death: Exod. 21. And for the same cause, the father was

Example of the friers that in Oxford.

compelled to come vp to Rome to seeke remedy for his sonne. And thus, saith Armachanus, it may appear what damage and detriments come by these friers vnto the common people.

And no lesse inconuenience and danger also by the said friers riseth to the clergy: forasmuch as lay men, seeing their children thus to be stolen from them in the Uniuersities by the friers, doe refuse therefore to send them to their studies; rather willing to keepe them at home to their occupation, or to follow the plough, than to be circumcised and defeated of their sonnes at the Uniuersity, as by daily experience (saith he) doth manifestly appeare. For whereas in my time (saith Armachanus) there were in the Uniuersity of Oxford thirty thousand Students; now are there not to be found six thousand. The occasion of which so great decay is to be ascribed to no other cause, but to this circumcission onely of the friers above mentioned.

Friers hinder the friers that in Oxford.

30. thousand students in Oxford, in the time of Armachanus

Duer and besides this, another inconuenience as great or greater the said Armachanus inferred to proceed by the friers through the decay of doctrine, and knowledge in all manner faculties and liberrall sciences, which thus he declared. For that these begging friers through their privileges obtained of the Popes, to preach, to heare confessions, and to bury; and through their charters of impropriations, did grow thereby to such great riches and possessions by their begging, craving, catching, and intermeddling with Church-matters, that no booke could stirre of any science, either of Divinity. Law, or Physicke, but they were both able and ready to buy it vp. So that euery couent hauing a great Library full stuffed and furnished with all sorts of bookes, and being so many couents within the Realme, and in euery couent so many friers increasing daily more and more; by reason thereof it came to passe, that very few bookes or none at all remaine for other Students. Which by his owne experience he thus testifieth, saying; that he himselfe sent forth to the Uniuersity foure of his owne Priests or Chaplaines, who sending him word againe, that they could neither finde the Bible, nor any other good profitable booke of Divinity made for their study, therefore were minded to returne home to their Country, and one of them, he was sure, was returned by this time againe.

The friers a great cause of decay of learning.

Bookes not to be gotten for the friers

Example of the lacke of bookes cometh by the friers.

Furthermore, as he hath proved hitherto the



KING 7  
EDW. 3  
The friers guilty  
in three  
points:  
1. Disobedience.  
2. Avarice.  
3. Pride.  
Armachanus  
chargeth the  
friars with dis-  
obedience.

the friers to be hurtfull both to the laity, and to the Clergy, so proceeding farther, he proueth them to be hurtfull also to themselves: And that in three points, as incurring the vice of disobedience against God, and against their owne rule; the vice of avarice, and the vice of pride. The probation of all which points he prosecuted in a long discourse.

First (saith he) they are disobedient to the law of God; Thou shalt not Couet thy neighbours house, ore, nor asse, nor any thing that is his in that they procure the Popes letters to preach in Churches, and to take hurials from Churches, with licence annexed withall to receiue the annales which rule of the same, which properly belongeth to the right of parish Priests.

Item, they are disobedient to this rule of the gospell: So doe to other, as thou wouldest haue done to thee.

Item, they be disobedient against their owne rule, which being founded vpon strait pouertie and beggerie, this licence obtained for them to require necessities of the people for their labours, is repugning against the same foundation.

Item, they be disobedient to the rule of the Scripture, which saith: Let no man take honour vnto him, except he be called, as Aaron. Also S. Paul saith, How shall they preach, vnto them that be sent? And how obserue they this rule of obedience, who professing to keepe the perfection of the Gospell, yet contrary to the Gospell procure to themselves priuiledges to turn before they be sent?

Item, to their owne rule they are disobedient: for where their chapter saith, that if any will take vpon them this order, and will come to our brethren; let our brethren first send them to the prouincials to be examined of the Catholike faith and Sacraments of the Church, &c. Contrary whereunto the friers haue procured a priuiledge, that not onely the prouincials, but other inferiours also may take vnto them indifferently, whom they can catch: so farre without all examination, that almost at this day there is no notable house of friers, wherein is not either a whole, or halfe a couent of lads and boyes vnder ten yeere old, being circumcised, which neither can skill of the Creed nor Sacraments.

Again, the rule of Francis saith, that his brethren Observants must obserue not to preach in the Dioces of any Bishop, without the consent of the bishop. And moreover, the said Francis in his testament saith; that if hee had as much wisdom as Salomon, and found more secular Priests in the parishes where they dwell yet he would not presume to preach without their will, and also would feare, loue and honor them, and all other as his masters, and so they be. Hec ille. Against which rule how the friers doe disobey, how little they reuerence Bishops or secular Priests what priuiledges, exemptions, and immunities they procure against them, the world may see and iudge.

Item, when none may be admitted to preach, or to heare confessions, vnto them that be entred into orders; and seeing by the common law of the Church, none must be admitted into holy orders, except hee haue sufficient title of liuing and clothing: the friers therefore hauing no such title (being wilfull beggers) doe disobey in both respects, that is, both in entring into such orders without conuenient title, and in exercising the office of preaching without such lawfull orders.

Moreover, the foresaid Francis to his testament commandeth thus; I command (saith he) firmly by vertue of obedience, to all and singular my brethren where soeuer they be, that none of them presume to obtaine in the court of Rome any letter or writing, either by himselfe, or by any other meanes neither for the church nor for any other place, nor vnder any colour of preaching, nor yet for the persecuting of their owne bodies, &c. Against which testament of

Francis, the Franciscans, in procuring their priuiledges from the Bishop of Rome, haue incurred manifest disobedience, as all the world may see. Neither will this objection serue them, because the pope hath dispensed with Francis rule. For if the testament of Francis, as he saith, came from God (and so should God haue these testaments) how then can the Pope repeale his precept, or dispense with his rule, when by the rule of the law, *Par in parem non habet imperium*?

Secondly, concerning the vice of avarice, manifestly it may be proued vpon them (saith Armachanus;) for else seeing so many charges belong to the office of a secular parish priest, as to minister the sacrament at Easter, to visit the sicke with extreme unction, to baptize children, to wed, with such other, wherein standeth as great deuotion: how then hap-peneth it that these friers, making no labour for these, onely procure to themselves priuiledges to preach in Churches, to heare confessions, and to receive licence to bury from parish churches, but because there is lucre and gaine in these to be looked for, in the other is none?

Which also may appeare by this, for otherwise if it were for more deuotion onely, that they procure licence to bury from parish churches, to preach, why then haue they procured with all licence to take offerings, oblations and legacies for their funerals? And for their preaching, why haue they annexed also licence to require and take of the people necessities for their labour, but only avarice is the cause thereof?

Likewise for hearing of confessions, when all good men haue enoughto know their owne faults, and nothing left to heare the faults of other; it is probably to be supposed by this their priuiledge of hearing all mens confessions, that they would neuer haue been so desirous of procuring that priuiledge, were it not that these friers did seele some sweetmeate, and gaine to hang vpon the same.

Item, where the rule of frier Francis forbiddeth them to company with any woman, to enter into Monasteries, to be godfathers and godmothers to men and women; how cometh it, that they, contrary to their rule enter into the secret chambers of queens and other women, and are made to know the most secret Counsels of their doings, but that avarice and commoditie haue so blinded their eyes, and stirred their hearts.

Thirdly, that the friers fall into the vice of pride and ambition the said Armachanus proued thus: To seek or to procure any high place in the church, is a point of pride and ambition. Chrysost. in opere perfecto; Nunquam sine ambitione desideratur primatus in Ecclesia.

The friers seeke and procure a high place in the Church.

Ergo, The friers are proud and ambitious. The minor hee proueth: To haue the state of preaching and hearing confessions is in the church a state of honour.

The friers seeke and haue procured the state of preaching and hearing confessions.

Ergo, The friers seeke and procure an high place in the church, &c.

This third conclusion was, that the Lord Christ in his humane conuersation was alwaies poore, not for that hee loued or desired pouerty for it selfe, &c. Wherein this is to be noted, that Armachanus differed not from the friers in this that Christ was poore, and that hee loued pouerty: but herein stood the difference, in manner of louing, that is, whether hee loued pouerty for it selfe, or not. Wherein the foresaid Armachanus vfed foure probations.

First, so much as to be poore is nothing else but to be miserable, and seeing no man coueteth to be in misery for it selfe; therefore hee concluded, that Christ desired not pouerty for it selfe.

Armachanus  
chargeth the  
friars with avarice.

Another proofe.

Another proofe.

Another proofe.

Armachanus  
chargeth the  
friars with  
pride.

The third con-  
clusion of ar-  
mache.



A-ist. Ethic.  
lib. I.

His second reason was deriued out of Aristotle. Nothing (saith he) is to be loued for it selfe, but that which (all commodities being seclued which follow the cupen) is voluntarily sought and desired. But take from pouerty all respect of commodities following the same, it would be sought neither of God nor man. Ergo, he concluded, Christ loued no pouerty for it selfe.

Thirdly againe: No effect of sinne, said he, is to be loued for it selfe. But pouerty is the effect of sinne. Ergo, pouerty was not loued of Christ for it selfe.

Fourthly, No priuation of the thing that is good, is to be loued for it selfe. Pouerty is the priuation of the thing that is good, that is, of riches (for God himselfe is principally rich:) Ergo, pouerty for it selfe was not loued of Christ.

The 4. conclusi-  
on of Arma-  
chanus against  
the friers.

The fourth conclusion was, that Christ our Lord and Saviour did neuer beg wilfully. Which he proued by sundry reasons.

1 First, for that Christ in so doing should breake the law, which saith: Thou shalt not couet thy neighbours house, his wife, his seruant, his maid, his ore, his ass, or any thing that is his, Exod. x. Into the danger of which commandement he that beggeth voluntarily must needs incurre.

2 Item, if Christ had begged voluntarily, he should haue committed sinne against another commandment, which saith: Where shall be no begger, nor needy person among you, &c. Deut. 6.

3 Item, Christ in so doing should haue transgressed the Emperours law, under which he would himselfe be subject (as appeareth by giuing, and bidding tribute to be giuen to Cesar) forasmuch as the same Emperours law saith: Where shall no valiant begger be suffered in the City.

4 Item, if Christ had been a wilfull begger, he had broke the law of louing his neighbour; whom he had bered, hauing no need. For who without need asketh or craueth of his neighbour, doth but bere him, in such sort as he would not be bered himselfe. Which Christ would neuer doe.

5 Item, if Christ had begged wilfully, he had moued slander thereby to his owne Gospell, which he with miracles did confirme: for then they that saw his miracle in feeding 5000. in the wilderness, would haue thought much with themselves how that miracle had been wrought, if he which fed other either could not, or would not feed himselfe.

6 Item, if Christ had begged wilfully, then he had done that which himselfe condemneth by Paul, for 1. Tim. 6. that Paul condemneth them, which esteeme piety to be gaine and lucre. Which all they doe, that, under the colour of pietie, hunt or seeke for gaine, when otherwise they neede not.

7 Item, if Christ had begged wilfully, he had offended in declaring an vntruth in so doing: for he that knoweth in his mind, that he needeth not indeed that thing which in word he asketh of other, declareth in himselfe an vntruth, as who in word pretendeth to be otherwise then he is in verity: which Christ without doubt neuer did, nor would euer doe.

8 Item, if Christ had begged wilfully, that is, hauing no true neede thereunto, then had he appeared either to be an hypocrite, seeming to be that he was not, and to lacke when he did not; or else to be a true begger in very deede, not able to suffice his necessitie. For he is a true begger indeed, which being constrained by meere necessity is forced to aske of other, that which he is not able to giue to himselfe. But neither of these two agreeth to Christ.

9 Item, if Christ had begged wilfully, then why did Peter rebuke the mother of Saint Clement his disciple, finding her to stand among the beggers,

whom he thought to be strong enough to labour with her hands for her lining; if she in so doing had followed the example of Christ? KING  
EDW. 3

10 Item, if Christ had begged wilfully; And if the friers doe rightly define perfection of the Gospell by wilfull pouertie; then was Clement S. Peters successor to blame, which laboured so much to remoue away beggery and pouerty from among all them that were conuerted to the faith of Christ, and is specially for the same commended of the Church.

11 Againe, why did the said Clement, writing to James Bishop of Ierusalem, command so much to obey the doctrine and examples of the Apostles: who, as he sheweth in that epistle, had no begger nor needy person amongst them, if Christian perfection (by the friers philosophy) standeth in wilfull beggery? 13. quest.  
cap. I.

12 Item, if Christ the high Priest had begged wilfully, then did the holy Church erre wittingly, which obtained that none, without sufficient title of lining and clothing, should be admitted to holy orders. And moreover, when it is said in the Canonically decrees, that the Bishop or Clerke that beggeth bringeth shame vpon the whole order of the Clergy.

13 Item, if Christ had wilfully begged, then the examples of wilfull pouerty had pertained to the perfection of Christian life; which is contrary to the old law, which commandeth the Priests (which liued then after the perfection of the law) to haue possessions and tithes, to keepe them from beggery.

14 Item, if Christ did wilfully begge, then beggery were a point of Christian perfection. And so the Church of God should erre, in admitting such patri-monies and donations giuen to the Church, and so in taking from the Prelats their perfection.

15 Againe, what will these friers, which put their perfection in begging, say to Belshisedech who, without begging or wilfull pouerty, was the high Priest of God, and King of Salem, and prefigured the order and Priesthood of Christ?

16 And if beggery be such a perfection of the Gospel (as the friers say) how cometh it, that the holy Ghost giuen to the Apostles, which should leade them into all truth, told them no word of this beggerly perfection, neither is there any word mentioned thereof throughout the whole Testament of God?

17 Moreover, where the Prophet saith, I neuer did see the iust man forsaken, nor his seede goe begging their bread: how standeth this with the iustice of Christ, which was most perfectly iust, if he should be forsaken, or his seede goe begge their bread? And then how agreeth this with the abominable doctrines of friers Franciscan, which put their perfection in wilfull begging?

18 Finally, do we not reade that Christ sent his Disciples to preach without scrip or wallet, and bid them salute no man by the way? Meaning that they should begge nothing of any man: Did not the same Christ also labour with his hands, under Ioseph S. Paul likewise, did he not labour with his hands, rather than he would burden the Church of the Corinthians? And where now is the doctrine of the friers, which putteth state of perfection in wilfull begging?

The fifth conclusion of Armachanus against the friers was this, That Christ neuer taught any man wilfully to beg, which he proued thus: It is written, Acts 1. Christ began to doe and to teach. If Christ therefore, which did neuer wilfully begge himselfe, as hath bene proued, had taught men otherwise to doe; then his doing and teaching had not agreed together.

Item, if Christ, which neuer begged himselfe wilfully, had taught men this doctrine of wilfull begging contrary to his owne doing; he had giuen suspicion of his doctrine, and ministred slander of the

The 5. conclusi-  
on of Arma-  
chanus against  
the friers.

Exvita 8. Cle-  
mentis.



{ KING } the same, as hath bene proued in the fourth conclu-  
{ EDW. 3 } sion before.

Howeuer, in so teaching, he had taught contrary to the emperors iust law, which expressely forbiddeth the same.

The 6. conclusion of Armachanus against the friers was, that our Lord Iesus Christ teacheth vs, that we should not begge wilfully, which he proueth by seven or eight reasons.

First, where it is written, Luke 14. When thou makest a feast call the poore, weake, lame, and blind; and thou shalt be blessed: for they haue not wherewith to reward thee againe.

To this also pertaineth the decree of the Apostle, 2 Thes. 3. He that will not worke, let him not eate. Furthermore, the same Apostle addeth in the same place; For you haue vs for example, how we were burdencous to no man, neither did we eate our bread freely, but with labour and wearinesse, toiling both day and night, and all because we would not burthen you, &c.

4 Item, where we read in the Scripture, the slothfull man reprehended, Pro. 6. Why sleepest thou, D Duggard? the poerty and begger is commung vpon the like an armed man, &c. And againe in the same booke of Proverbs; The slothfull man (saith the Scripture) for cold would not goe to the plough, therefore he shall begge in summer, and no man shall giue him, &c. Also in the said booke of Proverbs, the last chapter, the diligent labouring woman is commended, whose fingers are exercised about the rocke and spindle. And all these places make against the wilfull begging of sturpy friers.

The rule of frater Francis.  
5 Item, frater Francis their owne founder in his owne testament saith; And I haue laboured with mine owne hands, and will labour, and will that all myrtherlings shall labour and liue of their labour, whereby they may support themselves in an honest meane. And they that cannot worke, let them learne to worke, not for any couetousnesse to receiue for their labour, but for example of good workes, and to auoide idlenesse. And when the price of their labour is not giuen them, let them resort to the Lords table, and aske their almes from doore to doore, &c. Thus much in his testament. And in his rule hee saith; Such brethren to whom the Lord hath giuen the gift to labour, let them labour faithfully and deuoutly, &c. Wherefore it is to be marvelled, how those friers, with their wilfull begging, dare transgresse the rule and obedience of frater Francis their great grandfathers testament.

6 Item, if Christ at any time did beg or did lack, it was moze because hee would vse a miracle in his owne person, than because he would beg wilfully; as when he sent Peter to the sea to finde a great in the fishes mouth. Which thing yet he thought rather to doe, than to beg the great of the people, which hee might soone haue obtained.

7 Item, by diuers other his examples he seemeth to teach the same, as where he saith; The workeman is worthy of his hire. Also, the workman is worthy of his meate, Matth. 10. Luke 10. And when he spake to Zachae, that he would turne into his house. And so likewise in Bethany and all other places hee ever used rather to burden his friends than to beg of other vnacquainted.

8 Item, with plaine precept thus he sendeth forth his Disciples, willing them not to goe from house to house, Luke 10. so as friers vse now to goe. Many other Scriptures there be, which reprove begging; as where it is sayd, The teete of a foole is swift to the house of his neighbour, Eccles. 29. And in another place; My child (saith he) se thou want not in the time of thy life; for better it is to die than to lacke; Eccles. 21.

9 Item, where Christ counselling the young man, bad him go and sell that he had, and giue to the poore, and follow him if he would be perfect; hee doth not

there call him to wilfull begging, but calleth him to follow him, which did not beg wilfully.

The seventh conclusion of Armachanus is, that no wise nor true holy man can take vpon him wilfull poerty to be obserued alwayes, which he proueth by foure reasons.

First, that wilfull beggery was reprobued both by the Doctrine of Christ and of the Apostles, as in the conclusion before hath bene declared.

2 Item, a man, in taking vpon him wilfull beggery, in so doing should lead himselfe into temptation, which were against the Lords prayer. For as much as Salomon, Proverb. 30 saith; O Lord, beggery and great riches giue me not, but onely sufficiency to liue vpon; lest, if I haue too much, I be driuen to deny thee, and say, What is the Lord? Again, if I haue too little, I be forced thereby to steale, and perjure the name of my God. Wherefore saith Eccles. 27 For many haue offended. And therefore they, that chuse wilfull poerty, take to them great occasion of temptation.

3 Item, they that take wilfull poerty vpon them, when they had not, induce themselves voluntarily to breake the commandment of God; Thou shalt not couet thy neighbours house, &c. Again, where it is commanded, there shall be no begger among you, &c.

4 Item, he that taketh vpon him needlessly and wilfully to beg, maketh himselfe vnapt to receiue holy orders, hauing (as is said) no sufficient title thereunto, according to the lawes of the Church.

The eight conclusion of this matter; That it is not agreeing to the rule of the friers obseruant, to obserue wilfull beggery. Which (saith he) may be proued, for that frater Francis, both in his rule and in his testament being left to his fraterians, both plainly preferre labour before begging.

The ninth and last conclusion of this matter is; That the bull of Pope Alexander the 4. which condemneth the booke of the masters of Paris, unpugneth none of these conclusions premised. For the pwise thereof, he thus inferreth.

1 First, that pope John the 24. in his constitution, beginning thus, Quia quorundam, affirmeth expressly, how pope Nicholas the 3. reuoked and called backe the said bull of Pope Alexander the 4. and all other writings of his: touching all such articles, which in the same foresaid constitution of this Pope John be contained and declared. Wherein also is declared, how strait the poerty of the friers ought to be, which they call wilfull poerty.

2 Item, it is manifest and notorious to all men, how the sayd pope Nicolas the 3. in his declaration sheweth, how the friers both ought to labour with their hands, and how mozeouer the said friers ought not to preach within the diocesse of any bishop, where soeuer they be resisted. Which being so, the conclusion appeareth, that the bull of Pope Alexander the fourth, as touching these articles, is vaine and of none effect. Beside the which articles, there is nothing else in the said bull of Alexander (that I remember) which impugneth any of these conclusions premised.

Many things mo (said he) I had before these, both to object and to answer againe to the same; and to confirme moze surely and firmly these my reasons and assertions premised. But I haue already too much wearied your holinesse, and your reuerend lordships here present. Wherefore I conclude and humbly and deuoutly beseech you, according to my former petition premised in the beginning of this matter, that you iudge not after the outward face, but iudge y<sup>e</sup> true judgement: Joh. 7. Ex libro Armachani, cui titulus, Defensorium Curatorum.

The seventh conclusion of Armachanus against the friers.

Wilfull beggery not to be permitted.

The eight conclusion of Armachanus against the friers.

The ninth conclusion of Armachanus.

Toucing this booke of the masters of Paris condemned, looke pag. 512. Ex Clement. Quia quorundam. Pope Nicholas the third reuoketh the Bull of pope Alexander the fourth.

The end and conclusion of this oration of Armachanus before the pope. Ex Iohannis Curatorum.



## Notes to be observed in this former Oration of Armachanus.

Notes to be observed.

Contrariety among the Popes.

Whether the friers make vp the body of Antichrist or no.

The death of goodly Armachanus.  
The testimony of a cardinall upon Armachanus.Ex Chron.  
Reg. Rich. 2.

Friers against the University of Oxford.

English writers against the friers.

Friers that write against Armachanus.

BY this Oration of Armachanus the learned prelat, thus made before Pope Innocent and his cardinals, diuers and sundry things there be for the vtilitie of the Church worthy to bee obserued. First, what troubles and vexations came to the Church of Christ by these friers. Also what persecution followeth after by the meanes of them, against so many learned men and true seruants of Christ. Furthermore, what repugnance and contrariety was among the Popes, and how they could not agree among themselves about the friers. Fourthly, what pestiferous doctrine, subuerting welneere the Testament of Iesus Christ, Fifthly, what decay of Ministers in Christs Church, as appeareth, pag. 538. Sixthly, what robbing and circumuening of mens children, as appeareth, pag. 538. Seuenthly, what decay of Vniuersities, as appeareth by Oxford, pag. 538. Eightly, what damage to learning and lacke of bookes to students came by these friers, as appeareth, pag. 538. Ninthly, to what pride, vnder colour of fained humilitie, to what riches, vnder dissimuled pouertie they grew, here is to be seene. In somuch that at length through their subtile and most dangerous hypocritie they crept vp to be lords, Archbishops, Cardinals, and at last also Chancellours of realmes, yea and of most secreet counsell with Kings and Queenes, as appeareth, pag. 539.

All these things well considered, now remaineth in the Church to be marked; that forsomuch as these friers (with their new found testament of frier Francis) not being contented with the testament of God in his Son Christ, began to spring the same time, when as Satan was prophesied to be let loose, by the order of the Scripture; whether therefore it is to be doubted, that these friers make vp the body of antichrist, which is prophesied to come in the Church, or not: which is much lesse to be doubted, because who so list to try shall finde, that of all other enemies of Christ, of whom some be manifest, some be priuie, all be together cruell, yet is there no such sort of enemies which more sleightly deceiueth the simple Christian, or more deeply drowneth him in damnation, than doth this doctrine of the friers.

But of this oration of Armachanus enough. Which oration what successe it had with the pope, by story it is not certaine. By his owne life declared it appeareth, that the Lord so wrought, that his enemies did not triumph ouer him. Notwithstanding, this by story appeareth, that he was seuen or eight yeeres in banishment for the same matter, and there died in the same at Auinion, of whom a certaine Cardinall, hearing of his death, openly protested, that the same day a mighty pillar of Christs Church was fallen.

After the death of Armachanus, the friers had contention likewise with the monkes of Benedicts order about the same yere, 1360. and so remoued their cause, both against the monkes and against the Vniuersitie of Oxford, vnto the court of Rome; wherein, saith the author, they lacked another Richard. Ex Botonero. By this that appeareth to be true, which is testified in the first tome of Wald. that long debate continued betwene the friers and the Vniuersitie of Oxford: Against whom first stood Robert Gifford bishop of Lincoln, aboue mentioned; Then Seuallus of Poike; Iohannes Baconthorpe; and now this Armachanus, of whom here presently we intreate. And after him againe John Wickliffe, of whom (Christ willing) we will speak hereafter: Ex Waldeno. Against this foresaid Armachanus wrote diuers friers, Roger Conaway a Franciscan, John Heyldeshame a Carmelite, Galfridus Harby a frier Augustine. Also frier Engelbert a Dominican, in a booke intituled Defensorium priuilegiorum, and diuers other. A credibly heare of

certaine old Irish Bibles translated long since into the Irish tongue; which if it be true, it is not other like but to be the doing of this Armachanus. And thus much of this learned prelate and archbishop of Ireland, a man worthy for his Christian zeale of immortal commendation.

After the death of this Innocent, next was popped in the See of Rome pope Urban the fifth, who by the fathers side was an Englishman. This Urban had been a long waiter in the court of Rome; and when he saw no promotion would light vpon him, complaining to a certaine friend of his, he made to him his mone, saying; That he thought verily, if all the Churches of the world should fall, yet none would fall in his mouth. The which friend after seeing him to be pope, and intyponised in his threafold crowne, cometh to him, and putting him in remembrance of his words to him before, saith; that where his holinesse had mored his fortune to him, that if all the Churches in the world would fall, none would fall vpon his head: Now (saith he) God hath otherwise so disposed that all the Churches in the world are fallen vpon your head, &c.

This pope maintained and kindled great warres in Italy, sending Egidius his cardinall and legate, and after him Arbunus a Burgundian his legate and abbat with great puissance and much money against sundry cities in Italy: By whose meanes, the townes and cities, which before had broken from the bishop of Rome, were oppressed; also Barnabes and Galeaceus princes of Milaine banquished. By whose example other being sore feared submitted themselves to the Church of Rome. And thus came vp that wicked church to her great possessions, which her patrons would needs father vpon Constantine the goodly emperor.

In the time of this Pope Urban the fifth, and in the second yere of his raigne, about the beginning of the yere of our Lord, 1364. I finde a certaine sermon of one Nicolas Orem, made before the Pope and his cardinals on Christmas euen. In the which sermon the learned man doth worthily rebuke the prelates and priests of his time, declaring their destruction not to be farre off, by certaine signes taken of their wicked and corrupt life. All the sayings of the prophets, spoken against the wicked priests of the Jewes, he doth aptly apply against the clergy of his time, comparing the church then present to the spirituall trumpet spoken of in the 16. of the Prophet Ezechiel. And proueth in conclusion the clergy of the church then, to be so much worse than the old synagogue of the Jewes, by how much it is worse to sell the church and sacraments, than to suffer Dukes to be sold in the Church. With no lesse iudgement also and learning he answereth to the old and false objections of the papists, who albet they be neuer so wicked, yet thinke themselves to be the church which the Lord cannot forsake. All which things to the intent they may the better appeare in his own words, I haue thought good here to translate and exhibite the sermon as it was spoken before the Pope.

A copie of a Sermon made before Pope Urban, 5. the fourth Sunday in Advent, 1364. by Nicholas Orem.

Extra est salus mea, ut veniat, & iustitia, &c. That is, My saving health is neere at hand to come, and my righteousness to be reuealed, &c. Esa. 56. After the sentence of S. Paul, Rom. 2. and in diuers other places, before the Natiuities of Christ, the whole world was diuided into two sorts of men, the Iewes and Gentiles. The Iewes, who waited for the opening of the dore of paradise by the blood of the saviour to come. The Gentiles, who yet sitting in darkness were to be called to light, and to be justified by faith, as it is written, Rom. 5.

This Saluation pertaining both to the Iew and Gent.

KING  
EDW. 3  
Testified by cert  
taine Englishmen  
which are yet alive and  
haue seene it.

Pope Urban  
the fifth.  
Anno  
1360.  
Urban complaineth  
that no promotion would  
fall vpon him.  
An answer  
againe to Urban  
being made  
Pope.

Ex Sabel.  
Aenead. 9.  
lib. 8.  
How the church  
of Rome came  
by their corall  
possessions.

Nicolas  
Orem.

A sermon made  
before the pope  
Esay 56.  
The world di  
uided into two  
sorts of men  
before the in  
carnation of  
Christ.



**KING ?** Gentile, God promised before time to the fathers  
**EDW. 3** by the Prophets, to stirre vp the desire thereof in  
 their hearts the more, and to increase their firme  
 hope and faith in the same. As first in Mich. 6. the  
 voice of the Lord crieth; Health and saluation shall  
 be to all men which feare my name. And Esai. 46. I  
 will giue in Sion saluation, and in Ierusalem my glo-  
 ry, &c. with diuers such other places like. And forso-  
 much as hope which is deferred many times, doth  
 afflict the soule, and conceiueth wearinesse of long  
 deferring; hee therefore, prophesying of the neere-  
 nesse of the comming thereof, saith moreover, Esai. 14.  
 His time is neere at hand to come. Also Abacuc. 2. He  
 will come and will not tarry; with many such other  
 places more. So then the holy fathers being in limbo,  
 looked and hoped that hee should bring out them  
 that fate bound, and which in the house of prison  
 fate in darkenesse, as is read Esai. 41. Then the time  
 drew on in which came the fulnesse of the Gentiles,  
 and in which the Lord would declare the riches of  
 this mystery being hidden from the world, and from  
 generations: Col. 1. Wherefore the Lord in this text  
 doth both certifie our fathers of the comming of our  
 sauour, and doth comfort them touching the neere-  
 nesse thereof, and also teacheth the justification of the  
 Gentiles by faith approaching now neere at hand, ac-  
 cording to the words of my text, Iuxta est salus mea,  
 &c. Which words were fulfilled then, what time the  
 Lord did manifest his saluation, and did reueale his  
 righteousness in the sight of the all the Gentiles. And  
 it is diuided into 3. parts. Of which the first speaketh  
 of the neerenesse of his comming, where is said, Iux-  
 ta est salus, &c. The second concerneth the mystery  
 of the aduent of Christ and his incarnation, where he  
 saith, Vt veniat, &c. Thirdly, is considered the seue-  
 rity of God, his terrible reuenging judgement to be  
 reuealed, where he saith, Vt reueletur, &c. which is  
 to be expounded of his primitive justice, whereof  
 speaketh Amos, the fifth, saying, And judgement  
 shall be reuealed like a flood, and righteousness like  
 a strong streame. Wherefore for our contemplation  
 let vs receive with joy the solemnities of his holy vi-  
 gill, the Word I say of God the father, that is; Christ.  
 To whom it is said, Esai. 49. I haue giuen thee to be a  
 light to the Gentiles, and to be my saluation, through  
 the ends of the world. Again, Esai. 46. My saluation  
 shall not slacke, &c.

As touching the neerenesse thereof, it is in these  
 daies opened to vs by the Gospell, where wee read in  
 S. Matth. When the virgin Mary was espoused vnto  
 Ioseph, before they did come together, shee was  
 found with childe by the holy Ghost. By this it was  
 euident to vnderstand, that our Sauour ought short-  
 ly to proceed out of the chaste wombe of the virgin,  
 according as the Prophet did foretell, saying; Behold  
 a virgin shall conceiue and bring forth a sonne, &c.  
 For like as the grape, when it waxeth great and full,  
 is neere to the making of wine; and the flower,  
 when it shooteth abroad, it hasteth to the fruit: so  
 the saluation of the world, in the swelling and grow-  
 ing of the virgins wombe, began to draw nigh to man-  
 kinde. For then appeared the grace and benignitie of  
 our sauour, when his mother was found to haue in  
 her wombe by the holy Ghost, as is declared, in that  
 which followeth, by the Angell, saying; For that  
 which is borne of her is of the holy Ghost.

Touching the second part of that which is said, Vt  
 veniat; this may be applied to the contemplation of  
 the mystery of Christ comming in the flesh. Whereof  
 speaketh Aggeus the Prophet 2. Hee shall come, who  
 is desired and looked for of all nations, &c. Albeit the  
 same also may be applied to the second Aduent, spo-  
 ken of the third of Esay; The Lord shall come to  
 judgement, &c. In memoriall whereof the 4. Sunday  
 was dedicate, in the old time of the fathers. And of  
 this day of judgement it is written in the Prophet  
 Sophon. cap. 2. The day of the Lord is neere, great  
 and mightie, it is approaching at hand, and wondrous

short, &c. And albeit not in it selfe, yet it may be ex-  
 pounded in tribulations that goe before, as pream-  
 bles vnto the fume; as Greg. saith; The last tribula-  
 tion is preuented with many and sundry tribulations  
 going before, although the end of all be not yet.

Wherefore now comming to the third part of my  
 sermon or theme, let vs see of those tribulations that  
 go before the last comming of Christ, if there be any  
 such tribulation approaching nigh at hand, whereof  
 this last part of my Theme may be verified, where is  
 said, Vt reueletur, that my righteousness shall be re-  
 uealed, to wit, the righteousness primitive, that  
 righteousness may bee brought, and the prophetic  
 of Daniel fulfilled, Dan. 9. Concerning which matter  
 foure things here come in order to be declared.

First, concerning the reuealing of tribulation, ac-  
 cording to that part of my theme, Vt reueletur, &c.

Secondly, concerning the neerenesse of the tribula-  
 on comming, according to that part of my theme,  
 Quia iuxta est, &c.

Thirdly, of the false opinions of some, vpon this part  
 of my theme, Vt veniat, &c.

Fourthly, what meanes and consultation wee ought  
 to take, Vt iuxta est salus.

As for the first, it is so notorious and so common  
 in the Scriptures that the Church should suffer and  
 abide tribulation, that I neede not here to stand in  
 alleging any thing touching either the causes to bee  
 weighed, or the terme to be consecrated thereof. As  
 concerning the which causes I will giue two rules to  
 be noted before, for the better opening of that which  
 is to follow. The first rule is, that by the two king-  
 domes of the nation of the Hebrewes, which were  
 in the old time, to wit, by the kingdom of Israel,  
 whose head was Samaria, is signified in the Prophets  
 the erroneous synagogue: And by the kingdom of  
 Iuda, of whose stocke came Christ, whose head me-  
 tropolitan was Ierusalem, is signified the true Church.  
 And this rule is not mine, but is an authentike glosse  
 of S. Ierome, and also is the rule of Origen in the last  
 Homily vpon the old testament, and is approved by  
 the Church.

The second rule is, that by the brodel-houfe and  
 fornication mentioned in the Prophets, is signified  
 simony, and abused dispensations, and promotions  
 of persons vnworthy, for lucre sake, or else for any  
 other partiall fauour, which be vnlawfull wayes, by  
 all lawes of the world, to come to office and honour.  
 Merx dicitur namque à merendo, that is; for gaine  
 or price is deriued of gaining: for the which gaine or  
 price that is sold, which by nature ought not to bee  
 sold. Therefore, to giue any thing for respect of gaine  
 or hire, which ought to be giuen freely for vertues  
 sake, is a kind of spirituall corruption, and as a man  
 would say, an whorish thing, whereof the Prophet  
 Esay complaineth speaking of Ierusalem, and saying;  
 The city, which once was faithfull and full of judge-  
 ment, how it is now become an whorish city? And in  
 like manner Osee also the Prophet, cap. 9. Ierusalem  
 thou hast fornicated and gone an whoring from thy  
 God. Thou hast loued like an harlot to get gaine in  
 euery barne of corne. And in many other places of  
 Scripture, where fornication cannot bee otherwise ex-  
 pounded.

These two rules thus premised, now let vs marke  
 the Scriptures, and according to the same iudge of  
 the whole state of the Church, both that is past, and  
 that is to come: first, intreating of the causes of tri-  
 bulation to come; secondly, of the vicinitie of time of  
 the said tribulation to come.

And first, concerning the state of the Church, and  
 of causes of tribulation, Thus saith the Lord in the  
 Prophet Ezechiel, 16. cap. speaking to the church  
 vnder the name of Ierusalem, In the day of thy birth  
 I came by thee, and saw thee trodden downe in thing  
 owne blood, &c. Here he speaketh of the time of the  
 martyrdome of the Church. Then it followeth; After

The third part  
 of his sermon.

I. Vt reuele-  
 tur.

2. Vt iuxta est

3. Vt veniat.

The first part  
 of the sublimi-  
 tion.

Two rules to be  
 noted.

The kingdom  
 of Israel signi-  
 fying the false  
 Church.

The kingdom  
 of Iuda signi-  
 fying the right  
 Church.

The second rule.

Esay 1.

Osee 9.

Five states of  
 the Church  
 described.



1. The martyrdom of the Church.  
2. The prosperity of the Church.

this thou wast cleansed from thy blood, thou wast growne vp, and waxen great; then washed I thee with water, I purged thy blood from thee (speaking of ceasing of persecution) I anointed thee with oile, I gaue thee change of raiments, I girded thee with white silke, I decked thee with costly apparell, I put rings vpon thy fingers, a chaine about thy necke, spangs vpon thy forehead, and earings vpon thine eares. Thus wast thou deckt with siluer and gold, and a beautifull crowne set vpon thine head. Marvellous goodly wast thou and beautifull, euen a very queene wast thou: For thou wast excellent in my beauty, which I put vpon thee, saith the Lord God, &c. This prophecy or rather history speaketh of and declareth the prosperity of the Church.

3. The corruption of the Church.

And now heare the corruption and transgression of the church, for so it followeth; But thou hast put confidence in thine owne beauty, and played the harlot; when thou hadst gotten thee a name. Thou hast committed whoredome with all that went by thee, and hast fulfilled their desires: yea, thou hast taken thy garments of diuers colours and decked thine altars therewith; whereupon thou mightest fulfill thy whoredome of such a fashion as neuer was done, nor shall be. Which whoredome can in no wise be expounded for carnall, but spirituall whoredome. And therefore, see how liuely he hath painted out the corruption and falling of the Church.

4. The correction of the Church.

And therefore followeth now the correction and punishment of the Church. It followeth; Behold, I stretch out my hand over thee, and will diminish thy store of food, and deliuer thee ouer into the wills of the Philistines, and of such as hate thee: And they shall breake downe thy stues, and destroy thy brodel-houses (that is, the place wherein thou didst exercise this wickednesse) they shall strip thee out of thy clothes: All thy faire beautifull jewels shall they take from thee, and so let thee sit naked and bare, &c.

Ezech. 16.

Here is plainly to be seene what shall happen to the Church, and more followeth in the said chapter; Thine eldest sister is Samaria, shee and her daughters vpon thy left hand: But the youngest sister that dwelleth on thy right hand is Sodome with her daughters, whose sins were these; pride, fulnesse of meat, abundance and idleness, neither reached they their hand to the poore. And yet neither Sodome thy sister, with her daughters, hath done so euill as thou and thy daughters: Neither hath Samaria (that is, the Synagogue) done halfe of thy sins, yea thou hast exceeded them in wickednesse. Take therefore and beare thine owne confusion, &c. Again in the 23. chapter of Ezechiel: After the Prophet had described at large the wickednesse, corruption, and punishment of the Synagogue, turning to the church, he saith; And when her sister saw this, shee ragged and was mad with lust, loue of riches, and following voluptuousnesse. Her fornication and whoredome she committed with princes and great lords, clothed with all manner of gorgeous apparell: so that her pappes were bruiſed, and her breasts were marred; and then speaking of her punishment, he saith; Then my heart forooke her, like as my heart was gone from her sister also. And moreover, repeating againe the cause thereof, hee addeth: Thy wickednesse and thy fornication hath wrought thee all this, &c.

Ezech. 23.

The like we find also in Esay, Jeremy, Ezechiel, and in all the other prophets, who prophesying all together in one meaning, and almost in one manner of words; doe conclude with a full agreement and prophetic to come, that the Church shall fall, and then be punished for her great excesses, and be vtterly spoiled, except shee repent of all her abominations. Whereof speaketh Ofeas, cha. 2. Let her put away her whoredome out of her sight, and her aduourty from her breasts; lest I strip her naked and see her euen as she came naked into the world (that is, in her primitive poverty: ) So if she doe it not, it shall follow of her as in the prophet Nahum ca. 3. For the multitude

of the fornication of the faire and beautifull harlot, which is a mistress of witchcraft, yea and sellerh the people through her, whoredome, and the nations through her witchcraft. And it followeth vpon the same; Behold, I come vpon thee, saith the Lord of hosts, and will pull thy clothes ouer thy head, that thy nakednesse shall appeare among the heathen, and thy shame amongst the kingdoms, &c.

Wherefore by these it is to be vnderstood, that vpon this church the primitive iustice of God is to be reuealed hereafter. And thus much of the first of the four members aboue foretouched.

Now to the second member of my theme, Iuxta est, concerning the neerenesse of time. Although it is not for vs to know the moments and articles of time; yet by certaine notes and signes peradventure it may be collected and gathered, that which I haue here to say. For the tractation whereof, first I ground my selfe vpon the saying of the Apostle Paul, 2 Theſ. 2. where he writeth; That vlesse there come a defection first, &c. By the which defection, Ierome vltima quasi ad inquisitiones Iauarii, gathereth and expoundeth allegorically, the desolation of the monarchy of Rome: Betwene the which desolation, and the persecution of the Church by antichrist, hee putteth no meane space. And now what is the state of that commonwealth, if it bee compared to the maiestie of that it hath bene, judge your selues. Another glosse there is that saith, how by that defection is meant; that from the church of Rome shall come a departing of some other Churches.

The second note and marke is this, when the church shall be worse in manners than was the Synagogue; as appeareth by the ordinary glosse vpon the third of Jeremy, where it is written; The backslider Israel may seeme iust and righteous in comparison of sinfull Iuda. That is, the Synagogue in comparison of the church of God. Wherefore writeth Origen, saying, Think that to be spoken of vs what the Lord saith in Ezech. 16. Thou hast exceeded thy sister in thine iniquities. Wherefore now (to compare the one with the other) First, yee know how Christ rebuked the Pharisees, who, as Ierome witnesseth, were then the clergy of the Iewes, of couetousnesse, for that they suffered doles to be sold in the temple of God. Secondly, for that they did honour God with their lips and not with their heart, and because they said, but did not. Thirdly, he rebuked them, for that they were hypocrites. To the first then, let vs see whether it bee worse to sell both Church and Sacraments, than to suffer doles to be sold in the temple, or not. The second, whereas the Pharisees were rebuked for honoring God with their lips, and not with their heart; there be some, which neither honour God with heart, nor yet with lips: And which neither doe well, nor yet say well, neither doe they preach any word at all, but be dumbe dogs not able to barked, impudent and shamelesse dogs, that neither haue enough, such pastors as haue no vnderstanding, declining and straying all in their owne way, euery one giuen to couetousnesse from the highest to the lowest. And thirdly, as for hypocrisie there be also some, whose intolerable pride and malice is so manifest and notorious, kindled vp like a fire, that no cloake or shadow of hypocrisie can couer it, but are so past all shame, that it may be well verified of them, which the prophet speakes; Thou hast gotten thee the face of an harlot, thou wouldest not blush, &c.

The third signe and token of tribulation approaching neere to the church may well be taken of the too much vnequall proportion seene this day in the church. Where one is hungry and starueth, another is drunke. By reason of which so great inequality, it cannot be that the state of the Church, as it is now, can long indure. For like as in good harmony to make the musick perfect, is required a moderate and proportionate equality of voices, which if it do much exceed, it taketh away all the sweet melody: So according

(KING  
EDW. 3.)

5. The reformation of the church.

Certaine notes and signes, that the tribulation of the Church may be near.

1. Signe.

2. Theſ. 2.

Except there come a defection first, it cannot be vnderstood.

2. State of Rome

The Synagogue and the Church compared together in manners.

3. State of Rome

Osee 2.

Nahum 3.



**{ KING }** cording to the sentence of the Philosopher, by too  
**{ EDW. 3 }** much immoderate inequality or disparitie of Citizens the commonwealth falleth to ruine. Contrary, where mediocritie, that is, where a meane inequalitye with some proportion is kept, that policie standeth firme and more sure to continue. Now among all the politicke regiments of the Gentiles, I thinke none is to be found in histories, wherein is to be seene so great and exceeding odde, as in the policie of priests: Of whom some bee so high, that they exceede all princes of the earth; some againe be so base, that they are vnder all rascals, so that such a policie or commonwealth may well be called *Oligarchia*.

*Oligarchia, is where a few rule all the way and all thereto be no thing worthy.*

This may wee plainly see and learne in the body of man, to the which Plutarchus (writing to Thracinius) doth seemably compare the commonwealth. In the which body, if the sustenance receiued should all run to one member, so that that member should be too much exceedingly pampered, and all the other parts too much pined, that body could not long continue: So in the body of the wealth ecclesiasticall, if some who bee the heads be so enormously ouergrowne in riches and dignitie, that the weaker members of the body be scant able to beare them vp, there is a great token of dissolution and ruine shortly. Whereupon commeth well in place the saying of the prophet Esay; Every head is sicke, every heart is full of sorrow: of the which heads it is also spoken in the Prophet Amos, chap. 6. Woe be to the secure, proud and wealthy in Sion, and to such as thinke themselves so secure vpon the mount of Samaria, taking themselves as heads and rulers ouer other, &c. And moreouer in the said prophet Esay it followeth: From the top of the head to the sole of the foote there is no whole part in all the body, to wit, in the inferiours, because they are not able to liue for pouertie; in the superiours, because for their excessive riches, they are left from doing good. And it followeth in the same place; But all are wounds, and botches, and stripes. Behold here the danger comming, the wounds of discord and diuision, the botch or sore of rancor and enuy, the swelling stripe of rebellion and mischief.

Esay I.

Amos 6.

4. Signe.

*The title of Pride is noted.*

The fourth signe is the pride of prelates. Some there haue beene which fondly haue disputed of the pauerie of Christ, and haue inueyed against the prelates, because they liue not in pauerie of the saints. But this phantasticke commeth of the ignorance of morall philosophie and diuinitie, and of the defect of naturall prudence: for that in all nations and by common lawes, priests haue had and ought to haue wherewith to sustaine themselves more honestly than the vulgar sort, and prelates more honestly than the subjects. But yet hereby is not permitted to them their great horses, their troopes of horsemen, their superfluous pompe of their waiting men and great families, which scarcely can be maintained without pride, neither can bee sustained with safe justice, and many not without fighting and injuries inconuenient; not much vnlike to that as Iustine the historian writeth of the Carthaginenses: The family (saith he) of so great emperors was intollerable to such a free citie. In seemblable wise, this great pride in the Church of God (especially in these daies) doth moue not so few to due reuerence, as many to indignation; and yet moe to those things aforesaid, which thinke no lesse but to doe sacrifice to God if they may rob and spoile certaine fat priests and persons, namely such as neither haue nobilitie of blood, and lesse learning to beare themselves vpon, but are liers, seruite and fraudulent, to whom the Lord speaketh by his prophet, Amos 4. Heare you fatted kine of Samaria, ye that doe poore men wrong, and oppresse the needy, the day shall come vpon you, &c.

Amos 4.

5. Signe.  
Cap. 16.

The fift signe is the tyranny of the prelates and prebends, which as it is a violent thing, so it cannot bee long lasting. For as Salomon saith, Cap. 16. For it was requisite that (without any excuse) destruction should come vpon those which exercised tyrannie. The pro-

perty of a tyrant is not to seeke the commoditie of his subjects, but onely his will and profit. Such were the pastors that fed not the Lords flocke, but fed themselves: of whom and to whom speaketh the prophet, Ezech. 34. Woe bee vnto those pastors of Israel that feed themselves. Should not the shepherds feed the flockes? With many other threatnings against them in the said chapter. Woe bee vnto them which reioyce at the transgressions of such whom it lieth in their power to condemne, neither doe they seeke what hee is able to pay; to whom crieth Micah the prophet, chap. 3. Yee hate the good and loue the euill, ye pluck off mens skins and the flesh from the bones; ye eate the flesh of my people, and slay off their skin; ye breake their bones, ye chop them in peeces as it were into a caldron, and as flesh into the pot, &c. And therefore the foresaid Ezechiel pronounceth: Behold, I will my selfe come vpon the shepherds, and require my sheepe from their hands, and make them cease from feeding my sheepe, yea the shepherds shall feede themselves no more, for I will deliuer my sheepe out of their mouthes; so that they shall not deuoure them any more.

*The tyrannie of prelates noted.*

Ezech. 34.

Micah 3.

Ezech. 34.

The sixt signe is in promoting of the vnworthy, and of neglecting them that bee worthy. This, as Aristotle saith, is a great cause many times of the dissolution of common weales. And oftentimes it so happeneth in the wars of Princes, that the contempt and small regarding of the valiant, and the exalting of others that bee lesse worthy, ingendred diuers kinds and kindlings of sedition. For by the reason partly of the same, partly of the other cause aboue recited, wee haue read not onely in bookes, but haue seene with our eyes, diuers flourishing cities well neere subuerted: Whereas good men be not made of, but are vexed with sorrow and griefe by the euill; the contention at length brasteth out vpon the prince, as Haymo reciteth out of Origen. This alwayes hath been the peruerse incredulitie of mans hard heart, and that not onely in hearing, but also in seeing: yet will they not beleeue that other haue perished, vnlesse they also perish themselves.

6. Signe.  
Promoting of vnworthy men.

Haymo.

The seuenth signe is the tribulation of outward policy and commotions of the people, which in a great part is now happened already. And therefore forasmuch as Seneca saith; Men doe complaine commonly that euils onely come so fast; It is to be feared lest also the ecclesiasticall policie bee afflicted not onely outwardly but also in it selfe; And so that bee fulfilled in vs, that in Ieremy is prophesied, cap. 4. Murder is cried vpon murder, and the whole land shall perish, and suddenly my tabernacles were destroyed, and my tents very quickly. And Ezech. 7. Wherefore I will bring cruell tyrants from among the heathen, to take their houses in possession; I will make the pompe of the proud to cease, and their sanctuaries shall bee taken. One mischief and sorrow shall follow another, and one rumour shall come after another, then shall they seeke visions in vaine at their prophets, the law shall bee gone from their priests and wisdom from their elders, &c.

7. Signe.

Ierom 4.

Ezech. 7.

The eight signe is the refusing of correction, neither will they heare their faults told them, so that it happened to the princes and rulers of the Church, as it is written in the prophet, Zech. ca. 7. They stopped their eares that they would not heare, yea they made their hearts as an Adamant stone, lest they should heare the law and words which the Lord of hosts sent in his holy spirit by the prophets aforesaid. Also Esay witnessing after the same effect, chap. 30. saith, For it is an obstinate people, lying children, and vnfaithfull children that will not heare the law of the Lord, which say to the prophets, meddle with nothing, and tell vs nothing that is true and right, but speake friendly words to vs, &c. All this shall bee verified when the prelates begin to hate them that tell them truth, and haue knowledge; like vnto such of whom Amos speaketh, chap. 5. They beate him euill

8. Signe.  
Zech. 7.  
Refusing of correction in the clergy.

Esay 30.

Truth them, Amos 5.



Osee 4.

will that reproveth them openly, and who so telleth them the plaine truth, they abhorre him. And therefore saith the Lord to the Church of Ierusalem, Osee 4. Seeing thou hast refused vnderstanding, I haue refused thee also, that thou shalt no more bee my priest. And forsomuch as thou hast forgotten the law of thy God, I will also forget thy children, and change their honour into shame. And so shall it bee like priest, like people, &c. And many other sayings there bee in the Prophets, speaking of the dejecting and casting downe of the priestly honour.

Lack of learned priests.

Besides these foresaid signes and tokens hitherto recited, there be also diuers others; as the backsliding from righteoufnesse, the lacke of discreet and learned priests, promoting of children into the Church with such other like. But these being already well noted and marked, you may easily iudge and vnderstand, whether these times now present of ours be safe and cleare from tribulation to bee looked for, and whether the Word of the Lord bee true according to my Theme; Iuxta est iustitia mea vt reueletur, my righteoufnesse is neere at hand to be reuealed, &c. And thus much of the second part.

The third part or member of the subdiuision.

Now to the third part or member of my subdiuision, which is concerning the false and perillous opinions of some, vpon this word of my Theme, vt veniat, &c. Which opinions principally bee foure repugning all against the truth of the canonical Scripture.

The first opinion.

The first opinion is of such men, who, hauing too much confidence in themselves, doe thinke and perswade with themselves, that the prelates be the Church which the Lord will alwayes keepe, and neuer forsake, as hee hath promised in the persons of the Apostles; Matth. 28. saying; And I will bee with you to the end of the world, &c. But this is to be vnderstood of faith, whereof Christ speaketh, Luke 21. I haue prayed for thee, that thy faith shall not faile. Whereof wee reade, Eccle. 40. Faith shall stand for euer, &c. And albeit charity waxe neuer so cold, yet faith notwithstanding, shall remaine in few, and in all distresses of the world; of the which distresses, our Saviour doth prophesie in many places to come. And lest peradventure some should thinke themselves to be safe from tribulation, because they be of the Church, this opinion the Lord himselfe doth contrary in Ieremie the 7. Trust not (saith hee) in false lying words, saying, the temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord. And a little after, but you trust in words and lying counsels, which deceiue you, and doe you no good.

Ierem. 7.

The second opinion.

The second opinion is of them, which defer time; for this they will grant that the Church shall abide trouble, but not so shortly: thinking thus with themselves, that these causes and tokens afore recited haue bene before at other times as well in the Church. For both by Gregory and Bernard holy doctors, in time past, the prelates haue bene in like sort reprehended, both for their bribings, for their pompe and pride, for the promoting of persons and children vsnt vnto ecclesiasticall functions, and other vices moe, which haue raigned before this in the Church of God more than now, and yet by God his grace the Church hath prospered and stood. Doe ye not see, that if an house haue stood and continued ruinous a long season, it is neuer the more neere the fall thereby, but rather to be trusted the better? Moreover, many times it cometh so to passe in realmes and kingdomes, that the posterity is punished for the sinnes of the predecessors. Whereof speaketh the booke of Lamentations, Chap. 5. Our fathers haue sinned, and are now gone, and we must beare their wickednesse, &c. Against this cogitation or opinion, well doth the Lord answer by the Prophet Ezechiel, chap. 12. saying, Behold, thou son of man the house of Israel saith in this manner; Tush, as for the vision that he hath seene, it will bee many a day ere it come to passe; It is farre off yet, the thing that he prophesieth. Therefore say vnto them, thus saith the Lord God; The words that I haue spoken shall be deferred

Thren. 5.

Ezech. 12.

no longer, looke what I haue said shall come to passe, saith the Lord, &c. We haue seene in our dayes things to happen, which seemed before incredible. And the like hath bene seene in other times also, as wee reade written in the booke of Lamentations, Chap. 4. The Kings of the earth, nor all the inhabitants of the world would not haue beleued, that the enemy and aduersary should haue come in at the gates of the city, for the sins of her priests, and for the wickednesse of her elders that haue shed innocents blood within her, &c. by Hierusalem, as is sayd, is meant the Church.

{ KING }  
{ EDW. 3 }

Thren. 4.

The third opinion or error is very perillous and peruerse, of all such as say, veniat, let come that will come; Let vs conforme our selues to this world, and take our time with those Temporizers, which say in the booke of wisdom, Sap. 2. Come let vs enjoy our goods and pleasures that bee present, and let vs vse the creature as in youth quickly, &c. Such as these be are in dangerous case, and be greatly prejudiciall to good men in the Church. And if the heads and rulers of the Church were so vile to haue any such detestable cogitation in them, there were no place in hell too deepe for them. This Church founded by the Apostles in Christ, consecrated with the blood of so many Martyrs, enlarged and increased with the vertues and merits of so many Saints, and indued so richly with the deuotion of so many secular princes, and so long prospered hitherto, if it now should come into the hands of such persons, it should fall in great danger of ruine, and they for their negligence and wickednesse well deserued of God to bee cursed; yea here also in this present world to incurre temporall tribulation and destruction, which they feare more: by the sentence of the Lord saying to them in the booke of the Prouerbs, chap. 1. All my counsels ye haue dispised, and set my correction at nought: Therefore shall I also laugh in your destruction, when tribulation and anguish shall fall vpon you.

The third opinion of error.

Sap. 2.

Fourthly, another opinion or error is of such as being vnfaithfull beleue not that any such thing will come. And this error seemeth to haue no remedy, but that as other things and other kingdomes haue their ends and limits set vnto them, which they cannot ouerpasse: so it must needs bee, that such a domination and government of the Church haue an end, by reason of the demerits and obstinacies of the gouernours prouoking and requiring the same: like as wee reade in the Prophet Ieremy, Chap. 8. There is no man that taketh repentance for his sinne, that will so

Prou. cha. i.

The fourth opinion of error.

Ierem. 8.

much as say, wherefore haue I done this? But euery man runneth forth still like a wilde horse in battell. And the prophet Ieremie in the 13. chap. of his prophetic; Like as the man of Inde may change his skin, and the Cat of mountaine her spots, so may ye, that be exercised in euill, doe good. Whereunto also accordeth that which is written of the same Prophet, Chap. 17. speaking of Iuda, signifying the Church; Ierem. 17. The sin of Iuda (saith he) is written in the table of your hearts, and grauen so vpon the edges of your altars with a pen of iron, and with an adamant claw; which is as much to say, as indeleble, or which cannot bee rased out: as also Ezechiel speaking of the punishment, chap. 21. saith; I the Lord haue drawne my sword out of the sheath, and it cannot bee reuoked. Notwithstanding, all these signifie no impossibilitie, but difficultie, because that wicked men are hardly conuerted; for otherwise the Scripture importeth no such inflexibilitie with God, but if conuersion come, hee will forgieue. So wee reade in the prophet Ionas, chap. 3. Who can tell? God may turne and repent, and cease from his fierce wrath that wee perish not. And to the like effect saith the same Lord in Ieremie, chap. 26. Looke thou keepe not one word backe, if peradventure they will hearken and turne euery man from his wicked way, that I also may repent of the plague which I haue determined to bring vpon them, because of their wicked inuentions, &c.

Ionas, cha. 3.

Ierem. 26.

For



**KING EDW. 3.** For the further prooffe whereof, Ninuie wee see conuerted, and remained vnderstroyed, &c. Likewise the Lord also had reuealed destruction vnto Constantinople by sundry signes and tokens, as Augustine in a certaine sermon doth declare. And thus for the third part of member of my diuision.

herewith part member of a diuision.

rem. 18.

Fourthly and lastly, it remaineth that I declare some wholesome concluding now vpon the causes preceding: That is, if by these causes and signes (heretofore declared) tribulation be prepared to fall vpon the church, then let vs humble our minds mildly and wisely. And if wee so returne with heart and in deede vnto God, verily hee shall rescue and helpe after an incalculable wise, and will surcease from scourging vs, as hee promisseth by his prophet, Ieremie 18. If that people, against whom I haue thus deuised, conuert from their wickednesse, immediately I will repent of the plague that I deuised to bring vpon them, speaking here after the manner of men, &c. Now therefore, forsomuch as tribulation and affliction is so neere coming toward vs, yea lieth already vpon vs, let vs be the more diligent to call vpon God for mercy. For I thinke verily these many yeares there haue not bene so many and so despitfull hearts and euill willers, stout, and of such a rebellious heart against the Church of God, as hee now adaies; neither be they lacking that would worke all that they can against it, and louers of new-fanglenesse: whole hearts the Lord happily will turne, that they shall not hate his people, and worke deceit against his seruants, I meane against priests whom they haue now in little or no reputation at all, Albeit many yet there bee, through Gods grace, good and godly. But yet the furle of the Lord is not turned away, but still his hand is stretched out. And vnlesse ye bee conuerted, he shaketh his sword, hee hath bent his bow, and prepared it ready. Yet the Lord standeth waiting, that hee may haue mercy vpon you, Esay 30. And therefore as the greatnesse of teare ought to incite vs, so hope of saluation may allure vs to pray and call vpon the Lord, especially now toward this holy and sacred time and solennitie of Christs natiuitie: For that holy and continuall prayer without intermission is profitable, and the instant deuotion and vigilant deprecation of the iust man is of great force. And if terrene kings, in the day of celebration of their natiuitie, bee wont to shew themselves more liberall and bountifull, how much more ought wee to hope well, that the heavenly king, of nature most benigne, now at his natall and birth day, will not deny pardon and remission to such as rightly call vnto him.

Isa. 7.

King. 25.

And now therefore, as it is written in Iosua, Chap. 7. Bee you sanctified against to morrow, &c. And say vnto him as it is written in the first booke of Kings, Chap. 25. Now let thy seruants I pray thee finde fauor in thy sight, for wee come to thee in a good season. Moreover, ye may finde that yee aske, if that yee aske that which hee brought in the day of his Natiuitie; that is, the peace of the Church, not spirituall onely, but also temporall; which the angelicall noise did sound, and experience the same time did proue, testified by T. Liuius, Plinius, and other heathen storie-writers, which all marvelled thereat, saying, that such an vniuersall peace as that could not come on earth but by the gift of God. For so God did forepromise in the Prophet Esay, Chap. 66. Behold, I will let peace into Ierusalem like a water flood, &c. And in the Psalme 71. In his time righteounesse shall flourish, yea and abundance of peace, &c.

Isa. 66.  
Sal. 71.

Therefore now (O reuerend fathers in the Lord) and you here in this present assembly, behold, I say, the day of life and saluation; Now is the opportune time to pray vnto God, that the same thing, which hee brought into the world at his birth, hee will grant in these dayes to his church, that is, his peace. And like as Ninuie was subuerted, and ouer-turned, not in members but in manners: so the same words of my Theme, luxa est iustitia mea ut reuertetur, may be

verified in vs, not of the primitive iustice, but of our sanctification by grace, so that, As to morrow is celebrated the natiuitie of our Saviour, our righteousness may rise together with him, and his blessing may be vpon vs, which God hath promised, saying; My saving health is neere at hand to come, &c. Whereof speaketh Esay the Prophet, Chap. 51. My saving health shall endure for euer, &c. This health grant vnto vs the Father, Son, and holy Ghost, Amen.

Esay 51.

10 This sermon was made by master Nicolas Orem before pope Urban and his cardinals vpon the euen of the natiuitie of the Lord, being the fourth Sunday of aduent, in the yere of our Lord 1364. and the second of his popedom.

In the 5. yere of this forenamed pope Urban began first the order of the Jesuites. And vnto this time, which was about the yere of our Lord 1367. the offices here in England, as the lord chancellor, lord treasurer, and of the priue seale, were wont to be in the hands of the clergy. But about this yere, through the motion of the Lords in the parliament, and partly (as witnesseth mine author) for hatred of the clergy, all the said offices were removed from the clergy to the lords temporall.

The order of Jesuites.  
Anno 1367.  
The chief offices of the realm translated from the clergy to the lords temporall.

After the death of Pope Urban next succeeded pope Gregory the 11. who, among his other acts, first reduced againe the papacie out of France vnto Rome, which had from thence been absent the space now of 70. yeres, being thereto moued (as Sabellicus recordeth) by the answer of a certaine bishop, whom as the pope saw standing by him he asked, why hee was so long from his charge and church at home, saying, that it was not the part of a good pastor, to keepe him from his flocke so long. Whereunto the bishop answering againe, sayd; And you your selfe being the chiefe bishop, who may and ought to be a spectacle to vs all, why are you from the place so long where your church doth lie? By the occasion whereof the pope sought all meanes after that to remove and to rid his court out of France againe to Rome, and so hee did.

Pope Gregory the 11.

Anno 1370.  
The papacie reduced againe from France to Rome.

This Gregory 11. in a certaine bull of his sent to the archbishop of Prague, maketh mention of one named Hilizius a Bohemian, and saith in the same bull that this Hilizius should hold opinion and teach, An. 1366. that antichrist was already come. Also that the said Hilizius had certaine congregations following him; and that in the same congregations were certaine harlots, who, being conuerted from their wickednesse, were brought to a goodly life. Which harlots being so conuerted, hee vsed to say, were to be preferred before all the holy religious virgins. And therfore he commanded his archb. to communicate & persecute the said Hilizius, which in force time had but a religious man of Prague, and after forsook his order, and gaue himselfe to preaching, and at length was by the foresaid archbishop imprisoned.

Hilizius a Bohemian, for the truth persecuted by the Pope. Ex bulla Gregorii 11.

Jacobus Milnensis, a learned man and a writer in the time of John Hus, maketh mention of this Hilizius, and calleth him a worthy and a famous preacher. Also he writeth many things out of his writings, in the which writings this good Hilizius thus declareth of himselfe how he was moued and urged by the holy Ghost to search out by the sacred Scriptures, concerning the coming of Antichrist. And that he was compelled by the same holy spirit probably to preach at Rome, and also before the Inquisitor there to profess plainly, that the same great antichrist, which is prophesied of in the holy Scriptures, was already come. Moreover his saying was, that the church through negligence of the pastors was desolat, did abound in temporall riches, but in spirituall riches was empty. Also that in the church of Christ were certaine Idols which destroyed Ierusalem, and defaced the Temple, but hypocritie caused that those Idols could not be scene. Also that many there were which denied Christ, because that knowing the truth yet for feare of men they durst not confesse their

The coming of Antichrist prophesied.

confidence,



conscience, &c. And thus much of good Philizius, li-  
ving in the time of Gregory II. and King Edward  
the third, an. 1370.

King Edward  
complained of  
the popes refer-  
vation of bene-  
fices.

The Pope put  
from his refer-  
vation of benefi-  
ces in England.  
Quare impe-  
dit.

The which king of England, holding a parliament  
in the third yere of this pope, sent his embassadors  
to him, desiring him, that he from henceforth would  
abstaine from his reservations of benefices used in  
the court of England; And that spirituall men, with-  
in this realme promoted into bishopricks, might  
freely enjoy their elections within the realme, and be  
confirmed by their metropolitans, according to the  
ancient custome of the realme. Wherefore upon these  
and such other like, wherein the king and the realme  
thought themselves much grieved, he desired of the  
pope some remedy to be provided, &c. Whereunto the  
pope returned a certaine answer againe unto the  
king, requiring by his messengers to bee certified  
againe of the kings mind concerning the same. But  
what answer it was, it is not in the story expessed,  
save that the yere following, which was 1374. there  
was a tractation at Burges upon certaine of the  
sayd articles betwene the king and the pope, which  
did hang two yeres in suspence; and so at length it  
was thus agreed betwene them, that the pope should  
no more use his reservations of benefices in Eng-  
land, and likewise the king should no more conferre  
and give benefices upon the writ, Quare impedit, &c.  
But as touching the freedom of elections to be con-  
firmed by the Metropolitan, mentioned in the yere  
before, thereof was nothing touched.

As touching these reservations, provisions, and  
collations, with the elections of the archbishops, bi-  
shops, beneficed men, and other, wherewith the pope  
vered this realme of England, as before you have  
heard; the king by the consent of the lords and com-  
mons, in the 25. yere of his raigne enacted; that ac-  
cording to a statute made in the 30. yere of his  
grandfather Edward the first, wherein was made  
an act against the ravenous pillage of the Pope,  
though the same provisions, reservations, and col-  
lations, &c. but not put in execution: By the which  
provisions, the state of the realme decreased more  
and more, the kings royaltie and prerogative was  
greatly obscured and diminished, innumerable trea-  
sure of the realme transported, aliens and strangers  
placed in the best and fattest bishopricks, abbeyes  
and benefices within the realme: And such, as either  
for their offices in Rome, as cardinals hips and such  
like, could not be here resident, or if resident, yet bet-  
ter away for causes infinite, as partly have bene  
touched before: been not onely remitted the said statute  
made by Edward the first his grandfather, but also  
enlarged the same. Adding therunto very strait  
and sharpe penalties against the offenders, therein, or  
in any part thereof, as exemption out of the kings  
protection, losse of all their lands, goods, and other  
possessions, and their bodies to be imprisoned at the  
kings pleasure: and further, whosoever was lawfully  
convicted, or otherwise, for want of appearance by  
proccesse directed forth, were within the lapse of this  
statute or premunire (so so bare the name thereof)  
should suffer all and every such molestations and in-  
juries, as men exempted from the protection of the  
king. Inso much, that whosoever had killed such  
men, had been in no more danger of law therefore,  
than for the killing of any outlaw, or one not worthy  
to live in a common weale. Like unprofitable mem-  
bers were they then, yea, in that time of ignorance,  
esteemed in this common weale of England which  
would offer themselves to the wilfull slavery and fer-  
ule obedience of the pope: which thing in these daies  
yea and that amongst no small foolies, is counted  
more than Evangelicall holinesse. Hee that list to  
peruse the statute, and would see every branch and  
article thereof at large discussed and handled, with  
the penalties thereto due, let him reade the statute  
of pcurion and premunire, made in the 25. yere of  
this kings daies. And let him reade in the statutes

The popes pre-  
munie here in  
England bind-  
len.

made in the parliaments holden the 27. yere, and 38  
yere of his raigne: And under the same title of pro-  
vision and premunire he shall finde the popes prima-  
cie and jurisdiction within this realme more narely  
touched, and much of his papall power restrained:  
Inso much that, whosoever for any cause or contro-  
versie in law, either spirituall or temporall, the same  
being determinable in any of the kings courts (as  
all matters were) whether they were personall or  
reall citations or other, should either appeale or con-  
sent to any appellation to be made out of the realme  
to the pope or Sea of Rome; should incurre the said  
penaltie and danger of premunire. Divers other  
matters wherein the pope is restrained of his blur-  
ped power, authority and jurisdiction within this  
realme of England, are in the said titles and statutes  
expessed, and at large set forth, who ever list to per-  
use the same, which for brevities sake I omit, pass-  
ing to other matters.

About this time, being the yere of our Lord 1370  
lived holy Bridget, whom the church of Rome hath  
canonized not only for a saint, but also for a prophe-  
tesse: who notwithstanding in her booke of revela-  
tions, which hath bin oftentimes imprinted, was a  
great rebuker of the Pope, and of the filth of his  
clergy, calling him a murderer of soules, a spiller  
and a piller of the flocke of Christ, more abominable  
than the Jewes, more cruell than Judas, more unius-  
tice than Pilate, worse than Lucifer himselfe. The Sea  
of the pope the prophesie shall be throtone downe  
into the deepe, like a millstone; And that his adu-  
lter shall burne with brimstone: Affirming, that the pre-  
lates, bishops and priests are the cause why the doctrine  
of Christ is neglected, and almost extinguished. And  
that the clergy have turned the ten command-  
ments of God into two words, to wit, Da pecuni-  
am, that is, Give money. It were long and tedious  
to declare all that the against them writeth. Among the  
rest which I omit, let this suffice for all, whereas the  
said Bridget affirmeth in her revelations, that when  
the holy Virgin should say to her Son, how Rome  
was a fruitfull and fertile field; yea, said he, but of  
weeds onely and cockle, &c.

To this Bridget I will joyne also Catharina Se-  
nenfis, an holy virgin, which lived much about the  
same time, an. 1379. Of whom writeth Antoninus  
part. 3. hystoria 3. This Catharine, having the spirit of  
prophesie, was wont much to complaine of the cor-  
rupt state of the Church, namely of the prelates of  
the court of Rome, and of the Pope: prophesying  
before of the great schisme, which then followed in the  
church of Rome, and dured to the councell of Con-  
stance, the space of xxxix. yeres; also of the great  
warres and tribulation, which ensued upon same.  
And moreover declared before and foretold of this so  
excellent reformation for religion in the church now  
present. The words of Antoninus be these. After  
this virgin in her going to Rome had told her bro-  
ther of the warres and tumults that should rise in  
the countries about Rome, after the schisme of the  
two Popes: I then curious to know of things to  
come, and knowing that she understood by revelati-  
on what should happen, demanded of her: I pray you  
(good mother) said I, and what shall befall after these  
tribulations in the Church of God? And she said: By these  
tribulations and afflictions, after a secret manner vn-  
knowne unto man, God shall purge his holy Church,  
and stirre up the spirit of his elect. And after these  
things shall follow such a reformation of the holy  
Church of God, and such a renovation of holy pastors,  
that the onely cogitation and remembrance thereof  
maketh my spirit to rejoyce in the Lord. And as I  
have oftentimes told you heretofore, the spouse,  
which now is all deformed and ragged, shall bee a-  
dorned and deckt with most rich and precious ouches  
and brouches. And all the faithfull shall bee glad and  
rejoyce to see themselves so beautified with so holy  
shepherds, yea and also the infidels then, alured by the  
sweet

SKING  
EDW. 3

S. Bridget  
Ex lib. reuel-  
tionum Di-  
Bridget.

Da pecunia

Rome a fert  
ground of we-  
eds and cockle.

Catharina  
nenfis,  
Ex Antoni-  
part. 3. hyst.

The reform-  
on of religio-  
prophesied on  
before.

The proph-  
of Catharin

Notes



KING  
EDW. 3

sweet favour of Christ, shall returne to the catholike fold, and bee converted to the true Bishop and shepheard of their soules. Give thanks therefore to God; for after this storme hee will give to his a great calme. And after shee had thus spoken, shee staid, and said no more.

Besides these a forenamed, the Lord, which neuer ceaseth to worke in his Church, stirres up against the malignant church of Rome, the spirits of divers other good and goodly teachers, as Matthias Parisiensis, a Bohemian boone, who about the yere of our Lord 1370. wrote a large booke of Antichrist, and prometh him to be already come, and noteth the pope to be the same. Which booke one Iliricus a water in these our dayes hath, and prometh to put it in print. In this booke he doth greatly inveigh against the wickednesse and filthinesse of the clergie, and against the negleting of their dutie in governing the church. The Locust mentioned in the Apocalyps he saith, be the hypocrites raigning in the church. The workes of Antichrist, he saith, be these, the fables and inventions of men raigning in the church, the Images and sained reliques that are worshipped every where. Item, that men doe worship every one his proper saint and saviour beside Christ, so that every man and citie almost hath his divers and peculiar christ. He taught and affirmed moreover, that godlinesse and true worship of God are not bound to place, persons, or times, to be heard more in this place, than in another, at this time more than at another, &c. He argueth also against the cloisterers, which, leaving the onely and true Saviour, set up to themselves their ffranciscans, their Dominicks, and such other, and have them for their saviours, glorying and triumphing in them, and saining many forged lies upon them. Hee was greatly and much offended with monks and friers, for negleting or rather burying the word of Christ, and in stead of him, for celebrating and setting up their owne rules and canons; affirming it to be much hurtfull to true godlinesse, for that priests, monks and nuns doe account themselves only spirituall, and all other to be lay and secular, attributing only to themselves the opinion of holinesse, and condemning other men, with all their politicke administration, and the office as prophane in comparison of their owne. He further writeth that Antichrist hath seoured all Universities and Colleges of learned men, so that they teach no sincere doctrine, neither give any light to the Christians with their teaching. Finally, he forewarneth that it will come to passe, that God yet once againe will raise up goodly teachers, who, being fervent in the spirit and zeale of Helias, shall disclose and refute the errors of Antichrist, and Antichrist himselfe, openly to the whole world. This Matthias in the said booke of Antichrist allegeth the sayings and writings of the Universtie of Paris, also the writings of Gulielmus de Santo Amore, and of Militius afoze noted.

About the same time, or shortly after, an. 1384. we reade also of Joannes of Mountziger, Rector of the Universtie of Alme, who openly in the scholles in his oration propounded that the body of Christ was not God, and therefore not to be worshipped as God with that kind of worship called Latreia, as the sophister fearneth it, meaning thereby the Sacrament not to be adored, which afterward he also defended by writing, affirming also that Christ in his resurrection took to him again all his blood which in his passion he had shed. Meaning thereby to inferre, that the blood of Christ, which in many places is worshipped, neither can be called the blood of Christ, neither ought to be worshipped. But by and by he was resisted and withstood by the monks and friers: who by this kind of idolatry were greatly enriched, till at length the senate and counsell of the citie was faine to take by the matter betwene them.

Pilius was Archbishop of Thessalonica, and lived much about this time. He wrote a long work against

the Latines; that is, against such as tooke part and held with the church of Rome. His first booke being written in Graeke was afterward translated into Latine, and lately now into English, in this our time. In the first chapter of this booke he layeth all the blame and fault of the dissention and schisme betwene the East and the West church, upon the pope. He affirmed that the Pope only would command what him liked, were it never so contrary to all the old and ancient canons. That he would heare, and follow no mans advice; that he would not permit any free counsels to be assembled, &c. And that therefore it was not possible, that the controuersies betwene the Graeke church and Latine church should be decided and determined.

In the second chapter of his booke, hee purposely maketh a very learned disputation. For first, he declareth that he no whit at all by Gods commandment, but onely by humane law, hath any dignity, more than hath other Bishops: which dignity the counsels, the fathers, and emperors have granted unto him. Neither did they grant the same for any other consideration more, or greater ordinance, than for that the same citie had the Empire of all the whole world, and not at all for that Peter euer was there, or not there.

Secondarily he declareth, that the same primacie or prerogative is not such and so great, as he and his hypocrites doe blurpe unto themselves. Also he refuteth the chiefest propositions of the papists one after another. He declareth that the pope hath no dominion more than other patriarchs haue, and that hee himselfe may erre as well as other mortall men; and that he is subiect both to laies and counsels, as well as other bishops. That it belonged not to him, but to the Emperour, to call generall counsels; and that in Ecclesiasticall causes he could establish and ordaine no more than all other Bishops might. And lastly, that he getteth no more by Peters succession, than that hee is a Bishop, as all other Bishops after the Apostles be, &c.

I cannot among other, following here the occasion of this matter offered, leave out the memory of Jacobus Gruiensis, who also wrote of the coming of antichrist. In the same he maketh mention of a certaine learned man, whose name was Militius, which Militius (saith he) was a famous and worthy preacher in Braga. He lived about the yere 1366. long before Husle, and before Wickliffe also. In the same his writings he declareth, how the same good man Militius was by the holy Spirit of God incited, and vehemently moved to search out of the holy Scriptures the manner & coming of antichrist; and found that now in his time hee was already come. And the same Jacobus saith, that the said Militius was constrained by the Spirit of God to goe up to Rome, and there publickly to preach. And that afterward before the Inquisitor hee affirmed the same. That the same mighty & great antichrist, the which the scriptures made mention of, was already come.

He affirmed also that the church by the negligence of the pastors, should become desolate; and that iniquity should abound, that is, by reason of Hammon, matter of iniquity. Also, he said that there were in the church of Christ idols, which should destroy Jerusalem; and make the temple desolate, but were cloked by hypocritie. Further, that there be many which deny Christ, for that they keepe silence; neither do they heare Christ, whom all the world should know, and confesse his veritie before men, which also wittingly doe detain the verity and iustice of God.

There is also a certain Bull of pope Gregory 11. to the archbishop of Braga, wherein he is commanded to excommunicate and persecute Militius and his auditours. The same Bull declareth, that hee was once a Canon of Braga, but afterward hee renounced his canonship, and began to preach: who also, for that he so manifestly preached of antichrist

Jacobus Gruiensis and Militius.

Militius persecuted by the Pope.

Matthias Parisiensis a water against the Pope.  
Antichrist already come.  
He doth inveigh and protestation of Matthias.

Joannes Mountziger Rector against the pope.  
Anno 1384.

Thus the archbishop of Thessalonica.



Christ to be already come, was of John archbishop of Braga put in prison, declaring what his error was: To wit, how he had his company or congregation to whom hee preached, and that amongst the same were certaine converted harlots, which had forsaken their euill life, and did liue godly and well, which harlots he accustomed in his sermons to preferre before all the blessed virgins that neuer offended. He taught also openly, that in the Pope, cardinals, bishops, prelates, priests, and other religious men was no truth, neither that they taught the way of truth, but that onely he, and such as held with him, taught the true way of Saluation. His doctill in some places is yet to be seene. They alledge vnto him cer taine other inconuenient articles, which notwithstanding I thinke the aduersaries, to depraue him withall, haue slanderously inuented against him. He had, as appeared by the foresaid Bull, very many of euery state and condition, as well rich as poore, that cleaued vnto him.

About the yere of our Lord 1371. liued Henricus de Iota, whom Gerson doth much commend, and also his companion Henricus de Hassia, an excellent learned and famous man. An epistle of this Henricus de Hassia, which he wrote to the Bishop of Normacia, Iacobus Cartiensis inserted in his booke De erroribus Christianorum. In the same epistle the author doth greatly accuse the spirituall men of euery order, yea and the most holy of all other, the pope himselfe, of many and great vices. He said, that the ecclesiasticall gouernors in the Primitive church were compared to the sunne shining in the day time; and the politicall gouernours, to the moone shining in the night. But the spirituall men he said, that now are, doe neither shine in the day time, nor yet in the night time, but rather with their darkenesse doe obscure both the day and the night, that is, with their filthy liuing, ignorance, and impie tie. He citeth also out of the prophetic of Hildegardis these wordes; Therefore doth the diuell in himselfe speake of you priests; Daintie bankets and feasts, wherein is all voluptuousnesse, doe I finde amongst these men; Inasmuch that mine eyes, mine eares, my belly, and my beines be euen filled with the froth of them, and my beests stand astrut with the riches of them, &c. Lastly, saith he, they euery day more and more, as Lucifer did, seek to climbe higher and higher; till that euery day with him more and more they fall deeper and deeper.

About the yere of our Lord 1390. there were burned at Wynga 36. citizens of Woguntina, for the doctrine of Waldenses, as Bauhinus affirmeth: which opinion was nothing contrary to that they held before, wherein they affirmed the pope to be that great antichrist, which should come; Unless peradventure the pope seemed then to be more evidently conuicted of antichristianitie, than at any other time before he was revealed to be.

For the like cause, many other beside these are to be found in stories, which sustained the like persecutions by the pope, if leasure would serue to peruse all that might be searched. As where Massens recozdeth of diuers to the number of 140. which in the prouince of Narbone chose rather to suffer whatsoever grieuous punishment by fire, than to receiue the decretals of the Romish church, contrary to the vpright truth of the Scripture.

What should I here speake of the 24. which suffered at Paris, An. 1210? Also in the same author is testified that An. 1211. there were 400. vnder the name of heretikes burned, 80. beheaded, prince Americus hanged, and the ladie of the castle stoned to death.

Moreover, in the chronicles of Houedon, and of other writers, be recited a marvellous number, which in the countreies of France were burned for heretikes. Of whom, some were called Publicans, some Catharites, some Waterines, and other by other

names. What their assertions were I finde no certaine report worthy of credit.

In Critemius it is signified of one Eckhardus a Dominican frier, who, not long before Wickliffes time, was condemned and suffered for heresie at Heidelberg, An. 1330. who as he differeth not much in name, so may he be supposed to be the same, whom other doe name Beghardus, and is said to be burned at Erphord.

Of Albingenses because sufficient mention is made before, of whom a great number were burned about the time of king John, I passe them ouer.

Likewise, I let passe the heremite, of whom John Bacon maketh relation, in his 2. Dist. quest. 1. who disputing in Pauls church, affirmed that those Sacraments, which were then used in the church, were not instituted by Christ, An. 1306. Peradventure it was the same Ranulphus, mentioned in the flowre of histories, and is said to die in prison; for the time of them doth not much differ.

In Boetius, why the Pope should so much commend a certaine king, because for one man he had slaine 400. cutting away the generalls from the rest, I cannot iudge, except the cause were that, which the pope calleth heresie.

But to let these things ouerpasse that be vncertaine, because neither is it possible to comprehend all them which haue witnessed the corruption of the popes Sea, neither haue we any such firme testimony left of their doings, credibly to stay vpon: We will now (Christ willing) conuert our story to things more certaine & vndoubted: grounding vpon no light reports of feeble credit, nor vpon any fabulous legends without authority, but vpon the true and substantiall copies of the publike recozds of the realme, remaining yet to be seene vnder the kings most sure and faithfull custody. Out of the which recozds such matter appeareth against the popish church of Rome, and against his vsurped authority, such open standing and crying against the sayd Sea, and that not privately, but also in open parliament, in the dayes of this king Edward the third; that neither will the Romish people of this our age easily thinke it to be true when they see it, neither yet shall they be able to denie the same, so neare standeth the force of those recozds.

We heard a little before, p. 498. how John Stratford archbishop of Cant. being sent for and required by the king to come vnto him, refused so to do. What the cause was why he denied to come at the kings sending, is neither touched of Polydore Virgil, nor of any other monkish chronicler, writing of those acts & times. Whose part had bin, faithfully to haue dispensed the simple truth of things done to their posterity. But that which they dissimblingly and colourably haue concealed, contrary to the true law of history, the true cause thereof we haue found out by the true parliament rolls, declaring the story thus.

King Edward the 3. in the 6. yeres of his raigne, hearing that Edward Bailiol had proclaimed himselfe king of Scotland, required councill of the whole state, to wit, whether it were better for him to assaile Scotland, and to claime the demeling or demaines of the same; or else by making him party to take his aduantage, and thereby to enioy the seruice, as other his ancessors before him had done. For this cause he summoned a parliament of all estates to meete at Poike, about the beginning of December. Where the king was already come, waiting for the coming of such as were warned thereunto. For the want of whose coming the parliament was reioined till munday, and from thence to tuesday next ensuing. But so much as most of the states were absent, the assembly required the continuance of the Parliament, vntill the vras of Saint Hilarie then ensuing, at Poike, which was granted. And so a new summons was especially awarded to euery person with speciall charge to attend, so that the affaires of the king and the realme might not be

Henricus de Hassia.

The citizens of Woguntina.

A briefe rehear-  
sal of such as  
were put to  
death for hol-  
ding against the  
bullop of Rome  
before the time  
of Wickliffe.

KING  
EDW. 3.  
Eckhardus a  
frier burned.

An heremite dis-  
puting against  
the popes sa-  
craments.  
Ranulphus.

Ex Archiepis  
Regia: Maje-  
statibus.

Partiall distri-  
bution in o-  
histories of the  
Church of  
England.

Ex anno 6.  
Reg. Edw. 3.  
tit. I.



**KING** } be hindered, because of the debate betwene the arch-  
**EDW. 3** } bishop of Canterbury and archbishop of Porke, for  
the superior bearing of their crosse.

The Archbishop  
of Canterbury  
was not to the  
parliament at  
Porke and all  
of bearing the  
crosse.

In conclusion, for all the kings summoning, none  
other of all the clerge came, but onely the archbishop  
of Porke, the bishop of Lincolne, and of Carlile, and  
abbats of Porke and Selby. So that hereunto came  
not the archbishop of Canterbury nor any other of  
his prouince, and all for bearing the crosse. Whereby  
the same was not onely a losse to the opportunitie to  
Scotland, but also an importable charge to the whole  
estate by a new reassembly. And thus much out of  
the records whereby thou mayest easily judge (pru-  
dent Reader) what is to be thought of these pope's  
holp catholicke Churchmen, being of the popes bywd  
and setting by; whom such frivulous causes of con-  
tention stirre by both to such disquietnesse among  
themselves, and also to such disobedience against their  
prince; excuse them who can. Ex An. 6. Regis Ed-  
wardi 3.

Ex an. 17.  
Reg Ed. ter-  
cij. tit. 39.  
The popes pro-  
visions restrai-  
ned 59.

It followeth moreover in the same records, con-  
cerning the abandoning of the popes provisions;  
how that the commons finde great default at pro-  
visions coming from Rome, whereby strangers  
were enabled within this realme to enjoy ecclesiasti-  
call dignities, and shew diuers inconveniences in-  
suing thereby, namely the decay of daily almes, the  
transporting of the treasure to nourish the kings  
enemies, the discovering of the secrets of the realme,  
and the disabling and impouering of the clerkes  
within this realme.

The church of  
England spot-  
ted by the Pope  
and his force-  
ness.

They also shew how the pope had in most court-  
wise granted to two new cardinals within this  
realme (and namely to cardinall Beragotz) above  
ten thousand markes of yearly tares. They there-  
fore required the king and nobles to finde some re-  
medy, for that they neuer could ne would anylon-  
ger beare those strange oppressions, or else to helpe  
them to expell out of this realme the popes power  
by force.

The act of king  
Edward the  
first renewed for  
parliament, tit.  
60.

Hereupon, the king, lords and commons, sent for  
the act made at Carlile, in the 35. yere of king Ed-  
ward the first, upon the like complaint, thereby for-  
bidding that any thing should bee attempted or  
brought into the realme, which should tend to the ble-  
mishing of the kings prerogative, or to the prejudice  
of his lordes or commons. And so at this time the  
statute called the act of provision, was made by  
common consent, which generally forbiddeth the  
hanging in of any Bulles, or such trinkets from the  
court of Rome, or the using, injoying, or allowing of  
any such bill, proceffe, instruments, or such warre, as  
thereby at large both appeare. Whereof sufficiently  
is touched before, pag. 457.

An. Reg.  
Edwardi. 3.  
18. tit. 32.

The penaltie of which statute after ward followed  
in the next parliament, An. Reg. Edw. 18. tit. 32. the  
which penaltie was this: the transgressors thereof  
were to lie in perpetuall prison, or to be forsoyled the  
land; And that all iustices of assize, goale deliuey,  
and Oyer and determiner may determine the same.  
Acquired withall, that the same act of provision  
should continue for ever.

Presentation  
within 4. mo-  
neths, an. reg.  
18. tit. 34.

Item, in the said 18. yere of the raigne of king  
Edward, tit. 34. it was moreover propounded; that  
if any archbishop, or any person religious or other, do  
not present within 4. monthes some able clerke to any  
dignitie, where any person hath obtained from  
Rome any provision, Bull, &c. but surcease the same,  
that then the king may present some able clerke.

No election to  
be taken by the  
pope, but onely  
by the king, an.  
reg 18. tit. 35.

Item, it was propounded in the said parliament,  
an. 18. Reg. Ed. 3. that if any bishop elect shall refuse  
to take any such bishopricke otherwise than by such  
Bull, that then such elect shall not enter ne enjoy his  
temporalities without his special licence.

Dispositions of  
benefices onely  
in the kings  
hand, an. 18.  
Ed. 3. tit. 36.

Also that the king shall dispose all such benefices  
and dignities of such aliens his enemies, as remaine  
in the country of his enemies, and employ the profits  
thereof to the defence of the realme.

Moreover, it was propounded, that commissioners  
be sent to all the kings ports, to apprehend all such  
persons as shall bring in any such instrument from  
Rome, and to bring them forthwith before the coun-  
sell to answer thereto.

Propounded furthermore, that the deanry of  
Porke, which is to be recovered by iudicement in the  
kings court, may be bestowed upon some able man  
within the realme, who will maintaine the same a-  
gainst him (meaning the cardinall, who holdeth the  
same by provision from Rome, being the enemy to  
the king, and to the realme) and that the profits may  
be employed to the defence of the realme.

The kings answer. To all which petitions an-  
swer was made in forme following. It is agreed  
by the king, earles, barons, iustices, and otherwise  
men of the realme, that the petitions aforesaid be  
made in sufficient forme of law, according to the pe-  
titions aforesaid.

Note in this answer of the king (good Reader)  
that at the grant hereof the consent of the Bishops  
is neither named, nor expressed, with the other lordes  
of the parliament: and yet the parliament standeth  
in his full force, notwithstanding.

Notes of the Parliament holden in the 20. yere  
of King Edward the 3.

It passe further, in the 20. yere of the kings  
raigne in the parliament holden the same yere,  
it was propounded; that all alien monkes should  
auoyd the realme by the day of S. Michael, and that  
their liuings should be disposed, to yong English scho-  
lars. The liuings of these the king took to his hands.

Item, that the king may take the profits of all  
other strangers liuings, as cardinals and others, du-  
ring their liues. The profits of whom were also in  
the kings hands.

That such aliens enemies, as be advanced to li-  
uings here in England (being in their owne coun-  
tries, thowmakers, tailers, or chamberlaines to car-  
dinals) should depart before Michaelmas, and their  
liuings be disposed to yong English scholars. The  
liuings also of these remained in the kings hands.

The commons denyed to pay any payment to any  
cardinals, lying in France to entreate of warre or  
peace, which also was granted of the kings part as  
reasonable.

Item, propounded and fully agreed, that the yere-  
ly advancement of two thousand markes (granted  
by the pope to two cardinals, out of the prouinces of  
Canterbury and Porke) should bee restrained, and  
such as shall pursue thereto be out of the law.

Likewise enacted and agreed, that no English  
man should take any thing in fame of any alien re-  
ligious, ne buy any of their goods, nor be of their  
counsell, on paine of perpetuall imprisonment.

Enacted further, that no person should bring into  
the realme, to any Bishop or other, any Bull, or any  
other letters from Rome, or from any alien; unless  
he shew the same to the Chancelor; or Warden of  
the Cinque ports, upon losse of all he hath.

Finally in the end of the said parliament the Bi-  
shops were commanded, before the next conuocation,  
to certifie vnto the Chancery the names of such al-  
lens, of their benefices, and the values of the same.

Notes of the 25. yere of K. Edward 3.

The parliament of the 25. yere, was begun the  
sixth day of february, the 25. yere of king Ed-  
ward 3. In the which parliament beside other mat-  
ters moe, was propounded; that remedy might be  
had against the popes reservations by which bicaage  
and means the pope receiued the first fruits of all  
ecclesiasticall dignities: A more consumption to the  
realme, than all the kings wars.

Also that the like remedy might be had against such  
as in the court of Rome presume to vnder any  
iudge

Tulles from  
Rome to b.  
Denson. 18. reg.  
Ed. 3. tit. 37.

The Deanry of  
Porke taken  
from the card-  
inall, an. 18. reg.  
Ed. 3. tit. 38.

The kings an-  
swer and agree-  
ment to the fore-  
said petitions.

Note that the  
Bishoppe be not  
here named, and  
yet the parlia-  
ment standeth  
in force.

Alien monkes  
to auoid, an. 20.  
Ed. 3. tit. 39.

The liuings of  
strangers bene-  
ficed taken into  
the kings hand,  
tit. 21.

The liuings of  
Romish stran-  
gers disposed to  
Englishmen.  
tit. 32. tit. 33.

Cardinals re-  
pained of their  
liuings in Eng-  
land, tit. 34.

Ex. Arch. 25.  
an. reg. Ed. 3.  
The popes first  
fruits and reser-  
uations more  
hurtfull to the  
realme than all  
the kings wars.  
tit. 14.



To be taken off  
all appeals to  
Rome, tit. 14.

Judgement given in the kings court, as if they en-  
forced to vnder the lawes of the realme.

Whereunto it was answered, that there was suf-  
ficient remedie provided by law.

Notes of the 38. yeere of king Edward  
the third.

The request of  
the king for  
causes not to be  
determined at  
Rome, tit. 7.

In the parliament holden at Westminter, the 38  
yeere of Edward 3. in the btaues of Hilary (Si-  
mon bishop of Ely being Lord chancelor) it was re-  
quired by the kings owne mouth, and declared to the  
whole estate; How daily citation and false sugge-  
stions were made to the pope, for matters determi-  
nable in his courts within the realme, and for procu-  
ring prouisions to ecclesiasticall dignities, to the  
great defacing of the ancient lawes, to the spoiling  
of his crowne, to the daily conueying away of the  
treasure, to the waisting of ecclesiasticall liuinges, to  
the withholding of diuine seruice, almes, hospita-  
lity, and other acceptable workes, and to the daily  
increase of all mischiefs: Wherefore, in person by  
his owne mouth the king required the whole estate  
to prouide hereof due remedie.

What mischiefs  
come by trans-  
porting causes  
to Rome, tit.  
cedem.

The printed  
statute of prou-  
ision not agree-  
ing in all termes  
against the pope  
with the records,  
tit. 9.

It is to be noted finally in this parliament of the  
38. yeere, that the act of prouisors, brought in this  
parliament, although in the printed copy, chap. 1. 2.  
3. 4. it doth agree with the record, in manner: yet in  
the said records unpainted are moe biting wordes  
against the Pope: a mystery not to be knowne of all  
men.

Notes of the 40. yeere of king Edward  
the third.

Exan. Re. Ed.  
40. tit. 7. vi-  
delicet.

It followeth moreover in the said acts of king Ed-  
ward the 3. and in the 40. yeere of his raigne, ano-  
ther parliament was called at Westminter the 3.  
of May, an. 1366. the bishop of Ely being lord Chan-  
celor and speaker. Who in the second day of the said  
assembly in the presence of the king, Lords and com-  
mons, declared; how the day before generally they  
vnderstood the cause of this their assembly, and now  
more particularly should vnderstand the same; spe-  
cially how that the king vnderstood, that the pope (for  
the homage which king John made to the Sea of  
Rome for the realmes of England and Ireland, and  
for the tribute by him granted) meant by proces to  
cite the king to Rome, to answer thereto. Wherein  
the king required their aduices, what were best for  
him to doe, if any such thing were attempted. The  
bishops by their selues required respite of answer,  
until the next day. So did the Lords and Commons  
curey off them by their selues.

The pope min-  
deth to send for  
the king by  
proces.

It. John could  
not without con-  
sent of parlia-  
ment become  
tributary to the  
pope, tit. 8.

The same next day the whole estates reassembled  
together, and by common consent enacted in effect fol-  
lowing, viz. forasmuch as neither king John, nor any  
other king, could bring his realme and people in such  
tribalhome and subjection, but by common assent of  
parliament, the which was not done; and therefore  
was done against his oath at his coronation (besides  
many other causes:) If therefore the pope should at-  
tempt any thing against the king, by proces or other  
matter indeed; That the king with all his subjects  
should with all their force and power resist the same.

Agreed by par-  
liament, that the  
king by force  
should resist the  
Pope.

Strife between  
the four orders  
of friers and the  
two Uniuersities,  
tit. 10.

Where moreover is not to be omitted, how in the  
said present parliament the Uniuersities of Oxford  
and Cambridge on the one side, and the friers of  
the four orders mendicants in the said Uniuersities on  
the other side, made long complaints the one against  
the other to the king in parliament, and in the end  
submitted themselves to the kings order.

After which, the king upon full digesting of the  
whole matter (by assent of parliament) toke order;  
that as well the chancelor and scholers, as the friers  
of those orders in the said Uniuersities, should in all  
graces and other scholere-exercises vie each other in  
richly wise, without any rumour as before. That

none of those orders should receiue any scholers into  
their said orders, being vnder the age of eightene  
yeres.

{ KING }  
{ EDW. 3 }

That the said friers shall take no aduantage, ne  
procure Bulls, or other processe from Rome, against  
the said Uniuersities, or proceed therein.

And that the king haue power to redresse all con-  
trouersies betwene them from thenceforth; And the  
offenders to be punished at the pleasure of the king,  
and of the Councell.

The friers sub-  
iect to the king  
order only in a  
their controuers-  
ies, parliament  
tit. 12.

Notes of the fiftieth yeere of King  
Edward the third.

In the procelle of the foresaid acts and rolles, it follow-  
eth more, that in the 50. yeere of the raigne of king  
Edward the third, the yeere of our Lord 1376. ano-  
ther great parliament was assembled at West-  
minter the 24. of Aprill: where, sir John Burevet  
being Lord Chancellor of England, a certaine long  
bill was put by against the usurpations of the pope,  
as being the cause of all the plagues, murdrons, fa-  
mine, and poerty of the realme, so as thereby was  
not left the third perion, or other commoditie within  
the realme that lately was.

2 That the taxes paid to the Pope of Rome for  
ecclesiasticall dignities, doe amount to five fold as  
much, as the tare of all profits which appertaine to  
the king, by the yeere, of his whole realme; And  
that for some one bishopricke or other dignity the  
Pope, by way of translation and death, hath thre,  
four, or five fencrall taxes.

3 That the brokers of that sunfull city for money  
promote many cattiffes (being altogether vnlea-  
ned and vntowthy to a thousand markes liuing by  
yeere, where the learned and towthy can hardly ob-  
taine twenty markes, whereby learning decayeth.

4 That aliens (enemies to this land) who neuer  
saw ne care not to see their parishioners, haue those  
liuings, whereby they despise Gods seruice, and con-  
uey away the treasure, and are twice than Jewes  
or Saracens.

5 Also it was put by in the said bill to be conside-  
red, that the lawes of the Church would haue such  
liuings to be bestowed for charitie onely, without  
praying or paying.

6 That reason would that liuings giuen of de-  
uotion should be bestowed in hospitality.

7 That God had committed his shepe to the  
Pope, to be pastured, and not thorne or thauen.

8 That lay patrons, perceiving the couetous-  
nesse and simony of the Pope, doe thereby learne to  
sell their benefices into beastes, none otherwise than  
Christ was sold to the Jewes.

9 That there is none so rich a prince in christen-  
dome, that hath the fourth part of so much treasure,  
as the Pope hath out of this realme for Churches,  
most sunfully.

10 Duer and besides in the said bill, repeating  
again the tender seale for the honour of the Church;  
were declared & particularly named all the plagues  
which haue justly fallen vpon this realme, for suffe-  
ring the same Church to be so defaced, with declara-  
tion that it will daily increase without redresse.

11 Whereupon with much perswasion this was  
desired, to helpe to reedifie the same: and the rather  
for that this was the yeere of Iubile, the 50. yeere of  
the kings raigne, the yeere of joy and gladnesse, than  
the which there could be no greater.

12 The meanes how to begin this was to write  
two letters to the Pope, the one in Latine vnder the  
kings seale, the other in French vnder the seales of  
the nobles, imposing their particularities, and re-  
quiring redresse; of the which letter of the Lords the  
effect may be seene in a like letter mentioned before,  
pag. 501.

13 And for a further accomplishment hereof, to  
enact, that no money were carried forth of the realme  
by

Ex Archiuis  
regie majesta-  
tis. an. 50.  
Reg. Ed. 3.  
tit. 94.  
Against the  
usurpation of the  
Pope.  
The Pope caus-  
ed all mischiefs  
in England.  
The treasure of  
the realme con-  
ueyed away by  
the popes men  
tit. 97.

The Pope gi-  
ueth example to  
sell benefices to  
beastes, tit. 99.  
Inestimable  
that the Pope  
hath here out  
England, tit.  
100.

Acts made for  
no money to be  
transported, tit.  
103.



KING  
EDVV. 3

by letter of Lombardy or otherwise on paine of forfeiture and imprisonment, and to enact the articles hereafter ensuing.

14 The king hath heretofore by statute provided sufficient remedy, and otherwise purchaseth the same with the holy father the pope, and so mindeth to doe from time to time, untill he hath obtained as well for the matters before, as for the articles ensuing, being in a manner all one.

15 That the popes collector and other strangers the kings enemies, and only lieger spies for English dignities, and disclosing of the secrets of the realme may be touched

16 That the same collector being also receiver of the popes pence, keepeth a house in London with clerks and officers thereto, as it were one of the kings solemne courts, transporting yearly to the pope twenty thousand marks and most commonly moze.

17 That cardinals and other aliens remaining at Rome, whereof one cardinall is deane of Poike, another of Salisbury, another of Lincolne, another archdeacon of Canterbury, another archdeacon of Durisme, another archdeacon of Suffolke, another archdeacon of Poike, another prebendary of Thame and Passington, another prebendary of Buckes in the Church of Poike have divers of the best dignities of England and have sent over to them yearly xx. markes, over and above that which English brokers lying here have.

18 That the pope (to ransom the Frenchmen the kings enemies, who defend Lombardy from him) doth alwaies at his pleasure levie a subsidy of the whole clergie of England.

19 That the pope for moze gaine maketh sundry translations of all the bishoppicks and other dignities within the realme.

20 That the popes collector hath this yere taken to his use the first fruits of all benefices, by collation or provision.

21 To renue all the statutes against provisors from Rome; sith that the pope reserveth all the benefices of the world for his owne proper gifts, and hath this yere created twelve new cardinals; so as now there are thirty, where was wont to be but twelve, and all those cardinals, except two or three, are the kings enemies.

22 That the pope in time will give the temporall manors of those dignities to the kings enemies, sith he so daily usurpeth upon the realme, and the kings regalities.

23 That all houses and corporations of religion, who unto the kings raigne now had free election of heads, the pope hath intrenched the same to himselfe.

24 That in all legacies from the pope, whatsoever, the English clergie beareth the charge of the legats, and all for the goodnesse of our money.

25 And so it appeareth, that if the money of the realme were as plentifull as ever it was; the collectors aforesaid, with the protoz of Cardinals, would soone convey the same.

26 For remedie hereof it may be provided, that no such collector or protoz do remaine in England, on paine of life and member. And that no English man on the like paine, become any such collector or protoz, or remaine at Rome.

27 For better information hereof, and namely touching the popes collector, for that y whole clergie being obedient unto him, dare not displease him: It were good, that Sir John Strensale, parson of saint Botolphs in Wolbozne, may be sent to come before the lords and commons of this parliament. Who being faithfully charged, can declare much moze; for that he served the same collector in house five yeres.

And thus much of this bill touching the popes matters: whereby it may appeare, not to be for nought that hath bene upon us reported by the Italians and other strangers, which used to call

Englishmen good Asses: for they beare all burdens that be laid upon them.

Item, in the said parliament it was provided also, that such order as is made in London against the horrible vice of usury, may be observed throughout the whole realme.

The commons of the diocesse of Poike complaine of the outrageous taking of the Bishop and his clerkes, for admissions of priests to their benefices.

To these records of the parliament above prescribed, of the 50. yere of this king Edward, we will adioyne also other notes, collected out of the parliament in the yere next following, which was 51. and the last yere of this kings life and raigne, an. 1377. the 27. of January: Although in the printed booke, these statutes are said to be made at the parliament holden, as above, in the 50. yere: which is much mistaken, & ought to be referred to the 51. yere as by the records of the said yere manifestly doth appeare.

In which parliament, the bishop of S. Davids, being lord chancellor, making a long oration, taking his Theme out of S. Paul; Libenter suffertis incipientes, &c. Declaring in the said oration many things, as first, in shewing the ioyfull newes of the old kings recoverie; then declaring the love of God toward the king and realme, in chastising him with sicknesse: Afterward shewing the blessing of God upon the king in seeing his childrens children; Then by a similitude of the head and members, exhorting the people as the members of one body to conforme themselves unto the goodnesse of the head; Lastly he turned his matter to the lords and the rest, declaring the cause of that assembly: that forasmuch as the French king had allied himself with the Spaniards and Scots the kings enemies, which had prepared great powers, conspiring to blot out the English tongue and name: the king therefore was willing to have therein their faithfull counsell.

This being declared by the bishop; Sir Robert Ashton the kings chamberlaine, declaring that hee was to move them from the king, for the profit of the realme (the which words percase lay not in the bishops mouth, for that it touched the pope) viz. By protesting first, that the king was ready to do all that ought to be done for the pope. But for that divers usurpations were don by y pope to the k. his crown, and realme, as by particular bills in this parliament shuld be shewed, he required of them to seek redress.

In this present parliament petition was made by the commons, that all provisors of things from Rome, and their ministers, should be out of the kings protection.

Whereunto the king answered, that the pope had promised redresse, which if he did not, the laws then shuld stand.

It was also in that parliament required, that every person of what sexe soever, being professed of any religion, continuing the habit of siffene yeres, may upon the tryall of the same in any of the kings courts, be in law utterly forebarred of all inheritance, albeit hee have dispensation from the pope. Against which dispensation, is the chiefe grudge. Whereunto the king and the lords answered, saying that they would provide.

Item, in the said parliament was propounded, that the statute of provisors made at any time may be executed, and that remedie may bee had against such cardinals, as have within the provinces of Canterbury and Poike, purchased reservations, with the clause of Anteferris, to the value of twenty or thirty thousand Scutes of gold against the popes collector: who was wont to be an Englishman, and now is a meere French, residing at London, and conveyeth yearly to the Pope twenty thousand markes, or twenty thousand pounds, who this yere gathereth the first fruits whatsoever. Allegeing the means to meet with these reservations and nobilities, as to command all strangers to depart the

Order taken in London against usurers, tit. 158. Complaint against the bishop of Poike and his officers for their excessive taking for their admissions, tit. 171. Ex A. H. v. reg. Edw. 3. 146. tit. 36. Against the popes provisions from Rome anno reg. 51. tit. 36.

The effect of the chancellors oration.

The cause of this parliament chiefly for the popes usurpation against the king.

Against the popes provisions from Rome anno reg. 51. tit. 36. The kings answer.

Against the popes his dispensations, tit. 62.

By this Answer, that is, premittre, is meant the prebendances above the king. The popes laws of prebendances, which now we corruptly call prebendaries, decreed by the king, tit. 71.



realme during the warres ; that no Englishman become their farmour, or lend to them any money without a speciall licence, on paine to be out of the kings protection. Whereunto was answered by the king, that the statutes and ordinaunces, therefore made, should be observed.

In these rolles and records of such parliaments as were in this kings time continued, divers other things are to be noted much worthy to be marked, and not to be suppressed in silence. Wherein the reader may learn and understand the state of þe kings jurisdiction here within this realme, not to be straitened in those dayes (although þe pope then seemed to be in his chiefe ruffe) as afterward since in other kings dayes was seene. As may appeare in the parliament of the 15. yere of this king Edward the third, and in the 24. article of the said parliament : where it is to be read, that the kings officers & temporall iustices did then both punish usurers, and impeached the officers of the Church for bribery, & for taking money for temporall paine, probate of wills, solemnitie of marriage, &c. al the pretended liberties of the popish church to þe contrary notwithstanding.

Furthermore, in the parliament of the 25. yere it appeareth, that the liberties of the clergy, and their exemptions in claiming the deliberance of men by their booke under the name of clerkes, stood then in little force, as appeared by one Hauktine Honby knight : who, for unpursoning one of the kings subject : till he made fine of twenty pound, was therefore executed, notwithstanding, the libertie of the clergy, which by his booke would have saved him, but could not.

The like also appeared by indgment given against a priest at Nottingham, for killing of his master.

And likewise by hanging certaine monkes of Combe. Ex parliam. An. 23. Ed. 3.

Item in the parliament of the 15. yere by apprehending of J. Straford, archbishop of Canturbury, and his arraignment : concerning which his arraignment all things were committed to sir William of Bilsby.

Besides these truths and notes of the kings parliaments, wherein may appeare the toward proceedings of this king and all his commons against the pretended church of Rome ; this is moreover to be added to the commendation of the king, both in the volumes of the acts and rolles of the king it appeareth ; That the said king Edward the third sent also Iohn Wickliffe, reader then of divinity lecture in Oxford, with certaine other lords and ambassadors over into the parts of Italie, to treat with the popes legats concerning affaires betwixt the king and the pope with full commission : the tenor whereof here followeth expressed.

**R**ex universis, ad quoniam militiam presentes littere pervenerunt, &c. In English thus.

The king to all and singular to whom these presents shall come, greeting. Know ye, that we reposing assured confidence in the fidelitie and wisdom of the reverend father Iohn bishop of Bangor, and other our loving and faithfull subjects, M. Iohn Wickliffe, reader of the Divinitie lecture, M. Iohn Guntur deane of Segobyen, and M. Simon Moulton doctor of the law, Sir William Burton knight, M. Iohn Belknap, and M. Iohn Honnington, have directed them as our ambassadors and speciall commissioners to the parts beyond the seas. Giving to the said our ambassadors and commissioners, to six or five of them, of whom I will that the said bishop shall be one, full power and authority, with commandement speciall, to treat and consult mildly and charitably with the legats and ambassadors of the lord pope touching certaine affaires. Whereupon of late we sent heretofore the said bishop, and William Vghtried monke of Durisme, and M. Iohn Shepie to the Sea apostolicall : And hereof to make full relation of all things done and past in the said as-

sembly, that all such things which may tend to the honour of holy Church and the advancement of our crowne and this our realme, may by the assilance of God and the wisdom of the Sea apostolicall be brought to good effect, and accomplished accordingly. Witnesse our selves, &c. at London dated the 26. day of Iuly in the 48. yere of our raigne.

By the which it is to be noted, what good will the king then bare to the said Wickliffe, and what smal regard he had to the sinfull Sea of Rome.

Of the which Iohn Wickliffe, because we are now approached to his time, it remaineth consequently for our storie to entreat of, so as we have heretofore done of other like valiant souldiers of Christs Church before him.

## John Wickliffe.

After all these heretofore recited by whom (as ye have heard) it pleased the Lord something to work against the bishop of Rome, and to weaken the pernicious superstition of the friers : it now remaineth consequently, following the course of yeres, orderly to enter into the story and tractation of Iohn Wickliffe our countryman, and other moe of his time, and same countrie, whom the Lord (with the like zeale and power of spirit) raised by here in England, to detect moze fully and amply the popish of the popes doctrine, and false religion set up by the friers. In whose opinions & assertions, albeit some blemishes perhaps may be noted ; yet such blemishes they be, which rather declare him to be a man that might erre, than which directly did fight against Christ our Saviour, as the popes proceedings and the friers did. And what doctor or learned man hath been from the prime age of the Church so perfect, so absolutely sure, in whom no opinion hath sometime swayed awrye ? And yet be the said articles of his neither in number so many, nor yet so grosse in themselves and so cardinall, as those cardinal enemies of Christ perchance doe give them out to be ; if his bookes which they abolished, were remaining to be conferred with those blemishes, which they have wrested to the worst, as evil-will never said the best.

This is certaine and cannot be denied, but that he, being the publike reader of Divinity in the Universitie of Oxford, was for the rude time wherein he lived, famously reputed for a great clerke, a deepe scholman, and no lesse expert in all kind of philosophy. The which doth not only appeare by his owne most famous and learned writings and monuments, but also by the confession of Walden his most cruel and bitter enemy. Who in a certain epistle written unto pope Martin the fifth, saith, that he was wonderfully astonished at his most strong arguments, with the places of authority which he had gathered, with the debemeny and force of his reason, &c. And thus much out of Walden. It appeareth by such as have observed the order & course of times, that this Wickliffe flourished about the yere of our Lord 1371. Edward the third raigning in England : for thus we do finde in the chronicles of Carton : In the yere of our Lord 1371. (saith he) Edward the third, king of England in his parliament was against the popes clergy : He willingly hearkened and gave eare to the voyces and tales of heretikes with certaine of his counsell : conceiving and following sinister opinions against the clergy. Wherefore (afterward) he tasted and suffered much adversity and trouble. And not long after in the yere of our Lord (saith he) 1372. he wrote unto the bishop of Rome, þe should not by any means intermeddle any moze within his kingdom, as touching þe reservation or distribution of benefices, and that all such bishops as were under his dominion, should enjoy their former & ancient libertie, & be confirmed of their

Ex actis parliamenti in an. reg. Ed. tertii 15. tit. 24.

Punishment of the clergy in the temporall mens hands.

Clerks subject to temporall law.

The arraignment of the archbishop of Canturbury, an. 15. Ed. 3. tit. 49.

Iohn Wickliffe sent with the kings Ambassadors by the king.

SKING  
EDVV.

Here begins the storie of Iohn Wickliffe.

The blemish of Wickliffe made worse than they be

The testimony of Walden exempt in commendation of Wickliffe.

The time of Iohn Wickliffe.

Anno 1371.

Anno 1372.



KING?  
EDVV.3  
CANTON.

Petropolitans, as hath been accustomed in times past, &c. Thus much writeth Carlton. But as touching the last number of the yeare and time, we will not be very curious, or carefull about it at this present. This is out of all doubt, that at what time all the world was in most desperate and vile estate, and that the lamentable ignorance and darknesse of God his Truth had overshadowed the whole earth, this man steppeth forth like a valiant champion, unto whom it may justly bee applyed that is spoken in the book called Ecclesiasticus, of one Simon the sonne of Onias: When as the morning star being in the midst of a cloud, and as the mone being full in her course, and as the bright beames of the Sun; so doth hee shine and glister in the temple and Church of God.

Thus doth Almighty God continually succor and help, when all things are in despaire: being alwaies (according to the prophesy of the Psalmes) a helper in time of need. The which thing never more plainly appeared, than in these latter dayes and extreme age of the Church; when as the whole state and condition, not only of worldly things, but also of religion, was depraved and corrupted. That like as the disease named Lethargus amongst the Physitians, even so the state of religion amongst the divines, was past all mans help and remedy. The only name of Christ remained amongst Christians, but his true and lively doctrine was as far unknowne unto the most part, as his name was common unto all men. As touching faith, consolation, the end and use of holie, the office of Christ, of our impotency and weakness, of the holy Ghost, of the greatnes and strength of sin, of true works, of grace and free iustification by faith, of libertie of a christian man, wherein consisteth and resteth the sum and matter of our profession, there was no mention, nor any word almost spoken of Scripture, learning & doctrine, was knowne but unto a few, and that in the schools only, and there also turned and converted almost all into sophistry. In stead of Peter & Paul, men occupied their time in studying Aquinas and Scotus, and the matter of sentences. The world leaving & forsaking the lively power of Gods spirituall word and doctrine, was altogether led and blinded with outward ceremonies and humane traditions, wherein the whole scope, in a manner, of all christian perfection did consist and depend. In these was all the hope of obtaining salvation fully fixed: hereunto all things were attributed. Insomuch that scarcely any other thing was seene in the temples or churches taught or spoken of in sermons, or finally intended or gone about in their whole life, but only heaping up of certaine shadowed ceremonies upon ceremonies, neither was there any end of their heaping.

The people were taught to worship no other thing but that which they did see; and did see almost nothing which they did not worship.

The Church being degenerated from the true apostolike institution above all measure (reserving only the name of the apostolike Church, but far from the truth thereof in very deed) did fall into all kinde of extreme tyranny; whereas the poverie and simplicity of Christ was changed into cruelty and abomination of life. In stead of the apostolike gifts and continuall labors and travells, stoufines and ambition was crept in amongst the priests. Beside all this, there arose and sprung up a thousand sorts and fashions of strange religions, being the only roote and well head of all superstition. How great abuses and depavations were crept into the Sacraments, at what time they were compelled to worship similitudes and signs of things, for the very things themselves; and to adore such things as were instituted and ordained only for memorials: finally, what thing was there in the whole state of Christian religion so sincere, so sound and pure, which was not defiled and spotted with some kind of superstition;

Besides this, with how many bonds and snares of daily newfangled ceremonies were the silly consciences of men, redeemed by Christ to liberty, snarled and snarled: Insomuch that there could be no great difference almost perceived betweene Christianity and Jewishnesse, save only the name of Christ: so that the state and condition of the Times might seeme somewhat more tolerable than ours. There was nothing sought for out of the true fountains, but out of the durtie puddles of the Philistines; The Christian people were wholly carried away as it were by the noses, with more decrees and constitutions of men, even whither as pleased the bishops to leade them, and not as Christs will did direct them. All the whole world was filled and overwhelmed with errors and darknesse. And no great marvel; for why, the simple and unlearned people, being far from all knowledge of the holy Scripture, thought it sufficient enough for them, to know only these things which were delivered them by their pastors & shepherds, & they on the other part taught in a manner nothing else, but such things as came forth of the court of Rome; whereof the most part tended to the profit of their order, more than to the glory of Christ.

The christian faith was esteemed or counted none other thing then, but that every man should know that Christ once suffered, that is to say, that all men should know and understand that thing which the devils themselves also knew. Hypocritie was counted for wonderfull holinesse. All men were so addicted unto outward shewes, that even they themselves, which professed the most absolute & singular knowledge of the Scriptures, scarcely did understand or know any other thing. And this did evidently appeare, not only in the common sort of doctors and teachers, but also in the very heads and captains of the Church: whose whole religion and holinesse, consisted in a manner in the observing of dayes, meats and garments, and such like rhetorical circumstances, as of place, time, person, &c. Hereof sprang so many sorts and fashions of vestures and garments; so many differences of colours & meats with so many Pilgrimages to feberall places, as though S. James at Compostella could do that, which Christ could not doe at Canterbury: or else, that God were not of like power and strength in every place, or could not be found, but being sought for by running and gadding hither & thither. Thus the holinesse of the whole year was transported and put off unto the Lent season. No countrey or land was counted holy, but only Palestina, where Christ had walked himselfe with his corporall feet. Such was the blindness of that time; that men did strive and fight for the crosse at Hierusalem, as it had beene for the chiefe and only force and strength of our faith. It is a wonder to read the monuments of the former times, to see and understand what great troubles and calamities this crosse hath caused almost in every Christian common wealth. For the Romish champions never ceased by writing, administering, and counselling, pece and by quarrelling, to move and stirre up princes minds to warr and battell, even as though the faith and believe of the Gospel were of small force, or little effect without that wooden crosse. This was the cause of the expedition of the most noble prince king Richard unto Hierusalem. Who being taken in the same journey, & delivered unto the emperors, could scarcely be ransomed home againe for 30. M. markes: page 322. In the same enterprise or journey, Fredericus the emperors of Rome, a man of most excellent vertue, was much endamaged, Anno 1179. And also Philip the king of France scarcely returned home againe in safetie, and not without great losses: so much did they esteem the recoberie of the holy city and crosse. Upon this alone all mens eyes, minds, and detentions were so set and bent; as though either there were no other crosse but that, or that the crosse of

Richard king of England.

The captives of the Church reduced as well as the infidels lost.

Palestina deemed holy for Christs walking there.

Richard king of England.

Frederick the Emperor of Rome.

Philip king of France.



Christ were in no other place but only at Hierusalem. Such was the blindness and superstition of those dayes, which understood or knew nothing but such as were outwardly seene: whereas the profession of our religion standeth in much other higher matters and greater mysteries. What is the cause why that Urbanus did so bere and torment himself, because that Antioch, with the holy crosse, was lost out of the hands of the Christians. For so we doe find it in the chronicles, at what time as Jerusalem with king Guido and the crosse of our Lord was taken, and under the power of the Sultan, Urbanus toke the matter so grievously, that for very sorrow he died. In whose place succeeded Lambertus, which was called Gregory the eight, by whose motion it was decreed by the cardinals, that (setting apart all riches and voluptuousnesse) they should preach the crosse of Christ, and by their povertie and humility first of all should take the crosse upon them, and goe before others into the land of Jerusalem. These are the words of the historie; whereby it is evident unto the vigilant reader, unto what grossenesse the true knowledge of the spiritual doctrine of the Gospell was degenerate and growne in those dayes; how great blindness and darkness was in those daies, even in the first primacie, and supremacie of the bishop of Rome: as though the outward succession of Peter and the Apostles had been of greater force and effect to the matter. What doth it force in what place Peter did rule or not rule? It is much more to be regarded that every man should labour and study with all their endeavour to follow the life and confession of Peter: And that man seemeth unto me to be true successor of Peter against whom the gates of hell shall not prevaile. For if that Peter in the Gospell do beare the type and figure of the Christian Church (as all men in a manner doe affirme) what more foolish or vaine thing can there be; than through private usurpation to restrain and to binde that onto one man, which by the appointment of the Lord, is of it selfe free and open to so many?

Thus in these to great and troublous times and horrible darkness of ignorance, what time there seemed in a manner to be no one so little a sparke of pure doctrine left or remaining; this aforesaid Wickliffe by Gods providence sprang and rose up; through whom the Lord would first waken and raise up again the world, which was overmuch drowned and overwhelmed in the deepe streames of humane traditions. Thus you have here the time of Wickliffes originall.

Which Wickliffe, after he had now a long time professed divinity in the University of Oxford, and perceiving the true doctrine of Christs Gospell to be adulterate and defiled with so many filthy inventions of bishops, sects of monkes, and darke errors: And that hee after long debating and deliberating with himselfe (with many secret sighes, and bewailing in his mind the generall ignorance of the whole world could no longer suffer or abide the same; hee at the last determined with himselfe to helpe and to remedie such things as he saw to be wide and out of the way. But forasmuch as he saw that this dangerous meddling could not be attempted or stirred without great trouble, neither that these things, which had bene so long time with use and custome rooted and grafted in mens minds, could be suddenly plucked up or taken away, hee thought with himselfe that this matter should bee done by little and little. Wherefore hee taking his originall at small occasions, thereby opened himselfe a way or meane to greater matters. And first he assailed his adversaries in logical and metaphysical questions, disputing with them of the first forme and fashion of things, of the increase of time, and of the intelligible substance of a creature, with other such like sophemes of no great effect: but yet notwithstanding, it did not a little helpe and furnish him, which min-

ded to dispute of greater matters. So in these matters first began Ikeningham (a Carmelite) to dispute and argue against John Wickliffe.

By these originalls, the way was made unto greater points, so that at the length hee came to touch the matters of the Sacraments, and other abuses of the Church. Touching which things this holy man toke great paines, protesting (as the y said) openly in the schools, that it was his chiefe and principall purpose and intent, to reboke and call backe the church from her idolatrie to some better amendment, especially in the matter of the Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ. But this bile or sore could not be touched without the great grief and paine of the whole world. For first of all, the whole glut of monkes and begging friers were set on a rage or madness, which (even as Hornets with their sharpe stings) did assaile this good man on every side; fighting (as is said) for their Altars, Paunches and Bellies. After them the Priests, and then after them the archbishop tooke the matter in hand, being then Simon Sudbury; who for the same cause deprived him of his benefice, which then he had in Oxford. Notwithstanding, he being somewhat friended and supported by the king as appeareth, continued and bare out the malice of the friers, and of the archbishop all this while of his first beginning, til about the year of our Lord, 1377. After which time, now to prosecute likewise of his troubles and conflict, first I must fetch about a little compasse, as requisite is, to inferre some mention of John of Saint Duke of Lancaster the kings son, Lord Henry Percy, which were his special maintainers.

As yeres and time grew on, king Edward the third which had reigned now about 51 yeres, after the decease of prince Edward his sonne, who departed the yere before, was stricken in great age, and in such feeblenesse withall, that hee was unviable through lack of strength to governe the affaires of the realme. Wherefore a parliament being called the yere before his death, it was there put up by the knights and other the burgeses of the parliament because of the misgovernement of the realme) by certaine greedy persons about the king, taking all to themselves, without seeing any iustice done) that 12, sage and discrete lords, and yeres, such as were free from note of all avarice, should bee placed as tutors about the king, to have the doing and disposing under him (first at one time, and in their absence, first at another) of matters pertinent to the publike regiment. Here by the way I omit to speake of Alice Perris the wicked harlot, which as the storie reporteth) had bewitched the kings heart, and governed all, and fate upon causes her selfe through the devilish helpe of a frier Dominicke: who by the duke of Lancaster was caused to be taken, and was convicted, and should have suffered for the same, had not the archbishop of Canterbury and the friers (more regarding the libertie of their Church, than the punishing of vice) reclaimed him for their owne prisoner. This Alice Perris, notwithstanding she was banished by this parliament from the king, yet afterward shee came againe and left him not, till at his death shee tooke all his rings upon his fingers and other jewels from him, and so fled away like an harlot. But this of her by the way.

These 12. governours by parliament aforesaid being appointed to have the tuition of the king, and to attend to the publike affaires of the realme; remained for a certain space about him; til afterward it so fell out, that they being againe removed, all the regiment of the realme, next under the king, was committed to the duke of Lancaster the kings son. For as yet Richard, the sonne of Prince Edward lately departed, was very young and under age.

This duke of Lancaster had in his heart of long time conceived a certain displeasure against the po-

King  
Edvv.3

Wickliffe deprived of his benefice at Oxford by S. Sudburie.  
Ex Chron. I. Albani.

Duke of Lancaster, and Lord Henry Percy great maintainers of John Wickliffe.

Alice Perris the kings concubine.  
The king bewitched by a woman through the helpe of a frier

The property of an whore.

12 Governours assigned about the king.

Ex Chron. Monasterii Albani.

Pope Urbanus.  
Lambert pope.

The knowledge of the Gospell grossly expounded by the Romanists.

Wickliffe in a troublous time.

Wickliffe a Divine of Oxford.



{ KING  
EDVV.3 }

pish clergy; whether for corrupt & impure doctrine toynd with like abominable excess of life, or for that other cause it is not precisely expressed. Only by story the cause thereof may be guessed to rise by William Wickham bishop of Winchester. The matter is this.

The bishop of Winchester (as the saying went then) was reported to affirm that the foresaid John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, was not the sonne of king Edward, nor of the queene. Who, being in travell at Gaunt, had no sonne (as he said) but a daughter: which the same time by lying upon of the mother in the bed, was there smothered. Whereupon, the queene, fearing the kings displeasure, caused a certaine manchild of a woman of Flanders (borne the very same time) to bee conceived, and brought unto her instead of her daughter aforesaid. And so she brought up the child whom she bare not, who now is called duke of Lancaster. And this (said the bishop) did the queene tell him, lying in extremes on her death-bed under seale of confession; charging him if the said duke should ever aspire to get the crowne, or if the kingdome by any meanes should fall unto him, he then should manifest the same, and declare it to the world, that the said duke of Lancaster was no part of the kings blood, but a false heire of the king. This slanderous report of the wicked bishop, as it savoureth of a contemnelous lye, so seemeth it to proceed of a subtle zeal toward the popes religion, meaning falshood. For the foresaid duke, by favouring of Wickliffe, declared himself to be a professed enemy against the popes profession. Which thing was then not unknowne, neither unmarked of the prelates and bishops, then in England. But the sequell of the story thus followed:

This slanderous billany of the bishops report being blazed abroad, and coming to the dukes eare; he therewith being not a little discontented (as no marvell was) sought againe, by what meanes hee could, to be rebenged of this fozenamed bishop. In conclusion, the duke having now al the government of the realme under the king his father in his owne hands, so pursued the bishop of Winchester, that by act of parliament he was condemned and deprived of all his temporall goods; which goods were assigned to prince Richard of Burdeaux, the next inheritor of the crowne after the king; and furthermore hee inhibited the said bishop not to approach nere to the court by 20. miles. further as touching this bishop, the story thus proceedeth: Not long after in the year of our Lord, 1377. a parliament was called by the meanes of the duke of Lancaster, upon certaine causes and respects: in which parliament great request and sute was made by the clergy for the deliberance of the bishop of Winchester. At length when a subsidy was asked in the kings name of the clergy, and request also made in the kings behalfe for speedy expedition to bee made for the dissolving of the parliament, the archbishop therefore accordingly convened the bishops for the tractation thereof. To whom the bishops with great lamentation complaining for lack of their fellow & brother the bishop of Winchester: whose injury, said they, did derogate from the liberties of the whole church; And therefore denied to iopne themselves in tractation of any such matters, before all the members together were united with the head. And (seeing the matter touched them all together in common, as well him as them) they would not otherwise doe. And seemed moreover to be moved against the archbishop for that hee was not more stout in the cause, but suffered himself to be cted of the duke.

The archbishop although having sufficient cause to excuse himselfe, therefore not to send for him (as also he did) because of the perils which might ensue thereof: yet being enforced and perswaded thereunto, by the importunitie of the bishops, directed down his letters to the foresaid bishop of Winchester with

king him to resort unto the convocation of the clergy. Who being glad to obey the same, was received with great ioy of the other bishops. And at length by the meanes of Alice Perris, the kings paramour above mentioned, giving to her a good quantitie of money, the said Winchester was restored to his owne temporalities againe.

As the bishops had thus sent for Winchester, the duke in the meane time had sent for John Wickliffe who, as is said, was then the divinity reader in Oxford, and had commenced in sundry acts and disputations, contrary to the forme and teaching of the popes Church in many things: who also for the same had bene deprived of his benefice, as hath bene afore touched. The opinions which he began in Oxford, first in his lectures and sermons to intreat of, and wherefore he was deprived were these: That the pope had no more power to excommunicate any man than his mother. That if it be given by any person to the pope to excommunicate, yet to absolve the same is as much in the power of another priest as in his. He affirmed moreover, that neither the king nor any temporall lord could give any perpetuities to the church, or to any ecclesiasticall person: for that when such Ecclesiasticall persons do sine, habitualiter, continuing in the same still, the temporall powers ought & may meritoriously take away from them, that before hath been bestowed upon them. And that he proved to have bene practised before here in England by William Rufus. Which thing (said he) if he did lawfully, why may not the same also be practised now: if hee did it unlawfully, then both the church erre (saith he) and doth unlawfully in praying for him. But of his assertions more shal follow (Christ willing) hereafter. The story which ascribeth to him these assertions being taken out (as I take it) of the monastirie of S. Albans, addeth withall: that in his teaching and preaching he was very eloquent, but a dissembler (saith he) and an hypocrite. Why he surmisseth him to be an hypocrite, the cause was this.

First, because hee resorted much to the orders of the begging friers, frequenting and exolling the perfection of their povertie.

Secondly, because he and his fellowe usually accustomed in their preaching to goe barefoot, and in simple russet gownes.

By this I suppose, may sufficiently appeare to the indifferent, the nature and condition of Wickliffe, how farre it was from the ambition and pride, which in the slanderous pen of Polydore Virgil reporting in his 19. booke of him, that because he was not preferred to higher honors and dignities of the church (concerning therfore indignation against the clergy) he became their mortall enemy. Now true was this, he only knoweth best, that rightly shal iudge both the one and the other.

In the meane time, by other circumstances and parts of his life, we may also partly coniecture what is to be thought of the man. But howsoever it was in him either true or false; yet it had been Polydore part, either not so intemperately to have abused his penne, or at least to have shewed some greater authority and ground of that his report. For to follow nothing else but flying fame, so rashly to defame a man whose life he knoweth not, is not the part of a faithfull storie-writer.

But to returne from whence we digressed. Beside these his opinions and assertions above recited, with other moe, which are hereafter to be brought in order; he began also then something nere to touch the matter of the Sacrament, proving that in the said Sacrament, the accidents of bread remained not without the subject of substance; both by the holy Scriptures, and also by the authority of the doctors, but specially by such as were most ancient. As for the latter writers, that is to say, such as have written upon that argument under the thousand

John Wickliffe sent for by the Duke of Lancaster.

Example of W. Rufus.

Ex histo. Monasterii D. Albani.

The slanderous penne of Polydore.

Wickliffe falsely charged with ambition by Polydore.

Wickliffe beginneth to touch the matter of the sacrament.

A practice of the prelates against the duke of Lancaster.

W. Wickham D. of Winchester.

bishops hold together, liberties of the church a great matter.

of Winchester sent for to the convocation.



yeers since Christs time he utterly refused; saying, that after these yeeres Satan was loosed and set at libertie. And that since that time the life of man hath been most subiect and in danger of errors: and that the simple and plaine truth doth appeare and consist in the Scriptures, wherunto all humane traditions whatsoeuer they be, must be referred, and specially such as are set forth and published now of late yeeres. This was the cause why he refused the later writers of decretals, leaning only to the scriptures and ancient doctors: most stoutly affirming out of them, that in the sacrament of the body which is celebraed with bread, the accidents not to be present without the substance. That is to say, that the body of Christ is not present without the bread, as the common sort of priests in those daies did dream. As for his arguments what they were, we wil shortly at more opportunity by Gods grace, declare them in another place. But heretofore the truth (as the poet speakeih very truly) had gotten John Wickliffe great displeasure and hatred at many mens hands; and specially of the monkes and richest sort of priests.

Albeit through the favour and supposition of the duke of Lancaster, and Lord Henry Percy, he persisted hitherto in some meane quiet against the wolvis violence and cruelty: Till at last about the yeare of our Lord 1376. the bishops still urging and inciting their archbishop Simon Sudbury, who before had deprived him, and afterward prohibited him also not to stir any more in those sorts of matters, had obtained by process and order of citation to have him brought before them. Whereunto both place and time for him to appeare, after their usual forme, was to him assigned.

The duke having intelligence that Wickliffe his ciens should come before the bishops, fearing that he being but one was to weak against such a multitude, calleth to him, out of the orders of freres foure batchellers of divinity, out of every order one to ioyne them: with Wickliffe also for more surete. When the day was come assigned to the said Wickliffe to appeare, which day was thursdoy, the nineteenth of february: John Wickliffe went accompanied with the foure freres aforesaid, and with them also the duke of Lancaster, and lord Henry Percy, lord marshall of England; the said lord Percy also going before them to make roome and way where Wickliffe should come.

Thus Wickliffe (through the providence of God) being sufficiently guarded, was comming to the place where the bishops late; whom by the way they animated and exhorted not to feare nor shrinke a whit at the company of the bishops there present, who were all unlearned (said they) in respect of him. For so proceed the words of my foresaid author, whom I follow in this narration: neither that he should dread the concourse of the people, whom they would themselves assist and defend, in such sort as he should take no harme. With these words, and with the assistance of the Nobles, Wickliffe, in heart encouraged, approached to the Church of S. Paul in London. Where a main presse of people was gathered to hear what should be said and done. Such was there the frequency and throng of the multitude, that the lords (for all the puissance of the high Marshall) unmet with great difficulty could get way through. Inso much that the bishop of London (whose name was William Courteney) seeing the stirre that the lord Marshall kept in the church among the people, speaking to the lord Percy, said; That if he had known before what maiesties he would have kept in the church, he would have stopped him out from comming there. At which words of the bishop the duke disdaining not a little, answered to the bishop again, and said; That he would keepe such maiesty there, though he said nay.

At last after much wassling they pterced through

and came to our Ladies chappell. Where the dukes and Barons were sitting together with the archbishops and other bishops. Before whom the foresaid John Wickliffe, according to the manner, stood to know what should be said unto him. To whom first spake the lord Percy, bidding him to sit downe, saying; That he had many things to answer to, and therefore had need of some softer seat. But the Bishop of London, cast estoones into a fummish chafe with those words, said; He should not sit there. Neither was it, said he, according to law or reason, that he, which was cited there to appeare to answer before his Ordinary, should sit downe during the time of his answer, but should stand. Upon these words a fire began to heate and kindle betweene them. Inso much that they began so to rate and rebule one the other, that the whole multitude, therewith disquieted, began to be set on a hurrey.

Then the duke, taking the lord Percies part, with hatie words began also to take up the bishop. To whom the bishop again nothing inferiour to reproach fullchecks and rebukes, did render and requite not only to him as good as hee brought; but also did so farre excell him in this railing art of scoulding, that to use the words of mine author, Erubuit Dux quod non potuit prevalere litigio, i. that the duke blushed and was ashamed, because hee could not overpasse the bishop in brawling and railing, and therefore fell to plaine threatening, menacing the bishop, that hee would bring downe the pride not only of him, but also of all the prelacy of England. And speaking moreover unto him: Thou (said he) bearest thy self so brag upon thy parents, which shall not be able to helpe thee; They shall have enough to doe to helpe themselves. For his parents were the earle and countesse of Devonshire. To whom the bishop againe answered, that to be hold to tell truth, his confidence was not in his parents, nor in any man else, but only in God in whom he trusted. Then the duke softly whispering in the eare of him next by him, said that he would rather pluck the bishop by the haire of his head out of the church, than he would take this at his hand. This was not spoken so secretly, but that the Londoners overheard him. Whereupon being set in rage, they cryed out, saying; that they would not suffer their bishop so contemptuously to be abused. But rather they would lose their lives, than that he should be drawne out by the haire. Thus that counsell, being broken with scolding and brawling for that day, was dissolved before nine of the clock. And the duke with the lord Percy went to the parliament; where the same day before dinner, a bill was put up in the name of the king by the lord Thomas Armoock, and lord Henry Percy, that the citie of London should no more be governed by a maior, but by a capitaine, as in times before. And that the marshall of England should have all the doo intaking the arrests within the said city, as in other cities besides, with other petitions more, tending to the like derogation of the liberties of London. Which bill being read, John Philpot burgesse then for the city standeth up, saying to them which read the bill, that that was never seene so before; and adding moreover, that the maior would never suffer any such things, or other arrest to be brought into the city, with more such words of like stoutnesse.

The next day following the Londoners assembled themselves in a counsell, to consider among them upon the bill for changing the maior, and about the office of the marshall, also concerning the injuries done the day before to their bishop.

In which meane time they being busie in long consultation of this matter, suddenly and unawares entred in the place two certaine lords, whether to come to spee, or for what other cause the author leaveth it uncertaine, the one called lord Fitzwaller, the other lord Guy Brian. At the first comming in of them

{ KING }  
{ EVV. }

The later writers of the Church to bee misdoubted.

The accidents not to be in the sacrament with in the substance.

J. Wickliffe bid to sit downe before the bishops. Wickliffe denied by the bishop of London to sit downe. Strife between the lord Marshall and bishop of London. The people set in a stirre. Strife between the duke of Lancaster and bishop of London. The bishop overgoeth the duke in scoulding.

This bishop of London was W. Courteney son to the earle of Devonshire

The duke threateneth to drawe their bishop by the haire out of the Church. Londoners take part with their bishop.

Petitions put up in the Parliament against the citie of London.

Hatie count of the Londoners.

Ex hist. Monachi D. Albani ex accommodato D. Matth. Archiepisc. Cant.

Stretching for the Lords to passe by the people.

W. Courteney bishop of London. The words of the bishop of London to the lord Percy.



KING  
EDVV. 3

them the vulgar sort was ready forthwith to flee upon them as spies, had not they made their protestation with an oath, declaring that their coming in was for no harm toward them. And so they were compelled by the citizens to swear to the city their truth and fidelity, contrary to the which oath if they should rebell, they would be contented to forfeit whatsoever goods and possessions they had within the city.

This done, then began the lord Fitzwalter in this wise to perswade and exhort the citizens; first declaring how he was bound and obliged to them and to their city, not for the oath only now newly received, but of old and ancient good will from his great grandfathers time. Besides other divers duties, for the which he was chiefly bound to be one of their principall fautors; for so much as what soever tendeth to their damage and detriment, redounded also no lesse unto his owne, for which cause he could not otherwise chuse, but that what he did understand to be attempted against the publike profit and liberties of the city, he must needs communicate the same to them. Who unless they with speedy circumspection do occurre and prevent perils that may and are like to ensue, it would turne in the end to their no small incommodyty. And as there were many other things, which required their vigilant care and diligence, so one thing there was, which he could in no wise but admonish them of; which was this, necessary to be considered of them all, how the lord Warshall Henrie Percie in his place within himself had one in ward and custody, whether with the knowledge, or without the knowledge of them, he could not tell: this he could tell, that the said lord Warshall was not allowed any such ward or prison in his house, within the liberties of the city. Which thing if it be not seen to in time, the example thereof being suffered, would in fine breed to such a prejudice unto their customs and liberties, as they should not hereafter, when they would, reforme the injury thereof.

These words of the lord Fitzwalter were not so soon spoken, but they were as soon taken of the rash citizens; who in all hasty fury running to their armour and weapons, went incontinently to the house of the lord Percie, where, breaking up the gates, by violence they took out the prisoner, and burned the stocks wherein he sat, in the midst of London. When was the lord Percie sought for; whom (saith the story) they would doublelesse have slain if they might have found him. With their bills and tavelins all corners and privy chambers were searched, beds and hangings to be asunder. But the lord Percie (as God would) was then with the duke, whom one John Pper the same day with great instance had desired to dinner.

The Londoners not finding him at home, and supposing that he was with the duke at Saboy, in all hasty heat turned their power thither, running as fast as they could to the dukes house. Where also in like manner they were disappointed of their cruel purpose. In the meane while as this was doing, cometh one of the dukes men running in post haste to the duke and to the lord Percie, declaring what was done. The Duke being then at his Dysters, without any further tarrying, and also breaking both his shinies at the forme for haste, took boat with the lord Percie, and by water went to Kingsstone, where then the Princesse with Richard the young prince did lie. Who there declared unto the princesse all the whole matter, concerning the outrage of the Londoners as it was. To whom she promised againe, that such an order should be taken in the matter, as should be to his contentation. At that time the commons of London thus as is said, were about the Dukes house at Saboy, there met with them a certaine priest, who marvelling at the sudden rage and concourse, asked what they sought. To whom answer was given againe of

some, that they sought for the duke and the lord marshall, to have of them the lord Peter de la Mare, whom they wrongfully had detained in prison. To this the priest answered againe more boldly than oportune: That Peter (said hee) is a false traitor, to the king, and worthy long since to be hanged. At the hearing of these words the furious people with a terrible shout cried out upon him, that hee was a traitor and one that took the dukes part, and so falling upon him with their weapons, stricken who might first strike him. Who after they had wounded him very sore, so being wounded they had him into prison. Where within few dayes upon the sorenesse of his wounds he died.

Neither would the rage of the people thus have ceased, had not the Bishop of London, leaving his dinner, come to them at Saboy, and putting them in remembrance of the blessed time (as they term it) of Henry, had perswaded them to cease and to be quiet.

The Londoners seeing that they could get no vengeance against the duke, who was without their reach; to wreak their anger they took his armes, which in most despitefull waies they haunged up, in the open places of the City in signe of reproach, as for a traitor. In so much that when one of his gentlemen came through the City, with a plate containing the dukes armes, hanging by a lace about his necke, the citizens not abiding the sight thereof, cast him from his horse, and plucked his scutcheon from him, and were about to work the extremity against him, had not the Mayor rescued him out of their hands, and sent him home safe unto the duke his master. In such hatred was then the Duke among the vulgar people of London.

After this the princesse, understanding the hearts and broyle of the Londoners set against the foresaid Duke, sent unto London three knights, sir Alured Leiver, sir Simon Burle, and sir Lewes Cliffozt, to entreat the citizens to be reconciled with the duke. The Londoners answered; that they, for the honor of the princesse, would obey and doe with all reverence, what she would require. But this they required and enioyned the messengers to say to the duke by word of mouth: that he should suffer the bishop of Winchester afore mentioned, and also the lord Peter de la Mare, to come to their answer, and to be iudged by their peeres. Whereby either they might be quit if they were guiltlesse; or otherwise if they be found culpable, they might receive according to their deserts after the lawes of the realme. What griefe & displeasure the duke conceived and retained in his mind hereof: Again, what meanes and sute the Londoners for their part made to the old king for their liberties: What times & songs in London were made against the duke: How the Bishops at the dukes request were moved to excommunicate those malicious slanderers: And moreover how the duke at last was revenged of those contumelies and injuries: How he caused them to be brought before the king: How sharply they were rebuked for their misdemeanour, by the worthy oration of the lord Chamberlaine, Robert Aston, in the presence of the king, Archbishops, Bishops, with divers other states the kings children, and other nobilities of the realme: In conclusion, how the Londoners were compelled to this at length, by the common assent and publike charges of the city, to make a great taper of ware, which, with the dukes armes set upon it, should be brought with solemne procession to the Church of Saint Paul, there to burne continually before the Image of our Lady: And at last, how both the said duke and the Londoners were reconciled together, in the beginning of the new king: with the kisse of peace, and the same reconciliatione publickly denounced in the Church of Westminster, & what joy was in the whole city thereof: These, because they are impertinent and make too long a digression

A priest in the Duke of Lancasters house cruelly killed.

The dissension of the Londoners against the Duke.

The message of the Princesse to the Londoners.

The Duke revenged of the Londoners.

The Londoners caused to beare a taper of ware in procession in honour of the Duke.

The oration of the Lord Fitzwalter to the Londoners.

The citizens of London break up the house of the lord Percie his house at Saboy.

The citizens of London break up the house of the lord Percie his house at Saboy.

The house of the Duke of Lancaster searched by the Londoners.

The Duke and lord Percie flee to the Princesse.



gression from the matter of Wickliffe, I cut off with brevity, referring the Reader to other histories namely of St. Albans, where they are to be found at large.

As these aforesaid for brevity sake I passe over, so will I not be long, and yet cannot omit that, which happened the same time and yeere to the bishop of Norwich, to the intent that this posterity now may see, to what pride & clergie of the popes church was then growne. The same time as this boile was at London, the bishop of Norwich a little after the time of Easter comming to the towne of Lennam, belonging to his lordship: being not contented with the old accustomed honour due unto him, and used of his predecessors before in the same towne, required moreover to be exalted: Insomuch that when he saw the chief Magistrate or Maior of that town to go in the streets with his officer going before him, holding a certaine wand in his hand tipped at both ends with blacke borne, as the manner was; he repunting himselfe to be lord of that towne (as he was) and thinking to be higher than the highest, commanded the honour of that staffe due to the Maior, to be yielded and borne before his lordly personage. The Maior or Bailiffe, with other the townesmen, courteously answered to him againe, that they were right willing and contented with all their hearts to exhibit that reverence unto him, and would so doe, if he first of the king and counsell could obtain that custome, and if the same might be induced after any peaceable way with the good wils of the commons and body of the towne: Therwise said they, as the matter was dangerous, so they durst not take in hand any such new alteration of ancient customes and liberties, lest the people (which is alwayes inclinable and prone to evil) do fall upon them with stones, and drive them out of the town. Wherefore kneeling on their knees before him, there humbly they besought him that he would require no such thing of them: that he would save his owne honour and their lives, who otherwise if he ended that way, were in great danger. But the bishop youthfull and haughty, taking occasion by their humbleness, to swell the more in himselfe, answered that he would not be taught by their counsell, but that he would have it done, though all the commons (whom he named Ribals) said nay. Also he rebuked the Maior and his brethren for mercocks and daubards, for so fearing the vulgar sort of people.

The citizens perceiving the wilfull stoutnesse of the bishop, meekly answering againe, said; they minded not to resist him, but to let him do therein what he thought good: onely they desired him that he would licence them to depart, and hold them excused for not waiting upon him, and conducting him out of the town with that reverence which he required. For if they should be seen in his company, all the suspicion thereof would be upon them, and so should they be all in danger, so much as their lives were worth. The bishop not regarding their advice and counsell, commanded one of his men to take the rod borne before the Maior, and to carry the same before him. Which being done, and perceived of the commons; the bishop after that manner went not farre, but the rude people running to shut the gates, came out with their bowes, some with clubs and staves, some with other instruments, some with stones, and let drive at the bishop and his men, as fast as they might; in such sort, that both the bishop and his houle under him with most part of his men were hurt and wounded. And thus & glorious pride of this tolly prelate, ruffling in his new scepter, was received and welcommed there. That is, he was so pelted with battes and stones, so wounded with arrows and other instruments fit for such a skirmish, that & most part of his men, with his mace-bearer, all running away from him, the popes wounded bi-

shop was there left alone, not able to keepe his old power, which went about to usurpe a new power more than to him belonged. Thus as it is commonly true in all, so is it well exemplified here, which is commonly said, and as it is commonly seene, that pride will have a fall, and power usurped will never stand. In like manner, if the citizens of Rome, following the example of these Lennam men, as they have the like cause, and greater, to do by the usurped power of their bishop, would after the same lawce handle the pope, and unsceper him of his mace and regality, which nothing pertaineth to him; they in so doing both should recover their owne liberties, with more honour at home, and also winne much more commendation abroad. Ex Chron. Mon. D. Albani.

This tragedy with all the parts thereof, being thus ended at Lennam, which was a little after Easter (as is said) about the moneth of Aprill. Anno 1377. the same yeere upon the 12. day of the moneth of June next after, died the worthy and victorious prince king Edward the third, after he had reigned 51. yeeres. A prince no more aged in yeeres than renowned for many singular and heroicall vertues, but principally noted and landed for his singular meeknesse and clemency towards his subiects and inferiours, ruling them by gentlenesse and mercy, without all rigor or austere severity. Among other noble and royall ornaments of his nature, worthily and copiously set forth of many, thus he is described by some, which may briefly suffice for the comprehension of all the rest: Orphanis erat quasi pater, afflictis compatiens, miseris condolens, oppressos relevans, & cunctis indigentibus impendens auxilia opportuna. That is, To the orphans he was as a father, compatiens to the afflicted, mourning with the miserable, relieving the oppressed, and to all them that wanted an helper in time of need, &c. But chiefly above all other things in this prince, in my minde, to be commemoate is this, that he above all other kings of this realme, unto the time of king Henry the eight, was the greatest bridle of the popes usurped power, & outrageous oppressions: during all the time of which king, neither the pope could greatly prevaile in this realme, and also John Wickliffe was maintained with labour and aid sufficient.

But before we close up the story of this king, there cometh to hand that which I thought good not to omit, a noble purpose of the king in requiring a view to be taken in all his dominions of all benefices and dignities ecclesiasticall remaining in the hands of Italians and aliens, with the true valuation of the same, directed downe by commission; whereof the like also is to be found in the time of king Richard the second, the tenour of which commission of king Edward I thought here under to set downe for worthy memory.

#### The King directed writs unto all the Bishops of England in this forme.

Edward by the grace of God, King, &c. To the Reverend father in Christ N. by the same grace Bishop L. greeting. Being willing upon certaine causes to bee certified what and how many benefices as well Archdeaconies and other dignities, as Vicarages, Parsonages, Prebends and Chappels, within your Diocese, bee at this present in the hands of Italians and other strangers, what they bee, of what value, and how every of the said benefices bee called by name; And how much every of the same is worth by the yeere, not as by way of tax or extent, but according to the true value of the same; and likewise of the names of all and singular such strangers being now incumbents or occupying the same and every of them; moreover the names of all them, whether Englishmen or strangers, of what state or condition soever they be, which have the occupation or disposition

A story of the Bishop of Norwich.

Example of pride in the Popes clergie.

The countesse of the townsmen toward the Bishop.

The stout answer of the Bishop to the townsmen.

The towne of Lennam rising against the bishop.

{ KING EDW. }

Pride will have a fall. Power usurped will never stand.

The usurped power of the pope would have a fall.

{ Anno 1377. } The death of king Edward.

The commendation of king Edward.

{ Anno 14. } Edwardi tertii.



{ KING }  
{ EDW. 3. }

position of any such benefices with the fruits and profits of the same, in the behalfe, or by the authority of any the aforesaid strangers by way of faime, or title, or procuration, or by any other wayes or meanes whatsoever, and how long they have occupied or disposed the same; and withall if any the said strangers be now residents upon any benefices; we command you, as heretofore commanded you, that you send us a true certificate of all and singular the premisses, into our high court of Chancery under your seale distinctly and openly, on this side the feast of the Ascension of our Lord next coming, without further delay: returning unto us this our writ withall. Witnesse our selfe at Westminster 16. day of Aprill in the 48. yeare of our reigne of England, and over France the 35. yeere.

By vertue hereof, certificate was sent up to the king into his Chancery, out of every diocesse of England, of all such spirituall livings as were then in the occupation either of priors aliens, or of other strangers; whereof the number was so great, as being all set down, it would fill almost halfe a quier of paper. Whereby may appeare that it was high time for the king to seek reiner hereint, either by treaty with the pope or otherwise; consider so great a portion of the revenewes of his realme was by this means conveyed away and employed either to the reliefe of his enemies, or maintenance of the Forreiners: amongst which number the cardinals of the court of Rome lacked not their share; as may appeare by this which followeth.

The lord Francis of the title of S. Sabine, priest and cardinal of the holy church of Rome, doth hold and enioy the deanry of the cathedrall Church of Lichfield, in the iurisdiction of Lichfield, which is worth five hundred marks by the yeere; and the prebend of Byelwood, and the parsonage of Abbalston to the same deanry annexed, which prebend is worth by the yeere fourescore marks, and the parsonage twenty pounds; which deanry with the prebends and parsonage aforesaid, he hath holden and occupied by the space of thre yeeres. And one master De ingris a stranger, as prior to the said cardinal, doth hold and occupie the same deanry with other the premisses with the appurtenances, by name of prior during the yeeres aforesaid, and hath taken up the fruits and profits, for the said cardinal, dwelling not in the realme.

Lord William cardinal of S. Angelo, a stranger, doth hold the archdeaconry of Suffolk, by vertue of provision Apostolicall, from the feast of Saint Nicholas last past; he is not resident upon his said archdeaconry. And the said archdeaconry, together with the procurations due by reason of the visitation, is worth by yeere, lxxvi. li. xiii. s. iij. d. And master John of Helington &c. doth occupy the seale of the officiall of the said archdeaconry, &c.

Lord Reinald of S. Adrian deacon cardinal, hath in the said county the parsonage of Cobalmonge, worth by yeere forty pound, and one Edward Telweste doth farme the said parsonage for ix. yeeres past.

The Lord Anglicus of the holy church of Rome priest and cardinal, a stranger, was incumbent, and did hold in possession the deanry of the cathedrall church of Dorke, from the 11. day of November, An. 1366, and is yetrely worth according to the true value thereof, foure hundred pounds; and M. John of Stoke, canon of the said church, doth occupy the said deanry and the profits of the same, in the name or by the authority of the said Lord deane, &c. But the said deane was never resident upon the said deanry since he was admitted thereunto. Item, lord Hugh of our lady in deacon and cardinal, a stranger, doth possesse the prebend of Driffild in the said church of Dorke from the seventh day of June, An. Dom. 1363, from which day, &c. John of Gistbourne, and George of Conpeman

thorpe, &c. do occupy the said prebend, worth by yeere one hundred pounds; the said lord Hugh is not resident upon the said prebend.

Item, lord Simon of the title of S. Sixt priest and cardinal, &c. doth possesse the prebend of Mestow in the said Church of Dorke, worth by yeere C. li. And the foresaid master John of Stoke doth occupy the foresaid prebend and the profits thereof, &c. But the said lord Simon is not resident upon the said prebend.

Item, Lord Francis of the title of S. Sabine, priest and cardinal, a stranger, doth possesse the prebend of Stranfall in the said church of Dorke, worth by yeere C. marks. And master William of Herfield, &c. doth occupy the said prebend, &c. but the said lord Francis is not resident upon the said prebend.

Lord Peter of the title of S. Pared, priest and cardinal, a stranger, doth hold the archdeaconry of Dorke, worth by yeere C. li. and M. William of Herfield, &c. for farmers.

The deanry of the cathedrall church of Sar. with churches and chappels underwritten to the same deanry annexed, doth remaine in the hands of lord Reginald of the title of S. Adrian deacon and cardinal, and so hath remained these 26. yeeres, who is never resident; his prior is one Laurence de ingris a stranger, and is worth by yeere CCLiij. li. xii. s. iij. d.

Richard Bishop doth hold the vicarage of Weter to the said deanry annexed, and hath holden the same for xix. yeeres, worth by yeere xl. li.

Robert Codfor, farmer of the church of Weighfredbury, to the same annexed, worth by yeere l. li.

The church of Stoning and the chappell of Kelscomp to the same deanry annexed, worth by yeere lxx. marks.

The chappell of Herst to the same deanry annexed, worth by yeere xl. li.

The chappell of Mokenbame to the same deanry annexed, worth by yeere xxxvi. li.

The chappell of Sanhurst, worth by yeere xl. s.

The church of Godalming, to the same deanry annexed in the diocesse of Winchester, worth by yeere xl. li.

The dignity of treasurer in the church of Sar. with church and chappels underwritten to the same annexed is in the hands of lord John of the title of S. Mark priest and cardinal, and hath so continued 12. yeeres, who was never resident in the same, worth by yeere Cxxxvi. l. xiii. s. iij. d.

The church of Highbelon to the same annexed, worth by yeere, xxi. li. xiii. s. iij. d.

The church of Allwardbury with the chappell of Putton, worth by yeere xl. li.

The prebend of Calve to the same treasurer annexed, worth by yeere C. li.

The Archdeaconry of Berck, in the cathedrall church of Sarisbury, with the church of Wotton to the same annexed, is in the hands of the lord William of the title of S. Stephen, who was never resident in the same, worth by yeere viii. score marks.

The archdeaconry of Dorset in the church of Sarisbury, with the church of Giffiche to the same annexed, in the hands of lord Robert, of the title of the xii. Apostles, priest and cardinal, and is worth by yeere Ciii. marks.

The prebend of Woodford and Wyuelstord in the church of Sarisbury, is in the hands of Robert the cardinal aforesaid, and is worth xl. marks.

The prebend of Heiwoth in the Church of Sarisbury is in the hands of the lord cardinal of Agrifolio who is never resident, and is worth by yeere lxxx. li.

The prebend of Jetherbarnby and Westminster, in the Church of Sarisbury, one Hugh Pelgrini a stranger did hold twenty yeeres and more, and was never resident in the same, worth by the yeere eight score marks.

The

Cobentry and  
Lichfield.

Worcester.

Worcester.

Worcester.

Sarisbury.

The deanry of  
Sarisbury.

Treasurer of  
the Church of  
Sar.



The Church prebendary of Gillinham in the pannerie of Salisbury lately holden of Lord Richard now Bishop of Ely, is in the hands of the Lord Peter of the title of S. Pzared, Priest and Cardinall, &c. worth by the yeere lxx.li.

Canterbury.

Lord William of the holy Church of Rome Cardinall, a stranger, doth hold the Archdeaconsry of Canterbury, and is not resident; the true value of all the yearly fruits, rents and profits, is worth seven hundred florens.

Bath &amp; Wells.

The lord cardinal of Canterbury is archdeacon of Wells, and hath annexed to his archdeaconsry the churches of Helwys, Berwes, & Southbrent, which are worth by yeere, with their procuracion of visitations of the said archdeaconsry, C. thre score pounds.

Item, the lord cardinal is treasurer of the church of Wells, and hath the moiety of the church of Peretock annexed thereunto, worth by yeere lx.li.

Item, the lord cardinal of Agrifolio is archdeacon of Tawnton in the Church of Wells, and is worth by yeere with the procuracions and the prebend of Wylmerton to be same annexed, lxx.li.

Like matter is also found in the time of king Richard the second, upon what occasion it is uncertaine: but as it seemeth by record of that time; A new pope being come in place, he would take no knowledge of any matter done by his predecessors, that might any way abridge his commodity. And therefore this king was forced to begin anew, as may appeare by this following.

An.2. Rich.2.

The archdeaconsry of Stow

L. Cardinall of Agrifolio is prebendary of the prebend of Sozringham, together with a portion of S. Mary of Stow to the same annexed; the fruits whereof by common estimate he worth by yeere, Cxlii. Past. John Vicar of Cozingham, and master Robert parson of Kettelthorpe, and W. Thurlip, be farmers.

The archdeaconsry of Hampton.

Lord cardinal Albanum is prebendary of the prebend of Sutton, the fruits whereof be commonly esteemed worth by yeere CCCC. marks. Roger Skynet of Buckingham, and William Bedesford of Sutton do farme the same prebend. The L. Cardinall Clandacen is prebendary of the prebend of Passington, worth by estimation CCC. marks. Robert of Passington, and John sonne of Robert of Atherthorpe, do occupie the same prebend.

In the archdeaconsry of Dron.

Lord Cardinall Pommacem is parson of Adderbury, worth by estimation, C. li. Adam Kobelgyn clerk is his procurator, and occupieth the same.

In the archdeaconsry of Brick.

Lord cardinal of S. prebendary of 50 Chame, worth yearly by common estimation, C. marks, John Heyward and Thomas a layman do occupie the same prebend.

In the diocesse of Norwich.

L. Peter de Yeverino, cardinall, is prebendary of Aylesbury, worth yearly by common estimation, lxx. marks. Holy Dule of Aylesbury doth occupie the same prebend.

In the diocesse of Sar.

The cardinall of S. Angelo hath the archdeaconsry of Suff. land is worth by yeere by common estimation a hundred marks.

L. cardinall Bemincem treasurer of the church of Sar. hath the archdeaconsry of Sar. the church of Figheldon to his dignity annexed, which is let to farme to Grace, late wife of Edmund Swayne deceased, paying yearly lxx. marks. He hath also, in the same archdeaconsry and county, the said Church of Alwerbury, with the chappels of Putton and Fard to the same annexed, which is let to farme to the lord Prior of the house of Edecole for the yearly rent of lxxv. li. he hath also the prebend of Calve in the said archdeaconsry and County, worth by yeere, C. li. and farmer thereof is Raymund Peregrine.

L. cardinall of Agrifolio, hath the archdeaconsry of Berk. worth by yeere 120. marks, and it remaineth in his own hands. Item, he hath the prebend of Wroth, worth by yeere a hundred pound; Raymund Peregrine is farmer there.

Lord cardinal Gebanen hath the prebends of Woodford and Willeford in the county of Wiltshire, let to farme to John Bennet of Sar. worth by yeere xl. marks.

{ KING }  
{ RIC. 2. }

Lord Andomar de Rupp is archdeacon of Canterbury, to the which archdeacon belong the Church of Lymin within the same diocesse, worth by yeere after the taration of the tenth, xx. li. The church of Tenham, worth by yeere after the said taration, Cxxx. li. vi. s. viii. d. The church of Hakington neere Canterbury, worth by yeere twenty marks. The church of Saint Clement in Sandwich, worth by yeere after the taration aforesaid, eight marks. The church of Saint Mary in Sandwich, worth by yeere viii. pound, of the which the said archdeacon receiveth only vi. marks. The profits of all which prebendes S. William Latimer knight hath received, together with the profits arising out of the jurisdiction of the archdeaconsry, worth by yeere, xx. li.

In the diocesse of Canterbury.

Anglicus of the church of Rome, priest and cardinall, hath the deanry of the cathedrall church of York, worth by yeere CCC. lxxviii. li. vi. s. viii. d. And a prebend of Southcane, valued yearly at C. li. marks.

In the diocesse of Poike.

Lord cardinal Gebanen doth hold the Church of Wermouth, and archdeaconsry of Durham, worth by yeere CCC. marks. And John of Champe, and Thomas of Harington of Newcastle be the farmers and procurators of the said Cardinall.

In the diocesse of Durham.

Ex Bundello Brevium Regis de An.2. Rich.2. part.1.

30

## King Richard the second.



After King Edward the third succeeded his sonnes sonne, Richard the second, being yet but young, of the age of eleven yeeres: who in the same yeere of his fathers decease with great pompe and solemnity was crowned at Westminster, an. 1377. who, following his fathers steps, was no great disavourer of the way and doctrine of Wickliffe: albeit at the first beginning, partly through the iniquity of time, partly through the popes letters, he could not do that he would. Notwithstanding something he did in that behalf, more perhaps than in the end he had thank for of the papists, as moze (by the grace of Christ) shall appeare. But as times do change, so changeth commonly the cause and state of man. The bishops now seeing the aged king to be taken away, during the time of whose old age all the government of the realme depended upon the duke of Lancaster; And now the said bishops againe seeing the said Duke, with the lord Percy, the lord Warhall, to give over their offices, and to remaine in their private houses without intermeddling, thought now the time to serve them, to have some vantage against John Wickliffe; who hitherto, under the protection of the foresaid duke and lord Warhall, had some rest and quiet. Concerning the story of which Wickliffe, I trust (gentle Reader) it is not out of thy memory what went before pa. 558. how he being brought before the bishops, by the meanes of the duke and lord Henry Percy, the counsell was interrupted, and brake before nine of the clocke. By reason whereof Wickliffe at that time escaped without any further trouble. Who notwithstanding, being by the bishops forbid to deale in that doctrine any moze, continued yet with his fellows going barefoot, and in long wise gownes, preaching diligently unto the people. Out of whose Sermons these articles most chesly at that time were collected.

R. Richard 2.

The bishops take vantage of time.

That the holy Eucharist, after the consecration, is not the very body of Christ, but figuratively.

That the church of Rome is not the head of all churches moze than any other church is: For that Peter hath any moze power given of Christ, than any other Apostle hath.

Item, that the pope of Rome hath no moze in the

The first article collected out of Wickliffes Sermons.



**{ KING }** the keyes of the church, than hath any other within the order of priesthood.

**{ Ric. 2. }** Item, if God be, the Lords temporall may lawfully and meritoriously take away their temporalities from the churchmen offending habitualiter.

Item, if any temporall lord do knowe the church so offending, he is bound, under paine of damnation, to take the temporalities from the same.

Item, that the Gospell is a rule sufficient of it selfe to rule the life of every Christian man here, without any other rule.

Item, that all other rules, under whose obseruances diuers religious persons be governed, do add no more persecution to the Gospell, than doth the white colour to the wall.

Item, that neither the pope, nor any other prelate of the church, ought to haue prisons wherein to punish transgressors.

The articles of John Wickliffe sent to the pope. Pope Gregory the 12.

Beside these articles, diuers other conclusions afterward were gathered out of his writings and preachings by the Bishops of England, which they sent diligently to pope Gregory at Rome: Where the said articles being read and perused, were condemned for hereticall and erroneous by thre and twenty Cardinals.

Wickliffe called before the archbishop of Canterbury.

In the mean time the archbishop of Canterbury, sending forth his citations, as is aforesaid, called before him the said John Wickliffe in the presence of the duke of Lancaster and Lord Percie; who, upon the declaration of the popes letters made, bound him to silence, forbidding him not to intreat any more of those matters. But then through the disturbance of the bishop of London and the Duke, and Lord Percie, that matter was sone dispatched, as hath been aboue recorded, pag. 558. And all this was done in the daies and last yere of K. Edward the third, and pope Gregory the eleventh.

**{ Anno }**  
**{ 1378 }**

Edmund Stafford senger of the popes Bull.

The next yere following, which was the yere of our Lord 1378, being the first yere of king Richard the second, the said pope Gregory taking his time, after the death of king Edward, sendeth his bull by the hands and means (peradventure) of one master Edmund Stafford, directed unto the Vniuersity of Oxford, rebuking them sharply, imperiously, and like a pope, for suffering so long the doctrine of John Wickliffe to take root, and not plucking it up with the crooked sickle of their catholike doctrine. Which Bull when it came to be exhibited unto their hands, by the popes messenger aforesaid; the professors and masters of the Vniuersity, ioyning together in consultation, stood long in doubt, deliberating with themselves whether to receiue the popes Bull with honour, or to refuse and reiect it with shame.

The masters of Oxford doubt whether to receiue or let the popes Bull.

I cannot here but laugh in my mind to behold the authours of this story whom I follow; what exclamations, what wondrings and marvels they make at these Oxford men, for so doubting at a matter so plaine, so manifest of it selfe, (as they say) whether the Popes Bull sent to them from Rome was to be receiued or contrary. Which thing to our monkish writers seemed then such a prodigious wonder, that they with blushing cheekes are faine to cut off the matter in the midst with silence.

The copy of this wilde bull, sent to them from the pope, was this.

*Gregory the Bishop, the seruant of Gods seruants, to his wellbeloved sonnes, the Chancellour and Vniuersity of Oxford, in the diocese of Lincolne, greeting, and Apostolical benediction.*

The popes ad Bull sent Oxford.

**W**E are compelled not onely to marvell, but also to lament, that you, considering the Apostolical seat hath given unto your Vniuersity of Oxford

so great fauour and priuiledge, and also for that you slow as in a large sea in the knowledge of the holy Scriptures, and ought to be champions and defenders of the ancient and catholike faith (without the which there is no salvation,) by your great negligence and sloth will suffer wild cockle, not onely to grow up among the pure wheat of the flourishing field of your Vniuersity, but also to waxe strong and choke the corne. Neither haue ye any care (as we are informed) to extirpe and plucke the same up by the rootes, to the great blemishing of your renowned name, the perill of your soules, the contempt of the Church of Rome, and to the great decay of the ancient faith. And further (which grieveth us) the increase of that filthy weed was more sharply rebuked and judged of in Rome, than in England where it sprang. Wherefore let there be meanes sought by the helpe of the faithfull, to root out the same. Grievously it is come to our eares, that one Iohn Wickliffe, parson of Lutterworth in Lincolne diocese, a professour of Diuinity (would God he were not rather a master of errors) is run into a kinde of detestable wickednesse, not onely and openly publishing, but also vomiting out of the filthy dungeon of his breast, diuerse professions, false and erroneous conclusions, and most wicked and damnable heresies. Whereby he might defile the faithfull sort, and bring them from the right path headlong into the way of perdition, overthrow the state of the Church, and utterly subvert the secular policie. Of which his mischievous heresies some seeme to agree (onely certaine names and termes changed) with the perverse opinions, and unlearned doctrine of Marsilius of Padua, and of Iohn Gandune, of unworthy memory, whose bookes were utterly abolished in the realme of England, by our predecessour of happy memory Iohn 22. which kingdome doth not onely flourish in power, and abundance of faculties, but is much more glorious and shining in purenesse of faith; accustomed alwayes to bring forth men excellently learned in the true knowledge of the holy Scriptures, ripe in gravity of manners, men notable in devotion, and defenders of the catholike faith. Wherefore we will and command you by our writing Apostolical in the name of your obedience, and upon paine of priuation of our fauour, indulgences and priuiledges granted unto you and your Vniuersity from the said See Apostolical; that hereafter ye suffer not those pestilent heresies, and those subtil and false conclusions and propositions, misconstruing the right sense of faith and good workes (howsoever they terme it, or what curious implication of words soever they use) any longer to be disputed of, or brought in question: Lest if it be not withstood at the first, and plucked up by the rootes, it might perhaps be too late hereafter to prepare medicines when a greater number is infected with the contagion. And further; that ye apprehend immediately, or cause to be apprehended the said Iohn Wickliffe, and deliver him to be detained in the safe custody of our wellbeloved brethren; the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of London, or either of them. And if you shall finde any gainers, corrupted with the said doctrine (which God forbid) in your said Vniuersity within your iurisdiction; that shall obstinately stand in the said errors; that then in like manner ye apprehend them, and commit them to safe custody, and otherwise to do in this case as it shall appertain unto you: So as by your carefull proceedings herein, your negligence past concerning the premisses may now fully be supplied and recompensed with present diligence. Whereby you shall not onely purchase unto you the fauour and beneuolence of the seat Apostolical, but also great reward and merit of almighty God.

The Pope complaining of Wickliffe.

Masilius Patavinus, Iohn de Gandune noted.

Here the wilde bull rebuketh.

Even at Rome at S. Maries the greater, xi. Kalend. of Iune, and in the 7. yere of our consecration.

Beside this bul sent to the Vniuersity of Oxford, the



the said pope Gregory directed mozeover his letters the same tyme to the archbishop of Canterbury Simon Sudbury, to the bishop of London named William Courtney, with the conclusions of Iohn Wickliffe therein inclosed, commanding them, by vertue of those his letters Apostolicall, and straitly enioyning them to cause the said Iohn Wickliffe to be apprehended, and cast into prison; and that the king and the nobles of England should be admonished by them, not to give any credit to the said Iohn Wickliffe, or to his doctrine in any wise.

Beside this bill or bull of the pope, sent unto the archbishop of Canterbury and to the bishop of London, bearing the date, 11. Calend. Iun. and the seventh yere of the reigne of the pope; I find mozeover in the said two other letters of the pope concerning the same matter, but differing in form, sent unto the same bishops and all bearing the same date both of the day, yere, and moneth of the reigne of the said pope Gregory. Whereby it is to be supposed, that the pope either was very exquisite and solicitous about the matter, to have Wickliffe to be apprehended, which wrote three divers letters to one person, and all in one day, about one busynesse; or els that he did suspect the bearers thereof; the scruple whereof I leave to the iudgment of the Reader.

Furthermore, beside these letters written to the Archbishop, and to the bishops, he directeth also another Epistle bearing the same date unto King Edward; as one of my stories saith, but as another saith, to King Richard, which soundeth more nere to the truth, forasmuch as in the 7. yere of pope Gregory the xi. which was the yere of our Lord, 1378. King Edward was not alive. The copie of his letters to the king here followeth.

*The copie of the Epistle sent by the bishop of Rome to Richard king of England, to persecute Iohn Wickliffe.*

Unto his welbelov'd sonne in Christ, Richard the most noble king of England, health, &c.

The kingdom of England, which the most highest hath put under your power and governance, being so famous and renowned in valiancy and strength, so abundant and flowing in all kinde of wealth and riches, but much more glorious, resplendent and shining through the brightnesse and cleerenesse of all godlinesse and faith, hath accustomed alwayes to bring forth men indued with the true knowledge and understanding of the holy Scriptures, grave in yeres, fervent in devotion, and defenders of the catholike faith: The which have not onely directed and instructed their owne people through their wholesome doctrine and precepts into the true path of Gods commandements; but also we have heard by the report and information of many credible persons (to our great grieve and heart sorrow) that Iohn Wickliffe parson of Lutterworth, in the diocese of Lincolne, professor of Divinity (I would to God he were no author of heresie) to be fallen into such a detestable and abominable madnesse, that he hath propounded and set forth diverse and sundry conclusions full of errours, and containing most manifest heresie, the which do tend utterly to subvert and overthrow the state of the whole church. Of the which, some of them (albeit under coloured phrase and speech) seem to smell and favour of perverse opinions, the foolish doctrine of condemned memory of Marfilus of Padua, and Iohn of Ganduno, whose bookes were by pope Iohn the 22. our predecessor, a man of a most happy memory, reprov'd and condemned, &c.

Hitherto gentle Reader, thou hast heard how Wickliffe was accused by the bishop. Now you shall also heare the popes mighty reasons and arguments, by the which he did confute him, to the king. It followeth.

Therefore, forsomuch as our reverend brethren the archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishop of London have received a speciall commandement from us, by our authority to apprehend and commit the forenamed Iohn Wickliffe unto prison, and to transport his confession unto us: if they shall seeme in the prosecution of this their busynesse to lacke your favour or helpe, we require and most earnestly desire your majesty, even as your most noble predecessors have alwayes bene most earnest lovers of the catholike faith (whose ease or quarrell in this matter is chiefly handled) that you would vouchsafe (even for the reverence of God, and the faith aforesaid, and also of the Apostolike seat, and of our person) with your helpe and favour to assist the said archbishop and all other that shall go about to execute the said busynesse. Whereby besides the praise of men, you shall obtaine a heavenly reward and great favour and good will at our hand, and of the see aforesaid. Dated at Rome at S. Mary the greater, the 11. Kal. of Iune, in the 7. yere of our bishoprick, An. 1378.

The articles included in the popes letters, which he sent to the bishops, and to the king against Wickliffe, were these which in order do follow.

*The conclusions of Iohn Wickliffe, exhibited in the convocation of certaine bishops at Lambeth.*

ALL the whole race of mankinde here on earth, besides Christ, hath no power simply to ordaine that Peter and all his off-spring should politickely rule over the world for ever.

2 God cannot give to any man for him and his heires any civill dominion for ever.

3 All writings invented by men, as touching perpetuall heritage, are impossible.

4 Every man, being in grace justifying, hath not onely right unto the thing, but also for his time hath right indeed above all the good things of God.

5 A man cannot onely ministratoriously give any temporall or continuall gift, either as well to his natural sonne, as to his sonne by imitation.

6 If God be, the temporall lords may lawfully and meritoriously take away the riches from the church when they do offend habitually.

7 We know that Christs vicar cannot, neither is able by his bulls, neither by his owne will and consent, neither by the consent of his colledge, either to make able or disable any man.

8 A man cannot be excommunicated to his hurt or undoing, except he be first and principally excommunicated by himselfe.

9 No man ought, but in Gods cause alone, to excommunicate, suspend, or forbid, or otherwise to proceed to revenge by any ecclesiasticall censure.

10 A curse or excommunication doth not simply binde, but in case it be pronounced and given out against the adversary of Gods law.

11 There is no power given by any example, either by Christ or by his Apostle, to excommunicate any subject, specially for denying of any temporalities, but rather contrariwise.

12 The disciples of Christ have no power to exact, by any civill authority, temporalities by censures.

13 It is not possible by the absolute power of God, that if the pope or any other Christian do pretend by any means to binde or to loose, that thereby he doth so binde and loose.

14 We ought to believe that the vicar of Christ doth at such times onely binde and loose, when as he worketh conformably by the law and ordinance of Christ.

15 This ought universally to be believed, that every priest rightly and duly ordered, according unto the law of grace, hath power according to his vocation, whereby he may minister the sacraments, and consequently absolve any man confessing his fault, being

SKING  
RIC. 2.

There is writing,  
ing, but no ti  
ching.

Certaine con-  
clusions of  
I. Wickliffe.

Simon Sud-  
bury archbishop  
of Cant.  
W. Courtney  
bishop of Lon-  
don.

Three sundry  
letters of the  
pope to one  
person, about  
one matter.

The popes let-  
ter to king Ri-  
chard against  
J. Wickliffe.



{ KING  
RIC. 2. }

being contrite and penitent for the same.

16 It is lawfull for kings, in causes licensed by the law, to take away the temporalities from the spirituality, sinning *habundanter*, that is, which continue in the custome of sin, and will not amend.

17 Whether they be temporal lords, or any other men whatsoever they be, which have endowed any church with temporalities; it is lawfull for them to take away the same temporalities, as it were by way of medicine, to avoid sin, notwithstanding any excommunication or other ecclesiasticall censure; forsomuch as they are not given but under a condition.

18 An ecclesiasticall minister, and also the bishop of Rome, may lawfully be rebuked of his subjects, and for the profit of the Church be accused either of the clergy or of the laitie.

These letters with the articles inclosed being thus received from the pope, the bishops take no little heart, thinking and fully determining with themselves, and that in open profession before their provinciall counsell, that all manner respects of feare or favour set apart, no person neither high nor low should let them, neither would they be seduced by the intreaty of any man, nor by any threatnings or rewards, but that in this cause they would execute most surely upright iustice and equity; yea albeit present danger of life should follow thereupon. But these so fierce bragges, and stout promises, with the subtil practises of these bishops, which thought them so sure before: the Lord (against whom no determination of mans counsell can prevaile) by a small occasion did lightly confound and overthrow. For the day of the examination being come; a certaine personage of the princes court, and yet of no great noble birth, named Lewes Cliford, entering in among the Bishops, commanded them that they should not proceed with any definitive sentence against John Wickliffe. With which words all they were so amazed, and their combs so cutt, that (as in the story is mentioned) they became so mute and speechlesse, as men having not one word in their mouthes to answer. And thus by the wonderous worke of God his providence, escaped John Wickliffe the second time out of the Bishops hands; and was by them clearly dismissed upon his declaration made of his articles, as anon shall follow.

Whereof, here is not to be passed over, how at the same time, and in the said chappell of the archbishop at Lambeth, where the Bishops were sitting upon John Wickliffe, the story imiting of the doing thereof, addeth these wordes, saying: Non dico civis tantum Londinenses, sed viles ipsius civitatis se impudenter ingerere presumpserunt in eandem capellam & verba facere pro eodem, & istud negotium impedit, confisi, ut reor, de ipsorum premissa negligentia prelatorum, &c. That is, I say not onely, that the citizens of London, but also the vile abjects of the city presumed to be so bold in the same chappell at Lambeth, where the bishops were sitting upon John Wickliffe, both to intreat for him, and also to let and stop the same matter; trusting, as I suppose, upon the negligence which they saw before in the bishops, &c.

Over and beside, here is not to be forgotten, how the said John Wickliffe, the same time of his examination, offered and exhibited unto the bishops in writing a protestation, with a declaration or exposition of his own minde, upon the said his articles, the effect hereof followeth.

### The protestation of John Wickliffe.

First I protest (as I have often before done) that I do minde and intend with my whole heart (by the grace of God) to be a true Christian, and as long as breath shall remain in me, to profess and defend the law of Christ. And if it shall happen that through ignorance or otherwise I shall faile therein: I desire

my Lord God of pardon and forgiveness. And now againe as before also, I do reboke and make retraction; most humbly submitting my selfe unto the correction of our holy mother the Church. And forsomuch as the sentence of my faith, which I have holden in the schooles and elsewhere, is repozed even by childzen, and moreover is carried by childzen even unto Rome; therefore lest my deare beloved brethren should take any offence by me, I will set forth in writing the sentence and articles, for the which I am now accused and impeached: the which also even unto the death I will defend, as I beleve all Christians ought to do, and specially the bishop of Rome and all other priests and ministers of the Church. For I do understand the conclusions after the sense and manner of speaking of the Scriptures and holy Doctors, the which I am ready to expound: And if they shall be found contrary unto the faith, I am ready to reboke, and speedily to call them backe againe.

### An exposition upon the conclusions of John Wickliffe, exhibited by him to the Bishop.

ALL the race of mankind here in earth, beside Christ, hath no power simply to ordaine, that Peter, &c.

This conclusion of it selfe is evident, forasmuch as it is not in mans power to stop the coming of Christ to his finall iudgement, but he must needs come, according to the article of our Creed, to iudge both the quick and the dead. And then (as the Scripture teacheth) shall surcease all civill and politike rule here; I understand the temporall and secular dominion pertaining to men here dwelling in this mortall life. For so do the Philosophers speak of civill dominion. And although the thing which is terminable, and hath an end, is called sometimes perpetuall: yet because in holy Scripture, and in use of the Church, and in the bookes of Philosophers most commonly that is taken to be perpetuall, which hath no end of time hereafter to come: according to the which sense the Church singeth Gloria patri, &c. Nunc, &c. in perpetuum; I also after the same signification do take here this word (perpetuall) and so is this conclusion consonant to the principles of the Scripture, that it is not in mans power to ordaine the course and voyage of the Church, here perpetuall to last.

2 God cannot give to any man, &c.

To the second conclusion I answer, understanding civill dominion, as in the conclusion before. And so I hold, that God first by his ordinate power cannot give to any person civill dominion here for ever: Secondly, by his absolute power it is not probable that he will so do: Forsomuch as he cannot ever detain his spouse in perpetuall prison of this life, nor alwayes deferre the finall beatitude of his Church.

3 To the third conclusion. Many writings or charts invented by men, as touching perpetuall heritage civill, be impossible.

The verity of this conclusion is incident. For we must not canonize all manner of charts whatsoever, as catholike, or universall; for then it were not lawfull by any meanes to take away or sequester things given by Chart or charter, when any doth unjustly occupy the same. And so if that stand confirmed and ratified by the faith of the Church, great occasion thereby should be ministred to men to charter, to trust to their temporall charts; and so might grow thereby much liberty and licence to sin. For like as by some supposition every truth is necessary: so by the same supposition every false thing is possible, as it is plain by testimony of the Scripture, of holy doctors speaking of necessity of things to come.

4 Every man being in grace justifying finally, hath not onely right unto the thing, but also for his time hath right indeed over all the good things of God.

B b b

The

Exposition of John Wickliffe upon his conclusions.

Exposition of the second conclusion.

In gratia gratificante finaliter.

The stout bragges of the bishops overblowne.

Wickliffe againe called before the bishops, Lewes Cliford.

John Wickliffe againe delivered from the bishops.

The protestation of John Wickliffe.



Note here he speaketh onely of the right of things in the countrey to come, and not in this exile.

The verity hereof is evident, by holy Scripture. Mat. 24. Where verity promyseth to every man entering into his ioy: verily (saith he) I tell you, he shall sit and place him ober all the gods he hath. For the right and title belonging to the Communion of Saints in their countrey (he meaneth in the kingdome of heauen) Fundatur obiectiue supra universitatem bonorum Dei: That is, Hath his relation, as unto his obiect, to all the gods and possession of God.

5 A man can but onely ministratoriously give any temporall dominion or gift perpetuall, as well to his owne naturall sonne, as to his sonne by imitation.

It is evident, for every man ought to recognise himselfe in all his workes and doings, as an humble servant and minister of God. As the words of Scripture do teach us. Let a man to esteeme of us as the ministers of Christ. Yea, so Christ himselfe did teach his chief Apostles to minister; but in their countrey the Saints shall give unto their fellow brethren the dominion of their goods, Vt patet de suis corporibus & bonis eis inferioribus in natura, according to the words of Luke 6. They shall give you, and put into your bosomes a good measure and perfect, well filled and heaped up, and running over.

6 If God be, temporall Lords may lawfully and meritoriously take away the goods of fortune from the Church when they do offend *habituarius*.

This conclusion is correlative with the first article of our faith: I beleve in God the Father Almighty. Where I understand this word (may) in this conclusion after the manner of authentick Scripture, which saith and granteth, that God is able of these stones to raise up children to Abraham; for otherwise all Christian princes were heretikes. For this conclusion thus standeth the reason: If God be, he is omnipotent; and if he be Almighty, he is able to command the lords temporall so to doe: and if he may so command, then may they lawfully so take away such goods &c. And so by the vertue of the same principle, Christian Princes have practised the said sentence upon the Churchmen heretofore, as did William Rufus, &c. But God forbid that any should beleve hereby my intention to have bene, that secular lords may lawfully take away what gods soever, and by what meanes soever, by their owne naked authority at their pleasure: but onely by the authority of the Church they may so do, in cases and forme limited by the law.

7 We know that it is not possible that the vicar of Christ is able by his pure Bulls, &c.

This is manifest by the catholike faith; forasmuch as the Church doth fully beleve that the enabling of any man ought first to proceed and come of God; wherefore no man being Christ his Vicar, hath any power in this matter, but onely as Vicar in the name of the Lord, so farre forth as he is enabled of the Lord, to notify unto the Church whom God hath enabled. Wherefore if any man doe any thing, not as vicar in the name of the Lord, whom he ought to forgethink to be his authour and head; it is a presumption of Lucifer, forsomuch as Christ by his Apostle saith, 1 Cor. 3. All our ability or sufficiency cometh of God. And so consequently, it cometh not purely by the ministry of his vicarship, that he is enabled; but the ableness or unableness of him, being the Vicar of Christ, cometh to him another way from above.

8 A man cannot be excommunicate to his hurt or undoing, except he be excommunicate first and principally of himselfe.

It is evident, forsomuch as all such excommunication ought to proceed and begin originally of his owne sin which is dammed: whereupon Augustine saith, De verbis Domini Sermones 51. Doe not thou conculcate thy selfe, and man obercometh thee not. And moreover the faith of the Church doth teach, quod nulla ei nocebit adversitas, si nulla dominetur iniquitas: that is to say, No adversitey shall hurt, if

no iniquity hath the upper hand. And yet notwithstanding, every excommunication for many causes is also to be feared, although that the excommunication of the Church, to the humble man being excommunicated, be not damnable but wholesome.

9 No man ought but in Gods cause alone to excommunicate, suspend, &c.

It is cleare, forasmuch as every iust cause is the cause of God, whose respect ought chiefly to be weighed and pondered. Yea, the love of the person excommunicate, ought to surmount the zeale of revengement, and the desire of all temporall goods whatsoever; for otherwise he that doth excommunicate, doth damme himselfe. To this 9. conclusion notwithstanding it is congruent, that a prelate may excommunicate in the cause also of man, so that his principall respect in so doing be had to the injury done to his God, as appeareth 13. quæst. 4. Inter querelas.

10 No curse or excommunication can binde simply, but in case it be given out against the adversary of Christs Law.

And it appeareth thus, because that God doth binde simply every one that is bound, who cannot excommunicate but onely for transgression of his Law. Whereunto it is consonant notwithstanding, that the censure of the Church doth not binde simply, but secondarily in that case and respect, as it is denounced against the adversary of the members of the Church.

11 There is no example of Christ, which giveth power to his disciples to excommunicate any subject (especially for denying of any temporalities) but contrary.

Which is thus declared by the faith, whereby we beleve that God is to be beloved above all things, and our neighbour and enemy are to be beloved above all temporall goods of this world necessarily; for the Law of God cannot be contrary unto it selfe.

12 The disciples of Christ have no power by any civil coaction to exact temporall things by their censures.

This appeareth by the faith of the Scripture, Luk. 23. Where Christ did forbid his Apostles civilly to reigne or to beare any lordship. The kings (saith he) of the Gentiles beare rule over them; but you not so. And after this sense it is expounded of S. Bernard, of S. Chrysostome, and other holy men: which conclusion notwithstanding, yet may they exact temporall things by ecclesiastical censures incidently, if case be that it appertain to the retengement of their God.

13 It is not possible by the absolute power of God, that if the Pope or any other Christian doe pretend to binde or loofe at their pleasure by what meanes soever, that thereby he doth so binde and loofe.

The contrary of this conclusion will destroy the whole Catholike faith, importing no lesse but him to be a blasphemers which so usurpeth such absolute power of the Lord. And yet by this conclusion I intend not to derogate from the power of the Pope, or of any other prelate of the Church, but that he may by the vertue of the head so binde and loofe: but do understand the conditionall of this negative (to be impossible) after this sense, that it cannot be that the Pope or any other prelate of the Church can pretend by himselfe to binde or loofe (how and after what manner he list himselfe) except in such sort, that he do indeed so binde and loofe before God, as he doth pretend to do.

14 We ought to believe, that the Vicar of Christ doth at such times onely binde and loofe, when as he worketh conformably by the Law and ordinance of Christ, &c.

The reason thereof is this, because otherwise it is unlawfull for him to do, except he should do it in the vertue of that law; and so consequently, unless it be conformable to the law and ordinance of Christ.

15 To this conclusion, this ought universally to be believed, that every priest rightly and duly ordered hath power according to his vocation, &c.

{ KING }  
{ R I C . 2 . }

The power  
all priests  
ward God &  
quall.

The



**SKING}**  
**RIC. 2.**  
 Ordo sacer-  
 dotalis non  
 ascipit ma-  
 as & minus.  
 potestas or-  
 dinis.  
 potestas re-  
 giminis.

The reason hereof is this, because that the order of priesthood in his owne nature and substance receiveth no such degrees, either of more or lesse. And yet notwithstanding the power of inferiour priests in these dayes, is upon due consideration restrained, and sometimes againe in tyme of extreme necessity, released. And thus according to the Doctors, a prelate hath a double power, to wit, the power of order, and the power of iurisdiction or regiment. And according to this second power, the prelates are in a higher maiesty and regiment.

16 It is lawfull for Princes and Kings (in cases by the law limited) to withdraw temporall commodities from churchmen, abusing the same habitualiter.

The reason thereof is plaine, for that temporall lords ought rather to leane to spirituall almes, which bringeth with it great fruit, than to temporall almes the case so standing, that sometime it were a necessary worke of spirituall almes, to chastise such clerks by taking from them their temporall livings, which use to abuse the same, to the damnying both of their soule and body. The cases which the law doth limit in this matter, were the defect of correcting his spirituall head, or els for lack of correcting the faith of the clerk which so offendeth, as appeareth. 16. q. 7. filius, Dist. 40. cap. Si papa.

17 Whether they be temporall lords, or any other men whatsoever, which have indued any Church with temporalities, &c.

The truth thereof is evidently seene, for that nothing ought to stop a man from the principall works of charity necessarily, because in every action and worke of man is to be understood a privy condition necessary of God, his good will concurring withall, as it is in the civill law de c. Conradi cap. 5. in fine collat. x. And yet, God forbid, that by these words occasion should be given to the lords temporall to take away the goods of fortune from the Church.

18 An ecclesiasticall Minister, yea, the bishop of Rome may lawfully be rebuked of his subjects, and for the profit of the Church be accused, either of the clergie, or of the laitie.

The profe of this is manifest hereby, because the said bishop of Rome is subiect to fall into the sinne against the holy Ghost, as may be supposed, saving the sanctitude, humility and reverence due to such a father. For so long as our brother is subiect unto the infirmity of falling; he lieth under the law of brotherly correction. And when the whole colledge of cardinals may be slothfull in ministring due correction for the necessary prosperity of the Church: it is apparent that the residue of the body of the Church, which possibly may stand most of lay men, may wholely correct the same, accuse and bring him to a better way. The possibility of this case is touched, Dist. 40. Si Papa. If the pope do erre from the right faith, &c. For like as such a great fall ought not to be supposed in the lord pope without manifest evidence: so againe, such an obstinacie ought not to be supposed in him, possibly being fallen, but that he will humbly receive the wholesome medicine of his superiour, correcting him in the Lord. The practice of which conclusion also is testified in many Chronicles. Farre be it from the Church of Christ, that verity should be condemned which soundeth evil to transgressors and other slothfull persons, for then the whole faith of the Scripture were in a damnable case.

Thus John Wickliffe in giving his exposition unto his foresaid propositions and conclusions, as is above prefixed, through the labour and diligence of the Londoners either shifed off the bishops, or els satisfied them so, that for that time he was dismissed and escaped clearly away, onely being charged and commanded by the said bishops, that he should not teach or preach any such doctrine any more, for the offence of the lay people.

Thus this good man, being escaped from the by-

shops with this charge aforesaid, yet notwithstanding ceased not to proceed in his godly purpose, labouring and preaching still in the Church as he had begun.

Unto whom also (as it hapned by the providence of God) this was also a great help and stay, for that in the same year, or in the beginning of the next yeere following, the foresaid pope Gregory, which was the stirrer up of all his trouble against him, turned up his heeles and died. After whom ensued such a schisme in Rome, betwene two popes, and other succeeding after them, one striving against another; that the schisme thereof endured the space of 39. yeeres, until the time of the councell of Constance.

The occasioner of which schisme first was Pope Urban the 6. who in the first beginning of his pope-dome was so proud and insolent to his Cardinals, and other, as to Dukes, Princes, and Ducenes, and so set to advance his nephew and kindred, with injuries to other Princes, that the greatest number of his Cardinals and Courtiers by litle and litle shrunke from him, and set up another French pope against him, named Clement, who reigned 11. yeeres. And after him Benedictus the 12. who reigned yeeres 26. Againe of the contrary side after Urbanus the 6. succeeded Boniface the 9. Innocentius the 8. Gregorius the 12. Alexander the 5. John 13.

30 Papæ. yeeres. moneths. Antipapæ. yeeres.

Urbanus 6.	11.	8.	Clement.	11.
Bonifacius 9.	14.	9.	Benedictus, 13.	26.
Innocentius 8.	2.	0.		
Gregorius 12.	2.	7.		
Alexander 5.	0.	11.		
Iohannes 13.	5.	10.		

As touching this pestilent and most miserable schisme, it would require here another Iliad to comprehend in order all the circumstances and tragicall parts thereof, what trouble in the whole church, what parts taking in every countrey, what apprehending and imprisoning of priests and prelates taken by land and sea, what shedding of blood did follow thereof. How Dhuo, Duke of Brunfweicke and Prince of Tarantum, was taken and murdered. How Joan his wife, Queene of Jerusalem and Sicilia, who before had sent to pope Urban, beside other gifts at his coronation, xl. D. duckets in pure gold, was after by the said Urban committed to prison, and in the same prison strangled. What cardinals were racked, and miserably without all mercy tormented on gibbets to death, what slaughter of men, what battels were fought betwene the two popes, whereof 5000. on the one side were slaine, beside the number of them which were taken prisoners. Of the beheading of five cardinals together after long torments, and how the Bishop of Aquilonensis, being suspected of pope Urban, for not riding faster with the pope, his horse being not good, was there slaine by the popes commandement, sending his souldiers unto him to slay him, & cut him in peeces. All which things, with divers other moe acts of horrible cruelty, hapning in the time of this abominable schisme, because they are abundantly discoursed at full by Theodoricke Niem, who was neere to the said pope Urban, and present at all his doings: there fore as a thing needlesse I here pretermit; referring them who covet to be certified more amply herein, unto the three Books of the said Theodoricke above mentioned.

About the same time also, about 3. yeeres after, there fell a cruell dissention in England, betwene the common people and the nobilitie, the which did not a litle disturb and trouble the common wealth. In this tumult Simon of Sudbury Archbishop

The death of  
pope Gregorius  
11.  
A schisme in  
Rome.

Urbanus 6.  
pope.

Was not here  
a toyle agree-  
ment.

Theodoricke  
à Niem. de  
schismate.

Rebellion in  
England by  
Jacke Strawe



Simon the  
archbishop be-  
headed  
et Courtney  
archb. of Cant.

Barton chan-  
cellor of Ox-  
ford.

Anno  
1380.

An edict a-  
gainst the  
Wickliviſts.

of Canterbury, was taken by the rustical and rude people, and was beheaded. In whole place after suc-  
ceeded William Courtney, which was no lesse dili-  
gent than his predecessor had bene before him, in  
doing his diligence to rot out heretikes. Notwith-  
standing in the mean season Wickliffes leet increas-  
ed prively, and daily drew to greater force, untill  
the time that William Barton Vicechancellor of  
Oxford, about the yere of our Lord 1380. had the  
whole rule of that University: who calling together  
8. monastical doctors, and 4. other, with the consent  
of the rest of his affinity, putting the common seale  
of the University unto certaine writings, set forth  
an edict, declaring unto every man, and threatening  
them under a greivous penalty, that no man should  
be so hardy, hereafter to associate themselves with  
any of Wickliffes savorers or savorers: and unto  
Wickliffe himselfe he threatened the greater excom-  
munication, and further imprisonment, and to all  
his savorers, unlesse that they after thre dayes cano-  
nical admonition or warning, as they call it, pe-  
remptory, did repent and amend. The which thing  
when Wickliffe understood, forsaking the pope and  
all the clergy, he thought to appeale unto the kings  
maiesty: but the Duke of Lancaster comming be-  
tween, forbade him, that he should not hereafter at-  
tempt or begin any such matters, but rather submit  
himselfe unto the censure and iudgement of his Or-  
dinary. Whereby Wickliffe being beset with trou-  
bles and berations, as it were in the midst of the  
waves, he was forced once againe to make confessi-  
on of his doctrine: in the which his confession, to a-  
void the rigor of things, he answered as is afore-  
said, making his declaration, and qualifying his  
assertions after such a sort, that he did mitigate and  
assuage the rigor of his enemies.

The next yere after, which was 1382. by the com-  
mandement of William archbishop of Canterbu-  
ry, there was a convocation holden at London,  
whereas John Wickliffe was also commanded to be  
present. But whether he there appeared personally  
or not, I finde it not in story certainly affirmed. The  
mandate of the archbishop William Courtney (sent  
abroad for the convening together of this councill)  
here followeth under written, truly copied out of  
his own registers.

Memorandum, that where as well amongst the  
nobles as commons of this Realme of England,  
there hath a certain byte been spread of divers con-  
clusions both erroneous, and also repugnant to the  
determination of the Church, which tend to the sub-  
version of the whole Church, and to our province  
of Canterbury, and also to the subversion of the  
whole Realme, being preached in divers and sun-  
dry places of our said province, generally, com-  
monly, and publicly: We William by Gods  
permission Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate  
of all England, and Legate of the Sea Apostoli-  
call, being minded to execute our office and duty  
herein; have convoked or called together certaine  
our fellow brethren and others a great many, as  
well doctors and bachelors of divinity, as doctors  
of the canon and civil law, and those whom we thought  
to be the most famous men, skilfullest men, and men  
of soundest iudgement in religion, that were in all  
the realme, whose names hereunder ensue. And the  
same being (the 17. day of the moneth of May) in  
the yere of our Lord 1382. in a certaine chamber  
within the territories of the priory of the friers prea-  
chers of London, before us and our foresaid fellow  
brethren assembled, then and there personally pre-  
sent: After that the said conclusions (the tenor wher-  
of hereunder ensueth) were openly proponed, and di-  
stinly and plainly read: We burthened our foresaid  
fellow brethren, doctors, and bachelors, in the faith  
wherein they stood bound to our Lord Iesus Christ,  
and as they would answer before the high Judge in  
the day of Judgment, that they should speak their

opinions touching the said conclusions, and what e-  
very of them thinketh therein.

And at length, after good deliberation had upon  
the premisses, the foresaid our brethren the bishops,  
doctors and bachelors reassembled before us the 21.  
day of the same moneth in the foresaid chamber, the  
foresaid conclusions being againe and againe repea-  
ted and plainly read; by us and by the common con-  
sents of us all it remaineth published and declared,  
that some of the said conclusions are hereticall, and  
other some erroneous and contrary to the determi-  
nation of the Church, as hereafter most manifestly  
shall appeare. And forasmuch as by sufficient in-  
formatten we finde and perceive, that the said con-  
clusions in many places of our said province have  
been, as is said, both taught and preached; and that  
divers other persons do hold and maintaine the  
same, and be of heresie vehemently and notoriously  
suspected: we have thought good, as well generally  
as specially, to send out this processe underwritten.

The names of the lurers were these.

I Primitis eight Bishops, Canterbury, Winche-  
ster, Durban, Exeter, Hereford, Sarum, Roche-  
ster, and Frier Botlesham. B.

Item, thre friers preachers, Sitward, Paris,  
Langley.

Item, 4. minozities, Folville, Carlel, Frisly,  
Bernwell.

Item, Augustine friers foure, Ashborne, Boto-  
kin, Woldley, Hornington.

Item, Carmelites 4. Glanville, Dis, Loney,  
Linningham.

Item, Donkes 4. Wels, Ramsley, Bloray,  
Harton.

Item, doctors of the canon and civil law 14. Ap-  
pelby, Waltham, Waketon, Chabesen, Tregislon,  
Stow, Blanchard, Rocombe, Lidford, Welbourne,  
Flaineburgh, Potrum, Bandon and Propet.

Item, Bachelors of Divinity 6. Dumbleton;  
Pickwech, Lindlow, Wiche, Gifelden, Comton.

The articles of John Wickliffe here above spe-  
cified, wherof there were 10. which were by these  
friers condemned as hereticall, the rest as errone-  
ous, here in order follow, and are these. Although it  
may be thought, that some of them were made  
woyse by their sinister collecting, than he meant  
them in his owne woiks and writings.

The Articles of John Wickliffe, condem-  
ned as hereticall.

1 The substance of material bread and wine,  
both remaine in the Sacrament of the Altar  
after the consecration.

2 The accidents do not remain without the sub-  
iect in the same sacrament after the consecration.

3 That Christ is not in the sacrament of the altar  
truly and really, in his proper and corporall person.

4 That if a bishop or a priest be in deadly sin, he  
doth not order, consecrate, nor baptize.

5 That if a man be duly and truly contrite and  
penitent, all exterior and outer confession is but su-  
perfluous and unprofitable unto him.

6 That it is not found or stablished by the Gos-  
pell, that Christ did make or ordaine masse.

7 If the pope be a reprobate and evil man, and  
consequently a member of the Devil; he hath no  
power by any manner of meanes given unto him  
over faithfull Christians, except peradventure it be  
given him from the emperour.

8 That since the time of Urban the 6. there is  
none to be received for pope, but every man is to libe-  
rate the manner of the Greeks, under his own law.

9 That it is against the Scripture, that Eccle-  
siasticall Ministers should have any temporall pos-  
sessions.

KING  
Ric. 2.

This article  
either is han-  
dredonly repo-  
ted, or els can  
hardly be de-  
fended.

We meaneth  
church goods  
not to be so p-  
rullar to mi-  
sters, but tha  
they may be t-  
ken away if  
they be defect

The

The mandate  
of the archbi-  
shop.

Ex Registro  
Arch. Cant.  
Courtney.



KING  
RIC. 2.

*The other Articles of John Wickliffe,  
condemned as erroneous.*

10 **T**hat no prelate ought to excommunicate any man, except he knew him first to be excommunicate of God.

11 That he, which doth so excommunicate any man, is thereby himselfe either an heretike or excommunicated.

12 That a prelate or bishop excommunicating any of the clergy, which hath appealed to the king or the counsell, is thereby himselfe a traitor to the king and realme.

13 That all such, which do leaue off preaching or hearing the Word of God or preaching of the Gospel for feare of excommunication; they are already excommunicated, and in the day of iudgement shall be counted as traitors unto God.

14 That it is lawfull for any man, either deacon or priest, to preach the Word of God without the authority or licence of the Apostolike See or any other of his catholikes.

15 That so long as a man is in deadly sin, he is neither bishop nor prelate in the Church of God.

16 Also that the temporall lords may, according to their own will & discretion take away the temporall goods from such churchmen whensoever they do offend.

17 That tithes are pure almes, and that the parishioners may, for offence of their curats, detain and keep them back, and bestow them upon others, at their owne will and pleasure.

18 Also, that all speciall prayers applied to any private or particular person by any prelate or religious man, do no more profit the same person, than generall or uniuersall prayers do profit others, which be in like case or state unto him.

19 Moreover, in that any man doth enter into any private religion, whatsoever it be, he is thereby made the more unapt & unable to obserue and keep the Commandements of God.

20 That holy men, which have instituted private religions, whatsoever they be (as well such as are indued and possessed, as also for order of begging friers having no possessions) in so doing, have grievously offended.

21 That religious men, being in their private religions, are not of the Christian religion.

22 That friers are bounden to get their living by the labour of their hands, and not by begging.

23 That whosoever doth giue any almes unto friers, or to any begging obseruant, is accursed, or in danger thereof.

*The letter of the Archbishop directed to the  
Bishop of London, against John Wickliffe  
and his adherents.*

**W**illiam by Gods permission Archbishop of Canterbury, Metropolitane of all England, and of the apostolicall Sea legate; To our reverend brother by the grace of God Bishop of London, salutation. The Prelates of the Church ought to be so much the more vigilant and attentive about the charge of the Lords flocke committed unto them: how much the more they shall understand the Wolves, being clothed in sheepes apparell, fraudulently to goe about to worrie and scatter the sheepe. Truly by the continuall crie and bruted fame (which it grieveth me to report) it is come to our knowledge that although by the canonick sanctions, no man being forbidden or not admitted, should either publicly or privily without the authority of the Apostolical Sea or Bishop of that place, usurpe or take upon him the office of a preacher: Some notwithstanding, such as are the children of damnation, being under the vale of blinde ignorance, are brought into such a doting minde, that they take upon them to preach, and are not affraid to affirme and teach diuerse and sundry propositions and conclusions here under

recited, both hereticall, erroneous and false, condemned by the Church of God, and repugnant to the doctrine of holy Church, which tend to the subverting of the whole state of the same, of our province of Canterbury, and to the destruction and withdrawing of the tranquillite of the same, and that as well in the Churches, as in the streets, as also in many other prophane places of our said province, generally, commonly and publicly, doe preach the same, infecting very many good Christians, causing them lamentably to wander out of the way, and from the Catholike Church, without which there is no saluation. Wee therefore considering that so pernicious a mischief, which may creepe amongst many, wee ought not to suffer, and by dissimulation to passe over, which may with deadly contagion slay the soules of men, lest their blood be required at our hands; are willing to much as God will permit us to doe, to extirpate the same. Wherefore, by the counsell and consent of many of our brethren and Suffragans, wee have conuented diuers and sundry Doctours of Diuinity, as also professors and other clerks of the canon and ciuill lawes, the best learned within the Realme, and of the most soundest opinion and judgement in the Catholike faith, to giue their opinions and judgements concerning the foresaid conclusions. But forasmuch as the said conclusions and assertions, being in the presence of us, and our fellow brethren and other conuocates, openly expounded, and diligently examined, were in the end found by common counsell and consent as well of them as of us, and so declared that some of those conclusions were hereticall, and some of them erroneous, and repugnant to the determination of the Church, as hereunder are described. Wee will and command your brotherhood and by vertue of holy obedience straitly inioyne all and singular our brethren, and Suffragans of our body and Church of Canterbury, that with all speedy diligence you possibly can you likewise enioyne them (as wee have enioyned you) and every of them. And that every one of them in their Churches and other places of their City and Dioceffe, doe admonish and warne, and that you, in your Church and other Churches of your City and Dioceffe doe admonish and warne as wee by the tenour of these presents doe admonish and warne the first time, the second time, and the third time; and yet more straitly doe warne, assigning for the first admonition one day, for the second admonition another day, and for the third admonition canonically and peremptory, another day; That no man from henceforth of what estate or condition soever, doe hold, preach, or defend the foresaid heresies and errors or any of them; nor that he admit to preach any one that is prohibited or not sent to preach, nor that hee heare or hearken to the heresies of errors of him or any of them, or that hee fauour or leane unto him either publicly or privily; but that immediatly hee shun him, as hee would avoid a serpent putting forth most pestiferous poyson, under paine of the greater curse, the which wee command to bee thundred against all and every one which shall bee disobedient in this behalfe, and not regarding these our admonitions, after that those three dayes bee past which are assigned for the canonically admonition, and that their delay, fault or offence committed require the same: And then according to the tenour of these writings, wee command both by every one of our fellow brethren and our Suffragans in their Cities and Dioceffe, and by you in your City and Dioceffe (so much as belongeth both to you and them) that to the uttermost both yee and they cause the same excommunications to be pronounced. And furthermore wee will and command our foresaid fellow brethren, and all and singular of you apart by your selves, to be admonished, and by the asperision of the blood of Iesus Christ wee likewise admonish you; that according to the institution of the Sacred Canons; every one of them in their Cities and Dioceffe, be diligent

Had we not  
them by the  
touch, you  
should have  
fallen from  
otherwise.

He that heareth  
you shall thinke  
hee doth Gods  
good service.

This Article  
advantage  
as not to  
richly meant  
him as it  
as gathered  
them as it  
ordain.  
This article  
poudereth the  
article above

Letter of the  
Archbishop of  
Canterbury, a-  
gainst Wickliffe



diligent inquisitor of this hereticall pravity; and that every one of you also in your cities and diocesses be the like inquisitor of the foresaid hereticall pravity: And that of such like presumption they and you carefully and diligently inquire, and that both they and you (according to your duties and office in this behalfe) with effect doe proceed against the same, to the honour and praise of his name that was crucified, and for the preservation of the Christian faith and religion.

Here is not to be passed over the great miracle of Gods divine admonition or warning; for when as the archbishop and suffragan, with the other doctors of divinity and lawyers, with a great company of babling friers and religious persons were gathered together to consult as touching John Wickliffes books, and that whole sect; When as I say they were gathered together at the gray friers in London, to begin their businesse, upon S. Dunstons day after dinner, about two of the clock, the very houre and instant that they should goe forward with their businesse, a wonderfull and terrible earthquake fell throughout all England: whereupon diverse of the suffragans, being feared by the strange and wonderfull demonstration, doubting what it should mean, thought it good to leate off from their determinate purpose. But the archbishop (as chiefe captaine of that army, more rash and bold than wise) interpreting the chance which had happened clean contrary to another meaning or purpose, did confirme and strengthen their hearts and minds, which were almost daunted with feare, stoutly to proceed and go forward in their attempted enterprise. Who then discouraging Wickliffes articles, not according unto the Sacred Canons of the holy Scripture, but unto their owne private affections and traditions, pronounced and gave sentence, that some of them were simply and plainly hereticall, other some halfe erroneous, other irreligious, some seditious, and not consonant to the Church of Rome.

Item, the twelfth day of June, in the yere aforesaid, in the chamber of the friers preachers, the foresaid master Robert Higge, Chancellour of the University of Oxford, and Thomas Brightwell professors of Divinity (being appointed the same day and place, by the foresaid reverend father in God archbishop of Canterbury) appeared before him in the presence of the reverend father in God, lord William by the grace of God bishop of Winchester and divers other doctors and bachelors of Divinity and of the canon and civill law, whose names are before recited. And first the said Chancellor by the said lord Archbishop of Canterbury, being examined what his opinion was touching the foresaid articles, publicly affirmed and declared, that certaine of those conclusions were hereticall, and certaine erroneous, as the other doctors and clerkes aforesaid mentioned had declared. And then immediately next after him, the foresaid Thomas Brightwell was examined, which upon some of the conclusions at first somewhat staggered, but in the end being by the said Archbishop diligently examined upon the same, did affirme and repute the same to bee hereticall and erroneous, as the foresaid Chancellor had done. Another Bachelor of Divinity also there was named N. stammering also at some of those conclusions, but in the end affirmed that his opinion therein was, as was the judgement of the foresaid Chancellor and Thomas as is above declared. Whereupon the said lord Archbishop of Canterbury, willing to let and hinder the perill of such heresies and errors, delivered unto the foresaid Chancellor, there being publicly read, his letters patents to be executed, the tenor whereof in these words doth follow,

William by the grace of God Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, and legate of the Apostolicall See: To our welbelovéd sonne in Christ the Chancellor of the University of Oxford, within the Diocesse of Lincolne, greeting, grace, and benediction. The Prelats of the Church, about the Lords flocke committed to their charge, ought to bee so much more vigilant as that they see the Woollfe, clothed in sheepes attire, fraudulently goe about to worrie and scatter the sheepe. Doubtlesse, the common fame and brute is come unto our eares, &c. *¶ In mandatis præcedentis* Wee will therefore and command, straitly enjoining you, that in the Church of our blessed Lady in Oxford, upon those dayes in the which accustomedly the Sermon is made, as also in the schooles of the said University upon those dayes the Lectures bee read, yee publish and cause by others to bee published to the clergie and people, as well in their vulgar tongue, as in the Latine tongue, manifestly and plainly without any curious implication, the same hereticall and erroneous conclusions, so repugnant to the determination of holy Church, as is aforesaid; to have beene and bee condemned; which conclusions wee also declare by these our letters to bee utterly condemned. And that furthermore you forbid, and canonically admonish and cause to bee admonished, as wee by the tenour of these presents doe forbid and admonish you, once, twice, and thrice, and that peremptorily that none hereafter hold, teach, and preach, or defend the heresies and errors above said, or any of them, either in schoole or out of schoole by any sophistical cavillation or otherwise: or that any admit to preach, heare or hearken unto Iohn Wickliffe, Nicolas Herford, Philip Reppington, canon regular, or Iohn Ashton, or Laurence Redman, which bee vehemently and notoriously suspected of heresie, or else any other whatsoever, so suspected or defamed; or that either privately or publicly they either aide or favour them or any of them, but that incontinently they shun and avoid the same as a Serpent which putteth forth most pestiferous poyson. And furthermore wee suspend the said suspected persons from all scholasticall act, till such time as they shall purge themselves before us in that behalfe: and that you denounce the same publicly by us to have beene and bee suspended; and that yee diligently and faithfully enquire of all their fautors and favourers, and cause to bee enquired throughout all the halls of the said University. And that when you shall have intelligence of their names and persons, that yee compell all and every of them to abjure their outrages by ecclesiasticall censures and other paines canonically whatsoever, under paine of the greater curse, the which against all and singular the rebellious in this behalfe, and disobeying our monitions, wee pronounce: so that their fault, deceit, and offence in this behalfe deserve the same (the said monition of ours being first sent) which in this behalfe wee esteeme and allow canonically, that then and againe according to the effect of these our letters, &c. The absolution of all and singular such, which shall incur the sentence of this instrument by us sent forth (which God forbid) wee specially reserve unto our selves: exhorting you the Chancellor by the aspersing of the blood of Iesus Christ, that to the uttermost of your power hereafter you doe your endeavour, that the Clergy and people being subject unto you, if there bee any which have strayed from the Catholike faith by such errors, may bee brought home againe to the laud and honour of his name that was crucified, and preservation of the true faith. And further our will is, that whatsoever you shall doe in the premises, in manner and forme of our processe in this behalfe it be had and done: and that you for your part, when you shall bee required thereunto, plainly and distinctly doe certifie us by your letters patents, having the tenour hereof,

{ KING }  
RIC. 2.  
A letter of the  
Archbishop of  
Canterbury to  
the Chancellor  
of Oxford.

See rather for  
the honour of  
your pope and  
destruction of  
Christian  
religion.

An earthquake  
what time  
Wickliffe was  
examined.  
Ex Chron.  
mon. Alban.

Determination  
upon the arti-  
cles of Wick-  
liffe.

Make sure  
work.



**SKING**  
**RIC. 2.** } The conclusions and articles here mentioned in this letter are above prefixed. Of which some were condemned for hereticall, some for erroneous.

After this, within few days: the foresaid Archbishop William Courtney directed downe his letters of admonition to Robert Rigge commissarie of Herford, for the repressing of this doctrine: which yet notwithstanding, both then, and yet to this day (God be praised) both remaine: the copie of his monition to the commissary here out of his owne Register followeth.

### The monition of the Archbishop unto the foresaid Chancellor.

Another letter of the archbishop to the commissary of Herford.

**IN** *Dei nomine, Amen.* Whereas wee Wil. by the permission of God Archbishop of Canterburie, lord primate of England and Legate of the Apostolicall See, by the consent of our suffragans, have caused to bee assembled together divers clerkes both secular and regular of the Universtie of Oxford, within our province of Canterbury, and other Catholike persons to informe us of and upon certaine conclusions hereticall and erroneous, generally and commonly preached and published in divers places of the said province of Canterbury, to the subversion of the whole state of the Church, and our said province: And whereas also mature deliberation had upon the same, by the common councill of the said our suffragans and their convocates, it was declared, that certaine of the said conclusions, have bene and bee condemned, some for hereticall, and some for erroneous, and notoriously repugnant to the determination of the Church, which we also ourselves have declared to bee damnable: And have understood by credible information, and partly by experience, that thou Robert Rigge, Chancellor of the Universtie aforesaid, hast and dost incline partly to the foresaid damnable conclusions, whom also wee in this part have partly suspected, dost intend to molest these our clerkes above specified, and others adhering unto us in this behalfe as they ought to do, through thy subtle and sophisticall imaginations, fundrie and manifold waies; therefore wee admonish thee Master Robert Chancellour aforesaid, the first, second, and third time, and peremptorily, that thou dost not grieve, let, or molest, iudicially or extrajudicially, apertly or privily, or cause to bee grieved, let, and molested, or procure directly or indirectly by thy selfe or any other, as much as in thee lieth to bee grieved, the foresaid clerkes secular or regular, or such as favour them in the premises, in their scholasticall acts, or in any other condition whatsoever. And that thou suffer none hereafter to teach, maintaine, preach or defend any such heresies or errors in the said Universtie, either within or without the schooles: Neither that thou doe admit Iohn Wickliffe, Nicolas Herford, Philip Reppington, Iohn Ashton, or Laurence Redman, which are vehemently and notoriously suspected of heresie, or any other so suspected or defamed unto that office of preaching; but that thou denounce the said persons to be suspended, whom wee have suspended from all scholasticall act, whilest they cleare their innocencie in this part before us, under the paine of the great curse, which wee here in these writings denounce against thy person if thou shalt not obey those our admonitions with effect, as thy crime, subtiltie and offence in this behalfe shall require according to this our admonition premised; which wee repute in this part for canonically, as well then, as now, and now as well as then; reserving the absolution of this sentence excommunicatorie, if it happen to light upon thee, (as G O D forbid) specially unto our selves. Testified with the hands of the Iurers, above in the page 490. before specified

### The examination of Nicolas Herford, Philip Reppington, and John Ashton.

**T**he 18. day of the moneth and yeere aforesaid, in the chamber of the preaching friers afore mentioned, before the foresaid archbishop in the presence of divers doctors and bachelors of divinity and many lawyers both canon and civil, whose names are under written, appeared M<sup>r</sup>. Nicolas Herford, Philip Reppington, and John Ashton Bachelors of Divinitie. Who after a corporall oth taken to shew their iudgement upon the conclusions aforesaid, were examined severally, each one by himselfe, before the Archbishop. Who there required day and place to deliberate upon the conclusions aforesaid, and to give their answer unto the same in writing. And also required to have a copie of the said conclusions to be delivered unto them. The which copy by said Nicolas and Philip (being openly read unto them) received. Also the foresaid M<sup>r</sup>. John Ashton likewise was examined, and iudicially admonished by the said Archbishop by vertue of the oth, that he, setting aside all sophisticall words and subtilties, would say his minde fully and plainly upon the conclusions aforesaid. An. being asked moreover by the said archbishop whether he would have a further day to deliberate upon his answeres, as the foresaid Nicolas and Philip had before; said expressly that he would not; but would answer presently to those conclusions; and so for final answer said, as concerning all these conclusions (containing them all together) that his iudgement was in this behalfe to hold his peace. Wherefore the foresaid archbishop, repuning the said John herein to be suspected admonished him in forme of words as followeth: Wee admonish thee John Ashton, whom we repute to be defamed, and notoriously suspected of heresie, the first, the second, and third time, that in our province of Canterburie hereafter thou doe not preach publicly or privately without our special licence, under paine of the greater curse, which we denounce here by these presents against thy person, if thou obey not our monitions, for now as for then. And consequently, forasmuch as the said John being asked of the archbishop, confessed that he had heard before of the publication of the Archbishops Mandate, wherein was contained that no person prohibited or not sent should preach hereafter; the foresaid archbishop assigned to him friday next following, which was the 20. day of the same moneth, after dinner, to appeare before him either at Lambeth, or in the same place, to say for himselfe wherefore he might not bee pronounced for an heretike, and for such an one to bee denounced through his whole province. Also the said archbishop assigned to the foresaid Nicolas and Philip, the said day and place to answer peremptorily, & to say fully and plainly to the conclusion aforesaid, all sophistication of words and disputation set apart.

M<sup>r</sup>. John Ashton, examined.

The answer of John Ashton.

M<sup>r</sup>. Ashton inhibited again to appeare.

### The names of the friers that sate upon them, Friers Preachers.

Thomas Barnewell, William Swinherd, William Pickworth, Thomas Whately, Laurence Openham, John Leigh, John Baker.

Carmelites 3.

Walter Ditch, John Binningham, John Lobery, Augustine Friars.

Thomas Ashborne, doctor.

**I**n the twentieth day aforesaid of the said month of June, the yeere and place above prefixed, before the foresaid archbishop sitting in his tribunall seat, in the presence of divers doctors of Divinitie, and lawyers both civil and canon, personally appeared master Nicolas Herford, and Philip Reppington, bachelors of divinitie, and John Ashton, master of Art. Where the foresaid Nicolas and Philip, being required by the said Archbishop to answer, and say fully

20 of June.

Herford and Reppington appeared.



fully and plainly their iudgement upon the conclusions prefixed, to which purpose the said Archbishop had assigned to the said Nicolas and Philip the same tearme, did exhibit to the said archbishop, there iudicially sitting, certain answers in writing contained after the manner of indenture; the tenor whereof here under is contained, and after the same forme answered to the same conclusions. The tenor of which indenture, containing the foresaid conclusions to them moved as afoze, followeth in these wordes.

The protestation of Nicolas, Philip, and John, with their articles and answers to the same.

The protestation of Herford and Ashton exhibited to the archbishop.

Articles with the answer.

**W**E protest here as before, publicly in these presents, that wee intend to be humble and faithful children to the Church and holy Scripture, and to obey in all things the determinations of the Church. And if it shall chance us at any time, which God forbid, to swarve from this our intention, wee submit our selves humbly to the correctiō of our reverend father, lord Archb. of Canterbury, and primate of all England; and of all other which have interest to correct such swarbers. This protestation prefixed, thus we answer to the conclusions aforesaid.

That the substance of materiall bread and wine remaineth in the sacrament of the altar after consecration.

After the sense contrary to the Decretall, beginning Firmiter credimus, we grant that it is heresie.

That the accidents doe not remaine without the subject, after consecration of the Sacrament.

After the sense contrary to that Decretall, Cum Marthe: we grant that it is heresie.

That Christ is not in the Sacrament of the Altar truly and really in his owne corporall presence.

Although this conclusion as the words stand, sound to be probable and intelligible, yet in the sense contrary to the decretall in Cle. Si dudum, we grant that it is heresie. And briefly concerning this whole matter of the sacrament of the altar, as touching also all other things, we profess that we will both in word and sense hold with the holy scripture, with the determination of the holy church, and sayings of the holy Doctors.

Obstinately to affirme that it hath no foundation in the Gospell, that Christ obtained the masse; we grant that it is heresie.

That God ought to obey the Diabell.

In this sense, God in his own person or essence, ought to obey the Diabell with obedience of necessity.

We grant that it is heresie.

If a man be only contrite, that all externall confession is to him superfluous and unprofitable; we grant that it is heresie.

If the pope be a reprobate and an evil man, and consequently a member of the diabell, he hath no power over the faithful of Christ given to him of any unlesse it be of Cesar;

We grant that it is heresie.

That after pope Urban the 6. none is to be received for pope, but that wee ought to live after the manner of the Grecians, under our owne lawes;

We grant that it is heresie.

To say that it is against the holy Scripture for ecclesiasticall persons to have temporall possessions;

If obstinacie be ioynd withall, we grant that it is heresie.

That no prelat ought to excommunicat any man unlesse he know him before to be excommunicat of God. We grant that it is an error; Understanding this knowledge to signifie an experimentall knowledge; so that herewith may stand the decree of the church.

11. q. 3. Nemo Episcopo.

That he which doth so excommunicate is thereby an heretike or excommunicate.

After the sense, agreeing with the other before, we grant to be an error.

That a prelate excommunicating a clerke, which appealeth to the king or councill of the realme, in so doing is a traitor to God, the king, and the Realme; we grant it is an error.

That they which leave off to preach, or to heare the Word of God and the Gospell preached, for the excommunication of men, are excommunicate, and in the day of iudgement shall be counted for traitors to God.

Understanding this conclusion universally, so as Scripture and Lawes do understand such indefinite propositions, we grant it is an error.

To affirme that it is lawfull for any deacon or priest to preach the word of God without the authority of the sea apostolicke, or catholike bishop, or of any other whose authority he knoweth sufficient; we grant it is an error.

To affirme that there is no civil lord, no bishop nor prelate, whilest he is in mortall sinne, we grant it is an error.

That temporall lords may at their pleasure take away the temporall goods from churches, offending habitualiter; we grant it is an error, after this sense, that they may so take away temporall goods of the Churches, without the cases limited in the lawe of the Church and kingdomes.

That the vulgar people may correct the lords of tithes at their pleasure; understanding by this word may, that they may doe it by the law, we grant it is an error, because that subjects have no power over their lordes.

That tithes bee pure almes, and that parishioners may, for the offences of their curats, detain the same, and trespasse them to others at their pleasure; understanding by his word may, as before, to may by the law, we grant it is an error.

That speciall prayers applyed to any one person by prelates or religious men, do no more profit than the generall prayers, if there be no let by the way to make them unlike; understanding this conclusion universally negatively, and understanding by speciall prayers, the prayers made upon speciall devotion, and generall prayers of generall devotion; then after this sense, no such speciall prayers, applyed to any one person, by speciall orators, do profit more specially the said person, than generall prayers doe, which are made of the same, and for the same persons, we grant it is an error.

He that giveth almes to the friers, or to any frier that preacheth is excommunicate; both he that giveth, and he that taketh; understanding this proposition universally, or conditionally, as is aforesaid; we grant to be an error.

That who so entreteth into any private religion whatsoever is thereby made more unapt & unmeet to obey the commandments of God; we grant it is an error.

That such holy men as did institute any private religions whatsoever, as well of secular having possessions, as of friers having none, in so instituting did sin; understanding this reduplicatively or universally, we grant it an error. After this sense, that what Saint Ioeber did institute private religion, instituting the said religion upon that consideration as they did, did sin.

That religious men living in private religions, be not of the religion of Christ; understanding the proposition universally, as is aforesaid, we grant it is an error.

That friers are bound to get their livings by the labour of their hands, and not by begging; understanding this proposition universally, as before; we grant it is an error.

These things have we spoken reverend father and lord, in all humility, under your grations supportation and benigne correction, according to our abilities and slender capacities for this present (the honour of God, the veritie of our Beliefe, and safe Conscience in all points reserved) more humbly yet before.

{ KING }  
{ RIC. 2. }



{KING}  
{RIC. 2.}

beseeching you, that if any other thing there be, that seemeth meet unto your excellency and discretion to be moze or otherwise said and spoken, that your gracions fatherhood would vouchsafe to informe us as Children by the sacred Scriptures, by the determination of the Church, or authorities of the holy doctors. And doubtlesse with ready wils, and obedient minds, we will consent and agree unto your wholesome doctrine. May it therefore please your fatherhood, right reverend in God, according to the accustomed manner of your benignitie, labourably to accept these our words and sayings, forasmuch as the foresaid conclusions were never by us either in schools affirmed, or els in sermons publicly preached

Further examinations and proceedings against the foresaid Nicolas Herford, P. Reppington, and Iohn Ashton.

Further examinations against the said Nicolas, Philip, and Iohn, Nicolas Herford, Philip Reppington, Iohn Ashton examined.  
20. Iunii, An. 1582.

**W**hen all these answers were made unto the said lord archbishop of Canterbury, the said Nicolas and Philip, for that they answered not unto the meaning and words of the first conclusion expressly, but contrary to the sense of the decretall *Firmiter credimus*, were there iudicially examined what their sense and meaning was; but they would not expresse the same. Then was it demanded of them, according to the sense of the same conclusion declared on the behalfe of the said lord of Canterbury, whether the same materiall bread in numero, which before the consecration is laid upon the altar, remaine in proper substance and nature, after the consecration in the Sacrament of the Altar; and likewise of the wine: To this the said Nicolas and Philip answered, that for that time they could say no moze therein, than that they had already answered, as is before alleaged in writing. And for that unto the sense and words of the second conclusion they answered not fully and expressly, but in a sense contrary to the decretall *Cum Marthe*: being asked what was their meaning, they would not expresse the same: therefore it was demanded of them, according to the sense of the same conclusion, declared in the behalfe of the said lord of Canterbury, whether those corporall accidents which formally were in the bread and wine before the consecration of them, were in the same bread and wine after the consecration, or else were subiect in any other substance: To this they answered: that better to answer, than before in their writings they already had, for that time they could not. To the meaning also and words of the third conclusion for that they answered not plainly and expressly, but in sense contrary to the decretall in the Clementines *Si dudum*, being asked what was that sense and meaning, would not declare the same: Wherefore it was then demanded of them, according to the sense of the same conclusion, declared on the behalfe of the said lord of Canterbury, whether the same Body of Christ, which was assumed of the Virgin, be in the sacrament of the Altar, secundum seipsum, eben as hee is really in carnall substance, proper essence and nature: To this they answered; that for that time they could say no moze than that they had said, as before is specified in writing.

Furthermore, to the sense and text of the sixth conclusion, for that they answered not fully and expressly being asked whether God ought any manner of obedience to the diuell or not: they said, yea, as the obedience of love, because he loveth him, and punished him as he ought. And to probe that God ought so to obey the diuell, they offered themselves to the fire.

To the 11. conclusion, for that they answered not expressly, being asked whether a prelate might excommunicate any man being in the state of grace: they said, yea.

Unto the 20. conclusion, for that they answered not fully, simply, & expressly, being demanded whether speciall or generall prayers did most profit, and were of

greater force; they would not say but that speciall. Unto the last conclusion, for that they answered neither simply, nor expressly; and being demanded particularly, whether any Friar were bound to get his living with his manuell labour, so that it might not bee lawfull for them to live by begging; they would make no answer at all.

After that the foresaid lord archbishop of Canterbury demanded of all the foresaid doctors, that their iudgement was touching the answers that were made upon all and singular such conclusions. All which doctors and every of them severally said, that all the answers given unto the first, second, third, and fifth conclusions (as is before recited) were insufficient, hereticall and subtill; and that all the answers made specially to the tenth, ninth, and last conclusions, as is above mentioned, were insufficient, erroneous, and perverse. Whereupon the said lord archbishop of Canterbury, considering the said answers to be hereticall, subtill, erroneous, and perverse, accordingly as the said doctors (as is aforesaid) had weighed and considered, admonished the said Nicolas and Philip sufficiently under these forme of word.

The name of Christ being called upon, we William by Gods permission, archbishop of Canterbury, metropolitan of all England, and legat of the Apostolicke See, and through all our province of Canterbury, inquisitor of all hereticall pravitie, doe sufficiently and lawfully admonish and cite you Nicolas Herford, and Philip Reppington, professors of diabolie, having this day and place assigned you by your owne consent and our prescription, peremptorily to answer and to say fully and plainly your opinions touching these conclusions, whereunto we doe referre you (all subtill, sophisticall, and logicall words set apart) being thereunto sworn, cited, and commanded. Which thing to doe, without cause reasonable or any license given thereunto, you neither have beene willing, nor are willing, nay rather we contemptuously refused to answer to some of those conclusions before us iudicially, according to the effect of our monition, citation and commandement before said. But for that yee have answered unto some of them hereticall, and to other some erroneously, although not fully; we admonish and cite you once, twice, and thrice, and that peremptorily, that plainly and fully (all subtill, sophisticall and logicall words set apart) you and every of you answer unto the same conclusions, and unto that sense and meaning by us limited, under the paine that otherwise such conclusions by you confessed deserve, and that for the same conclusions you ought to have.

Which admonition being made and done, for that the foresaid Nicolas and Philip would make none other answer, the said lord archbishop of Canterbury concluded that businesse, prescribed and assigning unto the foresaid Nicolas and Philip, eight dayes space; that is to say, untill the 27. day of the same moneth, and that then they should appeare before the said lord archbishop of Canterbury, where soever within the same his province of Canterbury he should fortune to bee, to heare his decree that should bee made in that behalfe. This done, the foresaid Archbishop of Canterbury monished and cited lawfully and sufficiently, Iohn Ashton under the tenour of these words following.

In the name of God; We William by Gods permission, archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, legat of the See apostolicall, and through all our province of Canterbury, of all hereticall pravitie chiefe inquisitor, doe monish and cite thee I. Ashton, master of Art, and student in diabolie, appearing before us, iudicially to say and speake the plaine veritie touching these conclusions, to the which we doe referre thee, and to the which we have caused thee to swear, laying thy hand upon a book, as being also otherwise by us admonished and commanded.

The iudgement of the doctors upon these Articles.

Admonition and citation of the archbishop against the excommunicants.

Another day assigned for the excommunicants to appeare.

Process made by the archbishop against Iohn Ashton.



ded to keepe this day and place by us appointed, for the third tyme peremptorily, to propone such reasonable cause (if thou hast any) wherefore thou oughtest not to be pronounced an heretike. And sufficiently and lawfully wee monish and cite thee, the first, second, and third tyme, and that peremptorily, that thou fully and plainly (all subtilly, sophistically, and logicall wordes set apart) do answer unto the same conclusions under the paine that unto such conclusions belong, and on thy part confessed and that thou for such conclusions oughtest to suffer. Which monition being thus premised, the said archbishop read y<sup>e</sup> first conclusion, and of the said John inquired what was his opinion and meaning therein: and hereupon he said his mind concerning y<sup>e</sup> foresaid monition. Then the foresaid John Ashton; being often required by the archbishop, that he would answer in the Latine tongue, to those questions which were demanded of him, because of the lay people that stood about him; he, crying out in the English tongue, uttered frivo-  
lous and opprobrious contumelies to move and excite the people against the said Archbishop, as it should seeme. Neither did he unto the first conclusion, nor unto any of these other conclusions, effectually and pertinently seeme to them to answer; but rather by subtilties and shifts, saying oftentimes, and as expressly as Luke said, it was sufficient for him to believe as the holy Church believed. Then the said archbishop examined him upon the first conclusion touching the sacrament of the altar; whether that after the wordes of consecration there remaineth materiall bread, particular bread, or universall bread? He said the matter passed his understanding, and therefore said, he would in that forme and manner answer, and otherwise not: But amongst other things, he spake in deriding wise unto the said archbishop against this word Materiall, saying: You may put that in your purse, if you have any. Whereupon the said archbishop calling that an unwise and foolish answer, as the rest of the Doctors did (of whom mention was made before) he rather for that he was a graduate in the scholes, farther proceeded against the said John Ashton in this wise.

And thou John Ashton monished and commanded by us, as is aforesaid, after thine oth taken, without any reasonable cause or any other licence, neither wouldst thou, nor yet wilt, but refusedst and yet dost contemptuously, to answer unto such conclusions before us, iudicially according to our monition and commandement aforesaid; wee doe hold all such conclusions to be by thee confessed, and thee the foresaid John, with all thy foresaid conclusions, convicted. And therefore wee doe pronounce, and declare by sentence gtyving, that thou John Ashton, concerning those conclusions, which by us with good deliberation of divers prelates our suffragans, and also divers and sundry professors of Divinitie, and other wise men and learned in the law, according to the canonicall sanctions, being condemned and declared for an heretike and hereticall hast bene and still art an heretike, and thy conclusions hereticall. And as touching thy other conclusions, by us heretofore counted erroneous, and for erroneous condemned, wee do pronounce and declare sententially by these our writings, that both thou hast erred, and dost erre.

Upon the same 20. day of June, in the yere and place above recited, the foresaid lord of Canterbury being desirous, as he pretended, to bee informed by Thomas Hilman, bachelor of Divinitie, there being present, and somewhat favouring the said master John Ashton, what his iudgement and opinion was touching the foresaid conclusions, prestred and assigned unto the said Thomas (for that time demanding y<sup>e</sup> same deliberation and day) eight dayes after, that is to say, the 28. of y<sup>e</sup> said moneth, to appeare before the archbishop of Canterbury, wheresoever within his said province of Canterbury he should then have

pen to be, to declare plainly and fully what his iudgement and opinion was touching the foresaid conclusions. Ex Regist. W. Courtney.

### The names of friers and doctors assistant at the examination aforesaid.

Friers Observants, Boileham bishop of Paderborn, frier John Langley, William Sward.

Friers of Dominicks order, John Kingham, John Lopey, Peter Stokes, Walter Dith.

Friers Carmelites, Thomas Ashburn, Bankine, Robert Walbey.

Doctors and Friers Augustines, master John Warner, master Thomas Backton, master John Blanchard, master John Shillingford, P. Lidford, P. Thomas Southam.

The Friday next following, that is to say, the 28. day of June, the foresaid P. Nicolas, Philip, and Thom Hilman, appeared before the said archbishop and lord Inquisitor of Canterbury, in the chappel of his manor of Otford, in the diocese of Canterbury there sitting in his tribunall seat. To whom the said bishop of Canterbury saying: that because at that time he had not the presence and assistance of the doctors in divinitie and of the canon and civill law, he continued the said businesse touching the said Nicolas, Philip, and Thomas, in the same state wherein then it was, till Tuesday next and immediately ensuing, that is to say, the first day of July, the yere of our Lord aforesaid: and prestred unto the said Nicolas, Philip, and Thomas Hilman the same day to appeare before him, wheresoever within his province of Canterbury he should then chance to be, to do that which upon the said 28. day, they were purposed to do together or apart.

Which Tuesday being come, the foresaid archbishop in the chiefe house of his Church at Canterbury, before the house of 9. with the Doctors, whose names are under contained and other clerkes a great multitude; expected the foresaid Nicolas, Philip, and Thomas long time, by the beadle, calling them and looking after them; who nevertheless appeared not before two of the clocke after dinner the same day, continuing the foresaid businesse in the pristine state till the same houre. At which houre the foresaid archbishop of Canterbury, having assistants the doctors and clerks under recited, examined the foresaid master Thomas Hilman, then and there iudicially appearing, what his opinion was touching the foresaid conclusions; who at them and the meaning of them somewhat hammering, at last to all and singular the same conclusions then to him read and expounded, thus answered: I suppose and iudge all and singular those conclusions lately condemned by my lord of Canterbury that now is, together with the counsell and consent of his clerkes, to be hereticall and erroneous, even as the same my lord of Canterbury and other doctors of Divinitie, of the canon and civill law, by common consent and counsell have supposed and thought. And the same (being for heresies and errors, as before is said condemned) I do as much as in me is condemn; protesting that I will hold and affirme the contrary of those conclusions, and in the same faith live and dye. Then the said archbishop of Canterbury, then and there sitting as tribunall or Judge, pronouncing the said masters, Nicolas and Philip, long in court called before and tarried for, and yet not appearing guilty of contumacie and disobedience; excommunicated them for the penaltie of this their contumacie, in tenor of these wordes following.

We William by the grace of God archbishop of Canterbury, primate of England, legat of the apostolical See, and through all our province of Canterbury; of all hereticall pravitie chiefe inquisitor; do pronounce Master Nicholas Werford and Master Philip Keppington, Professours of Divinitie, having

SKING  
RIC2.

28. day of Jun  
An. 1381.

The 1. day of  
July An. 138.

The answer:  
Tho. Hilman

Alc. Werford  
and Phil. Keppington, for  
appearing, e  
communicate

Excommuni-  
cation pronoun-  
ced by the arch-  
bishop.

John Ashton  
severally exam-  
ined.

The archbi-  
shop and his  
frices doe see  
the English  
tongue for the  
people.

Whether materi-  
all bread re-  
maine in the sa-  
crament.

Master Tho-  
mas Hilman  
suspected to bee  
a favourer of  
John Ashton.  
The 20. day of  
June.

Daies given to  
Thomas Hil-  
man to answer.



**SING**  
**RIC. 2.** habing this day and place by our p̄fession appoin-  
ted to heare and decree in this businesse of hereticall  
pravitye (being in court by our Wode long called  
and tarried for and yet not appearing) to bee stub-  
borne and disobedient persons; and, for the penaltie  
of this their contumacie, wee doe excommunicate  
them and either of them by these presents.

The denouncing of the excommunication  
against Nicholas Herford, and Philip  
Reppington.

the 12. day of  
July, an. 1382.  
excommuni-  
cation to be de-  
nounced at  
Pauls crosse.

**W**illiam by Gods permission Archbishop of  
Canterbury, &c. To our beloved sonne in  
Christ, whosoever he be, that this instant Sunday  
shall preach at Pauls crosse in London, salutation,  
grace and blessing. Forasmuch as we p̄fired a cer-  
taine competent day and place to master Nicholas  
Herford, and master Philip Reppington, Canon  
regular of the Monastery of our Lady of Leicester,  
being doctors of Divinitie, and of hereticall pravitye  
vehemently suspected (after certaine answers not  
fully made, but unpertinent and nothing to the pur-  
pose, as also hereticall and erroneous) in divers places  
of our said province commonly, generally, and  
publicly taught and preached; and that therefore  
they should iudicially appeare before us, to doe and  
to receive preemp̄torily in that behalfe, what thing  
soever the quality of that businesse should move us  
unto; and that we have for their contumacie in not  
appearing before us at that day and place, iudicially  
appointed, as right therein required: We by these  
presents command and commit unto you, firmly  
injoining you, that when all the multitude of people  
shall be gathered together to heare your sermon, that  
in the day and place appointed you publicly & solemnly  
denounce the foresaid Nicholas and Philip, holding  
up a crosse, and lighting up a candle, and then throw-  
ing downe the same upon the ground, to have been  
so, and in such manner excommunicated, and still be.

Fare ye well. In our manor house at Lambeth,  
the 13 day of July, the yere of our Lord, 1382, and  
first yere of our translation.

The citation against the said Nicolas  
and Philip.

**W**illiam by the grace of God, &c. To our wel-  
beloved sonne M. Robert Rigge, Chancellor of  
the Univerſitie of Oxford, salutation, &c. Forasmuch  
as wee have p̄fired a competent day and place to  
M. Nicholas Herford, and M. Philip Reppington, &c.  
as before: We streitly charge and command you, that  
you publicly and solemnly denounce in the Church of  
our Ladie, and in the schooles of the Univerſitie, the  
foresaid Nicolas and Philip to have been by us excom-  
municated, and still be. And that you further cite, or  
cause to be cited preemp̄torily the foresaid Nicolas  
and Philip, that they and every of them appeare be-  
fore us within 15. dayes after the date of this citation,  
whereſoever it shall fortune us, within our said pro-  
vince of Canterburie, then to be: To heare and see  
how wee meane to proceed against them, and every  
of them, concerning the foresaid hereticall and erro-  
neous conclusions, according to the forme of retro-  
actions, and qualitie of the businesse in this behalf  
had and used. And that both of the day of the receipt  
of this present citation, of the manner and forme ther-  
of; or if that you shall apprehend by personall citi-  
on the said Nicolas and Philip, or either of them, or  
whether they shall bee absent and hide themselves, as  
of every thinge, which in this behalfe you shall  
thinke meete to be done; that betweene this and the  
feast of S. Laurence, you cleerly certifie us by your  
letters patents, containing the effect of these things.

Fare ye well. At our manor house at Lambeth the 13.  
day of July in the yere of our Lord 1382, and  
first yere of our translation.

The names of the Doctors and Friars  
assislants at this sitting.

Seculars, M. William Blancheperre, M. Will-  
iam Barton.

Friars Carmelites, Robert Cberic, prior, John  
Kunningham, prior, and John Lunne.

Friars Minors, William Barnwel, John Wyd-  
den, and William Bunscombe.

Friars Augustines, John Court, Patrington,  
Tomson and Keeper.

Against this blinde excommunication of the said  
archbishop the parties excommunicate commenced  
and exhibited their appeal unto the bishop of Rome.  
Which appeal of the rs as insufficient, or rather to  
him unpleasant, the said archbishop utterly reiected  
(as might oftentimes overcome right) proceed-  
ing in his preconceived excommunication against  
them, and writing moreover his letters to him that  
should preach next at Pauls crosse, as is aforesaid,  
to denounce and to publish openly the said Nicolas  
Herford, and Philip Reppington to be excommuni-  
cate, for not appearing at their tearme assigned.  
Which was in the 13. day of the moneth of July.

Which archbishop moreover the said yere, the mo-  
neth and day aforesaid, sent also another letter to J.  
Rigge, commissary of Oxford, straitly injoining  
and charging him, not only to denounce the said sen-  
tence of excommunication, and to give out publike  
citation against them, but also to make diligent  
search and inquisition through all Oxford for them,  
to have them apprehended and sent up to him, perso-  
nally before him to appeare at a certain day pre-  
scribed for the same. Whereby may appeare how bu-  
sie this bishop was in disquieting and persecuting  
these poore men, whom rather he should have nour-  
ished and cherished as his brethren. But as his labor  
is past, so his reward will follow, at what day the  
great Archbishop of our souls shall iudicially appeare  
in his Tribunal Seat, to iudge both the quicke and  
the dead.

The archbishop not yet contented with this, doth  
moreover by all meanes possible sollicite the king to  
ioyne withall the power of his temporall sword; for  
that he well perceived, that hitherto as yet the po-  
pish clergy had not authoritie sufficient, by any pub-  
like law or statute of this land, to proceed unto  
death against any person whatſoever, in case of reli-  
gion, but only by the usurped tyranny and example  
of the court of Rome. Where note (gentle Reader)  
for thy better understanding, the practice of the Ro-  
mish prelats in seeking the kings helpe to further  
their bloodie purpose against the god ſaunts of God.  
Which king being but young, and under yeeres of  
ripe indgement, partly induced, or rather seduced  
by importune suite of the foresaid archbishop, partly  
also either for feare of the bishops (for kings cannot  
alwayes doe in their realmes what they will) or else  
perhaps inticed by some hope of subsidy to be gathe-  
red by the clergy, was content to adioyne his privat  
assent (such as it was) to the setting downe of an  
ordinance, which was indeed the very first law that  
is to be found made against religion and the profes-  
sours thereof, bearing the name of an act made in  
the parliament holden at Westminster, An. 5. Rich. 2.  
Where among sundry other statutes then publi-  
shed, and yet remaining in the printed bookes of  
Statutes, this supposed Statute is to be found, cap.  
5. & ultimo.

Item, forasmuch as it is openly known that there  
be divers evil person within the realm, going from  
county to county, and from towne to towne, in cer-  
taine habits under dissimulation of great holinesse,  
and without the licence of the Ordinaries of the  
places, or other sufficient authority, preaching daily  
not only in Churches and Churchyards, but also in  
Markets, Faires, and other open places where a  
great

The excommuni-  
cation of  
Nicholas and  
Reppington  
denounced at  
Pauls crosse.

13. day of July  
an. 1382.

Other letters  
of the archbi-  
shop sent to the  
Chancellor of  
Oxford.

Nicholas no  
law to burne  
any man for  
religion.

The king ex-  
communicated by  
the archbishop.

The first law  
to be found  
made by the  
clergy for bur-  
ning the profes-  
sors of reli-  
gion.  
An. 5. Rich.  
secundi.

This statute  
was made by  
the clergy,  
without con-  
sent or know-  
ledge of the  
commons.



great congregation of people is, divers sermons containing heresies and notorious errors, to the great embleming of Christian faith and destruction of the labors, and of the estate of holy church, to the great perill of the soules of the people, and of all the realme of England, as more plainly is found, and sufficiently proved before the reverend father in God the archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishops and other prelates, masters of Divinitie, and doctors of canon and of civill law, and a great part of the clergie of the said realme, specially assembled for this great cause; which persons doe also preach divers matters of slander, to ingender discorde and dissention betwixt divers estates of the said realme, as well spirituall as temporall, in exciting of the people to the great perill of all the realme: which preachers being cited or summoned before the Ordinaries of the places, there to answer to that whereof they bee impeached, they will not obey to their summonings & commandements, nor care not for their monitions nor censures of the holy church, but expressly despise them; and moreover, by their subtle and ingenious words, doe draw the people to heare their sermons, and doe maintaine them in their errors by strong hand, and by great routs: It is ordained and assented in this present parliament, that the kings commissions be made and directed to the Sherriffes and other ministers of our soveraigne Lord the king, or other sufficient persons learned, and according to the certifications of the prelates thereof, to be made in the Chancery from time to time, to arrest all such preachers, and also their fautors, maintainers and abettors, and to hold them in arrest and strong prison, till they will iustifie themselves according to the law and reason of holy church. And the king willet and commandeth, that the Chancelor make such commissions at all times, that he by the prelates, or any of them shall be certified and thereof required, as is aforesaid.

#### An examination of the foresaid supposed Statute, and of the invalidity thereof.

**W**hich supposed statute forasmuch as it was the principall ground whereupon proceeded all the persecution of that time; it is therefore not impertinent to examine the same more particularly, whereby it shall appeare, that as the same was fraudulently and unduly devised by the prelates only, so was it in like manner most injuriously and unorderly executed by them, for immediately upon the publishing of this law, with ut further warrant either from the king or his counsell, commissions under the great Seale of England were made in this forme: Richard by the grace of God, &c. ut patet act. pag. 541. Witnesse my selfe at Westminster the 26. day of June, in the sixth yeare of our raigne. Without more words of warrant under written, such as in like cases are both usuall and requisite; Viz. per ipsum Regem: All or which words being utterly wanting in this place, as may bee seene in the kings records of that time; it must therefore be done either by warrant of this foresaid statute, or els without any warrant at all. Whereupon it is to be noted, that where as the said statute appointed the commissions to be directed to the Sherriffe, or other ministers of the kings, or to other sufficient persons learned for the arresting of such persons; the said commissions are directed to the archbishop and his suffragans, being as it appeareth parties in the case, authorizing them further without either the words, or reasonable meaning of the said Statute, to imprison them in their owne houses, or where else pleased them.

Besides also, what manner of law this was, by whom devised, and by what authority the same was

first made and established, Judge by that that followeth: viz.

In the 11<sup>th</sup> of Saint Michael next following, at a parliament summoned and holden at Westminster, the sixth yeare of the said king, among sundry petitions made to the king by his commons, whereunto he assented, there is one in this forme, Article 52.

Item, prayen the commons, that whereas an statute was made y<sup>e</sup> last parliament in these wordes: It is ordained in this present parliament, that commissions from the king be directed to the Sherriffes and other ministers of the king, or to other sufficient persons skilfull, and according to the certifications of the prelates thereof, to be made unto the chancery from time to time, to arrest all such preachers, and their fautors, maintainers and abettors: And them to detaine in strong prison, untill they will iustifie themselves according to reason, and law of Holy Church: And the king willet and commandeth that the Chancelor make such commissions at all times as he shall be by the prelates or any of them certified, and thereof required, as is aforesaid. The which was never agreed nor granted by the commons: but what so ever was mooved therein, was without their assent. That the said statute be therfore disannulled, for it is not in any wise their meaning, that either themselves, or such as shall succeed them, shall bee further iustified or bound by the prelates, than were their ancestors in former times, whereunto is answered, il plaist, aa. Roy. 1. the king is pleased.

Hereby notwithstanding the former unjust law of An. 1. was repealed, and the fraud of the framers thereof sufficiently discovered: yet such meanes was there made by the prelates, that this act of repeale was never published, nor ever since imprinted with the rest of the statutes of that parliament. Insomuch as the said repeale being concealed, like commissions and other processe were made from time to time, by vertue of the said bastard statute, as well during all the raigne of this king, as ever since against the professors of religion; as shall hereafter by the grace of God appeare in the second yeare of king Henry the fourth, where the clergie pursued the like practice. And now againe to the storie of our Drfozd Divines, and of the archbishop, to whom the king writeth his letters patents, first to the archbishop then to the Wicechancelor of Drfozd in forme as followeth.

#### The kings letters patents to the Archbishop.

**R**ichard by the grace of God king of England, and lord of Ireland, To all those to whom these present letters shall come, greeting. By the petition of the reverend father in God, William archbishop of Cantuarie, Primate of England, exhibited unto us, wee right well understand: That divers and sundrie conclusions, very contrary to wholesome doctrine, and redounding both to the subversion of the catholike faith, the holy church, and to his province of Canterbury, in divers and sundry places of the same his province, have bene openly and publicly preached, although damnablely preached: Of the which conclusions, some as heresies, other some as errors have bene condemned, but not before good and mature deliberation first therein had and used; and by common counsell of the said archbishop, his suffragans, and many Doctors in Divinity, and other clerkes and learned men in the holy Scriptures, were sententially and wholesomely declared. Whereupon the said archbishop hath made his supplication unto us; that both for the coercion and due castigation of such as shall he needforth of an obdurate minde, preach or maintaine the foresaid conclusions, wee would vouchsafe to put to the arme and helping hand

THE KING  
RIC. 2

The petition of the commons for the repealing of the foresaid statute.

The statute repealed.

The king on first the repeale.

Note that this statute was repealed afterwards at the instance of the commons.

No usuall words of warrant affixed to this commission.

The kings letter against the faburers of Wickliffe.



{KING}  
{Ric. 2.}

The 16. day of  
June an. 1382.

of our kingly power. Wee therefore moved by the zeale of the Catholike faith, whereof wee bee, and will bee defenders, and unwilling that any such heresies or errors should spring up within the limits of our dominion: Give and grant speciall licence and authority, by the tenour of these presents, unto the foresaid Archbishop, and to his suffragans, to arrest and imprison either in their owne prisons, or any other, all and every such person and persons, as shall either privily or apertly preach and maintain the foresaid conclusions, so condemned; and the same persons so imprisoned there at their pleines to detaine, till such time as they shall repent them and amend them of such hereticall pravityes, or else it shall bee of such arrests, by us and our Councell otherwise determined and provided: Further charging and commanding all and singular our liegemen, ministers and subjects, of what state and condition soever they bee, upon their fidelity and allegiance, wherein they stand bound to us, that by no means they either favour, counsell, or helpe the Preachers, or else maintainers of the said conclusions so condemned, or their favourers, upon paine and forfeiture of all that ever they have; but that they obey and humbly attend upon the said Archbishop, his Suffragans, and ministers, in the execution of these presents, so that due and manifest publication against the foresaid conclusions and their maintainers, without any perturbation, may be done and executed, as for the defence of our Realme and catholike faith shalbe thought most meet and requisite. In witnesse whereof, wee have caused these our letters patents to be made.

Witnesse our selfe at Westminster the  
16. of Iune, and sixth yeare of our  
raigne.

*The Kings Letters patents to the  
Vicechancellor.*

Another letter  
of the king to  
the Vicechan-  
cellor.

**T**He King, to the Chancellor and the Procurators of the University of Oxford which now bee, or for the time being shall be, greeting. Moved by the zeale of Christian faith, whereof we be, and alwayes will be defenders, and for our soules health induced thereunto, having a great desire to repress, and by condigne punishment to restrain the impugners of the foresaid faith, which newly and wickedly goe about and presume to fow their naughty and perverse doctrine within our kingdome of England, and to preach and hold damnable conclusions, so notoriously repugnant and contrary to the same faith, to the perverting of our subjects and people, as wee understand: Before they any further proceed in their malicious errors, or else infect others. Wee have by these presents appointed you to bee Inquisitor generall (all the chiefe Divines of the said University being your assistants) and the same likewise to be done of all and singular the graduates, divines, and lawyers of the same University. And if they shall know any which bee of the jurisdiction of the said University of Oxford, which bee probably of them suspected to bee in the favour, beleefe, or defence of any heresie or error, and specially of any of the conclusions publicly condemned by the reverend father, William, Archbishop of Canterbury, by the counsell of his Clergy, or else of any other conclusion like unto any of them in meaning, or in words; and that if henceforth you shall find any that shall beleefe, favour, or defend any of the foresaid heresies or errors, or any other such like; or else which shall bee so bold to receive into their houses and Innes, Master John Wickliffe, Master Nicholas Herford, Master Philip Reppington, or Master John Ashton, or any other noted by probable suspition of any the foresaid heresies, or errors, or any other like unto them in meaning, or in word: Or that shall presume to communicate with any of them, or else to defend or favour any of such favourers, receivers, communicants; and defen-

ders, within seven dayes after the same shall appere and bee manifest unto you, that you banish in respect them from the University and towne of Oxford, till such time as they shall declare their innocencie before the Archbishop of Canterbury: the time being, by manifest purgation. So notwithstanding that they are compelled to purge themselves, you certify us and the said Archbishop, under your seales, from time to time within one moneth, that they bee such manner of men. Commanding furthermore, that through all the halls of the said University yee cause diligently to bee searched and inquired out of hand; If any man have any booke or tractation of the edition, or compiling of the foresaid M. Iohn Wickliffe, or M. Herford: and that when and wheresoever yee shall chance to finde any such booke or tractation, ye cause the same to bee arrested and taken, and unto the foresaid Archbishop within one moneth (without correction, corruption, or mutation, whatsoever) word for word, and sentence for sentence, to be brought and presented. And therefore wee straitly enjoyne and command you, upon your fidelitie and allegiance wherein yee stand bound unto us, and upon paine of forfeiture of all and singular your liberties and privileges of your said University, and of all that ever you have besides; that you give your diligent attendance upon the premises, and that well and faithfully you execute the same in manner and forme aforesaid. And that you obey the foresaid Archbishop, and his lawfull and honest mandates, that hee shall thinke good to direct unto you in this behalfe, as it is meet yee should. And wee give in charge unto the Vicechancellor and Major of Oxford for the time being, and to all and singular our Sheriffes, and Vnder-sheriffes, Bailiffes, and subjects by these presents; that they aid, obey and be attendant upon you in the execution of the premises. In witnesse whereof, &c. Witnesse the king at Westminster the thirteenth day of Iuly, the sixth yeere of his raigne.

**B**esides these letters patents, the said young king moved by the unquiet importunitie of the Archbishop, sendeth moreover another speciall letter to the Vicechancellor and Proctors of the University of Oxford. Wherin, under a pretended zeale of defence of Christian faith, he straitly and sharply entymeth and assigneth them (for the utter abolishing of those conclusions and opinions) to make a generall inquisition through the whole University, as well for the parties aforesaid, John Wickliffe, Nicolas Herford, Philip Reppington, John Ashton, and such others, as also for al other whom they know or iudge to be suspected of that doctrine, or to be maintainers, receivers, and defenders of the foresaid parties, or their conclusions any manner of way: to the intent that they being so apprehended through their diligent search, may be within seven dayes of their admonitions expelled the University, and cited up to the Archbishop of Canterbury, before him to appeare and to stand to their answers. Willing moreover and commanding the said Vicechancellor and proctors with other regents their assenters; that if any person or persons in any house, hall, or colledge, or in any other place shall bee found to have any of their bookes or treatises compiled by the said John Wickliffe, Nicolas Herford, &c. they will cause without delay the said person or persons with their bookes, to be arrested and attached, and presented within one moneth, without correction, corruption, or mutation, to the foresaid Archbishop, upon their faith and allegiance, as they will avoid the forfeiture of all and singular the liberties and privileges of the university appertaining. And that they will be obedient to the Archbishop aforesaid in the ordering hereof, and al other his injunctions to be obeyed in all things lawfull and honest. Giving moreover in these our letters charge and commandment

The 13. day of  
Iulie an. 1382.

Another Marpes  
letter of King  
Richard sent to  
Oxford against  
Wickliffe and  
his fellowes.  
The effect of  
the kings letters  
briefly comprised  
hence.

The persons  
with their  
bookes to be  
arrested.



to the maiors, bailiffes, and other the inhabitants of Oxford to be assistant & attendant unto the foresaid vicechancellor and proctors, touching the execution of the premises, bearing the date of the 14. day of July, which was the yere of our L. 1382.

Matters incident of Robert Rigges, Vice-chancellor of Oxford, Nicolas Herford, and Philip Reppington, with others.

**T**he Vicechancellor the same time in Oxford was M. Robert Rigge. The two proctors were John Huntman, and Walter Dilly; who then, as far as they durst, laboured the cause of John Wickliffe and that side. Inasmuch that the same time and yere, which was an. 1382. when certayne publike sermons should be appointed customably at the feast of the Ascension, and of Corpus Christi, to be preached in the cleyster of S. Fridelwides (now called Christs Church) before the people, by the vicechancellor aforesaid and the proctors: the doings therof the vicechancellor aforesaid and proctors had committed to Philip Reppington & M. Her. so that M. Her. should preach on the Ascension day, and Reppington upon Corpus Christi day. First, Herford beginning was noted to defend John Wickliffe openly to be a faithfull, good, and innocent man; for the which no small ado with outcries was amongst the friers. This Herford, after hee had long laboured and maintained Wickliffes part grew first in suspicion amongst the enemies of the truth. For as soon as he began somewhat liberally and freely to pronounce and utter any thing, which tended to the defence of Wickliffe; by and by the Carmelites, and all the orders of religion were on his top, and laid not a few heresies unto his charge; the which they had strained here and there out of his sermons, and had compiled together in a certayne forme, by the hands of certayne notaries (through the industry and diligence of one Peter Stokes a Carmelite, a kind of people prone and ready to all kind of mischief, upproes and debate, and dissention.) After this the feast of Corpus Christi drew nere; upon which day it was looked for that Reppington should preach. This man was a canon of Leicester, and had before taken his first degree into doctorship, who preaching the same time at Bodgates, for the same sermon he became first suspected, and hated of the Pharisaical broode of the friers; but through the great and notable dexterity of his wit (which all men did behold and see in him) accompanied with like modesty and honesty, he did so overcome, as at the least allwage this cruelty and persecution which was towards him, that shortly after, by the consent of the whole fellowship, hee was admitted doctor. Who as soon as hee had taken it upon him, by and by he stepped forth in the scholes, and began immediately to shew forth and utter that which he had long hidden and dissembled. Protesting openly, that in all moztall matters he would defend Wickliffe. But as touching the sacrament hee would as yet hold his peace, untill such time as the Lord shall otherwise illuminate the hearts and mindes of the clergie.

Now the day of Corpus Christi aforesaid approaching neer, when the friers understood that this man should preach, fearing lest that he would rub the galls of their religion, they convented with the archbishop of Canterbury that the same day, a little before that Philip should preach, Wickliffes conclusions, which were privately condemned, should be openly debated in the presence of the whole Universitie. The doing of which matter was committed to Peter Stokes frier, standard-bearer and chiefe champion of that side against Wickliffe.

There were also letters sent unto the commissary, that he should helpe and aid him in publishing of the same conclusions, as is before declared.

These things thus done and finished, Reppington

at the houre appointed proceeded to his Sermon. In the which sermon, among many other things, he was reported to have uttered these sayings, as to this effect.

That the popes or bishops ought not to be recommended above temporal lordes.

Also that in moztall matters he would defend master Wickliffe as a true catholike doctor.

Moreover, that the duke of Lancaster was very earnestly affected and minded in this matter, and would that all such should be received under his protection; Besides many things moztall which touched the praise and defence of Wickliffe.

And finally, in concluding his sermon, hee dismissed the people with this sentence; I will (said he) in the speculative doctrine, as appertaining to the matter of the sacrament of the Altar, keepe silence and hold my peace, untill such time as God otherwise shall instruct and illuminate the hearts of the clergy.

When the sermon was done, Reppington entred into S. Fridelwides Church, accompanied with many of his friends: who, as the enemies surmised, were privily weaponed under their garments, if need had bene. Frier Stokes the Carmelite aforesaid suspecting all this to be against him, and being afraid of hurt, kept him within the Sanctuary of the Church, not daring as then to put out his head. The Vicechancellor and Reppington, friendly saluting one another in the church porch, sent away the people, and so departed every man home to his owne house. There was not a little toy through the whole Universitie for that Sermon: but in the meane time, the inquiet and busie Carmelite slept not his matter. For first by his letters he declared the whole order of the matter unto the Archbishop, exaggerating the perils and dangers that he was in, requiring and desiring his helpe and aid, pretermittng nothing whereby to move and stirre up the archbishops minde, which of his owne nature was as hot as a test, as they say, and ready enough to prosecute the matter of his owne accord, though no man had pickt him forward thereunto. Besides all this (three dayes after) with a fierce and bold courage, the said frier, breathing out threatnings and heresies against them, toke the way unto the scholes, minding there to probe, that the pope and the bishops ought to be prayed for before the lords temporal.

Whilst this frier was thus occupied in the scholes he was mocked and derided of all men, and shortly after hee was sent for by the archbishop to London: whom immediately after the vicechancellor and Brightwell followed up, to purge and cleare themselves and their adherents from the accusations of this frier Peter. At the length they being examined upon Wickliffes conclusions that were condemned; they did all consent, that they were moztallly condemned. The vicechancellor being afterward accused for the contempt of the archbishops letters when as he perceived and saw that no excuse would prevaile to avoid that danger, humbling himselfe upon his knees hee desired pardon. The which when he had now againe (as is aforesaid) albeit very hardly obtained; by the helpe of the bishop of Winchester hee was sent away againe with certayne commandmentes, and suspensions of heretike. Then began the hatred on either part somewhat to appeare and shew, and specially all men were offended, and in the tops of these friers and religious men; unto whom, whatsoever trouble or mischief was raised up, they did impute it as to the authors and causes of the same. Amongst whom there was one Henry Crompe, a monke Cistercian, a well learned divine, which afterward was accused by the bishop of heresie. He at that time was openly suspected by the Commissary, because in his lectures he called the heretiks Lollards his ads (as they terme them) in the Schoole. Then he, coming

{ KING  
{ R I C. 2 }

Notes of the  
Sermon of  
Reppington.

The Universitie  
rejoiceth.

Whether the  
lords temporal  
were to be prayed  
for before  
the bishops.  
The frier per-  
sued and mocked  
in the scholes

Religious men  
first an accus-  
ed and mocked  
this trouble.

Henry Crompe  
first an accus-  
ed of heresie, after  
accused himself  
for heresie.

The 14. day of  
July, an. 1382.

Robert Rigge  
Vicechancellor  
of Oxford.

Nicholas Her-  
ford preaching  
on day, defend-  
ed Wickliffe.

Reppington first  
canon of Leice-  
ster, after Bi-  
shop of Lin-  
colne.

Reppington  
commented  
doctor.

Peter Stokes  
standard-bearer  
to the papist.



{ KING }  
{ RIC. 2. }

ming by and by up to London, made his complaint unto the Archbishop and to the Kings Counsell.

Whereupon he obtaining the letters of the king, and of his counsell, by the vertue thereof (returning againe to the Univerſity) he was releaſed and reſtoꝛed againe to his former ſtate: the words of which letter here followeth under written.

*The copy of the Kings Letter.*

THE King to the Vicechancellour and Procurators of the Univerſity of Oxford, greeting. Whereas wee of late underſtanding by the grievous complaint of Henry Crompe, monke, and regent in Divinity within the ſaid Univerſity, how that he, being aſſiſted by the reverend father in God the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and by other clerks and Divines in the City of London, to proceed in the condemnation of certaine concluſions erroneous and hereticall, hath beene therefore moleſted by you; and that you thorow ſiniſter ſuggeſtion of ſome adverſaries (pretending the peace of the ſaid Univerſity to have beene broken by the ſaid Henry in his laſt Lecture) did therefore call him before you to appeare and anſwer; and for his not appearing did therefore pronounce him as obſtinate, and convict of peace breaking; and have alſo ſuſpended the ſaid Henry from his Lectures and all ſcholasticall acts. And whereas wee by our Writ did call you up for the ſame, to appeare and anſwer before our Counſell unto the premiſſes; and, all things being well tried and examined by the ſaid Counſell, it was found and determined, that all your proceſſe againſt the ſaid Henry was void and of none effect, and commandement given, that the ſaid Henry ſhould bee reſtored and admitted againe to his former Lectures and ſcholasticall acts, and to his priſtine ſtate as you know. To the intent therefore that this decree aforeſaid ſhould bee more duely executed of your part, wee here by theſe preſents ſtraiſtly charge and command you, that you ſpeedily revoking againe all your proceſſe againſt the ſaid Henry in the Univerſity aforeſaid, with all other that followed thereof; do admit and cauſe to be reſtored againe the ſaid Henry to his ſcholasticall acts, his accuſtomed lectures and priſtine eſtate, without all delay according to the forme of the decree and determination aforeſaid. Enjoyning you moreover, and your commiſſaries or deputies, and your ſucceſſors, and all other maſters, regent and not regent, and other preſidents, officers, miniſters, and ſchollers of the Univerſity aforeſaid, upon your faith and allegiance you owe to us, that you do not impeach, moleſt or grieve, or cauſe to bee grieved (any manner of way, privy or apert) the ſaid Frier Henry for the cauſes premiſed, or Frier Peter Stokes Carmelite, for the occaſion of his abſence from the Univerſity, or Frier Stephan Packington Carmelite, or any other religious or ſecular perſon favouring them, upon occaſion of any either word or deed whatſoever, concerning the doctrine of Maſter Iohn Wickliſſe, Nicholas Herford, and Philip Reppington, or the reprooſe and condemnation of their hereſies and errors, or the correction of their favourers; but that you doe procure the peace, unity, and quiet within the ſaid Univerſity, and chiefly betweene the religious and ſecular perſons; and that you with all diligence nourish, increaſe, and preſerve the ſame to the uttermoſt of your ſtrength. And that you in no caſe omit to doe it accordingly, upon the forfeitures of all and ſingular the liberties and privileges of the Univerſity aforeſaid.

Witneſſe my ſelfe at Weſtmiſter, the fourteenth day of Iuly.

Mention was made, as you heard a little before, how Maſter Rigges Vicechancellor of Oxſord, coming up with Maſter Brightwell to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, was there ſtraiſtly examined of the concluſions of Wickliſſe, where he notwith-

ſtanding, through the helpe of the Biſhop of Wincheſter, obtained pardon, and was ſent away againe with commandements and charges to ſeeke out all the favourers of Iohn Wickliſſe. This commandement being receibed: Nicolas Herf. 20, and Philip Reppington (being pitifully warned by the ſaid Vicechancellor) in the meane ſeaſon conveyed themſelves out of ſight, and fled to the Duke of Lancaſter for ſuccour and helpe: but the Duke, whether for feare, or for what cauſe elſe I cannot ſay, in the end forlooke his poꝛe and miſerable clients.

In the meane time, while they were fled thus to the Duke, great ſearch and inquiſition was made for them, to cite and to apprehend them whereſoever they might be found. Whereupon the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, William Courteney, directed out his letters firſt to the vicechancellor of Oxſord, then to the Biſhop of London named Robert Braybrooke; charging them not onely to excommunicate the ſaid Nicolas & Philip within their iuriſdiction, and the ſaid excommunication to be denounced likewiſe throughout all the dioceſſe of his ſuffragans; but alſo moreover, that diligent ſearch and watch ſhould be laid for them, both in Oxſord and in London, that they might be apprehended; requiting moreover by them to be certiſied againe, what they had done in the premiſſes. And this was written the fourteenth day of Iuly, anno 1382. Ex Regit.

Unto theſe letters receibed from the Archbiſhop diligent certiſicat was given accordingly, as well of the Biſhop of London his part, as alſo of the vicechancellor, the tenor whereof was this.

*The letter certificatory of the Vicechancellor to the Archbiſhop.*

TO the reverend father in Chriſt, Iord William, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Primare of all England, and legat of the Apoſtolike Sea, Robert Rigges, profeſſor of Divinity, and Vicechancellor of the Univerſity of Oxford, greeting with due honour. Your letters bearing the date of the 14. of Iuly I have received: by the authority whereof I have denounced, and cauſed to bee denounced effectually, the aforeſaid Nicholas and Philip, to have beene, and to bee excommunicate publicly and ſolemnly in the Church of S. Mary, and in the Schooles, and to bee cited alſo perſonally, if by any meanes they might bee apprehended, according as you commanded. But after diligent ſearch laid for them of my part, to have them perſonally cited and apprehended, I could not finde neither the ſaid M. Nicholas, nor M. Philip: who have hid or conveyed themſelves, unknowne to mee, as here is well knowne. Whereof I thought here to give ſignification to your Fatherhood. Sealed and teſtified with the ſcale of mine office. From Oxſord the 25. of Iuly.

In the meane time, Nicholas Herford and Reppington being repulſed of the Duke, and deſtitute (as was ſaid) of his ſupportation, whether they were ſent, or of their own accord went to the archbiſhop, it was uncertaine. This I finde in a letter of the aforeſaid Archbiſhop, contained in his regiſter; that Reppington the 23. day of October the ſame yeere 1382. was reconciled againe to the archbiſhop, and alſo by his generall letter was releaſed, and admitted to his ſcholasticall acts in the Univerſity. And ſo was alſo Iohn Aſhton; of whom (Chriſt willing) more ſhall follow hereafter. Of Nicholas Herford all this while I finde no ſpeciall relation.

In the meane time, about the twenty three of the moneth of September the ſaid yeere, the king ſent his Mandate to the Archbiſhop for collecting of a ſubſidie, and to have a convocation of the Clergy ſummoned againſt the next Parliament, which ſhould begin the 18. day of November. The Archbiſhop likewiſe, on the fifteenth day of October,

Herford and Reppington fled from the Duke of Lancaſter.

Letters of the archbiſhop to the vicechancellor. Letters of the archbiſhop to the biſhop of London. Robert Braybrooke biſhop of London.

The 14. day of Iuly, an. 1382.

The letter of Rob. Rigges vicechancellor of Oxſord to the archbiſhop.

The 25. day of Iuly, an. 1382. Herford and Reppington repulſed from the duke of Lancaſter.

The 23. day of October Reppington reconciled by the archbiſhop.

Iohn Aſhton reconciled by the archbiſhop.

A Parliament ſummoned the 15. of October, 1382.



directed his letters monitory (as the manner is) to Robert Baybrake bishop of London, to give the same admonition to all his suffragans, and other of the clergy within his province, for the assembling of the convocation aforesaid. All which done and executed the parliament begun, being holden at Oxford the eighteenth day of November, where the convocation was kept in the monastery of Frideswide in Oxford. In the which convocation the archbishop, with other bishops there sitting in their pontificalibus, declared two causes of that their present assembly, the one (saith he) to repress heresies, which began newly in the realme to spring, and for correcting other excesses in the church. The other cause (saith he) was to aid and support the king with some necessary subsidy of money to be gathered, which thus declared, the convocation was continued till the day following, which was the 19. of November.

The convocation of S. Frideswide in Oxford the 18. day of November.

The 19. day of November, An 1582.

At the said day and place, the archbishop with the other prelates assembling themselves as before; the archbishop after the used solemnity called the procurators of the clergy, appointed for every diocese, to consult within themselves in some convenient secret place, what they thought for their parts touching the redresse of things, to be notified and declared to him and to his brethren, &c.

Furthermore forsomuch (saith he) as it is so noysed through all the realme, that there were certaine in the University of Oxford, which did hold and maintaine conclusions (as he calleth them) hereticall and erroneous condemned by him, and by other lawyers and doctors of divinitie; hee therefore assigned the bishops of Sarum, Hereford, and Rochester, with William Ruggie then vicechancellor of the University of Oxford (for belike Robert Ruggie was then displaced) as also William Verton, and John Fiddelord doctors; giving them his full authority with cursing and banning to compell them to search and to enquire with all diligence and waies possibly, over all and singular whatsoever, either doctors, bachelors, or scholars of the said Universitie, which did hold, teach, maintain, and defend, in scholes or out of scholes, the said conclusions hereticall (as he called them) or erroneous, and afterward to give certificate truly and plainly touching the premises. And thus for that day the assembly brake up to the next, and so to the next, and the third being Monday, the 24. day of November: Ex Regist. W. Courteney.

Rob. Ruggie displaced from the Chierchanse Northp. Inquisition made at Oxford.

The 24. day of November, An. 1582.

On the which day, in the presence of the prelates and the clergy in the chapter house of Saint Frideswide, came in Philip Reppington (otherwise called of the brethren afterward Rammington) who there abjured the conclusions and assertions aforesaid, in this form of words as followeth.

The abjuration of Philip Reppington.

In Die nomine, Amen. I Philip Reppington, canon of the house of Leicester, acknowledging one catholike and apostolike faith, do curse and also abjure all heresies, namely these heresies and errors under writtten, condemned and reprooved by the decrees canonical, and by you most reverent father, touching which hitherto I have bene defamed: condemning moreover and reproving both them and the authors of them, and doe confesse the same to be catholically condemned: And I swear also by these holy Evangelists, which here I hold in my hand, and doe promise, never by any persuasions of men, nor by any way hereafter, to defend or hold as true any of the said conclusions under writtten; but doe and will stand and adhere in all things to the determination of the holy catholike church, and to yours, in this behalfe. Over and besides, all such as stand contrary to this faith, I doe pronounce them with their doctrine and followers worthy of everlasting curse. And if I my selfe shall presume at any time to helde or preach any thing contrary to the premises, I shall be content to abide the severity of the canons.

Subscribed with mine owne hand, and of mine owne accord, Philip Reppington. And thus the said Rammington was discharged; who afterward was made bishop of Lincoln, and became at length the most bitter and extreme persecutor of this side, of all the other bishops within the realme, as in proceste hereafter may appeare.

(KING) Ric. 2. Philip Reppington after his abjuration became a terrible persecutor.

After the abjuration of this Reppington, immediately was brought in John Ashton, student of Divinitie; who being examined of those conclusions, and tolled to say his mind, answered: That he was too simple and ignorant; and therefore would not, and could not answer any thing clearly or distinctly to those conclusions. Whereupon the archbishop assigned to him Doctor William Ruggie the Vicechancellor, and other divines, such as he required himself, to be instructed in the mystery of those conclusions against the afternoon; who then, appearing again after dinner before the archbishop and the prelates, did in like sort and form of words abjure as did Reppington before.

After this time, many lords, for a man in one forenoon to learn a late against his conscience. The abjuration of John Ashton.

Of this John Ashton we read, that afterward, by Thomas Arundell archbishop of Canterbury, he was cited and condemned; but whether he died in prison, or was burned, wee have yet no certainty to shew. This is certaine by the plaine words of the Chronicle of S. Albans, that when the archbishop with his doctors and friers sat in examination upon this said John Ashton in London; the Londoners brake open the doore of the conclave, ipsumque Archiepiscopum in civitate sedentem impediuerunt, cum processum fecisset contra Iohannem Ashton, &c. That is, and did let the archbishop himselfe sitting in the citie of London, when he would have made proceste against Joh. Ashton, An. 1582. And thus much of John Ashton.

Ex Chron. Monast. D. Albani. J. Ashton. The Londoners open the doore where the archbishop sat against Joh. Ashton.

As touching Nicolas Herford during the time of this convocation he did not appeare; and therefore had the sentence of excommunication. Against which hee put his appeale from the archbishop to the king and his counsell. The archbishop would not admit it, but finding states and stops, caused him to be apprehended and inclosed in prison. Notwithstanding through the will of God and good meanes, he escaped out of the prison, returning againe to his former exercise and preaching as he did before, albeit in as covert and secret manner as he could. Whereupon the archbishop, thundring out his bolts of excommunication against him, sending to all pastors and ministers, willing them in all churches, and on all festi ball dayes, to divulge the said excommunication against him to all men: he writeth moreover, and sendeth special charge to all and singular of the faitie, to beware that their simplcity be not deceived by his doctrine, but that they like catholike children will abioide him, and cause him of all other to be abioided.

Nic. Herford would not appeare. J. Herford appeared for the archbishop. Herford came into prison. Herford escaped out of prison.

Furthermore not contented with this, he addreseth also his letter unto the king, requiring also the aide of his temporall sword to chop off his neck, whom he had already cast downe. See and note, Reader, the seraphicall charity of these priestly prelates towards the poore redeemed flocke of Christ. And yet these be they which, washing their hands with Pilate, say, and pretend; Nobis non licet interficere quemquam: It is not our parts to kill any man. The copy of the letter writtten to the king is this.

#### The letter of the Archbishop to the King.

TO the most excellent prince in Christ, &c. William, &c. greeting in him by whom kings doe reigne and princes beare rule. Vnto your kingly celsitude by the tenour of these presents we intimate, that one master Nicolas Herford doctor of Divinitie, for his manifest contumacie and offence in not

The cruelty of the archbishop to the king againe.



{ KING }  
{ RIC. 2. }

appearing before us being called at the day and place assigned, is therefore unwrapped in the sentence of the greater curse, publicly by our ordinary authority; And in the same sentence hath continued now forty dayes, and yet still continueth with indurate heart, wickedly contemning the keyes of the Church, both to the great perill of his soule, and to the pernicious example of other. Forso much therefore as the holy mother the Church hath not to doe or to proceed any further in this matter; wee humbly desire your Kingly Majesty to direct out your letters for the apprehending of the said excommunicate according to the custome of this realm of England, wholesomely observed and kept hitherto: to the intent that such, whom the feare of God doth not restraine from evill, the discipline of the secular arme may bridle and pluck back from offending. Your princely celsitude the Lord long continue. From Lambeth the 15. of January,

To this letter of the Archbishop might not the King (gentle Reader) thus answer againe, and answer well.

YOur letters with your complaint and requests in the same contained wee have received and well considered. For the accomplishing whereof yee shall understand, that as wee are readily bent to gratifie and satisfie your minde in this behalfe on the one side; so wee must beware againe on the other, that our authority bee not abused either to oppresse before we know, or to judge before wee have tried. Wherefore forso much as you in your letters doe excite and sharpen the severe discipline of our secular sword against one Nicolas Herford, for his not appearing before you; and yet shewing in the said your letters no certaine cause to vs what you have to charge him withall: wee therefore following the example of Alexander Magnus, or rather the rule of equity in opening both our eares indifferently, to heare as well the one part as the other, doth assigne both to him, when as hee may bee found, and to you, when yee shall bee called, a terme to appeare before us. To the intent that the controverisie betweene you and him, standing upon points of religion, being tried by the true touchstone of Gods holy word, due correction indifferently may bee ministred according as the offence shall bee found. In the meane time, this we cannot but something marvell at in your said letters: First, to see you men of the Church, and angels of peace, to be so desirous of blood. Secondly, to consider you againe so fierce in prosecuting the breach of your law, and yet so cold in pursuing the breach of the expresse law of God and his commandements. Thirdly, to behold the unstable doubleness in your proceedings, who pretending in your publike sentence to become as intreaters for them to us in the bowels of Iesus Christ, that wee will withdraw from them the rigour of our severity, yet in your letters be they which most set us on. If not appearing before you bee such a matter of contumacy in case of your law, that it is in no case to bee spared; what should then our princely discipline have done to men of your calling? Henry Spenfer Bishop of Norwich, being at Canterbury, was sent for by our speciall commandement, to come to our speech, who denied to come, and yet wee spared him: Iohn Stratford Archbishop your predecesor, being required of our Progenitor, King Edward the third, to come to him at Yorke, would not appeare: by the occasion whereof Scotland the same time was lost, and yet was hee suffered. The like might bee said of Robert Winchelsey in the dayes of King Edward the first, and of Edmond Archbishop of Canterbury, in the dayes of King Henry the third; Stephan Langton was sent for by King Iohn to come, hee came not. The like contumacy was in Becket toward King Henry the second. Also in Anselme toward King Henry the first. All these for their not appearing before their Princes yee doe excuse, who

notwithstanding might have appeared without danger of life; this one man for not appearing before you, you thinke worthy of death; whose life you would have condemned notwithstanding, if hee had appeared. If the Squirrell climbing to the tree from the Lions claws would not appeare, being sent for to bee devoured, it is no reason that the Eagle therefore should seise upon him without any just cause declared against the party. Wherefore according to this and to that aforesaid, when hee shall appeare, and you bee called, and the cause justly weighed, due execution shall bee ministred.

And thus farre concerning Nicolas Herford, and the other aforesaid. But all this meane while what became of I. Wickliffe it is not certainly knowne. Albeit, so farre as may bee gathered out of Walden, it appeareth that hee was banished and driven to exile. In the meane time it is not to be doubted, but hee was alive during all this while, wherefore hee was, as by his letter may appear, which hee about this time wrote to Pope Urbane the sixth. In the which letter hee doth purge himselfe, that being commanded to appeare before the Pope at Rome, hee came not; declaring also in the same a brieve confession of his faith. The copy of which Epistle here followeth,

30 The Epistle of Iohn Wickliffe sent unto Pope Urbane the sixth, Anno 1382.

Verily I doe rejoyce to open and declare unto every man the faith which I doe hold, and specially unto the Bishop of Rome: the which forso much as I doe suppose to bee found and true, hee will most willingly confirme my said faith, or, if it bee erroneous, amend the same.

First, I suppose, that the Gospell of Christ is the whole body of Gods Law; and that Christ, which did give that same law himselfe, I belevee to bee a very man, and in that point, to exceed the law of the Gospell, and all other parts of the Scripture. Againe, I doe give and hold the Bishop of Rome, forso much as hee is the Vicar of Christ here in earth, to bee bound most of all other men unto that law of the Gospell. For the greatnesse amongst Christs disciples did not consist in worldly dignity or honours, but in the neere and exact following of Christ in his life and manners: whereupon I doe gather out of the heart of the law of the Lord, that Christ for the time of his pilgrimage here was a most poore man, abjecting and casting off all worldly rule and honour, as appeareth by the Gospell of Saint Matthew, the eight chapter, and the second of the Corinthians, the 8. chapter.

Hereby I doe fully gather, that no faithfull man ought to follow, either the Pope himselfe, or any of the holy men, but in such points as hee hath followed the Lord Iesus Christ. For Peter and the sonnes of Zebede, by desiring worldly honour contrary to the following of Christs steps, did offend, and therefore in those errors they are not to be followed.

Hereof I doe gather, as a counsell, that the Pope ought to leave unto the secular power all temporall dominion and rule, and thereunto effectually to move and exhort his whole Clergy; for so did Christ, and especially by his Apostles. Wherefore if I have erred in any of these points, I will most humbly submit my selfe unto correction, even by death, if necessity so require; and if I could labour according to my will or desire in mine owne person, I would surely present my selfe before the Bishop of Rome; but the Lord hath otherwise visited me to the contrary, and hath taught mee rather, to obey God than men. Forso much then as God hath given unto our Pope just and true evangelicall instinctions, we ought to pray that those motions be not extinguished by any subtle or crafty device;

The Epistle of I. Wickliffe to Pope Urbane.

The true disciples of Christ seek no honour.

This is not to  
be againe  
but which is  
in the rule  
of Eschiel.

respon. p. 12.  
that the king  
might have  
answered a  
line.

ishops of  
anter. appea-  
nor before  
kinge, &  
were  
discussed.



And that the pope and cardinals bee not mooued to doe any thing contrary vnto the law of the lord. Wherefore let us pray vnto our God, that hee will so stirre up our pope Urbane the sixth, as he began, that he with his clergy may follow the Lord Iesus Christ in life and manners: and that they may teach the people effectually, and that they likewise may faithfully follow them in the same. And let us specially pray, that our pope may be preserved from all maligne and euill counsell, which wee doe know that euill and enuious men of his houldhold would give him. And seeing the Lord will not suffer us to bee tempted above our power, much lesse then will he require of any creature to doe that thing which they are not able: forso much, as that is the plaine condition and manner of Antichrist.

The pope occupied in schismaticall wars, that he had no leisure to other matters.

Thus much wrote John Wickliffe vnto pope Urbanus. But this pope Urbane, otherwise termed Urbanus, was so hot in his warres against Clement the french pope his aduersary, that he had no leisure, and lesse list, to attend vnto Wickliffes matters. By the occasion of which schisme, God so provided for poore Wickliffe, that he was in some more rest and quietnesse. Concerning which schismaticall warres of these popes, forasmuch as we have here entered into the mention thereof, it shall not be impertinent from the order of our storie, digressing a little from the matter of John Wickliffe, to touch something of the tragicall doings of these two holy popes, striving for the triple crowne: to the intent that the christian reader (iudging by their fruits and proceedings) may see and understand what difference is betweene these popes, and Christ and his Apostles. For though in the story of the Gospell it is read, that certaine of the disciples did strive which should be the greater: yet neither doe wee read that one of them tooke euer weapon against the other: and moreover in the said storie of the Gospell it doth appere, that they, for so striving as they did, were therefore sharply rebuked of our Saviour Christ, and were taught by him another lesson.

About the beginning of the next yere following, which was An. 1383. Pope Urbane setting all his study how to represse and conquer the contrary pope his aduersary, being then at Avinion (seeing all his other means to faile, and that his crafty eyes could doe no good) tooke to him the sword of Romulus, and set vpon him with open warre. And first debasing with himselfe whom he might best chuse for his chiefe champion; he thought none meet for such affaires than Henry Spencer being then bishop of Norwich, a young and foute prelate, more fitting for the camping cure, than for the peaceable church of Christ, as partly also might appere before by his acts done at Lenniam in striving for the maiors mace, mentioned before, pag. 560. Vnto this bishop of Norwich the pope had sent his bulls about this time, to Croyly whomsoever would go with him into France, to destroy the Antipope, which named himselfe Clement, and to make warre against all those that tooke his part. Which bulls, for that they gave vnto him such great authority, he caused to be published in the parliament house, and caused the copies of the same to be sent all about, and to be set up and fastned vpon all the church doores and monastery gates, that all men might read them. In the which bulls these priuiledges were granted, the copie whereof here followeth.

1 Imprimis, that the said bishop of Norwich may use his sword against the Antipope, and all his adherents, fauourers and counsellors, and with violence put them to death.

2 Item that he hath full power to enquire of all and singular such schismaticks, and to put them in prison, and to confiscate all their goods, moveable and immoveable.

3 Item, that he hath power and authoritie to leaue all lay men that are such schismaticks of all manner secular offices whatsoever, and to give their offices to other fit and convenient persons.

4 Item, that he may depriue all such clerks, and declare them to be schismaticks, and in this behalfe to give and bestow their benefices either with cure or without cure, their dignities, parsonages, or offices, to other persons more meet for the same.

5 Item, hee hath power and authoritie over lay persons that are exempt, and clerks both secular and regular, yea although they be friers mendicants, or masters and professors of other houses or hospitals of S. Johns of Jerusalem, or S. Mary of Flanders, or professors of what order soever else.

6 Item, he hath power to dispense with what secular clerke soever, being beneficed either with cure or without cure, and also with such as have dignities, parsonages, or offices, being regulars either exempt or not exempt, that euerie one of them may be absent with him from their dignities, and benefices, &c. under the standard of the crosse, without licence of any of their prelates required, and yet to receive and take the entire commodities of their benefices, as though they had bene personally resident vpon the same.

7 Item, there is granted to all that passe the seas in this quarrell, either at their own expences, or at the expences of any other, full remission of their sinnes: and as large priuiledges are granted to all those that goe over the sea with him, as to any that pay their money, or goe to fight for the holy land.

8 Also all such as with their proper goods and substance shall give sufficient stipend to able souldiers, at the discretion of the foresaid lord bishop mustered, or by any other his deputie, although he himselfe be not personally at this businesse aforesaid; yet shall hee have like remission and indulgence, as they which have bene personally with him in this expedition.

9 Item, all they are partakers of this remission, which shall give any part of their goods to the said bishop to fight against the said schismaticks.

10 Item, if any shall chance to die in the iourney that are souldiers under the said standard of the crosse, or else before the quarrell by some means be finished; they shall fully and wholly receive the said grace, and shall be partakers of the foresaid remission and indulgence.

11 Item, he hath power to excommunicate, suspend and interdict what persons soever be rebellious or disturbers of him in the execution of his power and authoritie committed vnto him, of what dignity, state, degree, preeminence, order, place, or condition soever they shall be; whether they shall be either of regall, queneely, or imperiall dignitie, or of what dignity else soever either ecclesiasticall or mundane.

12 Item, he hath power and authoritie to compell and enforce what religious person soever, and to appoint them and send them over sea, if it seeme good to him: yea although they be professors of the friers mendicants for the execution of the premises.

### The popes absolution by the Bishop pronounced.

By the authoritie apostolicall to me in this behalfe committed, we absolve thee A.B. from all thy sins confessed with thy mouth, and being contrite with thy heart, and whereof thou wouldest be confessed if they came into thy memorie: and we grant vnto thee plenarie remission of all manner of sinnes, and we promise vnto thee thy part of the reward of all iust men, and of everlasting salvation. And as many priuiledges as are granted to them that goe to fight for the holy land, we grant vnto thee; and of all thy prayers and benefits of the church, the vniuersall Synod,

SKIN  
RIC.

Difference betweene the Apostles and the popes in striving for preeminence.

Anno 1383.  
The pope set to war.

The benefices of Antichrist.

Christ's parric  
hath here no place.



{KING} {RIC. 2.} Smoed, as also of the holy catholike church we make thee partaker.

This couragious or rather outrageous bishop, armed thus with the popes authority, and prompt with his privileges, in the yeare aforesaid, 1383. about the time of Lent came to the parliament; where great consultation and contention, and almost no lesse schisme, was about the bovage of this popish bishop in the parliament; than was betwene the pope & himselfes. In the which parliament many there were, which thought it not safe to commit the kings people and subiects unto a rude and unskillfull priest. So great was the diversity of iudgements in that behalfe that the bovage of the said bishop was protracted unto the Saturday before passion Sunday. In the which Sunday was sung the solenne hymne, Ecce crucem Domini, fugite partes aduersæ; What is? Behold the crosse of the Lord, fly away all you aduersaries. After which Sunday the parties so agreed amongst themselves by common decree, that the bishop should set forward in his voyage, having to him given the sixteenth which was granted to the king in the parliament before. Which things thus concluded in the parliament, this warlike bishop, preparing before all things in a readynesse, set forward in his pope-holy iourney. Who about the moneth of May being come to Canterbury, and there tarrying for a while in the monastrie of Saint Augustine, receiued a writ from the king that he should returne to the king, to know further of his pleasure. The bishop fearing that if he turned againe to the king, his iourney should be staid and so all his labour and preparance lost with great derision and shame unto him, thought better to commit himselfe to fortune with that little armie he had, than by tarrying to be made a laughing stock to his aduersaries. Wherefore he sent word back againe to the king, that he was now ready prepared, and well forward on his iourney: and that it was not expedient now to protract the time for any kinde of talk which peradventure should be to no manner of purpose; and that it was more convenient for him to hasten in his iourney to Gods glory, and also to the honour of the king. And thus hee calling his men unto him, entred forthwith the seas, and went to Calis; where he waiting a few daies for the rest of his army after the receipt of them, took his iourney first to the towne of Cravenidge: which he besieged so desperately, without any preparance of engines of warre or counsell, or of politike men skillfull in such affaires, that he seemed rather to fly upon them, than to invade them. At length through the superstition of our men, trusting upon the popes absolution, he so harshly approached the walls and invaded the enemies, that a great number of them were pitiously slaine with shot and wildfire; till at the end, the inhabitants being oppressed and vanquished, our men entred the towne with their bishop, where they at his commandement destroying both man, woman and child, left not one alive of al them, which remained in the whole towne. Sicque crucis beneficio factum, ut crucis hostes ita deleterentur, quod unus ex eis non remansit; that is, And so it came to passe by the vertue of the crosse, that our men crosst so prevailed against the enemies of the crosse, that not one of them remained alive. Ex Chron. mon. D. Albani.

From Cravenidge this warlike bishop set forward to Dunstun, where not long after the Frenchmen meeting with him, ioynted with them in battell: in which battell (if the storie be true) twelve thousand of the Frenchmen were slaine in the chase, and of our men but seven only missing. It would require a long tractation here to discourse all things done in these popish warres. Also it would be no lesse ridiculous to view and behold the glorious temeritie of this new upstart captains. But certes, lamentable it is to see the pitifull slaughter and murder of

Christs people by the means of these papalistic popes during these warres in France: as when the bishop coming from Dunstun to the siege of Arras, a great number of Englishmen there were left, and much money consumed, and yet nothing done effectually to the great shame and ignorance of the bishop. Again, after the siege of Arras thus with shame broke up, the same bishop proceeding with a small powder to fight with the French kings campe, contrary to the counsell of his captaines, which counted him rash and unskillfull in his attempt, was faine to breake company with them; whereby part of the army went unto Burburgh, and the bishop with his part returned to Cravenidge; which towne shortly after were besieged by the French army, to the great losse both of the English and French men. In fine, when the bishop could keepe Cravenidge no longer, the said bishop with his forces, crossing the seas, came home againe as wife as he went. And thus making an end of this pontifical warre, we will returne againe from thence we digressed, to the story and matter of John Wickliffe.

Which John Wickliffe returning againe within short space, either from his banishment; or from some other place where he was secretly kept, repaired to his parish of Lutterworth, where he was parson; and there, quietly departing this mortall life, slept in peace in the Lord, in the beginning of the yeare 1384. upon Silvesters day.

Here is to be noted the great providence of the Lord in this man, as in divers other, whom the Lord so long preserved in such rages of so many enemies from all their hands, even to his old age. For so it appeareth by Thomas Walden, writing against him in his tomes entituled De Sacramentis contra Wiclevum, that he was well aged before hee departed; by that which the foresaid Walden writeth of him in his Epilogue, speaking of Wickliffe in these words; Ita ut cano placeret, quod inveni complacere, &c. That is; so that the same thing pleased him in his old age, which did please him being young. Whereby it seemeth that Wickliffe lived till he was an old man, by this report. Such a Lord is God, that whom he will have kept, nothing can hurt.

This Wickliffe had written divers and sundry workes, the which in the yeere of our Lord 1410, were burnt at Oxford, the abbat of Shrewsbury being then commissarie, and sent to oversee that matter. And not only in England, but in Boheme likewise, the books of the said Wickliffe were set on fire, by one Subincus archbishop of Prague, who made diligent inquisition for the same, and burned them: the number of the volumes, which he is said to have burned, most excellently writtten, and richly adorned with bosses of gold, and rich coverings (as Cneus Silvius writeth) were about the number of two hundred.

Iohannes Cocleus in his booke De historia Hussitarum, speaking of the books of Wickliffe, testifieth, that he wrote very many books, sermons, and tractations. Moreover the said Cocleus speaking of himselfe, recordeth also, that there was a certain bishop in England which wrote unto him, declaring, that he had yet remaining in his custodie two huge and mighty volumes of John Wickliffes workes, which for the quantitie thereof might seeme to be equall with the workes of Saint Augustine. Hæc Cocleus.

Among other of his treatises I my selfe also have found out certaine, as de sensu & veritate scripture. Item, De Ecclesia. Item, De Eucharistia confessio Wicklevi: which I intend hereafter, the Lord so granting to publish abroad.

As concerning certain answers of John Wickliffe which he wrote to king Richard the second, touching the right and title of the king, and of the popes, because they are but short, I thought here to annex them. The effect whereof here followeth.

Waldenus 2. tomo de Sacramentis.

The number of Wickliffes bookes came to 200. volumes. Eneus Silvius

The bookes of Wickliffe.

bloodiness Antichrist.

x Chron. on. D. Al. in vita ch. 2.



John Wickliffes answer unto King Richard the second, as touching the right and title of the King and the Pope.

It was demanded whether the kingdome of England may lawfully in case of necessity, for its own defence, betaine and keepe back the treasure of the kingdome, that it be not carried away to forren and strange nations, the pope himselfe demanding and requiring the same under paine of censure, and by vertue of obedience.

Wickliffe setting apart the mindes of learned men, and what might be said in the matter, either by the canon law, or by the law of England, or the civill law; it resteth (saith hee) now only to perswade and prove the affirmatiue part of this doubt by the principles of Christs law. And first I prove it thus: Every naturall body hath power given of God to resist against his contrary, and to preserve it selfe in due estate, as Philosophers know very well. In- so-much, that bodies without life are indued with such kinde of power (as it is evident) unto whom hardnesse is given to resist those things that would breake them, and colonesse to withstand the heat that dissolbeth them. Forso-much then, as the kingdome of England after the manner and phrase of the Scriptures ought to be one body, and the clergie with the communalitie the members thereof, it seemeth that the same kingdome hath such power given it of God; and so much the more apparently, by how much the same body is more precious unto God, adorned with vertue and knowledge. Forso-much then as there is no power given of God unto any creature for any end or purpose, but that hee may lawfully use the same to that end and purpose: it followeth that our kingdome may lawfully keepe backe and detain their treasure for the defence of it selfe, in what case soever necessitie doe require the same.

The popes riches is but the almes of good men.

Necessity taketh away the popes almes.

Secondly, the same is proved by the law of the Gospell. For the pope cannot challenge the treasure of this kingdome, but under the title of almes, and consequently under the pretence of the workes of mercy, according to the rule of charity.

But in case aforesaid the title of almes ought utterly to cease: Ergo, the right and title of challenging the treasure of our realme shall cease also in the presupposed necessity. Forso-much as all charity hath his beginning of himselfe, it were no worke of charity, but of meere madnesse, to send away the treasures of the realme unto forren nations, whereby the realme it selfe may fall into ruine, under the pretence of such charity.

It appeareth also by this, that Christ the head of the church, whom all christian priests ought to follow, lived by the almes of debout women, Luk. 7. 8. He hungered and thirsted, he was a stranger, and many other miseries he sustained, not onely in his members, but also in his owne body, as the Apostle witnesseth, 2 Cor. 8. He was made poore for your sakes, that through his povertie you might be rich: whereby in the first endowing of the church, what soever he were of the clergie that had any tempoall possessions, hee had the same by forme of a perpetuall almes, as both writings and chronicles doe witness.

Note well the saying here of Bernard.

Whereupon S. Bernard, declaring in his second booke to Eugenius, that hee could not challenge any secular dominion by right of succession, as being the vicar of Saint Peter, writeth thus: That if Saint Iohn should speake unto the pope himselfe, as Bernard doth unto Eugenius, were it to be thought that hee would take it patiently? But let it bee so, that you doe challenge it unto you by some other waies or meanes; but truly by any right or title apostolicall you cannot so doe. For how could hee give unto you that which

he had not himselfe? That which he had he gave you, that is to say, care over the church; but did he give you any lordship or rule? Heark what he saith: Not bearing rule (saith he) as lords over the clergie, but behaving your selves as examples to the flocke. And because thou shalt not thinke it to be spoken only in humilitie, and not in veritie, marke the word of the Lord himselfe in the Gospell: The kings of the people doe rule over them; but you shall not doe so.

King Richard

Here lordship and dominion is plainly forbidden to the Apostles, and darest thou then usurpe the same? If thou wilt be a lord, thou shalt lose thine Apostleship; or if thou wilt be an Apostle, thou shalt lose thy lordship: for truly thou shalt depart from the one of them. If thou wilt have both, thou shalt lose both, or else thinke thy selfe to bee of that number, of whom God doth so greatly complaine, saying: They have reigned but not through mee; They are become princes, and I have not knowne it. Now if it doe suffice thee to rule with the Lord, thou hast thy glory, but not with God. But if wee will keepe that which is forbidden us, let us heare what it said: Hee that is the greatest amongst you (saith Christ) shall be made as the least, and he which is the highest shall be as the minister; and for example hee set a child in the midst of them. So this then is the true forme and institution of the Apostles trade, Lordship and rule is forbidden, ministratioun and service commanded.

The pope may have his lordship or else apostleship, let him chuse where

The manner the Apostles

By these words of this blessed man, whom the whole church doth reverence and worship, it doth appeare that the pope hath not power to occupie the church goods, as lord thereof, but as minister, and servant, and protector for the poore. And would to God that the same proud and greedy desire of rule and lordship, which this seat doth challenge unto it, were not a preamble to prepare a way unto Antichrist. For it is evident by the Gospell, that Christ through his povertie, humilitie, and suffering of iniurie, got unto him the children of his kingdome.

What the ye ought to do to the church goods,

The way to abate the kingdome of Christ,

And moreover, so far as I remember, the same blessed man Bernard in his third booke writeth also thus unto Eugenius; I feare no other greater poison to happen unto thee, than greedy desire of rule and dominion.

This Wickliffe albeit in his lifetime he had many greivous enemies, yet was there none so cruel unto him as the clergie it selfe. Yet notwithstanding he had many good friends, men not only of the base and meanest sort, but also of the nobilitie, amongst whom these men are to be named; John Clendon, Lewis Cliford, Richard Sturmus, Thomas Latimer, William Pebill, John Mountegew, who plucked downe all the Images in his church. Besides all these, there was the earle of Salisbury; who, for contempt in him noted towards the Sacrament in carrying it home to his house, was enioyned by Radulfe Ergom bishop of Salisbury, to make in Salisbury a crosse of stone, in which all the storie of the matter should be written, and he every Friday during his life to come to the crosse barefoot, and bareheaded in his shirt, and there kneeling upon his knees to doe penance for his fact, Ex Chron. Mon. D. Alban in vita Ric. 2.

The Londoners at this time somewhat boldly trusting to the Patrons authority, who for that yeare was John of Northampton, tooke upon them the office of the bishops, in punishing the vices (belonging to civill law) of such persons as they had found and apprehended in committing both fornication and adultery. For first they put the women in the prison, which amongst them was then named Doltum. And lastly bringing them into the market place, where every man might behold them, and cutting off their golden lockes from their heads, they caused them to bee carried about the streets, with bagpipes and trumpets blowne before them, to the intent they should be the better knowne, and their companies

J. Clendon, Lewis Cliford, Richard Sturmus, T. Latimer, W. Pebill, J. Mountegew, The earle of Salisbury, The penance the earle of Salisbury,



KING  
RIC. 2.

companies aboied; according to the manner then of certaine thebes that were named Appellatores, (accusers or appeachers of others that were guilt-lesse) which were so serbed. And with other such like opprobrious and reproachfull contumelies did they serbe the men also that were taken with them in committing the fornamed wickednesse and vices. Here the story recordeth how the said Londoners were encouraged herunto by J. Wickliffe, and others that followed his doctrine, to perpetrate this act, in the reproach of the prelates being of the clergy. For they said, that they did so much abhorre to see the great negligence of those to whom that charge belonged, but also their filthy abarice they did as much detest; which for greedynesse of money were choked with bybes, and winking at the penalties due to such persons by the lawes appointed, suffered such fornicators and incestuous persons favourably to continue in their wickednesse. They said furthermore, that they greatly feared, lest for such wickednesse perpetrated within the city, and to apparently dissimuled, that God would take vengeance upon them and destroy their city. Wherefore they said, that they could do no lesse than purge the same; lest by the sufferance therof God would bring a plague upon them, or destroy them with the sword, or cause the earth to swallow up both them and their city. Hæc ex Chron. Mon. D. Albani.

The fruit of  
good and true  
accusing.x Chron.  
Mon. D. Al-  
bani.

This story (gentle Reader) albeit the author thereof, whom I follow, doth give it out in reproachfull wise, to the great discommendation of the Londoners for so doing, yet I thought not to omit, but to commit the same to memory; which seemeth to me rather to tend unto the worthy commendation both of the Londoners that so did, and to the necessary example of all other cities to follow the same. After these things thus declared, let us now adioyne the testimoniall of the Vniversity of Oxford, of John Wickliffe.

*The publike testimony given out by the Vniversity of Oxford, touching the commendation of the great learning and good life of John Wickliffe.*

Unto all and singular the children of our holy mother the Church, to whom this present letter shall come, the Vicechancellor of the Vniversity of Oxford, with the whole congregation of the Masters, with perpetuall health in the Lord. Forso much as it is not commonly seene, that the acts and monuments of valiant men, nor the praise and merits of good men should be passed over and hidden with perpetual silence, but that true report and fame should continually spread abroad the same in strange and farre distant places, both for the witness of the same, and example of others; Forso much also as the provident discretion of mans nature being recompensed with cruelty, hath devised and ordained this buckler and defence against such as do blaspheme and slander other mens doings, that whosoever witness by word of mouth cannot be present, the pen by writing may supply the same.

Hereupon it followeth, that the speciall good will and care which we bare unto John Wickliffe, sometime childe of this our Vniversity, and professour of Divinity, moving and stirring our minds (as his manners and conditions required no lesse) with one minde, voice, and testimonie, we do witness, all his conditions and doings throughout his whole life to have bene most sincere and commendable: whose honest manners and conditions, profoundnesse of learning, and most redolent renowne and fame, we desire the more earnestly to be notified and knowne unto all faithfull, for that we understand the maturitie and ripeness of his conversation, his diligent labours and travels to tend to the praise of God, the

helpe and safeguard of others, and the profit of the Church.

Wherefore we signifie unto you by these presents, that his conversation (even from his youth upward, unto the time of his death) was to praise, worthy and honest, that never at any time was there any note or speere of suspicion noyed of him. But in his answering, reading, preaching and determining, he behaved himselfe laudably, and as a stout and valiant champion of the faith; vanquishing, by the force of the Scriptures, all such, who by their willfull beggery blasphemed and slandered Christs religion. Neither was this doctor convict of any heresie, either burned of our Prelates after his buriall. God forbid that our Prelates should have condemned a man of such honesty, for an heretike: who, amongst all the rest of the Vniversity, had written in Logicke, Philosophie, Divinity, Morality, and the speculative art without peere. The knowledge of which all and singular things we doe desire to testifie and deliver forth; to the intent that the fame and renowne of this said Doctor may bee the more evident and had in reputation, amongst them unto whose hands these present letters testimoniall shall come.

In witness whereof, wee have caused these our letters testimoniall to be sealed with our common seale. Dated at Oxford in our Congregation-house, the first day of October, in the yeere of our Lord, 1406.

*The testimony and words of M. John Hus, as touching M. John Wickliffe.*

Verily, as I doe not beleve, neither grant, that M. John Wickliffe is an heretike; so do I not deny, but firmly hope that he is no heretike: forso much as in all matters of doubt I ought, as nere as I can, to chuse the best part. Wherefore I surely trust, that Master John Wickliffe is one of the number of them which are saved. The words of Christ move me therunto, saying, Matth. 7. Doe ye not iudge, that ye be not iudged: and Luke the 6. Do not condemne, and ye shall not be condemned: and the words of the Apostle, 1 Cor. 4. Doe ye not iudge before the Lord himselfe doe come, the which shall open those things that are hid in darknesse, to manifest the privities of all hearts.

Secondly, the love and charity which I ought to beare unto my neighbour (loving him as my selfe) doth move me therunto, Luke 10.

Thirdly, his god same and report moveth me, the which he hath of the good priests of the Vniversity of Oxford, and not of the wicked, and commonly of the vulgar sort; although not of the covetous, proud, and luxurious prelates.

Fourthly, his own works and writings do stirre me therunto, by the which he goeth about with his whole indeavour to reduce all men unto the law of Christ, and specially the clergy, that they should forsake the pomp and dominion of this world, and with the Apostles lead the life of Christ.

Fifthly, his owne protestations, which he doth oftentimes use in his sentences; often repeating the same, do not a little move me.

Sixthly, his earnest desire and affection which he had unto the law of Christ, doth not a little allure me therunto, disputing of the verity thereof, the which cannot faile in any one iota or title. Whereupon he made a booke of the verity of the holy Scriptures, approbating, even unto the uttermost, the truth of Gods law.

Wherefore it were to foolish a consequence to say, that because the number of the prelates and clergie in England, France, and Boheme, do count

The bones of  
Wickliffe were  
not yet found,  
found by the  
Council of  
Constance to  
be burned.  
Ex. 2. tomo c-  
perum 10.  
Huff. fol. ult.

The testimony  
and words of  
M. John Hus  
as touching  
John Wickliffe.

Ex. 2. tomo c-  
perum Ioan.  
Huff. fol. ult.Great learning  
owned with  
good life and  
simplenesse.

Lib. 2. fol. 68  
& ventræ  
Scripture par  
I. Wickla-  
vum.



Burning of  
bookes probeh  
not by and by  
an heretike.

A false con-  
sequence repro-  
ved by J. Chy-  
plostome.

John duke of  
Lancaster de-  
fender of John  
Wicliffe.

J. Wicliffe  
proved no her-  
etike.

The councell  
of Constance a-  
gainst John  
Wicliffe.

John Wicliffe for an heretike, that therefore hee is an heretike: ac. Like as the reason for burning of the bookes: for it is written in the first booke of Machabees the first chapter, that they did burne the bookes of the Lord, tearing them in peeces, and whosoever was found to have kept any bookes of the testament or will of the Lord, or which observed and kept the law of the Lord, they were by the kings commandement put to death. If then the burning of the bookes by wicked men did argue, or prove the evilnesse of these bookes, then was the law of God evil and naught.

So likewise the burning of S. Gregories bookes, and divers other Saints and good men, should argue and prove that they were evil and naughty men. Whereupon as it doth not follow, that because the Bishops, Scribes and Pharisees, with the elders of the people, condemned Christ Jesus as an heretike, that therefore he is an heretike: so likewise doth it not follow, of any other man: The bishops, masters of divinitie, monks and prelates condemned this man as an heretike; Ergo, he is an heretike. For this consequence is reproved by John Chyplostome, which was twice condemned as an heretike by the bishops and whole clergie. Likewise S. Gregorie in his bookes, was condemned by the cardinals.

Why like proove also as they affirme by Master John Wicliffe to be an heretike, John Duke of Lancaster (a man of worthy memorie, and progenitor of Henry king of England) should also be an heretike. For the said duke defended, favoured, and greatly loved M. John Wicliffe: Ergo, the said duke is, or was an heretike: the consequence is good. The minor is well knowne to the Englishmen. The maior appeareth in the canon, where it is said, He which defendeth an heretike, &c.

But these things set apart, I demand of the adversary, whether M. John Wicliffe be damned for ever or no: If he say, that he is damned, because hee is an heretike; I propound this unto him, whether Master John Wicliffe whilst he lived, held any false doctrine contrary to the holy Scripture: If he doe affirme it, let him then shew what doctrine it is, and afterward declare that hee held it obstinately. But he shall finde, that in his bookes hee alwaies wrote most commendable protestations against obstinacie and stiffneckednesse. And by and by after, Master John Strokes in his Intimation saith, that M. John Wicliffe in England is counted for an heretike. This seemeth also false by the letter testimony of the Universitie of Oxford: unto the which there is more credit to be given, than unto him. And this shall suffice for this present.

Now as we have declared the testimony of the Universitie of Oxford, and of John Hus, concerning the praise of John Wicliffe: it followeth likewise that we set forth and expresse the contrary censures and iudgements of his enemies, blinded with malicious hatred and corrupt affections against him, especially of the popes councell gathered at Constance, proceeding first in condemning his bookes, then of his articles, and afterward burning of his bones. The copie of which their sentence given against him by that councell here followeth.

The sentence given by the Councell of Constance, in condemning the doctrine and five and forty articles of John Wicliffe.

The most holy and sacred councell of Constance, making and representing the catholike church, for the extirpation of this present schisme, and of all other errors and heresies, springing and growing under the shadow and pretence of the same, and for the reformation and amendment of the church, being lawfully congregated and gathered together in

the holy Ghost, for the perpetuall memorie of the time to come.

We are taught by the acts and histories of the holy fathers, that the catholike faith without the which, as the holy Apostle S. Paul saith, it is impossible to please God, hath been alwaies defended by the faithful and spiritual soldiers of the church, by the shield of faith, against the false worshippers of the same faith, or rather perverse impugnors: which through their proud curiosity will come to know more, and to be wiser than they ought to be, and for the desire of the glory of the world have gone about skirmishes to overthrow the same. These kindes of warres and battels have beene prefigured to us before in those carnall warres of the Israelites against the Idolatrous people. For in those spirituall warres the holy Catholike Church through the vertue and power of faith, being illustrate with the beames of the heavenly light, by the providence of God, and being holpen by the helpe and defence of the Saints and holy men, hath alwaies continued immaculate, and (the darknesse of errors, as her most cruel enemies, being put to flight) shee hath most gloriously triumphed over all. But in these our daies, the old and uncleane enemy hath raised up new contentions and strifes, that the elect of this world might be knowne, whose prince and capitaine in time past was one John Wicliffe a false christian: who, during his life time, taught and sowed very obstinately many articles contrary and against the christian religion, and the catholike faith. And the same John Wicliffe wrote certaine bookes which hee called a Dialogue, and a Trialogue, besides many other treatises and works, the which he both wrote and taught, in the which hee wrote the aforesaid, and many other damnable and execrable articles: the which his bookes, for the publication and advancement of his perverse doctrine, hee did set forth openly for every man to reade. Whereby beside many offences great hurt and damage of soules hath ensued in divers regions and countries, but specially in the kingdome of England and Boheme. Against whom the masters and Doctors of the Universities of Oxford and Prague rising up in the truth and vertue of God, according to the order of schools, within a while after did reprove and condemne the said articles.

Whereover the most reverend fathers the archbishops and bishops; (for that time present) of Canterbury, Poike, and Prague, legats of the Apostolike See, in the kingdome of England and Boheme, did condemne the bookes of the said Wicliffe to be burnt. And the said archbishop of Prague, Commissarie of the Apostolike See, did likewise in this behalfe determine and iudge. And moreover hee did forbid that any of those bookes, which did remaine unburned, should bee hereafter any more reade. And again, these things being brought to the knowledge and understanding of the Apostolike See, and in the generall Councell; the Bishop of Rome in his last Councell condemned the said bookes, treatises and volumes, commanding them to be openly burned. Most straitly forbidding that any men, which should beare the name of Christ should bee so hardy either to keepe, reade, or expound any of the said bookes or treatises, volumes or workes, or by any meanes to use or occupie them; or else to allege them openly or privily, but to their reproove and infamie. And to the intent that this most dangerous and filthy doctrine should bee utterly wiped away out of the Church, hee gave commandement throughout all places, that the Ordinaries should diligently enquire and seeke out, by the Apostolike authority and Ecclesiasticall censure, for all such bookes, treatises, volumes, and workes. And the same so being found, to burne and consume them with fire: prohibiting withall, that if there be any such found,

King  
Ric.

The dialogi  
and trialogii  
of J. Wicliffe.

The bookes of  
Wicliffe con-  
demned to be  
burned.

Words of au-  
thority without  
due probation.



TING  
IC. 2.  
my fellow  
of a chieft.  
we here  
y. 12.

symbolisme,  
haild copy  
ch against  
t pome of  
t pope.  
chought  
toulaires  
y perally to  
p downe  
cut from ri-  
th.  
quarrellous  
reed Synod.

to a galle  
the on the  
th, and he  
t. 1. 1. 1.  
t. Rome, ec.  
t. 1. 1. 1.  
t. 1. 1. 1.  
t. 1. 1. 1.  
t. 1. 1. 1.  
t. 1. 1. 1.  
t. 1. 1. 1.  
t. 1. 1. 1.

ther articles  
Wickliffe to  
t number of  
t. 1. 1. 1.  
t. 1. 1. 1.  
t. 1. 1. 1.  
t. 1. 1. 1.  
t. 1. 1. 1.  
t. 1. 1. 1.  
t. 1. 1. 1.  
t. 1. 1. 1.

found, which will not obey the same proccesse to be made againt them, as againt the labourers and maintainers of heresies. And this most holy Synod hath caused the said 45. Article: to be examined and oftentimes perused, by many most reverend fathers of the church of Rome, cardinals, bishops, abbats, masters of divinity, and doctors of both lawes, besides a great number of other learned men: the which articles being so examined, it was found as in truth it was no lesse that many, yea and a great number of them be notoriously for hereticall reproved and condemned by the holy fathers; other some not to be catholike, but erroneous; some full of offence and blasphemy; certain of them offensive unto godly eares, and many of them to be rashfull and seditious. It is found also, that his books do containe many articles of like effect and quality, and that they do induce and bring into the church unsound and unwholsome doctrine, contrary unto the faith and ordinance of the church. Wherefore in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, this sacred Synod, ratifying and approbng the sentences and iudgements of the archbishops and councell of Rome, do by this their decre and ordinance perpetually for evermore condemn and reprove the said articles, and every one of them, his books which he intituled his Dialogue and Trialogue, and all other books of the same author, volumes, treatises and workes, by what name soever they be intituled or called, the which we will here to be sufficiently expressed and named. Also we forbid the reading, learning, exposition, or alleaging of any of the said books unto all faithful christians, but so farre forth as shall tend to the reprove of the same: forbidding all and singular catholike persons, under the pain of curse, that from henceforth they be not so hardy openly to preach, teach or hold, or by any meanes to alleage the said articles or any of them, except (as is aforesaid) that it do tend unto the reprove of them: commanding all those books, treatises, workes and volumes aforesaid, to be openly burned, as it was decreed in the Synod at Rome, as is aforesaid. For the execution whereof duly to be observed and done, the said sacred synod doth straitly charge and command the ordinaries of the place diligently to attend and look unto the matter, according as it appertaineth unto every mans duty by the canonick lawes and ordinances.

What these articles were here condemned by the councell, collected out of all his workes, and exhibited to that said councell, to the number of 45. the copie of them following under written declareth.

Certaine other Articles gathered out of Wickliffe's bookes by his adversaries, to the number of 45. exhibited up to the Councell of Constance after his death, and in the same Councell condemned.

Besides the 24. articles above mentioned, there were other also gathered out of his bookes, to the number of 45. in all, which his malicious abderlaries perverfly collecting, and maliciously expounding, did exhibit up to the Councell of Constance: all which to repeat, though it be not here needfull, yet to recite certaine of them as they stand in that Councell, it shall not be superfluous.

25 All such as be hired for temporall living to pray for other, offend and sin of simony.

26 The prayer of the reprobate prebailleth for no man.

27 Hallowing of churches, confirmation of children, the Sacrament of orders be reserved to the pope and bishops onely, for the respect of temporall lucre.

28 Graduations, and doctorships in Universities and Colleges as they be used, conduce nothing to the church.

29 The excommunication of the pope and his prelates is not to be feared; because it is the curse of antichrist.

30 Such as found and build monasteries, do offend and sin; and all such as enter unto the same, be members of the devil.

31 To enrich the clergie is against the rule of Christ.

32 Wilbester the pope, and Constance the emperor were deceived, in giving and taking possessions into the church.

33 A deacon or a priest may preach the word of God without the authority of the apostolike See.

34 Such as enter into order, or religion monasticall, are thereby unable to keepe Gods commandments, and also to attaine to the kingdome of heaven, except they return from the same.

35 The pope with all his clergie, having those great possessions as they have, be heretikes in so having, and the secular powers in so suffering them do not well.

36 The Church of Rome is the synagogue of Satan, neither is the pope immediately the vicar of Christ, nor of the Apostles.

37 The decretals of the pope be apocrypha, and seduce from the faith of Christ, and the clergie that study them be falses.

38 The emperor and secular lords be seduced, which so enrich the church with such ample possessions.

39 It is not necessary to salvation to beleve the Church of Rome to be supreme head over all churches.

40 It is but folly to beleve the Popes Pardons.

41 All oathes, which be made for any contract or civill bargaine betwixt man and man, be unlawful.

42 Benedict, Francis, Dominicke, Bernard, with all such as have been patrons of private religion, except they have repented, with such also as have entred into the same, be in a damnable state, and so from the pope to the lowest nobices, they be altogether heretikes.

Besides these articles, to the number of forty and five, condemned (as is said) by the councell of Constance, other articles also I find diversly collected, or rather wrested out of the bookes and writings of Wickliffe; some by William Woodford, some by Walden, by frier Willington, and other, whom they in their bookes have impugned rather than confuted. In the number of whom, William Woodford especially findeth out these articles, and writeth againt the same, to the number of eighteen, as here under follow.

W. Woodford,  
Tho. Walden,  
Willington,  
writen against  
J. Wickliffe.

1 The bread remaineth in his own substance, after the consecration thereof upon the altar, and ceaseth not to be bread still.

2 As John was figuratively Belias; and not personally; so the bread is figuratively the body of Christ, and not naturally. And that without all doubt it is as well a figurative speech, to say, This is my body; as to say, This John is Belias.

3 In the decree, Ergo Berengarius, the court of Rome hath determined, that the sacrament of the holy Eucharist is naturally true bread.

4 They which do affirme, that the infants of the faithfull, departing without the sacrament of baptism, are not saved, be presumptuous and koles in so affirming.

5 The administration of the sacrament of confirmation is not onely reserved to the bishops.

6 In the time of S. Paul, onely two orders of clerkes did suffice in the church; Priests and Deacons. Neither was there in the time of the Apostles any

Articles a-  
gainst Wick-  
liffe by Will.  
Woodford.



any distinction of popes, patriarchs, archbishops, and bishops; but these the emperors pride did finde out.

7 Such as in times past, either for covetousnesse of temporall lucre, or in hope of mutuall succour by kindred, or for cause to excuse their lust (although they despaired of illue) were married; were not coupled together by true matrimony.

8 The causes of divorcement, either for spirituall consanguinity or for affinity, be not founded in Scripture, but are onely ordinances of men.

9 These words, I will take thee to wife, are rather to be taken in contract of matrimony, than these words, I do take thee to wife. And the contract with any party, by the words of the future tense, ought not to be frustrate for the contract with any party afterward made by the words of the present time.

10 There be twelue disciples of Antichrist, popes, cardinals, patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, archdeacons, officials, deanes, monks, canons, friers and pardoners.

11 In the book of Numbers the 18. chapter, and in Ezechiel 44. chapter, it is commanded simply, that neither the Priests of Aaron, nor the Levites should have any part of inheritance with other tribes, but should live merely of tithes and oblations.

12 There is no greater heretike or Antichrist, than that clerk which teacheth, that it is lawfull for Priests and Levites of the law of grace to be indued with temporall possessions. And if there be any heretikes, apostataes, or blasphemers, these clerks be such.

13 It is not onely lawfull for the lords temporall to take away goods of fortune from the churchmen, sinning usually; but also they are bound so to do, under paine of eternall damnation.

14 He that is the more humble, and more serviceable to the church, and more enamored with the love of Christ, is in the church militant the greater, and the more nare vicar of Christ.

15 If corporall unction or anoynting were a sacrament (as now it is fained to be) Christ and his Apostles would not have left the ordinance thereof untouched.

16 Unto the true dominion secular is required the vertuous life of him that ruleth.

17 All things that happen, do come absolutely, of necessity.

18 Whatsoever the pope or his cardinals can deduce clearly out of the Scripture, that only is to be believed, or to be done at their monition; and whatsoever otherwise they do command, is to be condemned as hereticall.

Besides this W. Woodford afore mentioned, diverse other there were which wrote against these articles of Wickliffe afore said, maintaining the popes part, as somewhat for flattery, rather than following any iust cause so to do, or shewing forth any reason or learning in disproving the same. Notwithstanding, on the contrary part some there were again both learned and goodly, which taking the part of Wickliffe, without all flattery, defended the most of the said articles openly in schools and other places, as appareth by the workes of John Hus; who, in his publike determinations in the University of Prague, stood in defence of the same against all his adversaries, as partly is here to be sene in these tractations under following.

¶ The publike defence of certaine articles of John Wickliffe, in the first act before the whole Vniversity of Prague, in Charles Colledge.

The determination of John Hus upon the xliiii. Article of Wickliffe, as touching the preaching and hearing of the Word of God, made in the yeare of our Lord,

1412.

INASMUCH as to condemne the truth wittingly, or without reasonable examination, doth tend to great danger of salvation, as the Lord saith, Luk. 6. Do ye not condemne, and ye shall not be condemned. Therefore to avoid this great danger, the University of Prague, and the whole communality thereof, the Rectors, Masters, Doctors, Bachelors and Students in their generall assembly, not agreeing to the condemnation pronounced by the Doctors in their counsell house, requireth of the said Doctors a reasonable proofe of their condemnation, and that they should by Scripture, authority, or infallible reason, prove the falshood of every those five and forty articles. The which being once done, the said University will agree to the said condemnation as iust: For the University doth well knowe, that as Augustine saith in the end of his second booke of Christian doctrine, whatsoever a man doth learne besides the holy Scriptures, if it be hurtfull, there it is condemned; if it be profitable, there it is found. And when a man hath found all things therein which he hath profitably learned elsewhere, he shall much more abundantly finde those things which are found in no place else, but are learned in the marvellous depth, and marvellous profoundnesse of those most sacred Scriptures onely.

Thus writeth Augustine. And Gregory in his thre and twentieth booke of Morals, saith thus; God in the holy Scripture hath comprehended whatsoever thing may happen unto any man, and in the same hath, by the examples of those which are gone afore, taught them which are to come, how to reforme their lives. Whereby it appeareth, that if every of the five and forty articles containeth in it wholly the thing that is false and untruth, the same is either plainly or darkly condemned in the holy Scriptures.

Secondly, it followeth by the sentence and mind of this holy man, that if the condemnation of the five and forty articles be profitable, the same is found in the holy Scriptures. And whereas againe S. Augustine writeth unto Saint Hierome, in his eighth Epistle, and the ninth Distinction; I (saith he) have learned to attribute this honour and reverence unto those writers only which are called canonical, that I dare affirme none of them to have erred in their works or writings. As for all other writers, I do so read them, that although they abound with never so much holiness, or excell in doctrine, I do not by and by think it true, because they themselves do so iudge; but if they can, by other canonical authors or probable reasons, perswade or proove that they doe not digresse from the truth.

Also the said Augustine in his booke de unico Baptismo, lib. 2. saith thus; Who doth not knowe or understand, the holy canonical Scripture to be contained in his owne bonds and limits, and the same to be preferred before all other letters and decrees of bishops, &c. And a little after he hath the like saying; as for the letters of other bishops which have been written, or be written, (after the canon being confirmed) they may lawfully be reprehended and reproved, both by the word of them that be more skillfull in that matter, and also by the ancient authority of other bishops, or by the prudence and wisdom of such as be better learned, or more expert, or els by generall councils, if it so chance that they in any point have erred and gone astray from the sincere truth.

By these sayings of Saint Austin and other like,

{ KING  
RIC. 2.

The whole i  
munity is a  
gainst the iur  
ment of th  
Doctors wh  
condemned i  
45. articles.

Aug. lib. d  
doct. Chr.  
lib. 2.

Greg. mo.  
lib. 3.



{KING}  
{RIC. 2.}

like, i.e. the university of Prague hath concluded and determined, that they will not receive the condemnation of the five and forty articles, made by the doctors in their council house as just and true, except they which condemned them, will prove their condemnation by the holy Scriptures and probable reasons upon every of the five and forty articles.

Wherefore for the due examination of the foresaid condemnation, whether it be effectual or no; we will at this present take in hand the fourteenth article of the number of the five and forty, which article is this:

The 14. article  
in Collectiffe.

The defence of  
the 14. article.

Which leaue off preaching and hearing of the word of God, for feare of excommunication of men, are already excommunicate, and in the day of iudgment shall be counted the betrayers of Christ.

This article containeth, first, that all priests, omitting the preaching of the word of God, for feare of the excommunication of men, are already excommunicate.

Secondly, it containeth, that all such as do omit the hearing of the word of God, for feare of excommunication, are already excommunicated.

Thirdly, that both these sorts of men, in the day of iudgment, shall be counted traitors of Christ.

The preaching  
of the Gospel  
commanded of  
God.

As concerning the first point, it is presupposed, that the preaching of the word of God is commanded unto the Apostles and their followers, as it appeareth in Math. 10. where it is said; Jesus sent his twelve disciples, commanding them and saying; Go and preach, that the kingdome of heaven is at hand. Also in the last of Matthew, and the 10. of Luk. Whereupon Peter the Apostle of Christ, acknowledging this precept and commandment for himselfe, and for the other Apostles and successors, in the tenth of the Actes, saith thus; We commanded us to preach and testifie, that it is he which is ordained of God the Judge both of the quick and the dead. This commandment also the other Apostles did acknowledge, and specially the chosen vessel, pronouncing under a great threatening in the 1. Corinth. 9. chap. Woe be unto me if I doe not preach the Gospel. And pope Nicolas, considering that great threatening in 43. Distinction, saith; The dispensation and distribution of the heavenly feed is commanded and intyoned to us; Woe be unto us if we do not sow it abroad, or if we hold our peace. Which thing, when as the vessel of election did feare and cry out upon, how much more ought all other inferiours to feare and dread the same? To the same purpose doth S. Gregory write in his pastozall in the distinction, Sit rector. It is also evident by many other doctors and holy men, as by S. Augustine, Hierome, Ambrose, Bernard, whose words it were too long here to rehearse.

reg. dist. 44.  
up. Sit re-  
ctor.

The hearing  
of the word  
commanded by  
God.

As touching the second point, that the hearing of the word and law of God is commanded unto the people, it is evident both by the old and new law; for it is said in the 28. of the Proverbs; He that turneth away his care, and will not heare the law of God, his prayer shall be cursed. And our Saviour, rebuking the Scribes and Pharisees, concludeth thus in the 8. of S. John, saying; He that is of God, heareth Gods word: but forso much as you are not of God, therefore you heare not his word.

Thirdly, it is to be noted, that excommunication is a separation from the communion, the 11. quest. 3. Nihil. & cap. Canonica. And 27. question, first, Viduas. 34. question 3. Cum Sacerdos. And this excommunication is double, that is to say, either secret or manifest. The secret excommunication is, whereby a man is separated from the mysticall body of Christ, and so from God through sin, according unto the 59. of Ezech; Your iniquities have made separation between you and God and you. And with this excommunication doth the Apostle excommunicate every man which doth not love the Lord Jesus Christ, saying in the first of the Corinthians

excommuni-  
cation.

excommuni-  
cation double.

and last chapter; If any man do not love the Lord Jesus Christ, let him be accursed. The manifest and apert excommunication may be divided into a manifest excommunication by God, whereof it is spoken, Mat. 25. See ye cursed. &c. And oftentimes else in the law of God. Also into a manifest excommunication by men, whereby the prelate doth either justly or unjustly cast out any man from the participation of the communion of the church; whereof this shall suffice at this present.

Then, as touching the first part of the article, it is thus argued, &c.

The probation  
of the first part.

Whosoever for sake or leaue the commandments of God undone, they are excommunicate of God. But the priests which leaue off the preaching of the word of God, for feare of the unjust excommunication of men, doe leaue the commandment of God undone. Ergo, those priests which doe leaue off preaching of the word of God, are excommunicated of God.

The first part of this article is true: The Maior appeareth by the Psalm: Cursed be they which do decline and swerve from thy precepts. The Minor is evident by the first position, which probeth that the preaching of the word of God is the commandment of God intyoned unto those priests and ministers. Whereupon the saying of our Saviour, Mat. 15. is spoken unto them; Wherefore doe you transgress the commandments of God for your owne traditions? leaving off the preaching of the word of God for feare of unjust excommunication, and so dishonouring the father Christ, and the mother the holy Church.

It is thus confirmed; All they which doe omit or let slip any manner of worke principally and straitly intyoned them of the Lord Jesus Christ, under the cloke and colour of grace, for feare of any excommunication of men, are already excommunicate. But priests, and specially curats, admonished by the spirit of God, leaving off the preaching of the word of God for feare of the excommunication of men, omit and leaue off, for feare of the same excommunication, a worke principally and straitly intyoned unto them of the Lord Jesus Christ, under the cloke and colour of grace: Ergo, priests, and specially curats and such as be admonished and warned by the spirit of God, omitting the preaching of the word of God for feare of excommunication, are excommunicate. The consequence is well known. The Maior appeareth by the Psalm; Cursed be they which doe decline and goe away from thy commandments. The minor is also evident againe by the first supposition.

Item, if the Apostles of Christ had left off the preaching of the word of God for feare of the excommunication of men, which the Lord did foretold unto them in the sixteenth of S. John, saying; They shall excommunicate you out of their synagogues; They had bene excommunicated of God. Ergo, by like evidence the priests and ministers of Christ, being inspired with the same spirit to preach & declare the word of God, if they leaue it undone for feare of the excommunication of men, are already excommunicate. The consequence dependeth upon a similitude. And the antecedent is evident; for if the Apostles had left off preaching for feare of excommunication, they had broken the commandments of God; and so consequently had ben accursed. Wherefore they willing to observe and keepe the commandments of God, and to put off the excommunication of men, said unto the high Priests, Elders, and Scribes at Jerusalem, to Annas, Caiphas, to John and Alexander, and all other of the kindred of the priests which were gathered together and commanded them that they should not preach nor teach in his name of Jesus; If it be iust in the sight of God, that wee should rather obey you than God, that iudge you. Actes 4. And in the fifth of the Actes they said

The Apostles  
did not obey  
any wicked in-  
hibition.

And unto



Anacletus,  
dist. 4.

Hieronymus  
ad Rusticum.

If the pope be  
an heretike,  
the godly bi-  
shops may  
preach against  
him.

unto them; We ought rather to obey God than man. By this saying of the Holy Ghost it is concluded, that the priests and ministers of Christ, inspired by the holy Ghost to preach the word of God, ought rather obey the holy Ghost, than those that shall prohibit and command them to the contrary, and to suffer the excommunication of men patiently. Whereupon pope Anacletus spake very well in this as it is written distinction 43. We know (saith he) that many doe goe about to molest and trouble the doctors and teachers to this end, that they might utterly destroy them, and fulfill their owne proper lusts and desires: yet notwithstanding the said doctors, as much as in them lieth, ought not to depart or goe backe from their good doings and intent, knowing assuredly that blessed are they which suffer persecution for righteousness sake. Thus much writeth he. And for reverend Bede upon these words; We shall finde an assured up, and an he-fole with her, lose her and bring her unto me: and if any man say any thing unto you, say ye that the Lord hath need of them) writeth thus. Where it is mystically commanded unto the doctors and teachers, that if any aduersitie do let or hinder, or any man do prohibit or stop, that sinners cannot be loosed from their bonds or inaces, and be brought unto the Lord by the confession of their fault, that they notwithstanding should not leave off preaching, but constantly and boldly as firme and lay, that the Lord hath need of such, to edifie and build againe his Church. For so did the Apostles; so likewise ought all the humble and meeke ministers of Christ to doe. And S. Hierome writeth unto Rusticus the bishop of Narbonne saith thus; Let no bishop from henceforth be puffed up or inflamed with the envie of diabolical temptation, if the priests now and then doe exhort and teach the people, or preach openly in the churches, or as it is said, doe bless the people. For unto him which should deny unto me the doing hereof, I would say in this manner; He that will not that priests should doe those things which they are commanded by God, let him say that he is greater and above Christ. By the which words S. Hierom doth openly declare, that priests are commanded to exhort and teach the people, and to preach in the churches. Secondly, that a bishop denying or forbidding the same to bee done, specially the priests or ministers being apt men thereunto, is extolled above Christ. And therefore consequently is not to bee obeyed nor heard in his doings.

Item, admit that the pope be an heretike, and teach peruerse and contrary doctrine unto the holy Scriptures, and that the bishop be a catholike man unto whom the pope giveth in commandment that he shall suffer no man to preach contrary to his opinion; as it happened in Pope Leo, and Saint Hilary the bishop: adding this also, that the bishop doe execute the popes commandment under paine of excommunication: this notwithstanding if the catholike priests, learned in the law of God, doe leave off preaching against the popes heresies, for feare of excommunication of men, they are already excommunicate. The which thing is evident, for so much as they are accursed through the consent of their silence, as Saint Iudas saith 11. question 1. He that doth consent unto sinners, or defendeth a sinner, he shall be cursed both before God and man, and shall be punished with a most severe rebuke; and in the 7. question, 4. Omnis, it is said; He that doth neglect to amend that which he may correct, committeeth no lesse fault than he which had before offended: for not only they which do commit the offence, but also they which consent thereunto, are indged partakers thereof. In like case priests, which do not preach against the heresie which the pope teacheth, are dumb dogs, not able to open their mouths, or barke against the wolfe, which will kill the sheepe of Jesus Christ: Ergo, how can it then bee otherwise, but

they must needs be betrayers of the sheepe of their own sheppard.

Item, let it be so, that the bishop with the chiefe prelates be adulterers, or otherwise open offenders, and that he together with his prelates do command under paine of excommunication, that none be so hardy to preach against adultery; in such a case they which do omit their duty in preaching against adultery, for feare of excommunication of men, are already excommunicated of God: Ergo, the first part of the article is true. The Antecedent is proved: for our Saviour in the eighth of Marke saith thus; He that acknowledgeth me and my words in this wicked and adulterous generation, the sonne of man shall also acknowledge and confesse him when he shall come in the glory of his Father with his Angels. Therefore he that shall confesse Christ, and these words of Christ, Matth. 5. You have heard that it was said to them in old time, Thou shalt not commit adultery: But I say unto you, that every one, which shall behold a woman to lust after her, hath already committed adultery with her in his heart: He, I say, that shall confesse these things before an adulterous bishop with his chiefe prelates, the which perchance are the wicked and adulterous generation, the son of man shall also acknowledge him, when he shall come in the glory of his Father, and so consequently is he blessed. Contrariwise, he which for the feare of excommunication of men will not confesse Christ and his words, before the sinfull and adulterous generation, is accursed. The consequence holdeth by the words of Christ, Luk. 9. He that is ashamed of me and my words, him shall the Sonne of man be ashamed of, when he shall come in his majesty, and in the glory of his Father and his holy Angels, pronouncing that which is spoken, Matth. 25. Verily, I say unto you, I know you not; go you cursed into everlasting fire.

Also, our Saviour Jesus Christ did not omit, or leave off the preaching of the kingdome of God for any pretended excommunication of the bishops, scribes and pharisees: so likewise his true and humble priests ought not to omit their preaching for any pretended excommunication of men: the consequence holdeth by the saying of Christ, John 15. Be ye mindfull of the words which I have spoken unto you, the servant is not greater than his master: If they have persecuted me, they will persecute you also. The antecedent is apparent by the saying of S. John in his ninth chapter. Even now the Jewes had conspired, that whosoever did confesse him to be Christ, should be excommunicate. And likewise John 7. Whether did any of the princes or rulers, or any of the pharisees beleve in him. But this people which knoweth not the law, are accursed.

Also the humble and iust ministers of God ought not, under paine of sinne, to cease from the fruitfull preaching of the law of God for any unjust excommunication, or unlawfull commandment; and it is proved thus: the humble and iust ministers of Christ ought not to obey their prelates in such things as are contrary to God; as all the holy doctors, and such as are learned in the law of God, do wholly with one consent affirm. And for so much as an unjust excommunication, and unlawfull commandment are against God, therefore the iust and true ministers of God ought not to obey such unlawfull excommunication and commandments; and consequently ought not to cease for them, from the fruitfull preaching of the Gospell of our Lord Jesus Christ; but ought boldly and gladly to preach the same. For so much as the Lord doth comfort them in the fifth of Matthew, saying thus; Blessed and happy are ye when as men do curse you, and persecute you, and speak all kind of evil against you, making lies and slanders upon you for my sake; reioyce and be glad, for great is your reward in heaven.

Also, every minister, having power given him from

KING  
RIC. 2.  
Albeit the ch  
priests be ad  
terers, yet  
ought the mi  
nisters to  
preach agai  
adultery.

The exampl  
of Christ.

The obedient  
of Christian  
priests towa  
their prelates



**SKING**  
**RIC. 2.**  
The power of  
preaching to  
excommunication  
ought not to  
cease.

from above to preach the Gospel, hath the same given unto him for the edifying of the church, and not for the destruction of the same.

And the Apostle saith, 2 Cor. 10. But every one leaving off the preaching of the Gospel, for feare of any pretended excommunication of men, should frustrate the power given him for the edifying of the church. And therefore in so doing he should sinne against God and his church, and consequently ought rather to chuse not to cease from preaching for feare of any such excommunication, lest that he be excommunicate of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Item, let case that the pope doth command that there shall be no preaching in any place; then the ministers of Christ leaving off their preaching for feare of the popes curse, are already excommunicated of God. It is evident, forso much as they have neglected the commandment of God for the commandment of men. And this case is possible: for by what reason the pope may command, under pain of excommunication, that there shall be no preaching in some place, and namely in the parish churches; by the same reason he may command that no man should preach in any place.

The first part is evident by the prohibition of pope Alexander, who in his bull did prohibit to preach the word of God unto the people in chapels, although the said chapels were confirmed by the privilege of the sea apostolike. The which bull the lord Subincom, archbishop of Prague, with his canons, obtained. By these aforesaid, the first part of the article is evident, which is this; that all priests omitting the preaching of the word of God, for feare of the excommunication of men, are already excommunicat.

The second part of the article is this, that all they which do omit the hearing of the word of God, for feare of the excommunication of men, are already excommunicat.

And it is proved thus: All such as neglect the commandments of God are excommunicat. But they which neglect the hearing of the word of God, for the excommunication of men, are they which neglect the commandments of God. Therefore they which omit the hearing of the word of God, for the excommunication of men, are already excommunicat.

The second part is apparent by the 118. Psalm. Cursed bee they which decline from thy commandments. And the second part is evident by the second supposition, which saith; that the hearing of the word of God is commanded unto the people.

This is confirmed: all such as omit the necessary means unto salvation are excommunicat: but such as omit the hearing of the word of God, for the excommunication by men, bee such as doe omit the necessary means unto salvation. Therefore in so doing they are excommunicat. The consequence is plaine: the second part is made evident by this; That all such as doe omit the necessary means unto salvation, do also neglect their salvation: and so are out of the way of salvation, and bee excommunicated of God. The second part appeareth hereby, that to heare the word of God is the means most necessary unto salvation, as the Apostle doth prove in his tenth chapter to the Romans: How, saith he, shall they believe on him, whom they never heard of? And how shall they heare without a preacher? And by and by after the Apostle inferreth unto the purpose; That saith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God.

Item, whatsoever is done contrary unto conscience doth edifie unto eternall damnation; as it is said, as touching the restitution of the spelt goods, Chap. Literas porro. But to omit the hearing of the word of God for feare of excommunication of men, is a thing which is done against conscience. Therefore to omit the hearing of the word of God, for excommunication, doth edifie unto eternall damnation.

on; and therefore consequently ought not to be done, for feare of any excommunication. Therefore a woman being iudged unto a man, whom she knoweth to be within the degrees of consanguinity, which Gods law hath prohibited, ought not to obey that iudgement, lest that she offend against God; but meekly and patiently to sustaine the excommunication, as it appeareth in the chapter before alleaged. So likewise all true christians ought rather, than to offend against God, meekly to suffer the excommunication of men, and not to omit the hearing of the word of God. To this purpose also serveth that which is spoken in the 11. quest. 3. We that feareth the omnipotent God, will not presume by any means to doe any thing contrary unto the Gospel or Apostles, either contrary unto the Prophets, or the institutions of the holy fathers. By these premises, the second part of this article is manifest, that all such as do omit the hearing of the word of God, for feare of excommunication of men, are already excommunicated.

And forso much as all christian; being of lawfull age, not repenting at the end, shall be counted in a manner as traitors to Christ in the day of iudgement, because that they were unfaithfull servants of Christ; therefore they which through feare omit the preaching and hearing of the word of God, for the excommunication of men, shall be counted as traitors to Christ, and shall render account thereof unto the Lord. Whereupon Chrysostome touching both those sorts in the 41. Hom. shewing how the Lord would have some to be teachers, and other some to be teachers, and other some to be disciples, saith thus: for unto those which he would have to be teachers, he speaketh thus by his prophet Ezechiel; Ye priests, speake to the hearers of the people; for if the priests doe not manifest all the truth unto the people, they shall render account thereof at the day of iudgement: and likewise if the people doe not learne the truth, they shall also give an account at the day of iudgement. It is also made more evident by him upon 1. of 1. of 1. Do not fear them which kill the body, lest that, through the feare of death, you doe not freely speake that which you have heard, neither boldly preach that unto all men, which you alone have heard in your eares: so that hereby alone it is evident, that not only he is a betrayer of the truth, which transgressing the truth, doth openly speak lies in stead of the truth; but he also which doth not freely pronounce, or doth not freely defend the truth, which he ought boldly to defend, is also a traitor unto the truth. For like as the priest is a debter to preach the truth which hee hath heard of the Lord; even so the lay man is bound to defend the truth, which he hath heard of the minister approved by the scriptures; which if he do not, then is he a traitor unto the truth; for steadfast belief with the heart prevaileth unto righteousness; the confession which is made with the mouth helpeth unto salvation. Thus much writeth Chrysostome; who together with the people, meekly bearing the excommunication of the bishops, freely preached the truth, and the people heard him; and so by his word and his workes he freely taught the truth, lest hee should be a traitor unto the truth, and consequently be counted as a traitor unto our Lord Jesus Christ in the day of iudgement. And thus the third part of the Article aforesaid is manifest.

The defension of the xv. Article of John Wickliffe by John Hus.

It is lawfull for any deacon or priest to preach the word of God without the authority of the Apostles, or of his catholikes.

First, I understand here by the authority of the Apostolike See, properly his speciall consent authorizing. And likewise I understand by authoritie of the bishop, a speciall consent of the bishop authorizing the said deacon or priest to preach,

The proofes of the third part.

Chrysostome in his 41. Homily.

Chrysostome although he was excommunicate, yet hee did preach.

The 15. article of Wickliffe.

The preaching of the Gospel is not to be left off for all the popes prohibition.

The second part of the article.

Deanes necessary unto salvation are not to be omitted.

A man ought to doe nothing against his conscience.



The confirmation of the article.

Every man, being lawfully called of the church, ought to preach the word of God without the pope's licence.

Now as touching the truth of this article, I thus argue: Like as after matrimony once complete, the man and wife may lawfully, without any special licence of the pope or bishop, procreate carnall children: so likewise deacons or priests, by the motion of God through the Gospell of Iesus Christ, may lawfully, without any special licence either of pope or bishop, generate spirituall children. Ergo, this article is true, and the antecedent is thus proved. For as it is an acceptable work unto God for man and wife, without the special licence of the pope or bishop, to generate carnall children; so it is acceptable unto him, that deacons or priests, by the motion of God through the Gospell of Iesus Christ, should lawfully generate spirituall children, without the special licence of the pope, or of any other bishop: Ergo, the assumption is true.

But if any man will deny this similitude, let him show the diversity. For as it is worse not to receive or to choke the seed of Gods word, than the carnall seed; so contrariwise, is it better to receive and sow abroad that seed of the word of God, whereby children might be raised up unto God, than to receive or give such seed whereby carnall children may be gotten. Whereupon our Saviour in the 10. of Mattheu saith thus; Whosoever doth not receive you, neither heareth your words, wipe off the dust from your feet: verily I say unto you, that in the day of iudgment it shall be better unto the land of Sodom and Gomor than to that city.

Also a deacon or priest being stirred by the Spirit of Iesus Christ, may preach the word of God without the special licence of the pope or bishop. Ergo, it is lawfull for him so to do. The consequence is thus manifest; for so much as the Spirit of God, moving the deacon or priest unto the preaching of the Gospell, is of greater force than any prohibition of pope or bishop intended by man. Ergo, according unto the rule of the Apostles, they ought infallibly to be obedient unto the Spirit of Christ, which doth to move them thereunto, and rather to obey God than man. Acts 5. Also by like reason, as Helad and Medad, upon whom the Spirit of God did rest, did lawfully prophesie without requiring any licence at Moses hands, as it is written, Numb. 11. By the same reason may the make minister of Christ, upon whom the spirit of God doth rest, without the requiring of any licence either of the pope or bishop, lawfully preach the word of God unto the people. And would to God in this behalfe all prelates had the spirit of Moses; for it is said, Numb. 11. That when as Helad and Medad were prophesying in the tents, a child ran unto Moses, and told him, saying; Helad and Medad do prophesy in the tents; and by and by Iesus the sonne of man, the servant of Moses which he had chosen out amongst many, said, My master Moses, forbid them: and he said, Why eniest thou for my sake? would God that all the people could prophesie, and that the Lord would give them his spirit. And would to God the pope and bishops had the affections which this holy man the friend of God had: Then would he not prohibit the make deacons and ministers of Iesus Christ to preach the Gospell of Iesus Christ. The like affection had the blessed man Gregory, which in his 22. booke of Morals, writing upon these words of Job; And I have not afflicted the soule of his husbandmen, saith thus; The husbandmen of this earth are these, which being set in small authority, with as fervent desire as they can, and with as great labor as they may, do worke by the preaching of grace, to the erudition of the holy Church, the which husbandmen of this world not to afflict, is not to envy their labours and doings: neither ought the ruler of the church, albeit he do challenge unto himselfe alone y title of preaching, through envy gainsay others which do preach truly and uprightly. For the godly mind of the pastor, which seeketh not his owne glory

amongst men, desireth to be helpen: the which thing also the faithfull preacher doth wish, if it might by any means be brought to passe, that the truth, which he alone cannot sufficiently expresse, all mens mouthes might declare.

Wherefore, when as Iesua would have resisted the two which were prophesying in the host, why doest thou envy (saide he) for my sake: for he did not envy that god in other which he himselfe had. Thus writeth S. Gregory.

Also the make ministers of Christ have, by a special gift of Gods knowledge and mind to preach the Gospell; but neither is it lawfull for the pope or bishop, or any other man to let or hinder them, lest thereby they should let the word of God, that it have not his free course. Ergo, this article is true; for the king doth not so much rule over the gods of his subjects, no not of his owne finnes, but that they may give almes to whom they will: much lesse hath the bishop so great authority over the knowledge of the make minister, with his other gifts of God, but that he may freely under the title of spirituall almes preach the Gospell unto the people. Ergo, forasmuch as it should seeme strange, that a bishop should forbid any man to give any corporall almes to the poore that are an hundred; much more strange and marvellous would it be, if that he should prohibit the spirituall minister of Christ to give spirituall almes, by the preaching of the Gospell of the word of God.

Item, no catholike man ought to doubt, but that a man able for the purpose, is more bound to teach them which are ignorant, to counsell and comfort the weak in spirit, to correct such as are unruly, to forgive those that do them wrong, than to do any other worke of mercy: for so much then as he that hath sufficient is bound, under paine of damnation, to give corporall almes, as it appeareth Math. 25. much more he, which is able, is bound to do spirituall almes. And this almes S. Bernard, writing unto Eugenius in his 3. booke, perceived to be very necessary for the bishop of Rome, whereas he said thus; I feare no greater popish, nor greater sword or mischief will happen unto thee, than this unsatiable desire of dominion. Which what face then can y faithfull minister withdraw or keep backe the spirituall almes from the poore and any other, even without the special licence of the pope or of the bishop, which licence, through the farre distance from the pope, the ministers cannot so easily obtaine or come by: For all prohibition of any prelate, being broken through necessity, is not to be blamed, 1. Duck. 3. Intercessor, and also in the chapter following.

Item, all authority of preaching given unto deacons and priests in their consecration, were but vaine, except that in case of necessity, without any special licence, they might preach the Gospell. It is evident, for so much as it is not lawfull for them to use that authority, by their adbersary, without a special licence. Ergo, it is given them in vaine. The consequence is evident by the common saying of the Philosopher, That power is but vaine, whereof proceedeth no use of action. But for so much as this article doth as it were depend upon the article before passed, therefore this shall suffice to be spoken thereof at this present.

But against the affirmations of both these articles this is objected out of the 16. quest. 1. All faithfull people, and specially all priests, deacons, and all others of the clergy, ought to take heed that they do nothing without the licence of their bishop. It is also objected out of the 5. booke of Decretals, Titulo de hereticis cap. Cum ex injuncto; where it is said, No man ought to usurpe to himselfe indifferently the office of preaching, for so much as the Apostle saith; How shall they preach, except they be sent: Where as also Innocentius doth declare, that it is not sufficient for a man to say, that he is sent of God to preach,

King Ric. 2.

The course of the word of God ought to be stopped Bernard.

God grant that all the people may prophesie.

Objection.



KING  
RIC. 2.

The answers  
to the objection

What is falsly  
usurped the  
office of a pre-  
acher.

Who is a true  
minister of the  
church

Four kinds of  
calling or call-  
ing.

The common  
law.

The private  
law.

What law,  
but is the se-  
cret and in-  
ner work-  
ing of Gods spirit  
in the heart.

preach except he do shew the same. As touching the first point, the Glosse doth sufficiently answer upon this word, without licence; That is to be expounded, saith he without generall licence; the which is obtrayned and giben, when as a bishop doth appoint any priest to governe the people, for thereby (saith he) it seemeth a bishop is thought to give him generall power to minister unto the people, and to rule the church. Thus much in the Glosse. And to the same end and purpose it is said in the 7. quest. 1. chapier, Episcopi, bishops or priests, if they come into the church of another bishop to visit the same, as it is said glosse 1. in honore suo, Let them be receiued in their degree and desired as well to preach the word, as to do any other consecration or oblation. Secondly, it is to be noted, which is very well spoken in the same place; No man ought to usurpe unto himselfe the office of preaching, as a thing indifferent. For to usurpe is unlawfully to use any thing: Ergo, the same deacon or priest doth then usurpe the office of preaching as indifferently, who living vicariously, contrary unto the law of Christ, or being ignorant of the law of God, doth preach either for gain, or covetousnesse of living, either for his bellic or dainty life, or for any vaine glory; but he which doth live according unto the lawes of Christ, and being moved with the affection of sincere charity, intending purely the honour of God, and the salvation of himselfe and his neighbours, doth preach no lies nor vaine iels, or other things not authorized, but only the law of Christ, and the minds of the holy doctors; And he that doth so preach, I necessity occasioning or moving him thereunto, in case there be no pope or bishop, or in case possible to withstand the preaching of heretikes or false preachers, in so doing doth not usurpe the office of preaching; and in such case there is no doubt but he is sent of God. And this doth also answer unto that which is consequently said; that if any man will peradventure craskily answer, that such preachers are invisibly sent of God, although not visibly of men, when as that invisible sending of God is much better than the visible sending of men; A man may reasonably answer thereunto, that forsomuch as that innerall sending is secret, it is not sufficient for a man only to say that he is sent of God, forsomuch as every heretike may so say; but hee ought to probe the same his invisible calling by the working of some miracle, or by some speciall testimonie of the scripture.

Here it is to be noted, according to Saint Augustine in his 65. booke of quest. unto Proclus, that there are foure kinds of sending. The first is from God only, whereof wee reade in Moses and other, which were inspired by God. And this kind of sending loseth from the danger of bestature: so that he whom the spirit of God hath inspired, this prelat giving thanks may proceed unto a better life. Whereupon pope Urban said 19. quest. 2. There bee (said hee) two lawes, the one publike, the other private. The publike law is that which is confirmed in writing by the holy fathers, such as is the canon law, which is only giben for transgressions. As for example, it is decreed in the canons, that none of the clergie shall goe from one bishopricke unto another, without the letters commendatory of his bishop; the which was ordained only for offenders, that no infamous persons should bee receiued of any bishop. For they were wont, when they could not celebrate or doe their office under their owne bishopricke, to goe unto another: which now is forbidden by the lawes and precepts. The private law is that, which, by the instruction of the holy Ghost, is written in the heart, as the Apostle speaketh of many, which have the law of God written in their hearts. And in another place; Forsomuch as the Gentiles have not the law of God, but naturally do those things which are of the law, they are lawes unto themselves. And afterward hee saith, the private law is much more worthy than the publike law. For the spirit of God

is a law; And they which are moved by the spirit of God, are led by the law of God. And who is he, that can worthily resist against the holy Ghost? who ever therefore is led by the spirit of God, albeit his bishop do say him nay. let him goe freely to our assistance; for the law is not appointed for the man; for where as the spirit of God is, there is liberty; and if he be led by the spirit of God, we are not under the law.

Behold, here it is affirmed, that the sending by God, through inspiration, is not bound under the bondage of the law; for that law is more worthy than the publike law. Secondly, that the law is made for transgressors and offenders, and not for the iust. Thirdly, that whosoever is led by the spirit of God, although his bishop stand against him, he may proceed unto a better life. Whereby it is evident, that a deacon or priest disposed to preach, and being led by the spirit of God, may freely preach the Gospel of Christ, without the spirituall licence of his bishop. It is evident, forsomuch as it is good, that a deacon or priest doe live well and preach fruitfully. Ergo, he may proceed from idleness unto the labour and office of preaching, and so unto a better life.

But whereas it is said afoze, that forsomuch as the inward sending or calling is secret, therefore it is not sufficient for a man barely to affirme only that he is sent of God, when as every heretike may so say; but it is necessary, that he doe confirme and prove his invisible sending by the working of some miracle, or by some speciall testimonie of the scripture: here is to be noted, that there are two kinds of preachers; some true preachers of our Saviour Christ; and others seducers, of antichrist. The first sort following their master Christ, teach the people in truth. The other sort, being of a corrupt mind, and reprobate touching faith, resist against the veritie; and through covetousnesse, by their famed words, doe make merchandise of the people. And these men doe give, and shall give miracles, as our Saviour saith Math. 24. There shall arise false Christs, and false prophets, the which shall shew great signes and wonders, insomuch that even the elect themselves, if it were by any means possible, should bee brought into error. And the apostle in the 2. to the Thessal. 2. as touching their head antichrist writeth thus: Whose coming shall be according to the operation of Satan, with all power and signes, false miracles, seducing unto iniquitie those which doe perill, because they have not receiued the charity and love of truth, that they might be saved: therefore will the Word send upon them the operation of error, that they shall give credit unto lies: that all such as have not believed the truth, but consent unto wickednes, should be iudged. Behold how expressly our Saviour by himselfe, and by his Apostle doth teach us, how the disciples of antichrist, with their head, should shine through their great signes and wonders. But the true disciples of Christ shall not so doe in the time of antichrist. For as Saint Iddoz saith in his first booke, 22. De summo bono: Before that antichrist shall appeare, all vertues and signes shall cease from the church, that he may the boldier persecute the same, as an abiet. For this possit shall all miracles and signes cease under antichrist, that thereby the patience of the holy men might bee knowne, and the lightnes of the reprobate, which are offenders, may be opened, and also that the cruelty of the persecutors should be made more fierce. Thus writeth Saint Iddoz. And Saint Gregory in his 24. booke of Morals saith; For why: by a terrible examination of Gods secret dispensation shall all signes of vertue or power be taken away from the holy church, before that the Leviathan appeare in that most wicked and damnable man, whose shape hee doth take upon him. For prophecy is hidden, the gift of healing is taken away, the vertue of long abstinence is diminished, the words of doctrine are put to

The two kind  
of calling.

Where man  
may proceed to  
be sent of God  
inwardly.

Two kind of  
preachers.

Of the signes  
and wonders  
of antichrist.

Why true mi-  
racles shall  
cease under An-  
tichrist.



silence, and the wonderfull woorks of miracles are extinguished; which things nothing can utterly take away, but onely the dispensation of God. But this dispensation is not to openly and manifestly declared as it hath bene in times past; the which also is done by a marvellous dispensation that throught one only thing both Gods love and iustice should be fulfilled. For the power of miracles being a while taken away, the holy church appeareth the more abject and forsaken, and the reward of good men doth cease, which revered the same for the hope of heavenly riches, and not for any present signes; and that the minds of evil men against the same might the sooner be knowne, which neglect to follow the invisible things, which the church doth promise, whiles they be led with visible signes.

For so much then as the humility of the faithfull is as it were destitute of the multitude and appearing of signes by the terrible working of Gods secret dispensation, whereby mercy is given unto the good and iust, wrath heaped upon the evil; for so much then, as it is truly said, that before this Leviathan shall plainly and manifestly come, poverty shall goe before his face (for before that time the riches of miracles shall be taken away from the faithfull) Then shall that ancient enemy shew himselfe against them by open wonders; that as he is extolled throught signes and wonders, so shall he the more mainly be vanquished of the faithfull, without any signes or miracles. Also in his 16. booke upon these words, which the blessed man Job said; Who shall reprehend his way before him, or who shall cast in his teeth what he hath done? Whilest he did speake of the body of all evil, he suddenly converted his speech unto the head of all the wicked; for he did see that toward the end of the world Satan should enter into man, whom the Scripture calleth antichrist, he shall be extolled with such pride, he shall rule with such power, he shall be exalted with such signes and wonders, under the pretence of holiness, that his doing cannot be controlled of men, for so much as his signes and tokens are toynd with power and terror, and with a certain shew of holiness. Wherefore he saith, who shall controle his wayes before him, what man is he that dare once rebuke or check him, whose look or countenance is he afraid of? But notwithstanding not onely Enoch and Elias, the which are brought as example for his probation, but also the elect doe argue and reprove his way, whiles that they do contemne, and by the force and power of their minds, resist his malice. But for so much as this thing is not done by their owne power and strength, but by Gods helpe and grace, therefore it is very well said; Who shall argue or reprove his wayes before him? who but only God? By whose help, the elect are aided and made able to resist.

And a little after, upon the same booke of Job, Gregory saith, in so much as holy men do withstand his iniquity; It is not they themselves which do so rebuke his wayes, but it is he throught whose helpe they are strengthened. Also in his second booke he saith; Now the holy church doth not regard, but despite the signes and miracles of the heretikes, if they doe any; for so much as the church doth sufficiently understand, that it is no kind of holiness: for why? the proove of holiness is not to make signes or wonders, but to love every man as himselfe, to thinke truly of the very true God, and to thinke better of thy neighbour than of thy selfe; for true vertue and holiness consisteth in love, and not in getting of miracles. This the verity declareth saying; Hereby shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye love one another: but he saith not, that hereby men shall know that ye are my disciples, because ye woake miracles; but contrariwise, if ye love one another, declaring plainly thereby, that it is not miracles, but the more charity and love of God, which maketh us the servants of God. Wherefore the

chiefe testimony of being Gods disciple is to have the gift of brotherly love. This thowout doth Saint Gregory write, and oftentimes in other places he speaketh very much of miracles, how that they shall cease amongst the iust, and abound amongst the wicked.

Also Chrysostome in his 55. homily saith thus; It is a common and an indifferent woake between the ministers of God and the ministers of the devil, to cast out devils; but to confesse the truth, and to work righteousness, is the onely woek of the Saints and holy men: therefore whomsoever thou dost see casting out of devils, if he have not the confession of the truth in his mouth, neither righteousness in his hands, he is not a man of God: but if thou dost see a man openly confessing and declaring the truth, and doing iustice, although he do not cast out any devils, yet is he the man of God. And it followeth; Let us know, that like as at the coming of Christ, before him the Prophetes, and with him the Apostles wrought miracles through the Holy Ghost; for such as the thing is which is stirred, such sent and labour will proceed from the same. He writeth also upon the beginning of Matthew: The whole world did marvel and wonder at three things; that Christ rose againe after his death; that he ascended into heaven; and that he did convert the whole world by his 12. Apostles. There are foure causes which wrought the same; that is to say, the contempt of riches or money; the despising of pomp and glory; the separation of themselves from all worldly occupation and business; and the patient suffering of torments. Thus much writeth Chrysostome also. Also S. Iddoze in his first booke and 25. chap. De summo bono, writeth thus. Like as in the Apostles, the marvellous effect and power of woorks was much more commendable than the vertue of their signes; even so now in the church is it much better to live well, than to woake any signes or miracles. And the cause why that the church of God doth not at this present woake miracles, as it did in the time of the Apostles, is this; that it was necessary at that time that the world should believe miracles, and now at this present, every faithfull believer ought to shine with good woorks, for to this end were signes and miracles then outwardly wrought, that their faith thereby might be inwardly strengthened and established; for whatsoever faithfull man be he that seeketh to work miracles, he seeketh bainglory to be praised of men: for it is written; Miracles are signes and tokens unto the infidels and unbelievers, and not unto the faithfull. Thus much writeth Iddoze.

Item, S. Augustine in his booke of confessions, saith thus; There is no greater miracle amongst men, than to love our enemies. By these words of these holy men a man may easily gather, that, both in our daies, and in the time to come, the disciples of Antichrist both do, and shall more flourish and shew themselves by strange signes and miracles, than the disciples of Christ, according to the saying of our Saviour Jesus Christ; there shall rise up amongst you false prophets, which shall woake strange miracles. Secondly, it is appoynted that they are greater and stranger miracles, to confesse the truth, and to do iustice, than to work any other kind of miracle. Thirdly, it is gathered thereby, that whatsoever minister or beaon doth love his enemies, contemne riches, despiseth the glory of the world, and flieth from all worldly troubles, meekly withstandeth and suffereth most terrible and cruell theannings and strokes for the gospel sake, he woorketh miracles, having thereby a testimony and witness, that he is the true disciple of Jesus Christ. And it is evident by the saying of our Saviour Jesus Christ, Mat. 5. Let your god woorks so shine before men, that they may see poor god woorks, and glorify your father which is in heaven. And likewise Job. 10. Trust unto your god woorks. Whereupon S. Gregory, in his first booke

KING  
RIC. 2.

Signes common and indifferent to the ministers of Christ and antichrist.

The principal miracles.

The cause why the church now woorketh not miracles.

A great miracle to love a mans enemy

The true miracles of Christs ministers.

Iob 24.

The defecti-  
on of antichrist  
out of S. Greg.  
gory.

The proove of  
holiness.



KING  
RIC. 2.

of Dialogues, writeth thus: The estimation of a true life consisteth in the vertue of his workes, and not in the shewing of signes. Whereby it is fourthly concluded, by that which is aforesaid, that it is a more effectually testimony and witness for a priest or deacon that hee is sent of God to confesse the truth, and follow Christ in the foresaid vertues, than to cast out diuels, or to doe any other miracles; as it is evident by the saying of Chrysostome before alleaged. Whomsoever thou dost see to cast out diuels, if the confession or acknowledging of the truth be not in his mouth, neither righteousness nor iustice in his hands, he is not a man of God. This is also confirmed by the words of Christ. Mat. 7. Many shall say unto me in that day; Lord, Lord; have not we prophesied in thy name; have not we cast out diuels in thy name: and have not we also wrought many great wonders and miracles in thy name? Then I will answer and say unto them; forasmuch as I have not knowne you at any time, Depart from me ye workers of iniquitie. And as touching the second part, Chrysostome saith; If you see a man confessing and preaching the truth, and working righteousness, although he doe not cast out diuels, he is a man of God.

The testimony  
a true priest.

Hereby it appeareth, that every deacon, priest, or minister, confessing the truth, and working iustice hath a perfect and sure testimony that he is sent of God; and that it is not necessary for him to approve this his sending by the working of any miracle, in stead of working righteousness; neither by any testimoniall, the which should plainly declare him by name, that he was sent of the Lord to preach.

The first part appeareth manifest by that which is already spoken, that all miracles in the time of antichrist shall cease in the elect.

The second part is also evident; forasmuch as none of the present preachers can shew by the scripture of the law of God, that hee is specially named thereunto.

And likewise I do also affirme and say, as touching all preachers which shall come hereafter, that they are not named by name. But let no man here object Enoch and Elias, which were ancient preachers, and prophesied by the holy spirit of God. And it is apparent, that like as it is not a cause sufficient to prove, that this priest or deacon is sent of God to preach, because he worketh miracles; so is it not a cause sufficient to prove, that he is not sent of God to preach, because hee doth no miracles; but to confesse the truth, to worke righteousness, to contemne the world with the glory thereof, patiently to suffer rebukes, is a sufficient testimony for any priest or deacon, having knowledge of the law of God, freely to preach the Gospell of Iesus Christ, forasmuch as in such case he is sent of God. And this is the sending which the Apostle speaketh of in the 10. to the Romans; How sho. do they preach, except they be sent? Whereupon the glosse of S. Augustine writeth thus; These things serve to set forth Gods grace, declaring that all our goodnesse is prevented of grace.

For he saith, belesse commeth of hearing, hearing commeth of preaching, and preaching by the sending of God; so that altogether wholly commeth out of the fountaine of grace, and preaching truly commeth of sending. This hath the glosse: how shall they then preach, without they be sent of God? And this is evident, that the great and principall sending is from God alone, as it is approved by Moses.

The second sending is both from God and man; as by the example of Josua and others, which were sent both by God and the Rulers to preach.

The third sending is from man alone; the which is not founded in the law of God, but in mens traditions, which they rather esteeme.

The fourth sending, which hath but the name only, is proper to them, which of themselves unworthily usurpe the office of preaching, as those false Pro-

phets of whom God speaketh in the 23. of Jeremy; I did not send them and they ran: I spake not unto them, and they prophesied: if they had continued in my counsels, and had declared my words unto my people, I would have converted them from their evil waies, and wicked imaginations. And our Saviour speaketh of these Prophets in Matthew, saying; There shall arise false prophets. And Peter his true Vicar, in his second Epistle and second chapter, prophesying unto the faithfull believers in Christ, speaketh thus of them; There were amongst the people false prophets, as there shall be amongst you also masters of lies, through whom the truth shall be blasphemed and slandered, and that he might the better instruct the people to know them, hee addeth, that they shall goe about with fained words, for covetousnes sake, to make merchandise of you.

Wherefore every faithfull man, diligently weighing these things in his mind, may now easily perceive how great a number of false prophets there be, through whom the christian truth is blasphemed, and all covetous dealing is exercised, and these are they which truly preach lies. But the humble and true ministers of Christ, wheresoever they doe appeare, by and by are persecuted, whereby the prophecy of the Apostle is verified, which is written in the second Epistle to Timothy, the 3. All men, saith he, which desire to live godly shall suffer persecution: but the evil men and seducers shall prosper in their wickednesse, running daily more and more into all kind of errors. The wicked have now so much prevailed, that they do preach lies, making hereticks of the faithfull christians; neither is there any man that dare prohibit them their lying, so that they doe not preach against the vices of the prelates. How then can you say, that antichrist is not exalted above all that which is called God, suppressing the members of Christ in his office, fortifying and fostering his members in lying? Therefore the true and faithfull disciples of Christ ought to stand ready girt about their loines, and shoo upon their feet in defence of the Gospell, taking the word in hand, which is the word of God: Ephes. 6. And to fight against the crafts of antichrist, who goeth about utterly to extinguish the true preaching of the Gospell of our Lord Iesus Christ.

The difference  
betweene the  
ministers of  
Christ and an-  
tichrist.The ministers  
of antichrist do  
close the vices  
of their prelates

The second disputation in the Universitie of Prage, upon the seventeenth Article of John Wickliffe, most fruitfull to be read; proving by foure and twenty reasons out of the Scriptures, how that Princes and Lords temporal have lawful authority and jurisdiction over the spirituality and churchmen, both in taking from them, and correcting their abuses according to their doings and deserts.

TO the honour of almighty God, and of our Lord Iesus Christ, both for the trying out of truth, and the profit of holy mother the church, according to the congregation of our Univeristy of Prage, which, avoiding alwaies to doe that which shall be prejudiciall to the truth, hath deferred to give their consent unto the condemnation of the forty five Articles, wishing even unto this present sufficient probation to be given of the condemnation of the said Articles, and particularly of every one of them. Whereupon the said Univeristy doth alwayes require due proove of the same, forasmuch as pope Damasus in his canon distinction sixtie eighth chapter, Chorepiscopi, saith thus; That it is necessarie that whatsoever thing standeth not by due reason should be rooted out. Whereby it appeareth, that the condemnation of the five and fortie Articles, if it stand not with proove and sufficient demonstration for every Article, is necessary to be rooted out.

The condemna-  
tion of the rly.  
articles, and  
therefore is not  
to be allowed.

But



But if any man will object and say, that to require a reason of every thing, is to derogate from Gods divine power. Unto this objection Master William doth answer himselfe in his Philosophy, the first booke, almost at the end; where hee intreating of the place, in the second Chapter of Genesis. God made man of the slime of the earth, &c. hath these words; For in what point (say wee) are wee contrary to the holy Scriptures, if we seeke by reason to declare wherefore any thing is done, which is said in the Scriptures to be done? For if that a wife man should say that a thing is done, and doe not declare how it is done, and another man speaketh the very selfe same thing, and declareth how it is done, what contrariety is there? But for so much as they themselves know not the force of nature, to the intent that they might have all men partakers with them of their ignorance, they would have no man to inquire it out. But they would have us beleefe as ignorant people, neither to seeke any reason of our beleefe, that the prophecie might bee fulfilled; Such as the people is, such shall bee the priest. But wee truly doe say, that in all things a reason is to bee sought, if it may by any meanes bee found. But if that any man doe stay at any thing which the Scriptures doth affirme, let him commit the same unto faith, and unto the holy Ghost. For Moses saith, If the lambe cannot bee eaten, let it not bee by and by consumed in the fire; but let him first call his neighbour which dwelleth next house unto him; and if they also bee not sufficient to eate the lambe, then let it bee burned in the fire. So likewise, when as wee goe about to seeke any thing as touching the Godhead, and that we be not able of our selves to comprehend the same, let us call our neighbour which dwelleth next house unto us; that is to say, let us seeke out such a one as dwelleth in the same catholike faith with us; and if then neither we, neither yet he be able to comprehend the same, let it then bee burned with the fire of faith.

But these men, albeit they have many neighbours dwelling neere unto them, yet for very pride they will not call any man unto them, chusing rather to continue still ignorant, than to aske any question. And if they doe know any man to enquire for his neighbour in such case, by and by they cry out upon him as an heretike; presuming more upon their owne heads, than having confidence in their wisdom. But I exhort you to give no credit unto their outward appearance, for already it is verified in them which the Satyricall Poet saith; No credit is to be given unto the outward shew: for which of them all is it that doth not abound with most shamefull and detestable vices? And in another place he saith; They are very dainty of their speech, and have great desire to keepe silence. And thus much hath M. Wilhelmus. Let all such heare whom this parable doth touch: for I with the rest of the Masters, bachelors, and students of our Vniversity, considering how hard a matter the condemnation of the forty five Articles of Wickliffe, without reason, is, and how grievous a thing it were if wee should thereunto consent, doe call together my neighbours, the Doctors of this Vniversity, and all others which would object any thing against the same, that wee might presently finde out the reason of the condemnation of this article, concerning the taking away the temporalities from the clergy.

Notwithstanding I doe professe that it is not my intent, like as it is not the meaning of the Vniversitie to perswade, that Princes or secular Lords should take away the goods from the clergy when they would, or how they would, and convert them to what use they list. But our whole intent is, diligently to search out whether this Article, as touching the taking away of temporalities from the Clergy, may have in it any true sense, whereby it may be defended without reproofe. Wherefore this Article, being the seventeenth in the number of the forty five, is propounded under this forme: The Lords temporall may at their owne will and pleasure, take away the temporall goods from the

Clergy, if they doe offend, and therein continue. It is thus proved: The Kings of the old Testament tooke away the temporall goods at Gods commandment from the Clergy; that is to say, from the Priests offending. Therefore the Kings also of the new Testament, at Gods commandment, may doe the like, when as the Priests of the new law doe offend. The consequence dependeth upon a similitude. And the antecedent is evident. First, it is proved by Solomon in the 3. of the Kings, 2. chapter, which Solomon deposed Abiathar the high Priest, because he had taken part with Adonias the brother of Solomon to make him King, without the advice either of David, or of Solomon himselfe, which ought to raigne, and set up Sadoc the Priest in the place of Abiathar, because hee had not consented with Abiathar unto Adonias, as it is written in the 3. Booke of Kings, 1. Chapter, where it is said; Adonias, the sonne of Agitai, exalted himselfe, saying, I will raigne: and made unto himselfe chariots and horsemen, and fourty men which should run before him; neither did his father rebuke him at any time, saying, Wherefore hast thou done this? For hee was very comely, being second sonne, next to Absolon, and his take was with Ioab the sonne of Sarvia, and Abiathar the Priest, which tooke part with Adonias. But Sadoc the Priest, and Benaia the sonne of Iojada, and Nathan the Prophet, and Semei, and Serethi, and Felethi, and all the power of Davids host, were not on Adonias part.

This was the cause of the deposing of Abiathar, because he tooke part with Adonias, that he should be King against Solomon the eldest sonne of King David: wherefore it is written in the third booke, and second chapter of the Kings; The King said unto Abiathar the Priest, Goe your wayes unto Anathoth thine owne field, for thou art a man of death; but this day I will not slay thee, because thou hast carried the Arke of the Lord before my father David, and didst labour in all things wherein my father laboured. Then did Solomon cast out Abiathar, that hee should be no more the Priest of the Lord; that the word of the Lord might be fulfilled, which hee spake upon the house of Heli in Silo.

Behold, the most prudent King Salomon, according to the wisdom which was given him of God, did exercise his power upon the said Priest, putting him out of his priesthood, and setting in his place Sadoc the Priest. This was a greater matter than to take away the temporalities. If then in the Law of Christ, which now reigneth over us, a Bishop should likewise rebell against the true heire of the kingdom, willing to set up another for King; why should not the King or his heire have power, in like case, to take away the temporalities from him so offending?

Item, it is also evident by the king Nabuchodonozor, which had power given him of God to leade away the children of Israel, with their Priests and Levites, into the captivity of Babylon, as it is written 4. booke of the Kings, 25. chapter.

Item, it is read in the 4. booke of Kings, and 12. chap. how that Ioas the most godly King of Iuda, according to the wisdom which God had granted him, tooke away all the consecrate vessels which Iosaphat, Ioram, and Ochofias, his fore-fathers Kings of Iuda had consecrated, and those which he himselfe had offered, and all the treasure that could be found in the temple of the Lord, and in the Kings palace, and sent it unto Azahel King of Syria, and hee departed from Ierusalem. Marke how this most holy King exercised his power, not onely in taking away the temporalities of the Priests, but also those things which were consecrate in the temple of the Lord, to procure unto the Commonwealth the benefit of peace.

Item, in the 4. booke, and 18. chapter of the Kings, it is written, how that the holy King Ezechias tooke all the treasure that was found in the house of the Lord, and in the Kings treasury, and brake downe the pillars of the temple of the Lord, and all the plates of gold

An allegory upon the Paschall lambe.

SKIN  
RIC.  
The seven-  
teenth article  
propounded by 4  
arguments.

A protestation, whereby he giueth light unto the reader, how the proposition aforesaid is to be understood, and added, that the goods of the clergy are not utterly to be taken away, but in case they doe abuse the same.

Nabuchodonozor.

Ioas.

Ezechias



**1 C. 2.** gold which hee himselfe had fastned thereupon, and gave them unto the king of the Assyrians; yet was he not rebuked of the Lord therefore, as hee was for his other finnes, as it appeareth in the second booke of Paralip. 32. chapter. Forso much then as in time of necessity all things ought to bee in common unto christians, it followeth that the secular lords in case of necessity, and in many other common cases, may lawfully take away the moveable goods from the clergy, when they do offend.

Item, it is also read in the 12. of S. Matthew, that the disciples of Iesus, to slake their hunger, upon the Sabbath day pulled the eares of corne, and did eate them, and the Pharisees rebuked them therefore; unto whom Christ answered, Have ye not read what David did when hee was hungry, and those that were with him: how hee entred into the house of the Lord, and did eat the shew bread, which it was not lawfull for him, neither for them that were with him to eate, but only for the Priests? This story is written in the first booke of the Kings, and 21. chapter. And the commandement in the 12. chapter of Deuteronomie. Whereby it appeareth, that it is lawfull in time of necessity to use any thing, be it never so much consecrate. Otherwise children by giving their moveables to the consecration of any temple, should not bee bound to help their parents; which is contrary and against the Gospel of Saint Matthew in the sixteenth chapter; whereas our Saviour sharply rebuked the Pharisees, that for their owne traditions they did transgresse the commandement of God.

Item, Titus and Vespasian secular princes had power given them of God, twenty foure yeeres after the Lords ascension, to take away the temporalities from the priests which had offended against the Lords holy one, and thereby also bereft them of their lives: and it seemeth unto many, they did and might worthily do the same according to Gods good will and pleasure. Then forso much as our priests in these dayes may transgresse and offend as much, and rather more against the Lords anointed, it followeth, that by the pleasure of God, the secular lords may likewise punish them for their offence.

Our Saviour being King of kings, and high Bishop, with his disciples, did give tribute unto Caesar, as it appeareth in the 17. chapter of S. Matthews Gospel, and commanded the Scribes and Pharisees to give the like unto Caesar, S. Matth. 22. Whereby he gave example unto all priests that would come after him to render tribute unto their kings: whereupon blessed S. Ambrose in his fourth booke upon these words in the 5. of S. Luke, (Cast out your nets) writeth thus; There is another kind of fishing amongst the Apostles, after which manner the Lord commanded Peter only to fish, saying, Cast out thy hooke, and that fish which cometh first up, take him. And then unto the purpose he saith; It is truly a great and spirituall document, whereby all christians men are taught, that they ought to bee subject unto the higher powers, and that no man ought to thinke that the lawes of a King here on earth are to be broken. For if the Sonne of God did pay tribute, who art thou so great a man, that thinkest thou oughtest not to pay tribute? Hee payed tribute which had no possessions; and thou which daily seekest after the lucre of the world, why dost thou not acknowledge the obedience and duty of the world? Why dost thou through the arrogancy of thy mind exalt thy selfe above the world, when as, through thine owne miserable covetousnesse, thou art subject unto the world? Thus writeth S. Ambrose, and it is put in the 11. q. 1. of *Quodam quidem*. Hee also writeth upon these words in Luke 20. Shew mee a peny, whose image hath it? If Christ had not the image of Caesar, why did he pay any tribute? He gave it not of his owne, but rendred unto the world, that which was the worlds; and if thou wilt not bee in danger of Caesar, possesse not those things which are the worlds; for if thou hast riches thou art in danger of Caesar,

Wherefore if thou wilt owe nothing unto the King, forsake all those things, and follow Christ. Then all ecclesiasticall Minsters, having possessions, ought to be under the subjection of kings, and give unto them tribute: it followeth that kings may lawfully, by the authority which is given them take away their temporalities from them.

Hereupon S. Paul, acknowledging himselfe to bee under the jurisdiction of the Emperour, appealed unto Caesar, as it appeareth, Acts 25.

I stand, saith he, at Caesars judgement seat, there I ought to bee judged. Whereupon in the 8. distinction, chapter *Quia jure* S. Ambrose allegeth, that all things are lawfull unto the Emperour, and all things under his power. For the confirmation whereof it is said, Daniel second chapter; The God of heaven hath given unto thee a Kingdome, strength, empire, and glory; and all places wherein the children of men doe dwell, and hath given into thy power the beasts of the field, and fowles of the aire, and set all things under thy subjection.

Also in the 11. question and 1. hee saith; If the Emperour require tribute, we doe not deny that the lands of the Church shall pay tribute; if the Emperour have need of our lands, hee hath power to challenge them, let him take them, if he will; I do not give them unto the Emperour, neither doe I deny them. This writeth S. Ambrose, expressly declaring that the secular lord hath power at his pleasure to take away the lands of the Church; and so consequently the secular lords have power at their owne pleasures to take away the temporal goods from the ecclesiasticall Ministers, when they do offend.

Item, S. Augustine writeth; If thou sayest, what have we to doe with the Emperour? But now as I said, we speake of mans law. The Apostles would be obedient unto Kings, and honour them, saying, Reverence your Kings; and doe not say, what have I to doe with the King? What hast thou then to do with possessions? By the Kings law thy possessions are possessed. Thou hast said, what have I to do with the King? but doe not say, what have thy possessions to do with the King? For then hast thou renounced the lawes of men, whereby thou diddest possesse thy lands. Thus writeth S. Augustine in his 8. distinct. by whose words it is manifest, that the King hath power over the Church goods, and consequently may take them away from the Clergy transgressing or offending.

Item, in his three and thirtieth Epistle unto Boniface, hee saith; What sober man will say unto our Kings, Care not you in your kingdome, by whom the Church of the Lord is maintained, or by whom it is oppressed; it pertaineth not unto you, who will bee either a religious man, or who will bee a Church-rober? Unto whom it may be thus answered: Doth it not pertaine unto us in our kingdome, who will either live a chaste life, or who will be an unchaste whoremonger? Behold, this holy man sheweth here how that it is the duty of Kings to punish such as are robbers of Churches, and consequently the proud clergy when as they do offend,

Item, hee writeth in the 33. quest. 7. *Si de rebus*; The secular lords may lawfully take away the temporal goods from heretikes; and forso much it is a case greatly possible that many of the clergy are users of Simony, and thereby heretikes, therefore the secular lords may very lawfully take away their temporalities from them. For what unworthy thing is it, saith Saint Augustine, if the Catholikes doe possesse, according unto the will of the Lord, those things which the heretikes held? Forso much as this is the word of the Lord unto all wicked men, Matth. 21. The kingdome of God shall bee taken away from you, and given unto a nation, which shall do the righteousnesse thereof; is it in vaine which is written in the 11. chapter of the booke of Wisdom? The just shall eate the labours of the wicked.

And whereas it may bee objected as touching the

Paul appealeth  
to the Emperour  
in the 8.  
distinction.  
Daniel 2.

9

10  
S. Augustine.

11  
Magistrates,  
keepers of body  
lawes.

The duty of  
kings to punish  
the clergy.

12

Matth. 21.

Wisdom 11.



An objection of  
the desire of  
other mens  
goods.

the desire of other mens goods; Saint Augustine answereth, That by that evidence the seven Nations, which did abuse the land of Promise, and were driven out from thence by the power of God, may object the same unto the people of God, which inhabite the same. And the Iewes themselves, from whom, according unto the word of the Lord, the kingdome is taken away and given unto a people, which shall doe the workes of righteousness, may object the same unto the Church of Christ, as touching the desire of other mens goods; but Saint Augustines answer is thus:

S. Augustine  
14. quest. 4.

Wee, faith hee, doe not desire another mans goods; forso much as they are ours by the commandement of him, by whom all things were made. By like evidence the Clergy having offended, their temporall goods are made the goods of others, for the profit of the Church. To this purpose also, according to Saint Augustine serveth the foureteenth question 4. Vnto a misbeleever it is not a halfe-peny matter, but unto the faithfull is a whole world of riches: shall wee not then convince all such to possesse another mans goods, which seemed to have gathered great riches together, and know not how to use them; for that truly is not anothers, which is possessed by right: and that is lawfully possessed, which is justly possessed; and that is justly possessed, which is well possessed. Ergo, all that which is evill possessed is another mans, and hee doth ill possesse it, which doth ill use it.

If then any of the Clergy doe abuse the temporall goods, the temporall lords may at their owne pleasure, according unto the rule of charity, take away the said temporall goods from the Clergy to transgressing. For then, according to the allegation aforesaid, the Clergy doth not justly possesse those temporall goods, but the temporall lords, proceeding according to the rule of charity, doe justly possesse those temporalities, forso much as all things are the just mans. 1 Corinthians the third chapter, All things, faith the Apostle, are yours; whether it bee Paul, or Apollos, or Cephas, either the world, either life or death, or things present, or things to come: for all things be yours, you bee Christs, and Christ is Gods. Also in the twenty third question 7. *Quicunque*, it is written; *Iure divinum omnia sunt iustorum*. The words of Saint Augustine in that place, *ad Vincentium*, bee these; Whosoever, faith hee, upon the occasion of this law or ordinance of the Emperour, doth molest or persecute you, not for love of any charitable correction, but onely for hatred and malice to doe you displeasure, I hold not with him in so doing.

And although there is nothing here in this earth, that any man may possesse assuredly, but either he must hold it by Gods law, by which *cuncta iustorum esse dicuntur*; that is, all things bee said to pertaine to the possession of the just: or else by mans law, which standeth in the Kings power to set and to ordaine, &c. Here, by the words of Saint Augustine alleadged, yee see all things belong to the possession of the just, by Gods law.

Item, forso much as the Clergy by meanes of their possessions are in danger of the Emperour and King: it followeth, that if they doe offend, the Emperour or King may lawfully take away their possessions from them. The consequence dependeth on this point; forso much as otherwise they were not in subjection under the Emperour or King: and the antecedent is manifest by the eleventh question and first Parag. *His ita respondetur*. Whereas it is specified in Latine thus:

*His ita respondetur, Clerici ex officio Episcopo sunt suppositi, ex possessionibus prediorum imperatori sunt obnoxii: ab Episcopo iustitiam, decimas, et primitias accipiunt; ab imperatore vero prediorum possessionis nunciatur:* that is to say, The Clergy by meanes of their office are under the Bishop, but by reason of their possessions they be subject unto the Emperour: Of the Bishop they receive unction, tithes, and first fruits; of the Emperour they re-

ceive possessions. Thus then it is decreed by the Emperiall law, that livelihoods should bee possessed: whereby it appeareth, that the Clergy by the possession of their livelihoods are in danger of the Emperour for him to take away from them, or to correct them according to their deservings, and to have the controulement of them, as it shall seeme good unto him.

Item, the temporall Lords may take away the temporalities from such as use Simonie, because they are heretikes. Ergo, this Article is true.

The antecedent is manifest, forso much as the secular Lords may refuse such as use Simonie, and punish them except they doe repent. For by the decree of Pope Paschasius in the first and last question it appeareth, that all such as used Simonie were to bee refused of all faithfull people, as chiefe and principall heretikes; and if they doe not repent after they bee warned, they are also to bee punished by the externe power. For all other faults and crimes, in comparison of Simony, bee counted but light, and seeme small offences.

Whereupon the glosse, expounding the same text, faith, that by this word externe, is understood the laitie, which have power over the Clergy, besides the Church, as in the 17. distinct. *Non licet, c. 23. quest. 1. principes*. Whereby it is evident, that the temporall Lords may take away the temporall goods from the Clergy when as they doe offend.

Item, Saint Gregorie in the Register upon his seventh Booke and ninth Chapter, writeth thus unto the French queene: For so much as it is written that righteousness helpeth the people, and sinne maketh them miserable: then is that kingdome counted stable, when as the offence which is knowne, is soone amended.

Therefore, for so much as wicked Priests are the cause of the ruine of the people, (for who shall take upon him, to bee intercessor for the sinnes of the people, if the Priest which ought to intreat for the same, have committed greater offences) and under your dominions the Priests doe live wickedly and unchastly: therefore that the offence of a few might not turne to the destruction of many; wee ought earnestly to seeke the punishment of the same. And it followeth: If wee doe command any person, wee doe send him forth, with the consent of your authority, who together with other Priests, shall diligently seeke out, and according unto Gods word correct and amend the same. Neither are these things to bee dissembled, the which wee have spoken of, for hee that may correct any thing, and doth neglect the same, without all doubt hee maketh himselfe partaker of the sinne or offence.

Therefore foresee unto your owne soule, provide for your nephews, and for such as you doe desire to raigne after you, provide for your country, and with diligence provide for the correction and punishment of that sinne, before our Creator doe stretch out his hand to strike.

And in his next Chapter he writeth unto the French King: Whatsoever you doe understand to pertaine either unto the honour and glory of our God, to the reverence of the Church, or to the honour of the Priests, that doe you diligently cause to bee decreed and in all points to bee observed. Wherefore once againe wee doe move you, that you command a Synode to bee congregated, and as we wrote lately unto you, to cause all the carnall vices, which raigne amongst your Priests, and all the wickednesse and Simony of your Bishops (which is most hard to be condemned and reprovved) utterly to be banished out of your kingdome; and that you will not suffer them to possesse any more substance under your dominion, then Gods commandement doth allow.

Behold how carefully blessed Gregory doth exhort the queene and the king to punish the vices of the clergy, lest through their negligence they should

KLIN  
RIC.

14  
Clerics of  
monks are  
punished by the  
villages.

Paschasius  
1. q. ult. cap.  
pater.

The laity  
is the  
Clergy.

Gregory  
writeth to the  
French Queene.

Wicked priests  
are the  
destruction  
of the people.

Gregory  
the French King.

1 Cor. 3.

By Gods law.  
Cuncta iustorum  
esse dicuntur.

13  
The Clergy  
subject unto the  
Emperour and  
King by means  
of their possession.



KING  
RIC. 2.

bee partakers of the same; and how they ought to correct their subjects. For as it is convenient to bee circumspect and carefull against the outward enemies; even so likewise ought they to bee against the inward enemies of the soule. And like as in just warre against the outward enemies it is lawfull to take away their goods, so long as they continue in their malice; so also is it lawfull to take away the goods of the Clergy, being the inward enemy. The consequence is proved thus; for so much as the domestick enemies are most hurtfull,

Item, it is thus argued; If God bee, the temporall Lords may meritoriously and lawfully take away the temporall goods from the Clergy, if they doe offend. For this point let us suppose that we speake of power, as the true authentike Scripture doth speake, Matt. 3. 9. God is able even of these stones to raise up children unto Abraham.

Whereupon it is thus argued; For if God bee, hee is omnipotent, and if hee so be, hee may give like power unto the secular Lords. And so consequently they may meritoriously and lawfully use the same power. But lest that any man may object, that a prooffe made by a strange thing is not sufficient; it is therefore declared how that the temporall Lords have power to take away their almes bestowed upon the Church, the Church abusing the same, as it shall bee proved hereafter. And first thus: It is lawfull for Kings, in cases limited by the law, to take away the moveables from the Clergy when they doe offend: it is thus proved; For the temporall Lords are most bound unto the workes of greatest mercy most easie for them: but in case possible, it should bee greater almes, and easier temporall dominion, to take away their almes from such as build therewithall unto eternall damnation, through the abuse thereof, than to give the said almes for any bodily reliefe, Ergo, the assumption is true.

Whereupon first this sentence of the law of Christ in the second Epistle to the Thessalonians the third Chapter is noted, whereas the Apostle writeth thus; When wee were amongst you, wee declared this unto you, that hee that would not worke should nor eate. Wherefore the law of nature doth licence all such as have the governance of kingdoms, to correct the abuse of the temporalities, which would bee the chiefe cause of the destruction of their kingdoms; whether the temporall Lords, or any other, had endowed the Church with those temporalities or not. It is lawfull for them in some case to take away the temporalities, as it were by way of physicke to withstand sinne, notwithstanding any excommunication, or other ecclesiasticall censures; forso much as they are not endowed, but onely with condition thereunto annexed.

Hereby it appeareth, that the condition annexed to the endowing, or enriching of any Church, is, that God should bee honoured: the which condition if it once faile, the contrary taking place, the title of the gift is lost, and consequently the Lord which gave the almes ought to correct the offence. Excommunication ought not to let the fulfilling of justice. Secondly, according to the Canon law, 16. question 7. this sentence is noted, where it is thus spoken as touching the children, nephewes, and the most honest of the kindred of him which hath builded or endowed any Church: That it is lawfull for them to bee thus circumspect, that if they perceive the Priest doe defraud any part of that which is bestowed, they should either gently admonish or warne him, or else complaine of him to the Bishop, that he may be corrected. But if the Bishop himselfe attempt to doe the like, let them complaine of him to his Metropolitane: and if the Metropolitane doe the like, let them not deferre the time to report it in the eares of the King. For so saith the Canon. Let them not deferre to report it in the eares of the King. To what end I pray you, but that hee should doe correction: neither is it to bee doubted, but that correction doth more appertaine unto the King in

this point for their goods, whereof he is chiefe Lord by a subtraction proportionall, according to the fault or offence.

Item, it is thus proved; It is lawfull for the secular Lords by their power to doe correction upon the Clergy by some kind of fearefull discipline appertaining to their secular power: Ergo, by like reason it is lawfull for them by their power to doe such correction, by all kind of fearefull discipline pertaining unto their secular power. For so much then as the taking of their temporalities is a kind of fearefull discipline pertaining unto the secular power; it followeth that it is lawfull for them thereby to doe such correction. And consequently it followeth that the truth is thus to bee proved. The consequence is evident; and the antecedent is proved by Isidore 23. quest. 4. Principes. Where it is thus written; There should bee no secular powers within the Church, but onely for this purpose, that whatsoever thing the Priests or Ministers cannot bring to passe by preachings or teachings, the secular powers may command the same by the terror and feare of discipline. For oftentimes the heavenly kingdome is profited and holden by the earthly kingdome: that they which are in the Church, and doe any thing contrary unto faith and discipline, by the rigour of the Princes may bee troden downe, and that the power of the rulers may lay that discipline upon the necks of the proud and stiffnecked, which the utility and profit of the Church cannot exercise or use.

Item, all things that by power ought to worke or bring to any perfect end by the reasonable measuring of the meane thereto, may lawfully use by power the subtraction or taking away of the excesse, and the addition of the want of the meanes, according as shall bee convenient or meet for the measure to bee made. For so much then as the secular Lords ought by their power to provide for the necessary sustentation of the Christian Clergy by the reasonable measuring of their temporalities, which they are bound to bestow upon the Christian Clergy, it followeth that they may lawfully by their power use the taking away or putting unto of those temporalities according as shall bee convenient for the performance of that reasonable matter.

Item, it is lawfull for the Clergy, by their power to take away the Sacraments of the Church from the laitie customably offending, for so much as it doth pertaine to the office of the Christian Ministers by their power to minister the same unto the lay people. Wherefore, for so much as it doth pertaine unto the office of the laitie, according unto their power to minister, and give temporalities to the Clergy of Christ, as the Apostle saith, 1 Corinth. 9. It followeth, that it is also lawfull for them by their power to take away the temporalities from the clergy, when they doe customably sin and offend.

Item, by like power may hee which giveth a stipend or exhibition, withdraw and take away the same from the unworthy labourers, as hee hath power to give the same unto the worthy labourers: forso much then as temporalities of the Clergy, are the stipends of the laitie; it followeth that the lay people may by as good authority take away againe the same from the Clergy, which will not worthily labour, as they might by their power bestow the same upon those which would worthily labour, according to the saying of the Gospel, Matthew 21. The kingdome shall bee taken away from you, and given unto a people which shall bring forth the fruits thereof.

Item, it is also lawfull for the secular Lords, by their power, to chastise and punish the lay people when they doe offend, by taking away of their temporalities according to the exigent of their offence, forso much as the lay people are subject under the dominion of the secular Lords, as appeareth, Romans 13. and many other places, it is evident that it is lawfull

3. It is lawfull  
and for Clergy  
to take away  
their goods.

20

21

by

When and  
how the title  
any gift is  
lost.



by their power to punish the Clergy, by taking away of their temporalities, if their offence doe so deserve.

22

Item, the true and easie direction of the Clergy unto the life of Christ and the Apostles, and most profitable unto the laitie, that the clergy should not live contrary unto Christs institution, seemeth to bee the taking away of their almes, and those things which they had bestowed upon them. And it is thus proved: That medicine is most apt to bee laid unto the sore, whereby the infirmity might soonest bee holpen, and were most agreeable unto the patients: Such is the taking away of the temporalities. Ergo, this article is true. The minor is thus proved, forasmuch as by the abundance of temporalities the worne or serpent of pride is sprung up, whereupon unsatiable desire and lust is inflamed, and therefrom proceedeth all kind of gluttony and lechery. It is evident in this point, for so much as the temporalities being once taken away, every one of those finnes is either utterly taken away, or at the least diminished, by the contrary vertue induced and brought in. It seemeth also most pertinent unto the laity, for so much as they ought not to lay violent hands upon their ministers, or to abject the priestly dignity, neither to judge any of the clergy in their open courts. It seemeth also by the law of conscience to pertaine unto the lay people, for so much as every man, which worketh any worke of mercy, ought diligently to have respect unto the ability of them that hee bestoweth his almes upon; least that by nourishing or helping loyterers, hee bee made partaker of his offence. Whereupon, if priests doe not minister of their spiritualities, as Hostiensis teacheth in his third booke, of their tithes, first fruits and oblations, the people ought to take away the alms of their tithes from them.

23

Item, it is confirmed by the last chapter of the seventeenth question, out of the decree of rents appropriate unto the Church, *Quicunque* Whereas the case is put thus, that a certaine man having no children, neither hoping to have any, gave al his goods unto the Church, reserving unto himselfe the onely use and profits thereof: it hapned afterward that he had children, and the Bishop restored againe his goods unto him not hoping for it. The Bishop had it in his power, whether to render againe, or no; those things which were given him; but that was by the law of man, and not by the law of conscience. If then by the decree of the holy Doctor Saint Augustine in his Sermon of the life of the Clergy, Aurelius the Bishop of Carthage had no power by Gods Law to withhold that which is bestowed upon the Church for the necessity of children; by the which law, the wanton, proud, and unstable Clergy, being more then sufficiently possessed and enriched, doe detain and keepe backe the temporalities to the detriment and hurt of their owne state, and of the whole militant Church, the secular patrons being thereby so impoverished, that they are compelled by penury to rob and steale, to oppresse their tenants, to spoile and undo others, and oftentimes by very necessity are driven to beggery.

34

Item, suppose that a priest and minister, how grievously soever hee doe offend, by what kind or signe of offence soever it bee, as it was in the case of Bishop Judas Iscarioth, of the religious Monke Sergius, of Pope Leo the heretike, and many other Priests, of whom the Scripture and Chronicles make mention, and daily experience doth teach us the same: it is evident that, as it is supposed, the Priests in the kingdom of Boheme grievously offending, it is the kings part, for so much as hee is supreme head next under God, and Lord of the kingdom of Boheme, to correct and punish those Priests. And for so much as the gentlest correction and punishment of such as bee inordinate in their malice, is, the casting away of their temporall goods, it followeth, that it is lawfull for the King to take away temporalities. Wherefore it should seeme very marvellous and strange, if that Priests ri-

ding about should spoile virgins, violently corrupt and defile honest matrons; if in such case it were not lawfull for them to take away their armouris, weapons, horses, guns and swords from them. The like reason were it also, if they had unlawfully conspired the death of the King, or that they would betray the King unto his enemies.

KING  
RIC.

25

Item, whatsoever any of the Clergy doth require or desire of the secular power, according unto the law and ordinance of Christ, the secular power ought to performe and grant the same. But the clergy, being letted by riches, ought to require helpe of the secular power for the dispensation of the said riches. Ergo, the secular power ought in such case, by the law of Christ, to take upon them the office or duty of getting, keeping, and distributing all such manner of riches. The minor is hereby proved, that no man ought to have riches, but to that end, that they bee helpees, preferring and helping unto the office which is appointed of God. Therefore in case that secular possession doe hinder the Clergy from their duty, the secular power ought to take it away, for so did the Apostles, Acts the sixth saying, It is not lawfull for us to leave the word of God untaught, and to minister unto tables.

And thus hitherto hath Iohn Hus profecuted Wickliffes Articles with long arguments and reasons; and it were too long a travell, neither agreeable for this place, to alleadge all the whole order of his reasons and proofes, which hee used in that disputation, above the number of twenty more, besides the testimonies of all the writers before recited, the which hee alleadged out of the Scriptures, Decretals, Saint Ambrose in his booke of offices, Saint Augustine in his fifth booke and fifth question, and also unto Macedo, Isidore, the council of Nice, Gregory his eleventh question, Bernard unto Eugenius in his third booke, and out of Lincolniensis the threecore and one Epistle, besides many other moe. The summe of all which testimonies tend unto this end, that he might utterly take away all earthly rule and dominion from the Clergy, and to bring them under the subjection and censure of kings and Emperours, as it were within certaine bonds, the which is not onely agreeable unto equity and Gods word, but also profitable for the Clergy themselves. Hee teacheth it also to be necessary, that they should rather bee subject under the secular power, than to bee above them; because that else it were dangerous, lest that they being entangled with such kind of businesse, they should bee an easier prey unto Satan; and sooner trapped in his snares. And thereby it should to passe, that the governance and principality of all things being at the length brought into the hands of the Clergy, the lawfull authority of Kings and Princes should not onely bee given over unto them, but in a manner as it were grow out of use; specially for so much as already, in certaine kingdomes and common-wealths, the ecclesiasticall power is growne unto such height, that not onely in Boheme, but also almost throughout all the common wealths, they doe occupy the third, or at least the fourth part of the rents and revenues. And last of all, he alleadged the example of Gregory and of Mauritius, and afterward the prophecy of Hildegardis, writing in this manner?

As the ecclesiasticall ministers doe willingly receive reward and praise of Kings and Rulers for their good deeds; so also ought they, when they doe offend, willingly suffer and receive punishment at their hands for their evill doings. The consequence holdeth thus; For so much as the punishment meekely and humbly received for his offence doth more profit a man, than his praise received for any good worke, Whereupon Saint Gregory writeth thus unto Mauritius the Emperour, when hee did persecute him, saying; I beleeve that you doe please Almighty God so much the better, in so cruelly afflicting me, which have bene so evill a servant unto him. If then this holy Pope did so humbly and meekely, without any offence, suffer this affliction

Hildegardis.

Gregorius a  
Mauritium,



{KING}  
{RIC. 2.}

affliction of the Emperour? why should not any of the Clergy, when they doe offend, meekly sustaine punishment at the Kings or Rulers hands, under whom hee is bounden to bee subject? When as the true Vicar of Christ saith, the 1. of Peter and 2. Chapter, Bee yee subject unto every creature for Gods cause, whether it be unto the King, as most excellent, or unto the rulers, as men sent of God for the punishing of the wicked, and to the praise of the good; for so is the good will, of God.

Pope Leo submitted himselfe unto the Emperour Ludovicus.

Whereupon Pope Leo, leaning unto this rule, submitted himselfe unto Ludovicus the Emperour, as it is written in the second question 7. under these words; If wee have done any thing incompetently, or if wee have not observed the upright path and way of equity amongst subjects, wee will amend the same, either by your owne judgement, or else by the advice or judgement of those which you shall appoint for that purpose. For if wee, which ought to correct and punish other mens faults, doe commit more grievous our selves, wee are not then the disciples of the truth (but with sorrow we speake it) we shall be above all other the masters of error.

And in the tenth distinction hee writeth thus; As touching the obedience unto the Emperour, as concerning the precepts and commandmentes of our Emperours, and our predecessours Bishops (the which the Glosse nameth Emperours, which are anointed after the manner of Bishops) to bee observed and kept unbroken, wee doe professe our selves by all meanes possible, as much as in us lieth, or that wee may and can, wee will by the helpe of God preserve and keepe them both now and ever. And if peradventure any man doe informe, or hereafter shall informe you otherwise, know you him assuredly to be a liar and slanderer.

Marke how this devout and holy Pope, calling the Emperours Bishops, submitted himselfe according to the rule of Saint Peter the Apostle under the obedience, and also punishment of the Emperour. Wherefore then should not the Clergy of the kingdome of Boheme submit themselves under the obedience of their King, for Gods cause, to be punished if they doe offend; and not onely submit themselves unto the King, but also unto the Rulers; and not onely unto the Rulers, but unto every other creature? For by how much they doe so humble and abase themselves in this world for Gods sake, so much the more shall they bee exalted with him: but what is the let thereof, but onely pride, whereby Antichrist doth exalt himselfe above the most humble and meeke Lord Iesus Christ?

The tyranny and pride of the Clergy.

Also it seemeth to appeare by that which is aforesaid upon the taking away of the temporalities, out of the prophecy of Hildegardis the virgin, the which hee writeth in his bookes under Eugenius the Pope in the Councell of Treverse, approved and allowed by many Bishops of France, Italy and Almaine which were there present, whereas also Saint Bernard himselfe was present; the which virgin prophesying spake in this manner. The Kings and other rulers of the world, being stirred up by the just judgement of God, shall set themselves against them, and runne upon them, saying; Wee will not have these men to raigne over us with their rich houses and great possessions, and other worldly riches, over the which wee are ordained to be lords and rulers; and how is it meet or comely that those shavelings with their stoles and chifils should have more fouldiers, or more or richer armour or artillery than we? So is it not convenient that one of the Clergy should be a man of warre, neither a fouldier to bee one of the Clergy. Wherefore let us take away from them that, which they doe not justly, but wrongfully possesse. And immediatly after shee saith: The omnipotent father equally divided all things; that is to say, the heavens hee gave unto the heavenly creatures, and the earth unto the earthly. And by this meanes was there a just division made betweene the children of men, that the spirituality should have such

The prophecy of Hildegardis

things as belong unto them, and the secular people, such things as are meet and necessary for them, so that neither of these two sorts should oppresse each other by violence; for God doth not command, that the one sonne or child should have both the cloake and the coat, and the other should goe naked, but hee willed that the one should have the cloake, and the other the coat. Wherefore the secular sort ought to have the cloake for the greatnesse of their worldly cares, and for their children, which daily increase and multiply. The coat hee giveth unto the spirituality, that they should not lacke clothing, and that they should not possesse more than necessity doth require. Wherefore wee judge and think it good, that all these aforesaid bee divided by reason and equity. And whereas the cloake and the coat are both found, there the cloake should bee taken away, and given unto the needy, that they doe not perish for lacke or want. These aforesaid spake the virgin Hildegardis, plainly foreshewing the taking away of the temporalities from the Clergy by the secular lords, and shewing for what cause they shall bee so taken away. And what manner of division shall bee made of those things that are taken away, that they be not consumed, and spent unprofitably.

Forasmuch as mention is here made of Hildegardis, it shall not seeme impertinent, moved by the occasion hereof, to give forth unto the Reader such things as wee have found in certaine old volumes, touching her Prophecy of the coming of certaine false prophets, onely meaning, as it seemeth, the begging friers which sprang up shortly after her time. The tenour whereof is this word for word, as we find it written.

In those dayes there shall rise up a people without understanding, proud, covetous, untrusty, and deceitfull, the which shall eat the finnes of the people, holding a certaine order of foolish devotion, under the fained cloake of beggery, preferring themselves above all other, by their fained devotion, arrogant understanding, and pretended holinesse, walking without shamefastnesse, or the feare of God, inventing many new mischiefs, being strong and stout: but this order shall bee accursed of all wise men and faithfull Christians; they shall cease from labour, and give themselves over unto idlenesse; chusing rather to live through flattery and by begging. Moreover, they shall together study, how they may perversly resist the teachers of the truth, and slay them together with the noblemen; how to seduce and deceive the nobility, for the necessity of their living and pleasures of this world; for the devill will graft in them foure principall vices; that is to say, flattery, envy, hypocrisies and slander. Flattery, that they may have large gifts given them. Envy, when they see gifts given unto other, and not unto them, Hypocrisie, that by false dissimulation, they may please men. Detraction, that they may extol and commend themselves, and backbite others, for the praise of men, and seducing of the simple. Also they shall instantly preach without devotion or example of the martyrs, and shall detract the secular Princes, taking away the sacraments of the Church from the true Pastors, receiving almes of the poore, diseased, and miserable, and also associating themselves with the common people, having familiarity with women, instructing them how they shall deceive their husbands and friends by their flattery and deceitfull words, and rob their husbands to give it unto them: for they will take all these stolen and evil gotten goods, and say, Give it unto us, and wee will pray for you; so that they being curious to hide other mens faults, doe utterly forget their owne; and alas, they will receive all things of rovers, pickers, spoilers, thieves and robbers, of sacrilegious persons, usurers, and adulterers, hereikes, schismatices, apostataes, whores and bauds, of noble men, perjurers, merchants, false judges, fouldiers, tyrants, princes, of such as live contrary to the law, and of many perverse and wicked men, following the perswasion of the devill, the sweetnesse of sinne, a delicate and transitory life, and fulnesse even

Hildegardis prophesying of friers and monkes.



unto eternall damnation. All these things shall manifestly appeare in them unto all people, and they day by day shall wax more wicked and hard hearted; and when as their wickednesse and deceits shall bee found out, then shall their gifts cease, and then shall they goe about their houses hungry, and as madde dogs looking downe upon the earth, and drawing in their neckes as doves, that they might bee satisfied with bread: then shall the people cry out upon them; Woe be unto you yee miserable children of sorrow, the world hath seduced you, the devill hath bridled your mouthes, your flesh is fraile, and your hearts without favour, your mindes have beene unstedfast, and your eyes delighted in much vanity and folly, your dainty bellies desire delicate meats, your feet are swift to run unto mischief. Remember when you were apparantly blessed yet envious, poore but rich, simple, mighty, devout flatterers, unfaithfull betrayers, perverse detractors, holy hypocrites, subverters of the truth, overmuch upright, proud, unshamefast, unstedfast teachers, delicate martyrs, confessors for gaine, meeke slanderers, religious, covetous, humble, proud, pitifull, hard hearted, liars, pleasant flatterers, peace-makers, persecutors, oppressors of the poore, bringing in new sects, newly invented of your selves, mercifull, wicked, lovers of the world, sellers of pardons, spoilers of benefices, unprofitable orators, seditious conspirators, drunkards, desirers of honour, maintainers of mischief, robbers of the world, unsatiable preachers, men-pleasers, seducers of women, and sowers of discord: for Moses the glorious Prophet spake very well of you in his song: A people without counsell or understanding; would to God they did know, understand, and foresee the end. You have builded up on high, and when you could ascend no higher, then did you fall; even as Simon Magus whom God overthrew, and did strike with a cruell plague; so you likewise through your false doctrine, naughtinesse, lies, detractions and wickednesse, are come to ruine: and the people shall say unto them, goe yee teachers of wickednesse, subverters of the truth, brethren of the Sunamite, fathers of heresies, false apostles, which have fained your selves to follow the life of the Apostles, and yet have not fulfilled it in any part, sonnes of iniquity, wee will not follow the knowledge of your wayes; for pride and presumption hath deceived you, and insatiable concupiscence hath subverted your erroneous hearts. And when as yet yee would ascend higher than was meet or comely for you, by the just judgement of God you are fallen backe into perpetuall opprobry and shame.

This blessed Hildegardis, whose Prophecie this is, flourished about the yeere of our Lord 1046. as it is written in Martins Chronicles.

Hugo de Sacram. part. 2.

Also Hugo in his second booke of Sacraments, in the second part, third chapter and 7. saith; The laity forso much as they intermeddle with earthly matters necessary unto an earthly life, they are the least part of the body of Christ. And the Clergy, for so much as they doe dispose those things which pertaine unto a spirituall life, are as it were the right side of the body of Christ. And afterward interpreting both these parts himselve, he saith; A spirituall man ought to have nothing but such as pertaineth unto God, unto whom it is appointed to be sustained by the tithes and oblations which are offered unto God: but unto the Christian and faithfull laity the possession of the earth is granted; and unto the Clergy the whole charge of spirituall matters is committed, as it was in the old Testament. And in his seventh chapter hee declareth how that certaine things are given unto the Church of Christ by the devotion of the faithfull, the power and authority of the secular power reserved, lest there might happen any confusion; Forso much as God himselve cannot allow any disordered thing. Whereupon oftentimes the worldly Princes doe grant the bare use of the Church, and oftentimes use and power to exercise justice; which the Clergy cannot exercise by any Ecclesiasticall Minister, or any other person of the Clergy, Notwithstand-

ing they may have certaine lay-persons ministers unto that office. But in such sort, saith he, that they doe acknowledge the power which they have to come from the secular Prince or Ruler, and that they doe understand their possessions can never bee alienate away from the Kings power; but (if that necessity or reason doe require) the same possessions in all such case of necessity doe owe him obeyance and service. For like as the Kings power ought not to turne away the defence or safeguard which hee oweth unto other: so likewise the possessions obtained and possessed by the Clergy, according to the duty and homage which is due unto the patronage of the Kings power, cannot by right bee denied. Thus much writes Hugo,

*In the third act the same yeere, after the feast of S. Vitis, as touching Tithes, &c.*

Tithes are pure almes.

Vpon this Article it is to bee noted, that forso much as almes is a worke of mercy, as Saint Augustine, Saint Chrysostome, and others doe jointly affirme, and that mercy (according to Lincolniensis minde) for the present is a love or desire to helpe the miserable out of his misery: and forso much as the misery of mankind is double; that is to say, spirituall and bodily: the which is the want or taking away of the goods; and the goods of man is either the goods of the soule or of the body; And the goods of the soule is double (that is to say, the lightning of the minde, and the uprightness of affection) the misery of the soule is also double, as the darkenesse of ignorance, and a froward and wilfull swarving from the truth. And both the goods of the soule are wont to bee comprehended under one title of name; that is to say, wisedome; and both the miseries of the soule under the name of folly. Whereupon all the whole goodnesse of the soule is wisedome, and all the whole misery thereof is ignorance: the miseries of the body are, lacke of meat, that is to say, hunger, and lacke of drinke, called thirst: and briefly, all misery is the want of some thing which is desired. Also these are bodily miseries, nakednesse, lacke of harbour, sicknesse, and imprisonment. All the miseries therefore being numbred together, are but one of the soule, the which is folly and lacke of wisedome, and fixe of the body, the which the Lord in the twenty fifth Chapter of S. Matthew doth plainly rehearse. There are also commonly appointed seven bodily almes, that is to say, to feed the hungry, to give drinke unto the thirsty, to clothe the naked, to harbour the stranger or harbourlesse, to visit the sicke, and to bury the dead, the which all together are contained in these verses:

*Visto, potu, cibo, redimo, tego, colligo, condo.*

The which verse is thus Englished, word for word:

*Visit the sicke, the hungry feed,  
Give drinke to the thirsty, clothe the naked,  
Bury the dead, the captive redeeme,  
The harbourlesse receive to thy lodging.*

There be also seven other spirituall almes appointed, which are these; To teach the ignorant; To counsell him that is in doubt; To comfort him which is in heaviness; To correct the offender; To forgive him which hath offended against thee; To beare those which are grievous; And to pray for all men: The which are also contained in these verses following:

*Consule, castiga, solare, remitte, fer, ora.*

The which verse is thus Englished, word for word:

*Instruct the ignorant, the weak confirm,  
Comfort the heavy heart, and correct sinne:  
Forgive the offender, beare with the rude,  
Pray for all men both evill and good.*

SKING  
RIG. 2

Almes.  
Witty.

Two kindes  
of miseries.  
Two kindes  
of goodnesse.

Wisedome.  
Folly.

The miseries  
of the mind  
and body.

What is alme



{KING}  
{RIC. 2.}

So that notwithstanding under the same counsels and doctrine be comprehended. Thus writeth Thomas in the second part of the second quest. 23. art. 2.

What almes is

Secondly, it is to bee noted that in this present Article our intent is only to intreat of bodily almes, the which (as Thomas writeth in his second part, second question 32. and 1.) according unto some mens mindes is thus defined; Almes is a worke whereby any thing is given unto the needy, of compassion, for Gods sake. And for so much as this definition serveth as well for the spirituall as for the corporall almes; therefore to the purpose, almes is a worke, whereby any thing is given unto the needy in body for compassion, and for Gods sake. Or that is given of compassion or pity unto the bodily needy for Gods sake.

Whereupon it is manifest that almes, as Saint Augustine and other holy men say, is a worke of mercy, as also to give almes. As it appeareth by the name, for in the Greeke it is derived from this word Elemonia, which is, mercy: for as in the Latine, this word *Miseratione*, which signifieth pity, is derived of *Miserordia*, which is, mercy; so this word Eleemosyna, which signifieth almes, is derived of the Greeke word Elemonia, which is to say, mercy, and of the word Syna, which is to say, commandment, as it were a commandment of mercy, or otherwise of this word Elemonia. By this letter I, which is to say, God, and this word Syria, which is, commandment: As if it were said, The Commandment of God, as Iacuenfis in his booke intituled, Catholicon affirmeth.

For our Saviour doth command, in the 11. of Luke, to give almes, saying, Give almes, and behold all things are cleane unto you: lest that in this point there may be any equivocation, it is supposed presently, that the almes given of men is a corporall almes, given simply under the name of almes. Secondly, it is to bee noted, that Tithes in this effect are the tenth part of goods of fortune, given by a man simply under the name of almes for Gods sake.

These things being thus noted and supposed, the article is thus proved. Every gift of fortune, or temporall gift simply given under the name of almes, is almes. But some tithes are the gift of fortune, or temporall gift under the name of almes. Therefore some tithes are almes. This consequence is manifest of it selfe. The major appeareth by the first supposition; And the minor by the second.

Item, every gift given by a man even of love, to relieve and helpe the miserable out of his misery, is an almes. The tenth part of the goods of fortune given by a man, simply under the name of almes for Gods sake, is given by the same man even of love, to helpe the miserable out of his misery: Therefore the tenth part of the goods of fortune, being given by any man simply under the name of almes for Gods sake, is almes. The consequence is manifest. The major appeareth by this, that every such gift is either a spirituall or bodily almes. The minor seemeth hereby true, forsomuch as many holy men have given, and doe give, even for love to relieve the miserable out of his misery. Neither is it to bee doubted but that such kind of tithes are almes. For Saint Augustine upon these words of the Lord in the Gospell writeth thus; Woe bee unto you Pharisees which doe tithe mint and anise: If they cannot bee cleansed without they beleve in him, hee which doth cleanse his heart through faith, to what purpose is it that hee saith, Give almes, and behold, all things are cleane unto you? Let us give eare, and peradventure hee doth expound it himselfe. They did take out the tenth part of all their fruits, and gave it for almes; the which any Christian man doth not willingly. Then they mocked him, when hee spake these words to them, as unto men which would doe no almes. This the Lord foreknowing said; Woe bee unto you Pharisees, which tithe mint and rue, and all kinde of herbs; and passe over the judgement and charity of God; for this it is to doe almes, if thou dost under-

stand it, begin with thy selfe: For how canst thou bee mercifull unto another, which art unmercifull unto thy selfe? This writeth S. Augustine, plainly saying, that tithes are almes.

Also in his Enchiridion in the seventy sixth chapter upon these words of Saint Luke, in the eleventh chapter; Notwithstanding that which is more than sufficient give in almes, and all things shall bee cleane unto you, hee saith thus; When hee had rebuked them that they washed themselves outwardly, and inwardly were full of iniquity and abomination, admonishing them, what, and how a man ought first to bestow almes upon himselfe, and first to cleanse himselfe inwardly, he saith; That which doth remaine give in almes, and behold, all things are cleane unto you. Afterward, that hee might the better declare what hee had given them warning of, and what they had neglected to doe, that they should not judge him ignorant of their almes, hee saith; Woe bee unto you Pharisees; as though hee should say, I verily gave you warning that you should give such almes, whereby all things might bee cleane unto you; but woe bee unto you which doe tithe mint, rue, and all kind of herbes (for I doe know these your almes, that you should not thinke with your selves that you had given mee warning thereof) and neglect and passe over the judgement and charity of God, by the which almes yee might bee cleansed from all your inward filthinesse, and your bodies also which you doo wash, should bee cleane, and all these things both inward, and also outward; as it is said in another place, cleanse that which is within, and the outward things shall bee also cleane.

But lest that hee should seeme to refuse those almes which are given of the fruits of the earth, hee said, you ought to have done these things; That is to say, the judgement and love of God; and not to neglect the other, that is to say, the almes of the fruit of the earth. This writeth Saint Augustine expressly calling the tithes almes.

Also Chrysostome upon the same words in the eleventh chapter of S. Luke, That which remaineth give in almes, he saith thus; Whereas it was spoken of the Jewish kind of cleansing, it is wholly passed. But for as much as tithes is a certaine almes, and the time was not yet expressly come to kill the sacrifices of the law, for this cause he saith, yee ought to doe those things, and not to omit the other. And S. Thomas alleageth him in his glosse upon S. Luke. And Chrysostome himselfe, doth touch two points. First, that tithes is almes. Secondly, that tithes are in a manner lawfull, for so much as the gift thereof unto the Priests did not cease in the time of Christ.

Also Saint Augustine, in a certaine Sermon of giving almes, saith thus, What is to say, Give almes, and behold, all things are cleane unto you? Let us give eare, and peradventure he doth expound it himselfe. When hee had spoken these words, without doubt they thought within themselves, who did give almes and how they did give it. They tithed all that they had and tooke out the tenth part of all their fruits, and gave it for almes: the which no Christian lightly doth. Marke what the Iewes did, they tithed not onely their wheat, but their wine and oyle; and not that onely, but also vile things, at the commandment of the Lord, as commin, rue, and anise; of the which they tooke the tenth part, and gave it for almes. I thinke therefore, for so much as they called unto their mindes, and thought with themselves, that our Lord Christ spake in vaine unto them that they did no almes; when as they knew their owne workes, that they tithed the smallest and worst of all their fruits, and gave almes thereof: they mocked him amongst themselves, because hee did speake in such fort unto them, as unto men that did no almes. The which the Lord foreseeing, by and by added notwithstanding; Woe bee unto you Scribes, Pharisees and hypocrites, which tithe your mint, commin, and rue, and all kinde of herbes; that you may know, I doe understand your almes. Truly, these

August. in  
England

Chrysostom.  
in 11. Luke

Elther.

S. Augustine  
saith tithes  
are pure  
almes.



these are your tithes; These are your almes; you tithe out the least and worst of all your fruits, and have left the weighty matters of the law undone. Here Saint Augustine often expoundeth that tithes are almes; Also he writeth the like in his booke of homilies in his sixth homily.

Item, for the proove of this Article that tithes are pure almes, it is thus argued. For this proposition, Tithes are pure almes, is indefinite; taking the truth for many of his particularities, It is most certaine that it is not damnable, but most catholike, that God is something; the which being false in all particulars, it is onely true of that alone which doth surmount all kind. Ergo, by like reason this particular is true, tenths are pure almes: For it is thus proved. These tenths of a good lay-man being wholly distributed by a faithfull minister unto a needy lay-man, according to a good intent, how can they bee but pure almes, yea, and more pure than any almes given by any of the Clergy being a fornicator? The whole antecedent I suppose as possible, and doubtfull unto the condemners, if it be true.

Item, it is also thus proved; These tithes, and all other goods of fortune, are pure almes in respect of God. For so much as every man, Emperor and King is a begger of God. As Saint Augustine doth oftentimes affirme, and consequently if hee doe receive fruitfully any such goodnesse at the hand of God, the same is pure almes in respect of God: neither is there any faithfull man that will deny the same, but that it simply followeth that the same is pure almes before God. Ergo it is pure almes.

It is also thus argued; All tithes are by themselves, and every part of them almes; neither is there any reason contrary unto this, that they are almes. Ergo, they are pure almes. For they are by no other meanes or reason than almes, if they be altogether themselves almes: For so much as it followeth, if they bee by any other meanes or otherwise than almes, then they are otherwise than some almes, and for so much as they themselves are some almes, it followeth, that they are otherwise than they are indeed; the which is false.

Sustenance  
and clothing,  
given to the  
poore, was  
almes, ergo al-  
so tithes.

But now to passe beyond the bounds of Logicke, it is to bee demanded, whether before the Church was endowed, or that sustenance and clothing were given unto the Apostles, there was any pure almes, or that they were given by any other meanes by bond of debt, amongst them. And for so much as the reason is not to bee fained, but that they were pure almes, so afterward the custome of the same thing according unto like reason doth not alter the kinde of the reason. For so might beggars challenge by custome, beyond the purity of almes, the temporalities which they doe begge. Neither doth debt utterly exclude the puritie of almes before God: for every man duely giving almes doth as hee ought to doe: as every man duely receiving his almes, ought so to receive it as according to Gods will. And simply to establish any humane title, upon the continuance of any such almes, it is altogether contrary unto the reason of almes. Therefore they doe continually observe, and keepe the reason of the purity of almes, which they had from the beginning, when as the bond conditioned doth not destroy the purity thereof: wherefore there is no cause why it should bee denied that tithes are pure almes, except that the proud should bee marvellously extolled, contrary to the humility of Christ. For they doe challenge, by the title of their lacke or want, so to be pleased for their tithes. For so might the begging frier, by the continuance of his daily begging, challenge according unto the like quantity or circumstance. But it is no argument, that if the curate doe performe his corporall ministry, that hee ought therefore to challenge tithes by any civill title; because that as well on the behalfe of him which giveth the tithes, as also in the behalfe of the curate, every such ministry ought free'y to bee given, and not by any civill exchange. Forso-

much as it is not required, but that rather the comparison of such exchanges are repugnant; for so much as also no man freely giveth any almes, except hee doe looke for the duty of recompence, by the law of conscience,

{ KING }  
{ RIC. 2 }

Item, all temporall goods bestowed upon the Clergie by the lay people under condition, as the goods of the Church, are the almes of them which give it; it is proved thus, for so much as all those goods are the goods of the poore, as it appeareth by many sayings of holy men and by the lawes.

But they were not the goods of the poore, after they were meere secular goods, but onely by the meane of the worke of mercy, whereby they were bestowed upon the poore: Ergo, they were pure almes. The consequence dependeth upon the definition of pure almes.

Item, all things changed to the use and power of another, either by civill exchange or Evangelicall is changed. But the Church goods are so changed by one of these ministeries. But the Evangelicall exchange is not to bee fained; because it is not done either by buying or selling, or any other civill exchange. Therefore there doth not remaine but onely a pure gift, for hope of a heavenly reward, the which is mercie, and so pure almes. And it seemeth to follow consequently, that all the Clergy receiving such almes are not onely in respect of God, as all other men, but in respect of men, beggars. For they would not so instantly require those almes except they had need of them: neither ought wee to bee ashamed thereof, or to bee proud beggars; forso much as Christ touching his humanity became a begger for us, because hee declared his need unto his Father, saying, &c.

The Clergy  
beggars.

Item, when any King, Prince, Knight, Citizen, or any other man doth give unto the Clergy, or to any Priest for his stipend, hee giveth the same unto the Church of God, and to the private party, as a perpetuall almes, that he should attend to his vocation, preaching, praying, and studying. But this kinde of giving doth not suffice to ground any secular dominion amongst the Clergy; it followeth that the bare use remaineth in them, or the secular use without any secular power.

The major appeareth hereby, forso much as otherwise almes should not bee a worke of mercy. Whereby it may also appeare, that tenths are pure almes given to the Church, to the use of the poore.

And hereupon the holy men doe say, that tenths are the tributes of the needy soules. Whereupon Saint Augustine in a Sermon made upon the restoring of tithes saith; The giving of tithes, most deare brethren, are the tributes of the poore soules, therefore pay your tribute unto the poore. And by and by after hee saith; Therefore who desireth either to get any reward, or to have any remission of sinnes by giving of his tenths, let him study to give almes even of the ninth part: so that whatsoever shall remaine more than a competent living, and decent clothing; it bee not reserved for riot, but that it be laid up in the heavenly treasury, by giving it in almes to the poore. For whatsoever God doth give unto us more than we have need of; he doth not give it us specially for our selves; but doth send it us to bee bestowed upon others by our hands: if we doe not give it, we invade another mans possessions,

Tithes are to  
be given of  
ninth part of  
goods.

Thus much writeth S. Augustine, and is repeated in the 16. question, 1. Decimar.

Also S. Ierome in an epistle, and it is put in the 16. question, and 2. chap. *Quicquid*. Whatsoever the Clergy hath, it is the goods of the poore.

Also Saint Augustine in his three and thirtieth epistle unto Boniface, and it is alleaged in the first question and 12.

Also in the twenty third question 7. If wee doe possess any thing privately the which doth suffice us, they are not ours, but the goods of the poore, whose stewards,



{KING  
RIC. 2.} stewards we are, except we doe challenge to our selves a property by some damnable usurpation. The gloss upon that part of the 23. question 7. saith; The Prelats are but only the stewards of the Church goods, and not lords thereof.

Saint Ambrose also upon this saying of the Gospell, Luke the 16. Give account of your bailiffship, or stewardship: Hereby then doe we learne, that they are not Lords, but rather stewards and bailiffes of other mens substance.

And Saint Ierome, writing to Nepotianus, saith; How can they bee of the Clergy? which are commanded to contemne and despyse their owne substance; and to take away from a friend, it is theft; to deceive the Church it is sacrilege, and to take away that which should bee given unto the poore.

And Saint Bernard in his Sermon upon these words (Simon Peter said unto Iesus, chap. 17.) said; Truly the goods of the Church, are the patrimony of the poore: and whatsoever thing the ministers and stewards of the same, not lords or possessors, doe take unto themselves more than sufficient for a competent living, the same is taken away from the poor by a sacrilegious cruelty.

And Eusebius in his treatise upon the pilgrimage of Saint Ierome writeth thus; If thou dost possesse a garment; or any other thing more than extreme necessity doth require, and doest not helpe the needy, thou art a theefe and a robber. Wherefore dearly beloved children, let us bee stewards of our temporalities, and not possessors.

And Isidore in his treatise *De summo bmo*, chap. 42. saith; Let the Bishop know that he is the servant of the people, and not lord over them.

Also in the 5. booke of Decretals, *extra de donationibus*, sub authoritate Alexandri tertii, episcopi Parisiensis, hee saith; We beleeve that it is not unknowne vnto your brotherhood, that a Bishop, and every other Prelate is but a steward of the Church goods, and not lord thereof. By

these sayings of the holy men, it is evident, that not only titles, but also all other prerogatives which the clergy hath by gift or warrant of man, are perillous, which after the manner of the law, are justified, ought to be transported unto the poore.

Secondly, it is declared, that the clergy are not lords and possessors of their goods, but ministers and stewards thereof.

Thirdly, it is shewe, that if the clergy do abuse the same, they are theeves, robbers, and sacrilegious persons, and except they do repent, by the iust judgement of God they are to be condemned.

And thus hitherto I may peradventure seeme to have made sufficient long recitall out of Iohn Hus but notwithstanding that the communitie of those things may abundantly recompence the prolixite thereof. Wherefore if I shall seeme unto any man in the rebertall of this disputation to have passed very farre the boundes of the historie, let him thinke thus of me, that at what time I took in hand to write of these ecclesiasticall matters, I could not omit these things which were so straitly toynd with the cause of the church.

Neither that I did make more account of the history which I had taken in hand, than of the common utility whereunto I had chiefe respect. There were besides these certaine other articles; whereupon the said Iohn Hus had very wisely and learnedly disputed; but these shall suffice us for this present. And for the residue we will passe them over, to the intent we may the more speedily returne whereas our story left; declaring what crueltie they used not only against the bookes and articles of Iohn Wickliffe, but also in burning his body and bones, commanding them to be taken up 41. yeeres after he was buried, as appeareth by the decree of the said Synode, the forme whereof, we thought hereunto to annex as followeth.

The order and manner of taking up the body of Iohn Wickliffe, and burning his bones  
41. yeeres after his death.





The decree of the Synode of Constance,  
touching the taking up of the body and bones of  
*John Wickliffe* to be burned 41. yeeres after he  
was buried in his owne parish at  
Lutterworth.

The decree of  
the counsell for  
the burning of  
Wickliffes  
dead bones.

Ex actis con-  
cilli Constan.

Forasmuch as by the authority of the sentence and  
decree of the counsell of Rome, and by the com-  
mandement of the church and the apostolicall see af-  
ter due delays being given they proceeded unto the  
condemnation of the said John Wickliffe, and his  
memorie having first made proclamation, and gi-  
ven commandement to call forth whosoever would  
defend the said Wickliffe, or his memorie, if there  
were any such (but there did none appeare, which  
would either defend him or his memorie) And more-  
over witnesses being examined, by commissioners  
appointed by pope John and his counsell upon the  
impenitencie and finall obstinacy and stubbournesse  
of the said John Wickliffe (referring that which is  
to be referred, as in such businesse the order of the  
law requirith) and his impenitency and obstinacie  
even unto his end, being sufficienly proved by evi-  
dent signes and tokens, and also by lawfull witness-  
ses, and credit lawfully given thereunto: Wherefore  
at the instance of the steward of the treasury, procla-  
mation being made to heare and understand the  
sentence against this day; the sacred Synod decla-  
reth, determineth, and giveth sentence, that the said  
John Wickliffe was a notorious obstinate heretike,  
and that he died in his heresie, cursing and condem-  
ning both him and his memorie.

This Synod also decreeth and ordaineth, that the  
body and bones of the said John Wickliffe, if it  
might be discerned and knowne from the bodies of  
other faithfull people, should bee taken out of the  
ground, and throught away far from the buriall of a-  
ny church, according unto the canon lawes and de-  
crees. Which determination and sentence definitively  
being read and pronounced, the lord president, and  
the foresaid presidents of the foure nations, being de-  
manded and asked whether it did please them or no:  
They all answered (and first Hostiensis the presi-  
dent, and after him the other presidents of the na-  
tions) that it pleased them very well, and so they al-  
lowed and confirmed all the premises, &c.

What Heraclitus would not laugh, or what  
Democritus would not weep, to see these so sage and  
reverend Fathers, to occupie their heads to take up a  
poore mans body, so long dead and buried before, by  
the space of 41. yeeres: and yet peradventure were  
not able to find his right bones, but tooke up some  
other body, and so of a catholike made an heretike.  
Albeit herein Wickliffe had some cause to gibe them  
thanks that they would at least spare him so long  
till he was dead, & also to gibe him so long respite af-  
ter his death 41. yeeres to rest in his sepulcher before  
they ingrated him, and turned him from earth to  
ashes; which ashes also they took & threw into the ri-  
ver. And so was he resolved into 3. elements, earth,  
fire, and water, thinking thereby utterly to extinguish  
and abolish both the name and doctrine of Wick-  
liffe for ever. Not much unlike to the example the  
old Pharisees and Sepulcher-knights, which, when  
they had brought the Lord unto the grave, thought  
to make him sure never to rise again. But these and  
all other must know, that as there is no counsell a-  
gainst the Lord; so there is no keeping downe of  
veritie, but it will spring and come out of dust and  
ashes, as appeared right well in this man. For  
though they digged up his body, burnt his bones,  
and drowned his ashes; yet the word of God, and  
truth of his doctrine, with the fruit and successe  
thereof, they could not burne; which yet to this day,  
for the most part of his articles, doe remaine; not-  
withstanding, the transitory body and bones of the  
man was thus consumed and dispersed, as by this

picture here above set forth to thine eyes (gentle  
Reader) may appeare.

These things thus finished and accomplished,  
which pertaine to the story and time of Wickliffe:  
let us now (by the supposition of the Lord proceed  
to intreat and write of the rest, which either in his  
time or after his time, springing out of the same Wi-  
nibersitie, and raised up (as ye would say) out of his  
ashes were partakers of the same persecution. Of  
whom speaketh Thomas Walden in his booke, De  
sacramentis & sacramentalibus, cap. 53. where he saith,  
that after Wickliffe many suffered most cruell  
death, and many more did forsake the realme.

In the number of whom was William Swinder-  
by, Walter Bute, John Pursey, Richard White,  
William Thorpe, Raynold Pecock bishop of saint  
Asaph, and afterward of Chichester.

To this catalogue also pertaineth (mentioned in  
ancient writers) Laurence Redman master of Art,  
David Sautre divine, John Aschwarby vicar, as  
they call him, of S. Mary Church at Oxford. Will.  
James an excellent young man well learned, Tho-  
mas Brightwell, and William Hanlam a civilian,  
Rafe Grenhurst, John Scut, and Philip Forice:  
which being excommunicated by pope Eugenius  
the fourth, in the yere of our Lord, 1446, appealed un-  
to a generall or oecumenicall counsell.

Peter Paine also, who flying from Oxford un-  
to Boheme, did stoutly contend against the So-  
phisters, as touching both kinds of the sacrament  
of the last supper: who afterward among the rest  
of the Doctors was one of the fourtene that  
was sent unto the counsell of Basill: where by the  
space of three dayes he disputed upon the fourth ar-  
ticle, which was touching the civill dominion of the  
clergy, Anno 1438. Also the Lord Cobham, &c. with  
divers others besides whose names are mentioned  
in the kings writ sent to the Shire of Northamp-  
ton, which writ of the king followeth in this tenor;  
Rex vicecomiti Northamptonie salutem, &c. For-  
asmuch as John Attysate of Chepyngwarden, John  
Warryner, &c. being receivers and  
fauours of heretikes, and especially of John Wood-  
ward priest, publicly defamed and condemned of  
heresie, will not be iustified by the censures of the  
church, as the reverend father John bishop of Lin-  
colne hath certified us; Wee therefore willing to  
withstand all defenders and fauours of such heresies,  
doe will and command affect the forenamed, as  
namely the foresaid John Woodward to be appre-  
hended, straitly charging the same to be empoy-  
ned by their bodies, or otherwise punished as shal seeme  
good to the Justices, untill they and every of them  
shall submit themselves to the obedience of the fore-  
said bishop in that behalfe accordingly. Whereof  
faile you not under paine of an hundred pound.  
Witness our selves: Given at our Maner of  
Langley the eight day of March, the 12. yere of our  
raigne.

To these above rehearsed and other labourers of  
Wickliffe, within this our countrey of England, we  
may adde also the Bohemians; forasmuch as the  
propagation of the said doctrine of Wickliffe in that  
countrey also took roote, coming from England to  
Boheme by this occasion as in storie here fol-  
loweth.

There chanced at that time a certain student of  
country of Bohemia to be at Oxford, one of a weal-  
thy house, and also of a noble flock; who returning  
home from the university of Oxford to the univer-  
sity of Prague, carried with him certaine bookes of  
Wickliffe, De realibus Universitatibus, De civili jure,  
& divino, De ecclesia, De questionibus variis contra  
clerum, &c. It chanced the same time, a certain no-  
ble man in the city of Prague had founded and bul-  
ded a great church of S. Mattheus & Mattheus, which  
church was called Bethlehem, giving to it great  
lands, and finding in it two preachers every day, to  
preach

KING  
Ric. 2.

Ex Th. Wa-  
den, lib. de sa-  
crament.

Laurence Red-  
man, David  
Sautre, John  
Aschwarby,  
Ed. James, &  
Brightwell,  
William Han-  
lam, Rafe  
Grenhurst, &  
Scut, Philip  
Forice.

Peter Paine.

Lord Cobham.

The occasion  
how the do-  
ctrine of Wick-  
liffe came to  
Boheme.



{ KING }  
{ RIC. 2. }

Wicklevus  
vir bonus,  
ſanctus, cœlo  
dignus.  
The great af-  
fection of John  
Duns to John  
Wickliſſe.

preach both holy day and working day to the people. Of the which two preachers this John Duns was one, a man of great knowledge, of a pregnant wit, and excellently favoured for his worthy life amongſt them. Thus John Duns having familiarity with this young man in reading and peruſing theſe books of Wickliſſe, took ſuch pleaſure and fruit in reading thereof, that not onely he began to defend this author openly in the ſchools, but alſo in his ſermons; commending him for a good man, an holy man, and heavenly man, wiſhing himſelfe when he ſhould die, to be there placed, whereas the ſoule of Wickliſſe ſhould be. And this is for the ſpreading of Wickliſſes doctrine enough.

And thus much briefly concerning the ſabourers and adherents of John Wickliſſe in generall. Now particularly and in order let us (by Chriſts grace) proſecute the ſtorie and perſecutions of the ſaid parties aforeſaid, as the courſe of their times ſhall require, firſt beginning with the valiant champions William Swinderby, and Walter Bzute.

### The history of William Swinderby.

{ Anno }  
{ 1389. }

Ex Regiſtro  
Epiſc. Her-  
ford.  
W Swinder-  
by firſt exami-  
ned.  
Denouncers of  
W Swinder-  
by, 3 Friers,  
Freyer, Vincel-  
ly, Barton.

In the yere 1389. William Swinderby prieſt within the dioceſſe of Lincolne, being accuſed and detected upon certayne opinions, was preſented before John biſhop of Lincolne, and examined upon certayne articles in the church of Lincolne, after the forme and order of the popes law, according to their uſual rite obſerved; his denouncers were theſe, frier Friſby Obſervant, frier Vincely Auguſtine, and Thomas Barton Dominican. The articles wherewith they charged him, although in forme of words as they put them up, they might ſeeme ſome thing ſtrange here to be recited; yet to the intent that all men may ſee the ſpitefull malice of theſe ſpider friers, in ſucking all things to poyſon, and in forging that which is not true, as in proceſſe (Chriſt willing) hereafter ſhall better appeare by his an-  
ſwers, I thought good to notiſſe the ſame.

That men may aſk their debts by charity, but in no manner for debt to impriſon any man: and that he ſo impriſoning is accuſed.

That if pariſhioners do know their Curate to be a lecher, incontinent, and an evil man, they ought to withdrate from him their tiſhes, or els they be fautors of his finnes.

That tiſhes purely be almes, and in caſe that curats be evil men, the ſame may lawfully be conferred to other men.

That for an evil curate to curſe his ſuget for withholding of tiſhes, is nothing elſe, but to take with extortion wickedly, and unduely from them their money.

That no prelate may curſe a man, except he know before that he is curſed of God.

That every prieſt may abſolve any ſinner being contrite; and is bound (notwithſtanding the inhibition of the biſhop) to preach the Goſpell unto the people.

That a prieſt, taking any annuall penſion upon covenant, is in ſo doing a ſinomacke and accuſed.

That any prieſt being in deadly ſin, if he give himſelfe to conſecrate the body of the Lord, com- mitteſſe idolatry rather than doſt conſecrate.

That no prieſt entreaty into any houſe, but to evil intreat the wiſe, the daughter, or maid: and there- fore he admoniſhed the good man of the houſe to take heed what prieſt he let into his houſe.

Another concluſion falſly to him objected, That a child is not truly baptized, if the prieſt that baptizeth, or the godfather or godmother be in deadly ſinne.

Item, that no man living againſt the law of God is a prieſt, however he were ordained prieſt of any biſhop.

Theſe articles or concluſions untruely collected, were as cruelly exhibited againſt him by the friers in the biſhop of Lincolnes court. The which articles although he never preached, taught, or at any time defended, as appeareth more in the proceſſe follow- ing; yet the friers, with their witneſſes ſtanding forth againſt him, declared him to be convicted bring- ing alſo oyr word with them to the towne to burne him, and would not leave him, before they made him promiſe and ſwear for feare of death never to hold them, teach them, nor preach them privily, nor apert- ly under paine of relapſe; and that he ſhould goe to certain churches to revoke the foreſaid concluſions, which he never affirmed. As firſt in the church of Lincolne; then in S. Margarets church of Licheſter; alſo in S. Martins Church in Licheſter; and in our Ladies churches at Belwarke; and in other pariſh churches alſo of Helton Downay, of Wauloughton, Warburgh, and Lenthburgh. Which pe-  
nance being to him entoynd, he did obediently ac-  
compliſh; with this forme of revocation, which they bound him unto, under theſe words.

### The revocation of William Swinderby, wherunto he was forced by the Friers.

I William Swinderby prieſt, although unworthy, of the dioceſſe of Lincolne, acknowledging one true Catholike and Apoſtolike faith of the holy Church of Rome, doe abjure all hereſie and error repugning to the determination of the holy mother Church, where- of I have been hitherto deſamed, namely, the conclu- ſions and articles above prefixed, and every one of them to me judicially objected, by the commiſſary of the reverend father in Chriſt and Lord, lord John by the grace of God Biſhop of Lincolne; and do revoke the ſame, and every one of them, ſome as hereticall, ſome as erroneous and falſe, and doe affirme and be- lieve them to be ſo, and hereafter will never teach, preach, or affirme publicly or privily the ſame. Nei- ther will I make any Sermon within the dioceſſe of Lincolne, but aſking firſt and obtaining the licence of the foreſaid reverend father and lord, the Biſhop of Lincolne. Contrary to the which if I ſhall preſume hereafter to ſay or doe, to hold or preach, I ſhall be content to abide the ſeverity of the Canon, as I have judicially by the neceſſity of the law, ſworne, and doe ſwear, &c.

The forced ab-  
juration of  
W Swinderb.

Thus have you the concluſions and articles of this good man, falſly objected to him by the malici- ous and lying friers; and alſo the retraction wher- unto they by force compelled him: whereby it may likewiſe be coniectured, what credit is to be given to the articles and concluſions which theſe cavilling friers, wreſting all things to the worſt, have objec- ted and imputed both to Wickliſſe and all other of that ſort, whom they ſo falſly do deſame, ſo ſlander- ouſly do bely, and ſo maliciously do perſecute. After theſe things thus done and wrought in the dioceſſe of Lincolne, it ſo beſell, that the ſaid W. Swinder- by removed to the dioceſſe and country of Herford: where he was as much, or more moleſted by the fri- ers againe, and by John Treſnant Biſhop of Her- ford, as by the proceſſe and ſtory here enſuing, ſet out at large out of their owne regiſters, may ap- peare.

Here followeth the proceſſe of John Treſnant, Biſhop of Herford, had againſt the aforeſaid William Swinderby in the cauſe of hereticall pravity, as the popiſh here- ticks call it.

The glorious name of the Prince of peace, and his counſell (whoſe counſellour no man is, and whoſe providence in his diſpoſition is never deceived) be-  
ing

The proceſſe of  
the Biſhop of Her-  
ford againſt  
W Swinderb.



The flourish-  
ing invocation  
of Gods name.

ing invocated, To all & singular beleevers of Christ, which shall see or heare this our procelle underwritten, Joyn by the sufferance of God B. of Hereford, greeting, and peaceable charity in the Lord. Forasmuch as God the creator of all things, the keeper of justice, the lover of right, and the hater of malice, beholding from the high throne of his providence the finnes of men, now through the fall of their first father prone and declining to dishonest and filthy and detestable mischiefs, and to keep under their malice (which wicked transgression did first gender) hath appointed divers presidents of the world stablished in sundry degrees, by whom and their circumspeted providence mans audacity should be restrained, innocency should be nourished amongst the good, and terror should be stricken into the wicked not to deceive; also that their power to hurt, and their insolency should be bridled in all places. And whereas amongst many kinds of cares which come to our thoughts, by the duty of the office committed unto us, we are specially bound to extend our strength, chiefly that the catholike faith may prosper in our times, and hereticall pravity may be rooted from out of the borders of the faithfull: we therefore being excited, through the information of many credible and faithfull Christians of our diocesse, to root out pestiferous plants, as sheepe diseased with an incurable sicknesse, going about to infect the whole and sound flocke, are by the care of the shepheard to be removed from the flock, that is to say, Preachers, or more truly execrable offenders of the new test, vulgarly called Lollards, which under a certaine cloked shew of holinesse, running abroad through diverse places of our diocesse, and endeavouring to cut asunder the Lords unsolved coat, that is to say, to rent the unity of the holy Church, and of the catholike faith, and also to teare in peeces with their tempestuous blasts the power of S. Peter, that is to say, to weaken the strength of the ecclesiasticall states and degrees, and the determination of the same holy Church, have wickedly presumed and doe presume from day to day to speak to teach, to maintaine (and that which is more horrible to be uttered) to preach openly many things hereticall, blasphemous, schismatic, and slanderous defamings, even quite contrary to the sacred Canons and decrees of the holy fathers, so that they know not to direct their paths in the wayes of righteousness and truth, in that they expound to the people the holy scripture as the letter soundeth, after a Judiciall sort, otherwise than the holy Ghost will have it, whereas the words wander from their proper significations, and appeare to bying in by gessing new meanings, whereas the words must not be judged by the sense that they make, but by the sense whereto they be made, whereas the construction is not bound to the Donates rules; whereas faith is farre placed from the capacity of reason; But they labour by their pernicious doctrines and teachings publike and privy, to boyle out the poyson of schisms betwene the clergy and the people: We to encounter against such kinde of preachers, nay rather deceivers, and horrible seducers amongst the people, advancing and rowling up our selves in Gods behalfe, and holy mother Church, with the spiritual sword, which may strike them wisely, and wound them medicinally, for their health and welfare; and namely William Swinderby priest (so pretending himself to be) as a teacher of such kinde of pernicious doctrine, and an horrible seducer amongst the people; to whom personally appearing before us on the Wednesday, to wit, the fourteenth of the moneth of June, in the parish church of Kingston of our diocesse, in the pere of our Lord 1391. he being vehemently defamed to us of heresie, schisme, and his perverbe doctrines both manifest and privy: we therefore have caused many cases and articles concerning the catholike faith to be

ministred unto him, that he should answer to the same at a day and place for him meet and convenient, of his owne choice and freewill; that is to say, on the Friday, being the last of the same moneth of June next following, assigned to him, at the church of Wodenham of the same our diocesse. Of which cases and articles exhibited unto us by many of Christs faithfull people, zealous followers of the Catholike faith, to make information to our office (which cases and articles also were by us administered, as is before said, to the same William Swinderby) the tenour thereof followeth, and is thus:

{ KING }  
{ RIC. 2. }

\* Such as were in D. Hares dayes, as John Ward, J. Quater, Robin Dapitt, and other likemindedes. Lord, Lord, a Latine stile of their owne making. The denunciation of the promoters to the B. of Hereford.

Reverend father and high lord, lord John, by Gods sufferance bishop of Hereford; It is lamentably declared unto your reverend fatherhood on the behalfe of Christs faithfull people, your devout children of your diocesse of Hereford, that notwithstanding the misbelieve of very many lollards, which have so long a time sprung up here in your diocesse, there is newly come a certaine childe of wickednesse, named William Swinderby: who by his horrible persuasions and mischievous endebours, and also by his open preachings and private teachings, doth pervert as much as in him is the whole ecclesiasticall state, and stirreth up, with all his possible power, schisme betwene the clergie and the people. And that your reverend fatherhood may be the more fully informed, who and what manner of man the same William Swinderby is; there be proposed and exhibited hereafter to the same your fatherhood, on the behalfe of the same faithfull people of Christ, against the same William Swinderby, cases and articles, which if the same William shall deny, then shall the same cases and articles most evidently be proved against him by credible witnesses worthy of beleefe, and by other lawfull proofe and evidences, to the end that those being proved, the same fatherhood of yours may do and ordaine therein, as to your pastoral office belongeth.

Inprimis, the same William Swinderby, pretending himselfe priest, was openly and publicly convicted of certain articles and conclusions being erroneous, schismaticall, and hereticall, preached by him at divers places and times before a multitude of faithfull Christian people. And the same articles and conclusions did he by force of law reboke and abjure, some as hereticall, and some as erroneous and false; abouching and beleebing them for such, as that from thenceforth he would never preach, teach, or affirme openly or privily any of the same conclusions: And if by preaching or abouching he should presume to do the contrary; that then he should be subiect to the severity of the Canons, accordingly as he did take a corporall oath, iudicially upon the holy gospels.

Hatters articulated against W. Swinderby

Also the conclusions, which by the same William were first openly taught and preached, and afterward abjured and reboked, as is aforesaid, are contained before in the procelle of the bishop of Lincoln, even as they be there written word by word. And, for the cases and articles, they were consequently exhibited by the forenamed faithfull Christian people against the said William Swinderby, together with the conclusions before said, and hereafter written: of which cases and articles the tenor here ensueth.

Item, the said William, contrary to the former reboication and abjuracion, not converting to repentance, but perverted from ill to worse, and given up to a reprobate sense, came into your diocesse, where, he running about in sundry places, hath presumed to preach, or rather to pervert and to teach of his owne rashnesse many hereticall, erroneous, blasphemous, and other slanderous things contrary and repugnant to sacred Canons and the determination of the holy catholike Church. What those things

Lollards by the popes interpretation, is a word derived of Lollum.

They counterfeited in the Doctors words as Apes do in princes apparel. They expoundeth the Scripture more after the letter, let the reader judge by Hoc est corpus meum.

If such medicines should be ministred to you, ye would soon your physician little thank.

{ Anno }  
{ 1391 }



KING  
RIC. 2.

things were, at that place and that time, it shall hereafter more particularly be declared.

Item the same William, notwithstanding your commandements and admonitions sealed with your seale, and to all the Curates of your diocesse directed, containing amongst other things, that no person of what state, degree, or condition soever he were, should presume to preach or to teach, or els expound the holy Scripture to the people, either in hallowed or prophane places within your diocesse, without sufficient authority, by any manner of pretence that could be sought, as in the same your letters monitory and of inhibition (the tenour whereof here after ensueth) is more largely contained; which letters the same William did receive into his hands, and did read them word by word in the towne of Donemouth of your diocesse, in the yere of our Lord, 1390. so that these your letters and the contents thereof came to the true and undoubted knowledge of the same William: yet notwithstanding hath the same William presumed in divers places and times to preach within the same your diocesse, after and against your commandement aforesaid. The tenor of the same letters before mentioned followeth, and is this.

The letter monitory of the 3. of Hereford inhibiting to preach without licence.

John by the sufferance of God Bishop of Hereford, to the Deane and Chapter of our Church of Hereford; and to all and singular Abbats, Priors, Provoists, Deanes rurall, Parsons and Vicars of Monasteries, Priories, Churches, Colledges, and Parishes, and to other having cure of soules within the city and diocesse of Hereford, and to all and every other being within the same city and diocesse, greeting, grace and blessing. Forasmuch as the golden lawrell of teaching doctorall is not from above indifferently every mans gift; neither is the office of preaching granted save to such as are called, and especially by the Church admitted thereunto: Wee doe admonish and require you all and singular Clerkes aforesaid, and doe straitly enjoyne you all in the vertue of holy obedience, that you nor any of you do admit any man to preach or to teach the catholike faith, saving such as the same office of preaching shall by the authority Apostolicall, or else your Bishop, be specially committed unto; but that, as much as in you shall lie, you doe by word and deed labour to let those that would attempt the contrary. And you Lords, Ladies, Knights, Barons, Esquires, and all singular persons, of what estate, degree, preheminance, or condition soever ye be, remaining within the city and diocesse of Hereford, we doe beseech and exhort in our Lord, that, following the words of our Saviour, you beware of the leaven of the Pharisees.

Item, according to the saying of the Apostle, Be not ye carried away with diverse and strange doctrines; and that in the meane while (as saith the Apostle) you be not removed from the sense of the holy ancient fathers, lest that any man by any meanes should seduce you; but you agreeing together in one minde, see that you honour God with one mouth. But if any man, to whom that thing is not specially (as is aforesaid) committed, shall attempt to instruct, or in this your life to direct you into the catholike faith, do ye denie to give them audience, and refuse you to be present at their assemblies; and shun ye their teachings, because they be wicked and perverse. And as for us, we will not omit to proceed, according to the sacred Canons and Precepts of the holy Fathers, against such as doe the contrary.

Dated at London in the house of our habitation, under our seale, the last day save one of December, in the yere of our Lord, 1389. and of our consecration the first.

5 Item; the same William in his preaching to the people, on Monday being the first of August, in the yere of our Lord 1390. in the parish of

Whitney of your diocesse, did hold and affirme that no prelate of the world of what estate preheminance or degree soever he were of, having cure and charge of soules, he being in deadly sinne, and hearing the confession of any under his hand, in giving him absolution doth nothing; As who neither doth lose him from his sin, nor in correcting or excommunicating him for his demerits doth bind him by his sentence, except the prelat shall be free himselfe from deadly sin, as S. Peter was, to whom our Lord gave power to bind and lose.

6 Item, the same William in many places said and affirmed, in the presence of many faithfull Christi in people, that after the sacramentall words uttered by the priest habing the purpose to consecrate, there is not made the very body of Christ in the sacrament of the altar.

7 Item, that accidents cannot be in the sacrament of the altar without a subject; and that there remaineth materiall bread there to such as bee partakers communicant with the body of Christ, in the same sacrament.

8 Item, that a priest, being in deadly sin, cannot be able by the strength of the sacramentall words to make the body of Christ, or bying to perfection any other sacrament of the Church, neither yet to minister it to the members of the Church.

9 Item, that all priests are of like power in all things, notwithstanding that some of them in this world are of higher and greater honour, degree, or preheminance.

10 Item, that only contrition putteth away sin, if so be that a man shall be duly contrite; and that all auricular and outward confession is superfluous, and not requisite of necessity to salvation.

11 Item, inferiour curats have not their power of binding and loosing immediately from the pope or bishop, but immediately from Christ: And therefore neither can the pope nor bishop revoke to themselves such kind of power, when they see time and place at their lust and pleasure.

12 Item, that the pope cannot grant such kinde of annuall and yereley pardons; because there shall not be so many yeres to the day of iudgement as are in the popes bulls or pardons contained. Whereby it followeth that the pardons are not of such like value as they speak of, and are praised to be.

13 Item, it is not in the popes power to grant unto any person penitent forgiveness of the punishment of the fault.

14 Item, that person that giveth his almes to any, which in his iudgement is not in necessity, doth sin in so giving it.

15 Item, that it stands not in the power of any prelate, of what religion soever he be of, privately to give letters for the benefit of his order, neither doth such benefit granted profit them, to the salvation of their soules, to whom they be granted.

16 Item, that the same William, immitadfull of his owne salvation, hath many and oftentimes come into a certaine desert wood, called Werballwood, of your diocesse, and there in a certain chappell not hallowed, or rather in a prophane cottage hath, in contempt of the keyes, presumed of his owne rashnesse to celebrate, nay rather to prophane.

17 Item; the same William hath also presumed to doe such things in a certain prophane chappell, being situate in the park of Preston nigh to the towne of Leintwarden, of the same your diocesse.

Upon Friday being the last of the moneth of June, in the yere above said about sixe of the clocke, in the said parish Church of Bodenhone, hath the said William Swinderby personally appeared before us. And hee willing to satisfie the terme to him assigned, as before specified, hath read out, word by word before all the multitude of faithfull Christian people many answers made and placed by the same

William

The letter monitory of the 3. of Hereford inhibiting to preach without licence.

Should be mentioned in the indictment.

Should God with they and them do be aware of that ven.



William (in a certaine paper booke of the sheet folded into foure parts) to the said articles, and the same answers for sufficient hath he already to us exhibited, avouching them to be agreeable to the law of Christ. Which thing being done, the same William (without any moe with him) did depart from our presence, because that we, at the instance of certaine nob'e personages, had promised to the same William free access, that is to wit, on that day for the exhibiting of those answers, and also free departing without prefixing of any terme, or without citation, or else any other offence or harme in body or in goods.

As for the tenour of the same answers, exhibited unto them by the same William, as is before specified, we have hereunder annexed it word for word, and in the same old language, used at that time, when it was exhibited. And it followeth in these words.

The protestation of William Swinderby, with his answers to the articles by the promoters laid against him, to the Bishop of Hereford, taken out of the Registers in the same old English, wherein he wrote it.

The protestation of William Swinderby, with his answers.

**I**n the name of God, Amen. I William Swinderby priest unworthy, covenanting and purposing wholly with all my heart to be a true Christian man, with open confession knowing mine own defaults and unwise deeds, making openly this protestation, cleping God to record here before our worshipfull bishop John, through the sufferance of God bishop of Hereford, with witness of all this people; that it is not mine intent any thing to say or affirm, to maintaine or to defend that is contrary to holy writ, against the belaste of holy Church, or that should offend the holy determination of Christs Church, or the true sentences of holy doctors. And if I have here before through mine unbecoming beene unworshipped, or by evil counsell been deceived, or any thing said, preached, holden, maintained or taught contrary to the law of God; wholly and fully for that time, for now and ever with full will I reboke it and withdraw it, as everich Christen man should; Praying and beseeching ech Christen man, to whom this writing shall come to, that gif I ought erre (as God forbid that I doe) or ever erred in any point contrary to holy writ, that it be had and holden of them, as for thing nought said; And all the troths that I have said according with the law of God, that may maintaine them, and stand by them for life or death to Gods worship, as a true Christen man should, submitting me meekly to the correction of our bishop that here is, or of any other Christen man, after Christs lawes and holy writ; in will ever ready to be amended: and with this protestation I say and answer to these conclusions and articles that here followen after, the which beene put to mee to answer to.

Objection.

The first is this; that I William of Swinderby, pretending (he saith) my selfe a priest, was iudicially convicted of certaine articles, and conclusions of erro, false, schismatich, and heretic, by me in divers places and times preached (he saith) before multitudes of true Christen men; and the same articles and conclusions by need of law reboked and forsworne, some as heresie, and some as errors and false; and such I affirmed and beleved them to be; and that none of them from that time forth I should preach, teach, or affirm openly or privily, ne that I should make no sermon to the people, ne preach, but by lawfull leave asked and gotten; And if I would presume in doing or affirming the contrary, than to the severity of the law I should be bound, as by need of the law I was.

To this I say, witnessing that God is in heaven, to my wit and understanding, that I never preached held, ne taught these conclusions and articles, the which falsly of friers and of lecherous priests were put upon me to the bishop of Lincoln. For I was ordained by procelle, per said of their law, by the bishop and his commissaries, so as I granted them to bring my purgation of 13. priests of god fame. And so I did, with a letter and twelve seales there by, from the Maior of Leicester and from true Burgeses and 30. men to witness with me, as the duke of Lancaster knew and heard, the earle of Darby, and other many great men that were that time in the towne, that I never said them, taught them, ne preached them. But when I should have made my purgation, there stoden forth five friers or moe, that some of them never saw me before, ne heard me, and three lecherous priests openly knowne, some living in their lechery twenty yere (men sayden) or moze, as by their childer was openly knowne. Some of these they clepinden denunciations, and some weren cleped comparobations, that weren there falsly forsworne, they suing busily and crying with many another frier, with great instance to give the dome upon me, to burne me, and boughten dy wood before, as men tolden in that towne; and these sleights, and swearing, and money giving, as men sayden, with satour of the bishop (by what law I wot not, but soothly not by Gods law) they sayden they held me as convicted, and might not have forth my purgation. So as I falsly forsoke them, and never granted that I said them. Over this they made me sweare, never to hold them, teach them, ne preach them, privily ne apertly; and that I would gee to certaine churches to reboke the conclusions that I never said, in slander of my selfe, by great instance of the friers. And so for dread of death, and for fleshy counsell that I had, I assented, and so I did. And also they made me to sweare, that I should not preach (by instance of the friers) within that diocess, withouten licence asked and granted; and never sithen I did. And now the same conclusions bene rehearsed to me againe; whether by friers counsell I will not deme, God wot, but in slander of me it is: and therefore I will answer now (with Gods helpe) to the conclusion. Of the which the first is this.

That men molven asken their debts by charity, but in no manner for debt to prison any man; and that he so imprisoning is accursed.

So I said not; but thus I have said, and yet say with protestation put before; that who so pursues his brother with malice, prisoneth him cruelly for debt without mercy, that same would pay it if he might, he sinneth against Christs teaching, Estote misericordes, sicut pater vester misericors est.

The second conclusion, that false friers and lecherous priests patten upon me was this; that if the parochians know her Curate to bene a lechour, incontinent and an evil man, they owen to withdraw from him tithe, and else they bene sautoys of his sinnes.

Thus I said not, but on this wise, and yet I say with protestation put before; that if it be knowne openly to the people, that parsons or curates come to her benefice by simony, and liven in notorie fornication, and done not their office and her duties to her parochians by god ensample of holy life, in true preaching, living and residence, turning away from his cure, occupied in secular office; he owes nought to have of the parochians, tithes, ne offerings, ne he molven not to hold him for her curate, ne he molven, not to given him tithes, lest they ben guilty to God of consent and maintaining of her open sin. Nemo militans Deo implicat se negotiis secularibus. 1. q. 1. ca. Quisquis per pecuniam, & diff. 80. cap. Siquis.

The third conclusion was this, that friers and priests patten upon me, that tithes purely bene almes; And in case that curates byne evil men, they

KING  
RIC. 2.

\* Perlain, the  
13. before said.  
Witnesses  
with William  
Swinderby,  
13. priests, at  
30. other with  
the letter of the  
maiour of Leicester  
and burgeses with  
12 seales.

The Chastity  
doctors to be  
noted.

1. Conclusion.

Answer.  
How debt is  
to be pursued.

2. Conclusion.

Answer.

3. Conclusion



**[KING]** they molwen lawfully be given to other men, by temporall lordes, and other temporallities beene done away from men of the church, actually and openly trespassing.

**[Ric. 2.]** Thus I said not in these termes; but thus I say with protestation made before; that it was made full and lawfull to secular lordes by way of charity, and power given to him of God, in default of prelates that amend not by Gods law, cursed curats that openly misusen the goods of holy church, that beene poore mens goods, and customably against the law of God; the which poore men lordes ben holden to maintain and defend: to take away and withdraw from such curats poore mens goods, the which they wrongfully holden in helpe of the poore, and their owne willfull offerings, and their bodily almesdeeds, and give them to such that duly serve God in the church, and becn nee dy in upbearing of the charge that prelates shoulde doo, and done it not. Alter alterius onera portate, & sic adimplebitis legem Christi. And as ancient taking away of temporalities, I say thus with protestation made before; that it is lawfull to kings, princes, dukes, and lordes of the world to take away fro popes, cardinals, fro bishops and prelates, possessions in the church, their temporalities, and their almes that they have given them, upon condition they shoulde serve God the better, when they herily seene that their giving and their taking bene contrary to the law of God, to Christs living and his Apostles: and namely in that, that they taken upon them (that shoulde be next followers of Christ and his Apostles in poorenesse and meeknes) to be secular lordes, against the teaching of Christ and S. Peter, Luk. 22. Reges gentium, & 1 Pet 5. Neque dominantes in clero. And namely when such temporalities maken them the more proud, both in heart and in aray, than they shoulde becn else, more in strife and debate against peace and charity, and in evill ensample to the world, more to be occupied in worldly busynesse; Omnem sollicitudinem projicientes in eum; and drawes them from the service of God, from edifying of Christs Church, in impoverishing and making lesse the state and the power of kings, princes, dukes, and lordes that God hath set them in; in wrongfull oppression of commons for unrightfulness of realmes. For Paul saith to men of the church (whose lordes prelates shoulde sovereignly followen) Habentes victum & vestitum, hiis contenti simus.

**Conclusions.** The fourth conclusion is this, that friers and priests putten upon me falsly, that an evill curate cursing his Soget for withholding of tithes is naught else, but to take with extortion wickedly and unlawfully money from them.

**Answer.** Thus said I not, but thus I said, and yet doe with protestation made before; that an evill curate cursing his parochians, unrightly to pay their tithing, with vengeance without pitie, for his singular worldly winning against charity, and not for heed of their soules, there he is hold by his power reasonably to helpe his needy parochians, and doth nought of the goods of the church; wickedly and unlawfully he withholdes from them that which is due to them by the law of God: Dimittite, & dimitetur vobis; date, & dabitur vobis; verum mihi vindictam, & ego retribuam, dicit Dominus.

**Conclusion.** The fifth conclusion is this, that friers and priests falsly putten upon me: that no man may curse any man, but if he were wete him cursed of God, ne the commers with him rennen not into sentence of cursing in any manner.

**Answer.** Thus said I not, but thus I said, and say with protestation put before; that no man ought to curse any man but for charity and with charity; Omnia vestra cum charitate fiant. And likewise I say, that no wrongfull cursing of pope or any prelate in earth binds; anent God, but when they wrongfully and wittingly curse men, for that men wil not do their

singular will, unreasonable bidding, with highnesse of heart and cruelty. Standing patience and charity in them that they curse wrongfully, he is blessed of almighty God, and they themselves bene cursed. Mat. 5. Beati eritis cum maledixerint homines, &c. Et in Psalmo: Maledicentibus & tu benedices. Et Augustinus, xi. q. 3. cap. 1. Iud.

**6 Conclusion.** The sixth conclusion is this, that friers and priests putten upon me falsly; that ech priest may assoile him that sinneth, contrition had; and notwithstanding forbiddings of the bishop, is holden to preach to the people the Gospell.

**Answer.** Thus I said not, but thus I said, and yet say with protestation made before; that ech true priest may counsell sinfull men, that shewen to him her sinnes, after the wit and cunning that God had given him, to turne fro sin to vertuous life. And as touching preaching of the Gospell, I say, that no bishop owes to let a true priest, that God had given grace, wit and cunning to do that office: for both priests and deacons, that God had ordained deacons and priests, ben holden by power given him of God to preach to the people the Gospell, and namely and somely, popes, bishops, prelates and curates: for this is due to the people & parochians, for to have and ake of him, and ther duly and freely owen to done it: Mat. 5. Luke 5. Ite, ecce ego mitto vos. Et Marc. 16. Euntes in mundum universum. Et Matth. 5. Euntes autem predicat. Et dist. 21. ca. In novo testamento. Et Isidor. de summo bono. 44. Et Chrysost. distinct. 34. ca. Nolite. Et Aug. distinct. 34. ca. Quisquis. Et Greg. in suo pastoralis, ca. 38. Et Tollitano. ca. Ignorantia. Et Ierom. distinct. 95. ca. Ecce ego.

**7. Conclusion.** The 7. conclusion is this, that friers and priests falsly putten upon me; that a priest taking for annuell, through covenant, in that, he is schismaticke and cursed.

**Answer.** This said I never in these termes; but thus I said, and yet say with protestation put before; that no priests owes to sell by bargaining and covenant his ghostly travell, ne his masses, ne his prayers, ne Gods word, ne hallowings, baptism, ne confirming, order giving, for weddings, for spinst, for housell, for ennoiting; any worldly mens reward to ask or take, for these or for any of these, or for any ghostly thing, he erres and doth simony. Vt patet 1. q. 2. ca. Nullus. Et ex concilio Triburenti. cap. Dictum est. Et Christus evangelio vendentes & ementes ejecit de templo, Mat. 22.

**8. Conclusion.** The viii. conclusion is this, that friers and priests putten unto me falsly, saying that I beleve sadly as my self sayes; that yhe priest being in deadly sin, yet he put him to make Christs body, rather he does idolatry than makes it.

**Answer.** Thus said I not; but thus I said, and yet say with protestation put before; that what priest that puts himselfe presumptuously and unworthily in deadly sin, wittingly to minister and to receive that holy Sacrament, and to records hit cursedly and damnably, he receiveth his doome. Cui manducat & bibit indignè, judicium sibi manducat & bibit: 1 Cor. 11.

**9. Conclusion.** The ix. conclusion is this, that friers and priests falsly putten upon me; that no priests enters into any house but evill for to treat the wife, the daughter or the wench; and therefore they sayden that I prayed the people that their husbands shoulde beware that they suffer no priest to enter into her house.

**Answer.** And if I had said thus, then I had prayed against my selfe, for I come oft into mens houses: But thus I said, and yet I doe, praying christian men to beware that they nourish not maintaine no lecherous priest in their sinnes: for there be there (as men well knowne) they ben maintained in many places, continuing homely with her women. And the man there saith they paine therefore a certaine to



to the bishops almes. Et ideo ait Isido, 11. q. 4. qui consensit peccantibus & defendit alium delinquentem, maledictus erit apud Deum & homines.

10. Conclusion.

The tenth conclusion is this, that friers and priests putten upon me falsly, that a child is not verily baptised, if the priest that baptiseth, the godfather or the godmother, beene in deadly sinne.

Answer.

God wot in heauen they said full false: but thus I said, and yet I say: that the prayers that an evil priest prayes (living in lechery or other deadly sin) over the child when it shall be hallowed, ben not acceptable to God as ben the prayers of a good priest. And tho better and cleaner the priest is, the godfather, and the godmother; the more graciously God will heare him. if all they ben not greatest nor most rich in the world. Vnde gg. xiii. q. 7. cap. in gravibus. Cum est qui displicet ad intercedendum peccator admittitur, irati animus proculdubio ad deteriora provocatur.

11. Conclusion.

The eleventh conclusion is this, that friers and priests putten upon me falsly; that no man living against the law of God is a priest, however he were ordained priest of any bishop.

Answer.

Certes this is false, for I said never thus in this termes; but thus I said, and thus I say with a protestation put before: that what ever pope, or cardinall, bishop or priest, or any prelate of the Church comes to his state or dignitie by simony, and in simony occupies that office; and holy churches goods; I say that he is a theefe, and that by the doome of God, and comes but to steale and kill: Joh. 10. Fur non venit nisi ut furetur, & mactet, & perdat. And furthermore I say, that what pope, cardinall, bishop, prelate, or priest, in manner of living, or teaching, or lawes making contrary to Christs living and his lawes, or any other ground put in ruling of the church of Christ, but by Christ and his lawes, is very Antichrist, adversary to Jesus Christ and his Apostles. Aliud fundamentum nemo potest ponere, preter id quod positum est, quod est Christus. Et pa. 40 tet 1. q. 3. c. Si quis. Et 1. q. 6. c. Ego autem. Quincunq.

The true description who is Antichrist.

But this worshipfull father bishop of Hereford, that here is, saies thus in his writing; that I William of Swinderby, notwithstanding the foresaid revocation and abjuration (not setting at heart, but from bill to worde, he sayes, perverted his dioces) he saies, I come running about by divers places; and by mine owne folke he sayes, that I have presumed to preach many herelles, errors, blasphemies, schismes, and other diffames, and to holy canons and determination of holy Church contrary and repugnant; which where and when within forty more specially it shall be shewed, that ye be false enformed, that I have presumed in divers places in your dioces to preach herelles, errors, blasphemies, schismes and other diffames. And sir, all the countrey knowes whether this be soth or not; for sir I presume not, sithen it is the office of a priest, by the law of Christ, to preach the gospel; ne nought I did it for presumption, but for the charge that I have of God by priesthood (if all I be unworthy) and to the worship of God, and help of Christen soules, freely without gathering of her goods for my preaching, If I erred in this, I will be amended. And sir, touching your mandement that ye senden to me, there was sent none. And sir, I made never yet disobedience unto you, ne to your ministers; and yet all I had, mee owes more to obeyche to God than to you, in that that ye bidden contrary to Christs bidding. And sir as ye saine, that I had no minde of my hele, it is too lightly demet: for God so bid, but yet there be hele more than in your bidding: for God wot for hele I did it of mine and of the people, and that was in my minde. But sir, it femes me that ye charge not by evidence of the punishing to greatly the breaking of Gods helles, as ye done of your owne. And sir, if it be your will, in default that the people wanted you

to teach him (and her curats did not) by the desire of the people that weren hungry and thirly after Gods word, ichone to beare up others charge as Gods law bids: I preached not for disobedience to you; but fir in fulfilling of the obedience that Gods law bids me doe, in excusing of my selfe to you of that ye blame me of, in open shewing to holy church, with the protestation that I first made, I answer thus to the articles that ye have put to me.

KING  
RIC. 2.

The first is this, that I William of Swinderby, the Monday the first of August, the yere of our Lord, 1390, preaching to the people in the Church of Whithney of your diocesse, held and affirmed (as ye saine) that no prelate of the world, of what state or degree that hee be, having cure of soules, being in deadly sinne, and hearing confession of his sугet, does nought in absolving him, ne he absolves him not of his sinne: and also in amending his sугet openly sinning, and him for his deserts cursing; his sentence binds not, but if that prelat be as cleane out of deadly sin as was S. Peter: to whom our Lord gave power of binding and unbinding.

1. Article.  
{ Anno?  
1390 }

Note here he the papists uttally to w: good mens sayings and articles.

I never thought this, ne speake this, ne heard it to the time that I saw it written in our booke; and that wold witnesse the lord of the towne that has the same sermon written, and many gentiles and other that harder me that day. But thus I said, and thus I say with protestation put before, that there is no man, pope ne bishop, prelate ne curate, that binds sothly, verily and ghostly; but inasmuch as his binding or unbinding accords with the keyes of heaben that God gave to Peter. And as S. Gregozies saies, that power han they only, that hold together the ensamble of the Apostles with her teaching. Illi soli in hac carne positi ligandi atque solvendi potestatem habent, sicut sancti apostoli, qui eorum exempla simul cum doctrina tenent: gg. li. quarto sententiarum.

Answer.

The popes bidding how far extendeth.

Greg. lib. 4  
Sent.

The second article that is put upon me, is this; that I should have said, preached, and affirmed in many places before many true men of Christ; that after the Sacramentall words said of the priest, having intention of consecration; That in the Sacrament of Gods Body is not very Gods Body.

This said I never God wot, and true men that have heard me.

Answer.

The third article is this, that our bishop puts up on me; that I should have said in many places, and affirmed, that accidents mowe not be in the Sacrament of the altar without subject, and that material bread leves not there with Gods body in the Sacrament.

3. Article.

This conclusion I have not holden, ne taught, ne preached, for I have not medled me of that matter, my wit sufficeth not thereto. But here I tell my beliefe with protestation put before; that the sacrament of the altar made by vertue of heavenly words, that Christ himselfe said in the Cene, when he made this sacrament, that it is bread and Christs body, so as Christ himselfe saies in the gospell, and S. Paul saies, and as Doctors in the common law have determined to this sentence. Mat. 26. Mark. 14. Luke 22. Pa. 1. Cor. 10. & 11. de con. distinct. 2. panis: & de consecr. dist. 2. Corpus. Io. 6. verus panis.

Answer.

Bread and Christs body the Sacrament

The fourth article in this, that our bishop accuseth me of, that I should have preached about and said; that a priest being in deadly sinne may not by the strength of the Sacramentall words make Gods body, or note other Sacrament of the church, either performe to minister them to the members of the same.

4. Article.

Thus I never said, thought it, preached it, ne taught it; for well I wot, the wickednesse of a priest may appaie no very Sacrament; but the wickednesse of the priests appaies himselfe, and all

Answer.  
The wickednesse of the priest impaies no Sacrament.



**KING** } all that boldnesse and crample of his signe causen  
**RIC. 2.** } the people to liben the worse against Gods law.  
 Vnde Greg. Et si sacerdos in peccatis fuerit, totus populus ad peccandum convertitur.

**Article.** The 5. article is this, that our bishop puts unto me; that all priests ben of eben power in all things, notwithstanding that some of this world bene of higher dignity, or more passing in highnesse of degree.

**Answer.** Certes, no man would say thus as I suppose, no more did I, ne never heard it that I wot of: But this I say with protestation made before; that what priest liues most holily, next following the law of God, he is most lover of God, and most profitable to the church. If men speaken of worldly power and lordships and worship, with other vices that raigne therein; what priest that desires and has most hereof (in what degree to he be) he is most Antichrist of all the priests that ben in earth. Vnde Augustinus ad Valerium scribens ait; Nihil est in hac vita, & maxime hoc tempore facilius & leuius, & hominibus acceptabilius, Episcopi, Presbiteri, aut Decani officijs: sed si perfunctorie aut adulatorie, nihil apud Deum miserabilius, aut tristius & damnabilius.

**Article.** The sixth article is this, that only contrition does away sin, if a man be duly contrite: and all outward confession by word is superfluous and not required of need of health.

**Answer.** This conclusion said I never that I know of. But thus I say with protestation put before; that very contrition of heart, that is never without charitie and grace, does away all sinnes before done of that man that is verily contrite. And all true confession made by mouth outward to a wise priest, and a god, profiteth much to man, and it is needfull and helping that men shew their life to such, trusting full to Gods mercie, and that he forgives thy sinne. Vnde August. de conse. distinct. 4. Nemo tollit peccata mundi nisi solus Christus, qui est agnus tollens peccata mundi.

**Article.** The 7. article is this, that I should say that lower curats have not here power of binding and assolving by meane of pope and bishop, but of Christ without mony. And therefore neither pope ne bishop may reboke such manner power for time and place at her will.

**Answer.** Thus said I not, but not for thy it seems me thus, that no man should grant any thing after his owne will, ghostly, ne bodily. But everich man should be well advise, that he shd grant nothing but if it be the will of God that he grant it. And it is no doubt that ne God grants by meane persons, as does Antichrist to torment Christs people. Vnde & Joh. 19. ait Pilatus, Nescis quia potestatem habeo dimittere te? Et Christus; Non haberes potestatem adversum me ullam, nisi esset tibi datum desuper.

**Article.** The 8. article that our bishop puts me to, is this; that I should say that the pope may not grant such manner indulgence of pæres, for there shall not be so many pæres unto the day of doome, as bene contained in his bulls, or in the popes indulgences: whereof it followes that indulgences bene not so much worth as they seemen and bene preached.

**Answer.** This article I said not thus; but I say, that the pope may grant indulgences written in his letter of pæres, all so farre forth that he may grant him in Gods law so farre to grant, and farther not; pæres may be grant no mo than God hath set. If indulgence ben forgiveness of sin, I wot well all onely God forgives sinne. If it be releasing of paines in purgatory ordeinet of God, if God have bidden him release so many, or ordained that he should release so many, he may then release him: if it be in his owne disposing to release whom him likes, and how much, then he may destroy purgatory, and let none come there, and release his owne paine, as charities wots. So it seems he may be liker to be saved, if himselfe list. If any go to purgatory, then it seems

he full failes charity. If bulls been the indulgence that men bängen from the Court, then ben they not so much worth, as they colken there: for lightly they might be lost, drenched, or bænd, or a rat might eate them; his indulgence then were lost. Therefore sit have me excuset, I know not these termes; teach me these termes by Gods law, and truly I will learne them.

The 9. article is this, that I should have said; that it is not in the popes power to grant to any man (doing penance) remission from paine, ne from blame.

**Answer.** I am, but this article said I not thus lewdly: But thus I say, that sithen it is only due to God to give and to grant plenary remission from paines and from blame; that whatever he be, pope or other, that presumptuously mistakes upon him that power that is only due to God: in that (in as much as in him is) he makes himselfe Christ, and blasphemeth God, as Lucifer did, when he said; Ascendam, & ero similis altissimo. Farther I say, if the pope hold men of armes, in maintaining his temporalities and lordship to benge him on hem that gilden and offend him, and geves remission to fight and to slay hem that contrarie hem, as men sayden he did by the bishop of Norwich, not putting his sword into his sheath, as God commanded Peter, Mitte, &c. he is Antichristus; for he does contrary to the commandements of Jesus, that bade Peter for give to his brother septentie sithen he seuen tithen. Si peccaverit in me frater meus, quotiens dimittam ei? Septies? &c. Et Christus; non dico tibi septies, sed septuagesies septies.

The 10. article is this, that our bishop puts to me, that I should have said; that a man geving his almes to any man after his dome (not having need) sins in forgiving.

This article sothly I said not in these termes; But of this matter I have spoken, and will with protestation made before on this wise: that it is needfull to give almes to ich man that asketh it bodily or ghostly, but not to give it to ich shamelesse begger, strong and mighty of body, to get his lifelode lechfull and will not, and in what degree to be he, men owen not to give it to such a one, that he unreasonably asketh, for if he give it to him wittingly, he sins as tanto; of his idleness. Vnde Sap. 12. Si benefeceris, scito cui benefeceris, & erit gloria in bonis tuis multa.

The 11. article is this, that is put to me; that I should have said, that it is not in the power of any prelat of what ever priat religion, to grant letters of the god deeds of her order, ne such benefices graunter profits not to hele of soules to hem that they ben graunter to.

I said never thus in these termes; but thus I say with protestation, that prelates of priate religion mowen graunt letters of the god deeds of her order; But the ghostly mede that comes of god dedes they mow not graunt, for that is onely propriat to God. And if they blind the people in misbelieve for her worldly winning, wittingly bebetting hem of her owne graunt ghostly medes in heaven by her letters and her seale (uncertaine, who shall be damned) but make the people bolder to finne by trust of her prayers; hit is none heal to the soules; but harms to that one and to that other. For God shall veld to ech one after her werks. Ipse reddet unicuique secundum opera sua.

The 12. article is this, that our bishop puts to me; that I many times and oft have come (he saies) to a desert wood, cleped, Derwallswode of his Diocese, and there in a chappell not hallowed, but accursed shepherds hulke, by mine own folly he saies have presumed to sing (but rather to curse) in contempt of the keyes.

Hereto I say, that this is falsly put upon me of hem that told you this. For it is a chappell where a

9. Article

The pope pro-  
vokes a blasphemy.

Of this Henry  
Epenfer bi-  
shop of Nor-  
wich, see pag.  
560.

10. Article.

Answer.

He meaneth of  
begging friers

11. Article

Answer.

Good deeds of  
the order profits  
nothing

12. Article.

Of shepe cote

Answer.

And f f priest



The accusers  
proved with a  
lie.  
13. Article.

priests singe certaine dayes in the yere with great  
solemnity; and certes I neuer song therein lest I  
was boine into this world.

The 13. article is this, that I should also presume  
to sing in an unhallowed chappell that stonds in the  
parke of Helwton, besides the towne of Leyntwar-  
dy of this same Dioces.

An other lie.  
14. Article.

Truely I wot not where the place stonds.

The 14. article is this, that I should say that no  
man owes to sweare for any thing, but simply with-  
outen oth to affirme or to denie, and if he sweare he  
sinnes.

Answer.

This article said I not that I have mind of, in this  
maner; But oft have I said, and yet will, that men  
should not sweare by any creature by the law of  
God; and that no man should sweare in idelas wel-  
nigh all the people useth, and therefore me thinks it  
is no need to comfort the people in swearing. For  
from the old unto the pong, and namely men of holy  
Church broken his best, and few Bishops pursuen  
hem therfore.

To sweare by  
no creature.

15. Article.

The 15. article is this, that I should have taught  
to true men of Christ, that on no maner they should  
worship the Image of him that was done on the  
croste, or the Image of the blessed mayd his mother,  
or of other Saints, into honour and worship of the  
same ordeinet in the minde of them. And oft tithes  
the worshipper of such image he was reprobet, say-  
ing and strongly affirming, that churchmen sinnen  
and done idolatry.

Answer.

This conclusion have I not said in these termes;  
But this I say with protestation, that God com-  
mands in his law in divers places; Exod. 20. Levit.  
19. & 26. Deut. 5. & 7. Tobie 1. Baruc. 6. 2. ad Co-  
rin. 10. Esay 45. Iere. 2. 6. 8. & 10. 22. & ultimo,  
Sapient. 13. & 14. & 15. Mac. 5. & Threnorum 4. & po-  
stremo; that men should not worshipping graven  
images that ben werkes of mens hands; And also  
bee bids that men should not make to hem graven  
Images in likenesse of the things that ben in hea-  
ven, to that end to worshipping hem; setten neither  
God ne Christ by his manhood gave never comman-  
dement to make these Images, ne expresse counsell,  
ne his Apostles in all his law, ne to worship such that  
bene made. But well I wote, that by mens own re-  
lation, that have misbeleved in hem, that many  
men sinnen in maumetry, worshipping such dead  
Images: \* Not for thy, to the men ben Images  
god to whom they have bene but halenders, and  
through the sight of them they knowen the better  
and worshipping oft God and his Saints. And to  
such men they done harme that setten her hope and  
trust in hem or done any worship to hem against  
Gods law and his best. Vnde ait Gregorius in Regi-  
stro libro 10. in Epistola ad Serenum Episcopum; Si  
quis imagines facere voluerit, minime prohibe; ado-  
rare omnino prohibe. Sed hoc sollicitè fraternitas tua  
admoneat, ut ex visione rei gestæ ardorem compuncti-  
onis percipiant, ut in adoratione totius trinitatis pro-  
sternantur.

\* Not for thy,  
that is, not  
withstanding.

Greg. Registr.  
lib. 10.

These conclusions, points, and articles that I  
have under protestation, in this booke affirmed, I  
will stand by hem, and maintaine hem (with the  
grace of almighty God) to the tyme that the contra-  
ry be proved duly by Gods law: And this protesta-  
tion I make for my faith and my beliefe as I did at  
the beginning: that whensoeber this worshipfull or  
any other Christian man shewes mee veraily by  
Gods law the contrary of this, I will holy forsake  
hem, and take me to the veray trowth and better un-  
derstanding of wisser men, ready to be amended by  
the law of Iesus Christ, and be a true Christen man  
and faithfull sonne of holy Church: And of these I  
beseech you all beare witnesse where ye commen.

*Subsequentur vero, quia fide dignorum relatione  
recepimus, quod idem Gulielmus Swinderby latitabat,  
quo minus posset in propria persona citari; ipsius Gu-*

*lielmum vijs & modis per Edictum publicum ad in-  
star albi pratoris in Ecclesia nostra cathedrali Her-  
fordensi & parochialibus ecclesiis de Kington Crofte,  
& Whitney nostra diocesis, ubi idem Gulielmus sole-  
bat commorari citari fecimus, prout & quemadmo-  
dum in modo citatorio continetur, cuius tenor sequi-  
tur in hac verba.*

### C The citation.

I John by Gods permission Bishop of Hereford, to his  
deare sonnes our Deane of Leamster, to the parsons  
of Croft, Almady, and Whitney, and also to the Vi-  
cars of Kington, Lardersley, Wiggemore, and Mon-  
mouth Cliford, and of Saint Iohns Aular in our Ca-  
thedral Church of Hereford, and to the rest of the  
Deanes, Parsons, Vicars, Chapleines, Parish Priests, and  
to other, whosoever in any place are appointed  
through our Cite and Diocesse of Hereford, sendeth  
greeting, grace, and benediction.

The tenor of  
the citation.

We bid and command, charging you straitly, in the  
vertue of holy obedience, that you cite or cause to be  
cited peremptorily (and under the paine of excommu-  
nication) William Swinderby, pretending himselfe to  
bee a Priest; That hee appeare before us, or our Com-  
missaries the 20. day of this present month of Iuly,  
at North Lodebury, within our diocesse, with the  
continuance of the dayes following in other places also  
to bee assigned unto him if it bee expedient, till such  
things as have bene and shall bee laid against him bee  
fully discussed, to answer more at large to certaine po-  
sitions and articles, touching the Catholike faith, and  
the holy mother Churches determination, that have  
beeene exhibited and ministrd unto the said Willi-  
am. And to see and heare also many things that have  
openly in judgement before us, and a great number  
of faithfull Christians, by him beeene even in writing  
confessed, to be condemned as hereticall, false, schis-  
maticall, and erroneous. And to see and heare posi-  
tions and Articles denied by the said William, to bee  
proved by faithfull witnesses and other lawfull trials  
against the said William. And to receive for his false,  
hereticall, erroneous and schismaticall doctrine that  
justice shall appoint, or else to shew causes why the pre-  
misses should not be done.

And if the said William lieth privily, or else can-  
not bee so cited in his proper person; wee will that in  
your Churches, when most people shall then come  
together to Divine service, you openly with a loud  
voyce, and that may bee understood, cause the said  
William peremptorily to bee cited unto the premisses,  
certifying the same William, that whether hee shall  
appeare the day and place appointed or no, wee not-  
withstanding will proceede unto the premisses a-  
gainst the said William according to the Canonically  
decrees by forme of law, in the absence or contuma-  
cie of the said William notwithstanding. Wee will  
moreover, if the said William shall appeare at the  
said day and place, as is aforesaid, before us, friendly  
heare him; and honestly, and favourably, as farre as  
we may with Gods leave, deale with him; granting  
free licence to come and to goe for his naturall li-  
berty without any hurt either in body or goods.  
And see that you fully-certifie us of the things that  
you or any of you shall doe about the execution of  
this our commandement, and that by your Letters  
Patents signed with your seale autentically, giving also  
faithfully to the said William or to his lawfull Proctor,  
if he require it, a copie of this our present comman-  
dement.

Given at our house of Whitburne under our  
seale the fift day of the Moneth of Iuly, in the  
yeere of our Lord 1391.

On Thursday, the xx. of Iuly, in the yere of the  
Lord aforesaid; We in the Parish Church of North  
Lodebury aforesaid, about fife of the clocke sitting  
in judgement, after that it was reported unto  
us

The first sit-  
ting against  
William  
Swinderby.



KING  
RIC. 2.  
Anno  
1391.

us how the aforeſaid William was perſonally taken and lawfully cited; Cauſed the ſame Will. then and there openly in iudgement to be called out to do, heare and receive ſuch things, whereto he was afore cited, and to do otherwiſe that which iuſtice ſhould perſwade. And the ſaid William appeared neither by himſelfe, nor by proctor; but onely by a ſervant (whoſe name we know not) he ſent a certain ſchedule of paper, made like an indenture unto us to excuſe him. After which ſchedule ſome, read, and with right deliberation weighed, and in any wiſe notwithstanding, we adiudged the ſaid William (after he was often called, and long even to the due houre taried for, and by no meanes appearing) worſthly obſtinate; and for his obſtinacie, and for his Stubborneſſe we aſſigned unto him the 29. day of July in the church of Pontſey, to appeare before us with the aforeſaid ſafeguard, to anſwer more fully to ſuch articles and otherwiſe to heare, receive, and do as before is noted.

### The ſecond dayes act.

The ſecond ſitting againſt William Swin Derby.

Upon Saturday being the 29. of July, and in the yere of the Lord aforeſaid, we John by Gods permiſſion the aforeſaid biſhop remembred biſhop in the church of Pontſey, of our Diocceſſe, at five of the clock, or thereabout, ſitting in iudgement; made the ſaid William of Swin Derby to be openly called, that (as was to him appointed and aſſigned) he ſhould appeare before us, to anſwer to the aforeſaid articles more fully, and to declare the ſaid articles as the darkeneſſe of his anſwers did worſthly require. And becauſe the ſaid William being called, and for a due time looked for, did make no meanes to appeare, we pronounced him to be obſtinate, and for his obſtinatenelle (to overcome his malice, and of our exceeding ſavour) thought god to appoint, and did appoint the 8. of Auguſt, then next following, at Cleobury Worſtemere of the ſame our diocceſſe, unto the ſaid William for the ſame thing.

### The third dayes act.

The third ſitting againſt William Swin Derby.

Upon Tueſday, the 8. of Auguſt, the yere aforeſaid, I John by Gods permiſſion Biſhop of Hereford aforeſaid, in the church of Cleobury Worſtemere, about 6. of the clock, ſitting in iudgment, cauſed the aforeſaid William Swin Derby to be called many times openly, to do and receive about the premiſſes, according to the appointment of the ſame day that iuſtice ſhould adviſe; which William did not appeare at all. Whereupon, we after that the ſaid William was called, and often proclaimed, and long looked for, but appeared not at all, did iudge him worſthly (as of right appertained) obſtinate; and for his obſtinatenelle aſſigned him the ſixteenth day of the ſame moneth of Auguſt next following, in the pariſh Church of Whitthorne of the ſame our diocceſſe to bring forth, or to ſee brought forth, all lawes, muniments, and other kinds of proofs, and to ſee all witneſſes brought forth, admitted and ſworne, by whom and which things we intend to prove the aforeſaid articles, or at leaſt wiſe ſome of the ſame.

### The fourth dayes act.

The fourth ſitting againſt William Swin Derby.

Upon Wedneſday the 16. day of the moneth of Auguſt the yere aforeſaid, we John the biſhop in the pariſh church of Whitthorne aforeſaid of our diocceſſe, ſitting in iudgement, cauſed the ſaid William Swin Derby oftentimes to be called; who (as is aforeſaid) appeared not at all: whom, after that he was ſo called, proclaimed, and long looked for, and yet by no meanes appeared, we pronounced to be obſtinate. We received alſo by certaine faithfull chriſtians, and zealous men for the catholike faith of our diocceſſe a certain proceſſe made and had at ano-

ther time againſt the ſame William, before the reverend father in God and Lord, Lord John by the grace of God, Biſhop of Lincolne, confirmed by the hanging on of the ſcale of the ſame reverend father, the Lord Biſhop of Lincolne. The tenour whereof word for word is contained before. And theſe faithfull Chriſtians moreover againſt the obſtinatenes of the ſaid William Swin Derby brought forth diſcreet men, M. William Levier, parſon of the pariſh church of Ayberſp. and alſo Edmund Waterdon, pariſh Chaplaine of the Chappell of M. and Roger Pelwton and Hugh Shupperet lay men of the diocceſſe of Lincolne, aſking inſtantly that they might be received for witneſſes, to prove ſome of the aforeſaid articles, whom againſt the obſtinatenelle of the ſaid William Swin Derby, we thought god to receive and did receive, and their oathes on the holy Goſpels of God, being laid hands on corporally in our hand: And did diligently examine them in proper perſon ſeverally in forme of law: whoſe ſayings and depositions are afterward brought in, and at the inſtance of the ſame faithfull Chriſtians, we aſſigned the ſecond day of September then next following to the ſaid William Swin Derby, to ſay and alledge againſt the ſaid proceſſe, witneſſes, and their ſayings, in the ſaid Church of Whitthorne: decreeing that a copp ſhould be made for him of theſe things that were brought forth, and of the depositions of the witneſſes.

Here we faile in our copie, till the Register come to our hands againe.

by the doore, but wendeth upon another halfe, he is a night theſe and a day theſe. And there he telleth, how he that flyeth from the flock, is not the ſhepe heard, but an hired man, and it pertaineth not to him of the ſhepe.

As to the ſecond concluſion that he ſaith is error, or hereſie, that toucheth taking away of the temporalities and of lordſhips of Priests that bene evil

2. Concluſion.

I ſay, me ſeemeth that the concluſion is true, and is this; that it were needfull and laſſell to ſecular lords by way of charity, and by power given to them of God, in default of Prelates that amend nought by Gods Law: curſed curats that openly miſuſe the goods of the holy Church, that ben poore mens goods: and cuſtomably avens the Law of God, (the which poore men Lords ben holden to maintaine and defend) to take away and to draw from ſuch Curates poore mens goods in help of the poore, and their owne willfull offerings, and their bodily almsdeeds of worldly goods, and give them to ſuch as duly ſerve God in the church, and ben ready in appearing of the charge that prelats ſhoulden do, and done it not. And as anences taking away of temporalities, I ſay thus, that it is laſſell to kings, to princes, to dukes, and to lords of the world to take away from popes, from cardinals, from biſhops, prelates, and poſſeſſioners in the church, their temporalities and their almes that they have given them upon condition, that they ſhoulden ſerve God the better: when they verily ſeene that their giving and taking ben contrary to the law of God, contrary to Chriſts living, and his Apoſtles; and namely in that they taken upon them that they ſhoulden be next followers of Chriſt and his Apoſtles, in pooreneſſe and mekenneſſe, to be ſecular lords againſt the teaching of Chriſt and of ſaint Peter. Truly me ſeemeth that all chriſten men, and namely priests ſhoulden take keepe, that their doing were according with the law of God, either the old law, either the new. The priests of the old law weren forbidden to have lordſhips among their brethren: for God ſaid, that he would be their part and their heritage. And Chriſt that was the higheſt Priest of the New Teſtament forſoke worldly lordſhip, and was here in forme of a ſervant, and ſo bad his priests ſuch lordſhips, and ſaid, Reges gentium dominantur eorum, &c. vos autem

Declaration.

Every giſt given upon condition is ſecondly upon the breach of every ſuch condition.

Of this proceſſe mention is made before pag. 607.



non sic; That is, the kings of the heathen beare do-  
minion and rule, &c. But you shall not doe so. And  
as Saint Peter saith, Neque dominantes in clero,  
&c. Not bearing rule and dominion of the clergie,  
&c. So it seemeth me, that it is against both lawes of  
God, that they have such lordships, and that their ti-  
tle to such lordships is not ful good. And so it seemeth  
me that if they have bene thereto of evil living, it  
is no great peril to take away from them such lord-  
ships, but rather needfull, if the taking away were  
in charity, and not for singular covetousnesse ne  
wrath. And I suppose that if freres that bene bound-  
den to their founders to live in povertie, would  
breake their rule and take worldly lordships; might  
not men lawfully take from them such lordships,  
and make them to live in povertie as their rule  
would? And forsooth it seemeth me, that Priests  
oughten also well to keepe Christs rule, as freres  
owen to keepe the rule of their founder. Jeremie  
witnesseth how God commended Rechabs childzen  
for that they would not breake their faders bidding  
in drinke of wine. And yet Jeremie proffered them  
wine to drinke. And so I know, that God would  
commend his Priests, if they woulden forsake  
worldly lordships, and holden them apayed with  
lifecloth, and with clothing, and busie them fast about  
their heritage of heaven. And God saith Numer. 18.  
In terra eorum nihil possidebitis, nec tenebitis partem  
inter eos: Ego pars & hereditas vestra in medio fi-  
liorum Israel, &c. Et Deut. 18. Non habebitis sacer-  
dotes, & Levitas, & omnes qui de eadem tribu estis,  
partem & hereditatem cum reliquo Israel; quia sa-  
crificia Domini & oblationes ejus comedunt, & ni-  
hil accipient de possessione fratrum suorum. Domi-  
nus enim ipse hereditas ipsorum, sicut locutus est il-  
lis. Et Luca 14. Sic ergo omnis ex vobis, qui non re-  
nunciaverit omnibus quae possidet, non potest meus  
esse discipulus. Et Ieronymus in Epistola 34. Et Ber-  
nardus libro 20. ad Eugenium Papam. Et Hugo de  
Sacramentis, parte 2, libri Secundi, cap. 7. Et 12. q. 40  
pri. cap. Duo sunt: Et cap. Clericus. Et Bernardus  
in Sermone de Apostolis, super illud; Ecce nos reliqui-  
mus omnia. Et Chrysost. super Matth. Et vetus Tes-  
tamentum. That is; You shall have no inheritance  
in that land, nor have no part amongst them: I will  
be your part and inheritance amongst the childzen  
of Israel, &c. Deut. 18. The priests and Levites,  
and all that be of the same tribe, shall have no part  
nor inheritance with the rest of Israel: because  
they shall eate the sacrifices of the Lord and his ob-  
lation; and they shall take nothing for the possession  
of their brethren. The Lord himself is their posses-  
sion, as he saith unto them. And the 14. chapter of  
Luke; Whensoever one of you, which forsaketh  
not all that he possesseth, cannot be my disciple. And  
Jerome in his 14. Epistle hath the like words. And  
Bernard in his 20. booke to Eugenius the Pope.  
And also Hugo in his Booke De sacramentis, the se-  
cond part of his second booke the 7. chapter. And also  
in the 12. q. first chapter, Duo sunt, and in the chap-  
ter Clericus. And againe, Bernard in sermone de  
Apostolis, upon this place; Ecce nos reliquimus om-  
nia; Behold we leave all, &c. Chrysostome upon the  
Gospel of S. Matth. &c.

¶ The third conclusion toucheth the matter of  
preaching of Priests, withouten leave of Bishops,  
and is this; that such true Priests may counsell sin-  
full men, that shewen to them their sins, after the  
word and cunning that God hath given, to turne hem  
from sin to vertuous life.

¶ As touching preaching of the Gospel, I say that  
no Bishop oweth to let a true Priest, that God hath  
given grace, wit, and cunning to doe that office.  
For both Priests and Deacons that God hath or-  
dained Deacons or Priests bene holden, by power  
given to them of God, to preach to the people the  
Gospel; and namelp, and soberly popes bishops,  
prelates and curates; for this is due to the people

and the parishioners, to have it and ask it. And here-  
to seemeth me, that Christ said generally to his Dis-  
ciples; Ite & predicate Evangelium omni creaturae,  
Go and preach the Gospel to all creatures, as well  
as he said, Ite & baptizate omnes gentes, Go and  
baptize all nations; and also as well longeth preach-  
ing to priests without leave of a bishop, as both  
baptizing; and then why may he not preach Gods  
word withouten a bishops leave? And sithen Christ  
bode his Priests preach, who should forbidden them  
preach? The Apostles were forbidden of a bishop at  
Jerusalem to speake more of the name of Jesus; but  
Peter said; Si iustum est in conspectu Dei, vos potius  
audire quam Dominum, iudicate; That is, whether  
it be iust in the sight of God to heare and obey you  
before the Lord, be your selves iudges. A bishop  
may not let a priest of giving bodily almes in his  
diocese; much more may he not let the doing of spi-  
rituall almes in his diocese by Gods law. A priest  
may say his Partens withouten the bishops leave;  
for the pope, that is above the bishop, hath charged  
priests therewith; And me thinketh that Christs bid-  
ding should be all so much of charge as the popes.  
Matth. 10. Euntes autem predicate. Ite, ecce ego  
mitto vos. Et Mar. 16. Euntes in mundum univer-  
sum, &c. Luca 10. Et Anacletus Pap. Dist. 21. cap.  
In Novo Testamento. Et Beda super illud; Messis  
quidem multa. Et Isidorus de summo bono, cap. 44.  
Et Gregorius in canone dist. 43. Praconis quippe  
officium suscipit, &c. Et Chrysostom. Distinct. 43.  
Nolite timere. Et August. dist. 34. cap. Quisquis. Et  
Gregorius in suo pastoralis, cap. 38. Qui enim est. Et  
Chrysostom. hom. 31. & in Toletano Concilio: Ig-  
norantia. Et August. In Prologo sermonum suorum,  
& Ieronymus, dist. 9. Ecce ego. Et August. super id;  
Homo quidam peregrinus; That is, Go you forth  
and preach. And againe, Behold I send you, &c.  
Mark. 16. Go you into all the world, &c. and Luk. 10.  
cap. in novo Testamento. And Beda upon this place  
Messis quidem multa; the harvest is great. Alfo  
Isidorus, De summo bono, cap. 44. And Gregorius  
in the canon distinct. 43. Praconis quippe officium  
suscipit, &c. And Chrysostome in his 34. distinction,  
Nolite timere: And Augustine in the 34. distinction,  
cap. Quisquis. And Gregorius in his pastoralis, cap.  
39. Qui enim est. And Chrysostome in his 31. Ho-  
mily, Et in Toletano concilio, Ignorantia. And Au-  
gustine in the prologue of his Sermons. And Hier-  
ome in the 95. distinct. Ecce ego. And Augustine  
upon this place, Homo quidam peregrinus, a certaine  
traveller.

¶ The fourth conclusion toucheth the Sacrament  
of the altar, and is this.

¶ That wholly I beleve that the sacrament of the  
altar, made by vertue of heavenly words, is bread  
and Christs body; so as Christ himself saith in the  
Gospel, and as Saint Paul saith, and as Doctors  
in the common law have determined: To this sen-  
tence John 6. Moses hath not given you bread from  
heaven, but my father will give you bread from hea-  
ven. He is the true bread that came downe from  
heaven, and giveth life unto the world. My father gi-  
veth unto you bread indeed: the very true bread of  
God is that, which came downe from heaven and gi-  
veth life unto the world. I am the bread of life: The  
bread which I will give is my flesh. And in the canon  
of the Masse, Panem sanctum vitae aeternae, the holy  
bread of life. And Corinthians the tenth chapter and  
first epistle; The bread which we break, is it not the  
communicating of the body of the Lord? Let a man  
probe himselfe, and so eat of that bread, &c. And Ca-  
non De consecratione, distinction 2. under the autho-  
rity of Hilarius the pope; Corpus Christi quod su-  
mitur de altari, &c. And Augustine in the foresaid di-  
stinction; That which is sene is bread, &c. That which  
saith requirereth, is bread and is the body of Christ.  
And in the foresaid distinction, cap. Omnia quaecun-  
que, &c. By these two sentences it is manifestly  
de-

If the Pope  
may take from  
the freres to  
cause them kepe  
Saint Francis  
rule, may not  
the emperor  
take from the  
pope to cause  
him kepe  
Christs rule.

KIN  
RIC.

A priest an-  
d ought to  
preach, but  
the prince  
bills, and  
that he pre-  
ach the wo-  
rd.

Conclusion.

Declarat.

Conclusion.

Declaration.



**ING** declared, that that bread and this be not two, but  
**IC. 2.** one bread and one flesh. Note the words for that he  
 saith the bread and flesh. And the authoz, De divinis  
 officiis, and also Augustine in his booke De remediis  
 poenitentiz: *Why preparest thou thy teeth, &c. And*  
*Ambrose, De Sacramentis, de consecratione, dist. 2.*  
*Revera mirabile est, &c. This meate which you re-*  
*ceive, and this bread of one which descended from*  
*heaven, doth minister the substance of eternall life,*  
*and whosoever shall eate the same shall not dye ever-*  
*lastingly, and is the body of Christ.* Note how hee  
 saith and is the body of Christ.

**Conclusion.** \* The fifth arte telleth of forgiveness of  
 finnes, and is this. That very contrition withouten  
 charitie and grace, doe away all sinne before done  
 of that man that is verily contrite; and all true con-  
 fession made by mouth outwardly to a wise priest  
 and a good, profiteth much to a man, and it is need-  
 full and helping, that men shew their life to such,  
 trusting fully to Gods mercy, that he forgiveth the  
 sinne.

**Declaration.** And hereto I say, that there been two remissions  
 of sinne; one that belongeth only to God; And  
 that remission is the cleansing of the soul from sinne:  
 And the other remission, a certifying that one man-  
 ner. I say another that his finnes becomen forgiven of  
 God, if he be sorry with all his heart for them; and  
 is in full will to leaue them for ever: and this manner  
 of forgiveness longeth to priests. Of the first manner  
 of forgiveness David saith; And I said I will con-  
 fesse my unrighteousnesse unto the Lord, and thou  
 forgabest me my misdeed. And Zecharie saith, And  
 thou child shalt be called the prophet of the high-  
 est, &c. To give knowledge of salvation unto his  
 people for the remission of their sins, by the bowels  
 of Gods mercy. And John Baptist Behold the  
 Lambe of God that taketh away the finnes of the  
 world. And Saint John the Evangelist saith in his  
 epistle; If we confesse our sinnes, he is faithful and  
 iust to forgive us our sinnes, and cleanse us from all  
 our iniquitie. And it followeth; If any man sin,  
 we have an advocate with the Father, even Iesus  
 Christ, and he it is that is the propitiation for our  
 sins. And of the other remission of sins Christ spea-  
 keth in the Gospell, and saith; Whose sins ye for-  
 give they shall bee forgiven. And mans for-  
 givenesse availeth little, but if God forgive our sins  
 through his grace.

**Conclusion.** \* The sixth conclusion toucheth indulgences and  
 pardons that the pope granteth in his Bulls; and  
 men callen it an absolution A poena & culpa.

**Declaration.** Of this manner of speech I cannot find in the  
 Gospell, ne in no place of holy writ, ne I have not  
 read that Christ used this manner of remission, ne  
 none of his Apostles. But as mee seemeth, if the  
 pope had such a power, sithen the paines after  
 a mans death becomen much greater than any bodily  
 paines of the world; me thinketh he should of cha-  
 ritie keepe men out of such paines, and then men  
 needed not to find so many vicious priests, after their  
 life, to bring their soules out of purgatorie. Another  
 thing me thinketh, that sith the popes power ne may  
 not keepe us in this world from bodily paines, as  
 from cold, from hunger, from bread, from sorrow  
 and other such paines, how should his power helpe  
 us from spiritual paines, when wee becomen dead?  
 But for that no man commeth after his death to  
 tell us the sooth of what paine they been, men mow  
 tell thereof what him list. Saint John saith in his  
 Apocalypse; that he saw under the altar the soules  
 of them which were slaine for the word of God, and for  
 the testimonie which they had. And they did cry with  
 a loud voice saying; How long Lord holy and true,  
 dost thou revenge our blood of them which dwell  
 on the earth? And wite the stoles were given to every  
 of them to rest a while, till the number of their fellow  
 servants and brethren should be fulfilled, which also  
 remained to be slaine as they were, &c. Here seemeth

it, that these soules were not assailed a poena, that is,  
 from paine; for their desire is not fulfilled. And  
 they were bidden abide awhile, and that is a paine.  
 And if Martyrs were not assailed from paine, it is  
 hard for any man to say, that he assaileth other men  
 a poena. Also good mens soules have not but spiritu-  
 all blisse, and they want bodily blisse, untill their re-  
 surrection in the day of dome. And after they tes-  
 tify to have that blisse, and abide it, and that is paine  
 to them. And I cannot see that the pope hath power  
 to bring him from this paine. But if any man can  
 shew me, that he hath such a power granted in the  
 troth of holy writ, I will gladly lesen it.

\* The seventh point speaketh of the pope, and is  
 this; Sith it is only due to God, as I have said be-  
 fore, to geve and to grant plenar remission from  
 paine, and from blame: that whatsoever he be, pope  
 or other, that presumptuously mistaketh up: a him  
 the power that is onely due to God, in that, inas-  
 much as in him is, he maketh himselfe even with  
 Christ, and blasphemeth God, as Lucifer did, when  
 he said; Ascendam, & ero similis altissimo; That is,  
 I will ascend, and be like the highest, &c.

For that I say, if the pope hold men of armes in  
 maintaing of his temporall lordship, to venge  
 him on them that gilden and offend him, and ge-  
 veth remission to fight and to slep them, that contra-  
 rien him, as men sappen he did by the bishop of Nor-  
 wich, not putting his sword in his sheath, as God  
 commanded to Peter; he is Antichrist. For hee  
 doth the contrary of the commandment of Iesus  
 Christ, that bad Peter forgiven to his brother Seben-  
 ty sithen seven sithen. Well I finde in the Gospell,  
 that when Christ sent his disciples to Samaria, the  
 Samaritans would not receive them. And some  
 of them bidden Christ, that hee should make fire  
 come downe from heaven, to destroy the cite. And  
 he blamed them and said; Nescitis cuius spiritus estis,  
 Filius hominis non venit animas perdere, sed salvare.  
 That is, ye knowe not of what spirit ye are; The Son  
 of man is not come downe to destroy, but to save  
 the liues and soules of men &c. If Christ then come  
 to save men, and not to slea them: who that both the  
 rebers hereof, is against Christ, and then he is Anti-  
 christ. Christ bad Peter put his sword into his sheath  
 and said; Omnes qui gladium acceperunt gladio pe-  
 ribunt: That is, all which take the sword, shall  
 perish with the sword. And I cannot find that Pe-  
 ter drew out his sword after that time, but suffered  
 as Christ said; Cum seneris, alius cinget te, & du-  
 cet te quo tu non vis: That is, when thou shalt ware  
 old, another shall gird thee, and lead thee whither  
 thou wilt not. And therefore said Peter, Christ suf-  
 fered for us, leauing us example that we should fol-  
 low his steps. And Paul saith, Not defending your  
 selves but give place to anger, leaue rebenging to  
 me and I shall reward them, &c. And therefore it  
 seemeth to me, that it is much against Christs loze,  
 that his vicar should bee a sighest; sithen that hee  
 mote bee a shepheard, that should goe before his  
 sheepe, and let them come after him, and not with  
 swords to drive them away from him. For as Christ  
 saith A good shepheard that put his life for his sheepe.  
 And sif all that Christ had two swords, when that he  
 was taken of the Iewes, he said himselfe, it was for  
 that the Scriptures moten sif be fulfilled, Quoniam  
 cum iniquis deputatus est; that is, He was reputed  
 among the wicked; and not to figure two swords,  
 that men sayen the pope hath to governe with the

Church. And when I see such doings of the pope, and  
 many other that accorden not with Christs loze, ne  
 his living; And when I read divers Scriptures of  
 holy writ, I am foule astonied whether they shoulde  
 bee understood of him, or of any other. And I pray  
 you for Gods love tell mee the sooth. Christ saith;  
 Many shall come in my name, saying, I am Christ,  
 and shall seduce many, &c. Christ (I wote well) is as  
 much to say, as hee that is anointed, and two an-  
 oint-

The pope hath  
 no power  
 grounded upon  
 Scripture to  
 bring from  
 paine to pur-  
 gatorie.

7. Conclusion.

The pope ma-  
 keth himselfe  
 even with  
 Christ.

Declaration.

The bishop of  
 Norwich Hen-  
 ry senneth the  
 popes warriour  
 set up of the  
 pope to slay his  
 enemies, pag.  
 54.

The pope con-  
 trary to Christ.

The pope a-  
 gainst probes  
 Antichrist.

Two swords  
 never given to  
 the pope.

Two sorts of  
 anointings in  
 Scripture.



nointings there weren in the law, one of kings, another of priests. And Christ was both king and priest, and so the pope saith that he is. And if all that have been emperours of Rome, and other heathen kings have bene Antichrists, they come not in Christs name. But who so commeth in Christs name, and saineth himselfe Christs friend, and he be privily his enemy, he may lightly beguile many. Saint Paul saith, before there commeth a defection first and the sonne of perdition shall be revealed, which is the ab-  
 10 verlary, and is extolled above all that is named God, or which is worshipped; so that he shall sit in the temple of God, shewing himselfe as God. And it followeth in the same place; And now ye know that holdeth till he be revealed in his time, for he worketh already the mystery of iniquity. Onely he that holdeth, let him hold till he come abroad, and then that wicked one shall be revealed, whom the Lord Jesus shall slay with the spirit of his mouth, &c. And Saint John saith in the Apocalypys; I saw another beast ascending out of the earth, and two  
 20 hornes like to the lamb. He spake like the dragon, and had the power of the first beast. Many such authorities astonieth me oftentimes: And therefore I pray you, for the love of God, to tell me what they meane.

A defection in Antichrists time.

### The sentence.

**T**he which schedule afore mentioned, with the contents thereof, diligently of us perused, we considering that diseases, which be not easily cured with gentle remedy, must have harder plaisters; Considering moreover these his articles with his answers to the same, and to other articles also lastly against him produced; first mature deliberation had before upon the whole matter, with the foresaid masters and doctors, as well secular as regular, to a great number, observing in the same all things to be observed in this behalfe, have given sentence against the said William in forme as followeth.

The name of Christ being invocated, we John by the permission of God, bishop of Hereford, sitting in tribunall seat, having God before our eyes, weighing and considering the articles by the foresaid faithfull Christians put up against the said Swinderby, pretending himselfe to be priest, with his answers upon the same, Actis & Accusatis before us in the cause of hereticall perveristy, with mature deliberation had before in this behalfe, with masters and doctors of divinity, and also of other faculties, with their counsell and consent; Doe pronounce, decree, and declare the said William to have bene and to be an heretike, schismaticke, and a false informer of the people, and such as is to be avoided of faithfull Christians. Wherefore we admonish, under the pain of the law, all and singular Christians, of what sex, state, condition, or preeminence soever, that neither they nor any of them within our diocese, or any other, do beleve, receive, defend, or favour the said William, till he shall deserve fully to be reconciled to the bosome againe of holy Church.

The appeale of William Swinderby, from this sentence of the bishop prefixed, unto the king and his counsell.

**I**N nomine patris, & filii, & spiritus sancti, Amen. I William Swinderby, Priest, knowledge openly to all men, that I was before the bishop of Hereford the third day of October, and before many other good clerkes, to answer to certain conclusions of the faith that I was accused of. And mine answer was this, that if the bishop or any man counthe shew me by Gods law, that my conclusions or my answers were error or heresie, I would be amended, and openly reboke them before all the people. I knowes in any of my conclusions, but sayden

The appeale of William Swinderby from the bishop to the king and his counsell.

\* Something there lacking in the copie.

singly with sword, that there was errors in them, and bidden me subiect me to the bishop, and put me into his grace, and reboke mine error, and shewed me nought by Gods law ne reason, ne proved which they weren. And for I would not knowledge mee guilty, so as I knew no error in them, of which I should be guilty, therefore the bishops fate in doome in mine absence, and deemed me an heretike, a schismaticke, and a teacher of errors, and denounced me  
 10 accursed, that I come not to correction of the church, and therefore for this unrightfull judgement, I appeale to the kings Justices for many other causes.

One cause is for the kings court in such matter is above the bishops court; For after that the bishop has accursed, he may no feare by his law, but then mote he sech succour of the kings law, and by a writ of Significavit put a man in prison.

The kings court above the bishops court

The second cause is, for in cause of heresie there liggeth judgement of death, and that doome may not be given without the kings Justices. For the bishop will say; Nobis non licet interficere quemquam: That is, It is not lawfull for us to kill any man; as they saiden to Pilate, when Christ should be doned. And for I thinke that no Justice will give sodainly an untrue doome, as the bishop did, and therefore openly I appeale to hem, and send my conclusions to the knights of the Parliament, to be shewed to the lords, and to be taken to the Justices, to be well advised of that they geven doome.

The third cause is, for it was a false doome; for no man is an heretike, but he that masterfully defends his error or heresie, and stiffely maintaines it. And mine answer has bene alway conditionall, as the people openly knowes, for ever I say, and yet say, and alway will; that if they cannen shew me by Gods law that I have erret, I will gladly bene amended, and reboke mine errors, and so I am no heretike, ne nevermore in Gods grace will ben en  
 30 no wile.

God is an heretike.

The fourth cause is, for the bishops law, that they doome men by, is full of errors and heresies, contrary to the truth of Christs law of the Gospell.

The bishops law of condemnation full of heresies and errors.

For there as Christs law bids us love our enemies, the popes law gibes us leave to hate them and to slep them, and grants men pardon to twerren against heathen men, and slep hem. And there as Christs law teach us to be merciful, the bishops law teaches to be wretchedfull. For death is the greatest wretched that men molwen done to him that guiltie is.

Where as Christs law teaches us, to blessen him that discayen us, and to pray for him; the popes law teacheth us to curse them, and in their great sentence that they use, they presume to damne hem to hell that they curse. And this is a foule heresie of blasphemie: there as Christs law bids us be patient, the popes lawes iustifies two swords, wherewith he smiteth & they of the church. And he has made lords and knights to swear to defend him and his church.

There as Christs law forbiddeth us lechery, the popes law iustifies the abominable whoredome of common women; and the bishops in some place have a great tribute or rent of whoredome.

There as Christs law bids to minister spiritual things freely to the people; the pope with his law tels for money, after the quantite of the gift, pardons, orders, blessing, and Sacraments, and prayers, and benefices, and preaching to the people, as it is knowne amongst them.

The contrarie betweene the pope & Christ

There as Christs law teaches peace; the pope with his law allowes men for money to gader the people, priests, and other to fight for his cause.

There as Christs law forbids swearing; the popes law iustifieth swearing, and compels men thereto.

Whereas Christs law teacheth his priest to be poore; the pope with his law iustifies and maintains priests to be lords.

And



{ KING }  
{ IC. 2. }

And yet the fifth cause is, for the popes law, that bishops deimen men by is the same unrightfull law that Christ was demet by of the bishops, with the Scribes and with the Pharisees. For right as at that time they gaden more creiens to the two false witnessses that witnesssed against Christ, than they deden to all the people that witnesssed to his true preaching and his miracles: so the bishops of the popes law geden more leben by their law to two heretiks and apostates, or two comen women that woulden witnesssed agains a man in the cause of heresie, than two thousandes of people that were true & good. And for the pope is this Antichrist, & his law contrary to Christ his law, fully I forsake this law, and so I reed all Christen men. For thus by another point of this law they mighten conquer much of this world: For than they can, by this law present a man an heretike, his gods shulen be forset from him, & from his heires, & so might they lightly have two or thre false witnessses to record an heresie againe what true man to hem liked. Therefore me thinks, that whatforber that I am a Christen man, I may lawfully appeale from a false dome of the law, to be righteously demet by the trowth of Gods law. And if this appeale will not serbe, I appeale openly to my Lord Iesus Christ that shall deme all the world, for hee, I wot well, will not spare for no man to deme a trowth. And therefore I pray God almighty with David in the Sauter booke, Deus iudicium tuum regi da, & iustitiam tuam filio regis; iudicare populum tuum in iusticia & pauperes tuos in iudicio. That is, O God, give thy iudgement to the king, & thy iustice to the kings sons, to iudge thy people in iustice, & thy poore ones in iudgement, &c.

*A letter sent to the nobles and burgeses of  
the Parliameur, by Master William.  
Swinderby.*

I Iesus that art both God and man, helpe thy people that loven thy law, and make knowne through thy grace thy teaching to all Christen men. Deare sirs, so as wee seene by many tokens that this world drawes to an end, and all that ever have beene brought forth of Adams kind into this world shulen come togeder at domesday, rich and poore, schone to geve accompt and receive after his deeds, joy or paynen for evermore: Therefore make wee our werkes good, ye while that God of mercy abides, and bee yee stable and true to God, and yee shulen see his helpe about you. *Constantes esto et videbitis auxilium Domini super vos.* This land is full of ghostly cowards; in ghostly battell few dare stand. But Christ that comforter of all that falleth (to that his heart brast for our love) against the fiend the doughty duke comforteth us thus; *Esote fortes in bello, &c.* Bee yee strong in battell, hee sayes, and fight yee with the old adder. *Stare in fide, vincitur agite, &c.* Wake yee and pray yee, stond yee in beleve, doe yee manly and bee yee comforter, and let all your things bee done with charity. For Saint Paul that saw the privities of God in heaven, bids thus in his Epistle; *Evigilate iusti, &c.* Awake yee that beene righteous men, bee yee stable and unmoveable: Awake yee quickly and sleepe nought, and stond now strongly for Gods law. For Saint Iohn in the Apocalyps sayes, Blessed bee hee that awakes; for nought to sleepers but to wakers God has behite the crowne of life. For the houre is now, as S. Paul saith to us, from sleepe for to rise, for hee that earely awakes to mee, he shall finde mee, saith Christ himselfe. This waking ghostly is good living out of sinne: this sleepe betokens that which cowardeth a mans heart from ghostly comfort, and to stand in the same through a deceiveable sleepe is this that lets a man of the blisse of heaven: the fiend makes men bold in sinne, and serd to doe worship to God: death is a likening to a theefe that privily steales upon a man that now is rich, and full of wele, anon hee makes him, a needy wretch &

therefore said God by Saint Iohn in the Apocalyps in this wise, Bee thou waking, for I thou wake nought, I shall come to thee as a theefe, and thou shalt not wit what houre. And it the husbandmen (sayes Christ) wist what houre the theefe should come, hee would wake and suffer him not to undermine his house. Saint Peter therefore warneth and saith; Wake and bee yee ware, suffer yee no man (hee saies) as a theefe, but willingly for Gods love; for it is time, as Peters sayes, that doome begin from the house of God. Yee beene the body of Christ, sayes Paul, that needs must suffer with the head, or else your bodies beene but dead and departed from Christ that is the head. And therefore curlet bee hee, sayes Paul, that loves not Iesus Christ. And whome it is that loves him, Christ himselfe tels in the Gospell; hee that has my hefts, and keepes them, hee it is that loves mee. Cursed hee bee therefore, sayes Paul, that doth Christs workes deceivably. Bee yee not therefore, sayes Paul, ashamed of the true witnessse of Iesus Christ; for Christ our God sayes in his Gospell, Hee that shames mee and my words, him shall mans sonne asham, when hee shall come for to set in the siege of his Majestie. And each man, hee sayes, that knowes mee and my words before men in this sinfull generation and whorish, mans sonne shall knowledge him before my Father, sayes Christ himselfe, when hee shall come with his Angels in the glory of his Father. Sith yee therefore beene Christen men, that is to say, Christs men, shew in deed that yee beene such as yee daren shew you the Kings men; for hit had beene, as Peter saies, better not to have knowne the way of truth, than after the knowing thereof to bee converted backward therefrom. Wee knowen Christ, that is tought; wee sain all through our beleife, if wee turne from him for dred, truly wee deny the troth. And therefore sith our time is short, how short no man knowes but God, doe we the good that yee may to Gods worship, when wee have time. Bee true, saies God, to the death, and you shall have the crowne of life. And thinke on Iudas Macchabeus, that was Gods true knight, that comforted heartily Gods true people, to bee the followers of his law. And geve ye, he said, your lives for the Testament of your fathers. And ye shulen win, hee said, great joy, and a name for evermore. Was not Abraham, he said, in temptation founden true, and was arectet unto him evermore to righteoufnesse: Ioseph in time of his anguish he kept truly Gods heft, hee was made by Gods providence lord of Egypt, for his troth. Phinees our sadure loving, he saith, the zeale of God, tooke the testament of everlasting priesthood. Iosue, for hee fulfillet the word of God, was doomes man in Israel. Caleph, that witnesssed in the Church, he took therefore the heritage, he saith: David in his mercy hee gat the siege of the kingdome in worlds: Heli, for that hee loved the zeale of Gods law, was taken up into heaven. Ananie, Azarie, and Misael, hee sayes, weren delivered thoores through true beleife out of the hoat flame of fire. True Daniel in his simpleness was deliveret from the lions mouth. Bethinke ye therefore, hee sayes, by generation and generation, and thou shalt never find that hee failed that man that truly trusted in him. And therefore dread you nought, hee sayes, of the words of a sinfull man; his glory is, he sayes, but wormes and tords: hee is to day, he saith, ymade hie, to morrow, he sayes, he is not founden; for he is turned, he sayes, into his earth againe, and the minde of him is perisher. Sonnes therefore, hee sayes, be yee comforter, and die manly in the law: for when yee han done that that God commands you to doe, ye shulen be glorious in him. And King David sayes also on this wise in the Psalter booke; Blessed be they (Lord) that keepen thy law, in worlds of worlds they shall praise thee. And in Levit. sayes God thus, Gif that ye wenden in mine hefts, and keepen my commandements, and done hem, I shall bring forth their fruit, and trees shall be fulfilled with apples. And ye shall eate your bread in fulnesse, ye shoulen

Reulefull letter  
to the lords  
in burgeses  
of the Parli-  
ment.

\* Reckoned.

Dan. 14.

Psal. 119.  
Levit. 26.



shoulde dwell in your land without drede; I shall give peace in your costes, yee shall sleepe and no man shall feare you. Evill beasts I shall done away from you, and sword shall not passe your termes, yee shulne pursue your enemies, and they shall fall before you; fifty of yours shulne pursue an hundredth of heren, an hundred of yours, a thousand of theirs: your enemies, hee faith, sholen fall through sword, and your sute: I shall, hee sayes, behold you and make you to wax, and ye shall bee multiplieth: And I shall strength with you my covenant, yee shall eat the eldest, and the new shull come in thereon, And yee shulne cast forth the old: I shall dwell in the midst of you. And I shall wend amongs you, and I shall bee your God, and yee shulne bee my people. If that yee heare mee not, ne done nought all my hefts, but despisen my law and my doomes, and that yee done not tho things that of mee bene ordenet, and breaken my commandements and my covenants; I shall doe these things to you. I shall visit you surely in nene and brenning, which shall dimme your eghenen, and shall waste your lives about nought. Yee shulne sow your fede, for hit shall bee devoure of enemies, I shall put my face against you, and yee shall fall before your enemies. And yee shullen bee underlings to them that han hatet you, yee shall see, no man pursuing. And if yee will not be bixome to mee, I shall adde thereunto thornes and sevenfold blame. And I shall all to brast the hardnesse of you, I shall geve the heaven above you as iron, and the earth as brasse. About nought shall your labour bee, for the earth shall bring you forth no fruite, ne tree shall geve none apples unto you. If that ye wenden against mee, and will not heare mee, I shall adde hereto sevenfold wounds for your sinnes. I shall send amongst you beasts of the field that shall devoure you and your beasts, I shall bring you into a field, and wayes shulne bee defart. And if that yee will not receive lore, but wenden against me, I will also wenden against you, and I shall smite you seven sithes for your sinnes. I shall leade in upon you sword, venger of my covenant: and upon the fleen into cities I shall send pestilence in the midst of you. So that tenne women shall bake their bread in one furnace, and yeld them againe by weight, and yee shall eat, and bee not fillet. If that yee heare mee not by these things, but wenden against mee, I shall wend in against you in a contrary woodnesse, and blame you with seven plagues for your sinnes, so that they shulne eat the flesh of your sonnes and of your daughters. And in somuch my soule shall loth you, that I shall bring your cities into wildeynesse, and your sanctuaries I shall make defart, ne I shall not over that receive sweet odor of your mouth. And I shall disperkle your land, and enemies shullen marvell thereon, when they shulen inhabit it, I shall disperkle you among heathen, and draw my sword after you. These vengeance and many moe God said should fall on them that breake his bidding, and despiseth his lawes, and his doomes. Then sith Christ become man, and bought us with his heart blood, and has shewed us so great love, and given us an easie law, of the best that ever might bee made, and to bring us to the joy of heaven, and wee despise it and loven it nought: what vengeance will bee taken hereon, so long as hee has suffered us, and so mercifully abidden, when hee shall come that righteous judge in the cloudes to deme this world? Therefore turne wee us to him, and leave sinne that hee hates, and over all things maintaine his law that hee confirmed with his deeth. For other lawes, that men had made, should be demed at that day by the just law of Christ, and the maker that them made; and then we wonne that long life and that joy that Paul speaketh of, that eyne see not, ne eare heard not, ne into mans heart ascended not, the blisse and joy that God hath ordained to them that loven him and his lawes.

Deare worshipful sirs in this world, I beseech you for Christs love, as yee that I trow loven Gods law and trouth (that in these dayes is greatly borne

abacke) that they wollen vouchsafe these things that I send you writen to Gods worship, to let them bee shewed in the Parliament, as your wits can best conceive, to most worship to our God, and to shewing of the trouth and amending of holy Church. My conclusions, and mine appeale, and other true matters of Gods law (gif any man can finde therein error, falsenesse, or default, provet by the law of Christ clearly to Christen mens knowledge) I shall revoke my wrong conceit, and by Gods law bee amendet; ever ready to hold with Gods law openly and privily with Gods grace, and nothing to hold, teach, or maintaine that is contrary to his law.

¶ Of this procelle, answers, and condemnacion of this worthy priest, and true servant of Christ, William Swinnderby, you have heard. What afterward became upon him I have not certainly to say or affirme; whether he in prison died, or whether he escaped their hands, or whether he was burned, there is no certain relation made. This remaineth out of doubt, that during the life of king Richard the second no great harme was done unto him. Which was to the yeare 1401. at what time king Richard being wrongfully deposed, Henry the fourth invaded the kingdome of England. About the beginning of whose raigne we reade of a certaine Parliament holden at London, mentioned also of Thomas Walden (as is above specified) in which Parliament it was decreed; that whosoever shewed themselves to be favourers of Wickliffe, who at that time were called Lollards, they should bee apprehended, and if to be they did obstinately persevere in that doctrine, they should be delibered over unto the bishop of the diocesse, and from him should be committed unto the secular Magistrate. This law (saith the storie) brought a certaine Priest unto punishment the same yeere, who was burned in Smithfield in the presence of a great number. This we have drawne out of a peece of an old storie: and it is most certaine that there such a priest was burned for the affirmation of the true faith; but it doth not appear by the storie what the priests name was. Notwithstanding by divers coniectures it appeareth unto me that his name was Swinnderby, that was forced to recant before the bishop of Lincoln. Whereby what is to be conjectured, by the premises let other men iudge what they thinke I have nothing hereof expressly to affirme. This is plaine for all men to iudge (which have here scene and read his storie) that if he were burned, then the bishops, friers, and priests, which were the causes thereof, have a great thing to answer to the Lord, when he shall come to iudge the quick and the dead, & seculum perignem.

#### The storie and procelle against Walter Brute.

After the storie of William Swinnderby, I good and convenient next to adioyne the acts and doings of Walter Brute his ioynt fellowe and companion being a lay man, and learned; brought up as it seemeth in the Universitie of Oxford, being there also graduate. The tractacion of whose discourse as it is something long: so therein may appeare divers things worthy to be read & considered.

First, the mightie operation of Gods spirit in him, his ripe knowledge, modest simplicitie, his valiant constancie, his learned tractacions and manifold conlitas sustained against Gods enemies. On the contrary part in his adbersaries may appeare might against right, mans authoritie against plaine veritie; against which they having nothing directly to answer, proceed in condemnation against whom they are able to bring forth no confutacion. The chiefest occasion, that seemed to stir up the heart and zeale of this Walter against the pope, was the impudent pardons & indulgences of pope Urbane, gran-

KING  
RIC. 2  
The false  
request of  
William Swin  
derby.

The story of  
Walter Brute  
a Bolton.

Ex registro  
Epif. Here-  
ford.



**KING** } ted to Henry Spenser biſhop of Norwich, to fight  
**RIC. 2.** } againſt pope Clement, mentioned before, pag. 582.  
 Secondly, the wrongfull condemnation of the ar-  
 ticles and conclusions of William Swinderby; the  
 whole order whereof, in the proceſſe here following,  
 more plainly may appeare.

The proceſſe had by John Biſhop of Hereford  
 againſt Walter Brute a lay man, and learned,  
 of the dioceſſe of Hereford, touching the cauſe of  
 heretic, as they called it, ſet forward by the way of  
 the biſhops office. &c. at the inſtigation of  
 certaine faithfull Chriſtians, as he termed  
 them, but indeed cruell and falſe  
 promoters.

enabling  
 to ſeeking  
 der loving  
 1709.

**I**n the name of God, Amen. To all manner of  
 faithfull Chriſtian people, that ſhall ſee and heare  
 this our preſent proceſſe, John by the ſufferance of  
 God biſhop of Hereford ſendeth greeting and conti-  
 nuall charity, in the Lord. We would that you all  
 ſhould know, that of late by many faithfull Chriſtian  
 people, and ſpecially zealous followers of the catho-  
 like faith, it was lamentably done us to underſtand  
 by way of complaint; that a certaine ſon of ours go-  
 ing out of kind, named Walter Brute, a lay per-  
 ſon, learned, of our dioceſſe, hath under a cloked ſhew  
 of holineſſe damnably ſeduced the people; and, ſet-  
 ting behind him the feare of God, doth ſeducer them  
 as much as he can, from day to day, informing and  
 teaching openly and privily as well the nobles as  
 the common; in certaine conclusions hereticall,  
 ſchiſmaticall and erroneous, and alſo heretofore  
 condemned. And they have alſo probably exhibited  
 againſt the ſame Walter, articles underwritten, in  
 manner and forme as followeth.

Articles exhibited and denounced to the  
 biſhop, againſt Walter Brute.

articles de-  
 nounced a-  
 gainſt Walter  
 Brute by  
 articles and  
 1709.

**R**euerend father and lord, we the faithfull people  
 of Chriſt, and zealous lovers of the catholike  
 faith, and alſo your humble and devout childzen, doe  
 miniſter and exhibit to your reverend fatherhood the  
 articles underwritten, touching the catholike faith,  
 contrary and againſt malicious perſons, and detrac-  
 tors of the ſame faith, and the determinations of  
 holy mother Church, and namely againſt the child of  
 Belial, one Walter Brute, a falſe teacher and sedu-  
 cer amongſt the people: Humbly beſeeching, that  
 you would vouchſafe to have regard to the correction  
 of the enormities underwritten, according unto the  
 canonically conſtitutions, even as to your office pa-  
 ſſorall doth lie and belong.

the ſecond arti-  
 cle.

**I**mpimis, we do give and exhibit, intend to probe  
 that the ſame Walter Brute, being unmiſſed of  
 his ſalvation, hath been by many and divers faithfull  
 Chriſtian people ſundry times accuſed of the curſed-  
 neſſe of heretic; As by the ſwift report, ſlander, and  
 rumour of the people, proceeding before the moſt re-  
 verend father and lord, lord William archbiſhop of  
 Canterbury, and alſo before the reverend father and  
 lord, lord John late biſhop of Hereford your prede-  
 ceſſor, and now biſhop of Salis, hath been teſtified,  
 and alſo hath bene many and divers times cited to  
 answer unto articles by him againſt the catholike  
 faith abouched, and openly and publiſhly taught. But  
 he in this matter of hereticall curſedneſſe (ſo grie-  
 vously and ſhamefully ſpoken of) hath never regar-  
 ded to purge his innocency; but lurkingly, and run-  
 ning into corners, hath many and ſundry waies  
 laboured to advance things erroneous and ſchiſma-  
 ticall, and alſo heretic, and to imprint them in the  
 hearts of faithfull people.

the ſecond arti-  
 cle.

**I**tem, the ſaid Walter Brute hath openly,  
 publiſhly, and notoriously abouched; and commonly  
 ſaid and taught, and ſtubbornly affirmed; that every  
 Chriſtian man (yea and woman) being without

ſinne, may make the body of Chriſt ſo well as the  
 prieſt.

**I**tem, the ſame Walter hath notoriously, openly  
 and publiſhly abouched and taught, that in the Sa-  
 crament of the altar there is not the very body, but a  
 ſigne and a memoriall only.

**I**tem, the ſaid Walter hath ſaid commonly  
 and abouched, and alſo hath laboured to inform men  
 and companies, that no man is bound to give tithes,  
 nor oblations; and if any man will needs give, hee  
 may give his tithes and oblations to whom hee will,  
 excluding thereby their curats.

**I**tem, that ſuch as do preach and preferre croſſed  
 matters, and pardons (granted by the high biſhop  
 to them that helped the purpoſe of the reverend fa-  
 ther lord Henry by the grace of God biſhop of Nor-  
 wich, when as he took his journey upon him to fight  
 for the holy father the pope) are ſchiſmatikes and he-  
 retikes, and that the pope cannot grant ſuch manner  
 of pardons.

**I**tem, the ſaid Walter hath oftentimes ſaid, and  
 commonly abouched, that the pope is Antichriſt, and  
 a ſeducer of the people, and utterly againſt the law  
 and life of Chriſt.

**I**tem, whereas of late your reverence did (at the  
 inſtance of faithfull Chriſtian people) proceed in  
 forme of law againſt William Swinderby; and  
 that the ſaid William Swinderby had unto the ſaid  
 articles objected againſt him given up his answeres  
 in writing, containing in them errors, ſchiſmes and  
 hereties, even as you with the mature counſell of  
 maſters and doctors in Divinitie and other faculties  
 have determined and given ſentence, and have pro-  
 nounced the ſame William Swinderby to be an he-  
 retike and a ſchiſmatik, and an erroneous teacher of  
 the people: Nevertheleſſe the ſaid Walter  
 hath openly, publiſhly, and notoriously ſaid, abouched  
 and ſtubbornly affirmed, that the ſaid William  
 answered (whereof notice hath been given before) are  
 good righteous, and not able to be convinced, in that  
 they containe none error, and that your ſentence  
 beforeſaid, given againſt the ſaid William, is evil,  
 falſe and unjuſt; and that your aſſiſtance have wic-  
 kedly, naughtily, perberſly, and unjuſtly condemned  
 the answeres aforeſaid.

**N**ow thereupon immediately thoſe ſame faithfull  
 Chriſtian people have inſtantly required, that wee  
 would vouchſafe that other articles given by the  
 ſame faithfull Chriſtians againſt the ſaid William  
 Swinderby, together with the writings and an-  
 ſwers of the ſame William thereunto, ſhould be ad-  
 mitted againſt Walter Brute, mentioned of in this  
 matter of curſed heretic: of which articles and an-  
 ſwers, the tenors do follow in theſe words.

**I**mpimis, that one William Swinderby, pre-  
 tending himſelfe prieſt, was of certain articles and  
 conclusions erroneous, falſe, ſchiſmaticall, and here-  
 ticall by him preached, at divers places and times,  
 before a great multitude of faithfull Chriſtians in-  
 dicially convinced; and the ſame articles and con-  
 clusions did he (inforced by neceſſity of law) rebuke  
 and abiure, ſome as hereticall, and other as errone-  
 ous and falſe; and for ſuch did he abouch them ever  
 afterward, promiſing ſo to take and beſiege them,  
 and that from thenceforth he would openly or privily  
 preach, teach, or affirme none of them; nor that hee  
 ſhould make ſermon or preach within your dioceſſe  
 without licence demanded and obtained. And in caſe  
 he ſhould to the contrary preſume, by preaching or  
 abouching; that then he ſhould be ſubject to the ſeve-  
 rity of the canons, even as he iudicially ſware accor-  
 ding to the law enforced. Alſo the conclusions abo-  
 tured by the ſaid William, do follow, and are ſuch,

1 Impimis, that men by the rule of charitie may  
 inand debts, but by no meanes impriſon any man  
 for debts; and that the partie ſo impriſoning a body,  
 is excommunicated, before pag. 607.

2 Item,

The third ar-  
 ticle.

The fourth ar-  
 ticle.

The fifth ar-  
 ticle.

The ſixth ar-  
 ticle.

The ſeventh  
 article.

Diſheretice  
 bloodie promo-  
 ters.  
 Theſe conclu-  
 ſions and arti-  
 cles of Will-  
 am Swinder-  
 by here repea-  
 ted, and ob-  
 jected to Walter  
 Brute are to be  
 found before, pag. 607. 3609

1 Conclusion,



2 Item, that if the parishioners shall know their curate to be incontinent and naughty, they ought to withdraw from him their tithes, &c. *ibid.*

3 Item, that tithes are mere almes; and in case that the curats shall be ill, that they may be lawfully bestowed upon others by the temporal owners, &c. *ibid.*

4 Item, that an evil curate to excommunicate any under his jurisdiction, for withholding of tithes, is nought else, &c. *ibid.*

5 Item, that no man may excommunicate any body, except that first he know him excommunicate of God: Neither do those that communicate with such a one incur the sentence of excommunication by any manner of means: *ibid.*

6 Item, that every priest may absolve every sinner being contrite, and is bound to preach the Gospel unto the people, notwithstanding the prohibition of the bishops: *ibid.*

7 Item, that a priest, receiving by bargain any thing of purely annuite, is in so doing a schismaticke, and excommunicate: *ibid.*

8 Item, hee doth assuredly believe (as hee avoucheth) that every priest being in deadly sinne, if hee dispose himselfe to make the body of Christ, doth rather commit idolatry, than make Christs body: *ibid.*

9 Item, that no priest doth enter into any house, but to handle ill the wife, the daughter, or the maid, and therefore, &c. *ibid.*

10 Item, that the child is not rightly baptised, if the priest, &c. *ibid.*

11 Item, that no manner of person if he live against Gods law, &c. *ibid.*

12 Item, the same William against the things promised, and his revocation and abication (not to his heart converting, but from evil to worse perverting) did turn aside into our diocese; where running to and fro in divers places, he hath of his owne rash head presumed to preach, or rather to perbert, &c. *ibid.*

13 Item, after that we had heard divers rumors, and slanders of very many, we directed divers monitions and commandments comminatory, to be sent abroad by our commissaries to sundry places of our diocese; that no person, of what estate, degree, or condition soever hee were, should presume to preach, or to teach the sacred Scripture to the people in places holy or prophane, within our diocese, &c. *ibidem.*

14 Item, that the same sort of monitions, inhibitions and precepts confirmed by our seale, came to the true and undoubted knowledge of the said William.

15 Item, the same William, unmindfull of his own salvation, hath sithence & against those monitions, inhibitions, and precepts, and (that which is more abominable to be spoken) in contempt of the high bishops dignitie, and to the slander and offence of many people, presumed in divers places of our said diocese to preach or rather to perbert and to teach the forementioned, and other hereticall, erroneous and schismaticall divices: pag. 609.

16 Item, the same William in preaching to the people, on monday, to wit the first of August, in the pere of our Lord 1390, in the Church of Whitney in our diocese, held and affirmed; that no prelate of the world, of what state, prebeminence or degree soever hee were, having cure of soules and being in deadly sin, &c. *ibid.*

17 Item, the same William in many places said and affirmed in the presence of many faithfull Christian people, after the sacramentall words uttered by the priest, having the intent to consecrate, there is not made the very body of Christ in the sacrament of the Eucharist: *ibid.*

18 Item, that accidents cannot be in the sacrament of the altar without their subject; and that there re-

maineth materall bread Concomitanter, with the bodie of Christ in the Sacrament. Vide supra, pag. 609.

19 Item, that a priest being in deadly sinne cannot by the power of the sacramentall words, make the body of Christ: *ibid.*

20 Item, that all priests are of like power in all points, notwithstanding that some of them are in this world of higher dignitie, degree, or prebeminence: *ibid.*

21 Item, that contrition only putteth away sinne; if a man shall be duly contrite; and that all vocall confession and exercise is superfluous, and not requisite of necessity to salvation: *ibid.*

22 That inferiour curates have not their power of binding and loosing immediately from the pope or bishop, but immediately of Christ, &c. *ibid.*

23 Item, that the pope cannot grant such a kind of annual pardons, because there shall not be so many peeres to the day of indgement as are contained in the popes bulls or pardons. Wherby it followeth, that pardons are not so much worthy as they are noised and praised to be: *ibid.*

24 Item, that it is not in the popes power to grant to any penitent body forgiveness of the pain, or of the trespass: *ibid.*

25 Item, that one giving his almes to any body, which as he indgeth hath no need thereof, doth sin in so giving, &c. *ibid.*

26 Item, that it stands not in the power of any prelate, of what private religion soever he be, to give by letters benefits of their order; Neither do such kind of benefits given profit them to whom they be given for the salvation of soules. Vide supra, pag. *ibid.*

27 Item, that the same William, unmindfull of his owne salvation, hath many times and often resorted to a certaine desert wood called Werwallswood of our diocese, and there in a certaine unhallowed chappell (nay a prophane cottage) hath presumed of his owne proper rashnesse, to celebrate, &c. *ibid.*

28 Item, the same William hath also presumed to doe the like things in a certaine prophane chappell, situate in the parke of Newton, nigh to the towne of Leyntwardyn, in the same our diocese. pag. *ibid.*

29 Which things being done, the same faithfull Christian people, and specially sir Walter Bzute the penitentiare of our cathedrall Church of Hereford, personally appearing before us, sitting in our iudgement seate in the parish Church of Whitebozne of our diocese, brought forth and exhibited two publike instruments against the same Walter Bzute, in the case of cursed heresie aforesaid, of which instruments here followeth the tenors and articles in this sort.

30 I knowe to all persons by this present publike instrument, that in the pere from the incarnation, after the course and computation of the Church of England 1391, the indiction xv. of the pontificall office of our most holy father and lord in Christ, lord Boniface the ninth, by Gods wisdom pope, the second peere, the xv. day of the moneth of October, in the dwelling house of the worshipfull man, John Godemoston, canon of the Cathedrall Church of Hereford, in the presence of me the publike Notary under written, and of witnesses subscribed; Walter Bzute a lay man, learned of Hereford dioces, personally appearing said, avouched, and stiffly maintained; that the said bishop of Hereford, and his assistants which were with him the third day of the foresaid moneth of October, the peere of our Lord aforesaid, in the church of Hereford, did naughtily, wickedly, perberlie, and unjustly condemne the

SKING  
RIC. 2.

A soule sawle  
exalteth.

Walter Bzute  
promotes, or  
rather a pre-  
promoter.

The first in-  
strument ex-  
hibited by cer-  
canons of the  
reformed again  
Walter Bzute

Infandum fa-  
cinus scilicet.

A perilous  
dooze to open.



KING  
RIC. 2.  
shop of the  
and in which  
the name of the  
the of the  
the of the  
the of the

Walter Bute  
the of the  
the of the  
the of the  
the of the  
the of the

the pope Ar  
the of the  
the of the  
the of the  
the of the  
the of the

the of the  
the of the  
the of the  
the of the  
the of the  
the of the

the of the  
the of the  
the of the  
the of the  
the of the  
the of the

the of the  
the of the  
the of the  
the of the  
the of the  
the of the

the of the  
the of the  
the of the  
the of the  
the of the  
the of the

the of the  
the of the  
the of the  
the of the  
the of the  
the of the

the of the  
the of the  
the of the  
the of the  
the of the  
the of the

the answers of Sir William Swinderby chaplain, given by the same Sir William to the same lord bishop in writing, and also the articles ministred by the same Sir William.

And furthermore he said, held, and abouched, that the same conclusions given by the same Sir William, even as they were given, are true and catholike.

Item, as touching the matters objected against him by them that stood by, concerning the sacrament of the altar; he said, that after the sacramentall words there doth remaine very bread, and the substance thereof after the consecration of the body of Christ, and that there doe not remaine accidents without substance or subject after the consecration of the body of Christ. And as touching this matter, the doctors hold divers opinions.

Furthermore, as concerning the Pope, he said, held, and abouched; that he is the very antichrist, because that in life and manners he is contrary to the lawes, doctrine, and deeds of Christ our Lord.

All and every of these things were done, even as they be above written and rehearsed in the peere of our Lord, pontificall office, moneth, day, and place as foresaid, at supper time of the day, as forenamed, then and there being present the worshipfull and discrete men, Sir Walter Hambury, chiefe chaunter of the said cathedrall Church of Hereford, Roger More Chanon of the same Church, Walter Wall, chaplaine of the said Church of Hereford, being a vicar of the chorall, and certaine other worthy witnesses of credit, that were specially called and desired to the premises: Ex Regist. Hereford.

And I Richard Le wheler, clerke of Worcester, being a publike notarie, by the authority Apostolike, was personally present at all and singular the premises, whilst that (as is before rehearsed) they were done and a doing in the peere of our Lord 1391. pontificall office, moneth, day, place, and the houre as foresaid: and I did see, write, and heare all and singular those things thus to be done, and have reduced them into this publike manner and forme; and, being desired truly to testifie the premises, have sealed the said instrument, made hereupon, with mine accustomed seale and name.

In the name of God, Amen. Be it plainly known to all persons, by this present publike instrument, that in the peere from the incarnation of the Lord, after the course and computation of the Church of England, 1391. the indiction sixtene, in the third peere of the pontificall office of the most holy father in Christ, and our lord, lord Boniface pope by the providence of God the ninth, and in the nineteenth day of the moneth of January; Walter Bute layman, of Hereford diocese, personally appearing before the reverend father in Christ and Lord, lord John by Gods grace bishop of Hereford, in the presence of me being a publike notarie, and one of the witnesses under written, did say, hold, publish, and affirm, the conclusions hereafter written. That is to say, that christian people are not bound to pay tithes neither by the law of Moses, nor by the law of Christ.

Item, that it is not lawfull for Christians, for any cause in any case, to sweare by the Creator, neither by the creature.

Item, hee confesseth openly and of his owne accord, that within the same moneth of January, hee did eat, drinke, and communicate with William Swinderby, not betay ignorant of the sentence of the said reverend father, whereby the same William Swinderby was pronounced an heretike, schismaticke, and a false seducer of the common people. Which conclusions the same reverend father caused to be written, and in writing to be delivered to the same Walter. Which when he had sen and read, he said also that he did maintaine and iustifie them according to the lawes as foresaid. These things were done in the chamber of the said bishop of Hereford, at his manner of Whitebozne of the said diocese of

Hereford; there being then present the same bishop as before said, master Key, lord of Wolston Canon of Hereford, Sir Philip Dilek parson of the Parish Church of Blamurin, Thomas Suldesfeld parson of the church of Englishbyknoze, John Cresset parson of the Church of Whitebozne, and Thomas Whitebozne household servant, for witnesses specially called and desired to the premises, of the diocese of Hereford and saint Asse.

And I Wenedia Come clerk, of the diocese of Asse, publike notarie by the apostolike authority of the diocese of saint Asse, was personally present together with the witnesses before named, at all and singular these and other things here premised, whilst they were so done and a doing and did see, heare, and write those things so to be done, as is before mentioned; and did write the same, and reduce them into this publike forme, and with my wonted and accustomed seale and name have sealed it, being desired and required truly to testifie the premises.

At the last, the asoresaid Walter Bute did present and cause to be presented to us (at divers places and times assigned by us to the same Walter to answer to the former conclusions and articles) divers scroules of paper, written with his owne proper hand, for his answers to the same articles and conclusions above written; he partly appearing by his owne selfe, before us sitting in our iudgement seat, and partly by his messengers, specially appointed to that purpose: of which scroules, the tenors do follow in other word by word, and be on this manner.

In the name of the father, and of the son, and the holy ghost, Amen. I Walter Bute, sinner, layman, husbandman, and a Christian (having my offspring of the Britons; both by my fathers and mothers side) of the Britons, have bene accused to the Bishop of Hereford, that I did erre in many matters concerning the Catholike Christian faith; by whom I am required that I should write an answer in Latine to all those matters. Whose desire I will satisfy to my power, protesting first of all, before God and before all the world; that like as it is not my minde through Gods grace, to refuse the knowne truth, for any reward greater or smaller, peache it neber so bigge, nor yet for the feare of any temporal punishment; even so it is not my mind to maintaine any erroneous doctrine for any commodities sake. And if any man, of what state, sent, or condition soever he be, will shewe me that I erre in my writings or sayings, by the authority of the sacred scripture, or by probable reason grounded on the sacred scripture, I will humbly and gladly receive his reformation. But as for the bare words of any teacher (Christ onely excepted) I will not simply believe, except he shall be able to stablish them by the truth of experience, or of the scripture: because that, in the holy Apostles elected by Christ, here hath been found error by the testimony of the holy scripture, because that Paul himselfe doth confesse that he rebuked Peter, for that he was worthy to be rebuked, Galath. the 2. chapter. Where have been errors found in the holy doctors, that have bene before us, as they themselves confesse of themselves. And oftentimes it falleth out, that there is error found in the teachers in our age: who are of contrary opinions among themselves, and some of them doe sometimes determine one thing for truth, and others doe condemne the selfe same thing to be heresie and error. Which protestation premised, I will here place two suppositions or causes for a ground and a foundation of all things that I shall say, out of which I would gather two probable conclusions stablished upon the same, and upon the Sacred scripture. By which conclusions, when as they shall be declared after my manner and fashion, I will plainly appeare what my opinion and iudgement is concerning all matters that I am accused of.

Wenedia Come clerk, of the diocese of Asse, publike notarie by the apostolike authority of the diocese of saint Asse, was personally present together with the witnesses before named, at all and singular these and other things here premised, whilst they were so done and a doing and did see, heare, and write those things so to be done, as is before mentioned; and did write the same, and reduce them into this publike forme, and with my wonted and accustomed seale and name have sealed it, being desired and required truly to testifie the premises.

Certaine evidence of Walter Bute in writing presented to the bishop for his reference. Walter Bute a Briton born.

Protestation made.

So Walter Bute doth without his error, the scripture onely excepted. Error in the doctors. Errors and contraries among the philosophers.

But



Brute modestly  
excuseth his  
learning.

The first case  
of supposition.

But because I am ignorant and unlearned, I will get me under the mighty defences of the Lord: O Lord, I will remember thine only righteousness.

God the Father almighty uncreate, the maker of heaven and earth, hath sent his Sonne (that was everlastingly begotten) into this world, that hee should be incarnated for the salvation and redemption of mankind, who was conceived by the holy Ghost, everlastingly proceeding from the father and the Sonne, and was borne of Mary the virgin, to the end that he might be borne anew. He suffered passion under Pontius Pilate for our sinnes, laying downe his life for us, that we should lay downe our life for our brethren. He was crucified, that we should be crucified to the world, and the world to us. He was dead, that he might redeme us from death, by purchasing for us forgiveness of sinnes. He was buried, that we being buried together with him into death by Baptisme, and that we being dead to sinnes should live to righteousness. He descended into hell, thereby delivering man from thralldome, and from the bondage of the devill, and restoring him to his inheritance, which he lost by sinne. The third day he rose from the dead, through the glory of his Father, that we also should walke in newnesse of life. He ascended up to the heavens, to which no body hath ascended, saving he that descended from heaven, even the Sonne of man which is in heaven. He sitteth at the right hand of God the Father almighty, untill his enemies be made his footstool. He being in very deed so much better than the Angels, as he hath obtained by inheritance a more excellent name than they. From whence he shall come to iudge the quick and the dead, according to their workes, because the Father hath given all iudgement to the Sonne. In whose terrible iudgement we shall rise againe, and shall all of us stand before him in iudgement seat, and receive ioy as well bodily as spiritually, for ever to endure, if wee be of the sheepe placed at the right hand, or else punishment both of body and soule, if we shall be found amongst goates, placed on the left hand, &c.

The second  
case of assertion

Iesus Christ the Sonne of God, very God and very man, a king for ever, by establishing an everlasting kingdome, breaking to powder all the kingdomes of the world, Daniel 2. a Priest for ever after the order of Melchisedech, whereby also he is able evermore to save such as by him come unto God, and alwaies I veth to intreat for us, Heb. 7. He offering one sacrifice for our sinnes, hath made perfect for ever by one oblation those that bee sanctified, Heb. 10. Being the wisdom that cannot be deceived, and the truth that cannot be uttered, he hath in this world taught the will of God his Father, which will he hath in worke fulfilled, to the intent that he might faithfully instruct us, and hath given the law of charity to be of his faithful people observed; which he hath written in the hearts and minds of the faithful with the finger of God, where is the Spirit of God, searching the inward secrets of the Godhead. Wherefore his doctrine must be observed above all other doctrines, whether they be of Angels or of men, because that he could not nor would not erre in his teaching. But in mens doctrine there chaunceth oftentimes to be error; and therefore we must forsake their doctrines, if cloyedly or expressly they be repugnant to the doctrine of Christ. Mens doctrines being made for the peoples profit must bee allowed and observed, so that they be grounded upon Christs doctrine, or at least be not repugnant to his words.

The first con-  
clusion.

The pope an  
idoll of desola-  
tion sitting in  
the temple of  
God.

If the high bishop of Rome calling himselfe the servant of the servants of God, and the chiefe vicar of Christ in this world, doe make and maintaine many lawes contrary to the Gospel of Iesus Christ; then is he of those that have come in Christs name, saying, I am Christ, and have seduced many a one, by the testimonie of our Saviour in Matth. chap. 24. and the idoll of desolation sitting in the temple of

God and taking away from him the continuall sacrifice for a time, times, and half a time Which idoll must be revealed to the Christian people by the testimony of Daniel. Whereof Christ speaketh in the Gospel; When ye shall see the abomination of desolation that was told of by Daniel the Prophet, standing in the holy place; let him that readeth understand, he is the pestiferous mountaine infecting the whole universall earth, as witneseth Jeremy, chapter 51. and not the head of Christs body. For the ancient person in piers, and honourable in reverence he is the head, and the prophet teaching lies is the taile, as Clay alledgeth, chapter 9. And he is that wicked and sinful captain of Israel, whose foreappointed day of iniquity is come in time of iniquity, who shall take away Cidarim, and take away the crowne, Ezechiel chapter 21. to whom it was said; Forasmuch as thy heart was exalted, and I didest say, I am a god, and sittest in the seat of God, in the heart of the sea, seeing thou art a man and not God, and hast given thine heart as if it were the heart of God; therefore behold I will bring upon thee the most strong and mighty strangers of the nations, and they shall draw their swordes upon the beautie of thy wisdom, and shall defile the commandments, and kill thee, and pull thee out, and thou shalt die in the destruction of the same, and it followeth;

In the multitude of thine iniquities, and of the iniquities of thy merchandize, thou hast defiled thy sanctification. I will therefore bring forth a fire, from the midst of the whole earth, and will make thee as ashes upon earth. Thou art become nothing, and never shalt thou be any more, Ezech. chap. 28. Furthermore he is the idle shepheard forsaking his flocke, having a sword on his arme, and another sword on his right eye, Zech. 11. and sitting in the temple of God, doth advance himselfe above all thing that is called God, or whatsoever is worshipped, by the testimonie of Paul to the Thessal. 2. c. pist. 2. chap. And in the desolation or falling away shall the man of sinne be revealed, whom the Lord Iesus shall slay with the breath of his mouth. For every kingdome divided in it selfe shall be brought to desolation. He is also besides, the beast ascending up out of the earth, having two hornes like unto a lambe, but he speaketh like a dragon, and as the cruell beast ascending by out of the sea, whose powder shall continue 42. moneths. He worketh the things that he hath given to the image of the beast. And he compelled small and great, rich and poore, freemen and bondslaves, to worship the beast, and to take his marke in their forehead or their hands. Apoc. 13. chap. And thus by the testimonie of all these places, he the chiefe Antichrist upon the earth, and must bee slaine with the sword of Gods word, and cast with the dragon, the cruell beast and the false prophet that hath seduced the earth, into the lake of fire and brimstone to be tormented world without end.

If the cite of Rome doe allow his traditions, and doe disallow Christs holy commandments, and Christs doctrine, that it may confirme his traditions; then is the Babylon the great, or the daughter of Babylon, and the great whore sitting upon many waters, with whom the kings of the earth have committed fornication, and the inhabitants of the earth are become drunken with the wine of her harlotrie lying open to batworie. With whose spirituall whoredome, enchantments, wit chcrafts, and Simon Magus merchandises, the whole round world is infected and seduced; saping in her heart. I sit as Queene, and widow I am not, neither shall I see sorrow and mourning. Yet is the ignorant that within a little while shall come the day of her destruction and ruine by the testimony of the Apoc. chap. 17. Because that from the time of the continuall sacrifice was taken away, and the abomination of desolation placed, there be passed 1290. dayes by the testimonie of Daniel, and the Chronicles added doe agree to the

(KING  
)RIC. 2.  
The pope, if  
lawes be con-  
trary to Chri-  
st is the pesti-  
ferous mounta-  
ine infecting the  
whole earth.  
Jerem. 31.

The pope the  
sinfull capital  
of Israel, spo-  
ken of Ezech.  
21.

Antichrist de-  
scribed.

Ezech. 28.  
The pope an  
idle shepheard  
Zech. 11.

The beast ho-  
ned like the  
lambe.

The pope sig-  
nified by the  
beast ascending  
out of the earth.

Terrible ser-  
tures against  
the pope.  
Apocal. 13.

Rome Babel

Apoc. 17.

1290. dayes  
passed. Dan. 1



KING  
RIC. 2.The fall of  
Babylon.  
Apoc. 14.

Esay 13.

Jerem. 51.

the same. And the holy city also hath bin troden under  
foe of the heathen, for forty two moneth; and  
the woman was nourished up in the wilderness  
(unto which she fled for feare of the face of the Ser-  
pent) during 1260. dayes, or else for a time, times,  
and halfe a time, which is all one. All these things  
be manifest by the testimony of the Apocalypse, and  
the Chronicles thereto agreeing. And as concerning  
the fall of Babylon also, it is manifest in the  
Apocalypse, where it is said: In one day shall her  
plagues come, death, lamentation, and famine, and  
she shall be burned with fire. For, strong is the Lord,  
which will judge her. And againe, Babylon that great  
Citie is fallen, which hath made all Nations to drinke  
of the wine of her whoredome. And thirdly, one migh-  
tie Angell tooke up a mill-stone, that was a very great  
one, and did cast it into the Sea, saying: With such  
a violence as this is, shall that great Citie Babylon be  
overthrowne, and shall no more bee found. For her  
Merchants were the Princes of the earth, and with her  
witchcraft all Nations have gone astray, and in her  
is there found the blood of the Saints and Prophets.  
And of her destruction speaketh Esay in the 13. chap-  
ter: And Babylon that glorious Citie, being so noble  
amongst Kingdomes in the pride of the Caldeans, it  
shall be that like as the Lord did overturne Sodome  
and Gomorre upside downe, it shall never more be in-  
habited, nor have the foundation laid in no age, from  
generation to generation. Jeremy saith, Your mother  
that hath borne you is brought to very great confusion,  
and made even with the ground. And againe: The  
Lord hath devised and done as hee hath spoken against  
the inhabitants of Babylon; which dwell richly in their  
treasures upon many waters, thine end is come. And  
thirdly; Drough shall fall upon her waters, and they  
shall begin to be drie: for it is a land of graven im-  
ages, and boasteth in her prodigious wonders: it shall  
never more be inhabited, neither be builded up in no  
age nor generation. Verily even as God hath subverted  
Sodome and Gomorre with her calves

Pardon me (I beseech you) though I be not plen-  
tiful in pleasant words. For if I should runne after  
the course of this wicked world, and should please  
men, I should not be Christs servant. And because I  
am a poore man, and neither have nor can have no-  
taries hired to testifie of these my writings; I call  
upon Christ to be my witnesse, which knoweth the  
inward secrets of my heart, that I am ready to de-  
clare the things that I have written after my fashi-  
on, to the profit of all Christian people, and to the  
hurt of no man living, and am ready to be reformed  
if any man will shew me where I have erred; be-  
ing ready also (miserable sinner though I be) to  
suffer for the confession of the name of Christ, and of  
his doctrine, as much as shall please him by his  
grace and love to assist mee a miserable sinner. In  
witnesse of all these things I have to this writing  
set the seale of our Lord and Saviour Iesus Christ:  
which I beseech him to imprint upon my forehead,  
and to take from mee all manner of marke of An-  
tichrist. Amen.

These two suppositions (as they are learned  
in the scholes) written by Walter Brute, and exhi-  
bited unto the Bishop, although they contained mat-  
ter sufficient either to satisfie the Bishop if hee had  
bene disposed to learne, or else to have provoked  
him to reply againe, if his knowledge therein had  
bene better than his: yet could they worke neither  
of them effect in him. But he receyving and perusing  
the same, when he neither could confute that which  
was said, neither would reply or answer by learn-  
ing to that which was truly finding other by cavil-  
lations, said that this his writing was too short and  
obscure, and therefore required him to write upon  
the same againe more plainly and more at large.  
Whereupon the said Walter Brute satisfying the

Bishops request and ready to give to every one an  
account of his faith in a more ample tractation re-  
neweth his matter againe before declared, writing to  
the Bishop in words and forme as followeth.

Reverend Father, forsomuch as it seemeth to you  
that my motion in my two suppositions or ca-  
ses, and in my two conclusions, is too short and  
somewhat dark: I will gladly now satisfie your de-  
sire, according to my small learning, by declaring  
the same conclusions. In opening wherof, it shall  
plainly appeare, what I doe judge in all matters  
that I am accused of to your reverence; desiring  
you first of all that your discretion would not be-  
leeve that I doe enterprise of any presumption to  
handle the secrets of the Scriptures, which the holy  
and iust, and wise Doctors have left unpounded. It  
is not unknowne to many, that I am in all points  
farre inferiour to them, whose holinesse of life and  
profoundnesse in knowledge is manifestly alwayes  
allowe. But as for mine ignorance, and multitude  
of sinnes, they are to my selfe and others sufficiently  
knowne: therefore I judge not my selfe worthy to  
unloose or to carry their shoes after them. For you  
therefore no otherwise deme of mee, then I doe of  
mine owne selfe. But if you shall finde any goodnesse  
in my writings, ascribe it to God onely: who accord-  
ing to the multitude of his mercy doth sometimes  
reuele those things to Idiots and sinners, which are  
hidden from the holy and wise, according to this say-  
ing: I will praise and confesse thee, O Father, for  
that thou hast hidden these things from the wise and  
prudent, and hast disclosed them to the little ones:  
Even so, O Father, because it hath thus pleased  
thee. And in another place: I am come to iudge-  
ment into this world, that they which see not, may  
see, and that they which see, may be made blinde. And  
Paul saith: that God hath chosen the weak things  
of the world, to confound the mighty, that no man  
shall boast in himselfe, but that all men should give  
the honour to God.

Another decla-  
ration of the  
same matter  
before, after a  
more ample  
tractation re-  
neweth his mat-  
ter to the B.

That to  
humbly judge  
of them selves;  
and doe not so  
carelessly count  
ing, as of God

It was commanded to Esay, bearing the type Esay 6.

of CHRIST: Goe, and say to this people: Heare  
ye with your hearing, and doe not understand? Re-  
hold, ye the vision, and yet know ye not the thing that  
ye see? Make blinde the heart of this people, and  
make dull their eares, and shut their eyes, lest that  
perchance with their eyes they should see, and with  
their eares they should heare, and with their hearts  
they should understand, and bee converted, and I  
should heale them. And I sayd, How long Lord? And  
he said, untill that the Cities be made desolate without  
inhabitants, and the house without any person with-  
in it. Also in Esay thus it is written: And the mul-  
titude of all Nations, which shall fight against Ariel,  
and all persons that have warred, and besieged and  
prevailed against it, shall bee as a dreame that appea-  
reth in the night, and as the hungry person dreameth  
that he eateth, but when he shall awake out of sleepe,  
his soule is emptie. And like as the hungry person  
dreameth that he eateth, and yet after that he shall a-  
wake hee is still wearie and thirsty, and his soule voide  
of nourishment: even so shall it bee with the mul-  
titude of all Nations that have fought against the  
Mount Sion. Bee you amazed, and have great won-  
der: reele ye too and fro, and stagger yee: be ye drunken,  
and not with wine: stagger, but not through  
drunkenesse: for the Lord hath mingled for you the  
spirit of drowynesse. He shall shut your eyes, hee shall  
cover your Prophets and Princes that see Visions.  
And a Vision shall bee to you, altogether, like the  
words of a sealed booke, which when hee shall give  
to one that is learned, hee shall say: Read here, and  
hee shall answer, I cannot, for it is sealed. And the  
booke shall bee given to one that is unlearned, and  
knoweth not his Letters, and it shall bee said unto

Esay 29:



Esay 29.

Libanus and  
Charmell, two  
hills, the one in  
Rhodania,  
fruitfull and  
pleasant: the o-  
ther in the boi-  
ders of Jewry,  
barren and un-  
pleasant, which  
is Charmell.  
Daniel 2.

Daniel 12.

him, Reade; And hee shall answere, I know not the letters, I am unlearned. Wherefore the Lord saith: Forasmuch as this people draweth nigh mee with their mouths, and glorifie mee with their lipps, but their hearts are farre from mee, and they have rather feared the commandements of men, and have cleaved to their doctrines: Behold therefore I will adde besides, and bring such a muse and marvell upon this people which shall make men amazed with marvelling. For wisdom shall perish from their wisdom, and the understanding of the prudent persons shall be hidden. And soone after it followeth in the same place; yet a little while and Libanus shall be turned into Charmell, and Charmell counted for a Cops or Grove, and in the same day shall the deafe folkes heare the word of this booke, and the eyes of the blinde (changed from darknesse and blindness) shall see.

Nabuchodonosor enquiring of Daniel said; Thinkst thou that thou canst truly declare mee the dreame that I have seen, and the meaning thereof? And Daniel said: As for the mystrie whereof the king doth aske, neither the Wisemen, Magicians, Soothsayers, nor enchanters can declare to the King: But there is a God in Heaven, that discloseth mysteries, who will declare to thee (O King Nabuchodonosor) what things shall come to passe in the last times of all. To me also is this sacrament or mystrie disclosed (not for any wisdom that is in mee more than in all men living) but to the end that the interpretation might bee made manifest to the king, and that thou shouldest know the cogitations of thy minde.

It was also said to Daniel: And thou Daniel, shut up the words, seale up the booke, untill the time appointed. Verily many people shall passe over, and manifold knowledge shall there be. And Daniel said to the man that was clothed with linnen garments, who stood upon the waters of the flood; How long will it bee before the end shall come of these marvellous things? And I heard the man that was clothed in linnen apparell, who stood upon the waters of the floods; when he had lift up his right hand and his left hand unto heaven, and had sworne by him that liveth for evermore, that for a time, times, and halfe a time. And when the scattering abroad of the hand of the holy people shall bee accomplished; then shall all these things be finished. And I heard and understood not, and I said: O my Lord, what shall bee after these things? And he said, Goe thy wayes Daniel, for this talke is shut and sealed up, untill the time that is before appointed.

All these things have I written, to shew that he that hath the key of David, who openeth and no man shutteth, shutteth and no man openeth, doth (when and how long it pleaseth him) hide the mysteries, and the hid secrets of the Scriptures from the wise, prudent, and righteous: and otherwhiles at his pleasure revealeth the same to sinners and lay persons and simple soules, that he may have the honour and glozy in all things. Wherefore as I have before said, if you shall finde any good thing in my writings, ascribe the same to God alone: If you shall finde otherwise, thinke ye the same to be written of ignorance, and not of malice. And if any doubt of error bee shewed me in all my writings I will humbly allow your information and fatherly correction.

In signo Gemini.  
Dark here  
(good Reader)  
by this astrono-  
micall conjunc-  
tion of these  
two planets in  
Gemini, be  
meantly covert  
by the schisme  
betweene the  
two popes  
which lasted 29  
yeeres; by the

But why that such manner of matters are moved touching the disclosing of antichrist in this kingdome, more than in other kingdomes, and in this time also more than in time past: the answer as concerning the time of the motion, is, that it is the last conjunction of Saturne and Jupiter in the sign of the Twinnes, which is the house of Mercurie, being the signifier of the Christian people: which conjunction seemeth to me to betoken the second coming of Christ to reforme his Church, and to call men againe, by the disclosing of Antichrist, to the

perfection of the gospel, from their heathenish rites, and wayes of the Gentiles. By whom the holy city was trampled under foot, for 42. moneths, even as the conjunction of the said two planets being included in the side of the Virgine, which is also the house of Mercurie, did betoken the first coming of Christ, for the salvation of all people that were perished of the house of Israel, thereby to call them, through the same coming, to the full perfection of the Gospel.

As touching this calling of the heathen, speaketh Christ in the Gospel, I have also other sheepe that are not of this fold, and these must I bring, and they shall heare my voyce, and there shall bee one sheepfold, and one shepheard. For although the Gentiles be converted from the idolatry of their idolatrie to the faith of Christ: yet are they not converted to the perfection of the Law of Christ. And therefore did the Apostles in the primitive Church, lay no burthen upon the Gentiles, but that they should abstain from hainous things, as from things offered to idols, and from blood, and strangled, and fornication. As touching this second coming speaketh Esay; On that day the roote of Jesse which standeth for a signe or marke to the people, to him shall the heathen make their homage and supplication, and his sepulcher shall bee glorious: and in that day shall it come to passe, that the Lord shall the second time put to his hand, to possesse the remnant of his people, &c. And hee shall lift up a token toward the Nations, and he shall assemble the runnagate people of Israel that were fled, and those that were dispersed of Iuda shall hee gather together from the foure quarters of the earth. And the zealous emulation of Ephraim shall be broken to peeces, and the enemies of Iuda shall come to nought. Paul to the Thessalonians saith, We beseech you brethren, by the coming of our Lord Iesus Christ, and our gathering together before him, that you be not soone removed from your understanding, neither that you bee put in feare, as though the day of the Lord were at hand, neither, as it were, by letter sent by us, neither by spirit, nor yet by talke. Let not any body by any meanes bring you out of the way, or seduce you. For except there shall first come a departing, and that the man of sinne, the sonne of perdition, shall be disclosed, which maketh resistance, and is advanced above all things that is called God, or that is worshipped, so that he doth sit in the temple of God, shewing himself as if he were God. Doe you not remember, that whilest I was as yet with you, I told you of this? And now yee know what keepeth him backe, that hee may bee uttered in his due time. For even now doth he worke the mystrie of iniquitie; only that hee, which holdeth, may hold still untill he be come to light: and then shall that wicked one bee disclosed, whom the Lord Iesus shall slay with the breath of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming, even him, whose coming is, according to the working of Satan, in all power, with signes and lying wonders, and in all deceitfull leading out of the truth towards those that doe perish, because that they receive not heartily the love of Truth, that they might be saved.

Christ being demanded of the Apostles what should be the token of his coming, and of the end of the world, said unto them: There shall come many in my name, saying I am Christ, and they shall seduce many. Also he telleth them of many other signes, of battels, famine, pestilence, and earthquakes. But the greatest signe of all hee teacheth to be this: When you shall see (saith hee) the abomination of desolation standing in the holy place, hee that readeth let him understand. But Luke 21. in his Gospel speaketh more plainly hereof: When you therefore shall see Ierusalem to be compassed about with an armie, then know yee that the desolation thereof shall draw nigh. And afterward it followeth: And they shall fall by the face of the sword, and shall bee led away captive to all nations, and Ierusalem shall bee troden under

SKING  
RIC. 2.  
which contin-  
tion, his me-  
ning is, that  
God would  
have antichrist  
to be disclo-  
sed, and his Church  
to be restored.

By this perfe-  
ction (I sup-  
pose, he mean-  
eth the refor-  
mation of the  
Church being  
out of the way)  
Esay 11.

The revealing  
of Antichrist.

The abomi-  
nation of desola-  
tion.  
Luk. 21.



{ KING }  
{ RIC. 2. }

Destruction of  
the Jewes tem-  
ple.

1290. dayes, in  
Daniel es-  
pounded.

For these 42.  
moneths looke  
pag. 519.

Why rather at  
this time, than  
any other, the  
matter of Anti-  
christ is moved  
and why rather  
in this king-  
dome than in  
another.

The first recei-  
ving the faith  
in this realm  
by the Britons.

under foot of the heathen, untill the times of the nations be fulfilled. Now in Daniel thus it is written of this matter: And after 72. weekes shall Christ bee slaine, neither shall that be his people, that will deny him. And as for the cite and sanctuary, a people shall (with his captaine that will come with them) destroy the said cite and sanctuary, and his end shall be to be wasted utterly, till it bee brought to nought, and after the end of the warre, shall come the desolation appointed. In one weeke shall hee confirme the covenant to many, and within halfe a weeke shall the offering and sacrifice cease. And in the temple shall there bee the abomination of desolation, and even unto the end shall the desolation continue. And elsewhere in Daniel thus it is written: From the time that the continuall sacrifice shall be offered, and that the abomination shall be placed in desolation, there shall bee one thousand, two hundred, and ninetie dayes.

Now if any man will behold the Chronicles hee shall finde, that after the destruction of Jerusalem was accomplished, and after the strong hand of the holy people was fully dispersed, and after the plaring of the abomination, that is to say, the idoll of desolation of Jerusalem, within the holy place, where the temple of God was before, there had passed 1290. dayes, taking a day for a yere, as commonly it is taken in the Propheets. And the times of the heathen people are fulfilled, after whose rites and customes God suffered the holy cite to be trampled under foote for forty and two moneths. For although the Christian Church, which is the holy city, continued in the faith from the Ascension of Christ, even till this time: yet hath it not observed and kept the perfection of the faith in this whole season. For some after the departure of the Apostles, the faith was kept with the observation of the rites of the Gentiles, and not of the rites of Moses law, nor of the law of the gospell of Jesus Christ. Wherefore seeing that this time of the error of the Gentiles is fulfilled: it is likely that Christ shall call the Gentiles from the rites of their gentilitie to the perfection of the Gospell, as he called the Jewes from the law of Moses to the same perfection in his first coming: that there may bee one shepefold of the Jewes and Gentiles under one shepheard. Seeing therefore, that Antichrist is known which hath seduced the nations, then shall the elect, after that they have forsaken the errors of their gentilitie, come through the light of Gods Word to the perfection of the Gospell, and that same seducer shall be slain with the sword of Gods word. So that by these things it doth partly appeare unto me, why at this time rather than at any other time this matter of antichrist is moved.

And why that this motion is come to passe in this kingdome rather than in other kingdomes, me thinkes there is good reason; because that no nation of the Gentiles was so soone converted unto Christ as were the Britons, the inhabitants of this kingdome. For to other places of the world there were sent preachers of the faith, who by the working of miracles and continuall preaching of the word of God and by grievous passion and death of the body, did convert the people of those places: but in this kingdome in the time of Lucius the king of the Britons and of Eleutherius bishop of the Romans that were Infidels (by the way of rumors and tales) of the Christian faith, which was preached at Rome. Who believed straightwaies, and sent to Rome, to Eleutherius for men skilfull to inform him more fully in the very faith it selfe: at whose coming he was topfull and was baptised with his whole kingdome. And after the receiving of the faith, they never forsooke it, neither for any manner false preaching of other, neither for any manner of torments, or yet assaults of the Painims, as in other kingdomes it hath come to passe. And thus it seemeth to me the

Britons amongst other nations, have bene, as it were by the speciall election of God, called and converted to the faith of Christ.

Of them as me seemeth did Christ prophesie saying: For they did see to whom there was nothing told of him and they did beleeve, that he was the son of him. And againe, Whereof thou shalt call a nation which thou knowest not; and nations that thou hast not knowne thee, shall runne into thee, for the Lord thy God, and the holy one of Israel, shall glorifie thee.

Of this kingdome, did saint John in the Apocalypses prophesie (as me seemeth, where he saw, The Dragon stood before the woman, which was about to be delivered of child, to the intent that when shee had brought it forth into the world, he might devour up her sonne: And shee brought forth her Child which was a manchild, who should governe all nations with an iron rod, And the same sonne was taken up to God, and to his throne. And the woman fled into the wilderness, whereas shee had a place prepared of God, that they may feed her 1260. dayes. And againe in the same chapter, after that the Dragon saw that he was cast out upon the earth, he did persecute the woman, which brought forth the Manchild. And there were given to the woman two wings of a great Eagle, that shee might flee into the wilderness into her place, whereas she is fostered up for a time, times, and halfe a time, from the face of the Serpent. And the Serpent did cast as it were a flood of water after the woman, to the intent that he might cause her to be drowned by the flood: and the earth opening her mouth did helpe the woman, and did swallow up the flood which the Dragon did cast out of his mouth. Let us see how these sayings may be applied unto this kingdome rather than to other kingdomes. It is well knowne that this kingdome is a wilderness or a desert place, because that the philosophers and wise men did not passe upon it, but did leave it for a wilderness and a desert, because it is placed without the climates.

Unto this place fled the woman, that is to say, the Church (which by Faith did spiritually bring forth Christ into the world) whereas shee was fled with the heavenly bread, the flesh and blood of Jesus Christ, for one thousand, two hundred and fiftie dayes, seeing that for so many dayes, taking a day for a yere, the Britons continued in the faith of Christ: which thing cannot be found so of any Christian kingdome, but of this desert: and well it is said, that she flew to this place. For from the East came the faith into Britaine, not by walking in journey, nor yet by sailing: for then should it have come by Rome, Italy, Almanie, France, which cannot be found: and therefore shee flew over those places, and rested not in them, even as a bird, flying over a place resteth not in the same: but rested in this wilderness for a time, times, and halfe a time, that is one thousand two hundred and fiftie yeres, from the first coming of the faith into Britaine untill this present.

In saying for a time, times, and halfe a time, there is a going forward from the greater to the lesse. The greatest time that we name, is a 1000. yeres, there is a time: and the next time that is lesse in the singular number, is one 100. yeres. In the plurall number, times signifie that there bee more hundreds than one, at least two hundred yeres. Wherefore, if they be put under a certaine number, it must needs bee that they bee two, but the same two cannot fitly be called some times, except they be hundreds. For in that, that there is a going downe from the greater to the lesse, when as it is said a time, times, and halfe a time, and that the number of a 1000. is likely assigned for a time: It must needs follow that times must bee taken for hundreds and halfe a time

Matthew 23. 35.  
The same is  
the same is  
the same is

The same is  
the same is  
the same is

Apoc. 12.

The woman  
fled into the wilderness  
1260. dayes.

This place of  
the wilderness  
is a desert place  
because that the  
philosophers  
hardly or found  
it.

Faith came in  
to Britaine  
from the East,  
not from Italy,  
or Rome.

A time, times,  
and halfe a  
time explained.



for 60. because it is the greater halfe of a hundred yeres, though that 50. be the even halfe.

And when that the serpent sent the water of the persecution after the woman to cause her to bee drowned of the flood; then did the earth, that is to say, the stableness of faith helpe the woman, by supping up the water of tribulation. For in the most cruell persecution of Dioclesian and Maximian against the Christians, when as Christianity was almost every where rooted out; yet did they in this kingdome stand continually in the faith unmovable. And so, considering that the Britons were converted to the faith of Christ, as you would say, by an election, and picking out amongst all the nations of the heathen, and that after they had received the faith, they did never start backe from the faith for no manner of tribulation; it is not to bee marvelled if in their place the calling of the Gentiles be made manifest, to the profit of the Gospell of Jesus Christ, by the revealing of Antichrist.

But besides this, mee seemeth that Ezechiel doth specially speake of them, whereas he speaketh of the fall of the prince of Tyre, saying; forasmuch as thy heart is lifted up, as if it were the heart of God, therefore behold, I will bring upon thee some of the strongest of the heathen; and they shall draw their naked swords upon the beauty of thy wisdom, and they shall defile thy comeliness, and they shall slay thee, and pull thee out, and thou shalt die in the slaughter of the same persons, in the heart of the sea.

This prince who saith that he himselfe is God, and doth sit in Gods chaire in the heart of the sea, doth signifie (as most likely it seemeth to mee) that Antichrist shall be destroyed by the most mighty persons of the gentiles folke, through the sword of the word of God. Because that amongst the other gentiles there have been none more strong than the Britons, either in their body or their faith, and in their bodily warres there have been none more mighty than they. For never in warres have they beene vanquished, but by their owne sedition or treason. But how many kingdomes have they conquered? Hea, and neither by the most mighty city of Rome could they bee driven out of their kingdome, untill that God sent upon them pestilence and famine; whereby they being wasted were compelled to leave their country, which thing I have not heard of any other people. Now, in the faith, have they bene amongst all the people the strongest, as is before said, because that by no tribulation could they be compelled to forsake the faith.

Wherefore of them this seemeth to mee to be understood: Then I will bring upon thee some of the most strongest people, and they shall draw their naked swords, &c. By these things it may plainly appere, why at this time (rather than in time past) this matter is stirred up; and why in this kingdome (rather than in other kingdomes) the calling of the gentiles is intreated of, to the verifying of the Gospell, through the disclosing of Antichrist.

But forasmuch as many tales and fables are told of Antichrist and his coming, and many things, which doe rather seduce than instruct the hearers, are applied to him out of the Scriptures of the Prophets; wee will briefly write those things which are spoken of him, and wee will shew that the same fable spring from the error of people imagining, and from no truth of the Scriptures prophesying. Now then they do say, that antichrist shall be borne in Babylon of the tribe of Dau, and conceived of the mixture of man and woman in sinne, because that Christ was borne of a Virgin, and conceived of the Holy Ghost. They say, that he shall be an ill favoured personage, because that it is written of Christ; Comely and beautifull is hee, beyond the sonnes of men. They say, that hee shall preach three yeres and halfe where Christ preached, and that hee

shall circumcise himselfe, and say that he is Christ, and the Messias sent for the salvation of the Jewes. And they say, that he shall three manner of waies seduce the people, by false miracles, gifts, and ornaments. So that whom he shall not be able to overcome with miracles nor with gifts, those shall he go about to overcome with divers kinds of torments. And those that hee shall seduce will be marke with his tokens in their forehead or hands. He shall sit in the temple of God, and cause himselfe to be worshipped as God. He shall fight (as they say) with the two witnesses of Christ, Enoch and Iell, and shall kill them, and he himselfe shall finally be slaine with lightning. To this imagined man of their owne imagination, but of none of the Prophets foretold (at least in no such wise as this is) doe they apply the prophets, as this of Dani. When that continual sacrifice shall be taken away, and abomination shall be placed to desolation: That is (say they) when the worshipping of God shall bee taken away, and desolation (to wit Antichrist) shall abominably shew forth himselfe to be worshipped, then shall there be 1290. daies: that is to say three yeres and a halfe. And this time do they say is the time, times, and halfe a time. And when it is said in Daniel: Blessed is hee that looketh for, and cometh to 1335. daies: This do they say is thus to be understood, 45. dayes of repentance to such as have worshipped antichrist: which 45. dayes added to the 1290. make 1335. dayes. Which dayes they that shall reach unto shall be called blessed.

They apply also to this antichrist, this saying of the Apocalyps; I saw a beast rising up out of the Sea, having 7. heads, & 10. hornes, who had power given him to make 42. months. Which months (as they say) do make 3. yeres and a halfe, in which antichrist shall reigne. And many other things there are told, and applied unfitly to this imagined Antichrist, that are not truly grounded upon the Scriptures.

Now let us shew the errors of this fable. First of all, if there shall come such a one (saying expressly that he is Christ) what Christian would be seduced by him, though he should do never so many miracles: neither shall he come after the manner of a seducer, which shall shew himselfe an expresse aduersary. Neither is it likely that the Jewes can be seduced by such a one, seeing that Christ is not promised unto them of the stocke of Dan by any of the prophets, but of the stock of Juda; nor yet is he promised to them to be a king warlike, but peaceable, taking war away, and not making warre. For of Christ saith Esay: And in the last daies, shall there be prepared the Mountaine of the House of the Lord, in the top of the Mountaines, and it shall bee exalted above the Hills: and to it shall all the Nations have great recourse, and many people shall goe and say: Come, Let us goe up to the Mountaine of the Lord, and to the house of the God of Jacob, and hee shall teach us his wayes, and wee shall walke in his pathes. For out of Sion shall there goe a Law, and the word of the Lord from Ierusalem, and he shall judge the Nations, and reprove much people. And they shall turne their swords into Plow-shares, and their speares into Scithes. There shall not a Nation lift up it selfe against another Nation, nor yet shall they be any more exercised to warre. And againe, A little Babe is borne to us, and a Sonne is given to us, and his imperiall Kingdome upon his shoulder, and his name shall be called, The great Counsellour, The mighty God, The Father of the world to come; The Prince of peace. His Empire shall be multiplied, and there shall bee no end of his peace. Hee shall sit upon the Seate of David, and upon his Kingdome: that hee may make it stedfast and strong in judgement, and in justice, from henceforth and for evermore. Zechary doth say of CHRIST: Rejoyce thou greatly, O thou daughter Sion, bee thou exceeding merrie, O Daughter Ierusalem

{ KING }  
{ R I C . 2 }

The Scripture  
and Prophets  
not rightly  
understood  
touching  
antichrist.

Touching  
these 42. months,  
see above  
pag 519.

The old  
imagination  
touching  
antichrist  
confuted.

Antichrist  
cometh  
not so  
grossly  
as the  
papists  
imagine.

Esay cap. 2.

Esay 2.

Esay 9.

Zechar.

Persecution in  
Dioclesians  
time swallowed  
up, looked  
pag. 101.

A friend to the  
Antichrist.

The strong  
arm of the  
Britons.

Tales of An-  
tichrist.

A false imagi-  
nation of an-  
tichrist.



{KING}  
{RIC. 2.}

Ierusalem: Behold thy king shall come a righteous person and a Saviour unto thee, and yet he a poor man, and getting up upon an ass, even upon a young colt of the three asse. And I will scatter abroad the chariot of Ephraim, and the horse of Ierusalem: And the bow of warre shall be dispersed, and he shall speake peace to the nations, and his power shall be from the sea to the sea, and from the flood unto the borders of the earth.

Antichrist cannot come of the tribe of Dan.

Daniel 9.

The abomination or tool of desolation standing in the holy place.

Antichrist to raigne only 3. yeeres and a halfe, is false.

I wrote before in the body of the first persecutions.

By which things it is manifest, that the wise Jewes knew well enough, Christ to bee promised to them of the stocke of Iuda; and not of the stock of Dan; and that he was given all to peace, and not to warre: Therefore it is not likely that they can be seduced by such a one. But if there should have bene in time to come some such singular Antichrist, then would Christ (seeing he loved his) have said some what unto them of him. Now, of one singularly both he not speake, but of many, saying: Many shall come in my name, and say, I am Christ, and they shall seduce many persons. But now let us see, how the prophecies in Daniel, and in the Apocalyps (as I said) be falsly and erroneously applied to the same imagined antichrist. For in Daniel the ninth Chapter, thus it is written: And after 72. weekes shall Christ be slain, and they which will deny him shall not be his people. And the citie and sanctuary, shall a people, with their captaine that shall come with them, destroy, whose end shall be utter desolation, and after the end of the warre a determined destruction. Now he shall in one weeke confirme his covenant towards many, and in the halfe weeke shall the offering and sacrifice cease, and in the temple shall there be an abomination of desolation, and even to the fulfilling up of all, and to the end shall the desolation continue. It is plaine and manifest that this prophesy is now fulfilled. For the people of Rome with their captaine destroyed Ierusalem even to the ground, and the people of the Jews was slain and scattered. And the abomination, that is, the Idoll of desolation was placed of Adrian, in the last destruction in Ierusalem, in the holy place, that is to say, in a place of the Temple. And from that time hitherto have passed nere about 1290. dayes, taking a day for a yeare, as Daniel takes it in his prophecies, and other prophets likewise. For Daniel speaking of 62. weekes, doth not speake of the weekes of dayes but of yeares. So therefore when he saith: From the time that the continuall sacrifice was taken away, &c. 1290. dayes must be taken for so many yeares, from the time of the desolation of Ierusalem, even unto the revealing of Antichrist: and not for three yeares and a halfe; which they say, Antichrist shall raigne. And againe, whereas Daniel said, How long till the end of these marvellous matters? It was answered him: For a time, and times, and halfe a time. Behold also, how unfitly they did assigne this time, by three yeares and a halfe, which they say, Antichrist shall raigne. For when as it is said a time, times, and halfe a time; there is a going downward from the greater to the lesse, from the whole to the part, because it is from a time to halfe a time. If therefore there be a going downward from the whole to the part, by the midst (which is greater than the whole it selfe) the going downward is not meet nor agreeing. And this is done when as it is said, that a time, times, and halfe a time, is a yeare, two yeares, and halfe a yeare. Wherefore more fitly it is said, that a time, times, and halfe a time doth signifie 1290. yeares, as is before said in the chapter preceding. Thus therefore is the prophesie of Daniel falsly applied to that imagined Antichrist.

Likewise is the proceffe of the Apocalyps applied to the same imagined Antichrist too much erroneously. Because that the same cruel beast which came up out of the Sea, having seven heads and tenne hornes, to whom there was power given over every

tribe, people, and tongue, and the power given for the space of 42. moneths: This beast doth note the Romane Emperours, which most cruelly did persecute the people of God, as well Christians as Jews. For when as the condemnation of the great whore, sitting upon the many waters was shewed to John; he saw the same woman sitting upon the purple coloured beast full of the names of blasphemy, having 7. heads and 10. hornes: and he saw a woman being drunk with the blood of the Saints and Martyrs of Jesus. And the Angell expounding and telling him the myserie of the woman and the beast that carried her, said: That 7. heads are 7. hills, and are 7. kings: five are fallen, one is, the other is not yet come: and when he shall come, he must raigne a short time. And the 10. hornes which thou sawest are ten kings, who have not yet taken their kingdome, shall receive their power as it were in one hour under the beast. And finally he saith, the woman whom thou sawest is the great citie, which hath the kingdome over the kings of the earth. And it is manifest that the citie of Rome at the time of this prophesy, had the kingdome over the kings of the earth. And this citie was borne up and upholden by her cruell and beastly Emperours; who by their crueltie and beastliness did subdue unto themselves in a manner all the kingdomes of the world, of scale to have lordship over others, and not vertuously to governe the people that were their subjects, seeing that they themselves did lacke all vertue, and drew backe others from the faith and from vertue.

Wherefore that cruell beast coming up out of the sea, doth rightly note the Romane Emperours, who had power over every language, people, and countrey. And the power of the beast was for 42. moneths, because that from the first Emperour of Rome, that is to say, Julius Cesar, unto the end of Fredericke the last Emperour of Rome, there were 42. moneths, taking a moneth for thirty dayes, as the moneths of the Hebrews and Grecians are, and taking a day alwaies for a yeare, as commonly it is taken in the Prophets. By which things it may plainly appeare how unfitly this prophesie is applied to that imagined Antichrist, and the 42. moneths taken for three yeares and a halfe, which (they say) he shall raigne in, against the saving of the prophets, because that dayes are taken for yeares. As in the second of the Apocal. They shall be troubled tenne dayes. Which doe note the most cruell persecution of Dioclesian against the Christians that endured tenne yeares. And in another place of the Apocalyps it is written of the smoke coming up out of the bottomlesse pit: Out of which pit there came forth grasshoppers into the earth, and to them was power given, as Scorpions have power, to bere and trouble men five moneths. Now it is manifest, that from the beginning of the friers minors and preachers, to the time that Armachanus began to disclose and uncover their hypocrisie, and their false foundation of valiant begging under the poverty of Christ, were 5. moneths, taking a moneth for thirty dayes, and a day for a yeare. And to Ezechiel were dayes given for yeares. Wherefore it is an unfit thing to assigne the 42. moneths, being appointed to the power of the beast, unto 3. yeares and a halfe, for the raigne of that phantasticall and imagined Antichrist; specially seeing that they doe apply to his raigne the 1290. dayes in Daniel, which make 42. moneths, and in the Apocalyps they assigne him 42. moneths. It is plaine that the Psalterie and the harpe agree not. And therefore seeing that it is sufficiently shewed that the same fabling tale of that imagined antichrist to come, is a fable and erroneous; let us go forward to declare whether antichrist be already come, and yet is he hid from many, and must be opened and disclosed within a little while according to the truth of the holy Scripture, for the salvation of the faithful.

Apoc. 13.

The beast in the 13. of the Apocalyps is wounded.

The purple beast in the Apoc. 13. is meaneth Rome.

For the 42. se moneths looke before pag. 564

Apoc. 2.

Apoc. 2.

The beginning and end of the valiant beggary friers, spoken of in the Apocalyps, expounded of Armachanus: looke before pag. 338.

Non concordat Psalterium cum ci-thara. Whether antichrist be already come.



And because that in the first conclusion of mine answer I have conditionally put it, who is that antichrist lying privie in the hid scriptures of the prophets: I will passe on the declaration of that conclusion, bringing to light those things which lay hid in darkness, because nothing is hid which shall not be disclosed, and nothing covered which shall not be knowne. And therefore the thing which was said in the darknesse, let us say in the light; and the thing that we have heard in the eare, let us preach upon the house tops. I therefore, as I have before said, so far, that if the high bishop of Rome, calling himself the servant of God, and the chiefe vicar of Christ in this world, doe make and susteine many lawes contrary to the Gospell of Iesus Christ: then is he the chief of many, which coming in the name of Christ have said I am Christ, who have seduced many. Which is the first part of the first conclusion, and is manifest. For Christ is called of the Hebrewes the very same that we call anointed. And amongst them there was a double sort of legall anointing by the law, the one of kings, and the other of priests. And as well were the kings, as the priests, called in the law Christs. The kings, as in the Psalm: The kings of the earth stood up together, and the Princes assembled themselves in one against the Lord, and against his Christ: or anointed. And in the books of the Kings very often are the kings called Christs. And our Saviour was Christ, or anointed King, because he was a King for evermore upon the Throne of David, as the Scriptures doe very oftentimes witness. The Priests also were called anointed, as where it is written, Doe not ye touch my Christs, that is, mine anointed ones, and be not ye spitefull against my Prophets. And so was our Saviour Christ, a Priest for ever, according to the order of Melchisedech.

Seeing then that the bishops of Rome doe say that they are the high priests; they say also therein that they are kings, because they say that they have the spirituall sword pertaining to their priesthood, and the corporall sword which agreeth for a kings state. So is it plaine, that really and in very deed, they say, that they are Christs, albeit that expressly they be not called Christs. Now that they come in the name of Christ it is manifest, because they say that they are his principall vicars in this world, ordained of Christ specially for the government of the Christian Church. Therefore, seeing they say, that really and in very deed they are Christs, and the chiefe friends of Christ: If they make and susteine many lawes contrary to the Gospell of Iesus Christ, then is it plaine that they themselves in earth are the principall Antichrists, because there is no worse plague and pestilence, than a familiar enemy. And if in secret they be against Christ, and yet in open apperance they say that they are his friends, they are so much the more meet to seduce and deceive the Christian people, because that a manifest enemy shall have much adoe to deceive a man, because men trust him not: but a privie enemy, pretending outward friendship, may easily seduce, yea those that be wise.

But that this matter may the more fully be knowne, let us see what is the Law and Doctrine of Christ, that ought to be observed of all faithfull people: which be ng known, it shall be an easie thing to see, if the bishop of Rome doe make or maintaine any lawes contrary to the Law of the Gospell of Iesus Christ.

I say then, that the Law of Christ is charity, which is the perfect love of God and of Christ. This thing is plaine and manifest. For Christ being demanded of a certaine doctor of the Law, What is the greatest commandment in the law: answered: Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soule, and with all thy mind: That is the principall and greatest commandment. And as for

the second, it is like unto this: Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thine owne selfe. In these two commandements, both the whole Law and Prophets depend. And in another place Christ saith: All manner of things therefore that you would that men should doe to you, the same also doe ye unto them; For this is the Law and the Prophets. And in John the thirteenth chap. Christ saith: And now doe I say unto you, I give you a new commandment, that you should love each other; as I loved you, in like manner that you also should love one another. In this shall all men know that you are my disciples, if you shall have love one towards another. And John 15. chapter: This is my commandment, that you love together as I have loved you. Greater love than this hath no bodie, that a man should give his life for his friends. The Apostle Peter saith in his first Epistle 4. Chapter: Above all things having continually charitie one towards another; for charitie covereth the multitude of sins, and harborers, and entertaine ye one another without grudging; every one as he hath received grace, so let him bestow it upon another man, as the good stewards of the manifold graces of God. If any man speake, let him speak as the Word of God. If any man doe ought for another, let it be done with singlenesse and unfained veritie, ministered of God to us ward, that in all things God may be honoured through Iesus Christ our Lord. James in his Epistle the 2. chapter: If ye performe the royall law according to the Scriptures (thou shalt love thy neighbour) ye do well: But if ye be partial in receiving and preferring mens personages, ye touch wickednesse, being blamed of the law as transgressors. And againe, So speake ye, and so do ye, as ye should now begin to be imbued by the law of libertie. What shall it availe (my brethren) if a man say he have faith and have no workes: never shall the faith be able to save him. For if a brother or sister be naked, and have need of daily food, and some of you say to them, goe ye in peace, be ye made warme and satisfied: and if ye shall not give those things that are necessary for the body, what shall it availe? Then so faith, if it have not workes, is dead in it selfe.

John in his first epistle the 3. chapter: This is the tidings which you have heard from the beginning, that you should love one another. And againe, we know that we are translated from death to life, if we love the brethren: He that loveth not, abideth in death. And againe herein doe we know the love of God, because that he hath laid downe his life for us, and we ought to lay downe our lives for the brethren. He that shall have the substance of this world, and shall see his brother have need, and shall shut up his bowels from him, how abideth the love of God in him? My little children, let us not love in word nor tongue, but in deed and truth. And againe, 4. chapter: Most dearly beloved, let us love together. For love is of God; he that loveth not, knoweth not God; for God is love. In this thing hath the love of God appeared in us, that God hath sent his only begotten sonne into the world, that we should live by him. Herein is love; not that we have loved God, but that he hath first loved us, and hath sent his Sonne an attonement for our sinnes. Most dearly beloved, if God have loved us, we so ought to love together. No man hath seene God at any time, if we love together, God abideth in us, and his love is perfect in us. And againe, Let us love God, for hee hath first loved us. If a man shall say, I love God, and doe hate his brother, he is a liar. For he that loveth not his brother whom he seeth, how can he love God whom he seeth not? And this commandment have we of God, that who so loveth God, should love his brother also. Paul the Apostle in his epistle to the Romans the 13. chapter: owe ye nothing to no body, saving that you should love together, for hee that loveth his brother hath fulfilled the Law. For

SKING  
RIC. 2.

Iohn 13.

Iohn 15.

1 Pet. 4.

James 2.

1 Iohn 5.

1 Iohn 4.

Rom. 13.

thou

The pope proved antichrist.

Anointing double in scripture.

Kings and priests anointed.

The popes make themselves priests and kings.

The pope maketh himselfe Christ.

The pope cometh in the name of Christ. Popes proved principall Antichrists.

The pope an outward friend and a privie enemy to Christ.

Whether the pope doth maintaine any lawes against the Lawes of Christ.

The Law of love commanded in the Gospell.



{ KING }  
{ RIC. 2. }

thou shalt not commit adultery, thou shalt not murder, thou shalt not steal, thou shalt not bear false witness, thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's good: and if there be any other commandment, it is plentifully fulfilled in this word, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thy selfe. Wherefore the fulfilling of the Law is love.

1 Cor. 13.

Paul to the Corinthians the 13. chapter saith: If I should speake with the tongues of men and angels, and yet have not charitie, I am become as it were a piece of sounding metall or tinkling cymball. And if I shall have all prophesie, and know all mysteries and all knowledge, and shall have all faith, so that I might remove mountaynes, and yet shall not have charitie, I am nothing. And if I shall give abroad all my goods to feede the poore, and shall give up my body to be burned, and yet have not charitie, it profits me nothing. To the Galatians 5. saith Paul: For you my brethren are called unto liberty: doe ye not give your liberty for an occasion of the flesh, but by charitie of the spirit serve ye one another. For all the Law is fulfilled in one saying: Thou shalt love thy

Galat. 5.

Ephes. 4.

neighbour as thine owne selfe. To the Ephesians 4. chapter he saith: I therefore that suffer bonds in the Lord do beseech you, that you would walke worthy of the calling wherewith ye are called, with all humblenesse and mildnesse, with patience, forbearing one another in love, being carefull to keepe the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace; that you be one body and one spirit, even as you be called in one hope of your calling. And againe in the 5. chapter, Be ye followers of me as most deare children, and walke ye in love, as Christ also hath loved us, and hath delivered up himselfe for us, an offering and sacrifice to God of a sweet savor. To the Philippians, thus he speaketh in the first chapter: Onely let your conversation be worthy of the Gospell of Christ, that either when I shall come and see you, or else in mine absence I may heare of you, that you stand stedfast in one spirit, labouring together with one accord for the faith of the Gospell. And in nothing be ye afraid of the adversaries, which is to them a cause of damnation, but to you of salvation, and that of God. For to you it is given, not onely that you should believe in him, but also that you should suffer with him, you having the like fight and battell that both you have seene in me, and also now doe heare of me. I therefore there be any consolation in Christ, if any comfort of charitie, if any fellowship of the spirit, if any bowels of compassion, fulfill you my joy, that you may be of one iudgment, having one and the selfe same charitie, being of one accord, of one manner of iudgment, doing nothing of contention nor of vain glorie, but in humblenesse accounting one another, every one better than your selves; not every body looking upon the things that be his owne, but those that belong unto others. And to the Coloss. 3. chapter, thus he writeth: You therefore as the elect of God, holy, and beloved, put upon you the bowels of mercy, gentlenesse, humblenesse, lowliness, modesty, patience, bearing one with another, and giving place to your selves (if any have a quarrell against any body) even as the Lord forgave you, so doe you also. Above all things have ye charitie, which is the bond of perfection, and let the peace of Christ triumph in your hearts, in which peace you also are called in one body. And be ye kind and thankfull. And to the The Galatians, thus Paul writeth in the 4. chapter: As concerning brotherly charitie we have no need to write unto you: for you your selves have learned of God, that you should love one another. And the same thing ye doe towards all the brethren throughout all Macedonia.

Ephes. 5.

Philipp. 1.

Colos. 3.

1 Thess. 4.

But of all these and many other places of the holy Scripture it sufficiently appeareth, that the law of Christ is charitie; neither is there any vertue commanded of Christ, or any of his Apostles, to be ob-

servied of the faithfull people, but that it cometh out of charitie, or else doth nourish charitie.

The Law is given by Moses, and the Truth by Christ. Christ came not to unloose the Law and the Prophets, but to fulfill them. But yet many things were lawfull and might have bene observed in the time of the Law, which in the time of grace must not be observed. And many things were unlawfull to them that were under the law, which in the time of grace are lawfull enough. After what sort then he did not loose the law, but did fulfill it, it is necessary to declare, for those things which hereafter must be said: For amongst Christians many things are iudged to be lawfull, because in the former testament in the law they were lawfull: and yet they be expressly contrary to Christs Gospell. But the authors of such things do argue and reason thus: Christ came not to loose the law or the prophets. Now after what sort he did not unloose them it is manifest by the holy Scripture: that the law given by Moses, was written in Tables of stone, to declare the hardnesse of the peoples heart towards the love of God, or of Christ. But Christ hath written his Law in the hearts and in the minds of his, that is to say, the law of perfect love of God, and of Christ. Which law whosoever observeth, he doth observe the law of Moses, and both much greater workes of perfection, than were the workes of the law. Thus therefore were the morales of the old law fulfilled in the law of charitie of Christ, and not unloosed; because they are much more perfectly observed, than of the Jewes: This I say, if the Christians doe observe the commandments of Christ in such sort, as he commanded the same to be observed. Christ hath fulfilled the lawes morall of the old Testament, because that the morales and iudicials were ordained, that one person should not do injury to another, and that every man should have paid him that is his. Now they that are in charitie, will do no injury to others, neither doe they take other mens goods away from them. Nay, it seeketh not her own things. For charitie seeketh not the things that be her own. Wherefore much lesse by a stronger reason it ought not to seeke for other mens goods. And when as the iudicials & morales were ordained, Christ did not by the workes of the law iustifie the believers in him, but by grace iustified them from their sins. And so did Christ fulfill that by grace that the Law could not by iustice.

Paul to the Romanes declareth in a godly discourse, and to the Galatians likewise, that none shall be iustified by the workes of the Law, but by grace in the faith of Jesus Christ. As for the morales and ceremonies of the law, as circumcision, sacrifices for offences, and for sinnes, first frutes, tithes, bowels, divers sorts of washings, the sprinkling of blood, the sprinkling of Ashes, abstaining from uncleane meats, which are ordained for the sanctifying and cleansing of the people from sinne, no nor yet the prayers of the priests, neither the preachings of the prophets could cleanse a man from his sin. For death reigned even from Adam to Moses, and sin from Moses to Christ, as Paul declareth to the Romanes in the fifth chapter. But Christ willing to have meretric and not sacrifice, being a priest for ever after the order of Melchisedech, and an high Priest of good things to come, did neither by the blood of goats, or calves, but by his owne blood enter in once into the holy places, when as everlasting redemption was found: neither did Jesus enter into the holy places that were made with hands, which are the examples of true things, but unto the very heaben, that now he may appeare before the countenance of God for us. For yet he did so, that he should offer up himselfe oftentimes, as the high bishop entered into the holy place every yere with strang blood (for otherwise he must needs have suffered oftentimes since the beginning of the world) but now in the latter end of the world hath hee once appeared by his owne sacrifice,

Many things observed in the old law, which be not observed now. Many things unlawfull in the old law, which be lawfull now. Now Christ did loose, and not loose the law.

Free iustification, by faith only. Hence, that free savor, necessity and goodness of God.

Rom. 5.

Hebr. 9.

Christ entered not into the temple made by man, but into the very heaben.

The sacrifice of Christ not many times offered, but once for all.



for the destruction of sinne. And like as it is decreed for men once to die, and after that commeth iudgement: even so was Christ once offered up to consume away the sinnes of many. The second time shall he appeare without sinne to the salvation of such as looke for him. For the law having a shadow of god things to come, and not the very image or substance it selfe of the things, can never by those sacrifices which they offer (of one selfe same sort continually yere by yere) make them perfect that come unto her. Otherwise men would leave off offering, because that these worshippers being once cleansed should have no more pricke of conscience for sinne afterwards. But in them is there remembrance made of sinne every yere. For it is impossible, that by the blood of goats and buls sinne should be taken away. Wherefore he entering into the world doth say; As for sacrifice and offering thou wouldest not have, but a body hast thou framed unto me. And sacrifices for sinne have not pleased thee: then said I, behold, I come; In the head, or principall part of the booke it is written of me, that I should doe thy will, O God. Wherefore he said before, that sacrifices, oblations and burnt offerings, and that for sin thou wouldest not have: neither were those things pleasant to thee which are offered according to the law; then said I, behold, I come, that I may doe thy will, O God: He taketh away the first, that he may establish that that followed. In which will we are sanctified & made holy by the offering up of the body of Jesus Christ once. And verily every priest is ready every day ministering, and oftentimes offering the selfe same sacrifices, which never can take away sinne. But this man, offering one sacrifice for sinnes, doth for ever and ever sit at Gods right hand, looking for the rest to come, till that his enemies be placed to be his footstole. For with one offering hath he for ever made perfect those that be sanctified. By which things it plainly appeareth, that Christ by once offering hath cleansed his from their sin; who could not be cleansed from the same by all the ceremonies of the law, and so did fulfill that which the priesthood of the law could. Wherefore onely the morals and iudicials be fulfilled by the law of charitie, and by grace; and the ceremonials, by one offering up of his body on the altar of the crosse. And so it is plaine that Christ fulfilled the whole law.

Wherefore likewise that the holy things of the law were a shadow of those things that were to come in the time of grace, it were meete that all those things should utterly cease amongst Christians, which should either be against charitie or the grace of Christ. Although in the time of the law they were lawfull, and not utterly contrary to it, but were figures of perfections in Christs faith; yet it were meet that they should cease at the coming of the perfection which they did prefigure; as circumcision, the eating of the paschall Lambe, and other ceremoniall points of the law. Whereupon also Paul to the Hebrewes the 7. chapter saith thus; If therefore the making up of the perfection of all was by the Leviticall priesthood (for the people received the law under him) why was it necessary besides, that another priest should rise up after the order of Melchisedech, and not be called after the order of Aaron? For when the priesthood is removed, it must needs be that the law also be removed. For he in whom these things are spoken is of another tribe, of which none stood present at the altar: because it is manifest that our Lord had his of spring of Iuda, in which tribe Moses spake nothing of the priests. And besides this it is manifest; if according to the order of Melchisedech there doe rise up another priest, which was not made according to the law of the carnall commandement, but according to the power of the life that cannot be loosed. For thus he beareth witness, that thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchisedech: so that the commandement

that went before is disallowed for the weakenesse and unprofitableness thereof. For the law hath brought no body to perfection. By which things it appeareth that Christ making an end of the priesthood of Aaron, doth also make up a full end of the law belonging to that Priesthood. Whereupon I marvel that your learned men doe say, that Christian folkes are bound to this small ceremony of the payment of tithes, and care nothing at all for other, as well the great as the small ceremonies of the law.

It is plaine that the tithes were given to the sons of Levi, for their serving in the tabernacle and in the temple of the Lord, as the first fruits were given to the priests, and also part of the sacrifices, and so were the bowes of their ministry, as it appeareth in the book of Numbers the 22. chapter. But forasmuch as the labour of those sacrifices did cease at the coming of Christ, how should those things be demanded, which were obtained for that labour? And seeing that the first fruits were not demanded of christians, which first fruits were then rather and sooner demanded than the tithes: why must the tithes be demanded except it be therefore peradventure, because that the tithes be more worth in value then be the first fruits.

Secondly, why are the lay people bound to the payment of tithes, more than the Levites and the Priests were to the not having of possessions of realties and lordships amongst their brethren, seeing that the selfe same law in the selfe same place (where he saith that the tithes ought to be given to Levites) saith also to the Levites, you shall be contented with the offering of the tithes, and have none other thing amongst your brethren. Wherefore seeing that the priests be bound, to the not having of temporall lordships, how are the lay people bound by that law (of God he meaneth, and not of man) to the payment of tithes?

Thirdly, as touching circumcision, which is one of the greater ceremonies of the law, and was given before the law, and was an universall ceremony concerning the covenant betwene God and his people, and was so much regarded in the law, that thereof it was said: The soule, whose flesh shall not be circumcised in the foreskin, shall perish from amongst his people: yet did this ceremony utterly cease at the coming of Christ, although that certaine of the Jewes did say in the primitive Church, that the Christians must needs keep the commandement of circumcision with the faith: whom Paul reprobeth, writing thus to the Galatians the fourth chapter, where he speaketh of the children of the bondwoman and of the freewoman, which doe signifie the two Testaments. But we (brethren) are the children of the promise after Isaac: but like as at that time hee that was borne after the flesh, did persecute him which was after the spirit, even so it is now also. But what saith the Scripture? Thow out the bondwoman and her son. The son of the bondwoman shall not be heire with the sonne of the freewoman. Wherefore brethren we are not the sons of the bondwoman, but of the free. Stand ye steadfast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath delivered you, and be not yee holden againe under the yoke of slavery. Behold, I Paul say unto you, if you be circumcised, Christ shall nothing profit you. For I testifie again to every man that circumciseth himselfe, that he is bound to keep all the whole law. We are utterly void of Christ: whosoever will be justified in the law, are fallen from grace.

In like manner we may reason, if we be bound to tithing, we are debtors and bound to keep all the whole law. For to say that men are bound to one ceremony of the law, and not to the others, is no reasonable saying. Either therefore we are bound to them all, or to none. Also, that by the same old law men are not bound to pay tithes, it may be shewed

SKING  
RIC. 2.  
The cause ceasing, the effect also ceaseth. We meaneth that necessity of tithes, which standeth by the necessity of the old law, to cease.

If tithes be claimed by force of the old law, by the same law priests are bound to have no temporallities. We proberh not contrary, but that tithes be due by the profitable law of man. Although not by the ceremoniall law of Moses. Circumcision cleareth; Ergo, the ceremonies doe cease.

Galat. 4.

Christian liberty from the bondage of the law.

Bound in one thing, he meaneth bound in all: Either bound to all, or to none. We be expressely bound in meaning plainly.

Heb. 10.

All shadows ought to cease among christians.

Heb. 7.  
Where the priesthood is removed, there also the law is removed. Bound, as a matter of religion, or as by the necessity of Gods law and not mans: but now riches stand by mans law, and not by the old law.



KING  
RIC. 2.

showed by many reasons, which we had not any more to multiply and increase, because the things that be said are sufficient. Whereupon some do say that by the Gospell we are bound to pay tithes, because Christ said to the Pharisees, *Matth. 23. chap.* We be to you Scribes and Pharisees, which pay your tithes of Mint, of Anise seed, and of Cummin, and leave iudgement, mercy, and truth undone, being the weightier things of the law; both should ye have done these things, and also not have left the other undone. O ye blind guides, that straine out a gnat, and swallow up a camell. This word foundeth not as a commandement or manner of bidding, whereby Christ did command tithes to be given: but it is a word of disallowing the hypocricie of the Pharisees, who of carelessness did weigh and esteeme tithes because of their owne singular commoditie, rather than other great and weighty commandements of the law. And me knoweth that our men are in the same predicament of the Pharisees, which do leave off all the ceremonies of the old law, keeping only the commandement of tithing. It is manifest and plaine enough by the premises, and by other places of the Scripture, that Christ was a priest after the order of Melchisedech, of the tribe of Juda, not of the tribe of Levi: who gave us new commandement of tithing of any thing to him and to his priests, whom he would place after him: but when his Apostle said to him, Behold, we leave all things and have followed thee, what then shall we have; he did not answer them thus: Tithes shall be paid you; neither did he promise them a temporall, but an everlasting reward in heaven. For he both for food, and also apparell, taught his disciples not to be careful: Be ye not careful for your life, what ye shall eat, or for your body what ye shall put on: Is not the life of man more worth than the meat? and the body more worth than apparell? Behold ye the birds of heaven, which do not sow, nor reape, neither yet lay up in barnes, and yet your heavenly father feedeth them. And as for apparell, why should you be careful? Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow; they labour not, neither do they spin, &c. In conclusion he saith, We not ye careful, saying, what shall wee eat, or what shall wee drinke, or wherewithall shall we be covered? For all these things do the Gentiles seeke after: For your father knoweth that you have need of all these things. First, therefore seeke ye for the kingdom of God and the righteousness thereof, and all these things shall be cast unto you. And Paul, right well remembering this doctrine, instructeth Timothy and saith thus: But we having food, and wherewithall to be covered, let us therewith be contented. And as the Acts of the Apostles do declare in the first conversion of the Jewes at Jerusalem, they had all things common, and to every one was division made, as need required. Neither did the Priests make the tithes their owne proper goods. For like as it was not meet that the lay people being converted, should have propriety of goods; even so neither that priests should have propriety of tithes. So that if the Priests started backe from fervent charity in challenging to themselves the propriety of tithes; it is no marvel of departing backward (as doe the priests from the perfection of charity) also of the laitie, to be willing to appropriate to themselves the nine parts remaining after tithes. Wherefore seeing that neither Christ, nor any of the Apostles, commanded to pay tithes; it is manifest and plaine, neither by the law of Moses, nor by Christ's law, Christian people are bound to pay tithes: but by the tradition of men they are bound.

By the premises now it is plaine, that Christ did not undo the law, but by grace did fulfill it. notwithstanding, in the law many things were lawfull which in the time of grace are forbidden; and many things were then unlawfull, which now are lawfull

enough. For nothing that is contrary to charity, is lawfull to a Christian.

Let us now heare what manner of Commandements Christ hath given us in the Gospell, without the observation of which commandements, charity shall not perfectly be kept. By which commandements Christ did not undo the old law, but did fulfill it. By the observation also of which commandements, he teacheth us to passe and goe beyond the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, who most perfectly thought themselves to keep the law. This absolute and perfect righteousness, which we are bound to have beyond the righteousness of the Pharisees and the Scribes, he teacheth in *Matth. 5. 6. and 7. chapter*, which being heard and compared to the traditions made and commanded by the Roman Prelats, it shall plainly appeare, whether they be contrary or no. Christ therefore saith, You have heard, that it was said to them of the old time, Thou shalt not kill. Feare that killeth shall be guilty of iudgment. But I say unto you, that every one that is angry with his brother shall be in danger of iudgment. In this he both teach that was ought not to be angry with our brethren: not that he would undo this old commandement (Thou shalt not kill) but that the same should be the more perfectly observed. Again, he saith; You have heard that it was said, thou shalt love thy friend and hate thine enemy. But I say unto you, Love your enemies, do well to them that hate you, pray for them that persecute and slander you, that you may be the children of your Father which is in heaven: Which maketh his Sinne to arise upon the good and the evil people, and raineth upon the just and unjust. For if you love them which love you, what reward shall you have? Doe not the publicans thus? And if you shall salute your brethren only, what great thing doe ye? Do not the heathen thus also? We you therefore perfect, as also your heavenly father is perfect.

Again Christ saith, You have heard that it is said; an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth. But I say unto you, see that you resist not evil. But if any man shall strike you upon the right cheek, give him the other too. And to him that will strike with thee for thy coat in iudgment, let him have thy cloke also. And whosoever shall constrain thee on mile, goe with him also two other. He that asketh of thee, give him; and he that will borrow of thee, turne not thy selfe from him.

By these things it may plainly appeare how that Christ the King of peace, the Saviour of mankind, who came to save, and not to destroy; who gave a law of charity to be observed of his faithful people; hath taught us not to be angry, not to hate our enemies, nor to render evil for evil, nor to resist evil. For all these things doe foster and nourish peace and charity, and doe procure and come forth of charity, and when they be not kept, charity is lost, and peace is broken. But the Bishop of Rome approveth and alloweth warres, and slaughters of men in war, as well against our enemies, that is, the infidels, as also against the Christians for temporall goods. Now, these things are quite contrary to Christ's Doctrine, and to Charity, and to Peace.

In the decrees 23. q. 1. cap. Paratus, it is taught, that the precepts of patience must alwaies be retained in purpose of the heart, so that patience with benevolence must be kept in the mind secret. But apparently and manifestly that thing should be done which seemeth to doe good to those, whom we ought to love well unto. Wherein they grieve to understand, that a Christian may freely defend himselfe. And for confirmation of this saying they doe say, That Christ, when he was stricken on the face of the high bishops servant, did not fulfill (if we take upon the words) his owne commandement; because he gave not to the smiter the other part, but rather did

The doctrine of Christ, whether it be contrary to the tradition of the pope or not. *Matth. 5.*

The doctrine of Christ and of the Pope compared.

The gloss of Gratianus upon the c. Paratus 23. q. 1. disposed.

Christ in answering to his smiter, did not break his precept of patience outwardly

he one is allowed, the other is not commanded.

these were left to the own pro-

tithes not exactly commanded anew. Christ in the Gospell. *arch. 6.*

Tim. 6.

tithes not received in the true church.

tithes due to be paid by the law of God.



He precept of Christ to turne the other cheek hath a private comparison: as if he would say: rather let you content to suffer two blowes than to revenge one.

This article of a precept have a relation euer to the doctrine of the atonement.

The cause here againe of Christ was private, and his doctrine is to be understood in private cases. Christ in case allowed of St. James.

He meaneth resistance for private causes, or for worldly goods.

Patience commanded in private causes amongst Christian brethren.

The incontinence of private resistance among Christian brethren.

But being stricken we not break the rule of Christian patience, neither make any bodily resistance.

forbid him, that he should not do it, to double his injury. For he said, if I have spoken evil, beare witness of the evil; but if well, why dost thou strike me? I doe marvell of this saying; for first, if those commandements of patience must be kept in secret in the minde: and seeing the body doth worke at the motion of the mind, and is and ought to be moved and ruled by the same; it must then needs be, that if patience be in the mind, it must appeare also outwardly in the body.

Secondly, I marvell that it is said that Christ did not fulfill his owne precept of patience. For it is manifest, that albeit he teaching alwayes as a good schoolmaster, those things which were fit for the salvation of soules, speaking the wholesome word of instruction to the high Bishops servant, smiting him unadvisedly, did neither by word forbid another to keepe to be given on the other cheek, neither did he defend himselfe bodily from striking on the same cheek: But speaking to him, it is likely that he gave him the other cheek; he meaneth, that he turned not the other cheek away. For a man turneth not away from him whom he speaketh to, or whom he informs; but layeth open before him all his face: Even so doe I beleve that Christ did, that he might fulfill in very deed that which before he had taught in word. Neither yet did Christ by his word or by his deed, shew any thing of defence, or of bodily resistance.

Thirdly, I marvell why wise men leaving the plaine and manifest doctrine of Christ, whereby he teacheth patience, doe seeke corners of their owne imagining, to the intent they may approove fightings and warres. Why mark they not after what manner Christ spake to Peter striking the high Bishops servant, saying: Put up thy sword into the sheath, for every one that shall take the sword, shall perish with the sword: But in another case we must make resistance: which case may be so righteous, as it is for a mans lord & master being a most righteous man, and yet suffering injury of malicious persons.

Fourthly, I marvell, seeing that we are bound of charity and by the law of Christ to give our lives for our brethren, how they can allow such manner of dissensions, and resisting. For when thy brother shall maliciously strike thee, thou mayest be sure, that he is manifestly fallen from charity, into the snare of the devill. If thou shalt keepe patience, hee shall be ashamed of his doing, and thou mayest bow and bend him to repentance, and take him out from the snare of the devill, and call him backe againe to charity. If thou resist, & perchance by resisting dost strike again, his fury shall be the more kindled and he being stirred up to greater wrath, peradventure shall either slay thee, or thou him. Touching thy selfe thou art uncertaine if thou goe about to make resistance whether thou shalt fall from charity, and then shalt thou goe backward from the perfection of Christs commandement: Neither dost thou know but that it may happen thee to greatly to be moved, as that by the heate and violence of wrath, thou shalt slay him. Whereas if thou wouldest dispose thy selfe to patience (as Christ teacheth) thou shouldest easily avoide all these mischiefes, as well on the behalfe of thy brother, as also of thine owne part. Therefore the observing of charity, as the precept of patience, is to be observed.

Fifthly, I do marvell why that for the allotting of this corporall resistance, he doth say in the same chapter, that Paul did not fulfill the precept of the patience of Christ, when as he being stricken in the place of judgement by the commandement of the high priest, did say, God strike thee. Thou painted wall: Dost thou sit to iudge me according to the law, & dost thou command me to be stricken against the law? It is manifest that Paul made resistance in nothing, though he spake a word of instruction to the

priest, who against the law commanded him to be stricken. And if Paul had overpassed the bounds of patience, through the griefe of the stroke, what of that? Must the deed of Pauls impatience for this cause be iustified, and the commandement of patience taught by Christ be left undone for Pauls deed, and corporall resistance be allowed? God forbid. For both Paul and Peter might erre. But in the doctrine of Christ there may be found no errour.

Therefore we must give more credence & beleefe to Christs sayings, than to any living mans doings. Therefore although Paul had resisted, which I doe not perceive in that Scripture, it followeth not thereof, that corporall resistance must be approbated, which is of Christ expressly forbidden. I much marvell that alwayes they seeke corners and shadowes to iustifie their deeds. Why doe they not mark what great things Paul reciteth himselfe to have suffered for Christ? And where I pray you have they found that he after his conversion strake any man that did hurt him? Or where doe they finde that he in expresse word doth teach such a kind of corporall resistance? But as touching patience, he saith in plaine words to the Romans: Be not wise in your owne conceits: Render ill for ill to no body: providing good things not onely before God, but also before all men, if it bee possible: Be at peace with all folkes as much as in you lieth: not revenging your selves, my most dearly beloved, but give you place unto anger. For it is written, Vengeance is mine, and I will recompence them, saith the Lord. But if thine enemy shall bee an hungred, give him meate; if hee bee a thirst, give him drinke. For thus doing, thou shalt heape coales of fire upon his head. Be not overcome of evil, but overcome thou evil with good.

To the Corinthians the 5. as touching indigement and contention, which are matters of lesse weight than are fightings, thus he writeth: Now verily there is great fault in you, that you bee at law amongst your selves. Why rather take yee not wrong? Why rather suffer ye not deceit? And generally in all his epistles, he teacheth that patience should be kept, and not corporall resistance by fighting, because charity is patient, it is courteous, it suffereth all things. I marvell how they iustifie and make good the warres by Christians, saying onely the wars against the devill and sinne. For seeing that it is plaine, that those things which were in the old Testament, were figures of things to be done in the new Testament; Therefore we must needs say, that the corporall wars being then done, were figures of the Christian wars against sinne and the devill, for the heavenly countrey which is our inheritance. It is plaine that it was written thus of Christ: The mighty Lord, and of great power in battle, hath girded himselfe in force and manlynesse to the Warre: and hee came not to send peace into the earth, but warre. In this warre ought Christian people to be souldiers, according to that manner which Paul teacheth to the Ephesians the last: Put upon you the armour of God, that you may bee able to stand against the deceits of the Devill. For wee have not to wraastle against flesh and blood, but against Princes and Potestates, against the Rulers of the darkenesse of the world, against spirituall wickednesse in heavenly things, which are in the high places. Wherefore take yee the armour of God, that yee may be able to resist in the evill day, and to stand perfectly in all things. Stand yee therefore girded about in truth upon your loynes, having put upon you the breast-plate of righteousness, and your feete shod in a readinesse to the Gospell of peace; in all things taking the shield of faith, wherewith you may quench all the fiery darts of that wicked one. And take unto you the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the spirit, which is the word of God.

By these things it is plaine, what are the wars of

K I N G  
R I C H

The fact e  
riber of Pauls  
of any other  
doth not de  
gate from a  
doctrine of  
our Saviour

Romans 1  
Rules of Ch  
istian patien

1 Cor. 5.

He meaneth  
such warre,  
Christians,  
the pope al  
loweth: thin  
rather of pri  
vate reveng  
of princes fo  
worldly glo  
or affection,  
than for any  
publike nec  
essite.

Corporall war  
in the old T  
estament be  
gines of the  
spiritual war  
in the new  
Testament  
against sinne,  
and the devi

Ephes. 6.



**KING**  
**RIC. 2.**  
What be the  
warres worth  
for Christians.

All this taken  
for away the  
awfulness of  
warre, in case  
of publike ne-  
cessity, but only  
in private case  
for temporall  
goods.

Note this  
warre without  
charitie.

Such kind of  
warre, that is,  
such kind as be  
for private re-  
venge of tem-  
porall goods.

Now John  
Baptist allow-  
ed warre.

They that be  
least in the  
kingdome of  
heaven greater  
than John  
Baptist ex-  
pounded.

of Christians, and what are the weapons of their warfare. And because it is manifest, that this testa-  
ment is of greater perfection than the former, we  
must now fight more perfectly than at that time  
For now spiritually, then corporally: now for an  
heavenly everlasting inheritance, then for an earthly  
and temporall: now by patience, then by resis-  
tance. For Christ saith, Blessed are they that suffer  
persecution for righteousness, for theirs is the king-  
dome of heaven. He saith not blessed are they that  
fight for righteousness. How can a man say that  
they may lawfully make war and kill their brethren  
for the temporall goods, which peradventure they un-  
justly occupy, or unjustly intend to occupy? For he  
that killeth another to get these goods which an other  
body unjustly occupieth, doth love more the very  
goods than his own brother. And then hee falling  
from charity, doth kill himselfe spiritually. If he go  
forward witho<sup>t</sup> charity to make war, then doth  
he evil, and to his owne damnation. Wherefore he  
doth not lawfully nor iustly in proceeding to the  
damnation of his own selfe and his brother; whom,  
though he see unjustly to occupy his goods, yet hee  
doth intend to kill. And what if such kind of wars  
were lawfull to the Jewes? this argueth not, that  
now they are lawfull to Christians; because that  
their deeds were in a shadow of imperfection, but  
the deeds of Christians in the light of perfection. It  
was not said unto them, All people that shall take  
the sword, shall perish with the sword. What if Iohn  
the Baptist disallowed corporall fightings, and cor-  
porall warfare, at such time as the soldiers asked  
him saying, And what shall we doe? Who saith to  
them, See that you strike no man, neither picke ye  
quarrels against any, and bee ye contented with  
your wages. This saying of Iohn alloweth not cor-  
porall warfare amongst Christians. For Iohn was  
of the Priests of the old Testament, and under the  
law, neither to him it appertained nor to follow the  
law, but to warn the people to the perfect observati-  
on of the law; for he being likewise demanded of the  
Publicans what they should doe, said unto them,  
Do no other thing than is appointed unto you. But  
Christ the Author of the new Testament, and of  
greater perfection, than was the perfection of the  
old law, gave new things, as it plainly appeareth  
by the Gospell. So that Christians ought to receive  
information of Christ, not of Iohn. For of Iohn al-  
so doth Christ speake: Verily I say unto you, there  
hath not risen amongst the children of men a greater  
than Iohn Baptist; but hee that is least in  
the kingdome of heaven is greater than hee. In  
which saying Christ sheweth, that those that be least  
in the kingdome of heaven in the time of grace, are  
placed in greater perfection than was Iohn, which  
was one of them that were the elders, and he lived  
also in the time of the law in greater perfection. And  
when as certaine of Iohns Disciples said unto him:  
Master, he that was beyond Iordan, to whom thou  
gavest witness, behold hee baptiseth, and all peo-  
ple come unto him: Iohn answered and said, A man  
cannot take upon him, unlesse it shall be given him  
from above. You your selves doe beare mee record,  
that I said I am not Christ, but that I was sent before  
him. He that hath the bride, is the bridegroom; as  
for the bridegrooms friend, who standeth and hea-  
reth him, hee rejoyceth with great joy to heare the  
voyce of the bridegroom. This therefore my joy is  
fulfilled; he must increase and I must be diminished.  
He that commeth from on high, is above all. He that is  
of the earth is earthly, and speaketh of the earth: He  
that commeth from Heaven, is above all folkes; that  
which hee hath seene and heard, the same doth  
hee witness, and yet his witnessing doth no body  
receive. But hee that receiveth his witnessing,  
hath put to his Seale, that GOD is true. For  
hee whom GOD hath sent, speaketh the Words of  
GOD.

By which things it plainly appeareth, that crea-  
ture is to be given neither to Iohn, nor yet to An-  
gell, if he teach any thing that it is not agreeable  
to Christs doctrine. For Christ is above the Angels, be-  
cause that God infinitely passeth them in wisdome.  
Now if Moses the servant of God, a minister of  
the old Testament, was so much to be beloved, that  
nothing could be added, nor yet anything dimini-  
shed from the Commandements that were given  
by him, (for so Moses had said, The thing that I com-  
mand thee, that doe thou only to the Lord, neither  
adde thou any thing, nor diminish;) How much  
more ought we not to adde nor to take away from  
the Commandements given by God himselfe, and  
also the son of God? In the primitive Church be-  
cause the Christians had fervent love and charity,  
they observed these precepts as they were given:  
but their fervent charity afterward waxing luke-  
warre, they invented glosses by drawing the com-  
mandements of God backe to their owne deeds,  
which they purposed to iustifie and maintaine: that  
is to say, wars against the infidels. But that these  
by warres should be converted to the faith, as a fact  
faithlesse enough: because that by violence or un-  
willingly, no body can believe in Christ, nor be made  
a Christian, neither did he come to destroy them by  
battell, but beloved not in him: for he said to his disci-  
ples, You know not what spirit you are of. The son  
of man came not to destroy mens lives, but to save  
them. Then to grant pardons and forgiveness of  
sins to those that kill the infidels, is too much an  
infidels fact, seducing many people. For what greater  
seducing can there be, than to promise to a man  
forgiveness of sinnes, and afterward the top of hea-  
ven, for setting himselfe against Christs commande-  
ments in the killing of infidels, that would not be  
converted to the faith: whereas Christ doth say,  
Not every one that saith to me Lord, Lord, shall  
enter into the kingdome of heaven, but hee that  
doth the will of my father which is in heaven, this  
person shall enter into the kingdome of heaven.  
Now the will of the father is, that we should believe  
in his only sonne Iesus Christ, and that we should  
obey him by observing of those things which he him-  
selfe hath commanded. Wherefore Christs pre-  
cepts of patience must be fulfilled. Wars, fightings  
and contentions must be left, because they are con-  
tray to charity.

But peradventure some man will thus reason  
against Christ: The Saints by whom God hath  
wrought miracles, do allow wars against the faith-  
full people, as also against the infidels. And the ho-  
ly kings were warriors, for whose sakes miracles  
also have been shewed, as well in their death, as al-  
so in their life, yea in the very time wherein they  
were at warfare. Wherefore it seemeth that the  
facts were good and lawfull. For otherwise God  
would not have done miracles for them.

To this againe I say; that we for no miracles  
must do contrary to the doctrine of Christ; for in it  
can there be no error: but in miracles there often-  
times chanceth error, as it is plaine as well by  
the old as by the new Testament. God forbid then  
that a Christian should for deceitable miracles de-  
part from the infallible doctrine of Christ. In Cro-  
dus the 7. chap. it is manifest, how that the wicked  
wise men of the Egyptians, through the enchant-  
ments of Egypt, and certaine secret workings,  
threw their wands upon the earth, which were tur-  
ned into Dragons, even as Aaron before time in  
the presence of Pharaos threw his wand upon the  
earth, which by the power of God was turned into  
a serpent. In the third of the Kings, the 22. chapter,  
Elisha did see the Lord sitting upon his Throne, &  
all the host of heaven standing about him on his right  
hand, and on the left. And the Lord said who shall de-  
ceibe Achab the king of Israel, that he may goe up  
and be slaine in Ramoth Gilead? And one said this  
way.

He meaneth  
that warre  
is stirred up  
and procured  
by the  
pope, on  
the dissenti-  
on, to fight  
for the holy  
land, and not  
taken by prin-  
ces in neces-  
sary defence  
of themselves  
and of their  
country.

Objection.

Answer.  
Legibus a-  
gendum, non  
exemplis.  
True miracles  
best of holy  
men be not dis-  
proved, but  
speaking un-  
derstand, the  
Rabbe doctrine  
and word of  
God, is the  
sure rule for  
men to follow.

3 Reg. 12.

Achab decei-  
ved by false  
prophecie.



way, and another otherwise: now there went forth a spirit, and stood before the Lord and said; I will deceive him. To whom the Lord spake by what means? And he said, I will go forth, and be a lying spirit in the mouth of all his Prophets. And the Lord said, thou shalt deceive him and prevail, goe thy wayes forth, and do even so. Thus also it is written in Deuteronomium: If there shall arise a prophet amongst you or one that shall say, he hath seene a dreame, and shall forgettell a signe and a wonder; and if that shall come to passe that he hath spoken, and he shall say unto thee, let us go and follow strange Gods (whom thou knowest not) and let vs serve them; thou shalt not hearken unto the wordes of that prophet or dreamer; for the Lord your God tempteth you, to make it knowne whether ye love him, or no, with all your heart and with all your soule.

Iere. 23.

Prophets must be tried by doctrine.

Marke 13.  
Falle prophets

2 Cor. 11.

Apoc. 13.

In Jeremy the 23. chap. Are not my words even like fire, saith the Lord? and like an hammer that breaketh the stone? Therefore behold, I will come against the prophets which have dreamed a lie (saith the Lord) which have shewed those things, and have seduced the people through their lies and their miracles, when as I sent them not, neither commanded them; which have brought no profit unto this people (saith the Lord.) In Mark the 13. chapter, saith Christ; For there shall arise false Christs and false Prophets, and shall shew great signes and wonders to deceive if it were possible even the very elect. Paul in his second epistle to the Corinthians the 11. chap. Such false apostles are deceitfull workers, transforming themselves into the Apostles of Christ. And no marvel; for even Satan transformeth himselfe into an angel of light; therefore it is no great thing though his ministers transforme themselves, as though they were the ministers of righteousness, whose end shall be according to their works.

In the Apocalyps the 13. chapter, John saw a beast ascending up out of the earth, and it had two hogues like a lamb, but he spake like the Dragon, and he did all that the first beast could do before him; and he caused the earth, and the inhabitants thereof to worship the first beast, whose deadly wound was healed, and did great wonders, so that he made fire come downe from heaven on the earth in the sight of men, and deceived them that dwell on the earth, by means of the signes which were permitted him to doe in the sight of the beast.

By these things it is most manifest and plaine, that in miracles this manifold error offendeth hap-peneth, through the working of the devill, to deceive the people withall. Therefore we ought not for the working of miracles to depart from the commandements of God. I would to God that they which put confidence in miracles, would give heed unto the word of Christ, in the 7. chap. of Matthy, thus speaking; Many shall say unto me in that day, Lord, Lord, have we not in thy name prophesied? and in thy name cast out devils? and in thy name done many great works? &c. I will professe unto them, I never knew you, depart from me all ye which worke iniquity.

By this saying it is most manifest that the servants of Christ are not discerned by working of miracles, but by the working of vertues, departing from iniquity, and obeying the commandements of God. Therefore it is wonderfull, that any in this life dare presume to prevent the day of the iudgment of God, to iudge by means of miracles, that some are Saints whom men ought to worship, whom peradventure God will in the last iudgement condemn, saying; Depart from me all ye which worke iniquity. If any man could here on earth iudge sinners to be condemned; then if this iudgement were certain, Christ should not iudge the second time; and whatfever such iudges bind on earth, the same ought to be bound in heaven. But if such a iudg-

ment be uncertaine, then it is perillous and full of deceit, when as by it men on earth may in stead of Saints worship such as are damned with the fellowship of the Devils, and in prayer require their aide, who even like as the devils their companions are more ready and more of might to evill than to good, more to hurt than to profit. I wonder they make not what Christ said, when his kinswoman came unto him, desiring and requiring something of him, and saying; Command that these my two sonnes may sit one upon thy right hand, and the other upon thy left hand, in thy kingdome. But Jesus answering, said: Ye know not what ye aske, can ye drinke of the cup which I shall drinke of? they said unto him, we can. He said unto them, My cup indeed ye shall drinke, but to sit at my right hand or at my left, it is not mine to give, but unto whom it is prepared of my Father. Christ being equall unto the Father according to his Godhead, and exceeding all manner of men, according to his manhood, namely and goodnesse and wisdom, said; to sit at my right hand, or at my left, is not mine to give, but unto whom it is prepared of my Father. If it were none of his to give to sit at the right hand, or at the left, &c. how then is it in the power of any finfull man to give unto any man a seate either on the right hand, or on the left in the kingdome of God? which finfull man knoweth not whether such have any seate prepared for them of the Father in his kingdome. They much extoll themselves which exercise this iudicial power in giving iudgment, that there are some Saints which ought to be honored of men, by reason of the evidences of dreames, or of deceitfull miracles; of which men they are ignorant, whether God in his iudgment will condemne them or not, together with the Devils for ever to be tormented. Let them beware, for the unfall ble truth saith, that every one that exalteth himselfe shall be brought low.

By these things is gathered that the warres of Christians are not lawfull; for that by the doctrine and life of Christ they are prohibited, and by reason of the evidence of the deceitfull miracles of those which have made wars amongst the Christians, as well against the Christians, as also against the infidels. Because Christ could not erre in his doctrine, forasmuch as he was God: And forasmuch as heaven and earth shall passe away, but the words of Christ shall not passe away: he therefore which establisheth his lawes, allowing wars and the slaughter of men in war, as well of Christians, as of infidels, doth he not iustifie those things which are contrary unto the Gospel and law of Christ? Therefore in this he is against Christ, and therefore Antichrist; seducing the people, making men believe that to be lawfull and meritorious unto them, which is expressly prohibited by Christ.

And thus much concerning the first part, touching peace and warre, wherein he declareth Christ and the Pope to be contrary, that is, the one to be given all to peace, the other all to warre, and so to proove in conclusion the Pope to be Antichrist. Where in the meane time thou must understand (gentle reader) his meaning rightly; not that he so thinketh no kinde of wars among the Christians in any case to be lawfull, for he himselfe before hath openly professed the contrary: But that his purpose is to proove the pope in all his doings & teachings, more to be addicted to war than to peace; yea, in such cases, where is no necessity of war. And therein prooveth he the pope to be contrary to Christ, that is, to be Antichrist. Now he proceedeth farther to the second part, which is of mercy.

In which part he sheweth how Christ teacheth us to be mercifull, because mercy (as he saith) proceedeth from charity, and nourisheth it. In which doctrine of mercy, he breaketh not the Law of righteousness, for hee himselfe by mercy hath cleared us from

King.  
Ric. 2.  
When a woman  
is not  
ready to be  
indged saint.

This proposition of Calver Bucer, concerning the war of Christians, is not to be lawfull, is not to be taken universally, but in particular cases as he meaneth, which is this: that such wars allowed of the pope, not for the necessary defence of publicke peace, liberty, and safety of our countries, or against publicke injuries offered; but only to go and kill the infidels, because they believe not having no other cause: those wars the pope dotheth not.

Doctrine of  
Christian mer-  
cy declared.

The servants  
of Christ dis-  
cerned by wor-  
king not of  
miracles, but  
of vertues.

Miracles are  
to be tried.

Matth. 7.



{ KING }  
{ RIC. 2. }

Match. 5.

Match. 6.

Match. 7.

Match. 18.

Mercy and pitie  
commended  
among christi-  
ans.

Mercy and  
compassion ne-  
cessary to all  
Christians.

The pope con-  
trary to Christ  
in shewing  
mercy.  
1. q. 5.

The foundati-  
on of the fore-  
said 5. quest.  
caus. 22. in the  
pope's decrees,  
taken onely out  
of the old Te-  
stament, and  
nothing out of  
the new.

us from our finnes, from which we could not by the  
righteousnesse of the law be cleansed. But whom he  
hath made cleane by mercy, undoubtedly it behoveth  
those same to be also mercifull. For in the fifth  
chapter of Matthew he saith; Blessed are the mercifull,  
for they shall obtaine mercy. And againe in the  
6. of Matthew; If ye forgive unto men their finnes,  
your father will forgive unto you your finnes. And  
again, in the 7. chapter of Matthew; Judge not,  
and ye shall not be iudged, condemne not, and ye  
shall not be condemned, and with what measure ye  
measure, with the same shall it be measured unto  
you againe. In the 18 chapter of Matthew, Peter  
asked the Lord, saying; Lord, how often shall my  
brother sin against me, and I shall forgive him, se-  
ven times? Jesus said unto him; I say not unto thee  
seven times, but seventy times seven times. There-  
fore is the kingdom of heaven likened unto a cer-  
taine King, which would take account of his ser-  
vants. And when he had begun to reckon, one was  
brought unto him which oweth him ten thousand ta-  
lents: And because he had nothing wherewithall to  
pay, his master commanded him to be sold, and his  
wife and his children, and all that he had, and the  
debt to be paid. The servant therefore fell down, and  
besought him, saying, have patience with me, and I  
will pay thee all. And the Lord had pitie on that ser-  
vant, and loosed him, and forgave him the debt. But  
when that servant was departed, he found one of  
his fellow servants, which ought him an hundred  
pence, and he layed hands on him, and took him  
by the throat, saying, pay me that thou owest: and  
his fellow fell downe, and besought him, saying;  
Have patience with me, and I will pay thee all. But  
he would not, but went and cast him into prison, till  
he should pay the debt. And when his other fellowes  
saw the things that were done, they were very so-  
rie, and came and declared unto their master all  
that was done: Then his master called him, and said  
unto him; Thou ungracious servant, I forgave thee  
all that debt when thou desiredst me: Doughtest  
thou not then also to have such pitie on thy fellow,  
even as I had pitie on thee? And his Lord was  
wroth, and delivered him unto the paylors, till he  
should pay all that was due unto him. So likewise  
shall my heavenly father do unto you, except ye  
forgive from your hearts each one to his brother  
their trespasses.

By this doctrine it is most plaine and manifest,  
that every Christian ought to be mercifull unto his  
brother, how often soever he offendeth against him.  
Because we so often as we offend, do ask mercy of  
God. Wherefore forasmuch as our offence against  
God is far more grievous than any offence of our  
brother against us; it is plaine that it behoveth us  
to be mercifull unto our brethren, if we will have  
mercy at Gods hand. But contrary to this do-  
ctrine of mercy the Romish bishop maketh and con-  
firmeth many lawes, which punish offenders, even  
unto the death; as it is plaine by the processe of the  
decrees, Distin. 25. quest. 5. It is declared and determi-  
ned, that to kill men ex officio, that is having autho-  
rity and power so to do, is not sin. And againe; the  
souldier which is obedient unto the higher power,  
and so killeth a man, is not guilty of murder. And  
again, He is the minister of the Lord, which smiteth  
the evill in that they are evill, and killeth them.  
And many other such like things are throughout  
the whole processe of that question determined:  
What for certaine kinds of sins men ought by the  
rigour of the law to be punished even unto death.  
But the foundation of their saying they take out  
of the old law, in which for divers transgressions  
were appointed divers punishments. It is very  
much wonderfull unto me, why that wise men, be-  
ing the authors and makers of lawes, do alwayes  
for the foundation of their sayings take upon the  
shadow of the law, & not the light of the gospell of

Jesus Christ, for they give not heed unto the nature  
of perfection, nor yet unto the perfection of lawes. As  
it is not written in the 3. of John; God hath sent his  
Son into the world, to judge the world, but to save  
the world by him? In John the 8. Chapter, the  
Scribes and Pharisees being in a woman caught in  
adultery, and set her in the midst, and saying to  
Christ: Master, when now this woman was taken in  
adultery? But in the law Moyses hath comman-  
ded us to stone such a one: sayest thou therefore, that  
they said to tempt him, that they might accuse him.  
But Jesus stooped down, and with his finger wrote  
on the ground. And while they continued asking  
him, he lift himself up, and said unto them, let him  
that is among you without sin, cast the first stone at  
her. And again he stooped and wrote on the ground.  
And when they heard it, they went out one by one,  
beginning at the eldest: so Jesus was left alone and  
the woman standing in the midst. When Jesus  
had lift up himselfe againe, he said unto her: where  
be they which accused thee, hath no man condemned  
thee? She said, no man Lord. And Jesus said unto  
her: Neither doe I condemne thee. See thy way,  
and sin now no more.

It is manifest by the scriptures, that Christ was  
promised he should be king of the Jewes, and unto  
the kings pertained the iudgments of the law: but  
because he came not to iudge sinners according to  
the rigour of the law, but came according to grace,  
to save that which was lost, in calling the sinner to  
repentance: it is most plaine, that in the coming  
of the law of grace, he would have the iudgement of  
the law of righteousness to cease: for otherwise he  
had dealt unchristly with the foresaid woman, foras-  
much as the witnesses of her adultery, bare witness  
against her. Wherefore seeing the same King Christ  
was a Judge, if it had been his will, that the righte-  
ousnesse of the Law should be observed, he ought to  
have adiudged the woman to death, according as  
the law commanded: which thing forasmuch as he  
did not, it is most evident that the iudgements of  
the righteousness of the law are finished in the com-  
ming of the King, being King of the law of grace:  
even as the sacrifices of the priesthood of Aaron are  
finished in the coming of the priest, according to  
the order of Melchisedech, who hath offered himselfe  
up for our finnes: because, as it is before said, nei-  
ther the righteousness of the Law, nor sacrifices for  
sin, brought any man to perfection. Wherefore it  
was necessary that the same, by reason of their im-  
perfection should cease. And seeing among all the  
lawes of the world, the law of Moses was most iust;  
forasmuch as the author thereof was God, who is  
the most iust Judge: and by that law all was lost,  
what manner of injury one had done unto another,  
contrary to the commandement of the law, he like  
injury he should receive for his transgression, accord-  
ing to the upright iudgement of the Law: As  
death for death, a blow for a blow, burning for bur-  
ning, wound for wound, eye for eye, tooth for tooth,  
and most iust punishments were ordained accord-  
ing to the quantity of the finnes. But if this law  
of righteousness be cleane taken away in the com-  
ming of the law of grace, how then shall the law of  
the Gentiles remain among Christians, which was  
never so iust? Is not this true, that in them which  
are converted unto the faith, there is no distinction  
betwene the Jew and the Grecian? For both are  
under sin, and are iustified by grace in the faith of  
Christ, being called unto faith and unto the perfecti-  
on of the Gospell.

If therefore the Gentils converted, are not bound  
to play the Jewes, to follow the law of the Jewes:  
why should the Jewes converted, follow the lawes  
of the Gentiles which are not so good? Wherefore,  
it is to be wondered at, why thebes are among  
Christians, for they put to death, before as of the  
law of Moses they were not put to death. Christians  
13 h

\* Wherewithall  
is hee iustified,  
when hee comes  
unto the perfecti-  
on of the Gospell,  
the law of Moses  
is broken, and hee  
is bound to the  
law of grace, and  
not to the law of  
Moses.



suffer adulterers to live, Sodomites and they which curse father and mother, and many other horrible sinners: And they which according to the most iust law of God were condemned to death, are not put to death. So we neither keep the law of righteousness given of God, nor the law of mercy taught by Christ.

\* Take his meaning wisely (gentle reader) his mind is not so, that no magistrate, being not without sin, may punish a transgressor, but he speaketh against such Churchmen, who professing the title of mercy, shew no mercy at all, but all rigor, by their law, ex officio.

Wherefore the law-makers and Judges do not give heed unto the foresaid sentence of Christ unto the Scribes and Pharisees, who said: \* He which amongst you is without sin, let him cast the first stone at her. What is he that dareth to be bold as to say he is without sinne? Yea and without a grievous sinne, when as the transgression of the commandment of God is a grievous sinne? And who can say that he never transgressed this commandment of God, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thy selfe: Or the other commandment which is of greater force, Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, &c. Wherefore thou whatsoever thou art that iudgeth thy brother unto death, thinkest thou that thou shalt escape the iudgment of God, which peradventure hath offended more grievously than he hath whom thou iudgeth? How seest thou a mote in thy brothers eye, and seest not a beame in thine owne eye? Knowest thou not that with what measure thou measurest, that same shall be measured to you againe? Doth not the Scripture say; Unto me belongeth vengeance, and I will render againe, saith the Lord: How can any man say that these men can with charity keep these iudgements of death? Who is it that offendeth God, and desireth of God iust iudgement for his offence? He desireth not iudgement but mercy. If he desire mercy for himselfe, why desireth he vengeance for his brother offending? How therefore loveth he his brother as himselfe? Or how doest thou shew mercy unto thy brother (as thou art bound by the commandment of Christ) which seeketh the greatest vengeance upon him that thou canst inferre unto him? For death is the most terrible thing of all, and a more grievous vengeance than death; can no man infer. Wherefore, they which will keep charity ought to observe the Commandments of Christ touching mercy; and they which live in the law of charity, ought to leave the law of vengeance & iudgments. Dought we to believe that Christ in his coming by grace abrogated the most iust law which he himselfe gave unto the children of Israel by Moses his servant, and established the lawes of the Gentiles being not so iust to be observed of his faithfull? Doth not Daniel expound the dreame of Nabuchodonozor the king concerning the image, whose head was of gold, the brest and armes of silver, the belly and thighs of brasle, the legs of iron, one part of the feet was of iron, and the other part of clay. Nabuchodonozor saw that a stone was cut out of a mountaine without hands, and strake the image in his feet of iron and of clay, and brake them to pieces. Then was the iron, the clay, the brasle, the silver and gold broken all together, and became like the chaffe of the sommer flower, which is carried away by the wind, and there was no place found for them; and the stone that smote the image became a great mountaine, and filled the whole earth. He applieth therefore foure kingdomes unto the foure parts of the image; namely, the kingdome of the Babylonians unto the head of the gold; the kingdome of the Medes and Persians unto the brest and armes of silver; the kingdome of the Grecians unto the belly and thighs of brasle; but the fourth kingdome which is of the Romanes, he applieth unto the feet and legges of iron. And Daniel addeth in the daies of their kingdomes shall God raise up a kingdome which shall never be destroyed: And his kingdome shall not be delivered unto another, but it shall brake and destroy those kingdomes: and it shall stand for ever, according as thou sawest, that the

\* We meaneth of the pope, and of the clergy.

We weaken against the desire of revenge; not against the execution of necessary law done by magistrates.

The dreame of Nabuchodonozor, concerning the image expounded by Daniel.

stone was cut out of the mountaine without hands, and brake in pieces the clay, and iron, brasle, silver, and gold. Seeing therefore it is certaine that this stone signifieth Christ, whose kingdome is for ever: it is also a thing most assured, that he ought to raigne every where, and to brake in pieces the other kingdomes of the world. Wherefore if terrestriall kings, and the terrestriall kingdome of the Jewes, and their lawes & iudgments have ceased by Christ the king, calling the Jewes unto the perfection of his Gospell, namely, unto Faith and Charity; it is not to be doubted, but that the kingdome of the Gentiles, which is more imperfect, and their lawes, ought to cease among the Gentiles, departing from their gentility unto the perfection of the Gospell of Jesus Christ. For there is no distinction between the Jewes and Gentiles being converted unto the faith of Christ; but all of them abiding in that eternall kingdome, ought to be under one law of charity and of vertue. Therefore they ought to have mercy, and to leave the iudgements of death, and the desire of vengeance. Wherefore they which do make lawes marke not the parable of Christ saying: The kingdome of heaven is like unto a man which sowed good seed in his field: but when men were on sleep, the enemy came and sowed tares in the midst of the wheat, and went his way. But when the herbe was growne and brought forth fruit, then appeared the tares. And the servants came unto the god man of the house and said unto him, Lord, didst not thou sow good seed in thy field? from whence then come these tares? And he said unto them: the enemy hath done this. And the servants said unto him: wilt thou that we go and gather them up? And he said no, lest peradventure gathering up the tares ye pluck up the wheat by the roots: Suffer them both to grow untill the harvest, and in the time of the harvest, I will say unto the harvest men, gather first the tares and binde them in bundles, that they may be burnt, but gather the wheat into my barn. Christ himselfe only expoundeth this parable in the selfesame chapter, saying: He which soweth the good seed is the sonne of man, but the field is the world, and the good seed, those are the children of the kingdome. But the tares are the naughty children. And the enemy which soweth them is the devil. And the harvest is the end of the world, and the harvest men are the Angels. When as therefore the tares are gathered and burnt with fire, so shall it be in the end of the world. The son of man shall send his Angels, and they shall gather out of his kingdome all offenders and those which commit iniquity, and shall put them into a furnace of fire, there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.

By which plaine Doctrine it is manifest, that Christ will have mercy shewed unto sinners, even unto the end of the world, and will have them to remaine mingled with the good: Lest peradventure when a man thinketh that he doth right well, to take away the tares, he taketh away the wheat. For how great a sinne soever a man be, we know not whether his end shall be good, and whether in the end he shall obtaine mercy of God: Neither are we certaine of the time, wherein God will by grace iudge him whom we abhorre as a sinner. And peradventure such a one shall more profit after his conversion in the Church, than he whom we thinke to be iust, as it came to passe in Paul. And if God iudgeth a man by grace (although at his end) why dareth thou be so bold to be his iudge, and to condemn him? Yea rather, although a man seeme to be obstinate and hardened in his evill, so that he is not corrected by a secret correction (correct him before one alone;) if he do not receive open correction being done before two or three witnesses; neither passest upon a manifest correction when his sinne is made knowne unto the Church: Christ doth not teach to punish such

{ KING }  
{ R I C . 2 . }  
The Iudaical necessity of those lawes becometh to cease, notwithstanding Christian Princes may borrow both out of those lawes, and out of all other, what they think good and expedient for their common-weale.

His purpose is not that no evil doer should be punished in a commonwealth, but his relation is to the 23. q. 5. aforesaid, noting causes of religion, which the pope and his prelates are wont to punish with death, taking many times for tares that which indeed is pure wheat.



{KING}  
{RIC. 2.}  
1 Cor. 5.

such a one with the punishment of death. *Pea* rather he saith, If he hearken not unto the Church, let him be unto thee as an Ethnick and Publican. And Paul following this doctrine in the 1 Corinth. 5. chapter, saith; There goeth a common saying, that there is fornication among you, and such fornication as is not once named among the Gentiles, that one should have his fathers wife. And ye are puffed up, and have not rather sorrowed, that he which hath done this deed might be put from among you. For I verily as absent in body, but present in Spirit, have already determined, as though I were present, that he which hath done this thing, when ye are gathered together and my Spirit, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that such a one by the power of our Lord Jesus Christ, be delivered unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the Spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus. Paul teacheth not to kill this man (as some gather by this text) but to separate him from the other faithful, and so from Christ, which is the head of the Church of the faithful, and so is he delivered unto Satan, which is separated from Christ, that the flesh may be killed, that is, that the carnall concupiscence, whereby he luxuriously lusted after the wife of his father, may be destroyed in him by such a separation, that the Spirit may be saved; and not that his body should be killed, as some say; as it is most manifest in the same chap. where he saith: I wrote unto you an epistle, that you should not keep company with fornicators; & I meant not of all the fornicators of this world, either of the covetous, or extortioners, or idolaters, for then must ye needs have gone out of the world. But now I have written unto you, that ye keep not company together; if any that is called a brother be a fornicator, or covetous person, or a worshipper of images, either a cursed speaker, or drunkard, or an extortioner; with him that is such see that ye eat not.

By which it is manifest, that Paul would have the foresaid fornicator separated from the fellowship of the faithful: that his carnall concupiscence might be mortified, for the health of the Spirit, and not that the body should be killed. Wherefore they do ill understand Paul, which by this saying do confirm the killing of men. And forsomuch as heretike is one of the most grievous sins (for an heretike leadeth men in errors, whereby they are made to stray from faith, without which they cannot be saved) it doth most great hurt in the Church.

Further as concerning such a wicked man, Paul thus speaketh, &c. from the man that is an heretike after the first and second correction, knowing that such a one is subverted and sinneth, forsomuch as he is by his owne iudgement condemned. Behold, Paul teacheth not to kill this man, but with Christ to separate him from the fellowship of the faithful. But some say, that Peter in the primitive Church slew Ananias and Sapphira for their sinnes, wherefore they say it is lawfull for them to condemn wicked men to death. We will declare in shewing the whole processe how falsly they speak in alleaging of Peter, to iustifie their error.

In the fourth chap. of the Acts it is written, that as many as were possessors of lands or houses, they sold them and offered the prices of that which they sold, and laid it before the feet of the Apostles: and it was divided unto every one as he had need thereof. But a certaine man called Ananias with Sapphira his wife sold a peece of land, and kept backe a part of the price of the field, his wife being privy unto it, and bringing a certaine part thereof, he laid it at the feet of the Apostles. But Peter said unto Ananias: Ananias, why hath Satan tempted thy heart that thou shouldst lie unto the holy Ghost, to keepe back a part of the price of the land? Did it not whilst it remained, remaine unto thee: and being sold, was it not in thine owne power? Why

hast thou conceived this thing in thine heart? Thou hast not lied unto men, but unto God. And when Ananias heard these words, he fell downe and gave up the Ghost and great feare came on all them that heard these things. And the young men rose up and took him up, and carried him out, and buried him. And it came to passe about the space of three houres after, that his wife came in being ignorant of that which was done. And Peter said unto her, Tell me woman, sold ye the land for so much? And she said, yea for so much. But Peter said unto her, why have ye agreed together to tempt the Spirit of the Lord? Behold the feet of them which buried thy husband are at the doore, and shall carry thee out. And straightway she fell downe before his feet, and gave up the Ghost, and the young men entering in found her dead, and they carried her out, and buried her by her husband. And great feare came on all the Church and all those which heard these things. It is marvellous that any man that is wise, will say that by this processe Peter slew Ananias or his wife. For it was not his act, but the act of God, who made a wedding to his sonne, and sent his servants to call them that were bidden unto the wedding, and they would not come. The King then sent forth his servants to the outgoers of the hie wayes, to gather all that they could find, both good and evil, and so they did. And the marriage was full furnished with guests: Then came in also the king to view and see them sitting; among whom he perceived there one sitting having not a wedding garment, and saith unto him, friend how camest thou hither? And he being dumb had not a word to speak. Then said the king to the servants, take and binde him hand and foot, and cast him into the outward darknesse, there shall he weeping and gnashing of teeth. Many there be called, but few chosen, &c.

It is manifest, that this wedding garment is charity, without which because Ananias entred into the marriage of Christ, he was given to death, that by one many might be informed to learne and understand; that they which have faith and not charity, although they appeare to men to have, yet it cannot be privy to the Spirit of God, that they do feine. Such there are no doubt, but they shall be excluded from the marriage of Christ, as we see this here exemplified in the death of Ananias and his wife by the hand of God, and not by the hand of Peter. And how should Peter then have iudged Ananias (albeit he had iudged him) worthy of death by the rigour of the old law? For why, by the law he had not bene guilty of death, for that part which they fraudulently and dissemblingly did referre to themselves: *Pea*, and if they had stolne as much from another man, which was greater: neither yet for his lie committed, he had therefore by that law of iustice bene found guilty of death. Wherefore if he did not condemne him by the law of iustice, it appeareth that he condemned him by the Law of grace and mercy, which he learned of Christ. And so consequently it followeth much more apparent, that Peter could not put him to death. Furthermore to say that Peter put him to death by the mere motion of his own will, and not by the authority of the old law, nor by the new, it were derogatorie and slanderous to the good fame and name of Peter. But if Peter did kill him, why then doth the Bishop of Rome which pretendeth to be successor of Peter, excuse himselfe and his priests from the iudgement of death against hereticks and other offenders, although they themselves be consenting to such iudgements done by lay men? For that which was done of Peter without offence, may reasonably excuse him and his fellow Priests from the spot of crime: Acts 5. It is manifest that there was another which did more grievously offend than Ananias, & that Peter rebuked him with more sharp words: but yet he commanded him not so to be put to death.

h h h 2 For

Peter not the cause of the death of Ananias and Sapphira.

The wedding garment what it is.

The death of Ananias and his wife, what information it giveth to the Church.

Peter not the cause of Ananias death.

Hereby it appeareth, that all his relation in this matter toucheth onely the cases of heretike and opinions in religion.

By this it appeareth againe, that his respect is onely to the love and his relates of the Church, and not so civill magistrats.

The example of Peter slaying Ananias and Sapphira, which is written of the papists.



Acts 5.

For Simon Magus also remaining at Samaria, after that he belayed and was baptized, he ioyned himselfe with Philip: and when he saw that the holy spirit was given by the Apostles (laying their hands upon men) he offered them money, saying: Give unto me this power, that upon whomsoever I shall lay my hand, he shall receive the holy Ghost. To whom Peter answered: Destroyed be thou and thy money together: And for that thou supposest the gift of God to be bought with money, thou shalt have neither part nor fellowship in this doctrine. Thy heart is not pure before God; therefore repent thee of thy wickednesse, and pray unto God that this wicked thought of thy heart may be forgiven thee: for I perceive thou art even in the bitter gall of wickednesse and band of iniquity. Behold here the greivous offence of Simon. Peters hard and sharp rebuking of him, and yet thereupon he was not put to death. Whereby it appeareth that the death of Ananias aforesaid proceeded of God and not of Peter. Of all these things it is to be gathered, seeing the iudgements of death are not grounded upon the expresse and plaine Scriptures, but only under the shadow of the old law: that they are not to be observed of Christians because they are contrary to charity. Ergo, the Bishop of Rome approving such iudgements alloweth those that are contrary to the law and doctrine of Christ, as before is said of Iuars, where he approveth and iustificeth that which is contrary to charity. The order of priesthood, albeit it both iustifie the iudgements to death of the laity, whereby offenders are condemned to die, yet are they themselves forbidden to put in execution the same iudgements. The Priests of the old law being imperfect, when Pilate said unto them concerning Christ (whom they had accused worthy death) take him unto you and according to your law iudge him, answered: that it was not lawfull for them to put to death any man.

John 18.

Whereby it appeareth y<sup>e</sup> our priests, being much more perfect, may not lawfully give iudgement of death against any offenders: yet notwithstanding, they claime unto them the power iudiciall upon offenders: Because, say they, it belongeth unto them to know the offences by the auricular confession of the offenders, and to iudge upon the same being knowne, and to impute diverse penances unto the parties offending, according to the quantity of their offences committed, so that the sinner may make satisfaction, say they, unto God for the offences which he never committed. And to confirme unto them this iudiciall power, they alleage the Scriptures in many places, wresting it to serve their purpose.

It is a pulled Hen.

First, they say that the Bishop of Rome (who is the chiefe priest and iudge among them) hath full power and authority to remit sinnes. Whereupon they say that he is able fully and wholly to absolve a man a pœna & culpa, so that if a man at the tyme of his death had this remission, he should straightwayes flie unto heaven without any paine of Purgatory. The other bishops (as they say) have not so great authoritie. The Priests constituted under every Bishop, have power, say they, to absolve the sinnes of them that are confessed, but not all kinde of sinnes: because they are some greivous sinnes referred to the absolutions of the Bishops: and some againe to the absolution only of the chief and high bishop. They say also that it becometh the offender, for the necessity of their soules health, to call to remembrance their offences, and to manifest the same with all the circumstances thereof, unto the Priest in auricular confession, supplying the place of God, after the manner of a Judge: and afterward humbly to fulfill the penance entoynd unto him by the Priest for his sinnes, except the said penance be entoynd, or any part thereof, be released by the superior power. All these things (say they)

are manifestly determined, as well in the decrees as decretals. And although these things have not expressely their foundation in the plaine and manifest doctrine of Christ, nor any of the Apostles; yet the authors of the decrees and decretals concerning this matter have grounded the same upon divers places of the Scriptures, as in the proesse of Christ in the Gospell of Saint Matthew the 16. chapter. Whereupon they ground the popes power iudiciall to surmount the powers of other Priests, as where Christ said unto his disciples: Whom do men say that I am? And they answered, some say that thou art John Baptist, some Elias, and some Jeremie, or one of the Prophets. To whom he said: but who say you that I am? Simon Peter making answer, said: Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God. And Jesus answered and said unto him: Blessed art thou Simon the sonne of Ionas; for flesh and blood hath not opened this unto thee; but my Father which is in heaven. And I say unto thee that thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my Church, and hell gates shall not prevaile against it. And I will give thee the keyes of the kingdome of heaven. And whatsoever thou shalt binde upon earth, shall also be bound in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt lose upon earth, shall be lost also in heaven.

Out of this Text of Christ, divers expositions have drawn divers errors. For when Christ said: and I say unto thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my Church: Some thereupon affirm that Christ meant he would build his church upon Peter by authority of that text, as it is written in the first part of the decrees. Dist. 19. cap. 1. It Dominus noster. The exposition hereof is ascribed to pope Leo; the error whereof is manifestly knowne. For the Church of Christ is not builded upon Peter, but upon the rock of Peters confession, for that he said: Thou art Christ the Sonne of the living God. And for that Christ said singularly unto Peter: I will give unto thee the keyes of the kingdome of heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt binde, &c. By this saying they affirm, that Christ gave unto Peter specially, as chief of the rest of the Apostles, a larger power to binde and to lose, than he did unto the rest of the Apostles & Disciples. And because Peter answered for himselfe and all the Apostles, not only confessing the faith which he chiefly abode the rest, but also the faith which the rest of the Apostles had even as himselfe, by the revelation of the heavenly Father: It appeareth that as the faith of all the Apostles was declared by the answer of one: so by this that Christ said unto Peter, whatsoever thou shalt binde, &c. is given unto the rest of the Apostles, the same power and equality to binde and to lose, as unto Peter. Which Christ declareth in the Gospell of Saint Matthew, the 18. chapter, in these words: Verily I say unto you, what things soever you shall binde upon earth, shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever you shall lose upon earth, shall be also lost in heaven. And further he addeth: And againe I say unto you, that if two of you shall consent upon earth, and request whatsoever it be: it shall be granted unto you of my Father which is in heaven. For when two or three be gathered together in my name, I am there in the midst of them. And in John the 20. chapter, he saith generally unto them: Receive ye my Spirit. Whose sinnes ye shall remit, shall be remitted unto them: and whose sinnes you shall retaine, shall be retained.

By this it appeareth that the power to binde and to lose is not specially granted to Peter, as chiefe and head of the rest: and by him the rest had their power to binde and to lose; for that the head of the body of the Church is one, which is Christ, and the head of Christ is God. Peter & the rest of the Apostles are the good members of the body of Christ, receiving power and vertue of Christ; whereby they do confirm & clew together the other members (as well

{KING}  
{RIC 2,}

Matth. 16.

The Popes usurped power  
fully founded  
upon Scriptures.Dist. 9 cap. 11a  
De iurisdictione.The place of  
Christ giving  
the keyes to  
Peter, Mat. 16  
aptly expounded.

Matth. 18.

John 20.

Christ only  
head of the  
Church.



{KING}  
{RIC. 2.}

1 Cor. 3.

Galath. 2.

Acts 9.

The third er-  
rour.

well the strong and noble, as the weake and unable, to a perfect composition and comeliness of the body of Christ: that all honour from all parts and members may be given unto Christ as head and chiefe, by whom as head all the members are governed. And therefore Paul, 1 Corinthians chap. 3. When one man saith I hold of Paul, and another saith I hold of Apollo, are ye not carnall men? For what is Apollo: what is Paul? The minister of him in whom ye have beleued, and he as God giueth vnto every man. I haue plantid, Apollo hath watered, but God hath giuen the increase. Therefore neither he that planteth is any thing, neither he that watereth, but God that giueth the increase. And Paul to the Gal. 2. God hath no respect of persons. Those that seemed to bee great and doe much, auailed or profited me nothing at all: But contrariwise, when they saw that the Gospell of the vncircumcision was committed unto me, as the circumcision unto Peter (for he that wrought with Peter in the Apostleship of the circumcision, wrought with mee also among the Gentiles) and when they knew the grace which was given mee, Peter, James and Iohn straightwayes joyned themselves with me and Barnabas: that we among the Gentiles, and they in circumcision onely might bee mindefull of the poore, the which to doe, I was very carefull. Hereby it appeareth, that Paul had not his authority of Peter to convert the Gentiles, to baptize them, and to remit their sinnes, but of him which said unto him, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? It is hard for thee to kicke against the pricke. Here is Paul of the head of the Church, and not of Peter: By which head they say, that all the members are sustained and made lively.

The third errour which the authors of the Canons conceine in the said text of Christ, which was said to Peter, Unto thee will I giue the keyes, &c. is this; They say that in this sentence which was said to Peter of the authority to binde and lose, was meant, that as Christ gaue vnto Peter aboue all the rest of the Apostles a speciall, and as it were an excellent power aboue all the Apostles: euen so, say they, he gaue power vnto the Bishops of Rome (whom they call Peters chiefe successors) the same speciall power and authority, exceeding the power of all other Bishops of the world.

The first part of this similitude and comparison, both appeare manifestly by the premises to be erroneous: wherein is plainly shewed, that the other Apostles had equall power with Peter to binde and lose. Wherefore consequently it followeth the second part of the similitude, grounded vpon the same text, to be also erroneous. But and if the first part of the said similitude were truth, as it is not, yet the second part must needs be an errour, wherein is said, that the Bishops of Rome are Peters chiefe successors. For although there be but one Catholike Christian Church, of all the faithfull sort conuer-  
ted vnto the faith, for that they faithfully obserued the perfection of charity, as appeareth in the Acts of the Apostles by the multitude of the beleuers. They were of one heart, and one soule, neither called they any thing that they possessed, their own, but all was common amongst them.

Hereupon Paul to the Romans: Salutation to euery beleuer, first to the Jew, and to the Greeks after the Jewes. The Greeks were the second, and after the Jewes, next converted, and after them the Romanes, taking their information of the Greeks, as appeareth by the Chronicles, although indeed some Romanes were converted vnto the faith by Peter and Paul. And as Christ said thirce vnto Peter, feed my sheepe, so Peter ruled these three Churches, as witnesseth the Chronicles. But first

he reformed the Church of the Jewes in Jerusalem and Judea, as appeareth by the testimony of the Acts of the Apostles. For Acts 1. it is manifest how Peter standing by amongst his brethren, spake vnto them concerning the election of an Apostle in the place of Judas the traitor, alledging places vnto them out of the Scripture, that another should take vpon him his Apostleship. And so by lot was Peter constituted in the place of Judas, Acts 2.

After that the Holy Ghost was come vpon the Apostles, and that they spake with the tongues of all men, the hearers were astonished at the miracle. And some mocked them, saying: these men are full of new wine: But Peter stood up and spake vnto them saying: that it was fulfilled in them that was prophesied by Joel the Prophet, and he preached vnto the people Christ, whom they of ignorance had put to death. To whom was a Saviour promised by the testimony of the Prophets. And when they heard the words of Peter, they were pricked at the heart, saying vnto him and the rest of the Apostles: What shall we then doe? And Peter said vnto them, repent, and let euery one of you be baptized in the name of Iesus Christ for the remission of your sinns, and ye shall receive the holy Ghost. And there were ioyned vnto them the same day about three thousand soules. And Acts 3. 4. 5. it appeareth, that Peter about the rest did those things which belonged to the ministry of the Apostleship, as well in preaching as in answering. Whereupon some Chonicles say, that Peter governed the Church of the Jewes at Jerusalem, 4. yeeres before he governed Antioch. And by the testimony of Paul to the Galath. as before is said, the Gospell of the vncircumcision is committed to Paul, euen as the circumcision to Peter. And he that wrought with Peter in the Apostleship of circumcision, wrought with Paul amongst the Gentiles: Whereby it appeareth that the Church of the Jewes was committed to the government of Peter. And in the processe of the Acts of the Apostles it appeareth, that Peter beleued that the Faith of Christ was not to be preached vnto those Gentiles, which alwayes lived in uncleanness of Idolatry. But when Peter was at Ioppe, Cornelius a Gentile sent unto him that he would come and shew him the way of life: But Peter (a little before the coming of the messengers of Cornelius) being in his chamber, after he had prayed, fell in a trance, and saw heaven open, and a certaine vessel descending euen as a great sheet, letten downe by foure corners from heauen to earth. In the which were all manner of four-footed beasts, serpents of the earth, and fowles of the ayre. And a voice spake unto him, saying: Arise Peter, kill and eat: and Peter said, Not so Lord, because I have never eaten any common or uncleane thing. This was done thrice. And Peter descended (not knowing what the vision did signifie) and found the messengers of Cornelius.

As concerning the authority iudiciall of the clergy, many things are written thereof in the canons of decrees, greatly to be inuuelled at, and far from the truth of the scripture. The authors of the canons say, that Christ gaue vnto the priests power iudiciall all ouer sinners that confessed their sinns vnto them. And this they ground vpon the text of Christ: I will giue vnto thee the keyes of the kingdome of heauen, and what soeuer thou loost, &c. And these keyes of the kingdome of heauen, they call the knowledge to discern, and the power to iudge, which they say onely belongeth to the priests, except in case of necessity; then they say a layman may absolve a man from sin. And as touching absolution, they say there are three things to be required on the sinners part: first, hearty contrition, whereby the sinners ought to be aware their offending of God through sinns: the second is, auricular confession, whereby the sinner ought to shew vnto the Priest his sinnes, and the circumstances of them; the third is satisfaction

Acts 1.

Acts 2.

Acts 3. 4. 5.  
Peter governed the Church at Jerusalem 4. yeeres before hee governed Antioch.  
Galath. 2.

7

Other Apostles had like power to binde and to loose as Peter had.

Acts 2.

Rom. 1.

Peter ruled three Churches

The keyes of Christs kingdome.

Absolution.  
Three things required in po-  
pish absolution:  
Contrition.  
Confession.  
Satisfaction.



Two things  
required on his  
part that giveth  
popply absoluti-  
on.

Decret de preni-  
sentia.

Iohn 3.

Iohn 5.

Matth. 25

The saints  
shall iudge  
with Christ.

2 Cor. 4.

Iohn 20.

through penance inioyned unto him by the priest for his sinnes committed. And of his part that giveth absolution there are two things (say they) to be required: that is to say, knowledge to discern one sinne from another, whereby he ought to make a difference of sinnes, and appoint a convenient penance, according to the quantitie of the sinnes. The second is, authoritie to iudge, whereby he ought to inioyne penance to the offender. And further they say, that he that is confessed ought with all humilitie to submit himselfe to this authoritie, and wholly and voluntarily to do those penances which are commanded him by the priest, except the said penance be released by a superiour power: for all Priests (as they say) have not equal authority to absolve sinnes. The chiefe priest whom they call Peters successeur, hath power fully and wholly to absolve. But the inferior priests have power, some more, some lesse. The more as they are nere him in dignity, the lesse as they are farther from the degree of his dignitie. All this is declared by procelle in the decrees, but not by the expresse doctrine of Christ, or any of his apostles. For although Christ absolved men from their sins, I doe not finde that he did it after the manner of a Judge, but of a Saviour. For Christ saith, God sent not his Sonne into the world to iudge sinners, but that the world should be saved by him: Iohn chap. 3. Whereupon he spake unto him whom he healed of the palsey: Behold thou art made whole, go thy waies and sinne no more. And to the woman taken in adultery Christ said; Woman, where be thy accusers? hath no man condemned thee? who said, No man Lord. To whom then, Iesus thus said; No more wilt I condemne thee; go and sinne no more.

By which words and deeds of Christ, and many other places of the Scripture it appeareth, hee was not as a Judge at his first coming, to punish sinners according to the quantity of their offences; but that day shall come hereafter, wherein he shall iudge all men according to their workes, as in Matth. 25. where he saith, when the Sonne of man shall come in his Maiestie, and all his Angels with him; then shall he sit upon the seat of his maiestie, and all nations shall be gathered together before him, and hee shall separate them one from another, as a sheepeheard separateth the sheepe from the goats, &c. Yet ther shall he iudge alone, but his saints also with him. For hee saith; You that have followed me in this generation, when the Sonne of man shall sit in the seat of his maiesty, shall sit also upon twelve seats, and iudge the twelve tribes of Israel. If then Christ came not as a Judge, why do the priests say that they supply the roome of Christ on earth, to iudge sinners according to the quantitie of their offences? And yet not only this, but it is more to be marvelled at, how the Bishop of Rome dares to take upon him to be a iudge before the day of iudgment, and to prevent the tyme, iudging the some to be saints in heaven, and to be honoured of men, and some againe to be tormented in hell eternally with the devils: Would God these men would weigh the saying of S. Paul, 1 Cor. 4. Judge yee not before the tyme until the coming of the Lord, who shall make light the dark and secret places, and disclose the secrets of heart; and then every one shall have his praise. Let the bishop of Rome take heed, lest that in Ezekiel be spoken by him; Because thy heart is elevated, and thou saidst unto thy selfe, I am God, I have sitten in the seat of God, and in the heart of the Sea, when thou art but man, and not God. It is manifest that the remission of sinnes principally belongeth to God, who through grace washeth away our sinner. For it is said; The Lamb of God taketh away the sinnes of the world. And unto Christians it belongeth as the ministers of God. For in the 20 of Iohn, Christ saith; Receive unto you the Holy Ghost: whose sins you shall remit, they are remitted unto them; and whose sinnes

you shall retaine, they are retained. Seeing therefore that all Christians that are baptised in the name of the Father, and of the Sonne, and of the Holy Ghost, receive the Holy Ghost; it appeareth that they have power given to them of Christ, to remit sinne ministerially. Hath not every Christian authoritie to baptise? and in the baptisme all the sins of the baptised are remitted. Ergo, they that do baptise do remit sinnes. And thus ministerially all such have power to remit sinnes. Therefore to say that one man hath more authoritie to remit sinnes than all other Christians have, is too much to exalt him, and to place him even in Gods seat. I pray you how are the sinnes remitted him that is baptised of the priest (yea, although hee were of the pope himselfe baptised) more than if he were baptised of another Christian? Surely I thinke no more. For seeing that before baptisme he remaineth a sinner, and of the kingdome of the devill by sinne, after baptisme he entereth into the kingdome of heaven; it appeareth that hee that doth baptise, openeth the gate of the kingdome of heaven to him that is baptised; the which hee cannot do without the keyes of the kingdome of heaven. Therefore every one that doth baptise, hath the keyes of the kingdome of heaven; as well the inferior priest as the pope. But these keyes are not the knowledge to discern, and power to iudge, because these doe nothing avail in baptisme: Ergo, there are other keyes of the kingdome of heaven than these. Wherefore it seemeth that the authors of the Canons erred in mistaking the keyes, whereupon they ground the authoritie iudiciall of the clergie.

How a little error in the beginning granted, groweth to great inconvenience in the end. Wherefore in my iudgement it seemeth that the keyes of the kingdome of heaven, are faith and hope. For by faith in Iesus Christ, and hope in him for the remission of sinnes, we enter the kingdome of heaven. This faith is a spirituall water, springing from Iesus Christ the fountaine of wisdom, wherein the soule of the sinner is washed from sinne. With this water were the faithfull Patriarchs baptised before the law, and the faithfull people of the Hebrewes, and the faithfull Christians after the law. Wherefore I greatly marvel of that saying in the decrees, which is ascribed unto Augustine: that little Children that are not baptised shall be tormented with eternall fire, although they were borne of faithfull Parents that wished them with all their hearts to have been baptised: as though the sacrament of baptisme in water were simply necessary to salvation, when nevertheless many Christians are saved without this kind of baptisme, as Parytyes. If that kind of sacrament be not necessary to one of elder yers, how then is it necessary to an infant borne of the faithfull? Are not all baptised with the holy Ghost, and with fire? But yet not with materiall fire: no more is the lotion of water corporally necessary to wash away sinnes, but only spirituall water, that is to say, the water of faith. Are not the quicke baptised for them that are dead? as witnesseth Paul, 1 Cor. 15. If the dead rise not at all, why are the living then baptised for them? If the living be baptised for the dead, why then is not the infant saved by the baptisme of his parents; seeing the infant if self is impotent at the tyme of death, and not able to require baptisme? Christ saith; He that believeth and is baptised shall be saved. Hee saith not, he that is not baptised, but he that believeth not shall be damned. Wherefore in the 12. chap. of Iohn, Christ saith; I am the resurrection and life; he that believeth in me, yea, although he were dead, shall live. The faith therefore is necessary which the infants hath in his faithfull parents, although he be not washed with corporall water. How then is the infant damned & tormented with eternall fire? Were not they that were before the coming of Christ, and dead before his

{ KING }  
{ RIC, 2 }

The ministeriall power to remit sinne, belongeth wel to our priest as to another.

The keyes of the kingdome of heaven.

The keyes mistaken in the popes canons.

Faith and hope be the keyes of heaven.

1 Cor. 15.

Iohn. 12.



{ KING }  
{ RIC. 2. }

his death by a thousand peeres, saved also by his death and passion: All that belived in him were baptised in his blood, and so were saved and redeemed from sinne and the bondage of the devill, and made partakers of the kingdome of heaven. Now then in the time of grace shall the infant bee damned that is borne of faithfull parents, that doe not despise, but rather desire to have their children baptised: I dare not consent to so hard a sentence of the Decrees; but rather believe that hee is saved by vertue of the passion of Christ in faith of his faithfull parents, and the hope which they have in Christ. Which faith and hope are the keyes of the heavenly kingdome. God were not iust and mercifull, if he would condemne a man that believeth not in him, except he shewed unto him the faith which he ought to believe. And therefore Christ saith; If I had not come and spoken unto them, sin could not have bene laid unto their charge; but now they have no excuse of sin. Therefore seeing the faith of Christ is not manifest unto the infant departing before baptism, neither hath he denied it; how then shall hee be damned for the same? But if God speaketh inwardly by way of illumination of the intelligence of the infant, as hee speaketh unto Angels; who then knoweth (save God alone) whether the infant receiveth or not receiveth the faith of Christ?

What is hee therefore that so rashly doth take upon him to iudge the infants begotten of faithfull parents, dying without baptism, to bee tormented with eternall fire? Now let us consider the three things which the Canons of decrees affirme to bee requisite for the remission of the sinnes of those that sinne after baptism: that is to say, contrition of heart, auricular confession, and satisfaction of the deed through penance enjoined by the priest for the sins committed. I cannot finde in any place in the Gospell, where Christ commanded that this kinde of confession should be done unto the priest: nor can I finde that Christ assigned any penance unto sinners for their sinnes, but that he willed them to sin no more. If a sinner confesse that he hath offended God through sinne, and sorroweth heartily for his offences, minding hereafter no more to sinne; then is he truly repentant for his sinne, and then he is converted unto the Lord. If he shall then humbly and with good hope crave mercy at God and remission of his sinnes: what is hee that can let God to absolve that sinner from his sinne? And as God absolveth a sinner from his sinne, so hath Christ absolved many, although they confessed not their sins unto the priests, and although they received not due penance for their sinnes. And if Christ could after that manner once absolve sinners; how is hee become now not able to absolve? Except some man will say that he is above Christ, and that his power is diminished by the ordinances of his owne lawes. How were sinners absolved of God in the time of the Apostles, and alwayes heretofore, unto the time that these Canons were made? I speake not these things as though confession to Priests were wicked; but that it is not of necessitie requisite unto salvation. I believe verily that the confession of sins unto good priests, and likewise to other faithfull christians, is good, as witnesseth St. James the Apostle: Confesse ye your selves one to another, and pray ye one for another, that ye may be saved: for the continuall prayer of the iust availeth much. Elias was a man that suffered many things like unto you, and hee prayed that it should not raine upon the earth, and it rained not in three yeeres and six moneths. And againe he prayed, and it rained from heaven, and the earth yielded forth her fruit. This kinde of confession is good, profitable and expedient: for if God peradventure heareth not a mans own prayer, he is helped with the intercession of others. Yet nevertheless the prayers of the priests seem too much to be extolled in the decrees, where it treateth of penitence, and that saying is ascribed unto pope Leo, Cap. multiplex misericordia Dei, &c. And it followeth, So is it obtained by the providence of Gods benevolence, that the mercy of God cannot be obtained but by the prayer of the priests. The prayer for a good priest doth much avail a sinner, confessing his faults unto him. The counsel of a discreet priest is very profitable for a sinner, to give the sinner counsell to beware hereafter to sin, and to instruct him how hee shall punish his body by fasting, by watching, and such like acts of repentance, that hereafter hee may be better preferred from sin.

After this manner I esteem confession to priests very expedient and profitable to a sinner. But to confesse sinnes unto the priest, as unto a iudge, and to receive of him corporal penance for a satisfaction unto God for his sinnes committed; I see not how this can be found upon the truth of the Scriptures. For before the coming of Christ, no man was sufficient or able to make satisfaction unto God for his sinnes, although he suffered never so much penance for his sinnes. And therefore it was needfull that he that was without sinne, should be punished for sins, as witnesseth Esay, chapter 53. where he saith; We tooke our griefes upon him, and our sorowes hee bare. And againe: He was wounded for our iniquities, and bled for our wickednesse. And againe; The Lord put upon him our iniquitie. And againe; For the wickednesse of my people have I stricken him.

If therefore Christ through his passion hath made satisfaction for our sinnes, whereas we our selves were unable to doe it; then through him have we grace and remission of sins. How can we say now, that we are sufficient to make satisfaction unto God by any penance enjoined unto us by mans authoritie, seeing that our sinnes are more grievous after baptism, than they were before the coming of Christ? Therefore as in baptism the paine of Christ in his passion was a full satisfaction for our sinnes; even so after baptism, if we confesse that we have offended, and be heartily sorry for our sinnes, and minde not to sin againe afterwards.

Hereupon John writeth in his first epistle, chap. 1. If we say we have no sinne, we deceive our selves; and the truth is not in us. If we confesse our sins, God is faithfull and iust, hee will remit them, and cleanse us from all our iniquities. If we say we have not sinned we make him a lyer, and his word is not in us. By welbeloved children, thus I write unto you that ye sin not: but if any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous, and he is the propitiation for our sinnes, and not for our sinnes only, but for the sinnes of the whole world. Therefore we ought to confesse our selves chiefly unto God even from the heart; so that he chiefly doth remit sinnes, without whose absolution little availeth the absolution of man. This kinde of confession is profitable and good. The authors of the Canons say, that although auricular confession made unto the priest, bee not expressly taught by Christ, yet say they it is taught in that saying which Christ said unto the diseased of the leprosie, whom he commanded: Go your wayes and shew your selves unto the priests; because as they say, the law of cleansing lepers, which was given by Moses, signified the confessions of sins unto the priest. And whereas Christ commanded the lepers to shew themselves unto the Priests, they say, that Christ meant, that those that were uncleane with the leprosie of sinne, should shew their sinnes unto the priests by auricular confession. I marvell much at the authors of the Canons: for even from the beginning of their decrees unto the end, they ground their sayings upon the old law, which was the law of sinne, and death, and not (as witnesseth Paul) upon the words of Christ, which are spirit and life. Christ saith: The words which I spake unto you, are the Spirit and Life. They ground their sayings in the shadow of the

Children departing before baptism not condemned.

Auricular confession.

James 5.

Esay 53

1 Iohn 1.

Confession to God.

Auricular confession not truly grounded upon the Scriptures. Luke 17.

The authors of the canon law reproved.



the law, and not in the light of Christ: for every evil doer hateth the light, and cometh not unto it, that his deeds be not reproved: but he that doth the truth cometh into the light, that his works may be openly seen, because they are done in God: Joh. 3.

Now let us passe to the words that Christ spake to the leper: Lord if thou wilt, thou canst make me cleane. And Jesus stretching forth his hand touched him, saying: I will, be thou cleane: and straightwayes he was cleansed of his leppry. And Jesus said unto him; See thou tell no man, but goe and shew thy self to the priests, and offer the gifts that Moses commanded for a witness of these things. This Gospell witnesseth plainly, that the diseased of the lepers were cleansed only by Christ, and not by the priests, neither did Christ command the leper to shew himself unto the priests, for any help of cleansing that he should receive of the priests; but to fulfill the law of Moses, in offering a sacrifice for his cleansing, and for a testimony unto the priests, who alwayes of envie accused Christ as a transgressor of the Law.

For if Christ, after he had cleansed the leper, had licensed him to communicate with others that were cleane, before he had shewed himself cleansed unto the priests, then might the priests have accused Christ as a transgressor of the law: because it was a precept of the law, that the leper after he was cleansed, should shew himself unto the priests. And they had signes in the booke of the law, whereby they might iudge whether he were truly cleansed or no. And if he were cleansed, then would the Priests offer a gift for his cleansing: and if he were not cleansed, then would they segregate him from the company of others that were cleane. Seeing every figure ought to be assimuled unto the thing that is figured; I pray you then what agreement is there betwene the cleansing of lepers by the law, and the confession of sinners? By that law the priest knew better whether he were leproous than he himselfe that had the leppry. In confession, the priest knew not the sins of him that was confessed, but by his own confession. In that law the priest did not cleanse the leproous. Now now therefore ought the Priests to cleanse sinners from their sin, and that without them they cannot be cleansed: In this law the priest had certaine signes, by the which he could certainly know whether a man were clenfed from his leppry or not. In confession the priest is not certaine of the cleansing of sins, because he is ignorant of his contrition. He knoweth not also whether he will not sin any more; without the which contrition and granting to sin no more, God hath not absolved any sinner. And if God hath not absolved a man, without doubt then is he not made cleane. And how then is confession figured under that law? Doubtlesse so it seemeth to me (under the correction of them that can iudge better in the matter) that this law beareth rather a figure of excommunication, and reconciliation of him that hath been obstinate in his sin, and is reconciled againe. For so it appeareth by the processe of the Gospell, that when as the sinner doth not amend for the private correction of his brother, nor for the correction of two or three, neither yet for the publike correction of the whole Church; then is he to be counted as an Ethnick and a publican, and as a certaine leper to be avoided out of the company of all men. Which sinner notwithstanding, if he shall yet repent, is then to be reconciled, because he is then cleansed from his obstinate.

But he which pretendeth himselfe to be the chief vicar of Christ, and the high Priest, saith that he hath power to absolve A poena & culpa. Which I do not find how it is founded in the Scripture, but that of his own authority he intypeth to sinners penance for their sins. And grant that from their sins he may well absolve them, yet from the paine (which they call a poena) he doth not simply absolve, as in his indulgences he promisseth. But if he were in

charity, and had such power as he pretendeth, he would suffer none to lie in purgatory for sin, for so much as that paine doth farre exceed all oter paine which here we suffer. What man is there being in charity, but if he see his brother to be tormented in this world, if he may, he will help him and deliver him? Much more ought the Pope then to deliver out of pains of purgatory, indifferently as well rich as poore. And if he sell to the rich his indulgences, double wise, yea triple wise he seduceth them. First, in promising them to deliver them out of the paine from whence he doth not, neither is able to deliver them: and so maketh them falsly to beleve y which they ought not to beleve. Secondly, he deceiveth them of their money, which he taketh for his indulgences. Thirdly, he seduceth them in this, that he promising to deliver them from paine, doth induce them into grievous punishment indeed, for the heresie of simony, which both of them do commit, and therefore are worthy both of great paine to fall upon them: for so we read that Jesus cast out buyers and sellers out of his temple. Also Peter said unto Simon the first author of this heresie: Thy money, said he, with thee be destroyed, for that thou hast thought the gift of God to be possessed for money. Moreover, whereas Christ saith, Freely you have received, freely give: and whereas contrary the pope doth sell that thing which he hath taken; what doubt is there, but that he doth grievously deserve to be punished, both he that selleth and he that buyeth, for the crime of simony which they commit. Over and besides, by many reasons and authorities of the Scripture it may be proved, that he doth not absolve a man contrite for his sin, although he do absolve him from the guilt.

But this marbellet me, that he in his indulgences promisseth to absolve men from all manner of deadly sins, and yet cannot absolve a man from debt: forasmuch as the debt which we owe to God, is of much more greater importance than is the debt of our brother. Wherefore if he be able to remit the debt due to God, much more it should seem that he is able to forgive the debt of our brother.

Another thing there is that I marvell at, for that the pope sheweth himselfe more strait in absolving a priest for not saying, or negligently saying his matens, than for transgressing the commandement of God; considering that the transgression of the commandement of God, is much more grievous than the breach of mans commandement.

For these and many other errors concurring in this matter of the Popes absolutions; blessed be God, and honour be unto him for the remission of our finnes. And let us firmly beleve and know, that he doth and will absolve us from our finnes; if we be sorry from the bottom of our hearts that we have offended him, having a good purpose and will to offend him no more. And let us be bold to resort unto god and discret priests, who with wholesome discretion and sound counsell can instruct us, how to avoid the corruption of sin hereafter. And which, because they are better than we, may pray to God for us; whereby we may both obtaine more sooner the remission of our finnes past, and also may learn better how to avoid the danger of sin to come. Ex Registro Latino Episc. Hereford.

And thus much concerning the judgement and doctrine of this Walter for Christian patience, charity and mercy; which as they be true and infallible notes and markes of true Christianitie; so the said Walter Brute, making comparison herein betwene Christ and the pope, goeth about purposely to declare and manifest; whereby all men may see, what contrarietie there is betwene the rule of Christs teaching, and the proceedings of the pope, betwene the examples and life of the one, and the examples of the other. Of which two, as one is altogether given to peace;

{ KING }  
{ RIC. 2. }

The pope in his pardons deceiveth men three manner of wayes.

The pope promising pardons for sins, induceth men to sin in simony.

Deadly sin and debt. The pope saith he can remit the debt to God: and yet cannot remit the debt to man.

The pope harder to pardon a priest leaving his matens unsaid, than for breaking the commandement of God.

Absolution to be sought at the hands of God only.

Ex regist. Latino Episc. Hereford

Notes.

Iohn 3.

Luke 5.

The story of the lepers expounded, to make nothing for auricular confession.

The cleansing of the leper, and the cleansing of the priest in auricular confession agree not.

The popes power in absolving from sin, not founded in Scripture. The pope can absolve none from punishment.



{KING}  
{KIC. 2.}

peace; so is the other on the contrary side as much disposed to warres, murder, and bloodshed, as is easie to be seene; who so looketh not upon the outward shewes and pretended words of these Romish popes, but advieth and considereth the inward practices and secret workes of them, shall easily espie vnder the vizard of peace, what discord and debate they worke. Who, bearing outwardly the meeke hornes of the Lambe mentioned in the Apocalyps, within doe beare the bowels of a wolfe, full of crueltye, murder, and bloodshed. Which if any doe thinke to be spoken of mee contumeliously, would God that man could prove as well the same to be spoken of me not truly. But truth it is, I speake it sincerely, without affection of blinde partialitie, according to the truth of histories both old and new. Thus under *in Dei nomine, Amen*, how unmercifully doth the Pope condemne his brother! And while hee pretended not to be lawfull for him to kill any man, what thousands hath hee killed of men? And likewise in this sentence, pretending in *visceribus Jesu Christi*, as though hee would be a mediator to the magistrate for the partie; yet indeed will hee be sure to excommunicate the magistrate, if hee execute not the sentence given. Who be true heretikes the Lord when hee commeth shall judge. But give them to be heretikes, whom hee condemneth for heretikes; yet what bowels of mercy is here, where is nothing but burning, fagoting, drowning, prisoning, chaining, famishing, racking, hanging, tormenting, threatening, reviling, cursing, and oppressing, and no instructing, nor yet indifferent hearing of them, what they can say? The like crueltye also may in their warres appeare, if wee consider how pope Urban 5. beside the racking and murdering of seven or eight cardinals, set up Henry Spencer Bishop of Norwich, to fight against the French pope. Innocentius 4. was in warre himselfe against the Apulians. Likewise Alexander 4. his successor stirred up the sonne of King Henry 3. to fight against the sonne of Frederike 2. Emperour, for Apulia. Boniface 8. moved Albertus (which stood to be Emperour) to drive Philip the French king out of his realme. Gregorius 9. excited Ludovicke the French king three sundry times to mortall warre against the Earle Raimundus and citie of Tholouse, and Avinion, where Lewes the said French king died. Honorius 3. by strength of warre many wayes resisted Fredericke 2. and set out 35. gallies against the coasts of the Emperours dominions. The same pope also besieged Ferraria: to passe over the warre at Ticinum, with many other battels and conflicts of popes against the Romans, Venetians, and divers other nations. Innocentius 3. set up Philip the French king to warre against king John. What stirre pope Gregorius the 7. otherwise named Hildebrand, kept against the Emperour Henricus 4. it is not unknowne. And who is able to recite all the warres, battels, and fields fought by the stirring up of the pope? These with many other like examples considered, did cause this Walter Brute to write in this matter so as hee did, making yet thereof no universall proposition; but that Christian magistrates in case of necessitie might make resistance in defence of publike right. Now he proceedeth further to other matter of the Sacrament.

Touching the matter (saith he) of the sacrament of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, divers men have divers opinions, as the learned doe know. As concerning my judgement upon the same, I firmly believe whatsoever the Lord Jesus taught implicitly or expressly to his Disciples, and faithfull people to be believed. For he is (as I beleve and know) the true bread of God which descended from heaven, and giveth life to the world. Of which bread whosoever eateth, shall live for ever: as it is in the sixth of John declared. Before the coming of Christ in the flesh, although men did live in body, yet in spirit they did not live; because all men were then under sinne, whose soules thereby were

dead: from the which death, no man by the law, nor with the law was justified: For by the workes of the law shall no flesh be justified: Galat. 2. And againe in the same epistle, cap. 3. That by the law no man is justified before God it is manifest: for the just man shall live by his faith: the law is not of faith; but whosoever hath the workes thereof, shall live in them. And againe in the same chapter: If the law had been given, which might have justified, then our righteousness had come by the law. But the Scripture hath concluded all under sinne, that the promise might be sure by the faith of Jesus Christ to all believers. Wherefore, before that faith came, they were kept and concluded all under the law, until the coming of that faith which was to be revealed. For the law was our schoolmaster in Christ Jesus, that we should be justified by faith. Also the said Paul, Rom. 5. saith: That the law entered in the mean time, whereby that sin might more abound. Where then sin hath more abounded, there hath also grace superabounded; that I be as sinne hath ragged unto death, so that grace might also reign by righteousness unto eternall life, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Whereby it is manifest, that by the faith which we have in Christ, believing him to be the true son of God which came down from heaven to redeem us from sinne, we are justified from sinne; and so do live by him, which is the true bread and meat of the soule. And the bread which Christ gave is his flesh given for the life of the world, John 6. For hee being God, came downe from heaven, and being truly carnall man, did suffer in the flesh for our sinnes, which in his divinitie he could not suffer. Wherefore like as we helieve by our faith that he is true God: so must we also believe that hee is a true man. And then doe we eate the bread of heaven, and the flesh of Christ. And if wee helieve that hee did voluntarily shed his blood for our redemption, then do we drink his blood.

And thus except we eat the flesh of the Son of man, and shall drinke his blood, we have not eternall life in us; because the flesh of Christ verily is meat, and his blood is drinke indeed; and whosoever eateth the flesh of Christ and drinketh his blood, abideth in Christ and Christ in him: John chap. 6. And as in this world the soules of the faithfull live, and are refreshed spiritually with this heavenly bread, and with the flesh and blood of Christ; so in the world to come, the same shall live eternally in heaven, refreshed with the deitie of Jesus Christ, as touching the most principall part thereof, that is to wit, intellectum: forasmuch as this bread of heaven in that it is God, hath in it self all delectable pleasantness. And as touching the intelligible powers of the same (as well exterior as interior) they are refreshed with the flesh (that is to say) with the humanity of Jesus Christ; which is as a Queen standing on the right hand of God, decked with a golden robe of divers colours: for this Queen of heaven alone by the word of God, is exalted above the company of all the Angels; that by her, all our corporall power, intellect, we may fully be refreshed, as is our spirituall intelligence, with the beholding of the deitie of Jesus Christ, and even as the angels shall we be fully satisfied. And in the memorie of this double refection, present in this world and in the world to come, hath Christ given unto us (for eternall blessednesse) the sacrament of his body and blood in the substance of bread and wine: as it appeareth in Matthew chap. 26. As the Disciples sate at supper, Jesus took bread and blessed it, brake it, and gave it unto his disciples, and said: Take, eat, this is my body: And he tooke the cup, and thanked, and gave it them, saying: Drink ye all of this, this is my blood of the new Testament which shall be shed for many for the remission of sins. And Luke in his Gospel, chapter the two and twentieth, of this matter thus writeth: And after hee had taken the

Gal. 2.  
Rom. 5.  
John 6.

Rom. 5

John. 6.

True eating of  
Christ is true  
believing his  
hum.

Eating of the  
flesh of Christ,  
what it is.

Mat. 26

Luk. 22.

Examples, be-  
lieving what  
warres have bin  
stirred up by  
popes.

John 6.



the bread, hee gave thanks, he brake it, and gave it unto them, saying, This is my body which shall be given for you; do you this in my remembrance. In like manner hee tooke the cup after supper, saying, This is the cup of the new Testament in my blood, which shall be shed for you. That Christ said, this is my body, in shewing to them the bread, I firmly beleve, and know that it is true: That Christ (for so much as he is God) is the very truth it selfe, and by consequence, all that he saith is true. And I beleve that the very same was his body, in such wise as he willed it to be his body: for in that he is Almighty, hee hath done whatsoever pleased him: And as in Case of Galile he changed the water into wine, really; so that after the transubstantiation, it was wine and not water: So when he said, This is my body; if he would have had the bread really to be transubstantiated into his very body, so that after this changing it should have bene his naturall body, and not bread as it was before, I know that it must needs have bene so. But I finde not in the Scripture, that his will was to have any such real transubstantiation or mutation.

And as the Lord God omnipotent, in his perfection essentiall being the Sonne of God, both exceed the most pure creature, and yet when it pleased him he tooke upon him our nature, remaining really God as he was before, and was really made man; so that after this assuming of our substance, hee was really very God and very man: even so, if hee would when he said, this is my body, he could make this to be his body really, the bread still really remaining as it was before. For lesse is the difference of the essence between bread and the body of a man, than between the deity and humanitie, because that of the bread is naturally made the body of a man. If the bread is made blood; of the blood, naturall seed; and of naturall seed the naturall substance of man is ingendred. But in that that God became man; this is an action supernaturall. Wherefore he that could make one man to be very God and very man, could, if he would, make one thing to be really very bread, and his very body. But I do not find it expressly in the Scripture, that he would any such Identitie or coniunction to be made. And as Christ said, I am very bread, not changing his essence or being into the essence or substance of bread, but was the said Christ which he was before really, and yet bread by a similitude or figurative speech: so if hee would, it might be, when he said This is my body, that this should really have bene the bread as it was before, and sacramentally or memorially to be his body. And this seemeth unto me most neerly to agree to the meaning of Christ, for so much as he said, Do this in remembrance of me. Then for as much as in the supper it is manifest, that Christ gave unto his Disciples the bread of his body which hee brake, to that intent to eate with their mouths: in which bread, he gave himself also unto them, as one in whom they should beleve (as to be the food of the soule) and by that faith they should beleve him to be their Saviour which took his body, wherein also he would it to be manifest, that he would redeem them from death: so was the bread eaten with the Disciples mouths, that he, being the true bread of the soule, might be in spirit received and eaten spiritually by their faith which beleved in him.

The bread which in the Disciples mouths was chewed, from the mouth passed to the stomacke. For as Christ saith, Whatsoever cometh to the mouth, goeth into the belly, and from thence into the pitte; Math. chapter 15. But that true and very bread of the soule was eaten of the spirit of the disciples, and by faith entred their minds, and abode in their inwards through love. And so the bread broken, semeth unto mee to be really the meate of the body, and the bread which it was before; but sacramentally to be the body of Christ, as Paul, 1 Corinthians 10, The

bread which we break, is it not the participation of the body of the Lord? So the bread which we break is the participation of the Lords body. And it is manifest that the heavenly bread is not broken, neither yet is subiect to such breaking. Therefore Paul calleth the materiall bread, which is broken, the body of Christ which the faithful are partakers of. The bread therefore changeth not his essence, but is bread really, and is the body of Christ sacramentally. Even as Christ is the very vine, abiding really and figuratively the Vine: so the Temple of Jerusalem was really the materiall Temple; and figuratively it was the body of Christ: because he said, Destroy you this temple, and in three dayes I will repare the same againe. And this spake he of the temple of his body: whereas others understood it to be the materiall Temple, as appeared by their answer. For said they, 47. yeres hath this temple been in building, and wilt thou build it up in three dayes?

Even so may the consecrated bread be really bread, as it was before, and yet figuratively the body of Christ. And if therefore Christ would this bread to be only sacramentally his body, and would not have the same bread really to be transubstantiated into his body, and so ordained his Priests to make this Sacrament as a memoriall of his passion: then do the priests grievously offend, which beseech Christ in the holy masse, that the bread which lyeth upon the altar may be made really the body of Christ, if he would not have the same to be but a sacrament of his body. And then both bee they greatly deceived themselves, and also do greatly deceive others. But whether the bread be really transubstantiated into the body of Christ, or is only the body of Christ sacramentally; no doubt but that the people are marvellously deceived. For the people beleve that they see the body of Christ, nay rather Christ himself between the hands of the priests, for so is the common oath they sweare) By him whom I saw this day between the priests hands. And the people beleve that they eat not the body of Christ but at Easter, or else when they lie upon their death bed, and receive with their bodily mouth the Sacrament of the body of Christ. But the body of Christ (admit the bread be transubstantiated really into the body) as in the sacrament indivisibler, that is, not able to be divided; and so immensurabiler, that is, not able to be measured: Ergo, invisibiler, that is, not able to be seene. To beleve therefore that he may be seene corporally in the sacrament is erroneous. And for as much as the body of Christ is the soules food, and not the food of the body in this world; for that whatsoever belebeth, doth eate spiritually and really, at any time when he so belebeth: it is manifest, that they do greatly erre which beleve that they eat not the body of Christ, but when they eat with their teeth the sacrament of the body of Christ.

And although it should be to the great honor of priests, that the bread really were changed into the body of Christ, by the vertue of the sacramentall words pronounced; yet if Christ would not have it to be so; then they desiring to doe this contrary to the will of Christ, and in forming the people that is to be done, so contrary to the will of Christ, are in great perill, most dangerously seducing both themselves and the people. And then although that hereby they get a little worldly and transitory honour for a short time; it is to be feared lest perpetual shame finally shall follow and ensue upon the same. For Christ saith; every one that exalteth himselfe shall bee brought low. Let them therefore take heed, lest they extolling themselves for this Sacrament above the company of Angels which never sinned, for the error which they be in, for evermore be placed with the sinfull angels under the earth.

Let every man therefore think lowly of himself in what state or degree soever he be; neither let him presume

This is my body, expounded.

Note well gentle Reader.

Bread by similitude.

Bread substantially, and the body sacramentally.

The bread which the Lord gave uttereth not into the bodies, but the body which he gave entereth into the minds of the disciples. (Paul calleth) it materiall bread.

King Ric.

Note Reader

The pain of the priests at their mal.

The people greatly deceived in the sacrament.

The priests seek their own honor in their transubstantiation.

Marke here good priests.



KING  
RIC. 2.

he makers of  
e canon law,  
nearly to  
emselues.

e confec. 2. cap.  
vima quidem  
quit.  
e co sec. dist.  
cap. Omnia  
quonque vo-  
z.  
conerariety in  
e vopes ca-  
m.

e confec.  
R. 2. cap. Ego  
Berengarius.

The recantati-  
on of Berenga-  
rius is hereti-  
all.

The sacrament  
of the  
melts negli-  
gence to be ca-  
en of a mouse,  
returneth a-  
saine from bo-  
ne to bread.

presume to do that which he is not able to do; nei-  
ther desire to have that thing done, which God would  
not have done.

I greatly marvell at those which were the ma-  
kers of the canons, how variably and contrary one  
to another they write of this sacrament of the body  
of Christ. In the last part of the decrees where this  
matter is touched, not only in the text, but also in  
the proesse of the matter, diuers do diuersly write,  
and one contrary to another. For in the chapter that  
thus beginneth, Prima inquit hæresis, it is thus  
written: You shall not eat this body which you see,  
nor shall drink this blood which they shall shed which  
shall crucifie me: I will commend unto you a cer-  
taine Sacrament spiritually understood that quick-  
neth you; for the flesh profiteth you nothing at all.  
And in the end of the same chap. it is thus written,  
Till the world shall have an end, the Lords place is  
in heaven: yet notwithstanding the veritie of the  
Lord is here abiding with us. For the body where-  
with he rose ought to be in one place, but his verity  
is in every place diffused and spread abroad. And in  
the chapter following, which thus beginneth; Omnia  
quæcunque voluit, &c. it is written: Although the  
figure of the bread and wine seem to be nothing; yet  
notwithstanding they must after the words of con-  
secration be believed, to be none other thing than the  
very flesh of Christ, and his blood. Whereupon the  
veritie himselfe said unto his disciples; This is (saith  
he) my flesh, which is given for the life of the world:  
and to speake yet more marvellously, this is none  
other flesh, than that which was borne of the virgin  
Mary, and suffered upon the crosse; and rose out of  
the sepulcher.

See how far this chapter differeth from the first.  
And in the chapter which beginneth, Ego Berenga-  
rius, &c. This is the confession which Berengarius  
himselfe confessed touching this Sacrament, and  
his confession is of the Church allowed: I confesse  
(saith Berengarius) that the bread and wine which is  
laib upon the altar after the consecration, is not on-  
ly a Sacrament, but also that it is the very body  
and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ: and the same not  
only sensually to be a sacrament, but also verily to  
be handled with the priests hands and to be broken,  
and chewed with the teeth of faithfull men. This con-  
fession doubtlesse is hereticall; for why? If the body  
of Christ be in the Sacrament, as of the Church it is  
so determined; it is there then Multiplicative, and so  
indivisibiler, wherefore not sensually. And if it be  
there indivisibiler, that is, in such sort as it cannot  
be divided or separated, then can it not be touched,  
felt, broken, nor with the teeth of men chewed.

The writers of this time and age do affirme, that  
if by the negligence of the priest, the sacrament be so  
negligently left, that a mouse, or any other beast  
or vermine eat the same; then they say, that the sa-  
crament returneth againe into the nature and sub-  
stance of bread. Whereby they must needs confesse,  
that a miracle is as well wrought by the negligence  
of the priest, as first there was made by the conse-  
cration of the priest in making the Sacrament. For  
either by the eating of the mouse the body of Christ  
is transubstantiated into the nature of bread, which  
is a transubstantiation supernaturall; or else of no-  
thing by creation is this bread produced; and there-  
fore either of these operations is miraculous and to  
be marvelled at. Now considering the disagreeing  
opinions of the doctors, and for the absurdities which  
follow, I believe with Paul, that the bread which we  
brake, is the participation of the body of Christ: and  
as Christ saith, that the bread is made the body of  
Christ for a memoriale and remembrance of him.  
And in such sort as Christ willed the same to be his  
body, in the same manner and sort do I believe it to  
be his body.

But whether wee men may make the Body of  
Christ, and minister it unto the people: or whether

that priests be divided from the lay people for their  
knowledge, preeminence, and sanctitie of life: or else  
by external signes only: Also whether the signe of  
consecration and other external signes of holinesse in  
priest, be signes of Antichrist and his characters, or  
else introduced and taught by our Lord Jesus Christ;  
consequently it remaineth next to speake thereof  
unto the faithfull sort (according to the proesse of  
the holy scripture) and first of the three kinds of the  
priests. I remember that I have read, the first of  
them to be Aaronicall, legall, and temporall; The  
second to be eternall and regall according to the or-  
der of Melchisedech; The third to be Christian. The  
first of these ceased at the coming of Christ; for  
that as saint Paul to the Hebrews saith, The priest-  
hood of Aaron was translated to the priesthood of the  
order of Melchisedech. The legall sort of priests of  
Aaron, were separate from the rest of the people by  
kindred, office, and inheritance. By kindred, for that  
the children of Aaron only were priests. By office,  
for that it only pertained to them to offer sacrifice  
for the sins of the people, and to instruct the people  
in the precepts and ceremonies of the law. By in-  
heritance, because the Lord was their portion of  
inheritance; neither had they any other inheritance  
amongst their brethren, but those things which were  
offered unto the Lord, as the first fruits, parts of  
the sacrifices, and bowes; except places for their  
mansions houses for them and theirs, as appeareth  
by the proesse of Moses law. The priesthood of  
Christ did much differ from this priesthood, as Paul  
both witnesseth to the Hebrews, chapter, i. 8, 9, 10.

First in kindred, because that our Lord and Sa-  
viour Jesus Christ, came of the stocke and tribe of  
Judah: of which tribe none had to doe with the Altar,  
and in which tribe nothing at all was spoken of the  
priests of Moses.

The second, for that other were made priests with-  
out their oath taken: but he by an oath, by him which  
saith, The Lord swore and it shall not repent him,  
Thou art a priest for ever according to the order of  
Melchisedech.

Thirdly, by durabilitie, for that many of them  
were made Priests but during the terme of their  
lives: but he for that he remaineth for ever, hath an  
eternall priesthood. Wherefore he is able to save us  
for ever, having by himselfe access unto God, which  
ever lieth to make intercession for us.

The law made also such men priests as had infir-  
mities; but Sermo (that is the word, which according  
to the law is the eternal sort and perfect) by an oath.

The Priesthood of Christ also did differ from the  
Priesthood of Aaron and the Law in the matter of  
the sacrifice, and in the place of sacrificing. In  
the matter of their sacrifices, because they did use in  
their sacrifices strange bodies of the matter of their  
sacrifices, and did shed strange blood for the expiation  
of sinnes: But he offering himselfe unto God his  
father for us, shed his owne blood for the remission  
of our sinnes. In the place of sacrificing, because that  
they did offer their sacrifice in a tabernacle or tem-  
ple; but Christ suffering death without the gates of  
the city, offered himselfe upon the altar of the crosse  
to God his father, and there shed his precious blood.  
In his supping chamber also he blessed the bread &  
consecrated the same for his body, and the wine  
which was in the cup he also consecrated for his  
blood; delibering the same to his Apostles to be done  
for a commemoration and remembrance of his in-  
carnation and passion. Neither did Jesus enter into  
the sanctuary made with mans hands, which be ex-  
amples and figures of true things, but he entered in-  
to heaven it selfe, that hee might appeare before  
the maiesty of God for us. Neither doth hee offer  
himselfe oftentimes, as the chiefe Priest in the  
Sanctuary did every yeare with strange blood (for  
then should hee oftentimes have suffered from the  
beginning) but now once for all, in the latter

Three orders  
of sorts of  
priests.  
1 Aaronicall.  
2 Temporall.  
3 Christian.

Three orders  
of sorts of  
priests.  
1 Aaronicall.  
2 Temporall.  
3 Christian.

Leuiticall  
priests divided  
from the people  
by kindred, of-  
fice and inheri-  
tance.

The priesthood  
of Christ dif-  
fereth from the  
Leuiticall  
priesthood, both  
and wherein.  
1 In kindred.

2 In oath ta-  
king.

3 In durabilitie.

4 In matter of  
sacrifice.

5 In place of  
sacrificing.

end



The law bring-  
eth none to  
perfection.

end of the world to destroy sinne by his peace offer-  
ring hath he entered. And even as it is decreed, that  
man once shall dye and then commeth the iudge-  
ment; so Christ hath bene once offered, to take a-  
way the sins of many. The second time he shall  
appeare without sinne to them that look for him, to  
their salvation. For the law having a shadow of  
god things to come, can never by the image it selfe  
of things (which every yere without ceasing they  
offer by such sacrifices) make those perfect that come  
thereunto; for otherwise that offering should have  
ceased; because that such worshippers, being once  
cleansed from their sins, should have no more con-  
science of same. But in these, commemoration is  
made every yere of sinne: for it is impossible that  
by the blood of goats and calves, sins should be pur-  
ged and taken away. Therefore coming into the  
world he said; Sacrifice and oblation thou wouldst  
not have, but a body hast thou given me, peace offer-  
ings for sins have not pleased thee: Then said I,  
behold I come: In the volume of the book it is writ-  
ten of me, that I should do thy will O God: Say-  
ing as above; because thou wouldst have no sacri-  
fices nor burnt offerings, for sin, neither dost thou  
take pleasure in those things that are offered accord-  
ing to the law. Then said I, Behold I come, that I  
may do thy will O God. He taketh away the first  
to stablish that which followeth. In which will we are  
sanctified by the oblation of the body of Jesus Christ  
once for all. And every priest is ready daily mini-  
ster good offerings offering like sacrifices, which  
can never take away finnes. But this Jesus, offer-  
ing one sacrifice for sinne, sitteth for evermore on  
the right hand of God, expecting the time till his  
enemies be made his footstool. For by his owne  
only oblation, hath he consummated for evermore  
those that are sanctified. All these places have I re-  
cited which Paul writeth, for the better understand-  
ing and declaration of those things I meane to  
speak. By all which it appeareth manifestly, how  
the Priesthood of Christ differeth from the legall  
priesthood of Aaron: and by the same also appea-  
reth how the same differeth from all other priesthood  
Christian, that imitateth Christ. For the proper-  
ties of the priesthood of Christ, above recited, are  
found in no other priest, but in Christ alone. Of the  
third priesthood, that is the christian priesthood, Christ  
by his expresse words speaketh but little, to make  
any difference betweene priests and the rest of the  
people, neither yet doth use this name of Sacerdos  
or presbyter, in the Gospell. But some he calleth  
Disciples, some Apostles, whom he sent to baptise  
and to preach, and in his name to do miracles. Wee  
callesthem the salt of the earth, in which name  
wisdom is meant; and he calleth them the light of  
the world, by which god liding is signified. For he  
saith, Let your light so shine before men, that they  
may see your good works, and glorifie your Father  
which is in heaven. And Paul speaking of the  
priests to Timothy, and thus, seemeth not to me  
to make any diversitie, betwixt the priests and the  
other people, but in that he would have them to sur-  
mount other in knowledge and perfection of life.  
But the fourth priesthood is the Romane priesthood,  
brought in by the Church of Rome; which Church  
maketh a distinction betwene the Clergie and the  
Lay people: and after that the Clergie is divided  
into sundry degrees, as appeareth in the Decre-  
tals.

This distinction of the clergy from the laity, with  
the tansure of clerkes began in the time of Anacle-  
tus, as it doth appeare in the Chronicles. The de-  
grees of the clergy were afterward invented and  
distinguished by their offices, and there was no as-  
cension to the degree of the priesthood, but by inferi-  
our orders and degrees. But in the primitive Church  
it was not so: for immediately after the conversion  
of some of them to faith and baptism received; they

were made priests and bishops; as appeareth by A-  
nastas, whom Marcus made of a tailor or shoemaker  
to be a Bishop. And of many other it was in  
like case done, according to the traditions of the  
Church of Rome. Priests are ordained to offer sacri-  
fices, to make supplication and prayers, and to  
bless and sanctifie. The oblation of the priesthood  
only to priests (as they say) is congruent: whose  
duties are upon the Altar to offer for the finnes of  
the people of the Lord; body, which is consecrated of  
bread. Of which saying I have great marvell, con-  
sidering S. Paul his words to the Hebrews before  
recited. If Christ, offering for our sins one oblation  
for evermore, sitteth at the right hand of God, and  
with that one oblation hath consummated for e-  
vermore those that are sanctified: If Christ ever-  
more sitteth at the right hand of God, to make  
intercession for us: what need he to leave here  
any sacrifice for our finnes of the priests to be day-  
ly offered? I doe not finde in the Scriptures of  
God, nor of his Apostles, that the body of Christ  
ought to be made a sacrifice for sinne; but only as a  
sacrament & commemoration of the sacrifice pas-  
sed, which Christ offered upon the Altar of the crosse  
for our finnes. For it is an absurditie to say that  
Christ is now every day really offered as a sacrifice  
upon the Altar by the priests; for then the priests  
should really crucifie him upon the Altar, which is a  
thing of no christian to be believed. But even as in  
his supper his body and his blood he delivered to his  
disciples, in memoriall of his body that should be  
crucified on the morrow for our sins: So after his  
ascension, did his Apostles use the same (when they  
bake bread in every house) for a Sacrament, and  
not for a sacrifice, of the body and blood of our Lord  
Jesus Christ. And by this meanes were they put in  
remembrance of the great love of Christ, who so  
entirely loved us, that willingly hee suffered the  
death for us, and for the remission of our finnes. And  
thus did they offer themselves to God by love, being  
ready to suffer death for the confession of his name,  
and for the saving health of his brethren, fulfilling  
the new commandment of Christ, which said unto  
them; I now commandment do I give unto you,  
that you love one another, as I have loved you.  
But when love began to waxe cold, or rather to bee  
frozen for cold, through the anguish and anxiety of  
persecution for the name of Christ; then priests did  
use the flesh and blood of Christ, instead of a sacri-  
fice. And because many of them feared death, some  
of them fled into solitary places, not daring to give  
themselves a sacrifice by death unto God through  
the confession of his name, and saving health of  
their brethren; some other worshiped Idols, fearing  
death, as did also the chief bishop of Rome, and  
many other moe in divers places of the world. And  
thus it came to passe, that that which was ordained  
and constituted for a memoriall of the one and only  
sacrifice, was altered (for want of love) into the re-  
alitie of the sacrifice it selfe.

After these things thus discussed, he inferreth con-  
sequently upon the same, an other briefe tractation of  
women and lay men; whether in defect of the other,  
they may exercise the action of prayer, and admini-  
stration of Sacraments belonging to priests: where  
he declareth the use received in the Popes church for  
women to baptise, which, saith hee, cannot bee  
without remission of finnes; wherefore seeing that  
women have power by the pope to remit sinne, and  
to baptise, why may not they as well bee admitted  
to minister the Lords Supper, in like case of neces-  
sity? Wherein also hee maketh relation of Pope  
Ioane the eight, a woman pope, mooving certaine ques-  
tions of her. All which for brevitye I pretermitt, proce-  
ding to the ministration of prayer, and blessing of san-  
ctification, appropriate to the office of priests, as fol-  
loweth.

Furthermore, as touching the function and office  
of

{ KING }  
{ Ric. 2. }

The office of  
priests after  
the popes orde:

The body of  
Christ not left  
to be a sacrifice  
for sin, but on-  
ly for a sacra-  
ment.

The priesthood  
of Christ differ-  
eth from all  
other priest-  
hoods.

The third  
priesthood.  
The name of  
Sacerdos or  
priest not used  
in the new Te-  
stament of  
Christ.

The 4. priest-  
hood, which is  
the Romane  
priesthood.

How the me-  
moriall of the  
sacrament  
came to the al-  
ter of the sa-  
crifice it selfe.



**{ KING }**  
**{ RIC. 2. }**  
The order and  
office of pray-  
er.  
The Lords  
prayer.

Matth. 6.

The art of  
Necromancy,  
soothsaying,  
and witch-  
craftes, how and  
from whom  
they came.

Against exorcis-  
ing of priests.

Coniuring or  
hallowing in  
the popish  
church.

Holy water  
coniu'd.

Exorcisme.

The absurdity  
and abominat-  
ion in the popish  
exorcismes de-  
scribed.

of praying and blessing, thereunto priests come to be ordained (to omit here the question whether women may pray in churches, in lack of other meet persons) it remaineth now also to prosecute. Christ, being desired of his disciples to teach them to pray, gave them the common prayer both to men and women, to the which prayer in my estimation no other is to be compared. For in that first, the whole honour due unto the deity is comprehended. Secondly, whatsoever is necessary for us, both for the time present, or past, or for time to come, is there desired and prayed for. He informeth us besides to pray secretly, and also briefly: secretly to enter into our close chamber, and there in secrecy he will teach us to pray unto his father. And saith moreover, when ye pray, use not much babbling, or many words, as doe the heathen. For they thinke in their long and prolixe praying to be heard. Therefore be you not like to them. By the which doctrine he calleth us away from the errors of the heathen Gentiles; from whom proceeded these superstitious manner of arts (or rather of ignorances) as Necromancy, the art of divination, and other species of coniuration; not unknowne to them that be learned: for these necromancers beleeve to be a place to be of greater vertue than another; there to be heard sooner, than in another. Like as Balaam being hired to curse the people of God by his art of soothsaying or charming, when he could not accomplish his purpose in one place, he removed to another; but he in the end was deceived of his desire. For he, intending first to curse them, was not able to accurse them whom the Lord blessed, so that his curse could not hurt any of all that people. After like sort the necromancers turne their face to the East, as to a place more apt for their prayers. Also the necromancers beleeve that the vertue of the word: of the prayer, and the curiosity thereof, causeth them to bring to effect that which they seek after; which is also another point of infidelity, used much of charmers, sorcerers, incanters, soothsayers and such like. Out of the same art (I feare) proceedeth the practice of exorcising, whereby devils and spirits be coniu'd to do that, whereunto they are enforced by the exorcist. Also whereby other creatures likewise are exorcised or coniu'd, so that by the vertue of their exorcisme they may have their power and strength exceeding all naturall operation.

In the church of Rome many such exorcismes and conjurations be practised, and are called of them benedictions, or hallowings. But here I aske of these exorcisers, whether they beleeve the things and creatures so exorcised and hallowed, have that operation and efficacy given them, which they pretend? If they so beleeve, every child may see that they are far beguiled. For holy water being of them exorcised or coniu'd, hath no such power in it, neither can have, which they in their exorcism do command. For there they enioyne and command, that wheresoever that water is sprinkled, all veration or infection of the unclean spirit should abide, and that no pestilence should there should abide, &c. But most plaine it is, that no water, be it never so holy, can have any such power so to do, as it is commanded, to wit, to be an universall remedy to expell all diseases.

This I would aske of these exorcists; whether in their commanding, they doe coniu'e or aduere the things coniu'd to be of an higher vertue and operation, than their owne nature doth give: Or els whether they in their prayers desire of God, that he will infuse into them that vertue, which they require? If they in their commanding do so beleeve, then do they beleeve that they have that power in them to the which the inferior power of the thing exorcised must obey, in receiving that which is commanded. And so doing they are much more deceived, forasmuch as they see themselves, that they which are so authorized to the office of exorcising, say to the devill being coniu'd, Doe, and he goeth not; and to ano-

ther, come, and he cometh not; and many things else they command the inferior spirit their subiect to do, and he doth not. So in like case, when they pray to God to make the water to be of such vertue, that it may be to them health of mind and body, and that it may be able to expulse every unclean spirit, and to chase away all manner of distemperature, and pestilence of the ayre (being an unreasonable petition asked, and sore displeasing to God); it is to be feared least their benediction their hallowing and blessing is changed into cursing, according to that saying that followeth: And now, O you priests, I have a message to say unto you; If you will not heare and beare well away in your mindes, to give the glory unto my name, saith the Lord God of hosts, I will send scarcity amongst you, and I will curse your blessings. What things and how many are blessed, or hallowed in the church, that in hallowing thereof displease God, and are accursed? And therefore according to the saying of S. James, they aske and are not heard, because they aske not as they should, that they in their owne desires may perish. Let a man behold the blessing or hallowing of their fire, water, incense, ware, bread, wine, the church, the altar, the churchyard, ashes, bells, copes, palmes, oyle, candles, salt, the hallowing of the ring, the bed, the staffe, and of many such like things; and I beleeve that a man shall finde out many errors of the heathen Magicians, witches, soothsayers and charmers. And notwithstanding the ancient and old Magicians in their booke command those that be conjurers, that they in any wise live deboutly for other wise, as they say, the spirits will not obey their commandments, and conjurations) yet the Romane coniuers doe impute it to the vertue of the holy words, because they be they which work, and not the holiness of the coniuers. How cometh it to passe that they say, the things consecrated of a cursed and vicious Iabell should have so great vertue in pronouncing (as they say) the holy and mystical words, as if they were pronounced of a priest never so holy? But I marvell that they say so, reading this saying in the Acts of the Apostles: because the charmers pronouncing the name of Iesus (that is above all names) would have healed those that were possessed with devils, and said; In the name of Iesus, whom Paul preacheth, go ye out of the men. And the possessed with devils answered, Iesus we know, and Paul we know, but what are ye; and they all to be beat the coniuers.

And now considering this and many such like things, I marvell wherefore the vicious priests doe sell their prayers and blessings dearer (as also their masses and trentals of masses) than those that be debout lay men, and holy women: which with all their heart desire to flee from vices, and take hold of vertue. Forasmuch as God in divers places of the Scripture doth promise that he will not heare sinners and wicked persons. Neither should he seeme to be lust, if he should sooner heare the prayers of his enemies, than of his faithfull friend. Now I pray you shall a sinfull priest deliver another man from sin by his prayers, or else from the punishment of sin, when he is not able to deliver himselfe by his prayer from sin? What then doth God so much accept in the masse of a vicious priest, that for his masse, his prayer or oblation, he might deliver any man either from sin, or from the paine due for sin? No, but for that that Christ once offered himselfe for our sins, and now sitteth on the right hand of God the father, always shewing unto him what and how great things he hath suffered for us. And every priest alwaies maketh mention in his masse of this oblation. Neither do we this that we might bring the same oblation into the remembrance of God, because that he alwaies in his presence saith the same; but that we should have in remembrance this so great love of God, that he would give

whereas  
the people  
must them  
in the great  
house of  
the Lord  
and  
words

Iam. 4.

Romish coniu-  
ers.

The good life  
of a priest, a  
great matter,  
so dralle in  
Gods matters.

The prayer of  
a vicious priest  
little availeth  
before God.

Remembrance  
of Christs pas-  
sion needeth  
not to God, but  
to man.



his own soune to death for our sins, that he might cleanse and purifie us from all our sins. What doth it please God, that the remembrance of so great love is made by a Priest, which more loveth sin than God? Or how can any prayer of such a priest please God, in what holy place soever he be, or what holy bestiments soever he put on, or what holy prayers soever he maketh: And whereas Christ and his Apostles do command the preaching of the word of God, the priests be now more bound to celebrate the masse, and more straitly bound to say the canonical hours; whereat I cannot but greatly marvell. For why: to obey the precepts of men more than the commandments of God, is in effect to honour man as God, and to bestow the sacrifice upon man which is due unto God, and this is also spirituall fornication. How therefore are priests bound at the commandment of man to leave the preaching of the word of God, at whose commandment they are not bound to leave the celebration of the masse, or singing of Matiens? Therefore, as it seemeth, priests ought not at the commandment of any man to leave the preaching of the word of God, unto the which they are bound both by divine and apostolicall precepts. With whom agreeth the writing of Hierome upon the Decretals, saying in this wise; Let none of the bishops swell with the envy of devilish temptation; let none be angry, if the priest do sometime exhort the people, if they preach in the church, &c. for to him that forbiddeth me these things I will say, that he is unwilling that priests should do those things which be commanded of God. What thing is there above Christ: or what may be preferred before his body and his blood: &c.

Do priests therefore sin or not, which bargain for money to pray for the soule of any dead man? It is well known that Jesus did whip those that were buyers and sellers out of the temple, saying; My house shall be called the house of prayer, but you have made the same a den of thieves: Truly he cast not out such merchants from out of the church, but because of their sins. Whereupon Hierome upon this text saith; Let the priest be diligent and take god heed in this church, that they turn not the house of God into a den of thieves. He doubtlesse is a those which seeketh gain by religion, and by a shew of holinesse studieth to finde occasion of merchandise. Hereupon, the holy canons do make accursed Simoniacall heresie, and do command that those should be deprived of the priesthood, which for the passing or marvellous spirituall grace do seek gain or money. Peter the Apostle said to Simon Magus, Let thy money and thou go both to the devill, which thinketh that the gifts of God may be bought for money. Therefore the spirituall gifts of God ought not to be sold.

Truly prayer is the spirituall gift of God, as is also the preaching of the word of God, or the laying on of hands, or the administration of other sacraments. Christ sending forth his Disciples to preach, said unto them; Heale ye the sicke, cast out devils, raise the dead, freely ye have received, freely give ye againe. If the priest have power by his prayers to deliver soules being in purgatory from grievous paines: without doubt he hath received that power freely from God. How therefore can he sell his act, unless he resist the commandments of God, of whom he hath received that authority? This truly cannot be done without sin, which is against the commandment of God. How playnly spake Christ to the Pharisees and priests, saying; Woe be unto you Scribes and Pharisees hypocrites, because ye have eaten the whole houses of such as be widowes by making long prayers, and therefore have you received greater damnation? Wherein I pray you doe our Pharisees and priests differ from them? Doe not our priests devour widowes houses and possessions, that by their long prayers they

might deliver the soules of their husbands from the grievous paines of purgatory: How many Lordships I pray you have bene bestowed upon the religious men and women to pray for the dead, that they by their prayer might deliver those dead men from the paine (as they said) that they suffer in purgatory, grievously tormented and bereed? If their prayers and speaking of holy words shall not be able to deliver themselves from paine, unless they have good works; how shall other men be delivered from paine by their prayers, which whilst they lived here, gave over themselves to sin? Yea peradventure those lordships or lands, which they gave unto the priests to pray for them, they themselves have gotten by might from other faithfull men, unjustly, and violently. And the Canons do say, that sin is not forgiven, till the thing taken away wrongfully be restored: How then shall they be able (which do unjustly possesse such lordships or lands) to deliver them by their prayers from paine, which have given to them these lordships or lands, seeing God from the beginning hath hated all extortion in his burnt sacrifices? Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdome of heaven: but he which doth the will of my father which is in heaven. And againe, Not the hearers of the law, but the doers of the law shall be justified.

If therefore the words of him that prayeth do not deliver himselfe from sin, nor from the paine of sin: how do they deliver other men from sin or from the pain of sin, when no man prayeth more earnestly for another man, than for himselfe? Therefore many are deceived in buying or selling of prayers, as in the buying of pardons, that they might be delivered from paine; when as commonly they pay dearer for the prayers of the proud and vicious prelates, than for the prayers of devout women and devout men of the lay people. But out of doubt, God doth not regard the person of him that prayeth, neither the place in which he prayeth, nor his apparell, nor the curiousnesse of his prayer, but the humility and godly affection of him that prayeth. Did not the Pharisee and the Publican goe up into the Temple to pray? The Publicans prayer for his humility and godly affection is heard. But the Pharisees prayer for his pride and arrogancy is contemned. Consider that neither the person, nor the place, nor the state, nor the curiousnesse of his prayer doth helpe the Pharisee: Because the Publican not thinking himselfe worthy to lift up his eyes unto heaven, for the multitude of his sinnes (saying, O God, be mercifull unto me a sinner) is justified by his humility, and his prayer is heard. But the Pharisee boasting in his righteousness is despised, because God thrusteth downe the proud, and exalteth the humble and those that be meake. The rich glutton also that was clothed with purple and silke, and fared every day daintily, prayed unto Abraham, and is not heard, but is buried in paines and torments of hell fire. But Lazarus, which lay begging at his gate, (being full of sores) is placed in the bosome of Abraham. Behold that neither the riches of his apparell, nor the deliciousnesse of his banquets, nor the gorgeousnesse of his estate, neither the abundance of his riches, doth helpe any thing to preferre the prayers or petitions of the rich glutton, nor yet diminish his torments, because that mighty men in their mightnesse shall suffer torments mightily. How dare any man by composition demand or receive any thing of another man for his prayers? If he beleve that he can by his prayer deliver his brother from grievous paine, he is bound by charity to releve his brother with his prayers although he be not hired thereunto: but if he will not pray unless he be hired, then hath he no love at all. What therefore helpeth his prayer, which abideth not in charity? Therefore let him first take compassion of himselfe by prayer, that he may come into charity, and then he shall

{ KING }  
{ RIC. 2. }

Religious men and women devourers of widowers houses. Praying for soules in purgatory. Will gotten lands, as shall bestow, for praying for soules in purgatory.

Buying and selling of prayers in the popes church. Buying and selling of pardons. Person, place, apparell, curiosity or eloquence of prayer not regarded of God.

Prayer that doth more for money than for charity disapproved.

Priests more bound to say Masse commanded by man, than to preaching commanded of God. Spirituall fornication.

Hieronymus.

Whether priests may bargain for soules departed.

Hieronymus.

Selling of prayer abominable.



{KING}  
{RIC. 2.}

shall be the better able to helpe others. If he be-  
leeue not, or if he standeth in doubt whether he shall  
be able to deliuer his brother by his prayer: therefore  
doth he make with him an assured bargaine, and tak-  
eth his money, and yet kin. weth not whether he  
shall releue him euer a whit the more, or not, from  
his paine: I feare lest the words of the prophet are  
fulfilled, saying; From the least to the most all men  
apply themselves to covetousnesse, and from the pro-  
phet to the priest all worke deceitfully. For the poore  
priests excuse themselves of such bargaining and  
selling of their prayers, saying; The yong cock lear-  
neth to crow of the old cock. For saith he, thou  
maist see that the pope himself, in stalling of bishops  
and abbats, taketh the first fruits: In the placing or  
bestowing of benefices he alwaies taketh somewhat,  
and specially if the benefices be great. And he selleth  
pardons or bulls, and to speak more plaine, he taketh  
money for them. Bishops in giving orders, in hal-  
lowing churches and churchyards, do take money: In  
ecclesiasticall correction they take money for the  
mitigation of penance: In the grievous offences of  
conbat persons money is required, and caused to be  
pard. Abbats, monks, and other religious men  
that have possession, will receive no man into their  
fraternity, or make them partakers of their spiritu-  
all suffrages, unlesse he bestow somewhat upon  
them, or promise them somewhat. Curats and vicars  
having sufficient livings by the tithes of their pari-  
shioners, yet in dirges and pæres minds, in hearing  
confessions, in weddings and burplings, do require  
and have money. The friers also of the foure orders  
of beggers, which thinke themselves to be the most  
perfect men of the church, do take money for their  
prayers, confession, and burplings of the dead: and  
when they preach, they beleve that they shall have  
either money or some other thing worthy money.  
Wherefore then be the poore priests blamed? ought  
not they to be held excused, although they take money  
for their prayers by composition? Truly (me think-  
eth) that this excuse by other mens sinnes doth not  
excuse them, forasmuch as to heape one mischiefe  
upon anothers head, is no sufficient discharge. I  
would to God that all the buyers and sellers of spi-  
rituall suffrages would with the eyes of their heart  
behold the ruine of the great city, and the fall of Ba-  
bylon, and that which they shall say after that fall.  
Woth not the Prophet say; And the merchants of the  
earth shall weepe and mourne for her, because no man  
shall buy any more their merchandise, that is, their  
merchandise of gold and silver, and of precious stone,  
and of pearle, and of silke and purple? And againe,  
he saith; And the merchants which were made rich by  
her, shall stand aloofe for feare of her torments, weep-  
ing, mourning, and saying, Alas, alas, that city Baby-  
lon, that great city, which was wont to weare purple,  
white silke, crimson, gold, pearle, and precious stone,  
because that in one houre all those riches are come to  
nought. And againe; And they cast dust upon their  
heads, and cried out, weeping, and mourning, and say-  
ing; Alas, alas, that great and mighty citie Babylon,  
by whom all such as had ships upon the sea, were made  
rich by her rewards; because that in one houre she is  
become desolate.

This Babylon, this great city, is the city of Rome,  
as it appeareth by the pcesse of the Apoclie.  
Because the angell which shewed unto Saint John  
the destruction of the mighty harlot sitting upon  
many waters, with whom the kings of the earth  
have committed fornication, and all they which  
dwelt upon the earth, are made drunke with the  
wine of her whoredome, said unto him; And the wo-  
man which thou sawest, is the great city which hath  
dominion above kings, &c. And indeed in the dayes  
of Saint John the whole world was subiect to the  
temporall empire of the city of Rome, and after-  
wards it was subiect to the spirituall empire or do-  
minion of the same. But touching the temporall go-

vernment of the citie of Rome it is fallen already:  
and so that other also, for the multitude of her spiri-  
tuall fornication, shall fall. The emperours of this  
city gave themselves to idolatry, and would have  
that men should honour them as gods, and put all  
those to death that refused such idolatrie, and by the  
cruelty of their torments all infidels gate the upper  
hand.

Whereupon, by the image of Nabuchodonosor, the  
empire of the Romanes is likened to iron, which  
beateth together, and hath the masterie of all me-  
tals. And in the vision of Daniel, wherein he saw  
the foure windes of heaven to fight in the main sea,  
and foure very great beasts comming out of the sea;  
the kingdom of the Romanes is likened to the fourth  
terrible and merbellous beast, the which had great  
iron teeth; eating and destroying, and treading the  
rest under his feet: and this beast had ten hornes,  
and as Daniel saith, he shall speake words against  
the most high, and shall leare with his teeth the  
saints of the most high: and he shall thinke that hee  
may be able to change times and lawes, and they  
shall be delivered into his power, untill a time,  
times, and half a time. In the Apocalyps saint John  
saw a beast comming out of the sea, having seven  
heads and ten hornes, and power was given to him  
to make moneths 42. So long time endured the em-  
pire of the Romanes, that is to say, from the begin-  
ning of Julius Cesar, which was the first Emperour  
of the Romanes, unto the end of Fredericus, which  
was the last emperour of the Romanes. Under this  
empire Christ suffered, and other martyrs also suf-  
fered for his names sake. And here is fallen Rome  
as Babylon (which is all one) according to the man-  
ner of speaking in the Apocalyps, as touching the  
temporall and coporall power of governing. And  
thus shall she fall also touching the spirituall power  
of governing, for the multitude of iniquities and  
spirituall fornication, and merchandise that are  
committed by her in the church.

The feet of the image which Nabuchodonosor saw  
did betoken the empire of Rome, and part of them  
were of iron, and part of clay and earth. The part  
that was of iron fell, and the power thereof banished  
away, because the power thereof was at an end af-  
ter certaine moneths. That part of clay and earth  
yet endureth, but it shall vanish away by the testi-  
monie of the prophets: whereupon saint John in the  
Apocalyps; After that, hee saw the part made of  
iron rising out of the sea, to which each people, tribe,  
and tongue submitted themselves. And he saw ano-  
ther beast comming out of the earth, which had two  
hornes like to the hornes of a Lambe, and he spake  
like a Dragon, and he vanquished the first beast in  
his sight.

This beast as seemeth me, doth betoken the clay  
and earthen part of the feet of the image, because he  
came out of the earth. For that by terrene helpe he  
is made the high and chiefe priest of the Romanes in  
the church of Christ, and so from aloft he ascended on  
high. But Christ from heaven descended, because  
that he which was God, and author of every crea-  
ture, became man; and he that was Lord of lords,  
was made in the shape of a servant. And although  
that in the heavens the company of angels minister  
unto him, hee himselfe ministered or served in earth,  
that he might teach us humilitie, by which a man  
ascendeth into heaven, even as by pride a man go-  
eth downe into the bottomlesse pit. This beast hath  
two hornes most like a lambe, because that he chal-  
lengerth to himselfe both the priestly and kingly pow-  
er above all other here in earth. The lamb, it is,  
Christ, is a king for ever upon the kingly seate of  
David, and he is a priest for ever after the order of  
Melchisedech; but his kingdom is not of this world:  
but the kingdom of this beast is of this world, be-  
cause those that be under him fight for him. And as  
Jesus is Christ two manner of wayes, because that  
Jesus is Christ two manner of wayes, because that

Jesus is Christ  
two manner of  
wayes, as king  
and priest.

Selling of  
pardons.  
Selling of or-  
ders.  
Selling of  
church hallow-  
ings.  
Selling of dis-  
cipline.  
Selling of  
fraternity.  
Selling of dis-  
grace.  
Selling of  
minds, confes-  
sions, wed-  
dings, burp-  
ings.  
Selling of  
sermons, &c.

Example to be  
taken by the  
fall of Baby-  
lon.

The city of  
Rome, Baby-  
lon.  
Apoc. 18.

The city of  
Rome, Baby-  
lon.

The city of  
Rome, Baby-  
lon.

The church  
built in the  
city of Rome.

The beast with  
two hornes in the  
Apocalyps signify-  
ing Rome.

The feet of the  
image in the  
vision of Na-  
buchodonosor  
signifying  
Rome.

The beast with  
two hornes like  
the Lamb, here  
signify the spiri-  
tall dominion of  
Rome.



Christus is as much to say as Vndus; hee verily was anointed king, and anointed priest: so this beast saith, that he is chiefe king and priest. Wherefore doth he call himselfe Christ: because that Christ, knowing that afore said; Many shall come in my name, saying, I am Christ, and shall deceiue many. And thus because that he is both king and priest, he challengeth to himselfe the double sword, that is, the corporall sword and the spirituall sword. The corporall sword is in his right hand, and his spirituall sword is in his right eye, by the testimonie of Zacharie. But he speaketh subtilly like a Dragon, because that by the testimonie of Christ hee shall deceiue many as the Apoc. witnesseth. He did great wonders that also he might make more fire to come from heauen into the earth in the sight of men, that he might deceiue those that dwell upon the earth, because of the wonders, that are permitted him to do in the sight of the beast, and he overcame the first beast which ascended out of the sea. For that beast challenged unto himselfe authoritie of government of the whole world. He hath put to death and tormented those that resist his commandements, and would be honoured as a God upon the earth. The bishop of Rome saith that the whole world ought to be in subiection unto him; those that be disobedient unto his commandements he putteth in prison, and to death if he can: If he cannot, he excommunicateth them, and commandeth them to be cast into the diuels dungeon. But hee that hath no power ower the body, much lesse hath he power ower the soule. And truly his excommunication, or the excommunication of any priest under him, shall at that time little hurt him that is excommunicate, so that the person of him that is excommunicate be not first excommunicate of God through sinne.

And thus it seemeth a troth unto me, that God thus turns ther blessings into cursings, because they give not due glorie unto his name. So when that they unlikly excommunicate and curse, he turneth their cursings into blessings. Also the bishop of Rome doth make men to worship him as God, because that the speciall sacrifice that God doth require of us, is to be obedient unto him in keeping of his commandements. But now the popes commandements be commanded to be kept, and be kept in very deed; but the commandments of Christ are contemned and reieted. Thus sitteth the bishop of Rome in the temple of God, setting himselfe as God, and extoller himselfe aboue all that which is called God, or worshipped as God. But in his fall he shall be revealed, because that every kingdome divided in it selfe shall be made desolate. He teaching a truth is the head of the church; but the prophet teaching a lie is the taile of the Dragon. He seducing the world shall be acknowledged to bee the veritie of the doctrine of Christ; but after he is known, he shall be reieted and nought esteemed. He giveth to small and great, rich and poore, free and bond, markes in their right hands, and in their foreheads; that no man should buy or sel, but those that shall have the markes of the name of the beast, or that look to haue of him some recompence, small, meane, or great, or else the number of his name, which number is 300. The pope saith, that in the administration of every sacrament he doth imprint a certaine character or marke into the soule of him that receiveth it. In baptisme he saith that he doth imprint, into the soule of him that is baptized, a marke that cannot be wiped out, and so likewise in other sacraments. And I know that in a sacrament are two things, that is, the sacramentall signe, and spirituall grace represented by the same signe: the sacramentall signe is given to man of man, but the spirituall grace is given of Christ.

Wherefore, although a vicious or naughty priest doth baptise any man, if he that is baptized is his parents (if he be a child) doe aske with lawfull mea-

ning baptisme, and do meane faithfully hereafter to obserbe the wordes of baptisme; he is as well baptized, as if he were baptized of never so vertuous a priest. So also the sinner which with all his heart is sorrie for his sinnes, and doth aske faithfully mercy of God, is as well absolved of a vicious priest, as of a vertuous. Because the lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world, wipe away inwardly our sinnes by his grace; because that he is the bishop and pastour of our soules. All other priests do outwardly work absolution, which know not for a certainty whether they haue absolved or not. So also is it in the other, because that the grace of the Sacrament is given of God, and the Sacramentall signe, of man. In giving of orders the chief bishop doth imprint the corporall marks; but of the spirituall marks I know none; unless a man will say, that by receiuing the order he hath some beleefe that he may worke some things pertaining to that order, the which before the receiuing of the order he could not. But this one thing is certaine, that none in the church ought to sell spirituall merchandize (of which things we haue spoken before) unless he haue the marke of the beast. My counsell is, let the buyer beware of those marks; because that after the fall of Babylon, if any man hath worshipped the beast and her image, and hath receiued the mark upon his forehead, and upon his hand, he shall drinke of the wine of Gods wrath, which is mixed with the wine in the cup of his anger, and he shall be tormented in fire and brimstone in the sight of the holy angels, and in the sight of the lambe; and the smoke of their torments shall evermore ascend, although he looke for a recompence, small, meane, or great, of the beast, or els the number of his name. The beast doubtlesse doth recompence his friends with his small reward, that is, with great gifts and benefices corporall; with a meane reward, that is, with great spirituall gifts, in authority of blessing, loosing, binding, praying, and exercising other spirituall works; and with his greatest reward, which after that they be dead, maketh them to be honored in earth among the Saints. The number of his name according to the opinion of some men, is Dux Cleri, the captaine of the clergy, because by that name he is named, and maketh his name knowne, and that name is 666.

This is my opinion of the beast ascending out of the earth, and shall be, untill such time as I shall be of the same beast better instructed. And although that this beast doth signifie the Romane bishops; yet the other cruell beast ascending out of the sea, doth signifie the Romane emperors. And although that the Dragon being a cruell beast, and the false prophet giving the mark, must be throwne into the lake of fire and brimstone to be tormented for ever; I would haue no man to iudge, but I leave such things altogether to the final Iudgement of Christ to be determined. But Martine the popes confessor, which maketh the chronicle of the emperors and popes, reciteth many errors of the popes, more horrible and abominable than of the emperors. For he speaketh of the idolatrous popes, heretical, simoniacall, and popes that were murderers, that used necromancy, and witchcraft, that were fornicators, and defiled with all kind of vice. But I haue partly declared how that the popes law is contrary to Christs law, and how that he saith, that he is the chief vicar of Christ in earth; and in his deeds is contrary to Christ, and doth forsake both his doctrine and life. I cannot see who els may be so well Antichrist, and a seducer of the people. For there is not a greater pestilence than a familiar enemy.

As concerning idols and the worshipping of them, I thinke of them, as Moses, Salomon, Ilay, as, Jeremie, and the rest of the prophets did, which all spake against the making of images, as also the worshipping of images. And sayfull David, full of

{ KING }  
{ RIC. 2. }

Caveat Emptor.

The rewards of the beast.

The number of the name of the beast.  
Dux Cleri.

Martine  
penitentiarius,  
More wicked  
Popes than  
Emperors.

Watters of  
idolatry.

The double  
sword of eye  
pope.

The bishop of  
Rome seeketh  
to be worshipped  
as God.  
The commandments of the  
pope more regarded than  
Christs.

In every sacrament two  
things contained.



**SKING**  
**RIC. 2.**  
Images.  
Oathes, how  
far they are  
tolerable.

the Spirit of God saith; Let all those be confounded that worship images, and that reioyce in idols: And againe he saith; Let them be made like unto them that make them, and all such as put their trust in them. Wherefore I pray God that this evil come not upon me, which is the curse of God pronounced by David the Prophet. For will I be by Gods grace either a maker, or else a worshipper of images.

As concerning oaths, I beleve and obey the doctrine of the Almighty God, and my master Iesus Christ, which teacheth; that Christian men in affirmation of a truth should passe the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees of the old Testament: or els he excludeth them from the kingdom of heaven. For he saith; Unlesse your righteousness exceede the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, ye cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven. And as concerning oathes he saith; It hath bene said to them of old time, Thou shalt not forswear thy selfe, but shalt performe unto the Lord those things which thou knowest. But I say unto you, thou shalt not sweare at all, neither by the heaven, nor yet by the earth, &c. But let your communication be yea, yea, nay, nay; for whatsoever shall be more than this, proceedeth of evil. Therefore as the perfection of the ancient men of the old Testament was, not to forswear themselves; so the perfection of christian men is, not to sweare at all, because they are commanded of Christ, whose commandment must in no case be broken, although that the city of Rome is contrary to this doctrine of Christ, even as in many things she is found contrary to her selfe.

As touching the taking away of temporall goods, from those that are ecclesiasticall persons offending habitualier, by such as are temporall lords, I will not affirme any thing to be lawfull in this matter (as in other matters before) that is not agreeable to charity: And that because it is a hard matter for a man to take another mans goods from him without breaking of charity; because peradventure he that taketh away is the more moved to such manner of taking away, by reason of the desire he hath to those goods, which he endeavoureth to take away: or els, because of some displeasure or hatred to the person, from whom he goeth about to take away those goods, more than that he, from whom those goods be taken, should be amended. Therefore unlesse he that taketh away be onely moved of charity to the taking away of such goods, I dare not affirme that such taking is lawfull. And if such taking away proceed of charity, I dare not iudge it unlawfull: because that the Bishop of Rome which received his temporall dominion of the Emperour, when the Emperour rebelled and was not obedient unto him, deprived him from his temporall iurisdiction: How much more then may temporall lords doe the same, which have bestowed upon them many temporall dominions and lordships, onely to the intent that they might the better intend to serve God and keepe his commandments: Now if they perceibe that they be against the lawes of God, and that they be over busily occupied about worldly matters: I cannot see but that they may well enough take from them those temporall goods, which to a good purpose they gave them. But if in time to come after this, those that be temporall lords shall take from Ecclesiasticall persons such temporalities, let him that desireth to understand this, read the Prophet Ezechiel, in the chapter of the shepards of Israel, which led themselves in stead of their flocke; and also let him read the Apocalypse of the fall of Babylon. Let him also read the popes decretals against hereticks; and in those he shall finde, that the taking away of the temporalities from the clergy, shall come to passe for the multitude of their sinnes.

Thus reverend father hate I made mine answer to the matter whereof I am accused; beseeching you

that as I have been obedient to our father, and that even as a sonne, declaring unto you the secret of my heart in plaine words: although rudely; so I may knowe your opinion, and crave your fatherly benevolence, that now your labour may bee for my instruction and amendment, and not to accusation and condemnation. Forlike as in the beginning I have promised you, if any man of what state, sea, or condition ever he bee, can shew me any error in any of my writings by the authority of holy Scripture, or by any probable reason grounded on the Scriptures; I will receive his information willingly and humbly.

After that all the foresaid things were exhibited and given by the foresaid Walter Brut, unto the foresaid bishop of Hereford; he further appointed to the same Walter, the third day of the month of October, at Hereford, with the continuance of the dayes following to heare his opinion. Which third day now at hand, being Friday in the yere of our Lord God 1393, the said Walter Brut appeared before him, sitting in communion in the cathedrall church of Hereford at five a clock or thereabout; having for his assistants in the same place, divers prelates and abbats, and twenty bachelors of Divinitie, whereof twelve were monkes, and two doctors of the law. Amongst these was John Col. Hereford accompanied with many other prelates and worshipful men and wise graduates in sundry faculties. Now was the foresaid Walter appoynted of his writings aforesaid, and the contents therein. earnest were they in picking out of those writings, his heresies, and in shewing his schismes, sundry errors, and divers other things. Now, after that they had continued all that day and the two dayes following (that is, Friday, Saturday, and Sunday) in their informations and examinations against the same Walter Brut; the same Walter Brut submitted himselfe to the determination of the church, and to the correction of the said John Bishop, as it appeareth word for word in a scroll written in the English tongue: The tenor of which scroll, is as followeth.

I Walter Brut submit my selfe principally to the Evangelie of Iesus Christ, and to the determination of holy kirke, and to the generall counells of holy kirke. And to the sentence and determination of the foure Doctors of holy writ, that is, Augustine, Ambrose, Ierome, and Gregorie. And I meekely submit me to your correction, as a subject ought to his bishop.

Which scroll, as before is recited, in the English tongue, the foresaid Walter Brut, read with a loud and intelligible voice, at the crosse in the church yard on Monday, that is to say, the sixth of the said month of October, before the sermon made unto the people in presence of the said bishop of Hereford and other above written, as also other barons, knights, and noble men, and clergy, and also a great multitude of people. After which reading of the scroll, the foresaid Thomas Crawlay, bachelor of Divinitie, made a sermon unto the people, and took for his theme the words of the Apostle to the Romans, the eleventh chapter, that is as followeth: Be not over wise in your owne conceits, but stand in feare &c.

Out of these declarations and writings of Walter Brut, the Bishop with the Monkes and Doctors above rehearsed, did gather and draw certaine articles, to the number of 37. which they sent to the Universitie of Cambridge to be confuted, unto two learned men, master Colwill, and master Newton, bachelors of Divinitie. Which master Colwill and Newton did both labour in the matter, to the uttermost of their cunning, in repling and answering to the said 37 articles.

Besides them also, William Woodford a frier

3 ti

(W)

Walter Brut  
appears before  
the bishop of  
Hereford.

There were  
about twenty  
bachelors of  
Divinitie,  
whereof twelve  
were monkes,  
and two doctors  
of the law.  
Amongst these  
was John Col.  
Hereford  
accompanied  
with many other  
prelates and  
wise graduates  
in sundry  
faculties.

The writings  
of Walter  
Brut examined.

The tenor of  
the declaration  
of Walter  
Brut.

The submission  
of Walter  
Brut opened  
read at Here-  
ford.

Whether tempo-  
rall goods  
may be taken  
away from  
Ecclesiasticall  
persons offend-  
ing.

Popes take  
from Empe-  
rours, their be-  
nefices, tempo-  
rall dominion,  
when they  
offend: Ergo,  
much more  
may Empe-  
rours take from  
Popes tempo-  
rall dominion  
when they of-  
fend.

A prophete of  
Walter Brut,  
that temporall  
goods shall be  
taken away  
from the clergy  
for the multi-  
tude of their  
sinnes.



(who wrote likewise against the articles of Wickliffe) labouring, in the same cause made a solemn and a long tractation, compiling the articles of the said Writte, to the number of nine and twenty. All which treatises as I wish to come to the Readers hand, that the slenderesse of them might be known; so it may happen percase, that the same being in my hand may hereafter be further published, with other like tractations more, as convenient time for the printing thereof may hereafter better serve than now.

What after this became to this Walter Bute, or at what end he had, I find it not registered; but like it is, that he for this time escaped. Certaine other writings I find moreover, which albeit they beare no name of this Walter, nor of any certain author; yet because they are in the same register adioyned to the history of him, I thought therefore most fit here to be inserted. Of the which one was a letter sent to Nicholas Hereford a little above specified: who being at the first a great follower of John Wickliffe, as appeareth before, pag. 573, was now in the number of them which sate upon this Walter, as is in the volume above recorded. The copie of this letter bearing no name of any speciall author, but only as sent by a certaine Lollard (as the register doth terme him) is written in manner and forme as followeth.

Heere followeth the copie of a letter sent to Master Nicolas Hereford, by a Lollard; as in the register it is said.

Forasmuch as no man that putteth his hand to the plough and looketh backe is meete for the kingdome of GOD, as our Saviour Christ saith: what marvell is it, although Master Nicolas Hereford, which at the first (by the Visitation of the Spirit of God peradventure) put his hand, that is, gave his diligence unto the plough, that is, to the sowing of the Word of God and holy Scripture, as well in preaching as in doing good workes, is now so blind and unskillfull to expound the Scripture, that hee knoweth not what is understood by the kingdome of Heaven? Truly it is no marvell, O thou that art master of the Nicolaitans, which, like Nicolas the most false Deacon, hast left or forsaken the infallible knowledge of the holy Scripture. For the true knowledge of the Theologicall veritie is shut up as well from thee as from all the other Nicolaitans following thy conditions, forasmuch as thou goest not in by the dore to expound the same Evangelicall veritie. Therefore when thou diddest recite this other day, first, the pharisaicall and hypocriticall woe (nothing at all to any purpose) thou shouldest have said justly in this sort, both of thy selfe, and other thy followers and religious Antichrists: Woe bee unto us Scribes and Pharisees, which shut up the kingdome of Heaven, that is to say, the true knowledge of the holy Scriptures, before men by our false glosses and crooked similitudes: and neither wee our selves enter into the same kingdome or knowledg, nor suffer others to enter into it. Wherefore, it seemeth unto the faithfull sort, that wrongfully, falsely, and without any reverence, yee have expounded that text of Gregorie, 1. q. 1. that is to say, *Quicumque suadet*, &c. For this is the true understanding of the same: Knowing first that there bee some Priests after the thing, and name onely; and doth shew that this is true, that whosoever studieth to receive the holy order by giving of money, hee is not a Priest, *Secundum rem*, &c. But to say the truth, he desireth to be called a Priest, that is, to be a Priest *seu nomen tantum*. And such a Priest, which is a Priest in name onely, is no Priest. No more than Saint Mary painted is Saint Mary: Nor a false doctor a doctor, but no doctor: And a man painted is not a man, but no man, And

thus such a Priest in name onely is not a Priest: Because that all faithfull men doe firmly beleewe with Saint GREGORY, that no man buying the holy orders may then bee called a Priest, as hee saith, 1. q. 1. They that buy or sell holy orders can be no Priests. Whereupon is written, *Anathema dandi*, &c. *Anathema accipendi*; that is, Simoniacall Heresie. And it followeth, How therefore, if they bee accursed and not blessed, can they make others blessed? And when that they be not in the body of Christ, how can they either receive or deliver the body of CHRIST? He that is accursed, how can he be blessed? as though he would say; It is impossible. As Pope Urbanus saith, 1. q. 1. *Siquis a Simoniaco*, &c. Where he saith thus; They that willingly know and suffer themselves to be consecrated, nay, rather, execrated, of those that are infected with simonie; wee judge that their consecration is altogether void. Also Pope Leo in 2. q. 1. saith in this wise, Grace, if it be not freely given and received, is not grace. Spirituall vsurers doe not receive freely: Therefore, they receive not the spirituall grace, which specially worketh in the Ecclesiasticall orders. If they receive it not, they have it not: if they have it not freely, they cannot give it freely. And by this it is more cleere than the light, that they which know so much, and receive orders by spirituall vsury of Simonie, are neither Priests nor Deacons neither after the manner nor Character. For if such character, or mark were otherwise given in giving orders, it were requisite alwayes that there should be a certaine grace imprinted in the man; but there is no such grace given or imprinted, as afore is manifest. Therefore there is no character to be feined. Therefore such character or mark abideth not in him, forasmuch as hee never had nor hath the same. And yet furthermore in the same place; What then doe the simoniacall Prelates give? And he maketh answer: Truly even that which they have, as the spirit of lying. How prove we this? Because that if it be the spirit of verity, as the same verity doth testifie from whom it cometh, it is freely received. And it followeth for the whole purpose no doubt; it is convicted to be the spirit of lying, which is not freely received.

By this it appeareth manifestly to the faithfull sort, that those which wittingly and simoniacally are made Priests, forasmuch as they receive not the character of the Lord, but only the spirit of lying and the marke of Simon Magus, and of Judas the traitor, they be not Priests neither according to the marke nor manner. Nor such doe no more make the sacraments of Church, than other lay men may in the time of necessity, nor yet so truly, during their hereticall naughtinesse. And yet indeed (brother mine) *in voce natus*, but yet *in corde* in *malitia*; I doe not write thus sharply unto you, through anger, or any unperfect hate, but through the perfect hate, of your horrible heresie and denying the faith of Christ, that I may say with David in the Psalmes; *Perfectorum adiuveram*, &c. And I am very sorry for you, that you, which in times past have excellently well and fruitfully preached the Gospell in the Pulpit, doe now as well faile in the congruities of the Latine tongue, as in the other science naturall. For as it was heard, thrice in one lecture you said *appetit*, that is to say, pronouncing the middle syllable long, which thing not onely the masters, but also the young scholars understand. And many other faults there were in your Grammar, which for shame I dare not recite. I send unto you these five conclusions.

The first conclusion; It is an infallible veritie that the words of the four chief Doctors, expounding the holy Scripture according to the verity which the words doe pretend, are to be holden and kept.

The second; He which imposeth any equivocation out of any of the Doctors expounding, for the colouring of his text, his equivocation is alwayes to be left.

(KING)  
(RIC. 2.)

1. q. 1. Siquis a Simoniaco

Ex Leone  
Papa. 2. q. 1.

Another innuendo: in matters no doubt.

5. Conclusions sent.

The

A letter sent to Nicol. Hereford.

Nicolaitans.

1. q. 1. ca.  
Quicumque suadet.



{KING}  
{RIC. 2.}

The third; No perberson of any reprobate is able to turn the Congregation of the elect from the faith, because all things that shall come to passe are eternally in God devised and ordained for the best unto the elect Christians.

The fourth; Like as the mysticall body of Christ is the congregation of all the elect, so antichrist mystically is the church of the wicked and of all the reprobates.

The fifth; The conclusions of Swincherby bee agreeable to the faith in every part.

∴ This letter was thus subscribed:

By the spirit of God, sometime visiting you.

Besides this epistle above prefixed, there is also found annexed with the same a device of another certaine letter counterfeited under the name of Lucifer prince of darknesse, writing to the pope and all popish prelates, persecuting the true and right church (with all might and maine) to maintaine their pride and domination in this earth, under a colourable pretence and vifoz of the catholike church and succession apostolicall. Which letter although it seemeth in some authors to be ascribed to Deham, above mentioned; yet because I finde it in the same register of the church of Hereford contained, and inserted among the tractations of Walter Bate, and devised (as the register saith) by the Lollards; I thought no meeier place than here to annex the same; the tenour whereof thus proceedeth in words as follow.

The device or counterfeit of a certaine letter fained under the name of Lucifer prince of darknesse, writing to the persecuting prelates of the popish clergy.

The epistle of Lucifer to the pope and prelates of the popish clergy.

Lucifer Prince of darknesse and profound heavinessse, Emperour of the high mysteries of the king of Acheront, Captaine of the dungeon Erebus, King of Hell, and Controller of the infernall fire, To all our children of pride, and companions of our kingdom, and especially to our princes of the Church of this latter age and time (of which our adversarie Iesus Christ according to the Prophet, saith, I hate the church or congregation of the wicked) send greeting and wish prosperitie to all that obey our commandements, as also to those that be obedient to the lawes of Satan already enacted, and that are diligent observers of our behests, and the precepts of our decree. Know ye that in times past certaine vicars or vicegerents of Christ, following his steps in miracl's and virtues, living and continuing in a beggerly life, converted (in a manner) the whole world from the yoke of our tyrannie unto their doctrine and manner of life, to the great derision and contempt of our prison house and kingdom, and also to the no little prejudice and hurt of our jurisdiction and authoritie, not fearing to hurt our fortified power, and to offend the majestie of our estate. For then received we no tribute of the world, neither did the miserable sort of common people rush at the gates of our deepe dungeon as they were wont to doe, with continuall pealing and rapping, but then the easie, pleasant, and broad way, which leadeth to death, lay still without great noise of trampling travellers, neither yet was trod with the feet of miserable men. And when all our courts were without suiters, Hell then began to howle. And thus, continuing in great heavinessse and anguish, was robbed and spoiled. Which thing considered, the impatient rage of our stomack could no longer suffer, neither the ugle wretchlesse negligence of our great captain's generall could any longer endure. But wee, seeking remedie for the time that should come after, have provided us of a very trim shift. For in stead of these Apostles and other

The difference between the bishops of the primitive church and of the latter church.

Humilitie edified. Deeds destroyed.

their adherents which draw by the same line of theirs, as well in manners as doctrine, and wee have caused you to be their successors, and put you in their place, which be Prelates of the Church in these later times, by our great might and subornie, as Christ hath said of you: They have reigned, but not by mee. Once we promised unto him all the kingdomes of the world if hee would fall downe and worship us, but hee would not, saying, My kingdom is not of this world, and went his way when the multitude would have made him a temporall King. But to you truly which are fallen from the state of grace, and that serve us in the earth, is that my promise fulfilled: and by our means all these things which wee have bestowed upon you are under your government. For hee hath said of us as yee know; The Prince of this world cometh, &c. and hath made us to reigne over all children of unbelieve. Therefore our adversaries before recited did patiently submit themselves unto the Princes of the world, and did teach that men should doe so, saying; Bee yee subject to every creature for Gods cause, whether it bee to the King as most chiefe. And againe; Obey yee them that are made rulers over you, &c. For so their Master commanded them, saying; The Kings of the Heathen have dominion over them, &c. But I thinke it long till we have powred our poyson upon the earth, and therefore fill your selves full. And now be yee not unlike those fathers, but also contrary unto them in your life and conditions, and extoll your selves above all other men. Neither doe yee give to God that which belongeth to him, nor yet to Caesar that which is his: but exercise you the power of both the words, according to our decrees, making your selves doers in worldly matters, fighting in our quarrell, intangled with secular labours and businesse. And climbe yee by little and little from the miserable state of poverty unto the highest seats of all honours, and the most princely places of dignity by your devised practices, and false and deceitfull wiles and subtilty; that is, by hypocrisie, flattery, lying, perjury, treasons, deceits, simonie, and other greater wickednesse than which our infernall fires may devise. For after that yee have by us beene advanced thither where yee would bee, yet that doth not suffice you, but, as greedy shavelings more hungry than yee were before, yee suppress the poore, scratch and rake together all that comes to hand, perverting and turning every thing topsie-turvie; so swolne that ready yee are to burst for pride, living like Lechers in all corporall delicatenesse, and by fraud directing all your doings. You challenge to your selves names of honour in the earth, calling your selves lords, holie, yea and most holie persons.

Thus, either by violence yee raven, or else by ambition, subtilly yee pilfer away, and wrongfully wrest and by false title possesse those goods, which for the sustentation of the poore members of Christ (whom from our first fall wee have hated) were bestowed and given, consuming them as yee your selves list, and therewith yee cherish and maintaine an innumerable sort of whores, strumpets, and baudes, with whom yee ride pompously like mighty princes, farre otherwise going, than those poore beggerly priests of the Primitive Church. For I would yee should build your selves rich and gorgeous palaces: yee fare like princes, eating and drinking the most daintiest meates, and pleasantest wines that may be gotten; yee hoord and heape together an infinite deale of treasure, not like to him that said, Gold and silver have I none; ye serve and fight for us according to your wages. O most acceptable societie or fellowship, promised unto us by the Prophet, and of those fathers long agoe reproved: Whilest that Christ called thee the Synagogue of Satan, and likened thee to the mighty whore which committed fornication with the kings of the earth, the adulterous spouse of Christ, and of a chaste person made a strumpet.

Blasphemy of Lucifer to the pope and prelates of the popish clergy.

The Church of the elect is the true church, and the church of the wicked is the false church.

The device of the letter of Lucifer to the pope and prelates of the popish clergy.

The device of the letter of Lucifer to the pope and prelates of the popish clergy.

The device of the letter of Lucifer to the pope and prelates of the popish clergy.

The outrages of the popish clergy described.

Dominos. Sanctos. Sanctissimos.

The lascivious and whorish life of the Romish clergy.



The whorish  
latter church of  
Rome.

Pope successor  
not of Simon  
Peter, but of  
Simon Magus.  
Clerical and  
unworthy min-  
isters admit-  
ted in the  
pope's church.  
Unworthily  
bestowing of  
benefices.

Extortion.  
Perverting of  
justice.

Acceptation of  
pensions.  
Wardship.

Love of lucre.  
Destruction of  
true faith.

The life of pa-  
pists contrary  
to their teach-  
ing.

The Pope in-  
credibly hell.

Antichrist.

The pope a  
fained procu-  
rer of peace be-  
tween princes.

The Romane  
empire craftily  
subverted by  
the pope.

a strumpet. Thou hast left thy first love and hast cleaved unto us, O our beloved Babylon, O our Citizens, which from the transmigration of Ierusalem come hither: we love you for your deserts, wee rejoyce over you which contemne the lawes of Simon Peter, and embrace the lawes of Simon Magus our friend, and have them at your fingers ends, and exercise the same publicly, buying and selling spirituall things in the Church of God, and against the Commandement of God, Yee give benefices and honours by petition, or else for money, for favour, or else for filthy service. And refusing to admit those that bee worthy to Ecclesiastical dignities, and preferring those that are unworthy, you call unto the inheritance of Gods Sanctuary, baudes, liars, flatterers, your nephewes, and your owne children, and to a childish boye give many prebends, the least whereof yee deny to bestow upon a poore good man: yee esteeme the person of a man and receive gifts, yee regard money and have no regard of soules. Yee have made the house of God a den of thieves. All abuse, all extortion is more exercised a hundreth fold in your judgement seates, than with any secular tyrant. Yee make lawes and keepe not the same, and yee dispence with your dispensations as it pleaseth you; you iustifie the wicked for rewards, and you take away the just mans desert from him. And briefly yee perpetrate or commit all kinde of mischief, even as it is our will ye should. And yee take much paine for lucre sake in our service, and especially to destroy the Christian faith. For now the lay people are almost in doubt what they may beleve, because if yee preach any thing to them as some times (although it be but seldome seene, and that negligently enough, even as wee would have it) yet notwithstanding they beleve you not, because they see manifestly that yee doe cleane contrary to that yee say. Whereupon the common people, doing as yee doe which have the government of them, and should be an example to them of well doing; now many of them, leaning to your rules, doe runne headlong into a whole sea of vices; and so continually a very great multitude flocketh at the strong and well fenced gates of our dungeon. And doubtlesse yee send us so many day by day of every sort and kind of people, that wee should not hee able to entertaine them, but that our insatiable Chaos with her thousand ravening jawes is sufficient to devour an infinite number of soules. And thus the sovereignty of our Empire by you hath bene reformed, and our intolerable losse restored. Wherefore, most specially wee commend you, and give you most hearty thanks; exhorting you all that in any wise yee persevere and continue, as hitherto yee have done: neither that you slacke henceforth your enterprise. For why? by your helpes wee purpose to bring the whole world againe under our power and dominion. Over and besides this, wee commit unto you no small authority, to supply our places in the betraying of your brethren; and wee make and ordaine you our Vicars, and the ministers of Antichrist our sonne, now hard at hand, for whom yee have made a very trimme way and passage. Furthermore, wee counsell you which occupy the highest roomes of all other, that you worke subtilly, and that yee (fainedly procure peace betweene the Princes of the world, and that yee cherish and procure secret causes of discord. And like as craftily yee have destroyed and subverted the Romane Empire, so suffer yee no kingdome to bee over-much enlarged or enriched by tranquillity and peace; left perhaps in so great tranquillity (all desire of peace set aside) they dispose themselves to view and consider your most wicked workes, suppressing on every side your estate; and from your treasures take away such substance, as wee have caused to bee reserved and kept in your hands, untill the coming of our welbeloved sonne Antichrist. We would ye should do our commendations to our entirely beloved daughters, pride, deceit, wrath, avarice, belly-cheere, and lecherie, and to all other my daughters; and specially to lade. Si-

monie which hath made you men, and enriched you, and hath given you lucke with her owne breasts, and weaned you, and therefore in no wise see that you call her sinne. And bee yee loslie and proud, because that the most high dignity of your estate doth require such magnificence. And also bee ye covetous, for whatsoever yee get and gather into your fardell, it is for Saint Peter, for the peace of the Church, and for the defence of your patrimonie and the crucifixe; and therefore yee may lawfully doe it. Yee may promote your cardinals to the highest seate of dignities without any let in all the world, in stopping the mouth of our adversarie Iesus Christ, and alleading againe, that he preferred his kinsfolks (being but of poore and base degree) unto the Apostleship; but doe not you so, but rather call, as yee doe, those that live in arrogancie, in haughtinesse of minde, and filthy lecherie, unto the state of wealthie riches and pride; and those rewards and promotions, which the followers of Christ forsooke, do ye distribute unto your friends. Therefore as yee shall have better understanding, prepare yee vices cloked under the similitude of vertues. Alledge for your selves the glosses of the holy Scripture, and wrest them directly to serve for your purpose. And if any man preach or teach otherwise than yee will, oppresse ye them violently. With the sentence of excommunication, and by your censures heaped one upon another, by the consent of your brethren, let him be condemned as an heretike, and let him bee kept in most strait prison, and there tormented till hee die, for a terrible example to all such as confesse Christ. And setting all favour apart, cast him out of your temple, lest peradventure the ingrafted word may save your soules, which word I doe abhorre as I doe the soules of other faithfull men. And doe your indeavour, that ye may deserve to have the place which we have prepared for you, under the most wicked foundation of our dwelling place. Fare ye well with such felicitie as we desire and intend finally to reward and recompence with you.

Given at the center of the earth, in that our darke place, where all the rablement of divels were present, specially for this purpose called unto our most dolorous Consistorie, under the character of our terrible seal, for the confirmation of the premises.

Ez Registro Hertfordensi ad verbum.

Who was the true author of this poeie or epistle above written it is not evidently knowne; neither doth it greatly skill. The matter being well considered on their part, which here be noted, may minister unto them sufficient occasion of wholome admonition, either to remember themselves what is amisse, or to bethinke with themselves what is to be amended. Divers other writings of like argument, both before and since, hath bene devised: as one bearing the title, Luciferi ad malos principes Ecclesiasticos; imprinted first at Paris in Latine. And under the writing thereof, bearing this date, Anno a palatii nostri fractione, consortiumque nostrorum subtractione, 1351. Which if ye count from the passion of the Lord, reacheth well to the time of Wickliffe 1385. which was above six yeeres before the examination of this Walter Bute.

There is also another epistle of Lucifer prince of darkness, ad prelatos, mentioned in the epistle of the schole of Prague, to the Universitie of Oxford set forth by Huldéricus Huttenus, about the yere of our Lord (as is there dated) 1370. which seemeth to be written before this epistle.

Also Vincentius in Speculo histo. lib. 25. cap. 89. inferreth like mention of a letter of the fiends infernall unto the clergie men, as in a vision represented, before 400. yeeres. In which the devils gave thanks to the spirituall men, for that by their silence and not preaching the Gospell they sent infinite soules to hell, &c.

SKING  
RIC. 2.  
Simon the  
popes nurse.

Promoting of  
falsed and vic  
cardinals.

Cloked holie  
ness.

Wresting of  
Scripture.

Tyranny and  
cruelty by the  
pope.

Ex Registro  
Hertford.

Epist. Lucif.  
ad prelatos.

Vincent.  
Spec. hist. lib.  
25. c. 89.

Divers



{KING}  
{RIC. 2.}

Others other letters also of like deb ce have been written, and also recorded in authors. Whereunto may be added, that one, Iacobus Garthufienfis, writing to the bishop of Monace, allegeth out of the prophery of Hildegardis, in these words; Ideo & diabolus in semetipso de vobis sacerdotibus ait; Efcas epulantiis, convivia & omnes voluptates in illis invenio; sed & oculi, & aures, & venter meus, & vena mea, de spumis illorum plene sunt, & ubera mea plena sunt divitiis illorum, &c. i. Therefore, saith he, the devil may say of you priests in himselfe; The meates of banquetting dishes, and feastis of all kinde of pleasure, I find in these men; yea also mine eyes, mine eares, my bellie, and all my belies be full of their frothing, and my breasts be full stuffed with their riches, &c. Furthermore, saith he, they labour every day to rise up higher with Lucifer, but every day they fall with him more deeply.

Ex propheta  
Hildegardis.

The devil  
glorifies  
in  
the  
clergy  
men.

The silence of  
priests in not  
reaching the  
Soul, dam-  
ning many a  
soul.

Hereunto also appertaineth a story written, and commonly found in many old written books: In the yere of our Lord 1228. at Paris in a synod of the clergy, there was one appointed to make a sermon. Who being much carefull in his minde, and solicitous what to say, the devil came to him, and asking him why hee was so carefull for his matter what he should preach to the clergy; say thus, quoth he, The princes of hell salute you, O you princes of the church, and gladly give you thanks, because through your default and negligence it cometh to passe, that all soules goe downe to hell. Adding moreover, that hee was also enforced by the commandement of God to declare the same, yea and that a certaine token moreover was given to the said clerke for a signe, whereby the synod might evidently see that he did not lie. Ex Catal. Illyr. fol. 546.

### The Bull of Pope Boniface the ninth, against the Lollards.

The popes let-  
ter to the bishop  
of Hereford.

Bonifacius Bishop, servant of the servants of God, To the reverend brother, Iohn Bishop of Hereford sendeth greeting and Apostolicall benediction. Wee meane to write unto our welbeloved son in Christ (Richard the renowned King of England) in forme inclosed within these presents. Therefore we will and command your brotherhood, that as much as yee may yee study and endeavour your selfe to exhort and induce the same King to doe those things which we have written unto him, as it is said before. And notwithstanding that now many a day you ought to have done it of your selfe, and not to looke that we should perswade you to that effect by us written; you may proceed as well by our authority, as by your owne, forasmuch as it was given you before: that hereafter we may know effectually by your diligence, what zeale your devotion beareth unto the Catholike faith, and to the conserving of the Ecclesiasticall honour, and also to the execution of your pastorall office.

Given at Rome at S. Peters the xv. Kalends of October, the sixth yere of our Bishoplike dignity.

The tenour of the bull, to the renowned Prince, Richard, by the grace of God King of England and of France: whereof mention is made above, as followeth, and is thus much in effect.

The Popes  
bulle butt let  
looke against  
the servants  
of Christ.

TO our welbeloved sonne in Christ, Richard the noble King of England, we send greeting, &c. It grieveth us from the bottome of our hearts, and our holy mother the Church in all places through Christendome lamenteth. Wee understand that there bee certaine heresies sprung, and doe without any condigne restraint range at their owne liberty, to the seducing

of the faithfull people, and doe every day with great much liberty enlarge their unbelief. But how much the more carefully wee labour to the preservation both of you and your famous kingdom, and also the sincerity of the faith, and doe with much more ardent desire covet that the prosperous state of the same should be preserved and enlarged, the thing of greater sorrow doth to much the more penetrate and afflict us, forasmuch as wee see (alas the while) in our time, and under the regall presidence of your most Christian government, a certaine crafty and hairebrained sect of false Christians, in the same your kingdom to grow and increase; which call themselves, The poor men of the treasury of Christ and his disciples, and whom the common people by a more founder name call Lollards (as a man would say, withered darnell, according as their sinnes require; and perceive that they wax strong, and as it were prevail against the Diocellans of some places, and other Governours, as they meet together, not courageously addressing themselves against them as they ought to doe (whereof chiefly and not undeservedly I give them admonition) for that they take thereby the more bolder presumption and romack among the unlearned people. And forasmuch as those whom we cannot call men, but the damnable shadowes or ghosts of men, doe rise up against the found faith, and holy univerfall Church of Rome; and that very many of them being indifferently learned, which (to the confusion and eternal damnation of some of them) they got sitting upon their mothers lap the said Church of Rome, doe rise up or inveigh against the determination of the holy Fathers, with too much presumptuous boldnesse, to the subversion of the whole Ecclesiasticall order and estate; and have not bene afraid, nor are yet afraid, publicly to preach very many erroneous, detestable, and hereticall articles, for that they are not put to silence, reproved, driven out, rooted out, or otherwise punished by any that hath authority and the feare and love of God. And also they are not afraid openly to write the same articles, and so being written to deliver them to your Kingly Parliament, and obstinately to affirme the same. The venemous and disdainfull recital of which articles, upon good adviement, at this present we passe over, lest the endurance of such sensuality might fortune to renew the wound that reason may heale. Yet notwithstanding, lest so great and contagious an evill should escape unpunished, and that without deserved vexation, and also that it might not get more heart, and waxe more strong; Wee therefore (according to that our office and duty is, where is such negligence and sluggishnesse of our Prelates being present where this thing is) doe commit and give in commandement to our reverend brethren, Canterbury and Yorke, Archbishops, by other our letters; that they stand up in the power of God against this pestilent and contagious sect, and that they lively persecute the same in forme of law; roote out and destroy those, that advisedly and obstinately refuse to withdraw their foot from the same stumbling block, any restraint to the contrary notwithstanding. But because the assistance, counsell, favour, and aide of the execution of the premisses; wee require, exhort, and beseech the same your Princely highnesse by the bowels of the mercy of Iesus Christ, by his holy faith, by your owne salvation, by the benefit that to all men is common, and by the prosperity assured to every man and woman, that not only your Kingly severity may readily shew, and cause to bee shewed unto our Archbishops and their Commissaries (in this behalfe requiring the foresaid due execution) convenient aide and favour, as otherwise also to cause them to bee assisted: but that also you will injoyne your Magistrates and Iustices of Assise, and Peace, more straitly, that of their owne good wils they execute the authority committed unto them, with all severity against such damned men, according as they are bound by the office which they are put in trust with; against those, I meane, which have deter-

These  
heresies  
are  
the  
Lollards

These  
heresies  
are  
the  
Lollards

The danger  
of  
heresies  
is  
that  
they  
drawe  
Christians

Behold the  
fruit of the  
wores  
meek boldnesse.

The bowels of  
Iesus Christ  
be full of mee-  
cy, and bowels  
of the popes full  
of tyranny.

mined



mined obstinately to defile themselves in their malice and finnes, those to expell, banish, and imprison, and there so long to keepe them, till condigne sentence shall pronounce them worthy to suffer punishment. For your Kingly wisedome seeth that such as they bee doe not onely deceive poore simple soules (or at the least do what they can to deceive them) but also bring their bodies to destruction, and further prepare confusion and ruinous fall unto their temporall lords. Goe therefore, my sweet sonne, and endeavour your selfe to worke so in this matter, as undoubtedly wee trust you will: that as this firebrand (burning and flaming over-fore) began under your presidence or government: so under your severe judgement and vertuous diligence, might, favour, and aide, there may not one spark remaine hid under the ashes, but that it be utterly extinguished, and speedily put out.

Given at our Palace of S. Peter at Rome, the xv. Calends of October, in the sixth yeere of our Pontificality.

### The Kings Commission.

Richard by the grace of God, King of England, and of France, and lord of Ireland, To all those unto whom these present letters shall come, greeting. Know ye, that whereas lately at the instance of the reverend father, William Archbishop of Canterbury, Metropolitan of all England, and Legat of the Apostolicall seat, Wee for the redresse and amendment of all those which would obstinately preach or maintaine, publicly or privily, any conclusions of the holy Scripture, repugnant to the determination of our holy mother the Church, and notoriously redounding to the subversion of the Catholike faith, or containing any heresie or error, within the Province or Bishopricke of Canterbury, have by our speciall letters patents, in the zeale of the faith, given authority and licence unto the foresaid Archbishop, and to all and singular his Suffragans, to arrest all and every of them that will preach or maintaine any such conclusions, wheresoever they may bee found, and to commit them either to their owne prisons, or any other at their owne pleasure, and to keepe them in the same, untill they repent them of the errors and pravityes of those heresies; or till that, of such manner of arrests, by us or by our counsell it should be otherwise determined; that is to say, to every one of them and their ministers throughout their cities and diocesse. And now the reverend father in God, Iohn Bishop of Hereford, hath for a certainty informed us; that although the same Bishop hath according to justice convinced a certaine fellow named William Swinderby, pretending himselfe to bee a chaplaine, and one Stephan Bell, a learned man, and hath pronounced them heretikes and excommunicate, and false informers among the common people, and hath declared the same by the definitive sentence of the foresaid Bishop, for that they have presumed to affirme and preach openly, in divers places within the Dioces of Hereford, many conclusions or naughty opinions notoriously redounding to the subversion of the Catholike sound faith, and tranquillity of our kingdome: The same Bishop notwithstanding, neither by the ecclesiasticall censures, neither by the force and strength of our Commission, was able to revoke the foresaid William and Stephan, nor yet to bridle the malice and indurate contumacie of them; for that they, after that they were upon such hereticall pravity convicted by the same Bishop (to the intent they might delude his judgement and justice) conveyed themselves by and by unto the borders of Wales, with such as were their fautors and accomplices, keeping themselves close, unto whom the force of our said letters doth in no wise extend. Whereupon the said Bishop hath made supplication unto us, that wee will vouchsafe to provide a sufficient remedy in that behalfe. We therefore, which alwayes

(by the helpe of Almighty God) are defenders of the faith, willing to withstand such presumptuous and perverse enterprises by the most safe way and meanes wee may, give and commit full power and authority to the foresaid Bishop and to his ministers, by the tenour of these presents, to arrest or take, or cause to bee arrested or taken, the foresaid William and Stephan, in any place within the City and Diocesse of Hereford and our dominion of Wales, with all the speed that may bee; and to commit them either to our prison, or else to the prison of the same Bishop, or any other prison at their pleasure, if such need bee, and there to keepe them safe. And afterwards, unless they will obey the commandements of the Church, with diligence to bring them before us and our Councell, or else cause them to bee brought; that wee may determine for their further punishment, as wee shall thinke it requisite and convenient to bee done by the advice of our Councell, for the defence and preservation of the Catholike faith. And that the foresaid William and Stephan, being succoured by the aid of their fautors or favourers, should not bee able to fle or escape to their accustomed starting holes; and that the sharpnesse of their paines so aggravated, may give them sufficient cause to returne to the lap againe of their holy mother the Church; we straitly charge and command all and singular our Sheriffes, Bailiffes, Barons, and all other our Officers in the City and Diocesse of Hereford, and in any other places being within our Dominion of Wales, by the tenour of these presents; that from time to time (where they thinke it most meet) they cause it openly to be proclaimed in our name, that none of what state, degree, preheminance, kinde, or other condition hee shall bee, doe cherish openly or secretly the foresaid William and Stephan, untill the time that they repent them of their heresies and errors, and shall bee reconciled unto the holy Church of God: Neither that any person or persons, bee beleivers, favourers, or receivers, defenders, or in any case wittingly instructors of the said William or Stephan, or any other of the residue of the heretikes that are to bee convinced, upon the forfeiture of all that ever they have. And that also they giving their attendance bee obedient and answerable to the foresaid Bishop and his deputies in this behalfe, for the execution of the premisses: and that they certifie us and our Councell distinctly and plainly, from time to time, of the names of all and singular persons, which shall fortune to bee found culpable in this behalfe, under their seales. In witnesse whereof, wee have caused these our letters patents to be made.

Witnesse our selfe at Westminster, the ninth day of March, in the fifteenth yeere of our raigne.

Farrington.

### Another letter of the said King against Walter Brute.

Richard by the grace of God King of England, and of France, and lord of Ireland, to his beloved and faithfull Iohn Chaundos knight, Iohn Eynfore knight, Renold de la Bere knight, Walter Deveros knight, Thomas de la Bare knight, William Lucie knight, Leonard Hakelute knight, and to the Maior of the Citie of Hereford, to Thomas Oldcastle, Richard Nash, Roger Wygmore, Thomas Waylwayne, Iohn Skydmore, Iohn Vp-Harry, Henry Morton, and to the Sheriffe of Hereford, sendeth salutations.

Forasmuch as it is advertised us, that one Walter Brute, and other such children of iniquity, have damnablely holden, affirmed, and preached, certaine Articles and conclusions, being notoriously repugnant against the holy Scripture (of the which some of them as heresies, and the rest as errors are finally by the Church condemned) and that in divers places within the Diocesse of Hereford, and parts neere adjoining, both privily, openly, and obstinately; which thing wee perceive not onely to redound to the subversion

{ KING }  
{ RIC. 2. }

Pseudocatholica fides.

Helpe the pope at a pinch, or else he is like to take a fall.

The hot complaining charity of the bishop of Hereford. W. Swinderby & Stephan Bell complained of to the king.

Furioso ne committas gladium.

Another letter of King Richard against Walter Brute.

Walter Brute



KING  
RIC. 2.

(in a manner) of the catholike faith, which as well we as other catholike princes ought of dutie to maintaine, but also to forewarne us of the subversion of our faithfull Dioceſans; And that the ſaid biſhop, upon the good deliberation and adviſement of a great number of doctours in Divinitie, and other learned and ſkilfull men in the Scriptures, of ſpeciall devotion, according to his bounden dutie, purpoſed to begin and make divers and ſundry proceſſes by law to be ſent unto the foreſaid Walter and his accomplices to appeare perſonally before him and other the doctours aforeſaid in the cathedrall church of Hereford, the morrow after the translation of S. Thomas of Hereford next enſuing, and to proceed in the ſame place againſt the ſame Walter, in the foreſaid articles and conſolutions, for the amendment of his ſoule: and that they now aſreſh (becauſe that the ſaid Walter and others of their retinew, cleaving and confederating with him, might not ſuffer condigne paines according to their demerits) endeavour themſelves to make voide and fruſtrate the ſaid godly purpoſe of the ſame biſhop, in ſuch correction and execution as ſhould have bene done, and with force doe reſiſt and let the ſame with all the power they may, to the great contempt of us and of our crowne, and to the breaking and hurting of our peace, and pernicious example of others: wee doe appoint you, and every of you, immediately as ſoone as this our commiſſion ſhall bee delivered unto you, in our behalfe and name, to make open proclamation in the dioceſſe and parts aforeſaid, where yee ſhall thinke it moſt meete and convenient: That no man bee ſo hardy henceforth, of what ſtate or condition ſoever he ſhall bee, within the dioceſſe and parts aforeſaid, upon paine of forfeiture of all that ever hee hath, to make or levie any conventicles, aſſemblies, or confederacies, by any colour; or that they preſume to attempt or procure any other thing, whereby our peace may be hurt or broken, or that the ſame biſhops and doctours aforeſaid may be by any meanes moleſted or let in the execution of ſuch correction as is to be done, according to the canonically ſanctions; and to arreſt all thoſe which ye ſhall finde, or take offending in this behalfe, or that keep themſelves in any ſuch conventicles; And that they, being committed to priſon, bee there kept, till you ſhall have other commandement from us and from our counsell for their deliverance; and that yee diſtinctly and plainly certifie us, and our ſaid counsell, of all your doing in this behalfe under your ſeales, or elſe the ſeales of ſome of you. And therefore we ſtraitly charge and command you, and every of you, that ye diligently attend upon the premiſſes, and that in your deeds ye execute the ſame with all diligence and carefull endeavour in the forme and manner aforeſaid. And further we give ſtrait charge and commandement to all and ſingular Sheriſſes, Majors, Bailiſſes, Conſtables, and other our faithfull ſubjects, by the tenour of theſe preſents; that they be attending upon you, counſelling and aiding you and every of you, as is meet and convenient in the doing and execution of the premiſſes. In witneſſe whereof, we have cauſed theſe our letters patents to be made. Witneſſe my ſelfe at Weſtmiſter the 22. day of September, in the 17. yeere of our raigne.

By the ſame king and counsell.

Thus king Richard by the ſetting on of W. Courtney, archbiſhop of Canterbury, and his fellowe: taking part with the Pope and Romiſh Prelates, ſwared ſome what ſtrait and hard to the poore Chriſtians of the contrary ſide, of Wickliſſe, as by theſe letters above preſcribed may appeare. Albeit, during all the life of the ſaid king I finde of none expreſſly by name that ſuffered burning. Notwithſtanding ſome there were which by the foreſaid archbiſhop W. Courtney, and other biſhops, had bene condemned, and others alſo abjured, and did penance as wel in other places, as chiefly about the town of Leiceſter,

as followeth here to bee declared out of the archbiſhops register and records.

At what time the ſaid archbiſhop William Courtney was in his viſitation at the towne of Leiceſter, certaine there were accuſed and detected to him, by the monkes and other preſts in the ſaid towne. The names of which perſons there detected were: one Roger Dexter, Nicolas Taylor, Richard Wlaſtaſſe, Michael Scribener, William Smith, John Henry, William Parchmentar, and Roger Goldsmith, inhabitants of the ſame towne of Leiceſter. Theſe with other mo were denounced to the archbiſhop for holding the opinion of the ſacrament of the altar, of auricular confeſſion, and other ſacraments, contrary to that which the Church of Rome both preach and obſerve. All which parties abſe named, and many other mo, whole names are not knowne, did hold theſe heresies and errors here under written, and are of the Romiſh church condemned.

1. That the ſacrament of the altar, after the words of confeſſation, there remaineth the body of Chriſt with the materiall bread.
2. That images ought not to be worſhipped in any caſe, and that no man ought to ſet any candle before them.
3. That no croſſe ought to be worſhipped.
4. The Paſſes and Pattens ought not with an high and loud voice to be ſaid in the church.
5. Item, that no curat or prieſt, taken in any crime can confeſſate, heare confeſſions, or miniſter any of the ſacraments of the church.
6. That the pope and all prelates of the church cannot bind any man with the ſentence of excommunication, unleſſe they know him to be firſt excommunicated of God.
7. That no prelate of the church can grant any pardons.
8. That every lay man may in every place preach and teach the Goſpell.
9. That it is ſinne to give any almes or charitie to the friers, preachers, Minoriſtes, Auguſtines, or Carmelites.
10. That no oblation ought to be uſed at the funerals of the dead.
11. That it is not neceſſarie to make confeſſion of our ſins to the prieſt.
12. That every good man, although he be unlearned is a prieſt.

Theſe articles they taught, preached, and affirmed manfully in the towne of Leiceſter, and other places adjoining. Whereupon the ſaid archbiſhop moniſhed the ſaid Roger, and Nicolas, with the reſt, on the next day to make anſwere unto him in the ſaid monaſterie to the foreſaid articles. But the foreſaid Roger and Nicolas with the reſt hid themſelves out of the way, and appeared not. Whereupon the archbiſhop upon All hallow day, being the firſt day of November, celebrating the high maſſe at the high altar in the ſaid monaſterie, being attired in his pontificalibus, denounced the ſaid parties with all their adherents, ſanctos, ſabourers, and counſellers, excommunicate & accuſed, which either held, taught or maintained the foreſaid conſolutions heretical and erroneous, and that in ſolemne wiſe, by ringing the bells, lighting the candles, and putting out the ſame againe, and throwing them downe to the ground, with other circumſtances the ſame belonging. Upon the morrow after (being All Soules day) he ſent for all the curats and other lay men of the towne of Leiceſter, to inquire more diligently of the verity of ſuch matter as they knew, and were able to ſay againſt any perſons whatſoever. concerning the foreſaid articles, as alſo againſt the parties before named and ſpecified upon their oathes, denouncing every one of them feverally by their names to bee excommunicated and accuſed; and cauſed them alſo in divers pariſh churches in Leiceſter alſo to be excommunicate. And further the ſaid archbiſhop inter-

Roger Dexter, Nicolas Taylor, Richard Wlaſtaſſe, Michael Scribener, William Smith, John Henry, William Parchmentar, and Roger Goldsmith, accuſed.

Roger, Michael, Richard, William and Roger accuſed with a book, bell, and candles.

Big Richard  
againſt the  
preſts by  
the archbiſhop  
and the prelates

I Regiſt. W.  
Courtney,  
Ch. Cant.



The whole  
towne of Lei-  
cester, interdi-  
cted.

interdicted the whole towne of Leicester, and all the churches in the same, so long as any of the foresaid excommunicate persons should remaine or be with- in the same, and till that all the Lollards of the towne should returne and amend from such here- sies and errors, obtaining at the said archbishop his hands the benefit of absolution.

Matilde, an  
anchoresse, cited  
to appeare.

At length it was declared and shewed to the said archbishop, that there was a certaine anchoresse whose name was Matilde, inclosed within the church yard of S. Peters church of the said towne of Leicester, infected (as they said) with the pestiferous contagion of the foresaid heretikes and Lollards: whereupon after that the said archbishop had exami- ned the foresaid Matilde, touching the foresaid con- clusions, heresies, and errors, and found her not to answer plainly and directly to the same, but sophis- ticall and subtilly; he gave and assigned unto her a day peremptory, personally to appeare before him in the monastery of Saint James at Northham- ton, more fully to answer to the said articles, here- sies, and errors, which was the sixth day of the said moneth of November; commanding the abbate of the monasterie of S. Patis aforesaid, that the dore of the recluse, in which the said Matilde was, should be opened, and that till his returne he should cause her to be put in safe custodie. That done, he sent forth his mandate against the Lollards, under this forme:

William by the permission of God, &c. To his welbelovéd sons, the Baisor and Bailiffes of the towne of Leicester diocesse, greeting. Wee have lately received the kings letters, graciously granted us for the defence of the catholike faith, in these wordes following: Richard by the grace of God, king of England and of France, &c. Wee on the behalfe of our holy mother the church, by the kings authori- tie aforesaid, do require you, that you cause the same Richard, William, Roger, and the rest, to be ar- rested, and sent unto us; that they with their pernicious doctrine doe not infect the people of God, &c. Given under our seale, &c.

By another instrument also in the same Register is mention made of one Margarete Caily Nun, which forsaking her order was by the said archbishop constrained, against her will, againe to enter the same, as by this instrument here under ensuing may appeare.

William by the grace of God, &c. To our rebe- rend brother of God, John, by the grace of God bi- shop of Ely, greeting, &c. In the visitation of our diocesse of Lincoln according to our office amongst other enormities worthy reformation, we found one shep out of our fold strayed, and amongst the bziers tangled; to wit, Margarete Caily, Nun professed, the monasterie of S. Abdegond within your diocesse: who casting off the habit of her religion, was found in secular attire, many yeres being an apostata, and leading a dissolute life. And lest her blood should be required at our hands, we have caused her to be taken and brought unto you, being her pastor; and straightly inioyning you, by these presents we doe command, that you admit the same Margarete a- gaine into her foresaid monasterie (although return- ed against her will) or else into some other place, where for her soules health you shall thinke most convenient; and that from henceforth she be safely kept, as in the strait examination of the same you will yeeld an account. Given under our seale, &c.

By sundry other instruments also in the same Register recorded I finde, that the foresaid Matilde the anchoresse, upon the strait examination and han- dling of the foresaid archb. shop, before whom pe- remptorily shee was inioyned to appeare, and till that day of appearance taken out of the recluse and committed to safe custodie, as you heard, retracted and recanted her foresaid articles and opinions. For the which shee, being inioyned forty dayes penance, was againe admitted into her foresaid recluse in

Leicester. The bishops letter to the magistrates of the towne thus beginneth; Willielmus permissione divina, &c. Dilectis filiis, &c.

{ KING }  
{ Ric. 2. }

Also by another letter of the foresaid archbishop to the deane of the cathedrall Church of our lady of Leicester being registred, I finde that, of the num- ber of those eight persons before rected, whom the archbishop himselfe at high masse did in his pontifi- calibus so solemnly curse with book, bell, and candle; after certaine processe being sent out against them, of else in the meane time they being apprehended and taken, two of them recanted their opinions; to wit, William Smith, and Roger Dextor. But in the meane time, Alice, the wife of the said Roger Dextor, taking hold of the foresaid articles with her husband also, together with the said William Smith abjured the same. For these be the wordes of the in- strument; Subsequenter vero prefati Willielmus, Rogerus, & Alicia reatus suos respicientes, se nostro conspectui presentarunt, &c. Notwithstanding, whether they presented themselves willingly, or else were brought against their wils (as most like it was) hard penance was enioyned them before they were absolved. These bee the wordes of the instru- ment.

Sancta meter ecclesia, &c. i. Seeing our holy mo- ther the church denieth not her lap to any penitent child returning to the unite of her, but rather pro- fereth to them the same; We therefore doe receive againe the said William, Roger, and Alice to grace. And further have caused them to abjure all and sin- gular the foresaid articles and opinions, before they received of us the benefit of absolution, and were loosed from the sentence of excommunication, wher- in they were sharled, inioyning unto them penance, according to the quantitie of the crime, in forme as followeth, that is to say; that the Sunday next after their returning to their proper goods, they the said William, Roger, and Alice, holding every one of them an image of the crucifix in their hands, and in their left hands every one of them a taper of waire, waighing halfe a pound waight, in their shirts (having none other apparill upon them) doe goe be- fore the crosse three times, during the procession of the cathedrall church of our lady of Leicester; that is to say, in the beginning of the procession, in the middle of the procession, and in the later end of the procession; to the honour of him that was crucified, in the memoriall of his passion and to the honour of the virgin his mother; who also, devoutly bowing their knees and kneeling, shal kisse the same crucifix so held in their hands. And so with the same proces- sion, they entering againe into the church, shal stand, during all the time of the holy masse, before the image of the crosse with their tapers and crosses in their hands. And when the masse is ended, the said William, Roger, and Alice shall offer to him that celebrated that day the masse. Then upon the Satur- day next ensuing, the said William, Roger, and Alice shall in the full and publike market, within the town of Leicester, stand in like manner in their shirts, without any more clothes upon their bodies, holding the foresaid crosses in their right hands; which crosses, three times they shal (during the market) devoutly kisse reverently kneeling upon their knees; that is, in the beginning of the market, in the middle of the market, and in the end of the market. And the said William (for that he some- what understandeth the Latine tongue) shall say this Antheme with the collect, Sancta Katharina; and the foresaid Roger and Alice, being unlearned, shall say devoutly a Pater Noster, and an Ave Maria. And thirdly, the Sunday next immediate- ly after the same, the said William, Roger, and Alice in their parish church of the said town of Leicester shal stand and doe, as upon the Sunday before they stood and did in the Cathedrall Church of our lady aforesaid in all things. Which done, the

Will. Smith,  
Roger Dextor,  
and Alice his  
wife abjure.

The manner  
their penance  
injoyned.

{ Anno }  
{ 1389. }

Three times  
the crosse.

The collect  
Katharin.  
The Pater  
noster, and  
Ave Maria.

The kings pro-  
cesse sent by the  
bishop to arrest  
the 8. aforesay-  
ned.

Margaret  
Caily, a nun,  
constrained a-  
gainst her will  
to take againe  
her habit.

Matilde recan-  
ted.



{ KING }  
{ RIC. 2. }

the foresaid William, Roger, and Alice, after masse, shall offer to the priest or chaplen that celebraed the same, with all humillitie and reberence the ware tapers, which they shall carry in their hands. And because of the cold weather that now is, lest the foresaid penitents might peradventure take some bodily hurt standing so long naked (being mindfull to moderate partly the said our rigour) we give leave, that after their entrance into the Churches abovesaid, whilst they shall bee in bearing the foresaid masses, they may put on necessary garments to keepe them from cold, so that their heads and face notwithstanding be bare and uncovered. And therefore will and command you together and apart, that you denounce the said William, Roger, and Alice to be absolved and restored again to the unity of our holy mother the Church, and that you call them forth to do their penance in manner and forme aforesaid. Given at Dorchester the seventeenth day of November, in the yeare of our Lord God, 1389. and the ninth yere of our translation.

Cold weather  
causeth cold  
con-  
ced.

Peter Pateshul  
against the  
friars.

Unto the narration of these abovesaid we will adioyne the story of one Peter Pateshul, an Austen frier, who obtaining by the popes priviledge (through the meanes of Walter Bis confessor to the duke of Lancaster) libertie to change his coat and religion; & hearing the doctrine of John Wickliffe and other of the same sort, began at length to preach openly, and to detest the vices of his order, in such sort as all men wondered to heare the horrible reciting therof. This being brought to the eares of his order, they to the number of twelve (coming out of their houses to the place where he was preaching) thought to have withstood him perforce. Among whom one especially for the zeale of his religion, stood up openly in his preaching, and contraried that which hee said, who then was preaching in the Church of saint Christopher in London. This when the faithfull Londoners did see, taking grieve hereat, they were moved with great ire against the said frier, thrusting him with his other brethren out of the Church, whom they not onely had beaten and fore wounded, but also followed them home to their house, minding to have destroyed their mansion with fire also; and so would have done, had not one of the Sheriffes of London, with two of the friers of the said house, well knowne and reported amongst the Londoners, with gentle words mitigated their rage and violence. After this, Peter Pateshul thus disturbed, as is aforesaid, was desired by the Londoners (for so much as he could not well preach amongst them) to put in writing that which he had said before, and other things more that he knew by the friers: who then, at their request writing the same, accused the friers of murther committed against divers of their brethren. And to make the matter more apparant and credible, hee declared the names of them that were murthered, with the names also of their tormentors: and named moreover time and place, where and when they were murthered, and where they were buried. He affirmed further that they were Sodomites and traitors both to the king and the realme; with many other crimes, which mine author for tediousnesse leaveth off to recite. And for the more confutation of the said friers, the Londoners caused the said bill to be openly set up at saint Pauls church doore in London, which was there read and copied out of very many. This was done in the yere of our Lord 1387. and in the 10. yere of king Richard the second. Ex Ghron. Monachi Albanensis. Cujus est exordium, Anno gratie millesimo, &c.

Londoners  
caused the fri-  
ers.

Peter Pateshul

The friers ac-  
cused with hor-  
rible crimes.

{ Anno }  
{ 1387. }  
Ex Chron. D.  
Albani.

Thus it may appeare by this and other abovesaid, how the Gospell of Christ, preached by John Wickliffe and others, began to spread and fructifie abroad in London, and other places of the realme: and more would have done no doubt, had not William Courtney, the archbishop and other prelates with the king, set them so forcibly with might

and maine to gainstand the course thereof. Albeit, as is said before, I finde none which yet were put to death therefore, during the raigne of this king Richard the second. Whereby it is to be thought of this king, that although hee cannot utterly excused for molesting the goodly and innocent preachers of that time, (as by his bryles and letters afoze mentioned may appeare) yet neither was he so cruell against them, as other that came after him: and that which hee did, seemed so proceed by the instigation of the pope and other bishops, rather than either by the consent of his parliament, or advice of his counsell about him, or else by his owne nature. For as the decrees of the parliament in all his time were constant in stopping out the popes prohibitions, and in biding his authoritie, as we shall see (Christ willing) anon: so the nature of the king was not altogether so fiercely set, if that he following the guiding thereof had not stood so much in feare of the bishop of Rome and his prelates, by whose importunate letters and calling on he was continually urged to doe contrary to that which both right required, and wil perhaps in him desired. But whatsoever the doings of this king are to be excused, or not, undoubtedly it is, that Queene Anne his wife most rightly deserbeth singular commendation; who at the same time, living with the king, had the Gospels of Christ in English, with foure doctors upon the same. This Anne was a Bohemian borne, and sister to Wenceslaus, king of Boheme before: who was married to king Richard about the fifth (some say the sixth) yere of his raigne, and continued with him the space of eleven yeres. By the occasion whereof it may seem not improbable, that the Bohemians coming in with her, or resorting into this realme after her, perused and received here the bookes of John Wickliffe, which afterward they conducted into Bohemia, whereof partly mention is made before: pag. 428.

The said vertuous Queene Anne, after she had lived with Richard about 11. yeres, in the seventeenth yere of his raigne changed this marshall life and was buried at Westminster. At whose funerall Thomas Arundell, then archbishop of Yorke and lord Chancellor, made the sermon. In which sermon (as remaineth in the library of Worcester recorded) he, treating of the commendation of her, said these words; That it was more to be desired of any woman that ever he knew. For notwithstanding that she was an alien borne, she had in English all the foure Gospels, with the doctors upon them: affirming moreover and testifying, that she had sent the same unto him to examine. And he said they were good and true. And further with many words of praise hee did greatly commend her, in that she being so great a ladie and also an alien, would study so lowly to vertuous bookes. And he blamed in that sermon sharply the negligence of the prelates and other men. Insomuch that some said, he would on the morrow leaue up the office of chancellor, and forsake the world, and give him to fulfill his pastoral office, for that he had seene and read in those bookes. And then it had bene the best sermon that ever they heard. Hac ex libro Wigo.

In the which sermon of Thomas Arundell, three points are to be considered. First, the laudable use of those old times received to have the Scripture and doctors in our vulgar English tongue. Secondly, the vertuous exercise and also example of this goodly ladie, who had these bookes not for a shew hanging at her girdle; but also seemed by this sermon to be a studious occupier of the same. The third thing to be noted is, that fruite the said Thomas archbishop declared also himselfe to receive at the hearing and reading of the same books of hers in the English tongue. Notwithstanding, the same Thomas Arundell, after this sermon and promise made, became the most cruell enemy that might be against English bookes, and the authours thereof as followeth after in his story to be seene.

Few or none  
burned with  
Richard the  
second.

Kings many  
times brought  
in too much  
feare of the  
pope.

Commendati-  
on of Queene  
Anne wife to  
King Richard.

{ Anno }  
{ 1394. }  
The marriage  
of Queene Anne  
to King Rich-  
ard.  
The occasion  
how the doc-  
trine of Wick-  
liffe came to  
Bohemia.

The death of  
Queene Anne.  
Ex fragmen-  
to libri cujus-  
dam Wigornien-  
sis bibli-  
othecæ.

Ex accommo-  
dato D. Mar.  
Arch. Cant.  
Queene Anne  
had the foure  
gospels, with  
the doctors in  
English.

Thomas Ar-  
undell archbi-  
shop, breaketh  
his owne pro-  
mise.

It is

For



Thomas Arundel and the bishop of London go to Ireland to the king to complaine of the favours of Gods word.

Ex hist. D. Albani. Anno. 1395.

Conclusions of the parliament house.

For shortly after the death of Quene Anne, the same yere (the king being then in Ireland) this Thomas Arundell archbishop of Dozke and Robert Braybrocke the bishop of London, (whether sent by the archbishop of Canterbury and the clergie, or whether going of their own accord) crossed the seas to Ireland, to desire the king in all speedie wise to returne and helpe the faith and church of Christ, against such as holding of Wickliffes teaching, went about (as they said) to subvert all their proceedings, and to destroy the canonick sanctions of their holy mother church. At whose complaint, the king hearing the one part speak, and not adding the other, was in such sort incensed; that incontinently leaving all his affaires uncomplete, he sped his return toward England. Where he kept his Christmas at Dublin; in the which meane time, in the beginning of the next yere following, which was an. 1395. a Parliament was called, at Westminster by the commandement of the king. In which parliament, certain articles or conclusions were put up by them of the Gospels side, to the number of twelke. Which conclusions moreover were fastned up upon the church doore of St. Paul in London, and also at Westminster: the copie of which conclusions, with the words and contents thereof, here under ensue.

The booke of Conclusions or Reformati-  
ons, exhibited to the Parliamentholden at London,  
and set up at Pauls doore and other places, in the  
18. yere of the raigne of king Richard the 2.  
and in the yere of our Lord  
1395.

Conclusions exhibited in the parliament.

Dapistrall priesthood.

The single life of priests.

He doth very excellently paint out the lecherous clergie.

The first conclusion; when as the church of England began first to dote in temporalities after her stepmother the great church of Rome, and the churches were authorized by appropriations; faith, hope, and charitie began in divers places to vanish and fly away from our church, forsomuch as pride, with her most lamentable and dolorous genealogie of mortal and deadly sins, did challenge that place by title of heritage. And this conclusion is generall, and approved by experience, custome, and manner, as we shall after heare.

The second conclusion; that our usual priesthood, which toke his originall at Rome, and is fained to be a power higher than Angels, is not that priesthood which Christ obtained unto his disciples. This conclusion is thus proved; forsomuch as the Romish priesthood is done with signes and pontificall rites and ceremonies, and benedictions, of no force and effect, neither having any ground in Scripture, forsomuch as the bishops ordinall and the new Testament doe nothing at all agree; neither doe wee see that the holy Ghost doth give any god gift through any such signes or ceremonies; because that he, together with all noble and god gifts, cannot consist and be in any person with deadly sinne. The corollary or effect of this conclusion is, that it is a lamentable and dolorous mockery unto wise men, and see the bishops mock and play with the holy Ghost in the giving of their orders; because they give crowns for their characters and marks in stead of white hearts and this character is the mark of Antichrist, brought into the holy Church to cloke and colour their idleness.

The third conclusion; that the law of chastitie employed unto priesthood, the which was first ordained to the prejudice of women, induceth Sodomie into the church; but we do excuse us by the bible, because the suspect decree doth say, that we should not name it. Both reason and experience prooveth this conclusion. Reason thus; Forsomuch as the delicate feeding and fare of the clergie will have either a naturall purgation, or some worse. Experience thus; forsomuch as the secret trial and proofe of such men is, that they do delight in women. And whensoever

thou doest probe or see such a man, mark him well, for he is one of that number. The corollary of this conclusion is, that these private religions, with the beginners thereof, ought most chiefly to be disannulled, as the originall of that sinne and offence. But God of his might doth of private sinnes send open vengeance.

The fourth conclusion, that most harmeth the innocent people, is this; that the fained miracle of the sacrament of bread induceth all men, except it be a very few, unto idolatrie: forsomuch as they thinke that the bodie, which shall never be out of heaven, is by the vertue of the priests words essentially included in the little bread, the which they do shew unto the people. But would to God they would believe that which the Evangelical doctor teacheth us in his Dialogue, Quod panis altaris est accidentaliter Corpus Christi. i. that the bread of the altar is the body of Christ accidentally: forsomuch as wee suppose that by that means every faithfull man and woman in the law of God may make the sacrament of that bread, without any such miracle. The corollary of this conclusion is; that albeit the body of Christ be endowed with the eternall life; the service of Corpus Christi, made by frier Thomas, is not true, but painted full of false miracles; neither is it any marvel, forsomuch as frier Thomas, at that time taking part with the pope, would have made a miracle of a hens egge; and we know it very well, that every lie, openly preached and taught, doth turne to the rebuke and opprobrie of him, which is alwaies true without any lacke.

The fifth conclusion is this; that the exorcismes and hallowings, consecrations, and blessings over the wine, bread, wax, water, oile, salt, incense, the altar stone, and about the church walls, over the vestments, chalice, miter, crosse, and pilgrim-staves, are the very practices of Necromantie, rather than of sacred Divinitie. This conclusion is thus proved; because that by such exorcismes the creatures are honozed to be of more force and power than by their owne proper nature; for we doe not see any alteration or change in any creature to exorcised, except it be by false faith, which is the principall point of diabolish art. The corollary of this is; that if the booke of exorcisation or conjuring of holy water, which is sprinkled in the church, were altogether faithfull and true; we thinke certainly that holy water used in the church, were the best medicine for all kind of sicknesse and lozes; Cujus contrarium experimur, i. the contrarie whereof daily experience doth teach us.

The sixth conclusion, which maintaineth much pride, is; that a king and bishop both in one person, a prelate and iustice in temporal causes, a curat and officer in worldly office, doth make every kingdome out of good order. This conclusion is manifest, because the temporalitie and the spiritualltie are two parts of the holy universall church; and therefore he which adiecteth himselfe to the one part, let him not intermeddel with the other, Quia nemo potest duobus Dominis servire: wherefore to bee called Amphroditæ, which are men of both kindes. or Ambodextri, which is such as can play with both hands, were good names for such men of double estates. The corollary of this conclusion is; that thereupon be the procurators of God in this case doe live unto the parliament; that it may be enacted, that all such as be of the clergie (as well of the highest degree as of the lowest) should bee fully excoiled, and occupie themselves with their owne cure and charge, and not with others.

The seventh conclusion that we mightily affirm is, that spiritual prayer made in the church for the soules of the dead (preferring any one by name more than another) is a false foundation of almes, whereupon all the houses of almes in England are falsely founded. This conclusion is proved by two reasons.

{ KING  
RIC. 2.  
He propheticke againe mon-  
kery.

The fained miracle of transubstantiation.

He meaneth here Wickliffe

The feast of Corpus Christi invented by Thomas Aquinas.

The exorcismes and blessings of priests.

The difference between the ecclesiasticall and politike estate.

The foundation of masses for the dead.



{ KING }  
{ RIC. 2. }

reasons. The one is, that a meritorious prayer (of any force or effect) ought to be a worke proceeding from meere charitie: and perfect charitie accepteth no person, because thou shalt love thy neighbour as thy selfe. Whereby it appeareth, that the benefit of any temporall gift, bestowed and given unto priests and houses of almes, is the principall cause of any speciall prayers, the which is not farre different from simonie. The other reason is, that every speciall prayer, made for men condemned to eternall punishment, is very displeasing before God. And albeit it be doubtfull, yet it is very likely unto the faithfull Christian people, that the founders of every such house of almes, for their wicked endowing of the same, are for the most part passed by the broad way. The corollary is, that every prayer of force and effect, proceeding of perfect charity, would comprehend generally all such whom God would have saved, and to libe. The merchandise of speciall prayers now used for the dead maketh mendicant possessioners and other hireling priests, which other wise were strong enough to worke and to serve the whole realme, and maintaineth the same in idleness, to the great charge of the realme, because it was proved in a certaine booke which the king hath, that a hundred houses of almes are sufficient for the whole realme. And thereby might peradventure greater increase and profit come unto the temporallitie.

A hundred houses of almes sufficient for England.

Pilgrimages and oblations.

The image of the Trinitie an abominable thing.

A poore man the perfect image of God.

Latria, Dulia.

Judas Ise.

The death of Th. Becket of Cant. is not to be counted for martyrdome.

Auricular confession. Confession the minister of lust.

The eighth conclusion, needfull to tell to the people beguiled, is, that pilgrimages, prayers, and oblations made unto blinde crosses or rodes, or to deafe images made either of wood or stone, are very nere of kin unto idolatrie, and far different from almes. And albeit that these things which are forbidden and imagined are the booke of errors unto the common people: notwithstanding the usuall and common image of the Trinitie is most especially abominable. This conclusion God himselfe both openly manifest, commanding almes to be given to the poore and needy man, for he is the image of God in a more perfect similitude and likeness than any blocke or stone. For God did not say; let us make a block or stone unto our likeness and image; but let us make man; for so much as the supreme and highest honour, which the clergy calleth Latria, pertaineth onely to the Godhead, and the inferior honoz, which the clergy call Dulia, pertaineth unto men and Angels, and to none other inferiour creature. The corollary is, that the service of the crosse, celebrat twice every yeere in our church, is full of idolatrie: for if rood, tree, nailes, and speare ought to profoundly to be honozed and worshipped, then were Judas Ise (if any man could get them) a marvelous goodly relicke. But then pilgrime, we pray thee tell us when thou doest offer to the bones of the saints and holy men which are laid up in any place; whether doest thou reliebe thereby the holy man which is already in toy, or that almes house which is to well endowed, where as they are canonised (the Lord knoweth how) and to speake more plain, every faithfull christian may well iudge and suppose that the strokes of that same man, whom they call S. Thomas, were no cause of martyrdome, nor yet be.

The ninth conclusion, that keepeth the people low is, that auricular confession which is said to be so necessary for salvation, and the fained power of absolution, exalteth and setteth up the pride of priests, and giveth them opportunity of other secret talks, which we will not at this time talk of; for so much as both lordes and ladies doe witness, that for feare of their confessors they dare not speak the truth; and in time of confession is good opportunity ministered of wooing or to play the bandes, or to make other secret conventions to deadly sinne. They affirme and say, that they are commissaries sent of God to iudge and discern of all manner of sinne, to pardon and cleanse whatsoever please them. They say also, that they have also the keyes of heaven and hell, and

that they can excommunicate, curse and blesse, bind and loose at their owne will and pleasure: in so much, that for a small reward, or for twelve pence, they will sell the blessing of heaven by charter and clause of warrant, sealed by their common seal. This conclusion is so common in use, that it needeth not any probation. The corollary hereof is; that the pope of Rome which fained himselfe to be the profound treasurer of the whole church, having that same worthy treasure which is the treasure of the passion of Christ in his owne keeping and custodie, together with the merits of all the Saints in heaven, whereby he giveth fained indulgences and pardons a poena & culpa, is a treasurer almost banished out of charitie, whereby hee may deliver all captives being in purgatorie at his pleasure, and make them not to come there. But here every faithfull Christian may easily perceibe that there is much falshood hid in our Church.

The impudent boldnes of priests.

The pope treasurer of the church, in stead of treasure layeth up coles.

The tenth that manslaughter (either by warre or by any pretended law of iustice for any temporall cause or spirituall revelation) is expressly contrary unto the new Testament, which is the law of grace, full of mercy. This conclusion is evidently proved by the examples of the preaching of Christ here in earth, who chiefly teacheth every man to love his enemies, and have compassion upon them, and not to kill and murder them. The reason is this, that for the most part when as men doe fight, after the first stroke, charitie is broken: and whosoever dieth without charitie goeth the right way to hell. And beside that, we doe well understand and know, that none of the clergy, by any lawfull reason, can deliver any from the punishment of death for one deadly sinne, and not for another: but the law of mercie, which is the new Testament, forbiddeth all manner of murder. For in the Gospell it is spoken unto our forefathers, Thou shalt not kill. The corollary is; It is a very robbing of the people, when lordes purchase indulgences and pardons a poena & culpa, unto such as doe helpe their armies to kill and murder the Christian people in foren countries for temporall gain; as we do see certain souldiers which doe runne among the heathen people, to get themselves fame and renown by the murder and slaughter of men. Much more doe they deserve evil thanks at the hands of the king of peace, for so much as by humilitie and peace our faith is multiplied and increased; for murderers and manquellers Christ doth hate and menaceth; He that striketh with the sword shall perish with the sword.

How warre is lawfull, the proofe by experience.

The eleventh conclusion is, which is shame to tell; that the bow of chastitie, made in our church by women that are fraile and imperfect in nature, is the cause of bringing in many great and horrible offences and vices, incident unto the nature of man. For albeit the murder of their children born before their time, and before they are christened, and the destruction of their nature by medicine, are filthy and foule sinnes: yet they accompanying among themselves, or with unreasonable beasts, or with any creature not having life, doe passe to such an unseemeliness, that they punished by infernall torments. The corollary is; that widowes and such as take the mantle and the ring deliciously fed, woe would that they were married, because that we cannot excuse them from private offence of sin.

Widows and widowers which bow single lives.

The twelfth; that the multitude of arts not necessary (used in this our church) causeth much sinne and offence in waste, curiositie, and disguising in curious apparell: experience and reason partly doth shew the same, for so much as nature, with a few arts, is sufficient for mans use and necessitie.

This is the whole tenor of our ambassage, which Christ hath commanded us to prosecute at this time, most fit and convenient for many causes. And albeit that these matters be here briefly noted and touched: yet notwithstanding they are more at large declared



in another booke with many other moze in our own proper tongue, which we would should bee common to all Chriftian people. Wherefore, we earnestly desire and beseech God for his great goodness sake, that he will wholly reforme our church (now altogether out of frame) unto the perfection of her first beginning and originall, Ex Archivis Regiis.

The verses following were annexed unto the conclusions.

*Plangunt Anglorum gentes crimen Sodomorum,  
Paulus fert, horum sunt idola causa malorum:  
Surgunt ingrati Gierzite Simone nati,  
Nominis pralati, hoc defensare parati.  
Qui Reges estis, populis quicunque praestis,  
Qualiter, his gestis, gladios prohibere potestis?*

The which verses are thus Englished:

The English nation doth lament of Sodomites their sin,  
Which Paul doth plainly signifie by Idols to begin.  
But Gierzites full ingrate, from sinfull Simon sprung,  
This to defend (though Priests in name) make bulwarks great and strong.  
See princes therefore which to rule the people God hath placed,  
With iustice sword, why see ye not this evill great defaced?

After these conclusions were thus proposed in the parliament, the king not long after returned home from Dublin, into England, toward the later end of the parliament. Who at his return called certain of his nobles unto him, Richard Sturie, Lewis Clifford, Thomas Latimer, John Mountacute, &c. whom he did sharply rebuke, and did terribly threaten for that he heard them to be favourers of that side; charging them straightly never to hold, maintain, nor favor any moze those opinions and conclusions. And namely of Richard Sturie hee tooke an oath, that he should never from that day favor or defend any such opinions: which oath being taken, the king then answered; And I sweare (saith he) again to thee, that if thou dost ever breake thine oath, thou shalt die for it a shameful death, &c. Ex Chr. D. Alban.

All this while W. Courtney archbishop of Canterbury was yet alive, who was a great stirrer in these matters. But yet pope Urban the great master of the Catholike sect was dead and buried five yeere before. After whom succeeded in the schismaticall see of Rome pope Boniface the ninth; who nothing inferiour to his predecessour in all kinde of cruelties, left no diligence unattempted to set forward that which Urban had begun, in suppressing them that were the setters forth of the light of the Gospel: and had written sundry times to king Richard, as well for the repealing of the acts of parliament against his provisions, Quare impedit, & premunire facies: as also that hee should assist the prelates of England in the cause of God (as he pretended) against such, whom he falsely suggested to be Lollards and traitors to the church, to the king, and the realm, &c. Thus the courteous pope, whom he could not reach with his sword at least with cruell slander of his malicious tongue would worke his poison against them; which letter he wrote to the king in the yeere of our Lord, 1396. which was the yeere before the death of William Courtney archbishop of Canterbury. After whom succeeded in that Sea Thomas Arundell, brother to the earl of Arundel, being first bishop of Ely, afterward archbishop of York, and lord Chancellor of England, and at last made

archbishop of Canterbury about the yeere of our Lord 1397. The next yeere following, which was the yeere of our Lord 1398, and the ninth yeere of the pope, I finde in certaine records of the bishop of Euresme a certaine letter of king Richard the second, written to the said pope Boniface, which because I judged not unworthy to be seen, I thought here to annere the same, proceeding in forme as followeth.

To the most holy father in Christ and lord, lord Boniface the ninth, by the grace of God high Pope of the most holy Romish and universall Church, his humble and devout sonne Richard by the grace of God, King of England, and France, lord of Ireland, greeting and desiring to hepe the miseries of the afflicted Church, and kissing of these his blessed feet.

**V**Ho will give my head water, and mine eyes streaming teares, that I may bewaile the decay, and manifold troubles of our mother, which have chanced to her by her owne children in the distresse of this present schisme and division. For the sheepe have forgotten the proper voice of their shepherds, and hirelings have thrust in themselves to feed the Lords flocke, who are clothed with the apparell of the true shepheard, challenging the name of honor and dignitie, resembling so the true shepheard, that the poore sheepe can scarce know whom they ought to follow, or what pastour as a stranger they ought to flee, and whom they should shunne as an hireling. Wherefore we are afraid, lest the holy standard of the Lord be forsaken of his host, and so that citie, being full of riches, become solitarie and desolate, and lest the land or people which was wont to say (flourishing in her prosperities) I sate as a Queene, and am not a widow, be destitute of the presence of her husband, and as it were so bewitched, that she shall not be able to discern his face, and so wrapped in amazes, that shee shall not know where to turne her, that she might more easily finde him, and that she shall with weeping speake that saying of the spouse; I sought him whom my soule loveth, I sought him and found him not. For now we are compelled so to wander, that if any man say, behold here is Christ, or there, we may not believe him so saying; and so many shepherds have destroyed the Lords vineyard, and made his amiable portion a waste wilderness.

This multitude of shepherds is become very burdensome to the Lords flocke. For when two strive to bee chiefe, the state of both their dignities stands in doubt, and in so doing they give occasion to all the faithfull of Christ, of a schisme and division of the Church. And although both parties goe about to subdue unto their power the whole Church militant, yet contrary to both their purpose, by working this way, there beginneth to rise now a division in the bodie of the Church, like as when the division of the quicke innocent bodie was naked, when the two harlots did strive afore Salomon; like as the ten tribes of Israell followed Ieroboam the intruder, and were withdrawne from the kingdome for Salomons sinne: even so of old time the desire of ruling hath drawne the great power of the world from the unitie of the Church. Let your selves remember, we beseech you, how that all Greece did fall from the obedience of the Romish Church in the time of the faction of the primarch of Constantinople; and how Mahomet with his fellowes, by occasion of supremacie in Ecclesiasticall dignitie, deceived a great part of Christians, and withdrew them from the empire and ruling of Christ. And now in these dayes, where the same supremacie is, hath withdrawne it selfe from the obedience of it, inso much that now in very few realmes the candle that burnes before the Lord remaineth, and that for Davids sake his servant. And although now remaine few countries professing the obe-

{ KING }  
{ RIC. 2. }  
{ Anno }  
{ 1398. }

A letter of king Richard the second to pope Boniface the ninth.

Desire to rule in the Church.

Grece renounced the Romish Church.

R. Sturie,  
Lewis Clifford,  
T. Latimer,  
John Mountacute,  
good favorers.

Pope Urban the ninth dead.  
Anno 1399.  
Pope Boniface the ninth.

The letters of Pope Boniface the ninth to King Richard.  
Anno 1396.  
The death of W. Courtney archbishop of Canterbury.  
Thomas Arundell archbishop of Canterbury.



KING  
RIC. 2.

obedience of Christs true Vicar: yet peradventure if every man were left to his owne liberty, hee would doubt of the preferring of your dignity, or that is worse, would utterly refuse it by such doubtfull evidence alledged on both sides: and this is the subtil craft of the crooked Serpent, that is to say, under the pretence of unity, to procure schismes, as the Spider of a wholesome flower gathers poyson, and Iudas learned of peace to make warre. Wherefore it is lively beleevd of wise men, that except this pestilent schisme bee withstood by and by, the keyes of the Church will bee despised, and they shall bind the conscience but of a few: and when either none dare bee bold to correct this fault, or to reforme things contrary to Gods law, so by this meanes at length temporall lords will take away the liberties of the Church, and peradventure the Romanes will come and take away their place, people, and lands: they will spoile their possessions, and bring the men of the Church into bondage, and they shall bee contemned, reviled, and despised, because the obedience of the people, and devotions towards them will almost bee taken away, when the greater part of the Church, left to their owne liberty, shall waxe prouder than they bee wont, leaving a wicked example to them that doe see it. For when they see the Prelates study more for covetousnesse than they were wont, to purse up money, to oppresse the subjects, in their punishings to seeke for gaine, to confound lawes, to stirre up strife, to suppress truth, to vex poore subjects with wrong corrections, in meate and drinke intemperate, in fealtings past shame: what marvell is it if the people despise them as the foulest forsakers of Gods law? but all these things doe follow if the Church should bee left long in this doubtfulness of a schisme, and then should that old saying bee verified: In those dayes there was no king in Israel, but every one did that seemed right and straight to himselfe. Micheas did see the people of the Lord scattered in the mountaines, as they had beene sheepe without a shepheard: for when the shepheard is smitten, the sheepe of the flocke shall be scattered; the great stroke of the shepheard is the minishing of his jurisdiction, by which the subjects are drawne from his obedience. When Iason had the office of the highest Priest, hee changed the ordinance of God, and brought in the customes of the heathen, the Priests leaving the service of the holy Altar, and applying themselves to wrastling and other exercises of the Grecians, and despising those things that belonged to the Priests, did labour with all their might to learne such things of the Grecians; and by that meanes the place, people, and holy ointing of Priests, which in times past were had in great reverence of kings, were trodden under foot of all men, and robbed by the Kings power, and was prophaned by thrusting in for money. Therefore, let the highest Vicar of Christ look unto this with a diligent eye, and let him bee the follower of him by whom he hath gotten authority above others.

If you marke well, most holy father, you shall finde that Christ rebuked sharply two brethren, coveting the seat of honour: hee taught them not to play the lords over the people, but the more grace they were prevented with, to bee so much more humble than other, and more lowly to serve their brethren. To him that asked his coate, to give the cloake; to him that smote him on the one cheeke, to turne the other to him. For the sheepe that are given to his keeping hee must forsake all earthly things, and to shed his owne blood, yea and if need required, to die. These things, I say, bee those that adorne the highest Bishop, if they bee in him, not purple, not his white horse, nor his imperiall crowne, because hee among all men is most bound to all the sheepe of Christ. For the feare of God therefore, and for the love of the flocke which yee guide, consider these things diligently, and doe them wisely, and suffer us no longer to waver betwixt two: although not for your owne cause, to whom

peradventure the fulnesse of your owne power is knowne; yet in pitying our weaknesse, if thou bee hee, tell us openly, and shew thy selfe to the world, that all wee may follow one. Bee not to us a bloody Roper, left by your occasion mans blood be shed, let hel swallow such a number of soules, and lett the name of Christ bee evill spoken of by infidels, through such a worthy personage. But peradventure yee will say, for our righteounesse it is manifest enough, and wee will not put it to other mens disputation. If this bald answer shou'd bee admitted, the schisme should continue still: seeing neither part is willing to agree to the other, and where the world is as it were equally divided betwixt them, neither part can bee compelled to give place to the other without much bloodshed. The incarnation of Christ and his resurrection was well enough knowne to himselfe and his disciples; yet hee asked of his Father to bee made knowne to the world. Hee made also the Gospel to hee written, and the doctrine of the Apostles, and sent his Apostles into all the world, to doe the office of preaching, that the same thing might bee knowne to all men. The foresaid reason is the subtilty of Mahomet, the which, knowing himselfe guilty of his sect, utterly forbade disputations. If yee have so full trust of your righteounesse, put it to the examinations of worthy persons in a generall Councell, to the which it belongeth by right to define such doubts, or else commit it unto able persons, and give them full power to determine all things concerning that matter, or at the least, by forsaking the office on both parties, leave the Church of God free, speedily to provide for a new shepheard.

Wee finde, Kings have forsaken their temporall kingdomes, onely upon respect of devotion, and have taken the apparell of monkes profession. Therefore let Christs Vicar (being a professour of most high holinesse) bee ashamed to continue in his seat of honour to the offence of all people, and the prejudice and hurt of the Romish Church, and the devotion of it, and cutting away kingdomes from it.

But if you say, It is not requisite that the cause of Gods Church should be called in controversy, and therefore wee cannot so easily goe from it, seeing our conscience gain-sayeth it.

To the which wee answer, If it bee the cause of God and the Church, let the generall Councell judge of it: but if it bee a personall cause (as almost all the world probably thinketh) if yee were the followers of Christ, yee would rather chuse a temporall death, than to suffer such a wavering. I say not, to the hurt of so many, but to the endless destruction of soules, to the offence of the whole world, and to an everlasting shame of the apostolicall dignity. Did not Clement named, or (that I may more truly speake) ordained of Saint Peter to the apostolike dignity and to bee Bishop, resigne his right, that his deed might bee taken of his successeurs for an example? Also Pope Siricius gave over his Popedom to bee a comfort of the 11800. Virgins. Therefore much more ought you (if need require) give over your Popedom, that you might gather together the children of God which bee scattered abroad. For as it is thought a glorious thing to defend the common right, even to bloodshed: so is it sometimes necessary for a man to winke at his owne cause, and to forsake it for a greater profit, and by that meanes better to procure peace. Should not hee bee thought a devill, and Christs enemy of all men, that would agree to an election made of him for the apostolical dignity and popedom, if it should bee to the destruction of Christians, division of the Church, the offence and losse of all faithful people? If such mischiefs should be knowne to all the world by Gods revelation, to come to passe by such receiving of the Popedom and apostolical dignity: then by the like reason, why shall hee not bee judged of all men an apostata, and forsaker of his faith, which chuseth dignity, or worldly honour rather, than the unity of the Church? Christ died that hee might gather together the children of God;

A bold answer.

Doubtless reason to be preferred before private.

Answer to a popish objection.

Ward counsell for the pope.

Unity of the Church to be preferred before worldly dignity.

The King seeth here to prophesie.

Bishop taught by Christ not to play the lords.

The right ornament of a true Bishop.



which are scattered abroad : but such an enemy of God and the Church withereth his subjects bodily to die in battell, and the more part of the world to perish in foule, rather than forsaking to be Pope to live in a lower state, although it were honourable. If the feare of God, the desire of the heavenly Kingdome, and the earnest love of the unity of the Church doe move your heart, shew indeed that your workes may beare record to the truth.

Clement and Siricius most holy Popes, not onely are not reproved, but rather are revered of all men, because they gave over their right for profitable causes, and for the same cause all the Church of holy men shew forth their praise. Likewise your name should live for ever and ever, if yee would doe the like for a necessary cause, that is to say, for the unity of Gods Church. Give no heed to the unmeasurable crying of them that say, that the right chusing of Popes is lost, except yee defend your parts manfully : but bee afraid, lest such stirrers up of mischief looke for their owne commodity or honour, that is to say, that under your wing they might bee promoted to riches and honour. After this sort Achitophel was joyned with Absalom in persecuting his owne father, and false usurping of his kingdome.

Furthermore, there should bee no jeopardie to that election, because both parties sticketh stilly to the old fashion of election, and either of them covet the preeminence of the Romish Church, counselling all Christians to obey them. And although through their giving over the fashion of chusing the Pope should bee changed for a time, it were to be borne, rather than to suffer any longer this division in Gods Church. For that fashion in chusing is not so necessarily required to the state of a Pope, but the successor of the Apostle, as necessary cause required, might come in at the doore by another fashion of chusing, and that canonically enough. And this wee are taught manifestly by examples of the Fathers : for Peter the Apostle appointed after him Clement, and that not by false usurping of power, as wee suppose. And it was thought, that that fashion of appointing Popes was lawfull unto the time of Pope Hilarie : Which decreed that no Pope should appoint his Successour.

Afterward, the election of the Pope went by the Clergy and people of Rome, and the Emperours Council agreeing thereto, as it appeareth in the election of the blessed Gregory. But Martinus Pope, with the consent of the holy Synode, granted Charles the power to chuse the Pope. But of late Nicolas the second was the first whom Martine makes mention of in his Councils to bee chosen by the Cardinals. But all the Bishops of Lumbardy (for the most part) withstood this election, and chose Cadulus to bee Pope, saying, that the Pope ought not to bee chosen but of the precinct of Italy. Wherefore wee thinke it not a safe way so earnestly to stick to the traditions of men, in the fashion of chusing the Pope, and so oft to change, lest wee bee thought to breake Gods traditions concerning the unity of the Church. Yea rather it were better yet to ordaine a new fashion of his election, and meeter for him as it hath beene afore. But all things concerning the same election might bee kept safe, if Gods honour were looked for afore your owne, and the peace of the Church were uprightly fought : for such a dishonouring should bee most honor unto you, and that giving place should bee the getting of a greater dignity, and the willing deposing of your honour should obtaine you the entrie of everlasting honour, and should procure the love of the whole world toward you, and you should deserve to bee exalted continually, as David was in humbling himselfe. O how monstrous a sight and how foule a monster is a mans body disfigured with two heads ? So if it were possible, the Spouse of Christ should bee made so monstrous, if shee were ruled with two such heads : but that is not possible, shee is ever altogether faire, in whom no spot is found ; therefore wee must cast away that rotten member, and

thruster in of his second head. Wee cannot suffer any longer so great a wickednesse in Gods house, that wee should suffer Gods coate that wants a seame by any meanes to bee torne by the hands of two, that violently draw it in sunder. For if these two should bee suffered to raigne together, they would so betwixt them teare in pieces that little coate of the Lord, that scarce one piece would hang to another. They passe the wickednesse of the souldiers that crucified Christ : for they willing to have the coate whole, said ; Let us not cut it, but let us cast lots for it whose it shall bee. But these two Popes suffering their right and title to bee tried by no lot nor way (although not in words yet in deeds) they pronounce this sentence, It shall neither be thine nor mine, but let it bee divided ; for they choose rather, as it appeareth, to bee Lords (though it bee but in a little part, and that to the confusion of the unity of the Church) than in leaving that lording, to seeke for the peace of the Church. We doe not affirme this, but wee shew almost the whole judgement of the world of them, being moved so to thinke by likely conjectures. Wee looked for amendment of this intolerable confusion, by the space that these two inventors of this mischief lived. But wee looked for peace, and behold trouble : for neither in their lives nor in their deaths they procured any comfort, but rather, dying as it were in a doubt betwixt two wayes, left to their successours matter of contention continuall. But now for the space of seven yeeeres, whereas of their successours wee desired and looked for that they should beare good grapes, and they bring forth wilde grapes ; in this matter wee fall into a deepe despaire. But in as much as wee heare the comfort of the Lord, which promised that miserably hee would destroy those wicked men, and let his vineyard to other husbandmen which will bring him fruite at their times appointed, and hath promised faithfully that he will helpe his Spouse in her need to the end of the world : wee leaning on the sure hope of this promise, and in hope contrary to hope beleeving, by Gods grace will put our helping hands to the easing of this misery, when a convenient time shall serve, as much as our Kingly power is able ; and although our wit doth not perceive how these things afore rehearsed may bee amended, yet wee, being encouraged to this by the hope of Gods promise, will doe our endeavour : like as Abraham beleeved, his sonne being slaine by sacrifice, that the multitude of his seed should encrease to the number of the starres, according to Gods promise. Now therefore the times draw neere to make an end of this schisme, lest a third election of a schismaticke against the Apostles successor make a custome of the doing, and so the Pope of Avinion shall bee double Romish Pope, and hee shall fay with his partakers, as the Patriarch of Constantinople said unto Christs Vicar when hee forsooke him : The Lord bee with thee, for the Lord is with us. And is much to bee feared of all Christen men : For that Pharise begins now to bee called the Pope of Avinion among the people. But peradventure it would bee thought of some men, that it belongeth not to secular Princes to bridle outrages of the Pope. To whom wee answer, that naturally the members put themselves in jeopardy to save the head, and the parts labour to save the whole. Christ so decked his Spouse, that her sides should cleave together, and should uphold themselves, and by course of time and occasion of things they should correct one another and cleave together tunably. Did not Moses put downe Aaron, because hee was unfaithfull ? Salomon put downe Abiathar, who came by lineall descent from Anathoth, and removed his Priesthood from his kindred to the stocke of Eleazar in the person of Sadocke which had his beginning from Eli the Priest ? 3 Reg. 2. Otho Emperour deposed Pope Iohn the 12. because hee was lecherous. Henry the Emperour put downe Gratianus, because hee used Simonie in buying and selling spirituall livings. And Otho deposed Pope

SKING  
RIC. 2  
Christs seam  
the coate dy-  
ken.

The Popes  
compared to  
the souldiers;  
that crucified  
Christ.

A godly pur-  
pose if it had  
been put in ex-  
ecution.

Secular prin-  
ces are to bri-  
dle the outrag-  
es of the poe.

Popes put  
downe by prin-  
ces.

The pope will  
not lose his  
dignity, for any  
publicke tran-  
quillity.

Wicked Satte-  
rers about the  
pope.

Wetter that the  
order of the  
Popes election  
should cease,  
than the church  
should suffer a  
ny division.

Bishops of  
Rome appoint-  
ed their succe-  
ssors to the time  
of pope Hilarie.

Election of the  
Pope not as  
was before.

Good counsell  
left.



KING  
RIC. 2.

Pope Bennet the first, because hee thrust in himselfe. Therefore by like reason, why may not kings and princes bridle the Romish pope in default of the Church; if the qualitie of his fault require it, or the necessity of the Church by this compell to helpe the Church oppressed by tyrannie? In old time schismes, which rose about making the pope, were determined by the power of secular princes, as the schisme betwixt Symmachus and Laurence was ended in a counsell before Theodoricus King of Italy. Henry the Emperour when two did strive to be pope, deposed them both, and received the third being chosen at Rome to be Pope, that is to say, Clement the second, which crowned him with the imperiall crowne. And the Romanes promised him, that from thenceforth they would promote none to be pope without his consent. Alexander also overcame foure Popes schismatics, all which Fredericke the Emperour corrected.

Thus looke on the register of popes and their deeds, and yee shall finde that schismes most commonly have bene decided by the power of secular princes, the schismatics cast out, and sometimes new popes made, and sometimes the old ones cast out of their dignities, and restored to their old dignities againe. If it were not lawfull for secular princes to bridle the outrages of such a pope lawfully made, and afterward becoming a tyrant: in such a case he might oppresse over-much the Church, he might change christendome into heathens, and make the labour of Christ crucified to be in vaine: or else truly God should not have provided for his spouse in earth by all meanes as much as is possible by service of men to withstand dangers. Therefore we counsell you, with such a loving affection as becomes children, that yee consider in your heart well, lest in working by this meanes ye prepare a way to antichrist through your desire to beare rule, and so by this means as we feare the one of these two shall chance; either ye shall cause all the princes of the world to rise against you to bring in a true follower of Christ to have the state of the apostolicall dignitie; or, that is worse, the whole world, despising the ruling of one shepherd, shall leave the Romish Church desolate. But God keep this from the world, that the desire of honour of two men should bring such a desolation into the Church of God: for them that departing away, which the Apostle prophesied, should come before the coming of antichrist were at hand; which should be the last disposition of the world, peaceably to receive antichrist with honour. Consider therefore the state of your most excellent holinesse, how yee received the power from God to the building of the Church, and not to the destruction of it; that Christ hath given you wine and oyle to heale the wounded; and hath appointed you his vicar in these things which pertaine to gentleness, and hath given us these things which serve to rigour. For wee beare not the sword without a cause to the punishment of evill doers, the which power ordained of God we have received, our selves being witnesse: beseeching you to receive our counsell effectually, that in doing thus, the waters may returne to the places from whence they came, and so the waters may begin to be made sweet with salt: lest the axe swim on the water and the wood sink, and lest the fruitfull Olive degenerate into a wild Olive, and the leprosie of Naaman that noble man cleave continually to the house of Giezi; and lest the pope and the Pharises crucifie Christ againe. Christ the spouse of the church, which was wont to bring the chiefe B. into the holiest place, encrease your holinesse, or rather restore it being lost. Written, &c.  
*Ex Fragm. lib. cujusd. Dmclm.*

This epistle of king Richard the second written to pope Boniface the ninth, in the time of the schisme, about the yeere as appeared 1397. as it contained much good matter of wholesome counsel to be followed, so hoin little it wrought with y<sup>e</sup> pope y<sup>e</sup> sequell afterward declared. For the schism notwithstanding continued long after, in which neither of

the popes would give over their hold, or yield any thing to god counsell given them, for any respect of publike wealth. Such a stroke beareth ambition in this Apostolicall Sea, which we are wont so greatly to magnific. But of this enough, which I leave and referre to the consideration of the Lord, seeing men will not look upon it.

Drawing now toward the latter end of king Richards reigne, it remaineth that as we did before in the time of king Edward the third, so here also we shew forth a summary recapitulation of such parliamentall notes and proceedings, as then were practised by publike parliament in this kings time, against the jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome: to the intent that such (if any such be) that thinke, or have thought the receiving of the popes double authority to be such an ancient thing within this realme, may diminish their opinion as evidently may appeare by divers arguments heretofore touched, concerning the election and in besting of bishops by the king. As where king Edwin commanded Cedde to be ordained archbishop of Yorke. Also where king Egfride caused Cuthbert to be brought to king Canute, and at his commandment was instituted bishop of the same Sea. Ex lib. Malmesb. de gestis Pontif. Anglorum. And likewise Marth, Parisiensis testificeth, that king Henry the third gave the archbishopricke of Canterbury to Radulphus then bishop of London, and bestowed him with staffe and ring. And the same king gave the bishopricke of Winchester to William Gifford: and moreover following the steps both of his father and brother before him, endowed him with the possessions pertaining to the said bishopricke (the contrary statute of pope Urban, forbidding that clerks should receive any Ecclesiasticall dignity at the hand of princes, or of any lay person, to the contrary notwithstanding, &c.) Innumerable examples of like sort are to be seen in ancient histories of this our Realme. As also out of the Parliament Rolles in the time of king Edward the third, hath sufficiently bene touched a little before. Whereunto also may be added the notes of such Parliaments as have ben holden in the reigne of this present king Richard the second, the collection whereof in part here followeth.

¶ Notes of certaine Parliaments holden in the reigne of King Richard the second, making against the Pope.

In the first yeere of king Richard the second, in the Parliament holden at Westminster, it was requested and granted, that the popes collectors be willed no longer to gather the first fruits of benefices within this realme, being a very nobely, and that no Person do any longer pay them.

Item, that no man do procure any benefice by prohibition from Rome, on pain to be out of the kings protection.

Item, that no English man do take to farme of any alien any ecclesiasticall benefice or prebend, on the like paine. In which bill was rehearsed, that the Frenchmen had six thousand pounds yearly of such livings in England.

Item, that remedy might be had against the popes reservations to dignities elect, by the same being done against the treaty of the pope, taken with king Edward 3.

In the second yeere of the said king Richard the second, it was by petition requested, that some order might be taken touching Aliens, having the greatest part of the Church dignities in their hands. Whereunto the king answered, that by advice of the lords he would provide therfore.

Item, it was enacted, that all the benefices of Cardinals, and other rebels, to pope Urban that now is, shall be sealed into the kings hands.

The popes usurped jurisdiction never received in England, before late years.

Ex lib. Gulielm. Malmesb. de gestis Pontif. Anglorum. Ex Mat. Paris. lib. de vita Hen.

Ex Archivis Parliamentar. An. 1. Reg. Rich. 2. tit. 66.

Tit. 67.

Tit. 68.

Tit. 57.

Ex Anno 1. Tit. 70.

Tit. 71.

An

Lawfull that princes should withstand the tyrannie of the pope.

The king seemeth here to prophesy of the desolation of the Romane pope.

The pope and Pharises, new crucifiers of Christ.



Tit. 78.

An Act that pope Urban was true and lawfull pope, and that the livings of all Cardinals and other rebels to y<sup>e</sup> said pope, should be sealed into the kings hands, and the king be answered of the profits thereof: And that whosoever within this Realme shall procure or obtaine any provision, or other instrument from any other pope than the same Urban, shall be out of the kings protection.

Ex 3. Anno  
Reg. Rich. 2.

Moreover, in the third yere of King Richard the second, the prelates and clergie made their protestation in this Parliament, expressly against a certain new grant, to wit, their excozations: That the same never should passe with their assent and good will to the blemishing of the liberties of the Church, if by that word excozation they meant any thing largely to proceed against Ordinaries and others of the Church. But if they meant none otherwise to deale hereafter therein, than before that time had bene done, then would they consent. Whereunto it was replied for the king, that neither for the same their said protestation, or other words in that behalfe the king would stay to grant to his Justices in that case, and all other cases, as was used to be done in times past and he was bound to do by vertue of his oath taken at his coronation.

Here more well  
a strange pro-  
ceeding.But marke the  
strange event.

Tit. 44.

Furthermore, in the fourth yere of the said king Richard the second, it was requested, that provision might be had against the popes collectors, for leavyng of the first fruits of ecclesiasticall dignities within the realme.

Tit. 46.

Item, that all priors Aliens might be remooved out of their houses, and licensed to depart, and never to revert. And that Englishmen may be placed in their livings, answering the king as they did.

Ex 9. Anno  
ejusdem Regis  
Tit. 4.

And in the 9. yere of the foresaid king touching matter of the Staple; the speaker of the Parliament pronounced, that hee thought best the same were planted within the Realme, considering that Calis, Burges, and other towne beyond the seas grew very rich thereby, and god townes here very much decayed; and so it was much for the common profit. Touching the king, he affirmed that the subsidy and custome of wool yielded more to the king when the staple was kept in England by one thousand markes yearly, than it did now being holden beyond the seas.

Tit. 36.

Item, that inquisition and redresse might bee had against such religious persons, as under the licence to purchase 10. li. yearly, doe purchase 80. li. or 100. li.

Tit. 44.

Item, that all clerkes, advanced to any ecclesiasticall dignitie or living by the king, will grant to the king the first fruits of their livings, none otherwise than they would have done to the pope, being advanced by him.

Tit. 26.

In the 11. yere of king Richard the second, it was put up by the petitions of the commons, that such impositions as are gathered by the popes bulls of volumus and imponimus of the translations of B. B. and such like, might be employed on the kings wars against the schismatickes of Scotland. And that such as bring into the Realme the like bulls and nobelties may be reputed for traitors.

An. 13. Regis  
Rich. 2.  
Tit. 24.

In the 13. yere of his raigne followed another Parliament, in which although the archbishop of Canterbury and Poike, for them and the whole clergie of their provinces, made their solempne protestations in open Parliament, that they in no wise meant or would assent to any statute or law made in restraint of the popes authority, but utterly withstand the same, willing this protestation of theirs to be enrolled: yet the said protestation of theirs at that time took no great effect.

Tit. 34.

Item, in the same Parliament it was put up by put like petition, that the popes collector should be commanded to avoid the Realme within 40. daies, or else to be taken as the kings enemy, and that everyp such collector from henceforth may be an English

man, and sworn to execute the statutes made in this Parliament.

SKING  
RIC. 2  
Extitu. 9.

Moreover, in the said Parliament, the yere above said of the king, the 26. of January, M. John Mandoure Clerke was charged openly in the Parliament, that hee should not passe, ne send over to Rome, ne attempt or doe any thing there touching the Archdeacons of Durham in prejudice of the king, or of his lawes, or of the party presented thereby to the king, on perill that might ensue.

10

The next yere following, which was the 14. of this kings raigne, it was enacted first touching the staples, that, after the feast of the Epiphanie next ensuing, the staple should be removed from Calice into England, in such places as are contained in the statute made in 27. Edw. 3. the which statute should be fully executed: and further that every Alien, that bringeth merchandise into the Realme, should finde sufficient suretie to buy and carry away commodities of the Realme, to halfe the value of the said merchandise.

Ex an. 14.  
Reg. Rich. 2  
tit. 6.

Item, in the same parliament petition was made, that against the horrible vice of usury, then termed Huffs, practised as well by the clergie as laitic, the order made by John Botre, late Maior of London, might be executed throughout the Realme.

Tit. 24.  
Against usury

Moreover, in the 15. yere of the raigne of the foresaid king it was accepted, for that sir William Brian knight had purchased from Rome a Bull directed from the Archbishops of Canterbury and Poike, to excommunicate such as had broken up his house, and had taken away others letters, privileges and charters: the same Bull, being read in the Parliament house, was adjudged prejudiciall to the kings crowne, and in derogation of the lawes; for the which he was by the king and assent of the lords committed to the Tower, there to remaine at the kings will and pleasure.

Ex tit. 29.

In the said parliament also, William archbishop of Canterbury maketh his protestation in the open Parliament, saying, that the pope ought not to excommunicate any Bishop, or to intermeddle, for, or touching any presentment to any ecclesiasticall dignitie recorded in any the kings courts. He further protested, that the pope ought to make no translation to any Bishopricke within the Realme against the kings will; for that the same was to the destruction of the Realme and crowne of England, which hath alway been so free, as the same hath had none earthly sovereign, but hath been subiect to God only in all things touching regalities to none other.

50

The which protestation he prayed might be entered. In the 17. yere of the raign of the king aforesaid it was desired that remedie might bee had against such religious persons as caused the villaines or underlings to marry free women inheritable, whereby the lands came to those religious mens hands by collusion.

Ex An. 17.  
Reg. Rich. 2.  
Titul. 33.

Item, that sufficient persons might be presented to benefices, who may dwell on the same, so as their stocke for want thereof doe not perishe.

43.

Item, y remedie might be had against the abbats of Colchester and Abington, who in the townes of Colchester and Colham claim to have sanctuary.

45.

To come to the Parliament holden in the 20. yere of this kings raigne; we finde moreover in the said rolles; how that the Archbishops of Canterbury and Poike for themselves, and the clergie of their provinces, declared to the king in open parliament, that (forasmuch as they were sworn to the pope and sea of Rome) if any thing were in the Parliament attempted in restraint of the same, they would in no wise assent thereto, but verily withstand the same; y which their protestation they require to be enrolled.

Ex An. 20.  
Reg. Rich.  
Tit. 22.

Upon the petition of the begging friers there at large it was enacted, that none of that order should passe over the seas without licence of his Sovereigne, nor that he should take upon him any order of

Here the Arch-  
bishop of Can-  
terbury saith  
contrary to  
himselfe.

Titul. 32.



KING  
RIC. 2.

of D of Divinity, unlesse he were first apposed in his Chapter provinciall, on paine to be put out of the kings protection.

Item that the kings officers, for making arrests or attachments in Churchyards, are therefore excommunicated, whereof remedy was required.

In the yere of the same kings reigne 21. the Parliament being holden at Westminster, we finde how the commons in full Parliament, accused Thomas Arundell Archbishop of Canterbury, for that he as Chancellor procured, and as chiefe doer executed the same commission, made traitorously in the tenth yere of the king. And also that he the said Archbishop procured the Duke of Gloucester, and the earles of Arundell and Warwicke, to incroach to themselves royal power, and to iudge to death Simon de Burley, and sir John Berners without the kings assent. Whereupon the commons required that the same archbishop might rest under safe keeping: whereunto for that the same impeachments touched so great a person, they would be addeisd.

Item, the 25. day of September, the Commons prayed the king to give iudgement against the said archbishop, according to his deserts. The king answered, that privately the said Archbishop had confessed to him, how he mistoke himselfe in the said Commission, and therefore submitted himself to the kings mercy: Wherefore the kings, lordes, and Sir Thomas Percy, proctor for the clergy, advoided the fact of the said Archbishop to be treason, and himselfe a traitor; and therefore it was ordered that the said Archbishop should be banished, his temporalities seized, his lands and goods forfeited, as well in use, as in possession.

The king further prescribed, that the said Archbishop should take his passing on Friday, within five weeks of Michaelmas, at Dover, towards the parts of France.

Thus having hitherto sufficiently touched and comprehended such things as have happened in the reigne of this king, necessary for the Church to know, by course of story: we come now to the 22. yere of king Richards reigne, which is the yere of our Lord, 1399. In the which yere happened the strange and also lamentable deposing of this king Richard the second, aforesaid from his kingly scepter. Strange, for that the like example hath not often bene seene in seats royall. Lamentable, for that it cannot be but grievous to any good mans heart, to see him either so to deserbe, if he were iustly deposed: or if he were unjustly deposed, to see the kingly title there not able to hold his right, where by force it is compelled to give place to might.

As concerning the order and processe of those deposing, for that it neither is greatly pertinent to my argument, and is sufficiently contained in Robert Fabian, and in the kings records in the chronicle of S. Albans, and in other histories at large, it were here tedious and superfluous to intermeddle with repeating thereof: What were the conditions and properties of this king, partly before hath bene touched. In whom as some good vertues may be noted, so also some vices may seeme to be mixed withall. But especially this, that he starting out of the steps of his progenitors, ceased to take part with them, which took part with the Gospell. Whereupon it so fell, not by the blinde wheele of fortune, but by the secret hand of him which directeth all estates, that as he first began to forsake the maintaining of the Gospell of God, so the Lord began to forsake him. And where the protection of God becometh to faile, there can lack no causes to be charged withall, whom God once giveth over to mans punishment. So that to me considering the whole life and trade of this prince, among all other causes alleged in stories against him, none seemeth so much to be weighed of us, or more hurtfull to him than this forsaking of the Lord and his word. Although

to such as list more to be certified in other causes concurring withall, many and sundry defects in that king may appeare in stories to the number of thirty three articles alleaged, or forced rather against him.

In which as I cannot deny but that he was worthy of much blame; so to be displaced therefore from his regall seat and rightfull state of the crowne, it may be thought perhaps the causes not to be so rare, or so materiall in a Prince, which either could or else would have serbed; had not he given ober before to serbe the Lord and his word, chusing rather to serbe the humour of the pope and blouty prelate, than to further the Lords proceedings in preaching of his word. And then, as I said, how can enemies lack where God standeth not to friend: or what cause can be so little, which is not able enough to cast downe, where the Lords arme is shortned to sustaine: Wherefore it is a point of principall wisdom in a Prince, not to forget, that as he standeth alwaies in need of Gods helping hand, so alwaies he have the discipline and feare of him before his eyes, according to the counsell of the godly king David, Psal. 2.

And thus much touching the time and race of this king Richard, with the tragicall storie of his deposing. The order and manner whereof purposely I pretermitt, onely contented hereby to lay together a few speciall things done before his fall, such as may be sufficient, in a brieffe summe, both to satisfie the Reader inquisitive of such stories, and also to forewarn other Princes to beware of the like dangers. In such as write the life and acts of this Prince, thus I read of him reported, that he was much inclined to the favouring and advancing of certaine persons about him, and ruled all by their counsell, which were then greatly abhorrred and hated in the realme: The names of whom were Robert Here Earle of Oxford, whom the king made Duke of Irelande, Alexander Nevill Archbishop of Yorke, Michael de la Pole Earle of Suffolke, Robert Trisilian Lord chief Justice, Nicolas Bembre, with other.

These men, being hated and disdained of divers of the nobles, and of the commons, the king also by favouring them, was lesse favoured himselfe. Inso much, that the Duke of Gloucester, named Thomas Woodstocke the kings Uncle, with the Earle of Warwicke, and Earle of Darby, stood up in armes against those counsellors and abusers (as they named them) of the king. Inso much that the king for feare was constrained against his minde to remove out of his court, Alexander Nevill archbishop of Yorke, John Ford Bishop of Duresme, Frier Thomas Rulshoke Bishop of Chichester the kings confessor, with the lord Haringworth, lord Burrell, and Bemond, lord Clerc, and divers other.

And furthermore, in the Parliament the same yere following Robert Trisilian the Justice was hanged and drawn. Also Nicolas Bembre knight, James Salisbury also, and James Barnele both knights, John Belcamp the kings Steward, and John Blake Esquire in like manner: All these by the counsell of the Lords being cast in the Parliament against the kings mind, did suffer, which was in the 11. of his reigne, he being yet under government: but consequently after the same, the king claiming his own liberty, being come to the age of 20, began to take more upon him. And this was one thing that stirred up the kings stomack against the Nobles. Ex Chron. Alban.

2. Another thing that stirred him up as much against the Londoners, was this, for that he would have borrowed of them a thousand pound, and they denied him, to their double and treble disadvantage, as after ensued upon it. Ibidem. Another occasion, besides this betwixen the king & the Londoners happened thus, by reason of one of the B. of Salisburys servants, named Roman, and a bakers man: who

And as I  
said before  
in Richard

Gods speciall  
labour necessary  
for Princes.  
Psal. 2.

The King led  
with few  
counsell.

The Nobles  
up in armes against  
certaine  
of the kings  
Counsellors

Ex Chron.  
D. Alban.  
The second  
preparative to  
the kings de-  
posing.

11.36.

21. An.  
eg. Rich. 2.  
15.

Exit. 26.

Thomas Arundell  
Archbishop of Can-  
terbury proved  
a traitor by  
Parliament.

Exit. 17.

Anno 1399  
The deposing  
of R. Richard  
the second.  
The story  
strange and la-  
mentable.

Vices and ver-  
tues mixt in  
R. Richard.

What he is to  
forsake the  
maintenance  
of the Gospell.



then carrying a basket of horsebread in Fleetstreet, the foresaid Romane took a horse-loafe out of the basket. The baker asking him why he did so, the bishops lustie yeoman turned backe againe and brake his head: whereupon the neighbours came out, and would have arrested this Romane, but hee escaped away unto the bishops house. Then the Constable would have had him out; but the bishops men shut fast the gates, that they should not approach. Thus much people gathered together, threatening to burst open the gates and fire the house, unless they had the foresaid partie to them brought out. Whereby much adoe there was, till at length the Maior and Sheriffes came and quieted the rage of the commons, and sent every man home to his house, charging them to keepe peace. Here as yet was no great harme done, but if the bishop for his part had bene quiet, and had not stirred the coales of debate, which were well kindled already, all had bene ended without further perturbation. But the stomacke of the bishop not yet digested (although his man had done the wrong) having no great cause so to doe, whose name was John Maltam, being then Treasurer of England, went to Thomas Arundell, archbishop the same time of Poike, and Lord Chancellor of England to complaine of the Londoners. Where is to be noted, or rather revealed by the way a pizbie mysterie, which although it be not in this storie touched of the writers, yet it touched the hearts of the bishops not a little. For the Londoners at that time were notoriously known to be favourers of Wickliffes side, as partly before this is to be seene, and in the story of S. Albanes more plainly doth appeare: Where the author of the said historie, writing upon the 15. yere of king Richards raigne, reporteth in these wordes of the Londoners, that they were Male creduli in Deum & traditiones avitas, Lollardorum sustentatores, religionum detractores, decimarum detentores, & communis vulgi depauperatores, &c. i. Not right believers in God, nor in the traditions of their forefathers, sustainers of the Lollards, depravers of religious men, withholders of tithes, and impoverishers of the common people, &c.

Thus the Londoners, being noted and suspected of the bishops, were the more maliced (no doubt therefore) of the said bishops which were the more ready to find and take all occasions to work against them, as by their doing herein may well appeare. For the bishop of Salisbury, and archbishop of Poike, having no greater matter against them, then was declared, with a grievous complaint went to the king, complaining of the Maior and Sheriffes of London. What trespass the Maior and Sheriffes had done, as ye have heard before, so may you iudge. Now what followed after let us heare. The king, incensed not a little with the complaint of the bishops, conceived eftsoones against the Maior and Sheriffs, and against the whole citie of London, a great stomacke: Inasmuch that the Maior and both the Sheriffs were sent for, and removed from their office. Sir Edward Darlington then was made warden and governour of the citie; who also, for his gentleness shewed to the citizens, was also deposed, and another named sir Baldwin Radington, placed in that roome. Moreover, so much grew the kings displeasure against the citie, that he also removed from London the courts, and termes to be kept at Poike, that is to say, the Chancery, the Exchequer, the kings Bench, the Hamper, and the common Pleas; where the same continued from Whitsunmer till Christmas, to the great decay of the citie of London; which was an. 1393.

3. Another great cause, which purchased the king much evil will amongst his subjects, was the secret murdering of his owne uncle named Thomas Woodstocke, duke of Gloucester, of whom mention was made before; where was declared, how the said duke, with the earle of Arundell, the earle of War-

wicke, and the earle of Darby, with other, were up in armes against certain wicked counsellors about the king. Whereupon the king, watching afterward his time, came into Belmesfeld, and so to the place nere by, where the duke lay: where with his owne hands he arrested the said duke his uncle, and sent him downe by water immediately to Calice; and there, through the kings commandement, by secret means he was put to death, being strangled under a featherbed, the earle marshall being then the keeper of Calice, whereby great indignation rose in many mens hearts against the king.

With the same duke of Gloucester also, about the same time, was arrested and imprisoned the earle of Warwick, and the earle of Arundell, who, being condemned by Parliament, were then executed, whereby great grudge and great indignation rose in the hearts of many against the king. An. 1397.

Fourthly, to omit here the blanke charters sent over all the land by the king; and how the king was said to let out his realme to farme: Over and beside all these abovesaid, fell another matter, which was the principall occasion of this mischief: The banishment I meane of Henry earle of Darby, made duke of Hereford a little before, being some of John of Gaunt the duke of Lancaster (who died shortly after the banishment of his son, and lieth buried in the Church of S. Paul in London) and the duke of Northfolke: who was before earle of Northfolke, and after by this king made duke of Northfolke the yere before. At which time the king made fife dukes, a marques, and foure earles, to wit, duke of Hereford, which was before earle of Darby; duke of Aumerle, which was before earle of Rutland; duke of Southzey, who was before earle of Kent; duke of Creter, which was before earle of Huntingdon; and this duke of Northfolke, being before earle of Northfolke, as is aforesaid, &c. The occasion of banishing these foresaid dukes was this.

About this present time the duke of Hereford did appeache the duke of Northfolke upon certain wordes to be spoken against the king: whereupon casting their globes one against the other, they appointed to fight out the quarrell, a day being for the same appointed at Coventry. But the king took up the matter in his owne hands, banishing the duke of Northfolke for ever, which after died at Venice; and the other duke, which was the duke of Hereford, for 10. yeres. Beside these, also was exiled into France Thomas Arundell archbishop of Canterbury by Act of Parliament, in the same yere, for points of treason, as ye have heard before expressed, pag. 668. coll. 1. All which turned to the great inconvenience of this king, as in the event following may appeare.

These causes and preparatives thus premised, it followed the yere after, which was An. 1399, and last yere of this king, that the king, upon certaine affaires to be done, took his voyage into Ireland. In which mean time Henry of Bolingbroke, earle of Darby, and duke of Hereford, and with him the foresaid archbishop Thomas Arundell (which before were both exiled) returning out of France to Calice, came into England, challenging the dukedome of Lancaster, after the death of his father. With them also came the son and heire of the earle of Arundell, being yet but yong. These together setting out of Calice, arrived at Radenpur in the North. At the knowledge whereof much people gathered unto them.

In this meane time, as the duke was hovering on the sea to enter the land, lord Edmund duke of Poike the kings Uncle, to whom the king committed the custody of this realme (having intelligence thereof) called to him the bishop of Chichester, named Edmund Stafford, Chancellor of the realme, and William Scrope, earle of Wiltshire lord Treasurer, also John Busshey, William Bagot, Henry

{ KING }  
{ RIC. 2. }

The king arresting his own Uncle, caused him to be put wrongfully to death.

Earle of Northfolke made duke of Northfolke.

The duke of Northfolke, and duke of Hereford banished.

Thomas Arundell banished as a traitor, by Parliament.

{ Anno }  
{ 1399 }

John Maltam bishop of Salisbury makebate.

Thomas Arundell archbishop of Poike.

Londoners favourers of Wickliffes doctrine.

Exhistor. D. Albani, cuius sic habet initium, An. gra. rie, &c.

Londoners complained of to the king, by the bishops. Beati pacifici

The court removed from London to Poike.

The third preparative to the kings deposing



KING  
HEN. 4.

Henry Greene and John Kuschell, with divers other  
confoling with them what was best in that case to  
be done. Who then gave their advice (whether wil-  
full, or unskillfull it is not knowine, but very unskill-  
full) that he should leaue London, and goe to Saint  
Albans, there to wait for more strength, able to en-  
counter with the duke. But as the people out of di-  
vers quarters resorted thither, many of them profe-  
sed that they would do nothing to the harme and  
preiudice of the duke of Lancaster, who, they said, 10  
was unjustly expelled. The rest then of the counsell,  
John Bushyep, William Bagot, Henry Greene,  
William Scrope Treasurer, hearing and under-  
standing how the commons were minded to ioyne  
with the duke of Hereford, left the duke of Yorke,  
and the Lord Chancellor, and fled to the castle of  
Bristol. Where it is to be understood, that these  
four were they, to whom the common fame ran  
that the king had let out his realme to farme: and  
were so hated of the people, that it is to be thought,  
that for the hatred of them more than for the king,  
this commotion was among the people.

That evill  
company doth  
broue a king.King Richard  
eueneth from  
Ireland, to  
Wilsford haven

As this broyle was in England, the noise thereof  
sounding to the kings eares being then in Ireland;  
for hasty speed of returning into England, he left  
in Ireland both his businesse, and most of his ordi-  
nance also behind him; And so passing the seas, lan-  
ded at Wilsford haven, not daring, as it seemed, to  
come to London.

On the contrary side, unto Henry duke of Here-  
ford, being landed, as is said, in the North, came the  
earle of Northumberland, lord Henry Percie, and  
Henry his sonne the earle of Westmerland, lord  
Radulph Pevill, and other lords more to a great  
number, so that the multitude rose to 60000. able  
fouldiers. Who, first making toward the castle of  
Bristol, took the foresaid Bushyep, Greene, Scrope  
and Bagot: of whom three incontinently were be-  
headed, Bagot escaped away, and fled away to Ire-  
land.

King Richard  
is taken of his  
subjects.  
What it is for  
prince to be  
reloued of his  
subjects.

The king in this meane while, lying about Wales,  
desolate and desolate without comfort or counsell;  
who neither durst come to London, neither would  
any man come to him; and perceiving moreover  
the commons, that were up in such a great power  
against him, would rather die, than give ower that  
they had begun, for feare of themselves: seeing there-  
fore no other remedy, called to him lord A. Percie  
earle of Worcester, and steward of his household,  
willing him with other of his family to provide for  
themselves in time. Who then openly in the hall  
broke his white rod before them all, commanding e-  
very man to shift for himselfe. Although Fabian and  
some other say, that he did this of his owne accord,  
contrary to his allegiance. The king, compassed  
on every side with miseries, shifted from place to  
place, the duke still following him; till at length be-  
ing at the castle of Conewey, the king desired to  
talk with Thomas Arundell Archbishop, and the  
earle of Northumberland; to whom he declared,  
that he would resigne up his crowne, in condition  
that an honourable living might be for him provided,  
and life promised to eight persons, such as he would  
name. Which being granted and ratified, but not  
performed, he came to the castle of Flint, where (af-  
ter talk had with the duke of Lancaster) he was  
brought the same night by the duke and his army to  
Chester, and from thence was conveyed secretly in-  
to the tower, there to be kept till the next parliament.  
By the way as he came nere to London, divers  
evill disposed men of the city being warned thereof,  
gathered themselves, thinking to have slaine him,  
for the great cruelty he had used before toward the  
city; but by the policies of the Mayor and rulers of  
the city the madness of the people was stayed. Not  
long after followed the duke, and also began the pa-  
liament. In which parliament, the earle of Northum-  
berland, with many other earles and lords were sent

King Richard  
agreed to re-  
signe his  
crowne.

to the king in the tower, to take of him a full resig-  
nation, according to his former promise, and to then  
bid. This done, divers accusations and articles were  
laid and engroled against the said king: to the num-  
ber of thirty three, some say thirty eight, which for the  
matter not greatly materiall in them contained, I  
overpasse. And the next yeere after he was had to  
Pontefract castle, and there furnished to death.

The Duke  
of Lancaster  
was  
crowned.

## King Henry the fourth.



And thus king Richard by common  
assent being deposed from his right-  
full crowne, the duke of Lancaster  
was led by Thomas Arundell the  
archbishop to the seat rovall: who  
there standing up, and crossing him-  
self on the forehead and the brest, spake in words as  
followeth.

In the name of God, Amen. I Henry of Lancaster  
claime the realme of England and the crowne, with all  
the appurtenances, as I that am descended by right line  
of the blood coming from that good lord king Henry  
the third, And through the right that God of his grace  
hath sent to mee, with the help of my kin and of my  
friends to recover the same, which was in point to bee  
undone for default of good governance, and due ju-  
stice, &c.

The words of  
Henry duke,  
claiming the  
crowne.

After which words the archbishop, asking the  
assent of the people, being full of their new king,  
toke the duke by the hand, and placed him in the  
kingly throne, which was an. 1399. and shortly after  
by the foresaid archbishop he was crowned also for  
king of England. Ex Chron. D. Alban.

King Henry  
the fourth  
was  
crowned.

The next yeere after followed a parliament holden  
at Westminster: in which parliament one William  
Sautre, a good man and a faithfull priest, in flamed  
with zeale of true religion, required he might be  
heard for the commoditie of the whole realme. But  
the matter being smelt before by the bishop, they  
obtained that the matter should be referred to the  
convocation; where the said William Sautre being  
brought before the Bishops and Prelates thereunto  
appointed, the convocation was deferred to the Sa-  
turday next ensuing.

{ Anno }  
1400.  
William  
Sautre  
marrye.William Sautre  
brought before  
the bishops in  
the convoca-  
tion.

When Saturday was come, that is to say, the  
twelfth day of February, Thomas Arundell arch-  
bishop of Canterbury, in the presence of his coun-  
cell provinciall, being assembled in the said Chapter  
house, against one sir William Sautre, otherwise  
called Chatris chaplaine, personally then and there  
appearing by the commandement of the foresaid  
archbishop of Canterbury, objected; that the said  
Sir William before the bishop of Norwich had  
once renounced and abiured divers and sundry con-  
clusions hereticall and erroneous; and that after  
such abjuratton made, he publicly and privily held,  
taught, and preached the same conclusions, or else  
such like, disagreeing to the Catholike faith, and to  
the great perill and pernicious example of others.  
And after this he caused such like conclusions holden  
and preached, as is said, by the said Sir William  
without renunciation, then and there to be read un-  
to the said archbishop, by master Robert Hall, chan-  
celloz unto the said bishop, in a certaine scrole writ-  
ten, in tenor of words as followeth.

Sir William Chatris, otherwise called Sautre,  
parish priest of the church Saint Seithe the Virgin  
in London, publicly and privily doth hold these con-  
clusions under written.

In primis, he saith, that he will not worship the  
crosse on which Christ suffered, but only Christ that  
suffered upon the crosse.

The articles  
of W. Sautre

2. Item, that he would sooner worship a temporall  
king, than the foresaid wooden crosse.

3. Item,



3. Item, that he would rather worship the bodies of the Saints, than the very crosse of Christ on which he hung, if it were before him.

4. Item, that he would rather worship a man truly contrite, than the crosse of Christ.

5. Item, that he is bound rather to worship a man that is predestinate, than an angel of God.

6. Item, that if any man would visit the monuments of Peter and Paul, or go on pilgrimage to the Tombe of Saint Thomas, or else any whither else, for the obtaining of any temporall benefit; he is not bound to keepe his bow, but he may distribute the expences of his bow upon the almes of the poore.

7. Item, that every Priest and deacon is more bound to preach the word of God, than to say the canonicall houres.

8. Item, that after the pronouncing of the Sacramentall words of the body of Christ, the bread remaineth of the same nature that it was before, notwithstanding it cease to be bread.

To which conclusions or articles being thus read, the Archbishop of Canterbury required the same Sir William to answer. And then the said William asked a copie of such articles or conclusions, and a competent space to answer unto the same. Whereupon the said Archbishop commanded a copie of such articles or conclusions to be delivered then and there unto the said Sir William, assigning the Thursday then next ensuing to him to deliberate and make answer in. When Thursday the said day of appearance was come, Master Nicolas Rishon, auditor of the causes and businesse belonging to the said Archbishop (then being in the Parliament house at Westminster, otherwise let) continued the said convocation with all matters rising, depending, and appertinent thereunto, by commandement of the said bishop, untill the next morrow at eight of the clock. When the morrow came, being Friday, the foresaid Sir William Sautre, in the chapter house before the said bishop and his counsell provinciall then and there assembled, making his personall appearance, exhibited a certaine scrole, containing the answers unto certain articles or conclusions given unto him, as is aforesaid, by the said bishop; and said, that unto the foresaid archbishop he delivered the same as his answer in that behalfe, under the tenor of such words as folloio.

I William Sautre, priest unworthy, say and answer, that I will not, nor intend not to worship the crosse wheron Christ was crucified, but only Christ that suffered upon the crosse; so understanding me, that I will not worship the materiall crosse or the grosse corporall matter: yet notwithstanding I will worship the same as a signe, token, and memoriall of the passion of Christ, Adoratione vicaria. And that I will rather worship a temporall king, than the foresaid wooden crosse, and the materiall substance of the same. And that I will rather worship the bodies of Saints, than the very crosse of Christ wheron he hung: with this addition, that if the very same crosse were afore me as touching the materiall substance. And also that I will rather worship a man truly confessed and penitent, than the crosse on which Christ hung, as touching the materiall substance.

And that also I am bound, and will rather worship him whom I know to be predestinate, truly confessed and contrite, than an angel of God: for that the one is a man of the same nature with the humanity of Christ, and so is not a blessed angel. Notwithstanding I will worship both of them, according as the will of God is I should.

Also, that if any man hath made a bow to visit the shrynes of the Apostles Peter and Paul, or to go on pilgrimage unto S. Thomas tombe, or any whither else, to obtaine any temporall benefit or commodity; he is not bound simply to keepe his

bow upon the necessity of salvation; but he may give the expences of his bow in almes amongst the poore, by the prudent counsell of his superiour, as I suppose. (KING HEN. 4.)

And also I say, that every Deacon and Priest is more bound to preach the word of God, than to say the canonicall houres, according to the primitive order of the church.

Also, touching the interrogation of the sacrament of the altar, I say, that after the pronouncing of the sacramentall words of the body of Christ, there ceaseth not to be very bread simply, but remaines bread, holy, true, and the bread of life; and I beleve the said sacrament to be the very body of Christ, after the pronouncing of the sacramentall words.

When all these answers were thoroughly by Master Robert Hall directly and publicly there read, the foresaid archbishop of Canterbury inquired of the said Sir William, whether he had auctored the foresaid heresies and errors objected against him, as before is said, before the bishop of Norwich, or not; or else had revoked and renounced the said or such like conclusions or articles, or not: To which he answered and affirmed that he had not. And then consequently (all other articles, conclusions, and answers above written immediately omitted) the said archbishop examined the same Sir William Sautre, especially upon the sacrament of the altar.

First, whether in the sacrament of the altar after the pronouncing of the sacramentall words, remaineth very materiall bread, or not. Unto which interrogation, the same Sir William somewhat waveringly said, and answered, that he knew not that. Notwithstanding he said, that there was very bread, because it was the bread of life which came downe from heaven.

After that the said archbishop demanded of him, whether in the Sacrament after the sacramentall words, rightly pronounced of the priest, the same bread remaineth, which did before the words pronounced, or not. And to this question the foresaid William answered in like manner as before, saying, that there was bread, holy, true, and the bread of life, &c.

After that, the foresaid archbishop asked him, whether the same materiall bread before consecration, by the sacramentall words of the priest rightly pronounced, be transubstantiated from the nature of bread into the very body of Christ, or not: Whereunto Sir William said, that he knew not what that matter meant.

And then the said archbishop assigned unto the said Sir William time to deliberate, and more fully to make his answer till the next day; and continued this convocation then and there till the morrow, which morrow, to wit, the 19. day of February, being come, the foresaid archbishop of Canterbury, in the said chapter house of Saint Paul in London, before his counsell provinciall then and there assembled, specially asked and examined the same Sir W. Sautre there personally present upon the Sacrament of the altar, as before. And the same Sir William againe, in like manner as before, answered.

After this, amongst other things, the said bishop demanded of the same William, if the same materiall bread being upon the altar, after the sacramentall words being of the priest rightly pronounced, is transubstantiated into the very body of Christ, or not: And the said Sir William said, he understood not what he meant.

Then the said archbishop demanded, whether that materiall bread being round and white, prepared and disposed for the Sacrament of the body of Christ upon the altar, wanting nothing that is meet and requisite thereunto, by the vertue of the Sacramentall words being of the priest rightly pronounced, be altered and changed into the very body of Christ, and ceaseth any more to be materiall and very

How bread remaineth in the Sacrament.

The answer of William Sautre given up in writing.

The crosse materially not to be worshipped.

A man predestinate rather to be worshipped, than an angel: that is to say, neither can be worshipped without doubt.

The convocation continued, Sir Sautre againe examined.



{ KING }  
{ HEN. 4. }

very bread, or not: When the ſaid ſir William, verily anſwering, ſaid, he could not tell.

Then conſequently the ſaid archbiſhop demanded, whether he would ſtand to the determination of the holy church or not, which affirmeth that in the ſacrament of the altar, after the words of conſecration being rightly pronounced of the prieſt, the ſame bread, which before in nature was bread, cealeth any more to be bread. To this interrogation the ſaid ſir William ſaid; that he would ſtand to the determination of the church, where ſuch determination was not contrary to the will of God.

This done, he demanded of him againe, what his iudgement was concerning the Sacrament of the altar: Who ſaid and affirmed, that after the words of conſecration, by the prieſt duly pronounced, remained very bread, and the ſame bread which was before the words ſpoken. And this examination about the Sacrament laſted from 8. of the clock of the ſame day, untill 11. of the clock, or thereabouts: inſomuch that during all this time the ſaid William would no otherwiſe anſwer, neither yet touching the ſame Sacrament receive catholike information, according to the inſtitution of the popes church and his chriſtian faith. Wherefore the ſaid Canterbury, by the counſell and aſſent of his whole covent then and there preſent, did promulgate and give ſentence, by the mouth of Robert Hall, againſt the ſame ſir William Sautre (being perſonally preſent, and reſuſing to reboke his herelies, that is to ſay, his true doctrine, but conſtantly defended the ſame) under the tenour of words as followeth.

The ſentence  
againſt Will.  
Sautre.

IN the name of God, Amen. We Thomas by the grace of God Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Primate of England, and Legate of the Sea Apoſtolically, by the authority of God almighty, and bleſſed Saint Peter and Paul, and of holy Church, and by our own authority, ſitting for tribunall or chiefe iudge, having God alone before our eyes, by the counſell and conſent of the whole Clergie our fellow brethren, and ſuffragans aſſiſtants unto us in this preſent counsell provinciall, by this our ſentence definitive do pronounce, decree, and declare by theſe preſents thee William Sautre, otherwiſe called Chawtre, pariſh Prieſt pretended, perſonally appearing before us, in and upon the crime of herelie, judicially and lawfully convicted, as an heretike, and as an heretike to be puniſhed.

Which ſentence definitive being thus read, the ſaid archbiſhop of Cant. continued in the ſame provinciall counsell till Wednesday next and immediately enſuing, to wit, the 24. day of the ſame moneth of February: which being expired, the biſhop of Norwich, according to the commandement of the ſaid archbiſhop of Canterbury, preſented unto the ſaid William Sautre by a certaine friend of his, being preſent at the ſame counsell, a certaine proceſſe incloſed and ſealed with his ſeale, giving the names of credible witneſſes ſealed with their ſeals; the tenor whereof followeth in this wiſe.

Memorandum, that upon the laſt day of Aprill, in the yere of our Lord 1399. in the 7. indiction, and 10. yere of the papacie of pope Boniface the 2. in a certain chamber within the manor houſe of the ſaid biſhop of Norwich at South Helingham (where the regiſter of the ſaid biſhop is kept) before the 5. houre, in a certain chappell within the ſaid manor ſituate, and the firſt day of May then next and immediately enſuing, in the ſaid chamber ſir W. Chawtre, pariſh Prieſt of the church of S. Margaret in the towne of Lin, appeared before the biſhop of Norwich, in the preſence of John de Werlington, archdeacon of Norwich, doctoꝝ of the decrees, frier Walter Wiſle, and John Kikinghall, profeſſoꝝ in divinity, William Carlton, doctoꝝ of both lawes, and William Friſey, with Hugh Widdham, publike Notaries, and there publiſhly affirmed and held the concluſions, as befoze is ſpecified.

certaine pro-  
ceſſe againſt  
W. Sautre  
preſented by  
the biſhop of  
Norwich.

All and ſingular the premiſſes the ſaid William affirmeth upon mature deliberation. And afterwards, to wit, the 19. day of May in the yere, indiction, and papacie aforeſaid, in the chappell within the manor houſe of the ſaid Henry biſhop of Norwich ſituate at South Helingham, the ſaid ſir William reboke and denounced all and ſingular the ſaid concluſions; abſtaining and correcting all ſuch herelies and errors, taking his oath upon a book befoze the ſaid Henry the biſhop of Norwich, that from that time forward he would never preach, affirm, nor hold, privily nor apertly, the ſaid concluſions; and that he would pronounce, according to the appointment of the ſaid biſhop, the ſaid concluſions to be erroneous and herelies in the pariſh churches of Lin, and Toney, and in other places at the aſſignment of the ſaid biſhop; and farther ſware, that he would ſtand to the obedience of the ſaid biſhop touching the premiſſes, in the preſence of the diſcreet and wiſe men aforeſaid, with others other moe.

As concerning the firſt concluſion, that he ſaid he would not worſhip the croſſe, &c. he confeſſed himſelfe to have erred, and that the article was erroneous, and ſubmitted himſelfe. And as touching the ſecond article, that he ſaid he would rather worſhip a king, &c. he confeſſed himſelfe to have erred, and the article to be erroneous, and ſubmitted himſelfe, and ſo forth of all the reſt.

Then next after this, upon the 25. day of May in the yere of our Lord aforeſaid, in the Churchyard of the chappell of Saint James within the towne of Lin, the ſaid William, in preſence of the ſaid biſhop and clergy, and the people of the ſaid towne of Lin ſtanding round about, publiſhly declared in the Engliſh tongue the ſaid concluſions to be erroneous and herelies, as was contained in a certaine ſcrole. And after this, the 26. day of May in the yere aforeſaid, in the church of the hoſpital of S. Johns in the town of Lin, the ſaid ſir William, befoze the ſaid biſhop ſitting as iudge, ſware and took his oath upon the holy Euangeliſts, that he would never after that time preach openly and publiſhly the ſaid concluſions, nor would heare the confeſſions of any of the ſubiects of his diocelſe of Norwich, without the ſpeciall licence of the ſaid biſhop, &c. In the preſence of frier John Smermen, M. John Kikinghall doctoꝝ of divinity, W. Carlton doctoꝝ of both lawes, and Thomas Bolton officer of the liberty of Lin aforeſaid, with divers others.

The tenor of the ſcrole and recantation.

I N prius, touching the firſt and ſecond, where I ſaid that I would adoꝝ rather a temporall prince, and the lively bodies of the ſaints, than the wooden croſſe wherupon the Lord did hang, I do reboke and recant the ſame, as being therein deceived.

To this I ſay, that the article is falſe and erroneous, and by falſe information I held it; the which I renounce and aſk forgivenelſe thereof, and ſay, that it is a precious relique, and that I ſhall hold it while I live; and that I ſwear here.

I know well that I erred wrongfully by falſe information: for I wot well, that a deacon or a prieſt is more bound to ſay his Patens and houres, than to preach; for thereto he is bounden by right: wherfore I ſubmit me, &c.

Touthing that article, I know right well that I erred by falſe information. Wherefore I aſk forgivenelſe.

As concerning bowes, I ſay that opinion is falſe and erroneous, and by falſe information I held it; for a man is holden to hold his bow, &c.

To the 7. article I ſay, that I did it by authority of prieſthod, wherethrough I knowledge well that I have guilt and treſpaſſed: wherfore I ſubmit

me



me to God and to holy Church, and to you father, swearing that I shall never hold it more.

To the 8, I say, that I held it by false and wrong information. But now I know well that it is heretic, and that bread, anon as the word of the sacrament is said, is no longer bread materiall, but that it is turned into very Christs body; and that I swear here.

I say, that this is false and erroneous, &c.

I say as I said, &c.

This being done, the 22. of February aforesaid in the pere of our Lord 1400. in the chapter house of Saint Paul in London aforesaid; the foresaid archbishop of Canterbury, in the conbocation of his prelates, and clergie, and such like men there being present, caused the fore-recited processe of the bishop of Norwich to be read openly and publikely to Sir William Sautre, otherwise called Chautris. And afterward he asked the said sir William, whether he plainly understood and knew such processe and the contents within the same; and he said, yea. And farther he demanded of him, if he would or could say or obiect any thing against the processe; and he said, yea. And after that incontinent, the foresaid archbishop of Canterbury demanded and objected against the said sir William, as divers others more did; That after he had before the bishop of Norwich rebuked and abused iudicially divers errors and heresies, among other errors and heresies by him taught, holden, and preached, he affirmed; That in the same Sacrament of the altar after the consecration made by the priest, as he taught, there remained materiall bread; which heresie amongst others as errors also he abjured before the foresaid bishop of Norwich. Whereunto the foresaid William answered smiling, or in mocking wise, saying, and denying that he knew of the premises. Notwithstanding he publickly affirmed, that he held and taught the foresaid things after the date of the said processe made by the said bishop of Norwich; and that in the same counsell also he held the same. Then finally it was demanded of the said sir William, why he ought not to be pronounced as a man fallen into heresie, and why they should not further proceed unto his degradation according to the canonick sanctions: whereunto he answered nothing, neither could he alledge any came to the contrary.

Whereupon the foresaid archbishop of Canterbury by the counsell and assent of the whole counsell, and especially by the counsell and assent of the reverend fathers and bishops, as also priors, deans, archdeacons, and other worshipfull doctors and clerks then and there present in the counsell, fully determined to proceed to the degradation, and actually deposing of the said William Sautre, as re-fallen into heresie and as incorrigible, according to the sentence definitively put in writing, the tenor whereof is in words as followeth.

In the Name of God, Amen. Wee Thomas by the grace of God Arch-bishop of Canterbury, Legate of the Sea Apostolicall, and Metropolitane of all England, doe finde and declare, that thou William Sautre, otherwise called Chautris priest, by us with the counsell and assent of all and singular our fellow brethren and whole clergy, by this our sentence definitive declared in writing, hast bene for heresie convict and condemned, and art (being againe fallen into heresie) to be deposed and degraded by these presents.

And from that day being Wednesday, there was in the said counsell provinciall nothing further prosecuted, but was continued with all dependents till the Friday next ensuing. Which Friday approaching, master Nicolas Kishion, by the commandement of the said archbishop of Canterbury, being then busied, as he said, in the parliament house, continued this counsell and conbocation with all incidents, dependents, and occasions, growing and annexed

thereunto unto the next day, to wit, Saturday next immediately after ensuing. Upon Saturday, being the 26. of the said month of February, the foresaid archbishop of Canterbury late in the bishops seat of the foresaid church of Saint Paul in London, and solemnly apparelled in his pontificall attire, sitting with him as his assistants these reverend fathers and bishops, of London, Lincoln, Hereford, Exeter, Menevensis & Rossensis Episcopi, above mentioned, commanded and caused the said sir W. Sautre, apparelled in priestly vestiments, to be brought and appeare before him. That done, he declared and expounded in English to all the clergy and people there in a great multitude assembled; that all processe was finished and ended against the said sir W. Sautre. Which thing finished, before the pronouncing of the said sentence of the Relaps against the said sir William, as is premised, he often then and there recited and read. And for that he saw the said William in that behalf nothing abashed; he proceeded to his degradation and actual deposition in forme as followeth.

In nomine patris, & filii, & spiritus sancti. Wee Thomas by Gods permission archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and Legate of the apostolicke sea, do denounce thee William Sautre, otherwise called Chautris, chaplaine fained, in the habite and apparell of a priest, as an heretike, and one re-fallen into heresie, by this our sentence definitive, by counsell, assent, and authority to be condemned; and by conclusion of all our fellow brethren, fellow bishops, prelates, counsell provinciall, and of the whole clergy, do degrade and deprive thee of thy priestly order. And in signe of degradation and actual deposition from thy priestly dignity, for thine incorrigibility and want of amendment, we take from thee the patent and chalice, and doe deprive thee of all power and authority of celebrating the masse, and also we pull from thy backe the casle, and take from thee the vestiment, and deprive thee of all manner of priestly honour.

Also, we Thomas the aforesaid archbishop by authority, counsell, and assent, which upon the foresaid William we have, being deacon pretended, in the habit and apparell of a deacon, having the new Testament in thy hands, being an heretike, and twice fallen, condemned by sentence as is aforesaid, do degrade and put thee from the order of a deacon. And in token of this thy degradation and actual deposition, we take from thee the booke of the new Testament, and the stole, and do deprive thee of all authority in reading of the gospell, and of all and all manner of dignity of a deacon.

Item, we Thomas archbishop aforesaid, by authority, counsell, and assent, which over thee the foresaid William we have, being a subdeacon pretended, in the habit and vestiment of a subdeacon, an heretike, and twice fallen, condemned by sentence, as is aforesaid, do degrade and put thee from the order of a subdeacon; And, in token of this thy degradation and actual deposition, we take from thee the albe and maniple, and do deprive thee of all and all manner of subdiaconicall dignity.

Also, we Thomas archbishop aforesaid, by counsell, assent, and authority which we have over thee the foresaid William, an Acolyte pretended, wearing the habit of an Acolyte, and heretike, twice fallen, by our sentence, as is aforesaid, condemned, doe degrade and put from thee all order of an Acolyte; and in signe and token of this thy degradation, and actual deposition, we take from thee the candlestick and taper, and also Vreecolum, and do deprive thee of all and all manner dignity of an Acolyte.

Also we Thomas archbishop aforesaid, by assent, counsell, and authority, which upon thee the foresaid William we have, an Exorcist pretended, in the habite of an Exorcist or holy water clerke, being an heretike, twice fallen, and by our sentence

{ KING }  
{ HEN. 4. }

Sentence of degradation.

The patent and chalice taken from him

The booke of the new Testament taken from him.

The albe taken from him

The candlestick and taper taken from him.

The holy water book conferred from him



{ KING }  
{ HEN. 4. }

as is aforesaid, condemned, do degrade and depose thee from the order of an Croicist; And, in token of this thy degradation and actual deposition, we take from thee the booke of confutations, and do deprive thee of all and singular dignity of an Croicist.

Also, we Thomas archbishop aforesaid, by assent, counsell, and authority, as is abovesaid, do degrade and depose thee the foresaid William, reader pretended, clothed in þ habit of a reader, an heretick, twice fallen, and by our sentence, as is aforesaid, condemned, from the order of a reader; And, in token of this thy degradation and actual deposition, we take from thee the booke of the divine lections (that is, the booke of the Church legend), and do deprive thee of all and singular manner of dignity of such a reader.

Item, we Thomas archbishop of Canterbury aforesaid, by authority, counsell, and assent, the which wee have, as is aforesaid, doe degrade, and put thee the foresaid William Sawtre, sexton pretended, in the habit of a sexton, and wearing a surplice, being an heretick, twice fallen, by our sentence definitive condemned, as aforesaid, from the order of a sexton; And, in token of this thy degradation and actual deposition, for the causes aforesaid, we take from thee the keyes of the Church dore, and thy surplice, and do deprive thee of all and singular manner of commodities of a dore-keeper.

And also, by the authority of omnipotent God the Father, the Son, and holy Ghost, and by our authority, counsell, and assent of our whole council provinciall above written, we do degrade thee, and depose thee, being here personally present, before us, from orders, benefices, privileges and habit in the Church; and for thy pertinacy incorrigible we doe degrade thee before the secular court of the high constable and marshall of England, being personally present; and do depose thee from all and singular clerkely honours and dignities whatsoever, by these writings. Also, in token of thy degradation and deposition, here actually we have caused thy crowne and ecclesiasticall tonsure in our presence to be raised away, and utterly to be abolished, like unto the form of a secular lay man; and here we do put upon the head of thee the foresaid William the cap of a lay secular person; beseeching the Court aforesaid, that they will receive favourably the said William unto them thus recommitted.

Thus William Sawtre the servant of Christ, being utterly thrust out of the Popes kingdome, and metamorphosed from a clerke to a secular lay man, was committed (as ye have heard) unto the secular power. Which so done, the bishops, yet not herewith contented, cease not to call upon the king, to cause him to be brought forth to speedy execution. Whereupon the king, ready enough and too much to gratifie the clergy, and to retaine their favours, directeth out a terrible decre against the said William Sawtre, and sent it to the Mayor and Sherifes of London to be put in execution; the tenour thereof here under ensueth.

### The Decree of the King against William Sawtre.

THE decre of our soveraigne Lord the King and his Councel in the Parliament, against a certain new sprung up heretick. To the Mayor and Sherifs of London, &c. Whereas the reverend father Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, and Legat of the Apostolicke See, by the assent, consent, and counsell of other bishops, and his brethren Suffragans, and also of all the whole clergy within his province or dioces, gathered together in his privie all Councell, the due order of the law being observed in all points in this behalfe, hath pronounced and declared, by his definitive sentence, William Sawtre sometime Chaplaine fallen again into his most damnable heresie, the which beforetyme

the said William had abjured, thereupon to be a most manifest heretick, and therefore hath decreed that he should be degraded, and hath for the same cause really degraded him from all prerogative and privilege of the clergy, decreeing to leave him unto the secular power; and hath really so left him, according to the laws and canonicall sanctions set forth in this behalfe, and also that our holy mother the Church hath no further to do in the premises: We therefore being zealous in religion, and reverent lovers of the Catholike faith, willing and minding to maintaine and defend the holy Church, and the lawes and liberties of the same, to rot all such errors and heresies out of our kingdome of England, and with condigne punishment to correct and punish all heretikes or such as be contia; provided alwayes that both according to the law of God and man, and the canonicall institutions in this behalfe accustomed, such heretikes convict and condemned in forme aforesaid ought to be burned with fire: We command you as straitly as we may, or can, firmly enioyning you that you do cause the said William, being in your custody, in some publicke or open place within the liberties of your city aforesaid (the cause aforesaid being published unto the people) to be put into the fire, and there in the same fire really to be burned, to the great honour of his offence, and the manifest example of other christians. Fail not in the execution hereof, upon the perill that will fall thereupon: Teste rege, apud Westm. 26. Febr. an regni sui.

### The burning of William Sawtre.



Thus it may appeare how kings and princes have been blinded and abused by the false prelates of the Church, insomuch that they have bene their slaves and butchers, to slay Christs poore innocent members. See therefore what danger it is for princes not to have knowledge and understanding themselves, but to be led by other mens eyes, and specially trusting to such guides, who through hypocrisie both deceive them, & through cruelty devour the people.

As king Henry the fourth, who was the deposer of king Richard, was the first of all English kings that began the unmercifull burning of Christs Saints for standing against the Pope: so was this William Sawtre, the true and faithfull Martyr.

Preposterous  
scale without  
knowledge.

He meaneth  
he legend  
book, as laich  
be Register.

The surplice  
taken from  
him.

The church  
dore keyes ta-  
ken from him.

Subledge of  
the clergy ta-  
ken from him.

The decess  
taken from  
a head, ma-  
king up all in  
it.

The cruell de-  
ce of the  
ing against  
Sawtre.

Summons to  
princes.

As Henry, the  
first of English  
kings that com-  
menced the  
Christians  
with fire.



of Christ the first of all them in Wickliffes time, which I find to be burned in the reigne of the foresaid king, which was in the yere of our Lord, 1400.

After the martyrdom of this godly man, the rest of the same company began to keepe themselves more closely for feare of the king, who was altogether bent to hold with the popes prelacy. Such was the reigne of this prince, that to the godly he was ever terrible, in his actions immeasurable, of few men heartily beloved, but princes never lack flatterers about them. Neither was the time of his reigne very quiet, but full of trouble, of blood, and misery. Such was their desire of king Richard againe in the reigne of this king, that many yeres after he was rumored to be alive (of them which desired belike that to be true which they knew to be false) for the which others were executed. For the space of five or seven yeres together almost no yere passed without some conspiracy against the king. Long it were here to recite the blood of all such Nobles and other, which was spilt in the reigne of this king, as the Earle of Kent, Earle of Salisbury, Earle of Huntington, named John Holland, &c. as writeth the story of St. Albans. But the English writers differ something in their names, and make mention of foure Earles, of Surrey, of Worcester, of Salisbury, and lord Spencer Earle of Gloucester. Ex lib. cui tit. Calendarium Bruti.

And the next yere following Sir John Clarendon knight, with two of his servants, the Prior of Laund, with eight friers, were hanged and quartered. And after these Henry Percy the younger, the earle of Worcester, named Thomas Percy his uncle, Lord of Hinderton, and Lord Richard de Werno-  
ba. The Earle of Northumberland scarce escaped with his pardon, an. 1403. In the which yere the prison in Cornhill called the tun, was turned into the conduit there now standing.

To let passe other moe hanged and quartered the same time, as Blunt knight, & Benet hely knight, and Thomas Winterfell Esquire; Also the same yere was taken and executed Sir Bernard Brokes knight, Sir John Shilley knight, Sir John Handelin and William Frierby. After all these lord Henry Earle of Northumberland, and lord Bardolfe, conspiring the kings death, were taken in the North and beheaded, which was in the eight yere of this king Henry.

This civil rebellion of so many nobles, and other, against the king, declared what grudging hearts the people then bare toward this king Henry. Among whom I cannot pretermitt here also the archbishop of York named Richard Scrope, who with the lord Houbrey, Parshall of England, gathered a great company in the North countrey against the foresaid king, to whom also was adioyned the helpe of lord Bardolfe, and Henry Percy earle of Northumberland. Ex Chron. D. Albani. And to stirre up the people more willingly to take their parts, they collected certayne articles against y<sup>e</sup> said king, to the number of 10. and fastned them upon the doores of Churches and Monasteries, to be read of all men in Englysh. Which articles if any be disposed to understand, for so much as the same also containe a great part of the doings between H. Henry and H. Richard aforesaid, I thought, for the better opening of the matter hereunder to insert the same, in such forme as I found them in the story of Scala mundi expressed.

#### Articles set upon Church doores against King Henry the fourth.

In the name of God, Amen. Before the Lord Jesus Christ, iudge of the quicke and dead, &c. We A. B. C. D. &c. not long sithence became bound by oath upon the sacred Evangelicall booke, unto our Sovereigne Lord Richard, late king of England and France, in the presence of many prelates, potentates

and nobility of the realme; that we, so long as we lived, should beare true allegiance and fidelitie toward him and his heires succeeding him in the kingdome by iust title, right and line, according to the statutes and custome of this Realme of England; By vertue whereof we are bound to forswear that no vices, or hainous offences arising in the common weale, do take effect or wished end, and we ought to give our selves and our goods to withstand the same, without feare of the sword or death whatsoever, upon paine of perjury, which paine is everlasting damnation. Wherefore we seeing and perceiving divers horrible crimes, and great enomities daily without ceasing to be committed by the children of the devil and satans souldiers against the supremacy of the Church of Rome, the liberty of the Church of England, and the lawes of the realme, against the person of king Richard and his heires, against the prelates, noble men, religion, and commonalty, and finally against the whole weale publike of the Realme of England, to the great offence of the maiesty of almighty God, and to the provocation of his iust wrath and vengeance towards the realme and people of the same. And fearing also the destruction both of the church of Rome and England, and the ruine of our countrey to be at hand, having before our eyes the iustice and the kingdome of God, calling allwayes on the name of Jesus, having an assured confidence in his clemency, mercy and power; Have here taken unto us certayne articles, subscribed in forme following, to be proposed, tried, and heard before the iust iudge Jesus Christ, and y<sup>e</sup> whole world, to his honor, the delivery of the church, the clergy, & commonalty, and to the utility and profit of the weale publike. But if (which God forbid) by force, feare, or violence of wicked persons we shalbe cast in prison, or by violent death prevented, so as in this world we shall not be able to prove the said articles as we would wish, then do we appeale to the high celestiall Judge, that he may iudge and discern the same, in the day of his supreme iudgement.

1. First, we depose, say, except, and intend to prove against the Lord Henry Darby, sonne of the lord John of Gaunt late Duke of Lancaster, and commonly called king of England (himselfe pretending the same, although without all right and title thereunto) and against his adherents, fautors, and complices; that ever they have been, are, and will be traitors, invaders, and destroyers of Gods Church in Rome, England, Wales, and Ireland, and of our Sovereigne lord Richard late king of England, his heires, his kingdome, and common wealsh, as shall hereafter manifestly appeare.

2. Secondly, we depose, &c. against the said lord Henry, for that he had conceived, devised, and conspired certain hainous crimes and traitterous offences against his said Sovereigne lord Richard his state and dignitie, as manifestly did appeare in the contention betweene the said lord Henry, and the lord Thomas duke of Northfolke begun at Coventry, but not finished thoroughly. Afterwards he was sent into exile by sentence of the said king Richard, by the agreement of his father the lord John duke of Lancaster, by the voice of divers of the lords temporal, and nobility of the realm, and also by his own consent; there to remaine for a certayne time appointed unto him by the said lords, and withall hee was bound by oth not to returne into England before he had obtained favour and grace of the king. Not long after, when the king was departed unto Ireland for reformation of that countrey appertaining to the crowne of England, but as then rebelling against the same; the said lord Henry in the meane time contrary to his oth and fidelitie, and long before the time limited unto him was expired, with all his fautors and invaders secretly entered into the Realme, swearing and protesting before the face of the people, that his coming into the

{KING}  
{HEN. 4.}

A bill of articles set up against king Henry 4.

Such murder and beheading in the time of king Henry the fourth. \* It is to be doubted.

Ex Calendario Bruti.

{Anno}  
{1403}

Archbishop of York, and lord Houbrey against king Henry 4.

Lord Bardolfe, Henry Percy, earle of Northumberland against the king. Ex histor. Scala Mundi. Articles set upon Church doores against king Henry 4.

{Anno}  
{1401}



{KING  
{HEN. 4.}

the realme in the absence of the king was for none other cause, but that he might in humble sort with the love and favour of the king, and all the lords spirituall and temporall, have and enjoy his lawfull inheritance descending unto him of right after the death of his father: whiche thing as it pleased all men, so cried they, Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord. But how this blessing afterward turned into cursing, shall appeare in that which followeth: and also ye shall understand his horrible and wicked conspiracy against his Soberaigne Lord king Richard, and divers other Lords as well spirituall as temporall; besides that his manifest periury shall well be knowne, and that he remaineth not only forsworne and periured, but also excommunicate, for that he conspired against his Soberaigne lord our king. Wherefore we pronounce him by these presents aswell periured, as excommunicate.

King Henry  
periured.

3. Thirdly, we depose, &c. against the lord Henry, that he the said lord Henry, immediately after his entry into England, by crafty and subtil policie caused to be proclaimed openly throughout the Realme, that no tenths of the Clergie, sickness of the people, scaling up of cloth, diminution of wools, impost of wine, nor other extortions or exactions whatsoever, should hereafter be required or exacted; hoping by this means to purchase unto him the voice and favour of the prelates spirituall, the Lords temporall, the Merchants, and commonalty of the whole Realme. After this he took by force the kings castles and fortresses, spoiled and devoured his goods wheresoever he found it, crying, haboche, haboche. The kings maiesties subjects as well spirituall as temporall, he spoiled and robbed, some he took captive and imprisoned them, and some he slew and put to miserable death, whereof many were bishops, prelates, priests, and religious men. Whereby it is manifest, that the said lord Henry is not only periured, in promising and swearing that there should bee hereafter no more exactions, payments, or extortions within the Realme, but also excommunicate for the violence and injury done to prelates and priests. Wherefore by these presents we pronounce him, as aforesaid, as well periured, as excommunicate.

King Henry  
charged with  
murder.

4. Fourthly, we depose, &c. against the said lord Henry, that he, hearing of the kings returne from Ireland into Wales, rose up against his soberaigne Lord the king with many thousands of armed men, marching forward with all his power towards the castle of Flint in Wales, where he took the king and held him prisoner, and so led him captive as a traitor unto Leicester: from whence he took his journey towards London, misusing the king by the way, both he and his, with many injuries and opprobrious contumelies and scoffes. And in the end committed him to the tower of London, and held a parliament, the king being absent and in prison: wherein for feare of death he compelled the king to yield and resigne unto him all his right and title of the kingdom and crowne of England. After which resignation being made, the said lord Henry standing up in the Parliament house, stoutly and proudly before them all, said and affirmed, that the kingdom of England and crowne of the same, with all thereunto belonging, did pertain unto him at that present, as of very right, and to none other; for that the said king Richard by his own deed was deprived for ever of all the right, title, and interest that ever he had, hath, or may have in the same. And thus at length by right and wrong he exalted himselfe unto the throne of the kingdom: since which time, our common weale never flourished nor prospered, but altogether hath ben void of verine, for that the spirituality was so oppressed, exercise and warlike practices have not ben maintained, charity is wared cold, and covetousnesse and misery hath taken place, and finally mercy is taken away and vengeance supplieth the roome. Whereby it doth appeare (as be-

King Henry  
charged with  
treason against  
his soberaigne.

fore is said) that the said Lord Henry is not onely periured and false by usurping the kingdom and dominion belonging to another, but also excommunicate for the apprehending, unjust imprisoning, and depriving his Soberaigne Lord the king of his rovall crowne and dignity. Wherefore, as in the articles before, we pronounce the said lord Henry to be excommunicate.

5. Fifthly, we depose, &c. against the said lord Henry, that he the same lord Henry, with the rest of his labourers and complices, heaping mischief upon mischief, have committed and brought to passe a most wicked and mischievous fact, yea, such as hath not bene heard of at any time before. For after that they had taken and imprisoned the king, and deposed him by open injury against all humane nature; yet, not content with this, they brought him to Pomfret castle, and there imprisoned him, where fiftene dayes and nights they bereed him with continuall hunger, thirst, and cold, and finally bereft him of life with such a kind of death as never before that time was knowne in England, but by Gods providence it is come to light. Who ever heard of such a deed, or who ever saw the like of him? Wherefore, O England, arise, stand up, avenge the cause, the death and injury of thy king and prince: which if thou do not, take this for certain, that the righteous God will destroy thee by strange invasions and forraigne power, and avenge himselfe on thee for this so horrible an act. Whereby doth appeare not onely his periury, but also his excommunication most execrable; so that, as before, we pronounce the said Henry not onely periured, but also excommunicate.

King Henry  
charged with  
murdering of  
his prince.

6. Sixthly, we depose, &c. against the said lord Henry, that after he had attained to the crowne and scepter of the kingdom, he caused forthwith to be apprehended divers lords spirituall, Bishops, Abbats, Priors, and religious men of all orders, whom he arrested, imprisoned, and bound, and against all order brought them before the secular iudges to be examined; not sparing the bishops, whose bodies were annointed with sacred oyle, nor priests, nor religious men, but commanded them to be condemned, hanged, and beheaded by the temporall law and iudgement, notwithstanding the priviledge of the Church and holy orders, which he ought to have revered and worshipped, if he had been a true and lawfull king: for the first and chiefest oath in the coronation of a lawfull king is, to defend and keepe inviolate the liberties and rights of the Church, and not to deliver any priest or religious man into the hands of the secular power, except for heretic onely, and that after his degradation, according to the order of the Church. Contrary unto all this hath he done; so that it is manifest by this article as aforesaid in the rest, that he is both periured, and excommunicate.

King Henry  
charged with  
the orders of  
the Church.

7. Seventhly, we depose, &c. against the said lord Henry, that not onely he caused to be put to death the lords spirituall and other religious men, but also divers of the lords temporall and nobility of the Realme, and chiefly those that studied for the preservation of the common weale, not ceasing as yet to continue his mischievous enterprise, if by Gods providence it be not prevented, and that with speed: Amongst all other of the nobility, these first he put to death; the earle of Salisburie, the earle of Huntington, the earle of Gloucester, the lord Roger Clarendon the kings brother, with divers other knights and esquires; and afterwards, the lord Thomas Percie, earle of Worcester, and the lord Henry Percie sonne and heire to the earle of Northumberland; the which lord Henry be not only slew, but to the uttermost of his power againe and againe he caused him to be slain. For after that he was once put to death, and delivered to the Lord of Furnivale to bee buried (who committed his

King Henry  
charged with  
treachery.



body to holy sepulture, with as much honor as might be, commending his soule to almighty God with the suffrages of blessed masse and other prayers) the said lord Henry, most like a cruell beast still thirsting his blood, caused his body to be exhumate and brought forth againe, and to be reposed between two millstones in the towne of Shrotonbury, there to be kept with armed men; And afterwards to be beheaded and quartered, commanding his head and quarters to be carried into divers cities of the kingdome. Wherefore, for so detestable a fact never heard of in any age before, we pronounce him, as in the former articles, excommunicate.

8. Eighthly, we depose, &c. against the said lord Henry, for that after his attaining to the crowne he willingly ratified, allowed, and approved a most wicked statute set forth and renewed in the parliament holden at Winchester. The which statute is directly against the church of Rome, and the power, and principally thereof given by our Lord Jesus Christ unto blessed S. Peter and his successors bishops of Rome; unto whom belongeth by full authority the free disposing of all spirituall promotions as well superiour as inferior: which wicked statute is the cause of many mischiefs, vid. of simony, perjury, adultery, incest, misgover, & disobedience; for that many bishops, abbats, priors and prelates (we will not say by vertue, but rather by error of this statute) have bestowed the benefices vacant upon young men, rude and unworthy persons, which have compacted with them for the same, so that scarce one prelate is found that hath not covenanted with the party promoted for the halfe pecuniary, or, at the least, the third part of the said benefice so bestowed. And by this means the said statute is the destruction of the right of S. Peter, the Church of Rome and England, the clergie and Universities, the whole commonweale, and maintenance of wars, &c.

9. Ninthly, we say and depose, &c. against the said Lord Henry, that after he had tyrannously taken upon him the government of the Realme, England never flourished since, nor prospered, by reason of his continuall exactions of money, and oppressions partly of the clergy and commonalty: neither is it knowen how this money so extorted is bestowed, when as neither his soldiers, nor his Gentlemen are payed as yet their wages and fees for their charges, and wonderfull toyle and labor, neither yet the poore country people are satisfied for the victuall taken of them: And nevertheless the miserable clergy, and more miserable commonalty, are forced still to pay by menaces and sharpe threatnings. Notwithstanding he saore, when he first usurped the crowne, that hereafter there should be no such exactions nor vexations, neither of the clergie nor laitie. Wherefore, as afore, we pronounce him perjured, &c.

10. In the tenth and last article we depose, say, and openly protest by these presents, for our selves, and all our assistants in the cause of the church of Rome and England, and in the cause of king Richard, his heires, the clergy and commonalty of the whole realme; that neither our intention is, was, nor shall be, in word or deed to offend any state either of the prelates spirituall, Lords temporall, or commons of the realme; but rather, foreseeing the perdition and destruction of this realme to approach, we have here brought before you certain articles concerning the destruction of the same, to be circumspetly considered of the whole assembly, as well of the lords spirituall as temporall, and the faithfull commons of England: beseeching you all in the bowels of Jesus Christ the righteous iudge, and for the merits of our blessed Lady the mother of God, and of Saint George our defender, under whose displayed banner we wish to live and die, and under paine of damnation, that ye will be favourable to us, and to our causes which are three in number. Whereof the first is, that we exalt unto the kingdome the true and law-

full heire, and him to crowne in kingly throne with the diademe of England. And secondly, that we revoke the Murthermen, the Treismen, and all other our enemies unto perpetuall peace and amity. Thirdly, and finally, that we deliver and make free our native country from all exactions, extortions, and unjust payments: Beseeching our Lord Jesus Christ to grant his blessing, the remission of their sins, and life everlasting to all that assist us to their power in this godly and meritorious work; and unto all those that are against us we threaten the curse of almighty God, by the authority committed unto us by Christ and his holy Church, and by these presents we pronounce them excommunicate.

These articles being seen and read, much concourse of people daily resorted more and more to the archbishop. The earle of Westmerland (being then not farre off, with John the kings son) hearing of this, mustred his soldiers with all the power he was able to make, and bent toward the archbishop: but seeing his part to weake to encounter with him, he useth practice of policie, where strength would not serbe.

And first comming to him under colour of friendship dissembled, he laboureth to take out the causes of that great stire. To whom the archbishop againe answering no hurt to be intended thereby, but profit rather to the king and commonweale, and maintenance of publike peace: but forsomuch as he stood in great feare and danger of the king, he was therefore compelled so to do. And withall he shewed unto him the contents of the articles aforesaid; which when the earle had read, setting a faire face upon it, he seemed highly to commend the purpose and doings of the bishop: promising moreover, that he would helpe also forward in that quartell to the uttermost of his power. And he required upon the same a day to be set, when they with equal number of men might meet together, in some place appointed, to have further talk of the matter. The archbishop easily perswaded was content, although much against the comfell of the earle Marshall, and came.

Where the articles being openly published and read, the earle of Westmerland with his company pretended well to like the same, and to ioyne their assents together. Which done, he exhorted the archbishop, that forsomuch as his garrison had been now long in armour and from home, he would therefore discharge the needlesse multitude of his soldiers, and dismitte them home to their work and business, and they would together drink and ioyne hands in the sight of the whole company. Thus they shaking hands together, the archbishop sendeth away his soldiers in peace, not knowing himself to be circumvented, before he was immediately arrested by the hands of the aforesaid earle of Westmerland; and shortly after the king comming with his power to Poike, he was there beheaded the Sunday in Whitsun week, and with him also lord Thomas Mowbray Marshall, with divers other moresober of the city of Poike, which had taken their parts. After whose slaughter the king proceedeth farther to persecute the earle of Northumberland, and lord Thomas Warden; Who then did flee to Warwicke.

From thence they removed to Wales. At length within two yeeres after, fighting against the kings part, they were slaine in the field, an. 1408. In the which yeere divers other also in the North parts, for favoring the foresaid lords, were likewise condemned by the king, and put to death. Among whom the abbat of Wales for the like treason was hanged.

The king after the shedding of so much blood, seeing himself so hardly beleeted of his subjects, thought to keepe in yet with the clergie, and with the bishop of Rome, seeking alwayes his chiefest stay at their hands. And therefore he was compelled in all things to serbe their humors, as did appeare aswell in condemning William Sautre before, as also in other which consequently we have now to intreat of. In the

{ KING }  
{ HEN. 4. }

Earle of Westmerland against the archbishop.

Fallhood in fellowship.

The archbishop of Poike craftily circumvented.

The archbishop of Poike, Lord Thomas Mowbray, with many Poike men executed.

The Earle of Northumberland, lord Thomas Warden slaine.

Anno 1408.

Abbat of Wales hanged.

The king charged with evil government.

King Henry charged with oppression and perjury.

Three causes declared.



KING  
HEN. 4.Anno.  
1409.

the number of whom cometh now by the course of time to witte of one John Badby a Tailor and a lay man; who by the cruelty of Thomas Arundel archbishop, and other Prelates, was brought to his condemnation in this kings raigne. an. 1409. according as by their owne registers appeareth, and followeth by this narration to be scene.

## John Badby Artificer.

In the yere of our Lord, 1409. on Sunday being the first day of March, in the afternoon, The examination following of one John Badby Tailor, being a lay man, was made in a certaine house or hall within the precinct of the preaching friers of London, in an utter cloister, upon the crime of heresie, and other articles repugnant to the determination of the erroneous Church of Rome, before Thomas Arundell archbishop of Canterbury and other his assistants, as the archbishop of York, of London, of Winchester, of Oxford, of Norwich, of Salisbury, of Bath, of Bangor, Et Menevensis Episcopi, and also Edmund duke of York, Thomas Bewford the Chancelor of England, lord de Roos the clerke of the Roles, and a great number of other lords both spiritual and temporal, being then at the selfe same time present; master Morgan read the articles of his opinions to the hearers, according as it is contained in the instrument read by the foresaid master Morgan, the tenor whereof followeth, and in effect is such.

In the name of God, Amen. Be it manifest to all men by this present publicke instrument, that in the yere after the incarnation of our Lord, according to the course and computation of the Church of England, otherwise in the yere 1409. in the second indiction, in the third yere of the pope dome of the most holy father in Christ and Lord, lord Gregory the xi. by the divine permission pope, the second day of January, in the chappell Carvaria, of Saint Thomas martyr, nigh unto the Cathedrall Church of Worcester, being situate in the said diocesse, in the presence of me the publicke notarie, and of the witnesses under writen, the foresaid John Badby a lay man, of the said diocesse of Worcester, appearing personally before the reverend father in Christ and Lord, lord Thomas, by the grace of God bishop of Worcester, sitting in the said chappell for chiefe iudge, was deteced of and upon the crime of heresie being heretically taught, and openly maintained by the foresaid John Badby: That is, that the sacrament of the body of Christ, consecrated by the priest upon the altar, is not the true bodie of Christ by the vertue of the words of the Sacrament. But that, after the sacramentall words spoken by the priests to make the body of Christ, the materiall bread doth remaine upon the altar as in the beginning, neither is it turned into the very body of Christ after the sacramentall words spoken of the priests. Which John Badby being examined, and diligently demanded by the foresaid reverend father concerning the premises, in the end did answer; that it was impossible that any priest should make the bodie of Christ, and that he believed firmly that no priest could make the bodie of Christ by such words sacramentally spoken in such sort. And also hee said expressly that hee would never while he lived believe that any priest could make the body of Christ sacramentally, unless that first he saw manifestly the like body of Christ to be handled in the hands of the priest upon the altar, in his corporall forme. And furthermore he said that John Baker of Bristoll had as much power and authority to make the like body of Christ, as any priest had. Whereupon he said, that when Christ sat at supper with his disciples, hee had not his body in his hand, to the intent to distribute it to his disciples; & he said expressly, that he did not this thing. And also he spake many other words teaching and fortifying

the heresie in the same place, both greivous, and also out of order, and horrible to the eares of the hearers, sounding against the Catholike faith.

Upon which occasion the same reverend father admonished and requested the said John Badby of sentences, and very instantly to charitie; forasmuch as he would willingly that he should have forsaken such heresie and opinion holden, taught and maintained by him, in such sort against the sacrament, to renounce, and utterly abiure them, and to believe other things which the holy mother the Church doth believe. And he informed the said John on that behalf both gently, and yet laudably. Yet the said John Badby, although he were admonished and requested both often and instantly by the said reverend father, said and answered expressly, that hee would never believe otherwise than before hee had said, taught, and answered. Whereupon, the foresaid reverend father bishop of Worcester seeing understanding, and perceiving the foresaid John Badby to maintaine and fortifie the same heresie, being stubborn and proceeding in the same stubbornnesse, pronounced the said John to be before this time convicted of such an heresie, and that hee hath beene and is an heretike, and in the end declared it in these words.

In the name of God, Amen. We Thomas bishop of Worcester doe accuse thee John Badby, being a lay man of our diocesse, of and upon the crime of heresie, before us sitting for chiefe judge, being oftentimes confessed and convicted of and upon that, that thou hast taught, and openly affirmed, as hitherto thou dost teach, boldly affirme, and defend; that the sacrament of the body of Christ, consecrated upon the altar by the priest, is not the true bodie of Christ; But after the sacramentall words, to make the body of Christ, by vertue of the said sacramentall words pronounced, to have beene in in the crime of heresie; and we do pronounce thee both to have beene and to be an heretike, and do declare it finally by these writings.

These things were done accordingly as is above writen, and are recited in the yere, indiction, pope dome, moneth, day, and place aforesaid, being present the same time John Badale prior of the Cathedrall Church of Worcester, John Dade monke, and Paul the subprior of the said Church, Thomas Penings of the order of the Carmelites, Thomas Fekenhams of the order of the preaching friers, William Pomfret of the order of the Minors, being professors and masters in Divinitie, William Hailes, Qualter of London, John Strippedew being publicke Notaries, and William Bouchampe and Thomas Verbis being knights, Richard Wils of Tredington, Thomas Wille of Hemburie, John Weston of Pewley, being parsons of Churches, and Thomas Baleinges, the master of saint Wolston in Worcester, and also Henry Haggely, John Pencerell, Thomas Trogmorton and William Massebozne esquires of the diocesse of Worcester and Norwich, and many other worshipfull and honest men being witnesses and called specially to the things aforesaid.

And I John Chese Clerk of the diocesse of Bath and Welles, and by the authority apostolical, publicke Notarie of the said bishop, have in testimonie of the premises put my hand and scale to the examination, interrogation, monition, and answer of the same John Badby, and to his obstinacie, and also to the proceedings of all and singular other doings as is aforesaid, which against him before the said bishop were handled and done, in the yere, indiction, pope dome, moneth, day, and place aforesaid, which with the forenamed witnesses was personally present: and the same, even as I heard them and saw them to be done (being occupied with other matters) I caused to be writen and published, and into this publicke forme have compiled the same. I the foresaid Notarie am also privie unto the words

I can not blame  
ye that ye are  
angry, for  
was not for  
your profit.

The sentence of  
the bishop of  
Worcester against  
John Badby.

A table of  
monkes and  
friars about  
the condemnation  
of John  
Badby.

Quare fremu-  
erunt gentes?  
Psal. 2.

Scriptes with  
Pharisees.

John Badby  
tailor.  
Ex Regist.  
Tho. Arundel

The articles  
read.

The sacrament  
of Christs body



words and examinations interlined between seven or eight lines of the beginning of this instrument, which lines I also the foresaid notarie doe approve and make good.

And I Walter London Clerke, of the diocesse of Worcester, and by the authoritie apostolicall, publike notarie, to all and singular the foresaid things as afore by the foresaid notarie is recited, and in the peere, indiction, pope dome, moneth, day and place aforesaid handled and done, being with other the forerelated witnesses personally present, and to all and every of the same (as I saw and heard them to be done, being therunto faithfully desired and required: ) In testimonie of the premises have signed and subscribed according to the accustomed maner. Hæc ex Reg. Cant.

And when the articles, in the foresaid instrument contained, were by the archbishop of Canterbury publicly and vulgarly read and approved; he publickly confessed and affirmed, that he had both said and maintained the same. And then the archbishop to convince the constant purpose of the said Iohn Badby, commanded the same articles againe to be read; often instructing him both by words and examples, informing and exhorting him that thereby he might be brought the sooner to the religion that he was of. And furthermore the said archbishop said and affirmed there openly to the same Iohn, that he would (if he would live according to the doctrine of Christ) gage his soule for him at the iudgement day. And after that againe he caused those articles in the said instrument expressed to be read by the foresaid Philip Morgan, and the said archbishop himselfe expounded the same in English as before: whereunto Iohn Badby answered: As touching the first article concerning the body of Christ, he expressly said, that after the consecration at the altar, there remaineth materiall bread, and the same bread which was before: notwithstanding (said he) it is a signe of sacrament of the living God.

Also, when the second article was expounded unto him, that it is impossible for any priest, &c. To this article he answered and said, that it could not sinke into his mind that the words are to be taken as they literally lie, unlesse he should denie the incarnation of Christ.

Also being examined of the third article concerning Jacke Kaker, hee said, that if Jacke Kaker were a man of good living, and did love and feare God, he hath as much power so to doe, as hath the priest: and said further, that he hath heard it spoken of some doctors of divinitie, that if he should receive any such consecrated bread, he were worthy to be damned, and were damned in so doing.

Furthermore hee said that he would believe the omnipotent God in trinitie; and said moreover, that if every host being consecrated at the altar were the Lords body, that then there be 20000. gods in England. But he believed (he said) in one God omnipotent, which thing the foresaid archbishop of Canterbury denied not.

And when the other conclusion was expounded, That Christ sitting with his Disciples at supper, &c. To this he answered and said, that he would greatly marvell, that if any man had a loafe of bread, and should break the same & give to every man a mouth full, that the same loafe should afterwards be whole.

When all these things were thus finished, and all the said conclusions were often read in the vulgar tongue; the foresaid archb. demanded of him, whether hee would renounce and forsake his opinions and such like conclusions or not, and adhere to the doctrine of Christ and Catholike faith: He answered, that, according to that he had said before, he would adhere and stand to those words, which before he had made answer unto. Then the archbishop oftentimes required the said Iohn, in the bowels of Iesus Christ that hee would forsake those opinions and conclusi-

ons, and that henceforth he would cleave to the Christian faith; which thing to doe in the audience of all the lords and others that were present, he expressly denied and refused.

After all this, when the foresaid Archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishop of London had consulted together, to what safe keeping the said Iohn Badby (untill the wednesday next) might be committed; it was concluded, that hee should be put into a certaine chamber or safe house within the mansion of the friers preachers, and so he was: and then the archbishop of Canterbury said, that he himselfe would keepe the key thereof in the meane time. And when the foresaid Wednesday was expired, being the 15. day of March, and that the foresaid archbishop of Canterbury, with his fellow brethren and suffragans, were assembled in the Church of saint Paul in London; the archbishop of Canterbury taking the Episcopall seat called unto him the Archbishop of Dorke, Richard London, Henry Winchester, Robert Chichester, Alexander Boxwich, and the noble prince Edward the duke of Dorke, Rafe earle of Westmerland, Thomas Beaumont knight, Lord Chancellor of England, and the lord Beaumont with other noble men as well spirituall, as temporall, that stood, and sate by, whom to name it would be long. Before whom the said Iohn Badby was called personally to answer unto the articles premised in the foresaid instrument. Who when hee came personally before them, the articles were read by the official of the court of Cant. and by the archbishop (in the vulgar tongue) expounded publickly and expressly: and the same articles, as he had before spoken and deposed, he still held and defended, and said, that whilst he lived, he would never retract the same. And furthermore, he said specially to be noted, that the lord Duke of Dorke personally there present, as is aforesaid, and every man else for the time being, is of more estimation and reputation,

than the Sacrament of the altar, by the priest in due forme consecrated. And whilst they were thus in his examination, the Archbishop considering and weighing that hee would in no wise be altered, and seeing moreover his countenance stout and heart confirmed, so that he began to perswade other as it appeared in the same: these things considered, the archprelat, when he saw that by his allurements it was not in his power, either by exhortations, reasons, or arguments, to bring the said Iohn Badby from his constant truth to his Catholike faith (executing and doing the office of his great master) proceeded to confirme and ratifie the former sentence given before by the bishop of Worcester against the said Iohn Badby, pronouncing him for an open and publicke heretike. And thus shifing their hands of him, they delivered him to the secular power; and desired the said temporall lords, then and there present very instantly, that they would not put the same Iohn Badby to death for that his offence, nor deliver him to be punished or put to death, in the presence of all the lords above recited.

These things thus done and concluded by the Bishops in the forenoon: in the afternoon, the kings writ was not farre behind. By the force whereof Iohn Badby, still persevering in his constancie unto the death, was brought into Smithfield, and there being put in an empty barrell, was bound with iron chaines fastened to a stake having drie wood put about him.

And as he was thus standing in the pipe or tun (for as yet Perillous Wall was not in use among the bishops) it happened that the prince, the kings eldest sonne, was there present. Who, seeing some part of the good Samaritane, began to endeavour and assay how to save the life of him, whom the hypocritical Levites and Pharisees sought to put to death. Hee admonished and commended him, that having respect unto himselfe hee should speedily with,

{ KING }  
{ HEN. 4 }

The bishops make sure work. The archbishop both judge and layman.

Astiterunt reges terræ & principes convenerunt in unum adversus, &c. Pal. 2.

Note here murthering wolfe, in sheeps clothing.

The answer of Iohn Badby to the articles.

The substance of bread not changed in the Sacrament.

The constancy of Iohn Badby before the archbishop.



KING  
HEN. 4.

The prince la-  
journey to turn  
Badby.

The sacrament  
brought co  
Smithfield at  
the burning of  
Badby.

withdrew himselfe out of these dangerous Laby-  
riths of opinions, adding oftentimes threatnings,  
the which might have daunted any man's stomacke.  
Also Courtney, at that time Chancellour of Oxford,  
preached unto him, and enformed him of the faith of  
holy Church.

In this mean season the Prior of Saint Bartle-  
mewes in Smithfield brought with all solemnitie the  
Sacrament of Gods body, with twelue torches  
borne before, and so shewed the Sacrament to the  
poore man being at the stake. And then they deman-  
ding of him how he believed in it, he answered; that  
he knew well it was hallowed bread, and not Gods  
body. And then was the tunne put over him, and fire  
put unto him. And when hee felt the fire, he cryed,  
Mercy (calling belike upon the Lord) and so the  
Prince immediately commanded to take away the  
tunne, and quench the fire. The Prince, his com-  
maundement being done, asked him if he would for-  
saake heresie to take him to the faith of holy Church;  
which thing if he would doe, hee should have goods  
enough, promising also unto him a petyer stipend

out of the kings treasury, so much as should suffice  
his contentation.

But this valiant champion of Christ, neglecting  
the Princes faire words, as also contemning all  
mens device, refused the offer of worldly promises,  
being no doubt more vehemently inflamed with the  
spirit of God than with any earthly desire. Where-  
fore, when as yet hee continued unmovable in his  
former mind, the prince commanded him straight to  
bee put againe into the pipe or tunne, and that he  
should not afterwarde looke for any grace or favour.  
But as he could be allured by no rewards, even so  
was hee nothing at all abashed at their torments,  
but, as a valiant Champion of Christ, hee perse-  
vered intincible to the end. Not without a great  
and most cruell battell, but with much more great  
triumph of victorie; the spirit of Christ having  
alwayes the upper hand in his members, maugre  
the furie, rage, and powder of the whole world. For  
the manifestation of which torment, we have here set  
forth the picture of his burning, in such manner as  
it was done.

Iohn Badby  
constant to the  
end.

## The description of the horrible burning of Iohn Badby, and How hee was used at his death.



All the power  
of man set a-  
gainst the Gos-  
pell.

This goodly Martyr Iohn Badby having thus  
confuturate his Testimony and Martyrdom in  
fire, the persecuting Bishops yet not herewith con-  
tented, and thinking themselves as yet either not  
strong enough, or else not sharpe enough against  
the poore innocent flock of Christ, to make all things  
sure and substantiall on their side, in such sort, as  
this Doctrine of the Gospell now springing should  
bee suppressed for ever, laid their conspiring heads  
together; and having now a king for their owne  
purpose, ready to serve their turne in all points (dur-  
ing the time of the same parliament above recited  
yet continuing) the foresaid bishops and clegie of  
the realme exhibited a bill unto the kings maiestie;  
subtily declaring, what quietnesse hath been main-  
tained within this realme by his most noble proge-  
nitors, who alwayes defended the ancient rites and  
customs of the Church, and enriched the same with  
large gifts, to the honor of God and the realm; and  
contrariwise, what trouble and disquietnesse was  
now risen by others, as they termed them, wicked  
and perverse men, teaching and preaching openly  
and privily a certaine new, wicked, and hereticall  
kinde of doctrine, contrary to the Catholike faith  
and determination of holy Church. Whereupon the  
king, alwayes oppressed with blind ignorance, by  
the crafty means and subtle pretences of the cler-  
gie granted in the said parliament (by consent of the  
nobilitie assembled) a statute to bee observed called  
Ex officio, as followeth;

The Gospell of  
Christ counted  
as wicked and  
hereticall.

The



## The Statute Ex Officio.

That is to say, that no man within this Realme, or other the Kings Majesties Dominions, presume to take upon him to preach privily or apertly, without speciall licence first obtained of the Ordinarie of the same place (Curates in their owne Parish Churches, and persons heretofore priviledged, and others admitted by the Canon law, onely excepted.) Nor that any hereafter do preach, maintaine, teach, informe openly or in secret, or make or write any booke contrary to the Catholike faith, and determination of the holy Church. Nor that any hereafter make any conventicles or assemblies, or keepe and exercise any manner of schooles touching this sect, wicked doctrine and opinion. And further, that no man hereafter shall by any meanes favour any such preacher, any such maker or writer, and finally any such teacher, informer, or stirrer up of the people. And that all and singular persons having any the said bookes, writings, schedules containing the said wicked doctrines and opinions, shall within forty dayes after this present proclamation and statute, really and effectually deliver, or cause to be delivered all and singular the said bookes and writings unto the Ordinarie of the same place. And if it shall happen any person or persons, of what kinde, state, or condition soever hee or they be, to doe or attempt any manner of thing contrary to this present proclamation and statute, or not to deliver the same bookes in forme aforesaid; That then the Ordinarie of the same place in his owne diocese, by authority of the said Proclamation and statute shall cause to be arrested and detamed under safe custodie the said person or persons in this case defamed and evidently suspected; or any of them, untill hee or they so offending have by order of law purged him or themselves as touching the articles laid to his or their charge in this behalfe; or untill hee or they have denyed and recanted (according to the lawes ecclesiasticall) the said wicked sect, preachings, teachings, and hereticall and erroneous opinions. And that the said Ordinarie by himselfe or his Commissaries proceed openly and judicially to all the effect of law against the said persons so arrested and remaining under safe custodie, and that he end and determine the matter within three moneths after the said arrest (all delays and excuses set apart) according to the order and custome of the Canon law. And if any person, in any cause above mentioned, shall be lawfully convicted before the Ordinarie of the diocese or his Commissaries; that then the said Ordinarie may lawfully cause the said person so convicted (according to the manner and qualitie of his fact) to be laid in any of his owne prisons, and there to be kept so long as to his discretion shall be thought expedient.

And further, the said Ordinarie (except in cases by the which according to the Canon law the party offending ought to be delivered unto the secular power) shall charge the said person with such a fine of money to be paid unto the Kings Majestie, as hee shall thinke competent for the manner and qualitie of his offence. And the said diocesan shall be bound to give notice of the said fine, into the Kings Majesties Exchequer, by his letters patent under his seale; to the intent that the said fine may be levied to the Kings Majesties use of the goods of the person so convict.

And further, if any person within this realme and other the Kings Majesties Dominions shall hee convicted before the Ordinarie of the place, or his Commissaries, of the said wicked preachings, doctrines, opinions, schooles, and hereticall and erroneous informations or any of them; and will refuse to abiure and recant the said wicked sect, preachings, teachings, opinions, schooles and informations; or if, after his abjuration once made, the relapse be pronounced

against him by the Diocefan of the place, or his Commissaries (for so by the Canon law hee ought to be left to the secular power, upon credit given to the Ordinarie or his Commissaries) that then the Sheriffe of the same County, the Maior, Sheriffes, or Sheriffe, or the Maior, or Bailiffes of the same City, Village, or Borough of the same County, and neereest inhabiting to the said Ordinarie, or his said Commissaries, shall personally be present, as oft as they shall be required, to conferre with the said Ordinarie or his Commissaries in giving sentence against the said persons offending or any of them: And, after the said sentence so pronounced, shall take unto them the said persons so offending, and any of them, and cause them openly to be burned in the sight of all the people; to the intent that this kinde of punishment may be a terror unto others, that the like wicked doctrines and hereticall opinions, or the authours and favourers thereof be no more maintained within this Realme and Dominions, to the great hurt (which God forbid) of Christian Religion, and decrees of holy Church. In all which and singular the premisses, concerning the statute aforesaid, let the Sheriffes, Maiors, and Bailiffes of the said Counties, Cities, Villages and Boroughs be attendant, aiding and favouring the said Ordinaries and their Commissaries.

By this bloody statute so severely and sharply enacted against these simple men here hast thou (gentle Reader) a little to stay with thy self, and to consider the nature and condition of this present world, how it hath beene set and bent ever from the beginning, by all might, counsell, and wayes possible to strive against the wayes of God, and to overthrow that which he will have set up. And although the world may see by infinite stories and examples, that it is but in vaine to strive against him; yet such is the nature of this world (all set in malignitie) that it will not cease still to be like it selfe.

The like law and statute in the time of Dioclesian and Maximinus was attempted, as before appeareth, and for the more strength was written also in tables of brasse, to the intent that the name of Christ should utterly be extinguished for ever. And yet the name of Christ remaineth where that brasse law remained not three yeres. The which law written then in brasse, although it differ in manner and form from this our statute Ex Officio, yet to the same end and crueltie, to spill the blood of Saints, there is no difference betwene the one and the other. Neither is there any diversitie touching the first originall doer, and worker of them both. For the same Satan which then wrought his uttermost against Christ, before he was bound up; the same also, now after his losing out, doth what he can, though not after the same way, yet to the same intent. For then with outward violence, as an open enemy, he did what he could: Now by a more covert way, under the title of the church, he impugneth the church of Christ, using a more subtle way to deceive, under gay pretended titles; but no lesse pernicious in the end whereto he sheweth, as well appeareth by this bloody statute Ex Officio, the sequell whereof cost afterward many a christians mans life. As in processe of tyme remaineth more hereafter (Christ willing) to be declared.

Furthermore, for the more fortification of this statute of the king aforesaid, concurrerth also another constitution made much about the same time by the archbishop of Canterbury Thomas Arundell. So that no industry nor policie of man here did lacke to set the matter forward, but specially on the bishops parts, who left no meanes unattempted, how to subvert the right wayes of the Lord.

First, in most diligent and exquisite execution of the kings statute set forth; the execution whereof they did so exactly apply, that marvell it is to consider, all other lawes of kings (continually, bee they never

KING  
HEN. 2.A bloodie  
statute.A bloodie statute  
of King Henry  
the fourth.The lawe of  
Maximinus  
and the Statute  
Ex officio  
compared.



KING  
HEN. 4.

neber so good) to bee so colobly kept, and this onely among all the rest so narly followed. But herein is to bee seene the diligence of the Romish prelates, which neber let any thing fall, that maketh for the dignitie of their estate.

Seccondly, beside their vigilant care in seeing the kings statute to be executed, no lesse industrious also were they in adding therunto mee constitutions of their owne, as from time to time appeareth as well by other archbishops hereafter, and by pope Martin, as also by this constitution here present made by Thomas Arundell the archbishop.

But before we enter to the relation of these aforesaid constitutions of the clergy men, here cometh in moze to bee said and noted touching the foresaid statute Ex officio, to prove the same not only to bee cruell and impious, but also to bee of it selfe of no force and valdittie for the burning of any person for cause of religion: for the bypsoofe of which statute we have sufficient authoritie remaining as yet in the parliament rolles to be seene in her Majesties court of records; which here were to be debated at large, but that upon spectall occasion we have deferred the ample discourse thereof to the cruell persecution of the lord Cobham hereafter ensuing, as may appeare in the defence of the lord Cobham against Nicolas Harpessfield, under the title and name of Alanus Copus. And thus referring them for the examination of this statute to the place aforesaid, let us now returne to Thomas Arundell, and his bloodie constitutions above mentioned. The stile and tenor thereof, to the intent the rigor of the same may appeare to all men, I thought here under to adoprne, in words as followeth.

### The constitution of Thomas Arundell against the followers of Gods truth.

Thomas by the permission of God, archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and legat of the Sea apostolike; To all and singular our reverend brethren fellow bishops, and our suffragans; And to abbats, priors, deanes of cathedrall churches, archdeacons, probosts and canons; also to all parsons, vicars, chaplaines, and clerkes in parish churches, and to all lay men, whom and wheresoever dwelling within our province of Canterbury, greeting, and grace to stand firmly in the doctrine of the holy mother church. It is a manifest and plain case, that he doth wrong and injury to the most reverend counsell, who so reboultereth from the things being in the said counsell once discussed and decided. And who soever dare presume to dispute of the sayme or principall judgement here in earth, in so doing incurreth the paine of sacriledge, according to the authority of civill wilddome and manifest tradition of humane law. Much moze than they, who trusting to their owne wits are so bold to violate and with contrary doctrine to resist, and in word and deed to contemne the precepts of lawes and canons, rightly made and proceeding from the keybearer and porter of eternall life and death, beaunting the roome and person not of pure man, but of true God here in earth; which also have bene observed hitherto of the holy fathers our predecessours unto the glorious effusion of their blood, and voluntarie sprinkling out of their byzaines, are worthy of greater punishment, deserving quickly to be cut off, as rotten members from the body of the church militant. For such ought to consider what is in the old Testament written; Moses and Aaron among his priests, that is, were chief heads amongst them. And in the new Testament among the apostles there was a certaine difference. And though they were all apostles, yet was it granted of the Lord to Peter, that he should beare preeminence above the other apostles; And also the apostles themselves would the same, that he should be

the chieftaine over all the rest. And being called Cephas, that is, head, should bee a prince over the apostles. Unto whom it was said; Thou being once converted confirme thy brethren: as though hee would say, If there happen any doubt among them, or if any of them chance to erre and stray out of the way of faith, of iust living, or right conversation, doe thou confirme and reduce him in the right way againe. Which thing no doubt the Lord would never have said unto him, if he had not so minded, that the rest should be obedient unto him. And yet all this notwithstanding, we know and daily prove that we are loze to speake, how the old Sophister, the enemy of mankind (forsewng and fearing lest the sound doctrine of the Church, determined from ancient times by the holy forefathers should withstand his malice, if it might keepe the people of God in unitie of faith under one head of the Church) both therefore indeavour by all meanes possible to extirpe the said doctrine, faining vices to be vertues. And so under false pretences of vertitie dissimuled, hee soweth discord in catholike people, to the intent that some going one way, some another, hee in the meane time may gather to himselfe a Church of the malignant, differing wickedly from the universall mother holy Church. In the which Satan, transforming himself into an Angell of light, bearing a lying and deceitfull ballance in his hand, pretendeth great righteousness, in contrarying the ancient doctrine of the holy mother church, and refusing the traditions of the same determined and appointed by holy fathers; perswading men (by fained forgeries) the same to be naught, and so inducing other new kindes of doctrine, leading to moze godnesse, as he by his lying perswasions pretendeth, although hee in very truth neither willett nor mindeth any goodnes, but rather that he may sow schismes, whereby divers opinions and contrary to themselves being raised in the church, faith thereby may be diminished, and also the reverend holy mysteries through the same contention of words may be prophaned with Paganes, Jewes, and other infidels, and wicked miscreants. And so that figure in the Apoc. 6. is well verified, speaking of him that sate on the blacke horse, bearing a paire of ballance in his hand, by the which he retikes are understood. Who at the first appearance, like to weights or ballance, make as though they would set forth right and iust things, to allure the hearts of the hearers. But afterward appeareth the blacke horse, that is to say, their intention, full of cursed speaking. For they under a divers sheld and colour of a iust ballance, with the taile of a blacke horse sprinkling abroad, herelles and errors; doe strike. And being poisoned themselves under colour of good, raise up infinite slanders, and by certaine persons fit to doe mischief doe publish abroad as it were the sugred taste of hony mixt with poison, thereby the sower to be taken: working and causing through their slight and subtilties, that error should be taken for vertitie, wickednesse for holinesse and for the true will of Christ: And mozeover the foresaid persons thus picked out doe preach before they be sent, and presume to sow the seed, before the seed discretly be separate from the chaffe. Who not pondering the constitutions and decrees of the canons, provided for the same purpose against such pestilent sowers, do prefer sacrifice diabolically (so to terme it) before obedience to be given to the holy church militant.

And therefore considering, and waighing, that error which is not resisted seemeth to be allowed, and that he openeth his bosome too wide, which resisteth not the viper thinking there to thrust out her venom; And willing mozeover to shake off the dust from our feet, and to see to the honoz of our holy mother church, whereby one uniforme holy doctrine may be sown and planted in the church of God (namely in this our province of Canterbury) so much

Back this you  
Gammarians.  
Back well the  
poves stumity.  
A argument  
tar let the true  
doctrine consti-  
tuted in making  
our head of the  
church.

How aply hee  
painteth the  
proceedings of  
his own popish  
church.

Apoc.

The figure of  
the black horse  
in the Apoc  
doctory etc.  
pounded.

Behold the  
true image of  
the Apoc  
doctory  
theepest clo-  
thing.

I cruell consti-  
tution by the  
archbishop a-  
gainst the Go-  
pellers, with  
diverse ar-  
ticles.

Blasphemy not  
of pure man,  
but of true God.  
We meaneth  
here of Tho-  
mas Becket  
his predecessour,  
who had his  
byzaines bear  
out in the time  
of king Henry  
the second.  
Scripture  
clearly applyeth  
this geate  
dangere toge-  
ther like to  
mane lips.



much as in us doth lie, to the increase of faith and service of God, first rooting out the evil weeds and offendiciles which by the meanes of perverbe preaching and doctrine have sprung up hitherto, and are like more hereafter to grow; purposing by some convenient way with all diligence possible to withst and them in time, and to provide for the perill of soules, which we see to rise under pretence of the premises; also to remove all such obstacles, by which the said our purpose may be stopped; by the advice and assent of all our Suffragans and other Prelates, being present in this our convocation of the clergie, as also of the procuratores of them that be absent, and at the instant petition of the procuratores of the whole clergie within this our province of Canterbury, for the more fortification of the common law in this part, adding thereunto punishment and penalties condigne as be here under written, we will and command, ordaine, and decree:

That no manner of person secular or regular, being authorized to preach by the lawes now prescribed, or licensed by speciall priviledge, shall take upon him the office of preaching the word of God, or by any meanes preach unto the clergie or laitie, either within the Church or without, in English, except he first present himselfe, and be examined of the Ordinarie of the place where he preacheth. And so being found a fit person, as well in maners as knowledg, he shall be sent by the said Ordinarie to some one church or more, as shall be thought expedient by the said Ordinarie, according to the qualite of the person. For any person aforesaid shall presume to preach, except first he give faithfull signification in due forme of his sending and authoritie, that is, that he that is authorized to come in form appointed him in that behalf; and those, that affirm they come by speciall priviledge do shew their priviledge unto the Parson or Vicar of the place where they preach. And those, that pretend themselves to be sent by the Ordinarie of the place, shall likewise shew the Ordinaries letters made unto him for that purpose, under his great seale. Let us alwaies understand, the Curate (having the perpetuities) to be sent of right unto the people of his owne cure. But if any person aforesaid shall be forbidden by the Ordinarie of the place, or any other superiour, to preach by reason of his errors or heresies which before peradventure he hath preached and taught; that then and from thenceforth he abstaine from preaching within our province, untill he have purged himselfe, and be lawfully admitted againe to preach by the iust arbitrement of him that suspended and forbade him. And shall alwaies after that carry with him, to all places wherefoever he shall preach, the letters testimoniall of him that restored him.

Whereover the parish priests or Vicars temporall, not having perpetuities, nor being sent in forme aforesaid, shall simply preach in the churches where they have charge, only those things which are expressly contained in the provinciall constitution set forth by John our predecessor of good memorie to helpe the ignorance of the priests, which beginneth, Ignorantia Sacerdotum. Which booke of constitutions we would should be had in every parish church in our province of Canterbury, within three moneths next after the publication of these presents, and (as therein is required) that it be effectually declared by the priests themselves yearly, and at the times appointed. And lest this wholesome statute might be thought hurtfull to some, by reason of payment of money, or some other difficultie: we therefore will and ordaine, that the examinations of the persons aforesaid, and the making of their letters by the Ordinarie be done gratis and freely, without any exaction of money at all by those to whom it shall appertaine. And if any man shall willingly presume to violate this our statute grounded upon the old law; after the publication of the same he shall

incurr the sentence of greater excommunication ipso facto: whose absolution we specially reterbe by tenour of these presents to us and our successors. But if any such preacher despising this wholesome statute, and not waighing the sentence of greater excommunication, doe the second time take upon him to preach; saying and alledging, and stoutly affirming that the sentence of greater excommunication aforesaid cannot be appointed by the church in the persons of the prelates of the same; That then the Superiours of the place do worthily rebuke him, and forbid him from the communion of all faithfull Christians.

And that the said person hereupon lawfully convicted (except he recant and abjure as er the manner of the church) be pronounced an heretike by the Ordinarie of the place. And that from thenceforth hee bee reputed and taken for an heretike and schismaticke and that he incurre (ipso facto) the penalties of heresie and schismacie, expelld in the law; And chiefly that his goods be adjudged confiscate by the law, and apprehended and kept by them to whom it shall appertaine. And that his fautors, receivers, and defenders being convicted, in all cases bee likewise punished, if they cease not off within one moneth, being lawfully warned thereof by their superiours.

Furthermore, no clergie man, or parochians of any parish or place within our province of Canterbury shall admit any man to preach within their Churches, churchyards or other places whatsoever, except first there be manifest knowledge had of his authoritie, priviledge, or sending thither, according to the order aforesaid: Otherwise the Church, churchyard, or what place soever, in which it was so preached, shall ipso facto receive the ecclesiasticall interdiction, and so shall remaine interdicted, untill they that so admitted and suffered him to preach, have reformed themselves, and obtained the place so interdicted to be released in due forme of law, either from the Ordinarie of the place, or else his superiour.

Whereover, like as a householder casteth toheate into the ground (well ordered for that purpose) thereby to get the more increase: even so we wil and command that the preacher of Gods Word, coming in forme aforesaid, preaching either unto the clergie or laitie, according to his matter proponed, shall be of good behavioir, sowing such seed as shall bee convenient for his auditozie. And chiefly preaching to the clergie, he shall touch the vices commonly used amongst them, and to the laitie hee shall declare the vices commonly used amongst them, and not otherwise. But if he preach contrary to this order, then shall hee bee sharply punished by the Ordinarie of that place, according to the qualite of that offence.

Item, soasmuch as the part is vile, that agreeth not with the whole; we doe decree and ordaine, that no preacher aforesaid, or any other person whatsoever, shall otherwise teach or preach concerning the sacrament of the altar, matrimonie, confession of sinnes, or any other sacrament of the church, or article of the faith, than that already is discussed by the holy mother Church, nor shall bring any thing in doubt that is determined by the Church; nor shall to his knowledge privily or apertly pronounce blasphemous words concerning the same, nor shall teach, preach, or observe any sect, or kinde of heresie whatsoever, contrary to the wholesome doctrine of the church. He that shall wittingly and obstinately attempt the contrary, after the publication of these presents, shall incurre the sentence of excommunication ipso facto. From the which (except in point of death) he shall not be absolved, untill he hath reformed himselfe by abutration of his heresie, at the discretion of the Ordinarie in whose territorie he so offended, and hath received wholesome penitence

KING  
HEN. 4.

Constitution. 2.

Constitution. 3.

What tyranny  
is this to bind  
the preachers  
mouth what it  
say?

Constitution. 4.

A barefoule  
preacher.

The first con-  
stitution.

No priests to  
preach, but by  
limitation of  
the prelates.

A folly meane  
to bring the  
world into such  
darknesse.



**KING 2** for his offences. But if the second time he shall so  
**HEN. 4. 5** offend, being lawfully convicted, he shall be pronounced  
an heretike, and his goods confiscate, and apprehended,  
and kept by them to whom it shall appertain. The penance  
before mentioned, shall be after this manner: If any man  
contrary to the determination of the Church, that is in the  
decrees, decretals, or our constitutions provinciall, doe  
openly or privily teach or preach any kinde of heresie or  
sect: he shall in the parish Church of the same place, where  
he so preached, upon one Sunday or other sollemne  
day, or more, at the discretion of the Ordinarie, and  
as his offence is more or lesse, expressly reboke that  
he so preached, taught or affirmed, even at the time  
of the sollemnitie of the masse, when the people are  
most assembled, and there shall effectually and without  
fraud preach, and teach the very truth determined  
by the Church: and further shall be punished after the  
qualitie of his offence, as shall be thought expedient  
to the discretion of the Ordinarie.

**Constit. 5.** Item, forasmuch as a new bestell, being long  
used, laboureth after the head, to wit decrees and  
ordaine, that no schoolmasters and teachers whatso-  
ever, that instruct children in grammar, or others  
whosoever in primitive sciences, shall in teaching  
them intermingle any thing concerning the Catho-  
like faith, the Sacrament of the Altar, or other  
Sacraments of the Church, contrary to the deter-  
mination of the Church. For shall suffer their schol-  
lars to expound the holy Scriptures, (except the  
Text as hath bene used in ancient time) nor shall  
permit them to dispute openly or privily concerning  
the catholike faith, or Sacraments of the Church.  
Contrariwise, the offender herein shall be grievously  
punished by the Ordinarie of the place, as a labourer  
of errors and schismes.

**Constit. 6.** Item, for that a new way doth more frequently  
leade astray, than an old way: we will and command  
that no booke or treatise made by John Wickliffe,  
or other whosoever, about that time or thenceforth  
hereafter to be made, bee from henceforth read in  
Schools, Halls, Hospitals, or other places whatso-  
ever, within our Province of Canterbury aforesaid,  
except the same be first examined by the Univer-  
sities of Oxford or Cambridge, or at the least by  
twelve persons, whom the said Universities or one  
of them shall appoint to be chosen at our discretion,  
or the laudable discretion of our precessors: and  
the same being examined, as aforesaid, to be expressly  
approved and allowed by us or our successors, and in  
the name and authoritie of the Universitie, to be de-  
livered unto the Stationers to be copied out, and the  
same to bee sold at a reasonable price, the originall  
thereof alwaies after to remaine in some chest of  
the Universitie. But if any man shall reade any  
such kinde of booke in schools or otherwise, as aforesaid,  
he shall be punished as a follower of schisme, and  
a labourer of heresie, as the qualitie of the fault shall  
require.

**Constit. 7.** Item, it is a dangerous thing (as witnesseth  
blessed Saint Hierome) to translate the text of the  
holy Scripture out of one tongue into another: for  
in the translation the same sense is not alwaies easi-  
ly kept, as the same Saint Hierome confesseth  
that although hee were inspired, yet oftentimes in  
this he erreth: We therefore decree and ordaine, that  
no man hereafter by his owne authoritie translate  
any text of the Scripture into English, or any other  
tongue, by way of a booke, libell or treatise, and that  
no man read any such booke, libell or treatise, now  
lately set forth in the time of John Wickliffe, or  
thenceforth hereafter to be set forth, in part or in whole,  
privily, or openly, upon paine of greater excommuni-  
cation, untill the said translation be allowed by  
the Ordinarie of the place, or (if the case so require)  
by the Councell provinciall. He that shall doe con-  
trary to this, shall likewise be punished as a follower  
of error and heresie.

He confesseth  
that Saint Hi-  
erome erred in  
his translation.  
And yet this  
Archbishop  
commendeth  
Queene Anne,  
for having the  
Scripture in  
English.

Item for that Almighty God cannot bee expres-  
sed with any Philosophicall termes, or otherwise  
invented of man: And Saint Augustine saith, that  
hee hath oftentimes reboked such conclusions as  
have bene most true, because they have bene offen-  
sive to the eares of the religious: We therefore ordaine  
and specially command, that no manner of person  
of what state, degree, or condition, soever he be, do al-  
lege or propound any conclusions or propositions  
contrary to the catholike faith, or repugnant to god  
manners, (except necessarie doctrine pertaining to  
their faculty of teaching or disputing in their schools  
or otherwise) although they defend the same with  
never so curious termes and words. For as saith  
blessed Saint Hugh of the Sacraments, that which  
oftentimes is well spoken is not well understood. If  
any man therefore, after the publication of these pre-  
sents, shall be convicted wittingly to have propounded  
such conclusions or propositions, except (being mo-  
nished) he reforme himself in one moneth by vertue  
of this present constitution, he shall incur the sen-  
tence of greater excommunication ipso facto, and  
shall be openly pronounced an excommunicate, un-  
till hee hath confessed his fault openly in the same  
place where he offended, and hath preached the true  
meaning of the said conclusion or proposition in one  
Church or more, as shall be thought expedient to  
the Ordinarie.

**Constit. 9.** Item, no manner of person shall presume to dis-  
pute upon the articles determined by the Church, as  
is contained in the decrees, decretals, or constitution-  
s provinciall, or in the generall Councils: But  
only to sake out the true meaning thereof, and  
that expressly, whether it be openly or in secret: nor  
shall call in doubt the authoritie of the said decretals  
or constitutions, or the authoritie of him that made  
them, nor teach any thing contrary to the determi-  
nation thereof: And chiefly concerning the adorati-  
on of the holy crosse, the worshipping of images, of  
saints, going on pilgrimage to certaine places, or  
to the reliques of saints, or against the others, in cases  
accustomed to be given in both common places, that  
is to say, spirituall and temporall. But of all it shall  
bee commonly taught and preached, that the crosse  
and image of the Crucifixe, and other images of  
Saints, in the honour of them whom they represent,  
are to bee worshipped with procession, bowing of  
knees, offering of frankincense, kissing, oblati-  
ons lighting of candles and pilgrimages, and with  
all other kinde of ceremonies and manners that  
have bene used in the time of our predecessors  
and that giving of othes in cases expressed in the law,  
and used of all men to whom it belongeth in both  
common places, ought to be done upon the booke of  
the gospel of Christ. Contrary unto this whosoever  
doth preach, teach, or obstinately affirme (except hee  
repent in manner and forme aforesaid) shall forthwith  
incur the penaltie of heresie, and shall be pronounced  
an heretike, in all effect of law.

**Constit. 10.** Item, we doe decree and ordaine, that no Chap-  
laine be admitted to celebrate in any diocesse within  
our province of Canterbury, where hee was not  
borne, or received not orders, except hee bring with  
him his letters of orders, and letters commendato-  
ry from his Ordinarie, and also from other Bishops  
in whose diocess of a long time he hath been con-  
fessant, whereby his conversation and manners may  
appeare; so that it may be knowne, whether he hath  
ben defamed with any new opinions touching the  
catholike faith, or whether he be free from the same:  
otherwise, as well hee that celebrateth, as he that  
suffereth him to celebrate, shall be sharply punished  
at the discretion of the Ordinarie.

Finally, because those things which newly and  
unaccustomably creepe up, stand in need of new and  
speedy help: and where more danger is, there ought  
to be more warie circumspection and stronger resis-  
tance; and not without good cause, the lesse noble  
¶ m m ought

Constit. 9.

Excommunication  
proposed by  
the Ordinarie  
to be  
obeyed.

Constit. 9.

Authoritie of  
the Bishops de-  
cretal not to be  
doubted under  
pain of heresie.

Adoration of  
the crosse.

\* Utlib all abo-  
mination.

Constit. 10.

Do priest to ce-  
lebrate without  
their letters of  
orders.

Constit. 11.



ought discretely to be cut away that the more noble may the more perfectly be nourished: Considering therefore, and in lamentable wise shewing unto you how the ancient Universitie of Oxford, which as a fruitfull vine was wont to extend forth her fruitfull branches to the honour of God, the great perfection and defence of the Church; now partly being become wilde, bringeth forth bitter grapes, which being undiscrately eaten of ancient Fathers, that thought themselves skilfull in the Law of God, hath set on edge the teeth of their children: and our province is infected with divers and unfruitfull doctines, and defiled with a new and damnable name of lollardie, to the great reproche and offence of the said Universitie being knowne in foraine countries, and to the great dishonour of the students there, and to the great damage and losse of the Church of England, which in times past by her vertue as with a strong wall, was wont to be defended, and now is like to runne into ruine not to be recovered: At the supplication therefore of the whole clergy of our province of Canterbury, and by the consent and assent of all our brethren and Suffragans, and other the prelates in this convocation assembled, and the Doctors of them that are absent, lest the river being censed, the fountain should remaine corrupt, and so the water coming from thence should not be pure, intending most wholly to provide for the honour and utilitie of the holy mother the Church and the Universitie aforesaid, We do ordaine and decre, that every Warden, Proboost, or Master of every Colledge, or Principall of every Hall within the Universitie aforesaid, shall once every month at the least diligently inquire in the said Colledge, Hall, or other place where he hath authoritie, whether any scholler or inhabitant of such Colledge or Hall, &c. have holden, alleadged, or defended, or by any meanes proponed any conclusion, proposition or opinion concerning the catholike faith, founding contrary to good manners, or contrary to the determination of the Church otherwise than appertaineth to necessary doctrine. And if he shall finde any suspected or defamed herein, he shall according to his office admonish him to desist. And if after such monition given, the said partie offend againe in the same or such like, he shall incurre ipso facto (besides the penalties aforesaid) the sentence of greater excommunication. And nevertheless, if it bee a schollar that so offendeth the second time, whatsoever he shall afterward doe in the said Universitie, shall not stand in effect. And if he be a Doctor, a Master, or Bachelor, he shall forthwith bee suspended from any schollars Act, and in both cases shall lose the right that he hath in the said Colledge or Hall, whereof he is, ipso facto; and by the Warden, Proboost, Master, Principal, or other to whom it appertaineth, he shall be expelled, and a Catholike by lawfull meanes forthwith placed in his place. And if the said Wardens, Proboosts, or Masters of Colledges, or Principalls of Halls shall bee negligent concerning the inquisition and execution of such persons suspected and defamed by the space of tenne dayes, from the time of the true or supposed knowledge of the publication of these presents: that then they shall incurre the sentence of greater excommunication, and nevertheless shall bee deprived ipso facto, of all the right which they pretend to have in the Colledges, Halls, &c. and the said Colledges and Halls, to bee effectually vacant. And after lawfull declaration hereof made by them to whom it shall appertaine, new Wardens, Proboosts, Masters, or Principalls, shall be placed in their places as hath bene accustomed in Colledges and Halls, being vacant in the said Universitie. But if the Wardens themselves, Proboosts, Masters or Principalls aforesaid, bee suspected and defamed of and concerning the said conclusions or propositions, or bee labourers and defenders of such as doe therein offend, and doe not

cease, being thereof warned by us, or by our authority, or by the Ordinarie of the place: that then by law they be deprived of all such privilege scholasticall within the Universitie aforesaid, as also of their right and authoritie in such Colledge, Hall, &c. Besides other penalties afoze mentioned, and that they incurre the said sentence of greater excommunication.

But if any man in any case of this present constitution, or any other above expressed, doe rashly and wilfully presume to violate these our Statutes in any part thereof (although there be another penalty expressly there limited) yet shall hee bee made altogether unable and unworthy by the space of three yeeres after (without hope of pardon, to obtaine any ecclesiasticall benefice within our Province of Canterbury: and nevertheless according to all his demerits and the qualitie of his offence, at the discretion of his Superiour, hee shall bee lawfully punished.

And further, that the manner of proceeding herein be not thought uncertaine, considering with ourselves, that although there be a kinde of equalitie in the crime of heresie and offending the Prince, as is avouched in divers lawes; yet the fault is much unlike, and to offend the divine maiesty requireth greater punishment, than to offend the Princes maiesty: And where it is sufficient (for feare of danger that might ensue by delays) to convince by iudgement the offender of the Princes Maiesty, proceeding against him fully and wholly, with a citation sent by messenger, by letters, or edict not admitting prooffe by witnesses, and sentence definitive to be: We do ordaine, will, and declare, for the easier punishment of the offenders in the premises, and for the better reformation of the Church divided and hurt, that all such as are defamed, openly knowne, or vehemently suspected in any of the cases aforesaid, or in article of the Catholike faith, founding contrary to god manners, by the authoritie of the Ordinarie of the place or other superiour, be cited personally to appeare either by letters, publike messenger being sworn, or by edict openly set at that place where the said offender commonly remaineth, or in his parish Church, if hee have any certaine dwelling house; Otherwise, in the Cathedral Church of the place where he was borne, and in the parish Church of the same place where he so preached and taught: And afterwards certificate being given, that the citation was formerly executed against the partie cited being absent and neglecting his appearance, it shall bee proceeded against him fully and plainly without sound or shew of iudgement, and without admitting prooffe by witnesses and other canonicall probations. And also after lawfull information had, the said Ordinarie (all delays set apart) shall signifie, declare, and punish the said offender, according to the quality of his offence, and in forme aforesaid, and further, shall doe according to iustice, the absence of the offender notwithstanding.

Given at Oxford.

Who would have thought by these laws and constitutions so substantially founded, so circumstantially provided, so diligently executed, but that the name and memorie of this persecuted sort, should utterly have bene rooted up, and never could have stood. And yet such bee the workes of the Lord, passing all mens admiration, all this notwithstanding so farre was it off, that the number and courage of these good men was banquished, that rather they multiplied daily and increased. For so I finde in Registers recorded, that these foresaid persons, whom the king and the Catholike Fathers did so greatly detest for heretickes, were in divers countries of this Realme dispersed and increased; especially at London, in Lincolnshire, in Northfolke, in Herefordshire,

SKING  
HEN. 4.

Constit. 12.

Constit. 13.

Warrant to offend against the princes law then against the bishops.

Dr Ford famous for sincere religion.

Inquisition to be made through Colledges and Halls of Oxford.

I would the like were used now for the banishing of papists.



KING  
HEN. 4.

in Shrewesbury, in Calice, and divers other quarters mo, with whom the archbishop of Canterbury Thomas Arundell the same tunc had much adoe, as by his owne registers doth appeare. Albeit some there were that did thinke many did rebolt and renounce, for danger of the law. Among whom was John Purbey, which recanted at Paula crosse, of whom more followeth (the Lord willing) to bee said in the yere 1421. Also John Edward priest of the diocesse of Lincoln, who reboked in the greene park at Dorwich, Richard Herbert, and Emnot Willie of London, also John Becket, who recanted at London. Item, John Sepnons of Lincolnshire, who was caused to reboke at Canterbury. The articles of whom, which commonly they did hold, and which they were constrained to abiure, most specially were these which follow,

Their Articles.

First, that the office of the holy crosse (ordained by the whole church) celebrated doth containe idolatry. Item, they said and affirmed, that all they which doe reverence and worship the signe of the crosse, do commit idolatry, and are reputed as Idolaters.

Item, they said and affirmed that the true flesh and blood of our Lord Iesus Christ, is not in the sacrament of the altar, after the words spoken by the Priest truly pronounced.

Item, they said and affirmed the sacrament of the Altar to be sacramental bread, not having life, but only instituted for a memoriall of Christs passion.

Item, they said and affirmed, that the Body of Christ, which is taken on the Altar, is a figure of the body of Christ as long as we see the bread and wine.

Item, they said and affirmed that the decree of the prelates and clergie in the province of Canterbury, in their last convocation, with the consent of King and the nobles in the last Parliament against him that was burnt lately in the citie of London, was not sufficient to change the purpose of the said John, when the substance of materiall bread is even as befoze in the sacrament of the Altar it was, no change being made in the nature of bread.

Item, that any lay man may preach the Gospell in every place, and may teach it by his owne authority, without the licence of his Ordinary.

Item, that it is sin to give any thing to the preaching Friars, to the Pinowites, to the Augustines, to the Carmelites.

Item, that we ought not to offer at the funerals of the dead.

Item, that the confession of sins to the Priest, is unneedfull.

Item, that every good man (though he be unlearned) is a priest.

Item, that the infant (though he die unbaptised) shall be saved.

Item, that neither the pope, nor the prelat, neither any Ordinary can compell any man to swear by any creature of God, or by the Bible booke.

Item, that the bishop, the simple man, the priest and lay man be of like authoritie (as long as they live well.)

Item, that no man is bound to give bodily reverence to any prelate.

William Thorpe.

Thus much briefly being signified by the way, touching these which have been forced in time of this King, to open abjuratation: Pert comming to our hands the worthy historie of master William Thorpe, a valiant warrior, under the triumphant banner of Christ, with the proesse of his examinations before the foresaid Tho. Arundel Archbishop of Canterbury, written by the said Thorpe, and storied by his owne penne, at the request of his friends, as by his owne words in the proesse hereof may appeare. In whose examination (which seemeth first to

beginne, anno 1407) thou shalt have good Reader, both to learne, and to marvell. To learne, in that thou shalt heare truth discoursed and discussed, with the contrary reasons of the aduersarie dissolved. To marvell, for that thou shalt behold here in this man the marvellous force and strength of the Lords might, spirit, and grace, working, and fighting in his souldiers, and also speaking in their mouthes, according to the Word of his promise, Luke 21. To the text of the story we have neither addes nor diminished: but as we have receibed copie out, and corrected by Master William Lindall (who had his own hand writing) so we have here sent it, and let it out abroad. Although for the more credit of the matter, I rather wished it in his owne naturall speech, wherein it was first written. Notwithstanding, to put away all doubt and scruple herein, this I thought befoze to premonish and testifie to the Reader, touching the certaintie hereof, that they be yet alive which have seen the selfe same copie in his own old English, resembling the true antiquitie both of the speech, and of the time. The name of whom, as for record of the same, to avouch, is M. Whittehead, who as he hath seene the true ancient copie in the hands of George Constantine, so hath hee given credible relation of the same, both to the Printer, and to mee. Furthermore, the said master Lindall (albeit he did somewhat alter and amend the English thereof, and frame it after our manner) yet not fully in al words but that something doth remaine, labouring of the old speech of that time. What the causes were why this good man and servant of Christ, W. Thorpe, did write it, and pen it out himselfe, it is sufficiently declared in his owne peface, set befoze his booke, which here is prefixed in manner as followeth.

The peface of William Thorpe.

The Lord God that knoweth all things, wottest thou well that I am right fofortwoll to write to make knowne this sentence beneath written: whereby of mine eben Christian, set in high state and dignitie, so great blindness and malice may be knowne: that they which doe presume of themselves to destroy vices, and to plant in men vertues, neither dread to offend God, nor lust to please him as their workes doe shew. For certes the bidding of God and his law, which in the passing of his most holy name he commandeth to be knowne and kept of all men and women, yong and old, after the counting and powder that he hath given to them, the prelates of this land and their ministers, with the cobent of priests chiefly contenting to them, enforce them most busily to withstand, and destroy the Holy ordinance of God. And therethrough God is greatly wroth and moved to take hard vengeance, not onely upon them that doe the evill, but also on them that consent to these antichrists limms: which know, or might know their malice and falshood, and dresse them not to withstand their malice and their great pride. Neverthelesse, foure things moove mee to write this sentence beneath.

The first thing that mooveth me hereto is this, that whereas it was knowne to certaine friends, that I came from the prison of Shrewesbury, and as it befall indeed that I should to the prison of Canterbury, then divers friends in divers places spake to me full heartily and full tenderly, and commanded me then if it so were that I should be examined befoze the archbishop of Canterbury, that if I might in any wise, I should write mine apposing, and mine answering. And I promised to my speciall friends, that if I might, I would gladly doe their bidding as I might.

The second thing that mooveth mee to write this sentence is this: divers friends, which have heard that I have bene examined befoze the Archbishop, have come to me in prison, and counselled me busily,

This sentence first written and corrected by M. Whittehead.

The peface.

Gods lawes must be known and followed.

Foure causes of setting forth his examination.

The 2. cause

John Purbey, John Edward, John Becket, John Sepnons blurred.

The articles.

\* These articles commonly was thus, that who to take upon him the office of a Priest, though he have no cure of souls nor licence of his Ordinary, is bound to preach the gospel.

The examination of the constant servant of God, William Thorpe.

W m m 2 and



and coveted greatly that I should do the same thing. And other brethren have lent to me, and required on Gods behalfe, that I should write out and make knowne both mine appoyning and mine answering, for the profit that (as they say) upon my knowledgeing may come thereof. But this they bad me, that I should be busie in all my wits, to goe as neere the sentence and the words as I could, both that were spoken to me, and that I spake: peradventure this writing may come another time before the archbishop and his counsell. And of this counselling I was right glad: for in my conscience I was mooved to doe this thing, and to aske hitherto the speciall helpe of God. And so then I considering the great desire of divers friends of sundry places, according all in one, I occupied all my minde and my wits so busily, that through Gods grace I perceived, by their meaning and their charitable desire, some profit might come there through. For soothfastnesse and truth hath these conditions: whereever it is impugned, it hath a sweet smell, and thereof commeth a sweet savour. And the more violently the enemies dwell themselves to oppresse and to withstand the truth, the greater and the sweeter smell commeth thereof. And therefore this heavenly smell of Gods Word, will not as a smoke passe away with the winde: but it will descend and rest in some cleane soule that thirsteth thereafter. And thus some deale by this writing may bee perceived through Gods grace, how that the enemies of the truth (standing boldly in their malice) inforce them to withstand the freedom of Christs Gospel, for which freedom Christ became man and shed his heart blood. And therefore it is great pite and sorow, that many men and women doe their owne wayward will, and busie them not to knowe nor to doe the pleasant will of God.

The men and women that heare the truth and soothfastnesse, and heare or knowe of this (perceiving what is now in the Church) ought herethrough to be the more mooved in all their wits to able them to grace, and to set lesser price by themselves, that they without carrying forsake wilfully and bodily all the wretchednesse of this life, since they knowe not howe soone, nor when, nor where, nor by whom God will teach them and assay their patience. For no doubt, who ever will live piteously, that is charitably in Christ Jesus, shall suffer now here in this life persecution in one wise or another: That is, if we shall bee sated, it becometh us to imagine full busily the vilitie and foulness of sinne, and how the Lord God is displeased therefore: and so of this vilitie and hideousnesse of sinne, it becometh us to busie us in all our wits, to abhorre and hold in our minde a great shame of sinne ever, and so then wee ought to sorow heartily therefore, and ever seeing all occasion thereof. And then it becometh us to take upon us sharpe penance, continuing therein, to obtaine of the Lord forgiveness of our foredone sins, and grace to abstaine us hereafter from sinne. And if wee inforce us not to doe this wilfully, and in convenient time, the Lord (if he will not utterly destroy and cast us away) will in divers manners moove tyrants against us: to constraine us violently to do penance, which we would not do wilfully. And trust that this doing is a speciall grace of the Lord, and a great token of life and mercy. And no doubt who ever will not apply himselfe (as is said before) to punish himselfe wilfully, neither will suffer patiently, meekely, and gladly the rod of the Lord, howsoever that he will punish him: their wayward wills and their impatience are unto them earnest of everlasting damnation. But because there are but few in number that doe able them this faithfully to grace, to live here so simply and purely, and without gall of malice and of grudging; therefore the lovers of this world hate and pursue them that they knowe patient, meek, chaste, and wilfully poore, ha-

ting and fleeing all worldly vanities and fleshy lusts. For surely their vertuous conditions are even contrary to the manners of this world.

The third thing that moveth me to write this sentence is this, I though I shall busie me in my selfe to doe faithfully, that all men and women (occupying all their businesse in knowing and in keeping of Gods commandements) able them so to grace, that they might understand truly the truth, and have and use vertue and prudence, and so deserve to be lightened from above with heavenly wisdom: so that all their words and their workes may bee hereby made pleasant sacrifices unto the Lord God; and not only for helpe of their owne soules, but also for edification of holy Church. For I doubt not, but all they that will apply them to have this foresaid businesse shall profit full me kill both to friends and foes. For some enemies of the truth, through the grace of God, shall through charitable folkes be made astonished in their conscience, and peradventure converted from vices to vertues: and also, they that labour to knowe and to keepe faithfully the biddings of God, and to suffer patiently all adversities, shall hereby comfort many friends.

And the fourth thing that moveth mee to write this sentence is this: I knowe by my sudden and unwarned appoyning and answering, that all they that will of good heart without faining able themselves wilfully and gladly, after their cunning and their power, to followe Christ patiently, travelling busily, privately and apertly in woake and in sword, to withstand whomsoever that they may from vices, planting in them (if they may) vertues, comforting them and furthering them that stand in grace; so that therewith they be not bozned up in vain glory through presumption of their wisdom, nor inflamed with any worldly prosperitie, but ever meek and patient; purposing to continue steadfastly in the will of God, suffering wilfully and gladly without any grudging whatsoever rod the Lord will chastise them with; that then this good Lord will not forget to comfort all such men and women in all their tribulations, and at every point of temptation that any enemy purposed for to doe against them. As such faithful lovers specially, and patient followers of Christ, the Lord sendeth by his wisdom from above them which the adversaries of the truth may not knowe nor understand. But through their old and new unchaste sinnes, those Tyrants and Enemies of soothfastnesse shall bee so blinded and obstinate in evil, that they shall weene themselves to doe pleasant sacrifices unto the Lord God in their malicious and wrongfull pursuing and destroying of innocent mens and womens bodies; which men and women, for their vertuous living, and for their true knowledge of the truth, and their patient, wilfull and glad suffering of persecution for righteousness, deserve thorow the grace of God, to be heires of the endlessse blessed of Heaven. And for the fervent desire and great love that these men have, as to stand in soothfastnesse and witness of it, though they bee suddenly and unwarned brought forth to be appoyled of their adversaries; the holy ghost yet, that moveth and ruleth them through his charitie, will in that houre of their answering speake in them, and shew his wisdom, that all their enemies shall not againe say, nor againe stano, lawfully.

And therefore all they that are steadfast in the faith of God, yea, which through diligent keeping of his Commandements, and for their patient suffering of whatsoever adversitie that commeth to them, hope surely in his merke, purposing to stand continually in perfect charitie; For those men and women dread not to the adversities of this life, that they will feare (after their cunning and their power) to knowe prudently the truth of Gods word, then there, and to whom they thinke their knowledging may profit. And though therefore persecution come

SKI NG  
HEN. 4.

The 3. cause.

Edification of others needeth to be considered.

The 4. cause

The assistance of God never faileth them that are persecuted.

Truth feareth alwaies a sweet smell behind it.

Godly counsell giveth if it may be followed.

Persecution followeth the true church.

The cause why persecution is suffered to come.



KING  
HEN. 4.

come to them in one wise or another, certes they patiently take it, knowing their conseruation to be in heauen. It is an high reward and a special grace of God to haue and enjoy the eberlasting inheritance of heauen, for the suffering of one persecution in so short tyme as is the terme of this life. For loe, this heauenly heritage and endlesse reward, is the Lord God himselfe, which is the best thing that may be. This sentence witneseth the Lord God himselfe, whereas he said to Abraham, I am thy meede: And as the Lord said, he was and is the meede of Abraham, so he is of all other his Saints. This most blessed and best meed, he grant to us all for his holy Name, that made us of nought, and sent his onely most deare worthy son, our Lord Iesus Christ to redeeme us with his most precious heart blood. Amen.

The examination of William Thorpe,  
penned with his owne hand.

**K**nowe be it to all Men that reade or heare this writinge, that on the Sunday next after the feast of S. Peter, that we call Lammas, in the yere of our Lord 1407. I William Thorpe, being in prison in the castle of Saltwood, was brought before Thomas Arundell archbishop of Canterbury, and Chancellor; then of England. And when that I came to him, he stood in a great chamber and much people about him; and when that he saw me, he went fast into a closet, bidding all secular men that followed him to go forth from him sone, so that no man was left then in that closet but the Archbishop himselfe; and a physician that was called Palveren, parson of Saint Dunstons in London, and other two persons unknowne to me, which were ministers of the law. And I standing before them, by and by the Archbishop said to me; William, I know well that thou hast this twentie winters and moze, travelled about busily in the Forth countrey, and in diuers other countries of England, folowing about false doctrine, having great businesse if thou might, with thine untrue teaching and thyred will to infect and poyson all this land. But through the grace of God thou art now withstanding and brought into my ward, so that I shall now sequester thee from thine evil purpose, and let thee to inberne the sheepe of my prouince, sheberthelesse, S. Paul saith: If it may be, as much as in vs is, we ought to haue peace with all men. Therefore William, if thou wilt now meekely and of good heart, without any feining, kneele downe, and lay thy hand upon a booke and kisse it, promising faithfully as I shall here charge thee, that thou wilt submit thee to my correction, and stand to mine ordinance, and fulfill it dely by all thy cunning and power, thou shalt yet finde meegrations unto thee. Then said I to the archbishop: Sir, since ye deeme me an heretike, and out of beleefe, will you give me here audience to tell my beleefe? And he said, yea, tell on. And I said: I beleefe that there is not but one God Almighty, and in this Godhead, and of this Godhead are three persons, that is; the Father, the Sonne, and the soothfast holy Ghost. And I beleefe that all these three persons are euen in power and in cunning, and in might, full of grace and of all godnesse. For whatsoever that the Father doth, or can, or will, that thing also the Sonne doth and can and will; and in all their power, cunning and will, the holy Ghost is equal to the Father, and to the Son.

Over this I beleefe that through counsell of this most blessed Trinite in most convenient time before ordained for the salvation of mankind, the second person of this Trinite was ordained to take the forme of man, that is the kind of man. And I beleefe, that this second person, our Lord Iesus Christ, was conceived through the holy Ghost in the wombe of the most blessed Virgin Mary, without mans seed. And I beleefe that after nine moneths

Christ was born of this most blessed Virgin, without any paine or breaking of the closter of her wombe, and without filth of her virginity.

And I beleefe, that Christ our Saviour was circumcised in the eighth day after his birth, in fulfilling of the law, and his name was called Iesus, which was so called of the Angell, before that he was conceived in the wombe of Mary his mother.

And I beleefe that Christ, as hee was about xxx. yere old, was Baptized in the flood of Iordane of John Baptist; and in the likeness of a Dove the holy Ghost descended there upon him, and a voice was heard from heauen, saying: Thou art my wellbeloved Son, in thee I am full pleased.

And I beleefe that Christ was moved there by the Holy Ghost to goe into the desert, and there he fasted 40. dayes and 40. nights without bodily meate and drinke. And I beleefe that by and by after his fasting, when the manhood of Christ hungered, the fiend came to him, and tempted him in gluttonie, in vain glory, and in cobetise: but in all those temptations Christ concluded the fiend, and withstood him. And then without tarrying Iesus began to preach, and to say unto the people: Do ye penance, for the realm of Heauen is now at hand.

I beleefe that Christ in all his tyme here lived most holily, and taught the will of his Father most truly; and I beleefe that he suffered therefore most wrongfully greatest reproches and despisings.

And after this, when Christ would make an end here of this temporall life, I beleefe that in the day next before that he would suffer passion in the morrow, in forme of bread and of wine hee ordained the Sacrament of his fleshy and his blood; that is his owne precious body, and gave it to his Apostles to cate: commanding them, and by them all their after commers, that they should doe it in this forme that he shewed to them, use themselves, and teach and commaunde sooth to other men and women this most worshipfull and holiest Sacrament, in mindefulnesse of his holiest living, and of his most true preaching, and of his willfull and patient suffering of the most painefull passion.

And I beleefe that this Christ our Saviour, after that hee had ordained this most worthy sacrament of his owne precious body, went sooth willfully against his enemies, and he suffered them most patiently to lay their hands most violently upon him, and to binde him, and to leade him forth as a theefe, and to scorne him and buffet him, and all to blowe or file him with their spittings. Over this, I beleefe that Christ suffered most meekely and patiently his enemies, to dung out with sharpe scourges the blood that was betwene his skin and his fleshy: yea without grudging Christ suffered the cruell Jewes to crowne him with most sharpe thorns, and to strike him with a reed. And after, Christ suffered wicked Jewes to dray him out upon the crosse, and to naile him there upon hand and foot. And so through his pitifull natling, Christ shed out willfully for mans blood, the blood that was in his veines. And then Christ gave willfully his Spirit into the hands or power of his Father, and so, as he would, and when he would, Christ died willfully for mans sake upon the crosse. And notwithstanding that Christ was willfully, painfully, and most shamefully put to death, as to the world: there was left blood and water in his heart, as before ordained, that hee would shed out this blood and this water for mans salvation. And therefore he suffered the Jewes to make a blind knight to thrust him in the heart with a spear, and this blood and water that was in his heart, Christ would shed out for mans lobe: and after this, I beleefe that Christ was taken downe from the Crosse and buried. And I beleefe that on the third day by the power of his Godhead, Christ rose againe from death to life. And the forty day thereafter, I beleefe that Christ ascended up into Heauen, and that hee there sitteth

Amm 3 on

Examination  
of William  
Thorpe before  
Thomas Arundell  
archbishopLoytering pre-  
lates cannot a-  
void travelling  
preachers.The grace of  
God and of my  
aid of Cant.  
betweene things.Pour ordinance  
and why not  
Gods ordi-  
nances, if it  
please your  
grace?That is under  
the creatures of  
bread and wine



on the right hand of the Father Almighty. And the fift day after his up-going, he sent to his Apostles the holy Ghost, that hee had promised them before; and I beleue that Christ shall come and iudge all mankind, some to everlasting peace, and some to everlasting paines.

And as I beleue in the Father, and in the Sonne, that they are one God Almighty, so I beleue in the Holy Ghost that he is also with them the same God Almighty.

And I beleue an Holy Church, that is, all they that haue bene, and that now are, and alwaies to the end of the world shall be, a people the which shall endeavour them to know and to keepe the commandments of God, dreading ober all things to offend God, and loving and seeking most to please him: and I beleue, that all they that haue had, and yet haue, and all they that yet shall haue the foresaid vertues, surely standing in the belief of God, hoping steadfastly in his mercifull doings, continuing to their end in perfect charitie, wilfully, patiently, and gladly suffering persecutions, by the example of Christ, chiefly and his Apostles, all these haue their names written in the booke of life.

Therefore I beleue, that the gathering together of this people, living now here in this life, is the Holy Church of God, fighting here on earth against the fiend, the prosperitie of the world, and their filthy lusts. Therefore, seeing that all the gathering together of this Church before said, and every part thereof, neither cobeteth; nor willet, nor loveth, nor seeketh any thing but to eschew the offence of God, and to doe his pleasing will meekly, gladly, and wilfully, with all mine heart, I submit my selfe unto this holy Church of Christ, to bee ever burome and obedient to the ordinance of it, and of every member thereof, after my knowledge and power by the helpe of God. Therefore I knowledg now and evermore shall, if God will, that with all my heart, and with all my might, I will submit me only to the rule and governance of them, whom after my knowledge I may perceiue by the habing and using of the before said vertues, to be members of the holy Church. Therefore these articles of belief and all other (both of the old law, and of the new, which after the commandment of God any man ought to beleue) and beleue verily in my soule, as a sinfull deadly wretch, of my cunning and power, ought to beleue: praying the Lord God for his holy Name to increase my beleue, and to helpe my unbelieve.

And because to the praising of Gods name, I desire above all things to be a faithfull member of holy Church, I make this protestation before you all foure that are now here present, cobeting that all men and women that now be absent knowe the same: that is, what thing soever before this time I haue saide or done, or what thing here I shall doe or say at any time hereafter, I beleue, that all the old law and new law, given and ordained by counsell of the 3. persons of the Trinitie, were given and written to the saluation of mankind. And I beleue, that these lawes are sufficient for mans saluation. And I beleue every article of these lawes, to the intent that these articles ordained and commanded of these three persons of the most blessed trinitie are to be believed.

And therefore to the rule and the ordinance of these Gods Lawes, meekly, gladly, and wilfully, I submit me with all mine heart; that whosoever can or will by authoritie of Gods Law, or by open reason, tell me that I haue erred or now erre, or any time hereafter shall erre in any article of beleue (from which inconvenience God keepe me for his goodness) I submit me to be reconciled, and to bee burome and obedient unto those lawes of God, and to every article of them. For by authoritie specially of these lawes I will, through the grace of God be united charitably unto these lawes. Psea sir, and over this, I beleue and admit all the sentences, au-

thorities and reasons of the Saints and Doctors according unto holy Scripture, and declaring it truly.

I submit me wilfully and meekely to be ever obedient, after my cunning and power, to all these saints and doctors, as they are obedient in worke and in word to God and to his Law, and further not (to my knowledge) not for any earthly power, dignitie or state, through the helpe of God. But sir I pray you tell me, if after your bidding I shall lay my hand upon the booke, to what intent; to sweare thereby? And the Archbishop said to me, yea wherefore else? And I said to him; Sir, a booke is nothing else but a thing copled together of others creatures, and to sweare by any creature, both Gods Law and mans law is against it.

But sir, this thing I say here to you before these your clerkes, with my foresaid protestation, that how, where, when, and to whom, men are bound to sweare or to obey in any wise after Gods Law, and Saints, and true Doctors, according with Gods Law; I will through Gods grace bee ever ready thereto, with all my cunning and power. But I pray you sir for the charitie of God, that ye will be fore that I sweare (as I haue here rehearsed to you) tell me how or where to that I shall submit me: and shew me that whereof ye will correct me, and that is the ordinance that ye will thus oblige mee to fulfill.

And the archbisch. said unto me: I will shortly that now thou sweare here to me, that thou shalt forsake all the opinions which the sect of Lollards hold, and is standezed with: so that after this time, neither priuily nor apertly, thou hold any opinion which I shall (after thou hast swozne) rehearse to thee here. For shalt thou labour any man or woman, young or old, that holdeth any these foresaid opinions: but after thy knowledg and power thou shalt force thee to withstand all such disturblers of Holy Church in every diocesse that thou comest in; and them that will not leave their false and damnable opinions, thou shalt put them up, publishing them and their names, and make them knowne to the bishop of the diocesse that they are in, or to the bishops ministers. And ober this I will that thou preach no more unto the time that I know by good witnesse and true, that thy conuersation be such, that thy heart and thy mouth accord truly in one, contrarping all the lewd learning that thou hast taught here before.

And I hearing these words thought in my heart that this was an unlesfull asking; and deemed my selfe cursed of God, if I consented hereto, and I thought how Susan said; anguish is to me on every side. And in that I stood still and spake not, the archbischop said to me; answere one way or other: and I said; Sir, if I consented to you thus as ye haue herebefore rehearsed to me, I should become an appealer, or every bishops espie, somoner of all England. For if I should thus put up and publish the names of men and women, I should herein deceive full many persons: Psea Sir, as it is likely by the doome of my conscience, I should herein bee cause of the death both of men and women, yea both bodily and ghostly. For many men and women that stand now in the way of saluation, if I should for the learning and reading of their beleue publish them therefore up to the bishops or to their unpeious ministers, I know some deale by experience that they should be so troubled and diseased with persecuti-on or otherwise, that many of them (I think) would rather chuse to forsake the way of truth than to be trabelled, scorned, standezed or punished, as bishops and their ministers now use to constrain men and women to consent to them.

But I finde in no place in holy Scripture, that this office, that ye would now infaite me with, accordeth to any priest of Christs sed, nor to any other Christian

KING  
HEN. 4.

Doctors so to be followers, they follow the word.

To sweare by a booke whether it be lawfull.

How, where, and when to sweare.

Behold the popish proceedings whereto they tend.

Do marvell why for Christ and antichrist how can they agree?

What is the holy church.

The true notes of the true Church.

What heresse in this beleue, I pray you my Lord?

The old Testament and new.



KING  
HEN. 4.

Christian man: and therefore to do this were to me a full noyous bond to be bounden with, and over grieuous charge. For I suppose, that if I thus did, many men and women would, yea sir, might wish to my confusion say to me, that I were a traytor to God and to them: since (as I thinke in mine heart) many men and women trust so mickle in this case, that I would not for saving of my life doe thus to them. For if I thus should do, full many men and women would (as they might full truly say) that I had falsely and cowardly forsaken the truth, and slandered shamefully the word of God. For if I consented to you to do here after your will, for bonchese or mischief that may befall unto me in this life, I deem in my conscience, that I were worthy heretofore to be cursed of God and also of all his saints: from which inconvenience keepe me and all Christian people, Almighty God, now and ever for his holy Name. And then the Archbishop said unto me: Wh, thine heart is full hard indurate, as was the heart of Pharaos, and the Devil hath overcome thee, and perverted thee, and he hath to blinded thee in all thy wit, that thou hast no grace to know the truth, nor the measure of mercy that I have profered to thee. Therefore, as I perceive now by thy foolish answer, thou hast no will to leave thine old errors.

But I say to thee lewd fellow, either quickly consent thou to mine ordinance, and submit thee to stand to my beccres, or by saint Thomas thou shalt be degraded, and fellow thy fellow into Smithfield. And at this saying I stood still and spake not, but I thought in mine heart, that God did to me great grace, if he would of his great mercy bring me to such an end. And in mine heart I was nothing afraid with this menacing of the Archbishop. And I considered there two things in him. One, that he was not yet sorrowfull that he had made William Sautre wrongfully to be burnt: and as I considered, that the archbishop thirsted yet after more shedding out of innocent blood: And fast therefore I was moved in all my wits, to hold the archbishop neither for prelate nor for priest of God: And for that mine inward man was thus altogether departed from the Archbishop, me thought I should not have any dread of him. But I was right heavy and sorrowfull, for that there was no audience of secular men by; but in my heart I prayed the Lord God to comfort me & strength me against them that there were against the softfastnesse. And I purposed to speak no more to the archbishop and his clerkes than me ned behoved: and all this I prayed God for his godnesse to give me then and alway grace to speak with a make and an easie spirit: and what soever thing that I should speak, that I might thereto have true authorities of the Scriptures or open reason. And for that I stood thus still and nothing spake, one of the archbishops clerks said unto me; What thing mustest thou? Doe thou as my lord hath now commanded to thee here.

And yet I stood still and answered him not: and then some after the archbishop said to me: Art thou not yet bethought, whether thou wilt do as I have said to thee? And I said then to him; Sir, my father and my mother, on whose soules God have mercy (if it be his will) spent mickle money in divers places about my learning, for the intent to have made me a priest to God. But when I came to yeers of discretion, I had no will to be priest, and therefore my friends were right heavy to me, & then me thought their grudging against me was so painefull to me, that I purposed therefore to have left their company. And when they perceived this in me, they spake sometime full faire and pleasant words to me: But for that they might not make me to consent of god heart to be a priest, they spake to me full oftentimes very grievous words, and menaced me in divers manners, shewing to me full heavy chere. And thus one while in faire manner, another while in

grievous, they were long time (as me thought) full busie about me, ere I consented to them to be a priest.

But at the last, when in this matter they would no longer suffer mine exculpations, but either I should consent to them, or I should ever heare their indignation, yea their curse (as they said) then I seeing this, prayed them that they would give me licence to goe to them that were named wise priests, and of vertuous conberlation, to have their counsell, and to know of them the office and the charge of priesthood. And hereto my father and my mother consented full gladly, and gave me their blessing and god leave to goe, and also money to spend in this journey. And so I went to those priests whom I heard to be of best name, and of most holy living, and best learned, and most wise of heavenly wisdom; and so I communed with them unto the time, that I perceived by their vertuous and continual occupations, that their honest and charitable workes passed their fame which I had heard before of them.

Wherefore Sir, by the example of the doctrine of them, and specially for the godly and innocent works which I perceived then of them, and in them, after my cunning and power, I have exercised me then and in this time, to know perfectly Gods Law, having a will and desire to live thereafter, which willeth that all men and women should exercise themselves faithfully thereabout. If then sir, either for pleasure of them that are neither so wise, nor of so vertuous conberlation to my knowledge, nor by common fame to any other mens knowledge in this land, as these men were of whom I took my counsell and information, I should now forsake thus suddenly and shortly and unwarned, all the learning that I have exercised my selfe in these thirty winters and more, my conscience should ever be here, with out of measure unquieted: and sir, I know well, that many men and women should be thereby through greatly troubled and slandered. And as I said, Sir, to you before, for mine untruth and false cowardnesse, many a one should be put into full great reprouse: yea sir, I dread that many one (as they might then justly) would curse me full bitterly; and sir I feare not, but the curse of God, which I should deserbe herein, would bring me to a full evil end, if I continued thus. And if through remorse of conscience I repented me any time, returning into the way, which you doe your diligence to constraine me now to forsake: yea sir, all the Bishops of this land, with full many other Priests, would defame me, and pursue me as a relapser: and they that now have (though I be unworthy) some confidence in me, hereafter would never trust to me, though I could teach and live never so virtuously, more than I can or may. For if after your counsell I left utterly all my learning, I should hereby first wound and defile mine owne soule, and also I should thereby through give occasion to many men and women of full sore hurting; yea sir, as it is likely to me, if I consented to your will, I should herein by mine evil example in it, as farre as in me were, sea many folke ghostly, that I should never deserbe to have grace of God to the edifying of his Church, neither of my selfe, nor of any other mans life, and should be undone both before God and man.

But sir, by example chiefly of some, whose names I will not now rehearse, of H. of I. P. and B. and also by the present doing of Philip Rempington, that now is become Bishop of Lincoln, I am now learned (as many moe hereafter through Gods grace shall be learned) to hate and to see all such slander that these foresaid men chiefly have defiled principally themselves with. And in it that in them is, they have intened all the Church of God, for the slanderous revoking at the Crosse of Pauls, of H. P. and of B. and how now Philip Rempington

Philip Rempington made bishop, and a persecutor.

to preface  
when Pharaos  
and heared  
where learned  
in my Lord  
all your brother  
Racha,

he meant  
Gods martyr,  
All. Sautre.

The order and  
manner of his  
binding up.



pursueth Christs people. And the feining that these men dissemble by worldly prudence, keeping them cowardly in their preaching and communing with in the bonds and termes (which without blame may be spoken and shewed out of the most worldly libers) will not be unpunished of God. For to the point of truth, that these men shewed out sometime, they will not now stretch forth their lives. But by example each one of them, as their words and their works shew, busie them through their feining to stander and to pursue Christ in his members, rather than they will be pursued.

And the archbishop said to me: These men, the which thou speakest of now, were fools and heretikes, when they were counted wise men of the and other such docters. But now they are wise men, though thou and other such deme them unwise. Nevertheless, I never wist any that right said, that any while were intempered with your contagionelle, that is, contaminated and spotted doctrine.

And I said to the archbishop: Sir, I think well that these men and such other are now wise as to this world: But as their words sounded sometime, and their works shewed outwardly, it was like to move me that they had earnest of the wisdom of God, and that they should have deserved mickle grace of God to have saved their owne soules and many other mens, if they had continued faithfully in willfull poberty, and in other simple vertuous living: and specially if they had with these foresaid vertues continued in their busie fruitfull solving of Gods Word: as to many mens knowledges they occupied them a season in all their wits; full busily to know the pleasant will of God, travelling all their members full busily to doe thereafter, purely and chiefly to the praising of the most holy name of God, and for grace of edification and salvation of Christian people. But woe worth false covetise, and evil counsell and tyranny, by which they and many men and women are led blindly into an evil end.

Then the archbishop said unto me; Thou, and such other docters of thy sect, would have your beards full nere to have a benefice. For by Jesus I know none more covetous shewes than ye are, when that ye have a benefice. For loe, I gave to John Wurray a benefice but a mile out of this castle, and I heard more complaints about his covetousnesse for tithes, and other misdoings, than I did of all men that were advanced within my diocesse.

And I said to the archbishop; Sir, Wurnie is neither with you now for the benefice that you gave him, nor holdeth he faithfully with the learning that he taught and writt before time: and thus he sheweth himselfe neither to be hot nor cold, and therefore he and his fellows may sore dread, that if they turne not hastily to the way that they have forsaken, peradventure they be put out of the number of Christs chosen people.

And the archbishop said: Though Wurnie be now a false harlot, I quit me now to him: But come he more for such cause before me (ere we part) I shall know with whom he holdeth. But I say to thee: which are these holy men and wise, of whom thou hast taken thine information.

And I said: Sir, master John Wickliffe was holden of full many men the greatest clerke that they knew then living, and therewith he was named a passing ruly man and an innocent in his living: and therefore great men communed oft with him, and they loved to his learning, that they writt it, and busily enforced them to rule themselves thereafter. Therefore sir, this foresaid learning of M. John Wickliffe is yet holden, of full many men and women, the most agreeable learning unto the living and teaching of Christ and of his Apostles, and most openly shewing and declaring how the Church of Christ hath bene and yet should be ruled and governed. Therefore so many men and women covet this

learning, and purpose through Gods grace, to conform their living like to this learning of Wickliffe. M. John Ashton taught and writt accordingly and full busily, where, and when, and to whom that he might, and he used it himselfe right perfectly unto his lifes end. And also Philip of Ramington, while he was a canon of Leicester, Nicolas Herford, Davie Cotraie of Bakring, monke of Wyland, and a master of Divinity, and John Wurray, and many

10 other which were holden right wise men and prudent, taught and writt busily this foresaid learning, and conformed them thereto. And with all these men I was right homely, and communed with them long time and oft: and so before all other men I chose willingly to be informed of them and by them, and specially of Wickliffe himselfe, as of the most vertuous and godly wise man that I heard of or knew. And therefore of him specially, and of these men I took the learning that I have taught; and 20 purpose to live thereafter (if God will) to my lifes end. For though some of those men be contrary to the learning that they taught before, I wot well that their learning was true which they taught: and therefore with the help of God I purpose to hold and to use the learning which I heard of them, while they sate on popes chaire, and specially while that they sate on the chaire of Christ. But after the works that they now do, I will not do with Gods help. For they feine and hide, and contrary the truth, which before they taught out plainly and truly. For as I know well, when some of those men have been blamed for their standons doing: they grant not that they have taught amisse or erred before time, but that they were constrained by paine to leade to tell out the sooth, and thus they chuse now rather to blaspheme God, than to suffer a while here persecution bodily, for soothfastnesse that Christ shed out his heart-blood for.

And the archbishop said; That learning, that thou 40 calledst truth and soothfastnesse, is open slander to holy Church, as it is proved of holy Church. For albeit that Wickliffe your author was a great clerke, and though that many men held him a perfect liber: yet his doctrine is not approved of holy Church, but many sentences of his learning are damned as they well wothly are. But as touching Philip of Ramington, that was first Canon, and after abbat of Leicester, which is now Bishop of Lincoln, I tell thee, that the day is comen, for which he fasted the even. For neither he holdeth now, nor will hold the learning that he taught, when he was a Canon of Leicester. For no bishop of this land pursueth now more sharply them that hold thy way, than he doth.

And I said: Sir, full many men and women wondreth upon him, and speaketh him mickle shame, and holdeth him for a curled enemy of the truth.

And the archbishop said to me: Therefore tarrest thou me thus here with such fables, wilt thou shortly (as I have said to thee) submit thee to me or no?

And I said: Sir, I tell you at one word; I dare not for the dread of God submit me to you, after the tenor and sentence that ye have above rehearsed to me.

And thus as if he had been wroth, he said to one of his clerks; Fetch hither quickly the certification that came to me from Shrewesbury under the bailiffes seal, witnessing the errors and heresies, which this doctell hath venimously sowne there.

Then hastily the clerk took out, and laid forth on a cupbord others roles and writings, among which there was a little one, which the clerke delivered to the Archbishop. And by and by the Archbishop read this roll containing this sentence.

The third Sunday after Easter, the yere of our Lord 1407. William Lhoppe came unto the towne of Shrewesbury, and through leade granted unto him to preach, he said openly in S. Chads church in his

SKINC  
HEN. 4

M. John Ashton, M. Philip of Ramington, Nicolas Herford, Davie Cotraie, John Wurray.

Happy be they  
that continue  
to the end.

Woe worth  
false covetise.

It is pity  
these prelates  
cannot weare.  
Cobertousnesse  
loyned with  
popishnesse.

The testimo-  
ny of Wickliffe  
out of the  
mouth of his  
own aduersari

Many such  
gits have our  
popish kalen-  
dars.  
Repington be-  
came a perse-  
cutor, after he  
was made bi-  
shop.

A worthy com-  
mendation of  
M. John  
Wickliffe.



KING  
HEN. 4.

he sacra-  
ment after con-  
secration, ma-  
terial bread,  
cucles ob-  
ied against  
William  
Thorpe.  
thosome e-  
ugh for  
ans soule,  
ough not for  
ur kitchin.

Shrewes-  
bury, thou hast  
caule to re-  
ent the, in  
as thou  
ouldest not  
cebe the  
thy when it  
as offered  
the.

The Romish  
Church must  
be established by  
renewing of  
the preachers.

I dare trust in  
Gods truth  
onfounderth  
be malice of  
priants.

If the touch-  
stone might  
ry, truth  
should be  
knowne.  
The descrip-  
on of the right  
Christians in  
Shrewesbury.  
The Catho-  
likes of  
Shrewesbury.  
Shrewesbury.  
except thou  
turne from thy  
wicked wayes,  
thou canst not  
receiue the  
truth.

his sermon, that the sacrament of the altar, after the consecration, was material bread. And that images should in no wise be worshipped. And that men should not go on pilgrimages. And that priests have no title to tithes. And that it is not lawfull to sweare in any wise.

And when the archbishop had read thus this roll, he rolled it up againe, and said to me. Is this whole some learning to be among the people?

And I said: Sir, I am both ashamed on their behalfe, and right sorrowfull for them that have certified you these things thus untruly: for I never preached, nor taught thus privily nor openly.

And the archbishop said to me, I will give credence to these worshipfull men which have written to me, and witnessed under their seals there among them. Though now thou deniest this, weneest thou that I will give credence to thee? Thou Lofell hast troubled the worshipfull communalty of Shrewesbury, so that the bailiffes and communalty of that towne have written to me, praying me that am archbishop of Canterbury, primate and chancellour of England, that I will vouchsafe to grant them, that if thou shalt be made (as thou art worthy) to suffer open touresse for thine heresies, that thou may have thy touresse openly there among them; So that all they whom thou and such other Loffels have there perverted, may through feare of thy deed be reconciled againe to the unity of holy Church. And also they that stand in true faith of holy Church, may through thy deed be more established therein. And as if this asking well pleased the archbishop, he said; By my thirt this hearty prayer and fervent request shall be thought on.

But certainly, neither the prayer of the men of Shrewesbury, nor the menacing of the archbishop made me any thing afraid. But in rehearsing of this malice, and in the hearing of it, my heart greatly rejoyced, and yet doth. I thank God for the grace that I then thought, and yet thinke shall come to all the Church of God herethorow, by the speciall mercifull doing of the Lord. And as having no dread of the malice of tyrants, by trusting stedfastly in the helpe of the Lord, with full purpose to knowledge the truthfulness, and to stand thereby after my cunning and power, I said to the archbishop, Sir, if the truth of Gods word might now be accepted as it should be, I doubt not to prove by likely evidence, that they that are fained to be out of the faith of holy Church in Shrewesbury, and in other places also, are in the true faith of holy Church. For as their words sound, and their works shew to mans indgement (dreading and loving faithfully God) their will, their desire, their love, and their businesse are most set to dread to offend God, and to love to please him in true and faithfull keeping of his commandments. And againe, they that are said to be in the faith of holy Church in Shrewesbury and in other places, by open evidence of their proud, envious, malicious, covetous, lecherous, and other foule words and works, neither know, nor have will to know, nor to occupy their wits truly and effectuously in the right faith of holy Church. Wherefore neither all these, nor any that follow their manners, shall any time come verily in the faith of holy Church, except they inforce them more truly to come in the way which now they despise. For these men and women, that are now called faithfull and holden just, nother know, nor will exercise themselves to know (of faithfulness) commandment of God.

And thus full many men and women now, and specially men that are named to be principall limbs of holy Church, stirre God to great wrath, and deserve his curse for that they call or hold them just men, which are full uniaist, as their vicious words, their great customable swearing, and their standous and shamefull works shew openly and witnesseth. And therefore such vicious men and uniaist in their

owne confession call them uniaist men and women, which after their power and cunning busie themselves to lide justly after the commandment of God. And where, sir, ye say that I have distressed the communalty of Shrewesbury, and many other men and women with my teaching: If it thus be, it is not to be wondered of wise men, since all the communalty of the City of Jerusalem was distressed of Christs own person, that was very God and man, and the most prudent Preacher that ever was or shall be. And also all the Synagogue of Nazareth was moved against Christ, and so fulfilled with ire towards him for his preaching, that the men of the Synagogue rose up and cast Christ out of their city, and led him up to the top of a mountaine to cast him downe there headlong: also accordingly hereto the Lord witnesseth by Moses, that he shall put dissention betwixt his people, and the people that contrarieth and pursueth his people. Who, sir, is he that shall preach the truth of Gods Word to the unfaithfull people, and shall let the truthfulness of the gospell, and the prophecie of God almightie to be fulfilled?

And the archbishop said to me: It followeth of these thy words, that thou & such other thinkest, that ye do right well to preach and teach as ye do, without authority of any bishop. For you presume that the Lord hath chosen you onely to preach, as faithfull disciples and speciall followers of Christ.

And I said; Sir, by authority of Gods Law, and also of Saints and Doctors I am learned to deeme, that it is every priests office and duty to preach busily, freely, and truly the Word of God. For no doubt every Priest should purpose first in his soule, and covet to take the order of priesthood, chiefly to make knowne to the people the Word of God, after his cunning and power; approving his words ever to be true by his vertuous works: and for this intent we suppose that Bishops and other Prelats of holy church should chiefly take and use their prelace, and for the same cause bishops should give to priests their orders. For bishops should accept no man to priesthood, except that he had god will and full purpose, and were well disposed, and well learned to preach. Wherefore sir, by the bidding of Christ, and by the example of his most holy living, and also by the witnessing of his holy Apostles and Prophets, we are bound under full great paine, to exercise us after our cunning and power (as every Priest is likewise charged of God) to fulfill duly the office of priesthood. We presume not here of our selves to be esteemed (neither in our owne reputation, nor in none other mans) faithfull disciples, and speciall followers of Christ. But sir, as I said to you before, we deeme this by authority chiefly of Gods word that it is the chiefe duty of every priest to busie him faithfully to make the Law of God knowne to his people; and so to commune the Commandment of God charitably, how that we may best, where, when, and to whom that ever we may, is our very duty: and for the will and businesse that we owe of due debt to doe justly our office through the stirring and speciall helpe (as we trust) of God, hoping stedfastly in his mercy, we desire to be the faithfull disciples of Christ, and we pray this gracious Lord for his holy name, that he make us able to please him with devout prayers, and charitable Priestly works, that we may obtaine of him to follow him thankfully.

And the archbishop said to me: Let us looke, whereto makest thou such baine reasons to me? Asketh not S. Paul, how should priests preach except they be sent? But I sent thee never to preach. For thy venomous doctrine is so known throughout England, that no bishop will admit thee to preach by witnessing of their letters. Why then let us blot, wilt thou presume to preach, since thou art not sent nor licensed of thy soveraigne to preach? Saith S. Paul, that subiects ought to obey their soveraigns, and not only good

Jerusalem  
troubled by the  
preaching of  
Christ.

The word of  
God ought to be  
preached,

If this lesson  
had bene well  
followed, the  
world had not  
been brought  
to such dark-  
nesse by blinde  
and dumbe  
priests.

An effectuous  
prayer, God  
grant in all  
ministers.

Why he pre-  
ached without  
the bishops li-  
cence.



We answereth  
to the question  
concerning the  
letter of licence

god and vertuous, but also tyrants that are vicious.

And I said to the archbishop: Sir, as touching your letter of licence, or other bishops, whiche ye say, we should have to witnesse that we are able to be sent to preach: we know well that neither you Sir, nor any other bishop of this land will grant to us any such letters of licence, but if we should oblige us to you, and to other bishops by unlesfull oathes, not to passe the bounds and termes which ye, sir, or other bishops will limit to us. And since in this matter your termes be some too large, and some too strait, we dare not oblige us thus to be bounden to you to keepe the termes, which you will limit to us, as you do to friers and such other preachers: and therefore, though we have not your letter sir, nor letters of any other bishops written with inke upon parchment, we dare not therefore leave the office of preaching (to which preaching all priests after their cunning and power are bound, by divers testimonies of Gods law, and great doctors) without any mention making of bishops letters. For as much as we have taken upon us the office of priesthood (though we are unworthy thereto) we came and purpose to fulfill it with the helpe of God, by authority of his owne law, and by witnesse of great Doctors and Saints, accordingly hereto trusting stedfastly in the mercy of God. For that he commandeth us to do the office of priesthood, he will be our sufficient letters and witnesse, if we by example of his holy living and teaching, specially occupie us faithfully to doe our office iustly: yea the people to whom we preach (be they faithfull or unfaithfull) shall be our letters, that is, our witnesse-bearers: for the truth where it is sowne may not be unwitnesed. For all that are converted and saved by learning of Gods word, and by working thereafter, are witnesse-bearers, that the truth and soothfastnesse, which they heard and did after, is cause of their salvation: And againe, all unfaithfull men and women which heard the truth told out to them, and would not doe thereafter: also all they that might have heard the truth, and would not heare it, because that they would not doe thereafter: all these shall beare witnesse against themselves, and the truth which they would not heare, or els heard it and despised to doe thereafter through their unfaithfulness, is and shall be cause of their damnation. Therefore sir, since this aforesaid witnesing of God, and of divers Saints and Doctors, and of all the people god and evil, sufficeth to all true preachers; we thinke that we do not the office of priesthood, if that we leave our preaching, because that we have not, or may not have buy bishops letters, to witnesse that we are sent of them to preach. This sentence appoeth S. Paul, where he speaketh of himselfe and of faithfull Apostles and Disciples, saying thus: We need no letters of commendations as some preachers do, which preach for covetousnes of temporall goods, and for mens praising. And where ye say sir, that Paul biddeth subiects obey their soveraignes, that is soth, and may not be denied. But there be two manner of soveraignes, vertuous soveraignes, and vicious tyrants. Therefore to these last soveraignes neither men nor women, that be subiect, owe to obey in two manners. To vertuous soveraignes and charitable subiects they owe to obey wilfully and gladly, in hearing of their god counsell, in consenting to their charitable biddings, and in working after their fruitfull works.

This sentence Paul appoeth, where he saith to subiects: We ye mindfull of your soveraignes, that speake to you the word of God, and follow you the faith of them, whole conversation you know to be vertuous. For as Paul saith after, these soveraignes to whom subiects ought to obey in following of their manners; worke busily in holy studying, how they may withstand and destroy vices, first in themselves and after in all their subiects, and how they may best

plant in them vertues. Also their soveraignes make devout and fervent prayers to purchase grace of God, that they and their subiects may over all things dread to offend him, and to love to please him. Also these soveraignes to whom Paul biddeth us obey, as it is said before, live so vertuously, that all they that will live well, may take of them god example, to know and to keepe the commandements of God. But in this aforesaid wise, subiects ought not to obey to be obedient to tyrants, while they are vicious tyrants, since their will, their counsell, their biddings and their works are so vicious, that they ought to be hated and left. And though such tyrants be masterfull and cruell in boasting and menacing in oppressions and divers punishings: S. Peter biddeth the servants of such tyrants, to obey meekly such tyrants, suffering patiently their malicious cruelties. But Peter counselleth not any servant or subiect to obey any lord, or prince, or soveraigne, in any thing that is not pleasing to God.

And the archbishop said unto me: If a soveraigne bid his subiect do that thing that is vicious, this soveraigne herein is to blame: but the subiect for his obedience deserbeth maled of God. For obedience more pleaseth God, than any sacrifice.

And I said, Samuel the prophet said to Saul the wicked king, that God was more pleased with the obedience of his Commandements, than with any sacrifice of beasts. But David saith, and S. Paul, and S. Gregory accordingly together, that not only they that doe evil, are worthy of death and damnation, but also they that consent to evil doers. And sir, the law of the holy Church teacheth in the decres; that no servant to his lord, nor child to the father or mother, nor wife to her husband, nor monk to his abbat ought to obey, except in lesfull things, and lawfull.

And the archbishop said to me: All these alleagings that thou bringest forth, are not else but proud presumptionnelle. For hereby thou inforcest thee to probe, that thou and such other are so iust, that ye ought not to obey to prelates. And thus against the learning of Saint Paul, that teacheth you not to preach, but if ye were sent, of your owne authority, ye will goe forth and preach, and doe what ye list.

And I said; Sir, presenteth not every Priest the office of the Apostles, or the office of the Disciples of Christ: And the archbishop said yea. And I said; sir, as the 10. chap. of Matthe and the last chap. of Marke witnesseth; Christ sent his Apostles to preach. And the 10. chapter of Luke witnesseth, that Christ sent his two and seventy Disciples to preach in every place that Christ was to come to: and S. Gregory in the common law saith, that every man that goeth to priesthood, taketh upon him the office of preaching: for as he saith, that Priest stirreth God to great wrath, of whose mouth is not heard the voice of preaching. And as other more glosses upon Ezechiel witnesseth, that the priest that preacheth not busily to the people, shall be partaker of their damnation that perish through his default. And though the people be saved by other speciall grace of God, than by the priests preaching, yet the priests, in that they are ordained to preach and preach not, as before God they are manslaughterers. For as farre as on them is, such priests as preach not busily and truly, slay all the people ghostly: in that they withhold from them the word of God, that is the life and substance of mens soules. And S. Jerome said, Priests shall be damned for wickednesse of the people, if they teach not them that are ignorant, or blame not them that are sinners. For all the work of business of Priests standeth in preaching and teaching, that they edifie all men as well by cunning of faith, as by discipline of works, that is, vertuous teaching: And as the Gospell witnesseth, Christ said in his teaching: I am bozne and comen into this world, to beare witnesse to the truth,

KING  
HEN. 4.

Two manner  
of obeying.  
1. In follow-  
ing their do-  
ings and ex-  
amples.  
2. In sufferin  
their wrongs

Wicked rule  
are not to be  
followed in  
evil.

Self reason  
my lord, and  
like a clerk.

Obedience n  
to be given b:  
in things test  
and lawfull.

All is presum-  
ption that da-  
beth against  
your masters  
ambition.

Priests in th  
they take  
priesthood, th  
are sent to  
preach.  
March. 10.  
Mar. ult.  
Luke 10.  
The office of  
priesthood is  
the office of  
preaching.

Priests that  
preach not, be  
slayers of the  
people.  
Isidor.

Doctrine of  
faith.  
Discipline of  
works.

The inconve-  
niences of see-  
king of the bi-  
shops letter of  
licence.

The witnesse  
of the preach-  
ers is the good  
life of the fol-  
lowers.

Two manner  
of soveraignes.

We meaneth  
prelates that be  
unvertuous.



KING  
HEN. 4

that's not  
ly sent to  
each, but  
mandated to  
each.  
regorius  
incolnienf.  
whatforber a  
an doth, lea-  
ng that un-  
me which he  
chiefly bound  
do to him.

yet this bishop  
luckely him  
or by the  
card, nor bur-  
ch not off his  
and, as  
soner did.

truth, and he that is of the truth heareth my voice.  
Then sir, since by the word of Christ specially, that  
is, his voice, priests are commanded to preach;  
whatforber priest that it be, that hath not god will  
and full purpose to do thus, and ableth not himself  
after his cunning and power to doe his office by the  
example of Christ and of his Apostles, whatforber  
other thing that he doth, displeaseth God. For loe,  
S. Gregory saith, that thing left that a man is bound  
chiefly to doe, whatforber other thing that a man  
doth, it is unthankfull to the Holy Ghost; and there-  
fore saith Lincolne, The priest that preacheth not the  
word of God, though he be seene to have none other  
default, he is Antichrist and Satans, a night these,  
and a day these, a sleper of soules, and an angell of  
light turned into darknesse. Wherefore sir, these  
authorities and other well considered, I deeme my  
selfe damnable, if I either for pleasure or displeasure  
of any creature apply me not diligently to preach  
the word of God. And in the same damnation I  
deeme all those priests, which of god purpose and  
will enforce them not busly to doe thus, and also all  
them that have purpose or will to let any priest of  
this businesse.

And the archbishop said to those three clerks that  
stood before him; Loe sirs, this is the manner and  
businesse of this losell and such other, to picke out  
such sharpe sentences of holy scripture and doctors,  
to maintain their sect and loze against the ordinance  
of holy Church. And therefore losell, it is thou that  
cotebest to have againe the Walter that I made to  
be taken from thee at Canterbury, to record sharpe  
verbes against us. But thou shalt never have that  
Walter nor any other booke, till that I know that  
thy heart and thy mouth accord fully to be governed  
by holy Church.

And I said; sir, all my will and power is, and ever  
shall be (I trust to God) to be governed by holy  
Church.

And the archb. asked me, what was holy Church:  
And I said; sir, I told you before what was holy  
Church. But since ye ask me this demand; I call  
Christ and his saints holy Church.

And the archbishop said unto me; I wot well that  
Christ and his Saints are holy Church in heaven,  
but what is holy Church in earth?

And I said, sir, though holy church be every one  
in charity, yet it hath two parts. The first and princi-  
pall part hath overcome perfectly all the wretch-  
ednesse of this life, and reigneth ioyfully in heaben  
with Christ. And the other part is here yet in earth,  
busly and continually fighting day and night  
against temptations of the fiend; forsaking and ha-  
ting the prosperity of this world, despising and with-  
standing their fleshy lusts, which onely are the pil-  
grims of Christ, wandring toward heaben by sted-  
fast faith, and grounded hope, and by perfect charity.  
For these heavenly pilgrims may not, nor will not  
be letted of their good purpose, by the reason of any  
doctors discording from holy Scripture, nor by the  
floods of any tribulation temporall, nor by the wind  
of any pride, of boast, or of menacing of any crea-  
ture: For they are all fast grounded upon the sure  
stone Christ, hearing his word and loving it, exerci-  
sing them faithfully and continually in all their wits  
to do thereafter.

And the archbishop said to his clerks, See ye not  
how his heart is indurate, and how he is travelled  
with the drbell, occupying him thus busly to inedge  
such sentences to maintaine his errors and heresies.  
Certaine, thus he would occupy us here all day, if  
we would suffer him.

One of the clerks answered; Sir, he said right  
now, that this certification, that came to you from  
Shrewesbury, is untruly forged against him. There-  
fore sir, appose you him now here in all the points  
which are certified against him, and so we shall heare  
of his owne mouth his answers, and witness them.

And the archbishop toke the certification in his  
hand, and looked thereon a while, and then he said to me.

Loe here it is certified against thee by worthy  
men and faithfull of Shrewesbury, that thou preach-  
est there openly in S. Chads Church, that the Sa-  
crament of the Altar was materiall bread after the  
consecration; what sayest thou? Was this truly  
preached?

And I said; Sir, I tell you truly that I touched  
nothing there of the Sacrament of the Altar, but in  
this wise as I will with Gods grace tell you here.  
As I stood there in the pulpit, busying me to teach  
the commandement of God, there knilled a sacred  
bell, and therefore mickle people turned away hastily,  
and with noise ran so towards me. And I seeing  
this, said to them thus: God men, ye were better  
to stand here still and to heare Gods word. For certs  
the vertue and the meed of the most holy Sacra-  
ment of the altar standeth mickle more in the belof  
thereof that you ought to have in your soule, than it  
doth in the outward sight thereof. And therefore ye  
were better to stand still quietly to heare Gods  
word, because that through the hearing thereof, men  
come to very true belofe. And otherwise sir, I am  
certaine I spake not there of the worthy sacrament  
of the Altar.

And the archbishop said to me: I beleve thee not  
whatforber thou sayst, since so worshipfull men have  
witnessed thus against thee. But since thou deniest  
that thou saidest thus there, what sayest thou now?  
Kesteth there after the consecration in the host, ma-  
teriall bread or no?

And I said; sir, I know in no place in holy scrip-  
ture where this terme materiall bread is writton;  
and therefore sir, when I speake of this matter, I  
use not to speak of materiall bread.

Then the archbishop said to me; How teachest  
thou men to beleve in this sacrament?

And I said; sir, as I beleve my selfe, so I teach  
other men.

He said; Tell out plainly thy belefe thereof.

And I said with my protestation: sir, I beleve  
that the night before that Christ Iesus would suffer  
(wilfully) passion for mankind on the moine after,  
he took bread in his holy and most worshipfull hands  
lifting up his eyes, and giving thanks to God his  
father, blessed this bread, and brake it, and gave it  
to his Disciples, saying to them; Take and eat of  
this all you, this is my body. And that this is and  
ought to bee all mens belofe, Mattheu, Marke,  
Luke and Paul witnesseth. Other belofe sir I have  
none, nor will have, nor teach: for I beleve, that  
this sufficeth in this matter. For in this belofe with  
Gods grace I purpose to live and die, knowing  
as I beleve and teach other men to beleve, that  
the worshipfull Sacrament of the Altar is the Sa-  
crament of Christs flesh and blood in the forme of  
bread and wine.

And the archbishop said to me: It is sooth that this  
Sacrament is very Christs body in forme of bread.  
But thou and thy sect teachest it to be substance of  
bread. Think you this true teaching?

And I said; Neither I, nor any other of the sect  
that ye damne, teach any otherwise than I have told  
you, nor beleve otherwise to my knowing. Neuer-  
theless sir, I aske of you for charity, that you will  
tell me here plainly, how ye shall understand the text  
of S. Paul, where he saith thus: This thing saie  
you in your selfe that is in Christ Iesus, while hee  
was in the forme of God. Sir, calleth not Paul  
here the forme of God, the substance or kinde of  
God? Also sir, saith not the Church in the hours of  
the most blessed Virgin accordingly hereto, where it  
is writton thus: Thou author of health remember;  
that sometime thou toke of the undefiled Virgin  
the forme of our body. Tell me for charity there-  
fore, whether the forme of our bodies be called here  
the kinde of our body or no?

And

The form  
of the  
substance  
of the  
body.

The virtue of  
the Sacra-  
ment standeth  
in the belofe,  
more than in  
the outward  
signe.

Patience  
is  
bread.

oly Church.

Parts of the  
Church.

Selfe help for  
ward clerk.



The papists have none other defence for them, but onely the Church. Every ordinance of churchmen bindeth not our faith.

The greatest doctors of the church be Apostles. Saint callith it bread.

S. Augustine callith it bread

The secret of the masse on Christmas day nameth it a terrene substance.

As for him, he can declare but a little. Choke him up say lord.

To grant the real being of the body without bread, is as much as to grant the accident to be without the subject.

Against proud Sophisters. Templum Domini, Templum Domini.

The church had found till the kind broke hole.

And the archbishop said to me; Wouldest thou make me to declare this text after thy purpose, since the Church now hath determined, that there abideth no substance of bread, after the consecration, in the sacrament of the altar? Belovest thou not this ordinance of the Church?

And I said; Sir, whatsoever prelates have ordained in the Church, our belove standeth ever whole. I have not heard, that the ordinance of men under belove should be put into belove.

And the archbishop said to me; If thou hast not learned this before, learne now to know that thou art out of belove, if in this matter and other thou belovest not as the holy Church beloveth. What say doctors treating of this sacrament?

And I said; Sir, Saint Paul, that was a great doctor of holy Church, speaking to the people, and teaching them in the right belove of this most holy sacrament, callith it bread that we breake. And also in the canon of the masse after the consecration, this most worthy Sacrament is called holy bread. And every priest in this land, after that he hath received this sacrament, faith in this wise; That thing that we have taken with our mouth, we pray God that we may take it with a pure and cleane minde. That is, as I understand, we pray God that we may receive, through very belove, this holy sacrament worthily. And Sir, Saint Augustine faith; That thing that is seene is bread; but that mens faith asketh to be informd of is very Christs body. And also S. Fulgence an ententive doctor faith; As it were an error to say that Christ was but a substance, that is, very man, and not very God; or to say that Christ was very God, and not very man: so is it (this doctor faith) an error to say, that the sacrament of the altar is but a substance; and also Sir, accordingly hereto, in the secret of the mid masse on Christmas day, it is written thus; Idem refulsit Deus, sic terrena substantia nobis confertur quod divinum est; which sentence Sir, with the secret of the fourth ferie, quatuor temporum Septembris, I pray you Sir declare here openly in English.

And the archbishop said to me, I perceiveth well enough whereabout thou art, and how the devil blindeth thee, that thou may not understand the ordinance of holy Church, nor content thereto. But I command thee now, answer me shortly; Belovest thou, that, after the consecration of this foresaid sacrament, there abideth substance of bread, or not?

And I said; Sir, as I understand, it is all one to grant or belove that there dwelleth substance of bread, and to grant and to belove, that this most worthy sacrament of Christs own body is accident without subject. But Sir, for as much as your asking passeth my understanding, I dare neither deny it, nor grant it; for it is scholre matter, about which I busied me never to know: and therefore I commit this terme, accidens sine subjecto, to those clerks which delight them so in curious and subtill sophistry, because they determine oft so difficult and strange matters, and wade and wander so in them from argument to argument, with pro & contra, till that they wot not where they are and understand not themselves. But the shame that these proud sophisters have to yield them to men, and before men, maketh them oft fooler, and to be concluded shamefully before God.

And the archbishop said to me; I purpose not to oblige thee to the subtill arguments of clerks, since thou art unable thereto; but I purpose to make thee obey to the determination of holy Church.

And I said; Sir, by open evidence and great witness, a yere after the incarnation of Christ, the determination, which I have here before you rehearsed, was accept of holy Church as sufficient to the salvation of all them that would belove it faithfully, and worke thereafter charitably. But Sir, the

determination of this matter was brought in, since the fiend was loosed, by fryer Thomas againe, especially calling the most worshipfull Sacrament of Christs own body an accident without subject: which terme, since I know not that Gods law appoynteth it in this matter, I dare not grant, but utterly I deny to make this fryers sentence, or any such other, my belove; do with me God what thou wilt.

And the archbishop said to me; Well, well, thou shalt say otherwise ere that I leave thee. But what faist thou to this second point that is recorded against thee by worthy men of Shrewsbury, saying, that thou preachedst there, that images ought not to be worshipped in any wise?

And I said; Sir, I preached never thus, nor through Gods grace will I at any time consent to thinke, or to say thus, either privily or apertly. For loe, the Lord witnesseth by Moses, that the things which he made were right god, and so then they were, and yet they are and shall be god and worshippfull in their kind. And therefore, to the end that God made them so, they are all praiseable and worshippfull, and specially man, that was made after the image and likeness of God, is full worshippfull in his kinde, yea, this holy image, that is man, God worshippeth. And therefore every man should worship other, in kinde, and also for heavenly vertues that men use charitably. And also I say, wood, tin, gold, silver, or any other matter that images are made of, all these creatures are worshippfull in their kinde, and to the end that God made them so. But the carving, casting, and painting of an imagery, made within mans hand, albeit that this doing be accept of man of highest state and dignity, and ordained of them to be a calendar to lewd men, that neither can, nor will be learned to know God in his word, neither by his creatures, nor by his wonderfull and divers workings; yet this imagery ought not to be worshipped in forme, nor in the likeness of mans craft. Hebertheleste, that every matter the painters paint with, since it is Gods creature, ought to be worshipped in the kinde, and to that end that God made and ordained it to serve man.

Then the archbishop said to me, I grant well that no body ought to do worship to any such images for themselves. But a crucifix ought to be worshipped for the passion of Christ that is painted therein, and so brought there through to mans mind; and thus the images of the blessed Trinity, and of the Virgin Mary Christs mother, and other images of saints ought to be worshipped. For loe, earthly kings and lords which use to send their letters ensealed with their armes, or with their privy signet to them that are with them, are worshipped of these men. For when these men receive their lords letters, in which they see and know the wils and biddings of the lords, in worship of their lords, they do off their caps to these letters. Why not then, since in images made with mans hand, we may read and know many and divers things of God, and of his Saints, shall we not worship their images?

And I said, within my foresaid protestation I say, that these worshipful usages of temporall lawes that ye speake now of, may be done in case without sin. But this is no similitude to worship images, made by mans hand, since that Moses, David, Salomon, Baruch, and other saints in the Bible forbid so plainly the worshipping of such images.

Then the archbishop said to me; Letw lozell, in the old law before that Christ took mankind, was no likeness of any person of the Trinity neither shewed to man, nor knowne of man: But now since Christ became man, it is lesfull to have images to shew his manhood, yea, though many men which are right great clerks, & other also, held it an error to paint the Trinity; I say, it is well done to make and to paint the Trinity in images, for it is great moving of devotion to men, to have and to behold the Trinity

{ KING }  
HEN. 4.  
Transubstantiation brought in by Fryer Thom. Aquin

It is happy he did not flee in his face, as Bonner did.

The second point touching images. They charged with an untruth.

Man a worshippfull image of God.

Though man accept the painting or carving of images, yet is it not the right way to learne to serve God.

The image of the Trinity.

A similitude of the kings seal or letters to prove the worship of images

No similitude to be made betweene earthly things and spiritual, namely when Gods word doth expresseth to the contrary. So you say in Lord, but God saith contrary in his commandments. Painters devotion and popes divinity do well agree



**KING**  
**HEN. 4.**  
Preparation of  
the painters to  
make a faire  
and a devout  
image.

Trinity and other images of saints carved, cast, and painted. For beyond the Sea are the best painters that ever I saw. And first I tell you, this is their manner: and it is a good manner: when that an image-maker shall carve, cast in mold, or paint any images, he shall goe to a priest, and shew him as cleane, as if he should then die; and take penance, and make some certaine bow of fasting or of praying, or pilgrimages doing, praying the priest specially to pray for him, that he may have grace to make a faire and a devout image.

And I said, sir, I doubt not if these painters that ye speak of, or any other painters, understood truly the Vert of Moses, of David, of the Wise man, of Baruch, and of other saints and doctors; these painters should be moved to shew them to God with full inward sorrow of heart, taking upon them to doe right sharpe penance for the sinfull and bad craft of painting, carving, or casting they had used: promising God faithfully never to do so after: knowing ledging openly before all men their reprocheable learning. And also these priests that shew (as you do say) painters, and entorne them to do penance, and pray for their speed, promising to them helpe of their prayers to be curious in their sinfull crafts, sir herein more grievously than the painters. For these priests doe comfort and give them counsell to doe that thing, which of great paine, yea under the paine of Gods curse, they should utterly forbid them. For certes sir, if the wonderfull working of God, and the holy living and teaching of Christ, and of his Apostles and Prophets, were made knowne to the people by holy living, and true, and busie teaching of priests; these things (sir) were sufficient bookes and kalenders to know God by, and his Saints, without any images made with mans hand. But certes, the vicious living of priests and their covetousnesse, are chiefe cause of this error; and all other viciousnesse that reigneth among the people.

Then the archbishop said unto me, I hold thee a vicious priest and accursed, and all they that are of thy sect; for all priests of holy Church, and all images that move men to devotion, thou and such other goe about to destroy. Lozell, were it a faire thing to come into the Church, and see therein none image?

And I said, sir, they that come to the Church, to pray devoutly to the Lord God, may in their inward wits be the more fervent, that all their outward wits be close from all outward seeing and hearing, and from all disturbance and lettings. And since Christ blessed them that saw him not bodily, and have believed faithfully in him; it sufficeth then to all men (through hearing and knowing Gods word, and doing thereafter) to believe in God, though they never see images made with mans hand after any person of the Trinity, or of any other Saint.

And the archbishop said to me with a fervent spirit: I say to thee Lozell, that it is right well done to make and to have an image of the Trinity: Yea, what sayest thou? is it not a stirring thing to behold such an image?

And I said, sir, ye said right now that in the old law, ere Christ took mankinde, no likenesse of any person of the Trinity was shewed to men: wherefore sir, ye said it was not then lesfull to have images, but now ye say, since Christ is become man, it is lesfull to have and to make an image of the Trinity, and also of other saints. But sir, this thing would I learne of you: since the Father of heaven, yea and every person of Trinity was without beginning God almighty, and many holy prophets that were deadly men, were martyred violently in the old law, and also many men and women then died confessors; why was it not then as lesfull and necessary as now, to have made an image of the Father of Heaven, and to have made and had other images of Martyrs, Prophets and holy confessors, to have

been kalenders to advise men and move them to devotion, as ye say that images now do?

And the archbishop said; The synagoge of the Jewes had not authority to approve those things as the Church of Christ hath now.

And I said, sir, St. Gregory was a great man in the new law, and of great dignity, and as the common law witnesseth, he commended greatly a bishop, in that he forbade utterly the images made with mans hand should be worshipped.

And the archbishop said; Unglacious Lozell, thou savourest do more truth than an hound. Since at the rood at the Northdore at London, at our Lady at Walsingham, and many other places in England, are many great and prayefable miracles done: should not the images of such holy saints and places at the reverence of God, and of our Lady, and other Saints, be more worshipped than other places and images, where no miracles are done?

And I said, sir, there is no such vertue in any imagery, that any image should heretofore be worshipped; wherefore I am certaine that there is no miracle done of God in any place in earth, because that any images made with mans hand should be worshipped. And therefore sir, as I preached openly at Shrewsbury and other places, I say now here before you: That no body should trust that there were any vertue in imagery made with mans hand; and therefore no body should bow to them, nor keepe them, nor kneele to them, nor bow to them, nor pray to them, nor offer any thing to them, nor kisse them, nor incense them. For loe the most worship of such images, the brassen Serpent (by Moses made, at Gods bidding) the god king Ezechias destroyed worshipfully and thankfully, and all because it was incensed. Therefore sir, if men take god had to the writing and the learning of Saint Augustine, of Saint Gregory, and of Saint John Chrysostome, and of other Saints and Doctors, how they spake and wrote of miracles, that shall be done now in the last end of the world: It is to be dread, that for the unfaithfulness of men and women, the fiend hath great power to worke many of the miracles that now are done in such places. For both men and women delight now more to heare and know miracles, than they doe to know Gods word, or to heare it effectually. Wherefore, to the great confusion of all them that thus doe, Christ saith, the generation of adulterers requirereth tokens, miracles, and wonders. Nevertheless, as divers saints say: now when the faith of God is published in Christendome, the Word of God sufficeth to mans salvation, without such miracles: and thus also the Word of God sufficeth to all faithfull men and women without any such images. But god Sir, since the Father of heaven, that is God in his Godhead, is the most unknowne thing that may be, and the most wonderfull Spirit, having in it no shape nor likenesse, and members of any deadly creature; in what likenesse or what Image may God the Father be shewed or painted.

And the archbishop said; as holy Church hath suffered the images of the Trinity, and all other images to be painted and shewed; it sufficeth to them that are members of holy Church. But since thou art a rotten member, cut away from holy Church; thou savourest not the ordinance thereof. But since the day passeth, leave we this matter.

And then he said to me. What sayest thou to the third point that is certified against thee, preaching openly in Shrewsbury, that pilgrimage is not lesfull: And over this thou saidest that those men and women that go on pilgrimages to Canterbury, to Beverley, to Hartington, to Walsingham, and to any other such places, are accursed and made foolish, spending their goods in waste.

And I said, Sir, by this certification I am accused

The power of such images, but my lord doth not tell by whole power.

Great miracles done by images, but my lord doth not tell by whole power.

Miracles importing worship to be done to images may well be suspected not to come of God. A Christian man ought not to bow, keele, nor bow, nor pray, nor offer, nor kisse an image.

For the unfaithfulness of men, the devil may worke miracles.

The word of God sufficeth us to salvation, without miracles. That which is of nature unknowne, cannot be resembled by any visible creature knowne.

Holy church of your owne building.

The 3. articles

Pilgrimage.

The true books and kalenders to know God.

A better sight my lord than to see blinde stocks there to be worshipped.

The right service of a Christian.

My lord, your yea will not answer Gods nay.

Note this ye worshippers and maintainers of Images.



fed to you that I should teach, that no pilgrimage is lesfull. But I said never thus. For I know that there be true pilgrims and lesfull, and full pleasant to God: and therefore Sir, whosoever mine enemies have certified you of me, I told at Shrewsbury of two manner of pilgrimages.

And the archbishop said to me, whom callest thou true pilgrims?

And I said, sir, with my protestation I call them true pilgrims travelling toward the blisse of heaven, which in the state, degree, or order that God calleth them to, doe busie them faithfully to occupy all their wits bodily and ghostly, to know truly, and to keepe faithfully the biddings of God, hating and fleeing all the seven deadly sins, and every branch of them: Making them vertuously (as it is said before) with all their wits, doing discretely, wilfully, and gladly, all the workes of mercy, bodily and ghostly, after their cunning and power, abling them to the gifts of the holy Ghost, disposing them to receive them in their soules, and to hold therein the right blessings of Christ; busying them to know and to keepe the seven principall vertues, and so then they shall obtaine here through grace, to use thankfully to God all the conditions of charity. And then they shall be moved with the good Spirit of God, to examine oft and diligently their conscience, that neither wilfully nor unwittingly they erre in any article of beleefe, having continually (as frailty will suffer) all their businesse, to dread and to flee the offence of God, and to love over all, and to seeke ever to doe his pleasant will. Of these pilgrimages I said, whatsoever god thought that they at any time thinke, what vertuous word that they speake, and that fruitfull worke that they worke; Every such thought, word, and worke is a steppe numberd of God toward him into heaven. These foresaid pilgrims of God, delight soe when they heare of saints or of vertuous men and women, how they forsake wilfully the prosperity of this life, how they withstand the suggestion of the fiend, how they restrained their fleshly lusts, how discret they were in their penance doing, how patient they were in all their adversities, how prudent they were in counselling of men and women, moving them to hate all sinnes, and to flee them, and to shame ever greatly thereof, and to love all vertues, and to draw to them, imagining how Christ and his followers by example of him suffered scames and slanders, and how patiently they abode and toke the wrongfull menacing of tyrants: How homely they were, and serviceable to poore men to reliefe and comfort them bodily and ghostly, after their power and cunning, and how devout they were in prayers, how fervent they were in heavenly desires, and how they absented them from spectacles of vain sayings and hearings, and how stable they were to let and destroy all vices, and how laborious and ioyfull they were to sow and to plant vertues: These heavenly conditions and such other have pilgrims, or endeavour to have them, whose pilgrimage God accepteth.

And againe, I said, as their workes shew, the most part of men and women, that go now on pilgrimages, have not these foresaid conditions, nor love to busie them faithfully to have. For as I well know, since I have full oft assaid, examine whosoever will ye. of these pilgrims, and he shall not find three men or women that know surely a Commandment of God, nor can say their Pater noster and Ave Maria, nor their Creed readily in any manner of language. And as I have learned and also know somewhat by experience of these same pilgrims, telling the cause why that many men and women goe hither and thither now on pilgrimage, it is more for the health of their bodies, than of their soules: more to have riches and prosperity of this world, than to be enriched with vertues in their soules: more to have here worldly and fleshly friendship,

than to have friendship of God, and of his saints in heaven: for whatsoever thing man or woman doth, the friendship of God, or of any other saint, cannot be had, without keeping of Gods commandments. Further with my protestation, I say now, as I said in Shrewsbury, though they that have fleshly wits, travell farre their bodies, and spend mickle money, to seeke and to visit the bones or images (as they say they doe) of this saint or of that: such pilgrimage going is neither praiseable nor thankfull to God nor to any saint of God, since in effect all such pilgrims despise God and all his commandments and saints. For the commandments of God they will neither know, nor keepe, nor conforment them to live vertuously by example of Christ and of his Saints. Wherefore sir, I have preached and taught openly, and so I purpose all my life time to doe with Gods helpe, saying that such fond people waste blamefully Gods goods in their vaine pilgrimages, spending their goods upon vicious hostellers, which are oft uncleane women of their bodies; and at the least, those goods with the which they should do workes of mercy, after Gods bidding, to poore needy men and women.

These poore mens gods and their libelode, these runners about offer to rich priests, which have mickle more libelode than they need. And thus those gods they waste wilfully, and spend them untwisly against Gods bidding upon strangers, with which they should helpe and reliefe after Gods will their poore needy neighbours at home: yea and over this folly, oftentimes others men and women, of these runners thus madly hither and thither into pilgrimage, borrow hereto other mens gods, yea and sometime they steale mens gods hereto, and they pay them neder againe. Also sir, I know wel that when divers men & women will go thus after their own wits, and finding out one pilgrimage; they will ordaine with them before, to have with them both men and women, that can well sing wanton songs, and some other pilgrims, will have with them bagpipes: so that every tostone that they come through, what with the noise of their singing, and with the sound of their piping, and with the tangling of their Canterbury bells, and with the barking out of dogs after them, they make more noise, than if the king came there, away with all his clarions, and many other minstrels. And if these men and women be a month out in their pilgrimage, many of them shall be an halfe yere after, great tanglets, tale-tellers and liars.

And the archbishop said to me: Let us losse, thou seest not far enough in this matter, for thou considerest not the great travell of pilgrims, therefore thou blamest that thing that is praiseable. I say to thee, that it is right well done, that pilgrims have with them both fingers and also pipers; that when one of them that goeth barefoot striketh his toe upon a stone, and hurteth him sore, and maketh him to bleed, it is well done that he or his fellow begin then a song, or els take out of his bosome a bagpipe, to drive away with such mirth the hurt of his fellow. For with such solace the travell and wearinesse of pilgrims is lightly and merrily borne out.

And I said sir, saint Paul teacheth men to weape with them that weep.

And the archbishop said, what tanglest thou against mens devotion? Whatsoever thou or such other say, I say that the pilgrimage that now is used, is to them that doe it a praiseable and a good meane to come the rather to grace. But I hold thee unable to know this grace, for thou inforcest thee to let the devotion of the people; since by authority of holy Scripture, men may lesfully have and use such solace as thou reprovest. For David in his last Psalm teacheth men to have divers instruments of musick to praise God therewith.

And I said, sir, by the sentence of divers doctors expounding the Psalmes of David, that musike

{ KING }  
{ HEN. 4 }

Two manner  
of pilgrima-  
ges.

The true pil-  
grimage is to  
travell in hea-  
venly things.

Pilgrimage  
displeasing to  
God.

Goods thus  
bestowed in  
pilgrimage.

The inconve-  
nience that  
cometh by  
pilgrimage.

Every good  
worke is a  
good step to  
heaven.

The manner  
and examples  
of saints.

Well spoken  
my lord for  
Lincolneshire  
bagpipes.  
And why they  
blamed bones  
Philpot for  
singing in the  
locks.

A new found  
way to grace  
of the bishops  
making.



**{ KING }**  
**{ HEN 4 }**  
Instruments  
and mules of  
the old testa-  
ment, how they  
are to be appli-  
ed and used in  
the new testa-  
ment.

and minstrelsie that David and other saints of the old law spake of, ought now neither to be taken nor used by the letter, but these instruments with their musick ought to be interpreted ghostly: For all those figures are called vertues and grace, with which vertues men should please God, and praise his name. For S. Paul saith, all such things befall to them in figure. Therefore sir, I understand, that the letter of this Psalm of David and of such other Psalmes and sentences doth say them that take them now literally: This sentence as I understand sir, Christ himselfe approbeth, putting out the minstrels, that he would quicken the dead dancell.

And the archbishop said to me, Leind lossell, is it not leful to us to have Organs in the Church to worship therewithall God? And I said, yea sir, by mans ordinance; but by the ordinance of God, a good sermon, to the peoples understanding, were much more pleasant to God.

And the archbishop said, that organs and good delectable songs quickned and sharpened more mens wits, than should any sermon.

But I said, sir, lusty men and worldly lovers be light and cobet, and travele to have all their wits quickned and sharpened with divers sensible solace: But all the faithfull lovers and followers of Christ, have all their delight to heare Gods Word, and to understand it truly, and to work thereafter faithfully and continually. For no doubt, to deade to offend God, and to love to please him in all things, quickneth and sharpeneth all the wits of Christs chosen people; and ableth them so to grace, that they toy greatly to withdraw their eares and all their wits and members from all worldly delight, and from all fleshy solace. For S. Hierome (as I think) saith, No body may toy with this world and reigne with Christ.

And the archbishop (as if he had bene displeased with my answer) said to his clerks; What ghesse ye that this idiot will speake there, where he hath no deade; since he speaketh thus now here in my presence? Well, well, by God thou shalt be ordained for. And then he spake to me all angerly.

**W**hat sayest thou to this fourth point, that is certified against thee, preaching openly and boldly in Shyrewesbury, that priests have no title to tithes?

And I said, sir, I named there no word of tithes in my preaching. But more than a moneth after that I was arrested there in prison, a man came to me into the prison, asking me what I said of tithes: and I said to him, Sir, in this towne are many clerks and priests, of which some are called religious men, though many of them be seculars; Therefore aske ye of them this question. And this man said to me, Sir, our prelates say, that we also are obliged to pay our tithes of all things that venue to us; and that they are accursed that withdraw any part wittingly from them of their tithes. And I said (Sir) to that man, as with my protestation I say now before you; that I wonder that any priest dare say men to be accursed, without the ground of Gods Word. And the man said, Sir, our priests say, that they curse men thus by the authority of Gods Law. And I said, Sir, I know not where this sentence of cursing is authorised now in the Bible. And therefore Sir, I pray ye that ye will aske the most cunning clerk of this towne, that ye may know where this sentence of cursing them that tithe not, is now written in Gods Law: for if it were written there, I would right gladly be learned where. But shortly this man would not goe from me to aske this question of another body: But required me there, as I would answer before God, if in this case that cursing of priests were lawfull and approved of God? And shortly herewith came to my minde the learning of Saint Peter, teaching Priests specially to

hallow the Lord Christ in their hearts: being ever more ready (as farre as in them is) to answer through faith and hope to them that aske of them a reason. And this lesson Peter teacheth men to use with a meeke spirit, and with dread of the Lord.

Wherefore sir, I said to this man in this wise: In the old law, which ended not fully till the time that Christ rose up againe from death to life, God com-

manded tithes to be given to the Levites, for the great businesse and daily travell that pertained to their office. But Priests, because their travell was mickle more easie and light, than was the office of the Levites: God ordained the Priests should take for their livelode to doe their office, the tenth part of those tithes that were given to the Levites.

But now (I said) in the new law, neither Christ nor any of his Apostles take tithes of the people, nor commanded the people to pay tithes, neither to Priests, nor to Deacons.

But Christ taught the people to doe almes, that is, workes of mercy, to poore needy men (of surplus, that is, superfluous of their temporall goods) which they had more than they needed reasonably to their necessary livelode.

And thus (I said) not of tithes, but of pure almes of the people, Christ lived and his Apostles, when they were so busie in preaching of the Word of God to the people, that they might not travell otherwise to get their livelode.

But after Christs ascension, and when the Apostles had received the Holy Ghost, they travelled with their hands to get their livelode, when that they might thus doe for busie preaching.

Therefore by example of himselfe, Saint Paul teacheth all the Priests of Christ to travell with their hands, when for busie teaching of the people they might thus doe.

And thus all these Priests, whose Priesthood God accepteth now, or will accept, or did in the Apostles time, and after their decease, will do to the worlds end.

But (as Cisterkenis telleth) in the thousand yere of our Lord Jesus Christ, yere, one pope Gregory the tenth ordained new tithes first to be given to priests now in the new law.

But Saint Paul in his time, whose trace or trample all priests of God inforce them to follow, seeing the covetousnesse that was among the people, desiring to destroy that foule sin through the grace of God and true vertuous living and example of himselfe, wrought and taught all Priests to follow him as he followed Christ, patiently, willingly, and gladly in high poverty.

Wherefore Paul saith thus; The Lord hath ordained that they that preach the Gospell, shall live of the Gospell. But we (saith Paul) that cobet and busie us to be faithfull followers of Christ, use not this power.

For loe (as Paul witnesseth afterwards) when he was full poore and needy, preaching among the people; he was not chargeous unto them, but with his hands he travelled not onely to get his own living, but also the living of other poore and needy creatures: and since the people was never so covetous, nor so avaritious (I ghesse) as they are now, it were good counsell that all priests toke good heed to this heavenly learning of Paul, following him here in wilfull poverty, nothing charging the people for their bodily livelode.

But because that many priests do contrary to Paul in this foresaid doctrine, Paul biddeth the people take heed to those priests that follow him as he had given them example. As if Paul would say thus to the people; Accept ye none other priests than they, that live after the form that I have taught you.

For certaine, in whatsoever dignity or order that any priest is in, if he conform him not to follow Christ and his Apostles in wilfull poverty, and in other heavenly vertues, and specially in true preaching of Gods word; though such a one be named a Priest, yet he is no more but a Priest in name, for the worke of a very Priest in such an one wanteth.

This sentence appogeth Augustine, Gregorie, Chrysostome, and Lincolne plainly.

A difference to be put betwixt the old law and the new. Priests had the x. part of the tithes given to the Levites.

Christ commanded almes, not tithes, except tithes be almes.

Tithes by whom and when they were first commanded in the new law.

Paul having power to take yet used it not.

Paul would not be chargeous. If Priests were covetous then, what be they now? This rule with the rule of begging friers cannot stand together.

Organs in the church. A fit comparison my lord, and thus your selfe.

The saying of Hierome.

You sweate my lord.

The fourth article concerning priests tithes.

A paradoxe without Gods word.



{ KING }  
{ HEN. 4. }

Wolcome enough my lord if your grace were good to favour it. But it contrarie to the ordinance of God, of his word. If Priests would not slack in their duty, they should not lack in having sufficient.

Fallax argumentum secundum non causam ut causam.

The evil demeanour of the priests is the cause why the people be so slack in their tithes.

Priests being content with sufficiency, and a bare living, ought to part the residue to the poore.

Priests did so then, but our priests do not to now.

Whether tithes are to be paid to priests doing nor their duty.

Shallly mother, may an ungholly step-dame, to all Gods children.

By the law none could challenge tithes, but only the seed of Levi: Our priests be not of the seed of Levi: Ergo by the law our priests cannot challenge tithes. As the priesthood is changed, so is the law changed.

And the archbishop said to me, Thinkest thou this wholesome learning to sow openly, or yet privily among the people? Certainely this doctrine contrarieth plainly the ordinance of holy fathers, which have ordained, granted, and licensed priests to be in divers degrees, and to live by tithes and offerings of the people, and by other duties.

And I said, sir, if priests were now in measurable measure and number, and lived virtuously, and taught busily and truly the word of God, by example of Christ and of his Apostles, without tithes, offerings, and other duties that priests now challenge and take; the people would give them freely sufficient livelode.

And a clerk said to me; How wilt thou make this good, that the people will give freely to Priests their livelode; since that now by the law every priest can scarcely constraine the people to give them their livelode?

And I said, sir, it is now no wonder though the people grudge to give priests the livelode that they aske: Ipekill people know now, how that Priests should live, and how that they live contrary to Christ and to his Apostles. And therefore the people is full heavy to pay (as they do) their temporall goods to Parsons, and to other Vicars and Priests, which should be faithful dispensators of the parishes goods: taking to themselves no more but a scarce living of tithes, nor of offerings, by the ordinance of the common law. For whatsoever Priests take of the people (be it tithes or offering, or any other duty or service) the Priests ought to have thereof no more, but a bare living; and to depart the residue to y<sup>e</sup> poore men and women, specially of the parish of whom they take this temporall living. But the most deale of priests now wasteth their parishes goods, and spendeth them at their own will after the world, in their vaine lusts: So that in few places poore men have duly (as they should have) their own sustenance, neither of tithes, nor of offerings, nor of other large wages and foundations that priests take of the people in divers manners above that they need for needfull sustenance of meat & clothing: but the poore needy people are forsaken and left of priests to be sustained of the parishioners, as if the priests took nothing of the parishioners to help the people with.

And thus sir, into over great charges of the parishioners they pay their temporall goods twice, where once might suffice, if priests were true dispensators. Also sir, the parishioners that pay their temporall goods (be they tithes or offerings) to priests that do not their office among them justly, are partners of every sin of those Priests; because that they sustain those Priests folly in their sin, with their temporall goods. If these things be well considered; what wonder is it then sir, if the parishioners grudge against these dispensators?

Then the archbishop said to me, Then that shouldest be iudged and ruled by holy Church, presumptuously thou darrest holy Church to have erred in the ordinance of tithes and other duties to be paid to priests. It shall be long ere thou thirve losell, that thou despisest thy ghostly mother. How darrest thou speak this (losell) among the people? Are not tithes given to priests to live by?

And I said, Sir, S. Paul saith, that tithes were given in the old law to Levites and to priests, that came of the lineage of Levi. But our Priests be saith, came not of the lineage of Levi, but of the lineage of Juda, to which Juda no tithes were promised to be given. And therefore Paul saith, since the priesthood is changed from the generation of Levi to the generation of Juda; It is necessary that changing also be made of the law. So that Priests live now without tithes and other duties that they claime, following Christ and his Apostles in willfull poverty, as they have given them example. For since Christ lived (all the time of his preaching) by

pure almes of the people; and by example of him his Apostles lived in the same wise, or else by the travail of their hands, as it is said above: every priest, whose priesthood Christ approbeth, knoweth well, and confesseth in word and in worke, that a disciple ought not to be above his master, but it sufficeth to a disciple to be as his master, simple and pure, meke and patient; and by example specially of his master Christ every priest should rule him in all his living; and so after his cunning and power, a Priest should busie him to informe and to rule whomsoever he might charitably.

And the archbishop said to me with a great spirit, Gods curse have thou and mine for this teaching: for thou wouldest hereby make the old law more free and perfect than the new law. For thou sayest that it is lesfull to Levites and to Priests to take tithes in the old law, and so to enjoy their privileges: but to us priests in the new law, thou sayest it is not lawfull to take tithes; and thus thou givest to Levites of old law, more freedom than to Priests of the new law.

And I said, sir, I marvel that ye understand this plaine text of Paul thus. We wot well, that the Levites and Priests in the old law that took tithes, were not so free nor so perfect, as Christ and his Apostles that took no tithes. And sir, there is a Doctor (I think that it is saint Hierome) that saith thus: The Priests that challenge now in the new law, tithes; say in effect, that Christ is not become man, nor that he hath yet suffered death for mans love. Wherefore this Doctor saith this sentence: Since tithes were the beirs and wages limited to Levites and to Priests of the old law for bearing about of the tabernacle, and for slaying and sleping of beasts, and for burning of sacrifice, and for keeping of the temple, and for trumping of battell before the host of Israel, and other divers observances that pertained to their office: those priests that will challenge or take tithes, deny that Christ is come in the flesh, and do the Priests office of the old law, for whom tithes were granted, for else (as this Doctor saith) Priests take now tithes wrongfully.

And the archbishop said to his clerks; Heard you ever losell speak thus? Certainely this is the learning of them all, that wheresoever they come, and they may be suffered, they enforce them to expugne the freedom of holy Church.

And I said, sir, why call ye the taking of tithes and of such other duties that priests challenge now (wrongfully) the freedom of holy Church; since neither Christ nor his Apostles, challenged nor took such duties: Therefore these takings of priests now are not called justly the freedom of holy Church, but all such giving and taking ought to be called and holden, the standious cobetounesse of men of the holy Church.

And the archbishop said to me: Why Losell, wilt not thou and other that are confederate with thee, seek out of holy Scripture and of the sense of Doctors, all sharp authorities against Lords, Knights, and Squires, and against other secular men as thou dost against priests?

And I said, sir, whatsoever men or women, lords or ladies, or any other that are present in our preaching specially, or in our communing, after our cunning, we tell out to them their office and their charges: but sir, since Chrysostome saith, that priests are the stomach of the people, it is needful in preaching, and also in communing, to be most busie about this priesthood: Since by the viciousnesse of priests both lords and commons are most unfully infected and led into the worst. And because that the cobetounesse of priests and pride, and the boast that they have and make of their dignity and power; destroperth not onely the vertues of priesthood in priests themselves, but also over this, it stirreth God to take great vengeance both upon the lords, and upon the commons, which suffer these priests charitably.

And

Besse, but curse nor, saith S. Paul.

We goeth neere you my lord, when he toucheth your tithes.

The difference of the freedoms between the old and new law.

For what cause tithes were given in the old law.

If you take away tithes, you undo the church.

Thorpe, preach against whom thou wilt, so thou touch not this scab.

The viciousnesse and pride of priests infecteth all the world.



**{ KING }**  
**{ HEN. 4. }**  
A full  
meekness that  
in scarlet  
gownes.  
The signes  
and marks of  
proude priests.

And the archbishop said to me; Thou iudgest every priest proud that will not go arraped as thou doest: by God I deme him to be more meke that goeth every day in a scarlet gowne, than thou in thy thredbare blew gown. Whereby knowest thou a proud man?

And I said, sir, a proud priest may be knowne, when he denieth to follow Christ and his Apostles in full povertie and other vertues: and coveteth worldly worship, and taketh it gladly, and gathereth together with pleading, menacing, or with flatter-  
10 ing, or with simonie, any worldly goods; and most, if a priest busie him not chiefly in himselfe, and after in all other men and women after his cunning and power to withstand sin.

And the archbishop said to me; Though thou knowest a priest to have all these vices, and though thou sawest a Priest lovably lie now by a woman knowing her fleshly, wouldst thou therefore damne this priest damnable? I say to thee, that in the turning about of thy hand, such a sinner may be verily repented.

And I said, sir, I will not damne any man for any sin that I know done or may be done, so that the sinner leaveth his sin. But by authority of holy Scripture, he that sinneth thus openly as you shew here, is damnable for doing of such a sin; and most specially, a Priest that should be example to all other to hate and flee sin. And in how short time soever ye say that such a sinner may be repented; he ought not of him that knoweth his sinning, to be iudged verily  
30 repentant, without open evidence of great shame and hearty sorrow for sin. For whatsoever (and specially a priest) that useth pride, envy, covetousness, lecherie, simonie, or any other vices, sheweth not as open evidence of repentance as he hath given evil example and occasion of sinning, if he continue in any such sin as long as he may; it is likely that sin leaveth him, and he not sin. And as I understand, such a one sinneth unto death, for whom no body oweth to pray, as S. Iohn saith.

And a clerke said then to the archbishop, sir, the longer that ye appose him, the worse he is; and the more you busie you to amend him, the further he is. For he is of so shrewd a kinde, that he shameth not only to be himself a foule nest, but without shame he busieth him to make his nest fouler.

And then the archbishop said to his clerke, Suffer a while, for I am at an end with him, for there is another point certified against him, and I will heare what he saith thereto.

And so then he said to me, Loe it is here certified against thee, that thou preachedst openly at Shrewsbury, that it is not lawfull to sweare in any case.

And I said, sir, I never preached so openly, nor have I taught in this wise in any place. But sir, as I preached in Shrewsbury, with my protestation I say to you now here; that by the authority of the Epistle of Saint James, and by witness of divers Saints and Doctors, I have preached openly in one place or other, that it is not lawfull in any case to sweare by any creature. And over this sir, I have also preached and taught by the foresaid authorities, that no body should sweare in any case, if that without oath in any wise hee that is charged to sweare might excuse him to them that have power to com-  
60 pell him to sweare in lawfull thing and lawfull. But if a man may not excuse him, without oath, to them that have power to compele him to sweare, then he ought to sweare onely by God, taking him onely, that is, for his fastness, to witness to his fastness.

And then a clerke asked me, if it were not lawfull to a subject, at the bidding of his prelate, to kneel down and touch the holy Gospell booke, and kisse it, saying; So help me God and this holy dome: for he should after his cunning and power do all things that his prelate commandeth him.

And I said to them, sirs, ye speak here full generally or largely. What if a prelate commanded his

subject to do an unlawfull thing: should he obey thereto?

And the archbishop said to me, A subject ought not to suppose, that his prelate will bid him do an unlaw-  
full thing. For a subject ought to think that his prelate will bid him do nothing but that he will answer for before God, that it is lawfull: And then, though the bidding of the prelate be unlawfull, the subject hath no perill to fulfill it, since that he thinketh and iudgeth, that whatsoever thing his prelate  
10 biddeth him do, that it is lawfull to him for to do it.

And I said, sir, I trust not thereto. But to our purpose: Sir, I tell you that I was once in a gentleman's house, and there were then two clerks there, a master of divinity, and a man of law, which man of law was also communing in divinity. And among other things, these men spake of oaths; and the man of law said; at the bidding of his soveraigne which had power to charge him to sweare, he would lay his hand upon a booke, and heare his charge: and if his charge to his understanding were unlawfull, he would hastily withdraw his hand upon the booke, taking there onely God to witness, that he would fulfill that lawfull charge, after his power. And the master of divinity said then to him thus; Certaine he that layeth his hand upon a booke in this wise and maketh there a promise to do that thing that he is commanded, is obliged thereby by book oath, then to fulfill his charge. For no doubt, he that chargeth him to lay his hand thus upon a booke (touching the booke, and swearing by it, and kissing it, promising in this  
30 forme to do this thing; or that) will say and witness that he that toucheth thus a booke, and kisseth it, hath sworn upon that booke. And all other men that see that man thus do, and also all those that heare hereof, in the same wise will say and witness, that this man hath sworn upon a booke. Wherefore, the master of divinity said, it was not lawfull either to give or to take any such charge upon a booke: for every  
40 booke is nothing else, but divers creatures of which it is made of. Therefore to sweare upon a booke, is to sweare by creatures, and this swearing is ever unlawfull. This sentence witnesseth Chrysostome plainly, blaming them greatly that bring forth a booke to sweare upon, charging clerks that in no wise they constrain any body to sweare, whether they think a man to sweare true or false.

And the archbishop and his clerks scorned me, and blamed me greatly for this saying. And the arch-  
50 bishop menaced me with great punishment and sharp, except I left this opinion of swearing.

And I said; sir, this is not mine opinion, but it is the opinion of Christ our Saviour, and of S. James, and of Chrysostome, and of other divers Saints and Doctors.

Then the archbishop had a clerke read this homily of Chrysostome; which homily this clerke held in his hand written in a roll; which roll the archbishop caused to be taken from my fellow at Canterbury. And so then this clerke read this roll, till he came to a clause where Chrysostome saith, that it is faine to  
60 sweare well.

And then a clerke (Walveren, as I ghesse) said to the archbishop; sir, I pray you wete of him, how he understandeth Chrysostome here, saying it to be sin to sweare well.

And so the archbishop asked me, how I understood here Chrysostome.

And certaine, I was somewhat afraid to answer hereto, for I had busied me to study about the sense thereof, but lifting up my minde to God, I prayed him of grace. And as fast as I thought how Christ said to his Apostles; When for my name ye shall be brought before iudges, I shall give into your mouth  
70 wisdom that your adversaries shall not against say; And trusting faithfully in the word of God, I said; sir, I know well that many men and women have now swearing so in custome, that they neither  
know

These prelates would be thought to be good, be they never so bad.

A communication betwixt a lawyer and a divine.

To sweare by a booke, is to sweare by creatures. Chrysostome blameth booke oath.

Here now I acced Borer, to scratch him by the face.

Either Walveren, or els sir Brian Blowcole.

Christ promiseth, and giveth mouth and utterance.

Paul saith, God shall iudge all fornicators, what say you my lord?

Priests ought to be examples of good living.

Clerks speake, and like a variable.

Forget nothing I pray you my lord.

Not lawfull to sweare by any creature. Men ought not to sweare, when without an oath he may excuse himselfe that is compelled to sweare.

Well said sir Iohn of you, your holy mother stroke your head.



The place of Chrysostome expounded, how it is sin to swear well. What it is to swear well.

know, or will know; that they doe evil to swear as they do: But they think and say, that they doe well to swear as they doe, though they know well that they swear untruly. For they say, they may by their swearing (though it be false) void blame or temporall harme, which they should have if they swear not thus. And sir, many men and women maintain strongly that they swear well, when that thing is sooth that they swear for. Also full many men and women say now, that it is well done to swear by creatures, when they may not (as they say) otherwise be beleved. And also, full many men and women now say, that it is well done to swear by God, and by our Lady, and by other Saints, to have them in minde. But since all these sayings are but excusations, and sin; me thinketh sir, that this sense of Chrysostome may be alleadged well against all such swearers: witnesseth that all these sin grievously, though they think themselves to swear in this foresaid wise, well: For it is evil done, and great sin to swear truth, when in any manner a man may excuse himselfe without oath.

And the archbishop said, that Chrysostome might be thus understood.

And then a clerk said to me, wilt thou carry my lord no longer, but submit thee here meekly to the ordinance of holy Church, and lay thy hand upon a booke, touching the holy Gospell of God, promising not onely with thy mouth, but also with thine heart to stand to my lords ordinance.

And I said, sir, have I not told you here, how that I heard a master of Divinity say, that in such case it is all one to touch a booke, and to swear by a booke?

And the archbishop said, There is no master of Divinity in England so great, but if he hold this opinion before me, I shall punish him as I shall do thee, except thou swear a: I shall charge thee.

And I said, sir, is not Chrysostome an ententive Doctor?

And the archbishop said, yea.

And I said, if Chrysostome proboeth him worthy great blame, that bringeth forth a booke to swear upon; it must needs follow, that he is more to blame that sweareth on that booke.

And the archbishop said, if Chrysostome meant accordingly to the ordinance of holy Church, we will accept him.

And then said a clerk to me, Is not the word of God and God himselfe equipollent, that is, of one authority?

And I said, yea.

Then he said to me, why wilt thou not swear then by the Gospell of God; that is, Gods word, since it is all one to swear by the word of God, and by God himselfe?

And I said, sir, since I may not now otherwise be beleved, but by swearing, I perceive (as Augustine saith) that it is not perfect full that ye that should be my brethren, should not beleve me; therefore I am ready by the word of God (as the Lord commanded me by his word) to swear.

Then the clerk said to me; Lay then thine hand upon the booke, touching the holy Gospell of God, and take thy charge.

And I said; sir, I understand that the holy Gospell of God may not be touched with mans hand.

And the clerk said I fonded, and that I said not truth.

And I asked this clerk, whether it were more to read the Gospell, than to touch the Gospell.

And he said, it was more to read the Gospell.

Then I said; sir, by authority of saint Hierome, the Gospell is not the Gospell for reading of the letter, but for the beleve that men have in the word of God. That it is the Gospell that we beleve, and not the letter that we read; because the letter that is touched with mans hand, is not the Gospell, but the

sentence that is verily beleved in mans heart, is the Gospell. For to Hierome saith; the Gospell that is the vertue of Gods word, is not in the leaves of the booke, but it is in the root of reason. Neither the Gospell (he saith) is in the writing alone of the letters, but the Gospell is in the marking of the sentence of Scriptures. This sentence approbeth saint Paul, saying thus; The kingdome of God is not in word, but in vertue. And David saith; The voice of the Lord, that is, his word is in vertue. And after David saith; Through the word of God the heavens were formed, and in the spirit of his mouth is all the vertue of them. And I pray you sir, understand ye well how David saith then; in the spirit of the mouth of the Lord is all the vertue of Angels and of men.

And the clerke said to me; Thou wouldest make us to fond with thee. Say we not that the Gospell is written in the Masse booke?

And I said; sir, though men use to say thus, yet it is an imperfect speech. For the principal part of a thing is properly the whole thing. For loe, mans soule that may not now be seene here, nor touched with any sensible thing, is properly man. And all the vertue of a tree is in the root thereof that may not be seene; for do away the root, and the tree is destroyed. And sir, as ye said to me right now, God and his word are of one authority; And sir, Hierome witnesseth that Christ (very God and very man) is hid in the letter of the law: thus also sir, the Gospell is hid in the letter. For sir, as it is full likely many and divers men and women here in the earth, touched Christ and saw him, and knew his bodily person, which neither touched, nor saw, nor knew ghostly his godhead: right thus sir, many men now touch and see, and write, and read the scriptures of Gods Law; which neither see, touch, nor read effectually the Gospell. For as the Godhead of Christ (that is, the vertue of God) is known by the vertue of belief, so is the gospell, that is, Christs word.

And a clerk said to me; These be full mistie matters and unlaboury, that thou shewest here to us.

And I said; sir, if ye that are masters know not plainly this sentence, ye may soze dread that the kingdome of heaven be taken from you, as it was from the princes of priests, and from the elders of the Jewes.

And then a clerke (as I ghesse, Halveren) said to me; Thou knowest not thine equivocations: for the kingdome of heaven hath divers understandings. What callest thou the kingdome of heaven in this sentence that thou shewest here?

And I said; sir, by god reason and sentence of Doctors, the realme of heaven is called here the understanding of Gods Word.

And a clerke said to me; From whom thinkest thou that this understanding is taken away?

And I said; sir, (by authority of Christ himselfe) the effectually understanding of Christs word is taken away from all them chiefly, which are great lettered men, and presume to understand high things, and will be holden wise men, and desire mastery and high state and dignity; but they will not conforme them to the living and teaching of Christ and of his Apostles.

Then the archbishop said; Well, well, thou wilt iudge thy sovereignties. By God, the king both not his duty, unlesse he suffer thee to be condemned.

And then another clerke said to me, Why (on Friday that last was) counselledst thou a man of my lords that he should not shewe him to no man, but onely to God.

And with this asking I was abashed; And then by and by I knew that I was subtilly betrayed of a man that came to me in prison on the Friday before, communing with me in this matter of confession. And certaine, by his words I thought that this man came then to me of full fervent and charitable will:

SKING  
HEN. 4.  
The Gospell is not the leaves of the booke, but the root of reason S. Paul.

David.

This clerke was well seen in the Masse booke.

The Gospell is not the letter, but hid in the letter.

Mistie matter: for your blind eyes.

The kingdome of God taken for the understanding of Gods word. This last was somewhat too sharp for their rotten flesh to abide.

Help downe with him sir John.

Note here the crafty practice of this holy church.

Wit

Dope holy church.

To touch a booke is to swear by a booke. It is happy he called not for a candle, and made a Scroola of him, as Bonet did of Tomkins.

It is happy that Chrysostome was not here, or else he would have had him by the back. But that word cannot be touched. Chrysostome refused not to swear.

Whether the booke be the Gospell. Hierome saith, the Gospell is not the Gospell for reading, but for beleiving.



**KING** { **HEN. 4.** } But now I know hee came to tempt me and to accuse me; God forgive him if he be his will. And with all my heart when I had thought thus, I said to this clerk: Sir, I pray you that you would fetch this man hither; and all the words as nere as I can repeat them, which I spake to him on Friday in the prison. I will heare it now here before you all, and before him.

And (as I ghesse) the archbishop said then to me, They that are now here suffice to repeat them. How saidst thou to him?

A false brother.

And I said; sir, that man came and asked me in divers things; and after his asking, I answered him (as I understood) that good was. And as he shewed to me by his words, hee was sozie of his living in court, and right heabie for his olone vicious living, and also for the viciousnesse of other men, and specially of priests evil living: and therefore hee said to me with a sorrowfull heart (as I ghesse) that hee purposed fully within short time to leave the court, and to busie him to know Gods law, and to conform all his life thereafter. And when he had said to me these words and moe other which I would rehearse if he were present, he prayed me to heare his confession. And I said to him; Sir, wherefore come you to me, to be confessed of me? Hee wot well that the archbishop putteth and holdeth me here, as one unworthy either to give or to take any Sacrament of holy Church.

Auricular confession.

And he said unto me, Brother I wote well, and so wote many other moe, that you and such other are wrongfully vered, and therefore I commune with you the more gladly. And I said to him: Certaine I wote well that many men of this court, and specially the priests of this household would be full eill apais both with you and me. If they wist that ye were confessed of me. And he said, that he cared not therefore, for he had full little affection in them. And as me thought, he spake these words and many other, of a good will and of a high desire, to have knowne and done the pleasant will of God. And I said to him, as with my foresaid protestation I say to you now here; sir, I counsell you to absent you from all evil company, and to draw you to them that love and busie them to know and to keep the precepts of God: And then the good spirit of God will move you to occupy busily all your wits in gathering together of all your finnes, as farre as ye can bestinke you, shaming greatly of them and sorrowing heartily for them: Hea sir, the holy Ghost will then put in your heart a good will and a fervent desire to take and to hold a good purpose, to hate ever and to flee, (after your cunning and power) all occasion of sinne: and so then wisdom shall come to you from above, lightning (with divers beames of grace and of heavenly desire) all your wits, enforming you how ye shall trust stedfastly in the mercy of the Lord, knowing to him only all your vicious living, praying to him ever devoutly of charitable counsell and continuance, hoping without doubt, that if ye continue thus, busying you faithfully to know and to keep his biddings, he will (for he only may) forgive you all your sins. And this man said to me: Though God forgive men their sins, yet it behoveth men to be asayed of priests, and to doe the penance that they enioyne them.

And I said to him; Sir, it is all one to asoile Men of their finnes, and to forgive Men their finnes. Wherefore since it pertaineth only to God to forgive sinne; it sufficeth in this case, to counsell Men and Women to leave their sinne, and to comfort them that busie them thus to doe, to hope stedfastly in the mercy of God. And againe, priests ought to tell sharply to customable sinners, that if they will not make an end of their sinne, but continue in divers finnes while that they may sin all such deserve pain without any end. And therefore, priests should ever busie them to live well and holily, and

God only forgiveth finnes, man can only counsell to leave sinne.

to teach the people busily and truly the word of God, shewing to all folke in open preaching and in private counselling, that the Lord God only forgiveth finnes. And therefore, those priests that take upon them to asoile men of their finnes, blaspHEME God, since that it pertaineth only to the Lord to asoile men of all their finnes. For no doubt a thousand yeres agoe that Christ was man, no priest of Christ durst take upon him to teach the people, neither privately nor apertly, that they behoved needs to come to be asoiled of them as priests now doe. But by authority of Christs word priests bound indurate customable sinners to everlasting paines, which in no time of their living would busie them faithfully to know the biddings of God, nor to keep them. And againe, all they that would occupie all their wits to hate and to flee all occasion of sin, breeding over all things to offend God, and loving to please him continually; to these men and women priests shewed how the Lord asoiled men of all their finnes; and thus Christ promised to confirme in heaven all the binding and loosing that priests by authority of his word binde men in sinne that are indurate therein, or lose them out of sinne here upon earth that are verily repentant. And this man hearing these words said, that he might wel in conscience consent to this sentence. But he said, Is it not needfull to the lay people that cannot thus doe, to goe thiebe them to priests? And I said, if a man feele himself to be troubled with any sinne, that hee cannot by his owne wit above this sinne without counsell of them that are herein wiser than he; in such a case the counsell of a good priest is full necessarie. And if a good priest faile, as they doe now commonly, in such a case, saint Augustine saith, that a man may lawfully commune and take counsell of a vertuous secular man. But certaine, that man or woman is overladen and too beastly, which cannot bring their owne finnes unto their minde, busying them night and day to hate and to forsake all their sins, doing a sigh for them after their cunning and power. And sir, full accordingly to this sentence upon Midlent Sunday (two yeres as I ghesse now agone) I heard a monk of Feberham, that men called Spoden, preach at Canterburp at the crosse within Christ church abbey, saying thus of confession; That as though the suggestion of the fiend, without counsell of any other body, of themselves many men and women can imagine and find meanes and waies enough to come to pride, to lechery, and other divers vices; in contrariwise this monk said, since the Lord God is more ready to forgive sinne than the fiend is or may be of power to move any body to sinne, then whosoever will shame and sorrow heartily for their finnes, knowing ledging them faithfully to God amending them after their power and cunning, without counsell of any other body than of God and of himselfe through the grace of God all such men and women may find sufficient meanes to come to Gods mercy, and so to be cleane asoiled of all their sins. This sentence I said, sir, to this man of yours; and the selfe words as nere as I can ghesse.

And the archbishop said, Holy Church approbeth not this learning.

And I said, sir, holy church, of which Christ is head in heaven and in earth, must needs approve this sentence. For loe hereby all men and women may, if they will, be sufficiently taught to know and keep the commandments of God, and to hate and to fly continually all occasion of sinne, and to love and to seeke vertues busily, and to beleeve in God stably; and to trust in his mercy stedfastly, and so to come to perfect charity and continue therein perseverantly. And more the Lord asketh not of any man here now in this life. And certain, since Jesus Christ died upon the crosse, willfully to make men free; men of the church are too bold & too base to make men that, binding them under the paine of endless curse (as they say)

A good secular man may be counseller, where a priest faileth, as St. Augustine.

Good monk of Feberham preaching of confession.

Heartly repentance to God needeth no confession to a priest.

Do not any thing else that is good.

Christ utterly free us, the pope & church thraldome.



say) to doe many obseuances and ordinances, which neither the living nor teaching of Christ nor of his Apostles approbeth.

And a clerk said then to me, Thou shewest plainly here thy deceit, which thou hast learned of them that travelled to sow the popple among the wheat. But I counsell thee to goe away cleane from this learning, and submit thee lowly to my Lord, and thou shalt find him yet to be gracious to thee.

And as fast then, an other clerke said to me, How wast thou so bold at Pauls crosse in London, to stand there hard with thy tippet bounden about thine head, and to reprove in his sermon the worthy clerk Alkerton, drabbing away all that thou mightest: yea, and the same day at afternoone: thou meeting the worthy Doctor in Watlingstreet, calledst him false flatterer and hypocrite.

And I said, sir I thinke certainly that there was no man nor woman that hated verily sinne, and loved vertues (hearing the sermon of the clerk at Wyford, and also Alkerton's sermon) but they said or might justly say, that Alkerton reprooved that clerk untruly and slandered him wrongfully and uncharitably. For no doubt, if the living and teaching of Christ chiefly and of his Apostles be true, no body that loveth God and his Law will blame any sentence that the clerke then preached there; since by authoritie of Gods word, and by approoved Saints and Doctors, and by open reason, this clerke approoved all things clearly that he preached there.

And a clerke of the Archbishop said to mee, his sermon was false, and that he shewed openly, since he dare not stand forth and defend his preaching that he then preached there.

And I said, sir, I thinke that he purposeth to stand steadfastly thereby, or else he standeth only himselfe, and also many other that have great trust that hee will stand by the truth of the Gospell. For I wrote well, this Sermon is written both in Latine and English, and many men have it and they set great price thereby. And sir, if yee were present with the archbishop at Lambeth when this clerke appeared, and was at his answer before the archbishop, yee wote well that this clerke denyed not there his sermon, but two dayes hee maintained it before the archbishop and his clerkes.

And then the archbishop or one of his clerkes said (I wote not which of them) that harlot shall be met with, for that sermon. For no man but he and thou, and such other false harlots, praise any such preaching.

And then the archbishop said, Your cursed sect is busie, and it is yet right greatly to contrary and to destroy the priviledge and freedom of holy Church.

And I said, sir, I know no man that travell so busily as this sect both (which you reprove) to make rest and peace in holy Church. For pride, covetousnesse, and avarice, which disturbe most holy Church, this sect hateth and sleeth, and travelleth busily to mowe all other men in like manner, unto meeknesse and willfull povertie, and charitie, and free ministering of the sacrament: this sect loveth and useth, and is full busie to mowe all other folk thus to doe. For these vertues owe all members of holy Church to their head Christ.

Then a clerke said to the archbishop, sir, it is far date, and ye have far to ride to night; therefore make an end with him, for hee will none make: but the more sir, that ye busie you to drave him toward you, the more contumace hee is made and the further from you.

And then Walberen said to me, William, kneele downe, and pray my lords grace, and leave all thy fantasies, and become a child of holy Church.

And I said, sir, I have prayed the archbishop off, and yet I pray him for the love of Christ, that he will leave his indignation that he hath against me: and that he will suffer me after my cunning and power,

to doe mine office of priesthood, as I am charged of God to doe it. For I covet nought else but to serve my God to his pleasing in the state that I stand in, and have taken me to.

And the archbishop said to me, If of good heart thou wilt submit thee now here meekly, to be ruled from this time forth by my counsell, obeying meekly and willfully to my ordinance, thou shalt finde it most profitable and best to thee to doe thus. Therefore tarry thou me no longer, grant to doe this that I have said to thee now here shortly, or deny it utterly.

And I said to the archbishop, sir, owe we to believe that Jesus Christ was and is very God and very man?

And the archbishop said, yea.

And I said, sir, owe we to believe that all Christs living and his teaching is true in every point?

And he said, yea.

And I said, sir, owe we to believe that the living of the Apostles and the teaching of Christ and all the Prophets, are true which are written in the Bible for the health and salvation of good people?

And he said, yea.

And, I said, sir, owe all Christian men and women after their cunning and power, to conformance all their living to the teaching specially of Christ, and also to the teaching and living of his Apostles and of Prophets, in things that are pleasant to God, and edification of his Church?

And he said, yea.

And I said, sir, ought the doctrine, the bidding, or the counsell of any body to be accepted or obeyed unto; except this doctrine, these biddings or this counsell may be granted and affirmed by Christs living and his teaching specially, or by the living and teaching of his Apostles and Prophets?

And the archbishop said to mee, Other doctrines ought not to be accepted, nor owe we to obey to any mans bidding or counsell, except wee can perceive that this bidding or counsell accordeth with the life and teaching of Christ, and of his Apostles and Prophets.

And I said, sir, is not all the learning, and biddings and counsels of holy Church, meanes and healefull remedies, to know and to understand the privie suggestions, and the apert temptations of the fiend: and also wayes and healefull remedies to slay pride and all other deadly finnes, and the branches of them, and soveraigne meanes to purchase grace to withstand and overcome all the fleshly lusts and movings?

And the archbishop said, yea.

And I said, sir, whatsoever thing yee or any other body bid or counsell mee to doe, accordingly to this foresaid learning, after my cunning and power, through the helpe of God, I will meekely with all my heart obey thereto.

And the archbishop said to me, Submit thee then now here meekely and willfully to the ordinance of holy Church, which I shall shew to thee.

And I said, sir, accordingly as I have here now before you rehearsed, I will now be ready to obey full gladly to Christ the head of the holy Church and to the learnings and biddings and counsels of every pleasing member of him.

Then the archbishop striking with his hand fiercely upon a cupbord, spake to me with a great spirit saying, By Jesus, but if thou leave not such additions, obliging thee now here without any exception to mine ordinance (or that I goe out of this place) I shall make thee as sure, as any thiefe that is in the prison of Lanterne; advise thee now what thou wilt doe. And then as if he had bene angered, hee went from the cupbord where he stood, to a window.

And then Walberen and another clerk came nearer me, and they spake to me many words full pleasantly: another while they menaced me, & counselled full busily to submit me, or else they said I should not

{ KING }  
{ HEN. 4. }

My lord hath  
said, for being  
benighted.

And why com-  
pell you this  
man to the con-  
trary.

They content  
to submit him-  
selfe to the or-  
dinance of  
counsell.

If Woner had  
bene here, hee  
would not have  
stricken the  
cupbord.

The multitude  
is not to be fol-  
lowed in evil.

The true free-  
dome of holy  
Church not de-  
stroyed but in-  
creased by true  
Preachers.

Take my lords  
blessing and  
stand up.



**KING**  
**HEN. 4.**

not escape punishing oter measure; for they said I should bee degraded, cursed, and burned, and so then damned. But now it is to, thou mayest, eschew all these mischiefs, if thou wilt submit thee wilfully and meekly to this worthy prelate, that hath cure of thy soule. And for the pite of Christ (said they) bethinke thee, how great clerkes the bishop of Lincolne, Hereford and Warbey were, and yet are, and also B. that is a well understanding man. Which also have forsaken and reboked all the learning and opinions that thou and such other hold. Therefore since each of them is mickle wiser than thou art, we counsell thee for the best; that by the example of these foure clerks, thou follow them, submitting thee as they did.

And one of the Bishops clerkes said then there, that he heard Nicholas Hereford say, that since he forsake and reboked all the learning and Lollards opinions, he hath had mickle greater labour and more delight to hold against them, than ever he had to hold with them, while he held with them.

And therefore Walveren said to me, I understand and thou wilt take thee to a piest, and shiebe thee cleane, forsake all such opinions, and take the penance of my lord here, for the holding and teaching of them; within short time thou shalt bee greatly comforted in this doing.

And I said to the clerkes, that thus busily counselled me to follow these foresaid men; Sirs, if these men of whom ye counsell me to take example, had forsaken benefices of temporall profit, and of worldly worship, so that they had absented them, and eschewed from all occasions of covetousnesse and of fleshy lust, and had taken upon them simple living, and wilfull povertie; they had herein given god example to me and to many other, to have followed them. But now since all these foure men have slanderously and shamefully done the contrary, consenting to receibe and to have and to hold temporall benefices, living now more worldly, and more fleshy than they did before, conforming them to the manners of this world: I forsake them herein, and in all their foresaid slanderous doing. For I purpose with the helpe of God (into remission of my sinnes, and of my soule cursed living) to hate and to fle privity and apertly to follow these men, teaching and counselling whomsoever that I may, to fle and to eschew the way that they have chosen to goe in, which will lead them to the worst end, (if in convenient time they repent them not) verily forsaking and reboking openly the slander that they have put, and every day yet put to Christs church. For certaine, so open blasphem and slander as they have spoken and done in their reboking and forsaking of the truth, ought not ney may not privily be amended duly. Therefore sir, I pray you that you busie not to make me to follow these men, in reboking and forsaking the truth, sothfastnesse as they have done, and yet doe; wherein by open evidence they stirre God to great wrath, and not onely against themselves, but also against all them that favour them, or consent to them herein, or that commune with them, except it be for their amendment. For whereas these men first were pursued of enemies, now they have obliged them by oth to slander and pursue Christ in his members. Therefore (as I trust stedfastly in the goodnesse of God) the worldly covetousnesse, and the lustie living and the sliding from the truth of these runagates, shall bee to mee and to many other men and women an example and an evidence to stand more stidly by the truth of Christ.

For certaine, right many men and women doe marke and abhor the foulnesse and cowardnesse of these foresaid untrue men, how that they are overcome and stopped with benefices, and withdalone from the truth of Gods Word, forsaking utterly to suffer therefore bodily persecution, for by this un-

faithfull doing and apostasie of them (specially that are great lettered men) and have knowledged openly the truth, and now either for pleasure or displeasure of tyrants, have taken hire and temporal wages to forsake the truth, and to hold against it, standing and pursuing them that coud to follow Christ in the way of righteousness; many men and women therefore are now mooved. But many moe, through the grace of God shall bee mooved hereby to learne the truth of God to doe thereafter, and to stand boldly hereby.

Then the archbishop said to his clerkes, Busie you no longer about him, for he, and other such as he is, are confederate together that they will not sweare to be obedient, and to submit them to prelates of holy Church. For now since I stood here, his fellows also sent me word that he will not sweare, and that this fellow counselled him that hee should not sweare to me. And losell, in that thing that in he is, thou hast busied thee to lose this pong man, but blessed be God, thou shalt not have thy purpose of him. For he hath forsaken all thy learning, submitting him to be burnt and obedient to the ordinance of holy church, and weepeth full bitterly, and curseth thee full heartily for the venomous teaching which thou haddest shewed to him, counselling him to doe thereafter.

And for thy false counselling of many other and him, thou hast great cause to be right sozie. For long time thou hast busied thee to perbert whomsoever thou mightest. Therefore, as many deaths thou art worthy of, as thou hast given evil counsels. And therefore by Jesus, thou shalt goe thither, where Nicholas Hereford and Thomas Warbey were harbored. And I undertake ere this day eight dayes, thou shalt be right glad to doe what thing that ever I bid thee to doe. And losell, I shall assay, if I can make thee there as sorrowfull (as it was told me) thou wast glad at my last going out of England. By S. Thomas, I shall turne thy ioy into sorow.

And I said, sir, there can no body prove lawfully that I ioyed ever of the manner of your going out of this land.

But sir, to say the sth, I was ioyfull when we were gone: for the bishop of London, in whose prison ye left me, found in me no cause to hold mee longer in his prison, but at the request of my friends, he delivered me to them, asking of me no manner of submitting.

Then the archbishop said to me, Therefore that I pede out of England, is unknowne to thee: But be this thing well knowne to thee, that God (as I wrote well) hath called me againe, and brought mee into this land, to destroy thee and the false sect that thou art of: as by God, I shall pursue you to hartedly, that I shall not leaue a stippe of you in this land.

And I said to the archbishop, sir, the holy prophet Jeremy said to the false prophet Anany, When the word, that is the prophery of a prophet is known or fulfilled; then it shall be knowne, that the Lord sent the prophet in truth.

And the archbishop (as if he had not bene pleased with my saying) turned him awayward hither and thither, and said, By God, I shall set upon thy shins a paire of pearles, that thou shalt be glad to change thy voice.

These and many moe wonders and conicious words were spoken to me, menacing mee and all other of the same sect to bee punished and destroyed unto the uttermost.

And the archbishop called then to him a clerk, and rowned with him; and that clerke went forth, and some he brought in the Constable of Saltwood castle, and the archbishop rowned a god while with him; and then the constable went forth, and then came in divers seculars; they scorned me on every side, and menaced me greatly, some counselled the archbishop to burn me by and by, and some other counselled him

Thorp's fellow refused to swear to the prelates.

Vide supra.

Arundell the Archb. going out of England. The gentleness of the bishop of London to Thorpe.

So pious was Arundell at the queen's Barles time, but that passed his power to perform.

A notable answer of Thorpe to the bishop promising to destroy all the Gossellers. Such pearls would better become my Lord your golden shoes.

At which clamorant diseases tolle tolle, crucifige eum. Luk. 23.

See what man God giving him up to himselfe.

He cleane from thine as from sinne.

Other mens examples are to be followed as they be the followers of Christ.

Promissions commonly and great things choke truth. When following the wates of Balaam.



to drown mee in the sea, for it is neare hand there. And a clerke standing beside me, there kneeledowne to the archbishop, praying him that he would deliver me to him to say Mattens with him, and he would undertake, that within three dayes I should not resist any thing that were commanded me to do of my prelate.

And the archbishop said, that he would ordain for me himselfe.

And then after, came againe the Constable and spake pribly to the archbishop: and the archbishop commanded the constable to leade me forth thence with him, and so he did. And when we were gone forth thence, we were sent after againe. And when I came in againe before the archbishop, a clerke had me kneele downe and aske grace, and submit mee lowly, and I should finde it for the best.

And I said then to the archbishop, Sir, as I have said to you divers times to day, I will wilfully and lowly obey and submit me to be ordained eber, after my cunning and power, to God and to his law, and to every member of holy Church, as far forth as I can perceite that these members accord with their head Christ, and will teach me, rule me, or chastise me by authoritie, specially of Gods law.

And the archbishop said, I wist well he would not without such additions submit him.

And then I was rebuked, scozned and menaced on every side: and yet after this divers persons cryed upon me to kneele downe and submit me; but I stood still, and spake no word. And then there was spoken of me, and to me, many great words, and I stood and heard them menace, curse, and scozne mee: but I said nothing.

Then a while after the archbishop said to me, Wilt thou not submit thee to the ordinance of holy church? And I said sir, I will full gladly submit me, as I have shewed you before.

And then the archbishop had the Constable to habe me forth thence in haste.

And so then I was led forth, and brought into a forle dishonest prison. Where I came never before. But thanked be God, when all men were gone forth, then from me, and had sparred fast the prison door after them; by and by after, I therein by my selfe, busied me to thinke on God, and to thanke him for his goodnesse. And I was then greatly comforted in all my wits, not only for that I was then delivered for a time from the sight, from the hearing, from the presence, from the scozning, and from the menacing of mine enemies; but much more I reioyced in the Lord, because that through his grace hee kept me so, both among the scattering specially, and among the menacing of mine adversaries, that without heavinesse and anguish of my conscience, I passed away from them. For as a tree laid upon another tree, overthwart or crossewise, so was the archbishop and his three clerks alwaies contrary to mee, and I to them.

Now good God for thine holy Name, and to the praying of thy most blessed Name, make us one together, if it be thy will, by authoritie of thy word, that is true perfect charitie) and else not. And that it may thus bee, all that this writing read or heare, pray heartily to the Lord God, that he for his great goodnesse, that cannot bee with tongue exprest, grant to us, and to all other which in the same wise, and for the same cause specially, or for any other cause bee at distance, to bee knit and made one in true faith, in stedfast hope, and in perfect charitie. Amen.

Besides this examination here above discribed, came another treatise also to our hands of the same William Thorpe, under the name and title of his testament: which rather by the matter and handling thereof, might seeme to be counted a complaint of vicious priests: which treatise of testament, in this place we thought not meet to be left out.

Matthew an Apostle of Christ, and his Gospeller, witnesseth truly in the Holy Gospell, the most Holy living, and the most wholesome teaching of Christ. He rehearseth how that Christ likeneth them that heare his words and keepe them to a wife man that buildeth his house upon a stone, that is, a stable and a sure ground. This house is Mans soule, in whom Christ delighteth to dwell, if it bee grounded, that is, stablished faithfully in his living and in his true teachings, adorned or made faire with divers vertues, which Christ used and taught without any meddling of any errour, as are chiefly the conditions of charitie.

This foresaid stone is Christ, upon which every faithfull Soule must bee builded, since upon none other ground, than upon Christs living and his teaching, any body may make any building or housing wherein Christ will come and dwell. This sentence witnesseth Saint Paul to the Corinthians, shewing to them that no body may set any other ground than is set, that is, Christs living and teaching. And because that all Men and Women should give all their businesse here in this life, to build them vertuously upon this sure foundation: Saint Paul knowledging the fervent desire, and the good will of the people of Ephesie, wrote to them comfortably, saying; Now yee are not Strangers, Guests, nor yet comelings, but yee are the Citizens, and of the Household of G O D, builded above upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets. In which fundament, every building that is builded or made through the grace of G O D, it increaseth or groweth into an Holy Temple, that is, every body that is grounded or builded faithfully in the teaching and living of Christ, is there-through made the Holy Temple of God.

This is the stable ground and steadfast stone Christ, which is the sure corner stone, fast joyning and holding mightily together two walles. For through Christ Iesus, meane or middle person of the Trinitie, the Father of Heaven is pitious or mercifully joyning and made one together to mankind. And through dread to offend God; and fervent love to please him, men bee unseparably made one to God, and defended surely under his protection. Also this foresaid stone Christ was figured by the square stones of which the Temple of God was made. For as a square stone, wheresoever it is cast or laid, it abideth and lieth stably; so Christ and every faithfull member of his Church by example of him, abideth and dwelleth stably in true faith, and in all other Heavenly vertues in all adversities that they suffer in the valley of teares.

For loe, when these foresaid square stones were hewen and wrought to bee laid in the walls or pillars of Gods Temple, no noise or stroke of the workeman was heard. Certaine, this silence in working of this stone figureth Christ chiefly and his faithfull members, which by example of him have beene, and yet are, and ever to the worlds end shall bee so meeke and patient in every adversitie, that no sound, nor yet any grudging shall any time bee perceived in them.

Neverthelesse, this chiefe and most worshipfull corner stone, which only is the ground of all vertues, proud beggars reproved; but this despite and reproofe Christ suffered most meekly in his owne person, to give example of all meeknesse and patience to all his faithfull followers. Certaine, this world is now so full of proud beggars, which are named priests; but the very office of working of priesthood which Christ approveth true, and accepteth, is far from the multitude of priests that now raigne in this world.

For from the highest priest to the lowest, all (as who say) studie, that is, they imagine and travell busily, how they may please this World and their flesh. This sentence and many such other dependeth upon them, if it be well considered, either God the Father of Heaven hath deceived all mankind by the living

{ KING }  
{ HEN. 4 }

Christ dwelleth in a faithfull soule.

Christ is the stone whereon we must build

How we are made the temple of God.

Marke what we have by Christ.

The property of a square stone.

Christ is an example of all perfect meeknesse.

Priests seek the pleasure of this world.

Obedience to God and to his law would not serve.

In patience and silence please your souls.

Thorpe cast into prison.

Thorpe comforted and strengthened of the Lord, after his conflict with the bishop.



{KING}  
{HEN. 4.}

pecially and teaching of Iesus Christ, and by the living and teaching of his Apostles and Prophets : or else all the Popes that have beene since I had any knowledge or discretion, with all the Colledge of Cardinals, Archbishops, and Bishops, Monkes, Canons, and Friars, with all the contagious flocke of the communalitie of priesthood, which have (all my lifetime, and mickle longer) raigne and yet raigne, and increase damnably from sinne into sinne, have beene, and yet bee proud obdurate heretikes, covetous simoners, and defouled adulterers in the ministring of the Sacraments, and specially in the ministring of the Sacrament of the Altar. For as their works shew where-to Christ biddeth us take heede; the highest priests and prelates of this priesthood, challenge and occupie unlesfull temporall lordships. And for temporall favour and meede, they sell and give benefices to unworthy and unable persons; yea, these simoners sell sinne, suffering men and women in every degree and estate to lie and continue from yeare to yeare, in divers vices slanderously. And thus, by evill example of high priests in the Church, lower priests under them are not only suffered, but they are maintained to sell full deare (to the people for temporall meed) all the sacraments.

Great odds be-  
twixt the life of  
the popes, and  
Christ and his  
Apostles.

When priests  
forget Gods  
truth, ye see  
whether they  
are dragons.  
Ye be great in-  
fer the small.

Fleishly priests  
cannot away  
with whole  
things.

They hunt af-  
ter this with  
tooth and naile

An exhortation  
to all degrees,  
to see priest-  
hood amended.

Prelates and  
priests negli-  
gent in their  
duties.

And thus all this foresaid priesthood is blowne so high, and borne up in pride and vaine glory of their estate and dignitie, and so blinded with worldly covetousnesse, that they disdaigne to follow Christ in very meeknesse and wilfull povertie, living holily, and preaching Gods Word truely, freely, and continually, taking their livelihood at the free will of the people of their pure almes, where and when they suffice not for their true and busie preaching to get their sustenance with their hands. To this true sentence, grounded on Christs owne living and teaching of his Apostles, these foresaid worldly and fleshy priests will not consent effectually. But as their workes and also their words shew, boldly and unshamefully these forenamed priests and prelates covet and enforce them mightily and busily, that all holy Scripture were expounded and drawne accordingly to their manners, and to their ungrounded usages and findings, For they will not (since they hold it but folly and madnesse) conforme their manners to the pure and simple living of Christ and his Apostles, nor will they follow freely their learning. Wherefore all the Emperours and Kings, and all other lords and ladies, and all the common people in every degree and state, which have before time knowne, or might have knowne, and also all they that now yet know, or might know, this foresaid witnesse of priesthood and would not, nor yet will enforce them after their cunning and power, to withstand charitably the foresaid enemies and traitors of Christ, and of his Church: All these strive with Antichrist against Iesus, and they shall heare the indignation of God Almighty without end, if in convenient time they amend them not, and repent them verily, doing therefore due mourning and sorrow, after their cunning and power. For through presumptuousnesse and negligence of priests and prelates (not of the Church of Christ, but occupying their prelatie unduely in the Church) and also flattering and false covetousnesse of other divers named priests; Loufengers and lounderers are wrongfully made and named Heremites, and have leave to defraud poore and needie creatures of their livelode, and to live by their false winning and begging, in sloth and in other divers vices. And also of these prelates, these coker noses are suffered to live in pride and hypocrisie, and to defoule themselves both bodily and ghostly. Also by the suffering and counsell of these foresaid prelates and other priests, are made both vaine brotherhoods and sisterhoods, full of pride and envie, which are full contrary to the brotherhood of Christ, since they are cause of mickle dissention and they multiply and sustaine it uncharitably; for unjustly eating and drinking unmeasurably and out of time, they exercise themselves. Also this

vaine confederacie of brotherhoods is permitted to be of one clothing and to hold together.

And in all these ungrounded and unlesfull doings, priests are partners, and great medlers and counsellors; and over this viciousnesse, heremites and pardoners, ankerers, and strange beggers, are licensed and admitted of prelates and priests; to beguile the people with flatterings and leasings slanderously against all good reason and true beliefe; and so to increase divers vices in themselves, and also among all them that accept them, or consent to them.

And thus the viciousnesse of these foresaid named priests and prelates hath beene long time, and yet is, and shall be cause of warres both within the realme and without. And in the same wise these unable priests have beene, and yet are, and shall bee chiefe cause of pestilence of men, and murren of beasts, and of barrennesse of the earth, and of all other mischiefs, to the time that Lords and commons able them through grace to know and to keepe the Commandements of God, enforcing them then faithfully and charitably by one assent, to redresse and make one this foresaid priesthood, to the willfull, poore, meeke, and innocent living and teaching, specially of Christ and his Apostles.

Therefore all they that know, or might know the viciousnesse that raigneth now cursedly in these priests, and in their learning, if they suffice not to understand this contagious viciousnesse; Let them pray to the Lord heartily for the health of his Church, abstaining them prudently from their indurate enemies of Christ and of his people, and from all their sacraments, since to them, all that know them, or may know them, they are but fleshy deeds and false; as Saint Cyprian witnesseth in the first question of decrees, and in the first cause, *Cap. Siquis inquit.* For as this faint and great Doctor witnesseth there, that not only vicious priests, but also all they that favour them, or consent to them in their viciousnesse, shall together perish with them, if they amend them not duely, as all they perished that consented to Dathan and Abiram. For nothing were more confusion to these foresaid vicious priests, than to eschew them prudently in all their unlawfull Sacraments, while they continue in their sinfull living slanderously as they have long time done, and yet doe. And no bodie needs to bee afraid (though death did follow by one wife or other) to die out of this world without taking of any Sacrament of these foresaid Christs enemies, since Christ will not faile to minister himselfe all lesfull and healefull Sacraments, and necessarie at all time (and especially at the end) to all them that are in true faith, in stedfast hope, and in perfect charity.

Cypr. i. q. i.  
cap. Siquis  
inquit.

But yet some mad foolles say (to eschew slander) they will be shriven once in the yeere, and communed of their proper priests, though they know them defouled with slanderous vices. No doubt, but all they that thus doe or consent privily or apertly to such doing, are culpable of great sinne; Since Saint Paul witnesseth, that not only they that doe evil are worthy of death and damnation, but also they that consent to evil doers. Also (as their slanderous workes witnesseth) these foresaid vicious priests, despise and cast from them heavenly cunning, that is given of the holy Ghost. Wherefore the Lord throweth all such despisers from him, that they neither use, nor doe any priesthood to him.

No doubt then, all they that wittingly or wilfully take or consent that any other body should take any sacrament of any such named priest, sinneth openly and damnably against all the Trinitie, and are unable to any sacrament of health.

And that this foresaid sentence is altogether true, in-to remission of all my sinfull living, trusting stedfastly in the mercie of God, I offer to him my soule.

And to proove also the foresaid sentence true, with the helpe of God, I purpose fully to suffer meekly and gladly my most wretched body to be tormented where

God



God will, of whom he will, and when he will, and as long as he will, and what temporall paine and death he will, to the praising of his name, and to the edification of his Church.

And I that am a most unworthy and wretched creature shali now through the speciall grace of God, make to him pleasant sacrifice with my most sinfull and unworthy body. Befeeching heartily all folke that reade or heare this end of my purposed testament, that through the grace of God they dispose verily and ver-  
10 tuously all their wits, and able in like manner all their members to understand truly, and to keepe faithfully, charitably, and continually all the commandments of God, and so then to pray devoutly to all the blessed Trinitie, that I may have grace with wisdom and prudence from above, to end my life here in this foresaid truth, and for this cause, in true faith and stedfast hope, and perfect charitie. Amen.

The end of  
Wm. Thorpe un-  
certaine.

What was the end of this good man and blessed servant of God William Thorpe, I finde as yet in no storie specified. By all coniectures it is to bee thought that the archbishop Thomas Arundell, being so hard an adversarie against those men, would not let him goe. Much lesse it is to be supposed, that he would ever retract his sentence and opinion, which he so ballantly maintained before the bishop; neither doth it seeme that he had any such recanting spirit. Again, neither is it found that he was burned. Wherefore it remaineth most like to be true, that he being committed to some strait prison (according as the archbishop in his examination before did threaten him) there (as Thorpe confesseth himselfe) was so straitly kept, that either he was secretly made away, or else there he died by sicknesse.

The like end also I finde to happen to John Ash-ton, an other god follower of Wickliffe, who for the same doctrine of the Sacrament was condemned by the bishops, and because he would not recant, he was committed to perpetuall prison, wherein the good man continued till his death: An. 1382.

### ¶ John Purvey.

John Purvey.

Furthermore, in the said examination of William Thorpe, mention is made (as ye heard) of John Purvey, of whom also something wee touched before: promising of the said John Purvey more particularly to intreat in order and procelle of time. Of this Purvey, Thomas Walden writeth thus in his second Tome: John Purvie, saith hee, was the library of Lollards, and gloster upon Wickliffe. He said that the worshipping of Abraham was but a salutation. And in his third Tome hee saith, This John Purvey, with Berford a Doctor of Divinity, were grievously tormented and punished in the prison of Saltwood, and at the length recanted at Pauls crosse at London, Thomas Arundell being then archbishop of Canterbury. Afterward againe, hee was imprisoned under Henry Chicheley archbishop of Canterbury, in the yeare of our Lord 1421. Thus much writeth Walden. The workes of this man which he wrote were gathered by Richard Lavingham his addersarie, which I thinke worthy to be remembred. First, as touching the Sacrament of the last supper, the Sacrament of penance, the Sacrament of orders, the power of the keyes, the preaching of the Gospell, of marriages, of vowes, of possessions, of the punishing and correcting of the clergie, of the lawes and decrees of the Church, of the state and condition of the pope and the clergie: of all these generally, hee left divers monuments gravely and exactly written, part whereof here in the end of his story we thought to exhibit, being translated out of Latine into English.

The articles which he taught, and after ward was

forced to recant at Pauls crosse, were these hereafter following.

1 That in the sacrament of the Altar, after the consecration, there is not, neither can be any accident without the subiect; but there verily remaineth the same substance and the very visible and corruptible bread, and likewise the very same wine the which before the consecration were set upon the altar to be consecrate of the priest; likewise as when a Pagan or Infidell is baptised, he is spiritually converted into a member of Christ through grace, and yet remaineth the very same man which he before was in his proper nature and substance.

2 Auricular confession or priuate penance is a certaine whispering, destroying the liberty of the Gospell, and newly brought in by the pope and the clergie, to intangle the consciences of men in sinne, and to draw their soules into hell.

3 Every lay man being holy and predestinate unto everlasting life (albeit he be a lay man) yet is he a true priest before God.

4 That divers prelates and other of the clergie do live wickedly, contrary to the doctrine and example of Christ and his Apostles. Wherefore they which so live have not the keyes either of the Kingdome of Heaven, or yet of hell; neither ought any Christian to extreme his censure any more than as a thing of no force. Yea, albeit the pope should peradventure interdict the realme, yet could he not hurt, but rather profit us, so far as thereby wee should bee dismissed from the observation of his lawes, and from laying of service according to the custome of the Church.

5 If any man doe make an oth or vow, to keepe perpetuall chastitie, or do any thing else whereunto God hath not appointed him, giving him grace to performe his purpose; the same vow or oth is unreasonable and indiscrete, neither can any Prelate compell him to keepe the same, except he will doe contrary unto Gods ordinance. But hee ought to commit him unto the governance of the holy Ghost and of his owne conscience; so far as every man, which will not fulfill his vow or oth, cannot do it for that cause.

6 Whosoever taketh upon him the office of priest-hood, although he have not the charge of soules committed unto him, according to the custome of the Church, not only may, but ought to preach the Gospell freely unto the people; otherwise he is a heretic, excommunicated of God, and of the holy Church.

7 That Innocentius the third pope, and five hundred bishops, and a thousand other prelates, withall the rest of the clergie, which together with the same pope agreed and determined, that in the sacrament of the Altar, after the conversion of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, the accidents of the said bread and wine doe remaine there without any proper subiect of the same: the which also ordained, that all Christians ought to confesse their sins once a yeere unto a proper priest, and to receive the reverend sacrament at Easter, and made certain other lawes at the same time: All they, saith he, in so doing were fooles and blockheads, heretikes, blasphemers, and seducers of Christian people. Wherefore we ought not to believe the determinations of them, or of their successors, neither ought we to obey their lawes or ordinances, except they be plainly grounded upon the holy scripture, or upon some reason which cannot be impugned.

Other Articles drawne out of Purveyes Bookes more at large by Richard Lavingham.

As touching the sacrament of thanksgiving, he saith, That that chapter of repentance and remission, Omnis utriusque sexus, wherein it is ordained that

KING  
HEN. 4.  
Articles of  
John Purvey  
recanted.

He speaketh  
priests hereafter  
not of publicke  
ministers appointed  
in the church.

Howes.

The charge  
priests.

Against transubstantiation

John Purvey  
prisoned after  
his recantation

Articles out  
Purveyes booke  
collected by  
Lavingham.



**SING**  
**LN. 4.** that every faithfull man ought once every yeere at the least, that is to say, at Easter, to receive the sacrament of the Eucharist, is a beastly thing, hereticall and blasphemous.

Item, that Innocentius the third pope, was the head of antichrist, who after the letting loose of satan, intended a new article of our faith, and a certaine fained verity touching the sacrament of the altar, that is to say, that the sacrament of the altar is an accident without a substance, or else an heape of accidents without a substance. But Christ and his Apostles do teach manifestly, that the sacrament of the altar is bread and the body of Christ together, after the manner that he spake. And in that he calleth it bread, he would have the people to understand as they ought with reason, that it is very and substanti-  
**the sacrament of the body of Christ.** all bread, and no false nor fained bread.

And although Innocentius that antichrist, both alledge, that in the councill at Lyons, where this matter was decided, were six hundred bishops with him, and one thousand prelates, which were in one opinion of this determination; All those notwithstanding he calleth soles, according to that saying of Eccles. 1. Of soles there are an infinite number. And so in like manner he calleth them false christis, and false prophets, of whom Christ speaketh in the 24. of Matthew, Many false christis and false prophets shall arise, and deceive many. And therefore every Christian man ought to believe firmly, that the sacrament of the altar is very bread indeed, and no false nor fained bread.

And although it be very bread indeed, yet notwithstanding it is the very body of Christ in that sort he spake and called it his body; and so it is very bread, and the very body of Christ. And as Christ concerning his humanity was both visible and passible, and by his Divinity was invisible and impassible: so likewise this sacrament in that it is very bread, may be seene with the corporal eye, and may also abide corruption. But although a man may see that sacrament, yet notwithstanding cannot the body of Christ in that sacrament be seene with the corporal eye, although it be the body of Christ in that manner he spake it; for that notwithstanding, the body of Christ is now incorruptible in heaven. So the sacrament of the cup is very wine, and the very blood of Christ, according as his manner of speaking was. Also Innocentius the third, with a great multitude of his secular clerks, made a certaine new determination, that the sacrament of the altar is an accident without a substance, whereas neither Jesus Christ, nor any of his Apostles taught this faith (but openly and manifestly to the contrary) neither yet the holy doctors, for the space of a thousand yeeres and more, taught this faith openly.

Therefore when antichrist or any of his shavelings doth aske of thee that art a simple Christian, Whether that this sacrament be the very body of Christ or not; affirme thou it manifestly to be. And if he aske of thee whether it be materiall bread, or what other bread else; say thou, that it is such bread as Christ understood and meant by his proper word; and such bread as the holy Ghost meant in St. Paul, when he called that to be very bread which he brake; and wade thou no further herein. If he aske thee how this bread is the body of Christ: say thou, as Christ understood the same to be his body, which is both omnipotent and true, and in whom is no untruth; say thou also as the holy doctors do say, that the terrestriall matter or substance may be converted into Christ, as the Pagan or infidell may be baptized, and hereby spiritually be converted and be a member of Christ, and so after a certaine manner become Christ, and yet the same man remaine still in his proper nature. For so both Saint Augustine grant, that a sinner forsaking his sinne, and being made one spirit with God by faith, grace, and charity, may be converted into God, and be after a

And if he aske of thee whether it be materiall bread, or what other bread else; say thou, that it is such bread as Christ understood and meant by his proper word; and such bread as the holy Ghost meant in St. Paul, when he called that to be very bread which he brake; and wade thou no further herein. If he aske thee how this bread is the body of Christ: say thou, as Christ understood the same to be his body, which is both omnipotent and true, and in whom is no untruth; say thou also as the holy doctors do say, that the terrestriall matter or substance may be converted into Christ, as the Pagan or infidell may be baptized, and hereby spiritually be converted and be a member of Christ, and so after a certaine manner become Christ, and yet the same man remaine still in his proper nature. For so both Saint Augustine grant, that a sinner forsaking his sinne, and being made one spirit with God by faith, grace, and charity, may be converted into God, and be after a

manner God; as both David and Saint John doe testifie, and yet be the same person in substance and nature, and in soule and vertue be altered and changed. But yet men of more knowledge and reason may more plainly convince the falsitie of Antichrist both in this matter and in others, by the gift of the holy Ghost working in them. Notwithstanding, if those that be simple men will humbly hold and keep the manifest and apparent words of the holy Scripture, and the plaine sense and meaning of the holy Ghost, and proceed no further, but humbly commit that unto the spirit of God, which passeth their understanding: then may they safely offer themselves to death, as true martyrs of Jesus Christ.

As touching the sacrament of penance; that chapter Omnis utriusque sexus, by which a certaine new found auricular confession was ordained, is full of hypocrisie, heresie, covetousnesse, pride, and blasphemie, he saith, and reprobeth the same chapter verbatim, and that by the sentences of the same procelle. Also, that the penance and paines limited by the canons be unreasonable and unjust, for the austerity and rigourousnesse which they containe, more than are tared by Gods law. He also doth exemplifie, of the solenne and publike deniall of penitents to be received into orders, according to the decree of the generall councill, Distinctione 50. cap. Ex penitentibus. Also of the seven-fold penitence of a priest committing fornication; according to the chapter, Presbyter, Distinct. 82. And further sheweth another example of the penitence of priests, according to that chapter, Qui presbyterium, &c. Whereas the Decretall of the generall councill saith, that such a one ought to remaine continuing his life in the warres, and not to marry. And how Innocentius the third brought in a new found confession, whereby the priests do oppresse the simple lay men. And that many other things they doe, compelling them to confesse themselves to blind and ignorant priests, in whom is nothing else but pride and covetousnesse, having such in contempt as are learned and wise. Also that the decretall of Innocentius the third, touching the foresaid auricular or vocall confession, was brought in and indented, to intricate and intangle mens consciences with sinne, and to draw them downe to hell. And furthermore, that such manner of confession destroyeth the Evangelicall liberty, and doth let men to enquire after, and to retaine the wise counsell and doctrine of such as bee good priests, which know faithfully how to observe his precepts and commandements, and which would willingly teach the people the right way to heaven. For which abuse all Christian men, and especially all Englishmen, ought to claime against such wicked lawes.

As touching the sacrament of order, he saith, That all good Christians are predestinate and be ordained of God, and made true priests to offer Christ in themselves, and to Christ themselves; as also to teach and preach the Gospel to their neighbours, as well in word, as in example of living. But the worldly shavelings do more magnifie the naked and bare signes of priesthood (invented by sinfull men) than the true and perfect priesthood of God, grounded by a true and lively faith, annexed with good works. Also, if it were needfull to have such shavelings, God knoweth how, and can make, when it pleaseth him, priests (without mans working and sinful signs, that is to say, without either sacraments or characters) to be knowne and discerned of the people by their virtuous life and example, and by their true preaching of the law of God. For to make hee the first made priest and elders before the law of Moses; and to make hee Moses a priest before Aaron, and before the ceremonies of the law, without mans operation at all; and even so hath God made all such as are predestinate, to be his priests. But such as be true Christians receive none such as priests, unless they

Auricular confession and penance.

The order of priesthood.

We meaneth of private preaching to their neighbours. The ministers may be made without shaveling.

Priests here have a private, not a publike understanding.

Do a follow



follow Christ and his Apostles: neither doe they believe that they make the sacrament of the altar (which they affirme to be Gods body) when it pleaseth them, lest happily God be not with them, forasmuch as they doe this thing for covetousnes sake, or else to bragge of their own power. And therefore such as be simple men will worship that sacrament in this doubtfulnesse, with a silent condition; that is, if it be made by Gods authority, and have their devotion to the body of Christ in heaven. Also, that such as be elders, if they be Gods priests, be bishops, prelates, and curates of their Christian brethren, whom they may leade to heaven by the example of their holy conversation, and by preaching of the Gospell, although they make no sacrifice to that anti-christ of Rome for their confirmation; neither bee they dedicated to the world by secular divine things, and by consuming the livings of the poore, as bee those secular bishops, prelates, and curates. Also, that although there were no pope, according as the custome of the church is, yet Christ, which is the head of his church, doth ordaine such a pope as pleaseth him; and that is, whosoever is most humble and lowly, and best doth the office of a true priest, although he be unknowne to the world; and although there were no such proud bishop above all the rest, as the church doth use, yet all the priests might well governe the church by common assent, as once they did, before such worldly pride crept in amongst the bishops, &c. And admit that no such priests were according to the accustomed use now of receyving of order and tonsure, by such a mitred bishop and his tonsure; yet Christ knoweth both how to make and chuse such as shall well please him both in conversation of life and sincere preaching of the Gospell, in ministering to his people all necessary sacraments. And every holy man which is a minister of Christ, although he be not shaven, is a true priest ordained of God, although no mitred bishop ever lay his character upon him. So that the pope and prelates doe make more estimation of their characters (as tonsures and crownes by them indented) than of the true and perfect priesthood ordained of God; whereas all those that are predestinate are true priests made of him.

As touching the authority of the keyes and censures, no Christian man ought to esteeme Satan (whom men call the pope) and his uniuersal censures, more then the hissing of a serpent, or the blast of Locifer. Also, that no man ought to trust or put confidence in the false indulgences of covetous priests, which indulgences doe draw away the hope, which men ought to repose in God, to a sort of sinfull men, and doe robbe the poore of such almes as is given to them. Such priests be manifest betrayers of Christ and of the whole church, and bee Satans owne stewards to beguile Christian soules by their hypocrisie and fained pardons. Also, forasmuch as those prelates and clergy men liued to execrable a life, contrary to the Gospell of Christ and examples of his Apostles, and teach not truly the Gospell, but onely lies and the traditions of sinfull wicked men; it appeareth most manifestly, that they have not the keyes of the kingdome of heaven, but rather the keyes of hell. And they may be right well assured, that God neuer gave unto them authoritie to make and establish so many ceremonies and traditions, which be contrary to the libertie of the Gospell, and are blockes in Christian mens waies, that they can neither know nor obserue the same his Gospell in libertie of conscience, and so attaine a readie way to heaven.

Also, that all manner of religious men, notwithstanding the chapter Religiosi, touching the privileges in the Clementines, may lawfully minister all sacraments to them that are worthy the same; forasmuch as the same is a work of charitie, which only the will and ordinance of the pope in his sautors in

this case is to hinder and let. Item, if the pope shall interdict this our realme, that cannot hurt us, but much profit us, because that thereby he should separate us from all his wicked lawes, and from the charges of sustaining of so many thousand shabellings, which with small devotion, or none at all, patience and chatter a new found song, secundum usum Sarum. So that not whatsoeuer the pope in his generall councill bindeth on earth, is bound of God in heaven, either for that he bindeth unreasonably, and contradictorily doth against himselfe, or els for that he hath forsaken the iudgment of God.

As touching the preaching of the Gospell; whosoever receiveth or taketh upon him the office of a priest, or of a bishop, and dischargeh not the same by the example of his god conversation and faithfull preaching of the Gospell, is a theefe, excommunicate of God, and of holy Church. And further, if the curates preach not the word of God, they shall be damned; and if they know not how to preach, they ought to resigne their benefices. So that those prelates which preach not the Gospell of Christ (although they could excuse themselves from the doing of any other evil) are dead in themselves, are antichrists, and satans, transfigured into Angels of light, night thebes, manquellers by day light, and betrayers of Christ his people.

Concerning the sacrament of Matrimony; notwithstanding any spirituall kindred or godspire, a man and woman may lawfully marry together by the law of God, without any dispensation papistcall. And in the same place he saith; that if our realme do admit one nor bozne in matrimony, or illegitimate, to the imperfall crowne, so that he doth well discharge the office of a king, God maketh him a king, and by consequence doth reiect another king or heire of the kingdome, being bozne in matrimony and legitimate; So, for such spirituall kindred there ought no divorce to be made. Also notwithstanding the Cap. Si inter de sponsalibus; If any man shall make any contract with any woman by the words of the future tense, by an oath taken, and afterwards shall with another woman make the like contract by the words of the present tense; that then the second contract standeth. Also, if a man make any contract with a woman by the words of the future tense, upon his oath taken, and maketh afterwards the like contract with another, not altering the words, and hath carnall copulation upon the same, the first contract maketh the matrimony good, and not the second. Also, if a man before witness assure himselfe to a woman by a contract made in the present tense, and hath children by the same woman, and afterward the same man marrieth another woman, with the like words in the present tense before witness, although the first witnesses be dead, or els by bribes corrupt, and the second being his witnesses before the Judge to prove the second contract, the first contract yet standeth in force, although the pope (allowing the second contract) doth compell them to live in adultery against the commandment of God. Also, he condemneth the Decretall of the restitution of things stolen, Cap. Literas tuas; which willet, that a man and woman having carnall copulation in the degree of consanguinity forbidden, and hath no witness hereof; if the woman will depart from the man, she shall be compelled by the censures to remain with him, and to yeld her debt. Also in case where a man hath made contract with two women, with one secretly having no witness, and with the other openly having witness, then were it better to acknowledge the insufficiency of the law, and to suffer men to be ruled by their owne consciences, than by the censures to compell them to commit and live in adultery.

As touching the keeping and making of vowes; that howsoever is beastly, and is without all discretion made, which to performe and keepe a man hath

What if there were no pope knowne: yet the church could stand.

Tonsure makes not a priest.

The popes censures like the blast of Locifer.

Popish priests have not the keyes of heaven but rather of hell.

KING. HEN. 4.

The popes curse hurteth not, but paceth.

Godspiren sufficient cause to restraints matrimony

The first marriage lawfully before witness made, standeth

Keeping a vow making do.



{KING}  
{HEN. 4.}

no power but by grace given him of God; because that some such there be, whom God doth not accept to persevere in the state of chastity and perpetuall virginity; and such a one cannot keepe his vow, although he make the same. Also, that every one making a vow of continency or chastity, when making the same he shall not be accepted of God, both very indiscreetly, and as one without all reason maketh the same, when he is not able of himself without the gift of God to fulfill his promise, according to that saying of the wise man, cap. 8. No man hath the gift of continency, unless that God give it unto him. For otherwise, if God helpe not such a one to performe the vow or oth which he hath made and taken, no prelate can compell him, unless he doe contrary to Gods ordinance; but hee ought to commit himselfe to the governement of Gods holy spirit, and his owne conscience.

Possessions of  
the Church,

For the possessions of the Church, In another treatise it is declared, how the king, the lords, and commons may without any charge at all keepe fiftene garrisons, and finde 15000. souldiers (having sufficient lands and revenues to live upon) out of the temporalities gotten into the hands of the clergy, and fained religious men, which never do that which pertaineth to the office of curates to doe, nor yet to secular lords. And moreover, the king may have every yeere 20000. pound to come freely into his coffers, and above, hee may finde or sustaine fifteen colleges more, and 15000. priests and clerkes, with sufficient living, and an hundred hospitals for the sicke, and every house to have one hundred markes in lands. And all this may they take of the foresaid temporalities, without any charge to the realme; wherunto the king, the lords, and the commons are to be invited. For otherwise there seemeth to hang over our heads a great and marvellous alteration of this realme, unless the same bee put in execution. Also, if the secular priests and fained religious, which be Simoniacs and heretikes, which faine themselves to say masse, and yet say none at all, according to the canons, which to their purpose they bring and alledge, 1. q. 3. Audivimus, & cap. Pudenda, & cap. Schisma; by which chap. such priests and religious doe not make the sacrament of the altar, that then all Christians, especially all the founders of such abbeys, and indowes of bishopricks, priories, and chantries, ought to amend this fault and treason committed against their predecessors, by taking from them such secular dominions, which are the maintenance of all their sinnes. And also, that Christian lords and princes are bound to take away from the clergy such secular dominion as nowleth and nourisheth them in heresies, and ought to reduce them unto the simple and poore life of Christ Jesus and his Apostles.

1. q. 3. 24. q. 1.  
Cap. Pudenda.

Belly-cheere of  
ill disposed pri-  
ests, and of mo-  
nasteries, not  
to be nourished  
with temporal-  
ties and appor-  
tions.

And further, that all Christian princes (if they will amend the malediction and blasphemy of the name of God) ought to take away their temporalities from that shaven generation, which most of all doth nourish them in such malediction. And so in like wise the fat fittes from Churches appropriate to rich monks and other religious, fained by manifest lying and other unlawfull meanes; likewise ought to debarre their gold to the proud priest of Rome, which doth poison all Christendome with simony and heresie. Further, that it is a great abomination that bishops, monks, and other prelates, be so great lords in this world, whereas Christ, with his Apostles and disciples, never took upon them secular dominion, neither did they appropriate unto them Churches, as these men doe, but led a poore life, and gave a good testimony of their priesthood. And therefore all Christians ought to the uttermost of their power and strength to sweare that they will reduce such shadelings to the humilitie and poverty of Christ and his Apostles; and whosoever doth not thus, consenteth to their heresie. Also, that these two chapters

of the immunity of Churches are to be condemned, that is, cap. Non minus, and cap. Adversus. Because they doe decree, that temporall lords may neither require tallages nor tenths of any Ecclesiasticall persons.

Correction of  
the clergy.

Now to the correction of the clergy. By the law of God, and by reason, the king and all other Christians may take revenge of Italy, and of all the false priests and clerks within the same, and reduce them unto the humble ordinance of Jesus Christ. Also, that the law of Silvester the pope, which is declared in 2. q. 5. cap. Praeful, and cap. Nullum, is contrary to the law of Christ and either testament. And that proud and ambitious Silvester by his law so defended two cardinals which were not to be defended by the law of Christ, that by no meanes they might be convinced; although they were both vicious and evil. And although Christ fastained and suffered the judgement of unist temporal Judges; our mitred prelates in these dayes so magnifie themselves beyond Christ and his Apostles, that they refuse and will none of such judgements. Also, that those Decretals of accusations, cap. Quando & Qualiter, which doe prohibit that any clerkes should be brought before a secular Judge to receive judgement, doe containe both heresie, blasphemy, & error, and bring great gaine and commodity to antichrists coffers.

2. q. 5. Praeful,  
Ibid, Nullum.

Furthermore, that all Christian kings and lords ought to exclaim against the pope, and those that be his fautors, and banish them out of their lands, till such time as they will obey God and his Gospel, Kings, and other ministers of Gods iustice. Also, that bishops and their laborers, that say it appertaineth not to kings and secular lords (but unto them and their officials) to punish adultery and fornication, doe fall into manifest treason against the king, and heresie against the Scripture. Also, that it appertaineth to the king, to have the order both of priests and bishops, as these kings Salomon and Josaphat had.

Punishing of  
adultery before  
secular  
magistrates  
rather than to  
prelates.

Furthermore, that chapter, Nullus iudicium de foro competent, by the which secular iudges are forbidden, without the bishops commandement, to condemn any clerke to death, is manifestly against the holy Scripture, declaring that kings have power over clerkes and priests, to punish them for their deserved crimes. Also, that the decree of Boniface de poenis in 6. cap. Felicis, made against the prosecutors, strikers, and imprisoners of cardinals, is contrary both to the holy Scripture, and to all reason. Also, that by the law of God & reason, a secular lord may lawfully take a cardinall, and put him in prison for committing the crime of open simony, adultery, and manifest blasphemy. Also, that the chapter Si Papa, dist. 40. which saith, that the pope ought to be iudged of none, unless hee bee Deus a side, is contrary to the Gospel, which saith; If thy brother sin against thee, correct him. Also, whereas S. Gregory and S. Augustine called themselves the servants of Gods servants, this proud bishop of Rome, which will not be iudged by his subjects (which be in very deed his lords, if they be iust and good men) doth destroy the order of Gods law, and all humilitie, and doth extoll himselfe above God and his Apostles. Also, that Christian kings ought not onely to iudge this proud bishop of Rome, but also to depose him by the example that Celsentis, lib. 6. cap. 8. declareth of Ditho the emperour, which deposed John the twelfth, and did institute Leo in his place. And further hee maketh an exhortation to the princes to iudge the Church of Rome, which hee calleth the great and cursed strumpet, of whom S. John writeth in the Apocalyps, chap. 17.

Good kings  
ought to depose  
wicked popes.

Lastly, touching the lawes and determinations of the church; Christians have reasonable excuses and causes to repell the statutes of the pope and of his shadelings, which bee not expelly grounded on the holy Scripture, or else upon reason inevitable. Also



De consecra-  
tione, id est  
2. cap. Secu-  
lares.

he saith, that that law which is set forth of consecra-  
tion, distinctione 2. cap. Seculares, & cap. Omnis ho-  
mo, & cap. Et si non frequentius, & cap. In cena Do-  
mini; That such secular men as doe not receive the  
Sacrament of the Altar at Christmas, Easter, and  
Whitsuntide, are not to be counted amongst the  
number of christians, nor are to be esteemed as chris-  
tians; whereby it followeth, that all clerks and lay-  
men that observe not the same, it seemeth they goe  
straight to hell. But if this law be of no force, for  
that the custome and use in receiving is contrary to  
the same; then may we blesse such rebellion and diso-  
bedience to the pope, and his law; for otherwise we  
should see to hell without any stay or let. Whereby  
we may conclude, that all Christians ought well to  
practise this schoole of obedience against the pope  
and all his lawes (not founded upon the holy Scrip-  
ture) which doe let men to climbe to heaven by the  
keeping of charity, and the liberty of the Gospel. Al-  
so, that christian men have great cause to refuse the  
lawes and statutes of these worldly clerks, which the  
people call the papall lawes and bishoplike statutes,  
for the covetousnesse and voluptuousnesse of them;  
without the which the Church and congregation of  
God might safely run towards heaven by the sweet  
poke of the Lord, as it did 1000. yeares before the  
said lawes were prescribed and sent to the Univer-  
sities, and witholden men from studying of the holy  
Scripture, for the desire of benefices and worldly  
goods. Also, that simple men doe reverently receive  
the sentences of the doctors and other lawes, so farre  
forth as they bee expressly grounded upon the holy  
Scripture or good reason. Also, that whereas the  
popes lawes, and lawes of his ministers and clerks  
be both contrary to themselves, and have not their  
foundation either upon the Scripture, or yet upon  
reason, simple men ought to bid them farewell. Also,  
that when all the Apostles saith failed them in the  
time of the Lords Passion, saith then rested in the  
blessed Virgin; much moze might that proud priest  
of Rome with all his rabble, easlye in the faith; and  
yet is the Christian faith preserved whole and safe in  
the faithfull members of Christ, which are his true  
Church: but the pope and all his rabblement cannot  
prove that they be any part of his church. Also that  
the pope with all his favorites may as well be decei-  
ved by a lying spirit, as was Achab and all his pro-  
phets; and that one true prophet, as was Micheas,  
may have the verity shewed unto him, contra concilium.  
Also, that all good christians ought to cast from  
them the popes lawes saying; Let us breake their  
hands in sunder, and let us cast from our necks those  
heavy yokes of theirs. Also, that where these prelates  
do burne one good booke, for one error perhaps con-  
tained in the same, they ought to burne all the books  
of the canon law, for the manifold heresies con-  
tained in them.

And thus much out of a certaine old written  
book in parchment, borrowed once of I.B. which book,  
containing divers ancient records of the Univer-  
sity, seemeth to belong sometime to the library of the  
University, bearing the yeere of the compiling ther-  
of, 1396. Which computation if it be true, then was  
it written of him, ere that he recanted before Tho-  
mas Arundel archbish. at Saltwood, where he was  
imprisoned. Whereunto I thought good to annere a  
certaine goodly and most fruitfull sermon of like an-  
tiquity, preached at Pauls crosse much about the  
same time, which was in the yeere of our Lord, 1388,  
by a certaine learned clerke, as I find in an old mo-  
nument, named, R. Wimbeldon. Albeit among the  
ancient Registers & records belonging to the archb.  
of Canterbury, I have an old booke copy of the said  
sermon, written in very old English, & almost halfe  
consumed with age, purporting the said autor hereof  
bearing also the foresaid name. The true copy of  
which Sermon, in his owne speech wherein it was  
first spoken, and preached at the crosse on the Sun-

day of quinquagesima, and after exhibited to the  
archbishop of Canterbury (being then as it seemeth  
William Courtney) here followeth.

{ K I N G }  
{ H E N . 4 . }

A Sermon no lesse godly than learned, preached at  
Pauls Crosse on the Sunday of Quinquagesima,  
Ann. 1389. by R. Wimbeldon.

Redde rationem villicationis tue. Lucæ. xvi.

My dere frends, yee shullen understand, that  
Christ autor and doctor of truth, in his booke of  
the Gospel (likening the kingdome of heaven to an  
housholder) saith on this manner: Like as the king-  
dome of heaven to an housholding man, that went  
out first on the morrow to hire workemen into his  
vine. Also, about the thirde, sixth, ninth, and eleventh  
houres he went out, and found men standing idle,  
and said to them, Goe yee into mine vineyard, and  
that right is, I will geve you. When the day was  
agoo, hee cleped his steward, and high to geve each  
man a penny.

Matth. 20,  
The Sermon  
of R. Wim-  
beldon.

The spirituall understanding of this housholder, is  
our Lord Iesus Christ, that is head of the household of  
holy Church. And thus clepeth men in diverse houres  
of the day, that is in diverse ages of the world. As in  
time of law of kind, he cleped by enspring Abel, En-  
nok, Noe, and Abraham. In time of the old law, Moses,  
David, Isay, and Jeremy: and in time of grace, Apo-  
stles, Martyrs, and confessors and Virgins. Also he clep-  
ed men in divers ages, some on childhode, as Iohna  
Baptist; some on state of waxing, as Iohn the Evange-  
list; some in state of manhode, as Peter and Andrew;  
and some in old age, as Gamaliel, and Ioseph of Ari-  
mathie. And all these he clepeth to travaile in his vine,  
that is the Church, and that in divers manner. For right  
as yee seeth, that in tilling of the materiall vine there  
ben divers labours, for some kutten away the voide  
branches, some maken forkis and nailes to beren up the  
vine, and some diggen away the old earth fro the rote,  
and leyn there fatter. And all this offices ben so neces-  
sary to the vine, that if any of them faile, it shall harme  
greatly, other destroy the vine. For but if the vine bee  
kut, she shall wax wilde; but if she be railed, shee shall  
be overgo with netles and wedis; but if the rote be fat-  
ted with dong, she for feblenes shuld wax barraine.

The calling of  
God is divers.

Right so in the Church beth nedefull these three offi-  
ces, priesthode, knythode, and laborers. To priests it  
falleth, to kut away the void branches of sins with the  
sward of her tong. To knythode it falleth, to letten  
wrongs and thefts to ben done, and to maintaine God-  
dis law, and them that ben teachers thereof, and also  
to kepe the lond from enemies of other londs. And to  
laborers it falleth, to travaile bodelich, and with their  
fore swete, geten out of the earth bodilich lifelode for  
hem, and other parties. And these states beth also nede-  
full to the Church, that none may well ben without  
other: for if priesthode lacked, the people for default  
of knowing of Gods law, shuld waxe wilde in vices,  
and deyen ghostly; and if the knythode lacked, and men  
to rulen the pople by law and hardinesse, theeves and  
enemies shulden so encreas, that no man shuld live in  
peace. And if the laborers were nought, both knights  
and priests must become acre men and herdis, and else  
they shuld for default of bodily sustenance dey. And  
therefore saith clerke Avicenne, that every unreasona-  
ble beast, if he have that that kind hath ordained for  
him, as kind hath ordained it, he is sufficance to live by  
himselfe, without any helpe of other of the same kinde.  
As if there were but one horse, other one shepe in the  
world, yet if hee had grasse and corne, as kind hath or-  
dained for such beaks, he shuld live well now. But if  
there ne were but O man in the world, though hee  
had all that good that is therein, yet for default hee  
shuld dey, or his life shuld bee wors than if hee were  
nought; and the cause is this, for that thing that kind  
ordaineth for a mans sustenance, without other arrai-

eng

The popes  
laws contrary  
to themselves.

The pope and  
his cardinals  
no part of the  
true Church.

The canon law  
full of heresie.



{KING}  
{HEN. 4.}

eng than it hath of kinde, accordeth nought to him. As though a man have come as it cometh from the earth, yet it is no meate according to him, untill it bee by mans craft changed into bread: and though hee have flesh other fish, yet while it is raw, as kinde ordained it, till it bee by mans travaile sodden, roasted, or baken, it corded not to mans lifelode. And right so, wolle that the sheepe beareth, not by mannis divers craftis and travailes bee changed or it bee able to cloth any man; and certis O man, by himselfe shuld never doe all these labours. And therefore, saith this cleark, It is need that some bee acre men, some bakers, some makers of cloth, and some merchants to fetch that, that one lond fetcheth from another there it is plenty.

And certis this should bee a cause why every state should love other. And men of a craft should not despise ne hate men of none other craft, sich they bee so nedefull everich to other. And oft thelke crafts that been most unhoneit, might worst been forbore: and O thing I dare well say, that hee that is neither travailing in this world, on studying, on prayers, on preaching, for helpe of the people as it falleth to priests, neither ruling the people, maintaining ne defending fro enemies, as it falleth to knights, neither travelling on the earth, in divers crafts, as it falleth to labourers; When the day of rekening commeth, that is, the end of this life, right as hee lived here withouten travaile, so hee shall there lacke the reward of the penny, that is, the endlesse joy of heaven. And as hee was here living after none state ne order, so hee shall bee put then in that place that no order is in, but everlasting horror and sorrow, that is, in hell. Herefore, everich man see to what state God hath cleped him, and dwell hee therein by travaile, according to his degree. Thou that art a labourer or a crafty man, doe this truly. If thou art a servant or a bondman, be suget, and low in drede of displeasing of thy Lord. If thou art a merchaunt, deceive not thy brother in chaffering. If thou art a knight, or a lord, defend the poore man and needy fro hands that will harme them. If thou art a Iustice or ludge, goe not on the right hand by favour, neither on the left hand, to punish any man for hate. If thou art a Priest, undermine, pray, and reprove, in all manner patience and doctrine. Undernine thilke that been negligent, pray for thilke that been obedient, reprove tho that been unobedient to God. So every man travaile in his degree. For when the even is come, that is, the end of this world, then every man shall take reward, good or evill, after that hee hath travailed here.

Note.

The words that I have taken to make of my Sermon, bee thus much to say; Yeld reckoning of thy baily. Christ, autor of pitie and lover of the salvation of his people, in the proesse of this Gospell, enformeth every man what is his baily, by manner of a Parable of a baily that hee speaketh of, to array him to answer of the goods that God hath taken him, when the day of strait reckoning shall bee come, that is, the day of doome. And so I at this time, through the helpe of God, following him that is so great a Master of authority, because that I know nothing that should more draw away mans unreasonable love fro the passing joy of this world, than the minde of the dredfull reckoning; As much as suffice, I shall shew you how yee shall dispose you to avoid the vengeance of God, when there shall bee time of so straight doome, that wee shall geve reckoning of every idle word that we have ispoken. For then it shall be said to us, and we shall not flee it; Yeld reckoning of thy baily.

But for further proesse of this first party of this Sermon, yee shall wete; that there shall bee three bailiffes that shall bee cleped to this strait reckoning. Twaine to answer for themselves and for other, that been Priests that have cure of mens soules, and temporall men that have governaile of people; and the third bailiffe shall account onely for himselfe, and that is every Christen man, of that hee hath received of God. And every of

these shall answer to three questions.

To the first question, how hast thou entred? The second, how hast thou ruled? And to the third, how hast thou lived? And if thou canst well asse the three questions, was there never none earthly lord that ever so well rewarded his servant without comparisson, as thy Lord God shall reward thee, that is, with blisse, and joy, and life that ever shall last. But on that other side, and thou wilt now be rechles of thine own welfare, and take none heed of this reckoning; If that day take thee sodantly, so that thou passe hence in deadly sinne (as thou wost never what shall fall thee) all the tongues that ever were, or ever shall bee, now not tell the sorrow and woe that thou shalt ever bee in, and suffer. Therefore the desire of so great joy, and the dread of so great paine, though love ne dread of God were not in thine heart, yet should that make thee afraid to sinne, for to thinke that thou shalt give reckoning of thy baily. Therefore as I say to thee, the first question that shall bee proposed to the first baily, that is a Prelat, other a curate of mens soules, is this:

How hast thou entred: Matth. 22. Friend, how entredst thou hether? Who brought thee into this office? Truth or Simony? God or the Devill? Graca or mony? The flesh or the spirit? Give thou the reckoning if thou canst. If thou canst not, I rede that thou tarry for to learne. For up hap ere night thou shalt bee cleped. And if thou stand dombe for unknowing, or else for confusion of thy conscience, thou fall into the sentence that anon followeth; Binde his hands and his feet, and cast him into the utterward of darknesse, there shall bee weeping and grenning of teeth. Therefore I rede thee, that thou advise thee how thou shalt answer to this question; How hast thou entred? whether by cleping, or by thine owne procuring? for that thou wouldest travaile in Gods Gospell, other for that thou wouldest bee richly arraid? Answer now to thine owne conscience as thou shalt answer to God, thou that hast taken now the order of Priest, whether thou bee curate or none; who stirred thee to take upon thee so high an estate? Whether for thou wouldest live as a Priest ought to doe, studying of Gods law to preach, and most heartily to pray for the people; or for to live a delicious life upon other mens travaile, and thy selfe travaile nought. Why also setten men their sonnes, either their cousins to schoole? Whereto, but for to get them great advancements, or to make them the better to know how they shulden serve God? This men may see openly by the sciences that they set them to. Why I pray you put men their sonnes to the law Civill, or to the Kings Court to write letters and Writs, rather than to Philosophy or Divinity, but for the hope that these occupations should bee ever meanes to make them great in the world. I hope that there will no man say, that they ne should better learne the rule of good living in the booke of Gods law, than in any bookes of mans worldly wisdom. But certes now it is soothe, that Iohn Chrysostom saith; Mothers bee loving to the bodies of their children, but the soule they despise; they desire them to welfare in this world, but they take none heed what they shall suffer in the tother; some ordainen fees for their children, but none ordaine them to God-ward; the lust of their bodies they wold deere buy, but the health of their soule they reke nought of. If they see them poore or sicke, they sorrow and figheth, but though they see them sinne they sorrow not. And in this they shew that they brought forth the bodies, but not the soules.

And if wee take heed truly, what abominations bee scattered and spread abroad in holy Church now adaies among priests, we shull well wit, that they come not all to the fold of Christ by Christs cleping for to profit, but by other waies to get them worldly wealth, and this is the cause of lesing of soules, that Christ bought so deare, and of many errours among the people;

O o o 3

Note.

Three quest.  
on  
The first.  
The second.  
The third.

Against Simony

Question.

Solution.  
Question.

Solution.  
Iohannes  
Carystom.  
Hom. 27.

Iob 10.  
2 Cor. 7.  
1 Pet. 2.  
1 Theff. 4.

Pro. 8.  
2 Tim. 4.



people; and therefore it is iwrit in the booke of mourning, where the Prophet ſpeaketh thus to God, Thren. i. The enemy hath put his hand to all things deſireable to him; for hee hath let lawles folke enter into the ſanctuary, of the which thou haſt commanded, that they ſhould not enter into the Church, This enemy is Satanas, as his name ſowneth, that hath put his hand to all that him liketh. What ſinne I pray you, will the fiend have ſow on men, that nis now yuſed? In what plenty is now pride, envy, wrath, and covetiſe? when were they ſo great as they bee now? and ſo of all other ſinnes. And why troweſt thou? But for there be a lawleſſe people entred into thy ſanctuary, that neither keepe in themſelſe the law of God, ne konne teachen other; and to every ſuch ſaith God by the Prophet, Oſe 4. For that thou haſt put away cunning, I ſhall put thee away, that thou ſhall uſe no prieſthood to mee. Loe that God expreſly here in holy Writ forbiddeth men to take the ſtate of prieſthood on them, but they have cunning that needeth them. Thou then that canſt neither rule thy ſelſe, ne other, after the law of God, beware how thou wilt answer to God, at his dreadfull dome, when he ſhall ſay to thee, that which I tooke to my theame;

Yeld the reckening of thy baily, how thou haſt entred.

The ſecond queſtion that every curate and prelate of holy Church ſhall answer to, is this: How haſt thou ruled? That is to ſay, the ſoules of thy ſuggets, and the goods of poore men: Geve now thine account. Firſt, how thou haſt governed Gods folke that were take thee to keepe? Whether art thou an herd or an hired man, that doſt all for love of bodelich hire? As a father, or as a wolfe that eaten his ſheepe, and keepeth them nought? Say, whom haſt thou turned from his curſed living by thy devout preaching? Whom haſt thou taught the law of God that was eaſt uncunning? There ſhall been heard a grievous accusing of fatherleſſe children, and a hard alledging, that prieſts have livened by their wages, and not done away their ſinnes. Yeld alſo reckoning how thou haſt ruled, and ſpended the goods of poore men. Harke what Saint Bernard ſaith; Dread clerkes, dread the miniſters of the Church, the which been in the place of Saints, that they doe ſo wickedly, nought holding them apaid with ſuch wages that were ſufficient to them; That overplus that needy men ſhould be ſuſtained by, they bee not aſhamed to waſte in the houſe of their pride and lechery, and withholden to themſelſe wickedly and curſedly that which ſhould bee the lifeloode of poore men. With double wickedneſſe truely they ſinne. Firſt, for they reeven other mens goods, and ſaith, they miſuſe holy things in their vanities and in their filths. Every ſuch baily therefore beware, for anon to the laſt farthing hee ſhall reckon with Chriſt. Troweſt thou not then that thou ne ſhalt be diſallowed of God, of that thou haſt miſpended in feeding of fat paſſreys, of hounds, of hawkes, and if it ſo bee, that is worſt of all, on lecherous women? Heare what is ſaid of ſuch. They had led their daies in wealths; And in a point they ben gone downe into hell. Think therefore I rede thee, that thou ſhalt yeld reckening of thy baily.

The third queſtion that this baily ſhall answer to, is this; How haſt thou lived? What light of holineſſe haſt thou ſhewed in thy living to the people, or what mirror haſt thou ben of holineſſe to them? Geve now thy reckoning how thou haſt lived, as a prieſt, or as a leude man, as a man, or as a beaſt. That is to wonder truely how the life of prieſts is chaunged. They bee clothed as knights, they ſpeaken as unhoneſtly as earles; other of winning as Merchants; they riden as princes, and all that is thus ſpended, is of the goods of poore men, and of Chriſts heritage. Therefore ſaith an holy Doctour; The clay of Egypt was tough and ſlinking, and medled with bloud. The ſlates were hard to bee undone, for they were baked with fire of covetiſe, and with the light of

luſt. In this travaileth rich man, in this they wake, awaiting poore men. In theſe travaileth prelates, that ben too much blent with too much ſhining of riches, that make them houſes like Churches in greatneſſe, that with divers paintries coloren their chambers, that with divers clothings of colors make images gay; but the poore man, for default of clothes, beggeth, and with an empty wombe crieth at the doore. And if I ſhall the ſooth ſay, ſaith this Doctour, oft time poore men bee robbed for to clothe the trees and ſtones. Of ſuch ſpeaketh the Prophet, How art thou here, or as who art thou? Here thou art occupying the place of Peter and of Paul, or of Thomas or of Martine: But how, as Iudas among the Apoſtles, as Simon Magus among the Diſciples, as a candle new queint that ſtincheth all the houſe in ſtead of a light lanterne, as a ſmoke that blindeth mens eien, in place of cleane fire? If thou contrary thus the forme of living that Chriſt and his Diſciples left to prieſts, Lo what ſaith the Prophet Ieremy, They have entred, and they have had, and nought ben obedient. They haven with falſe title, or with their falſe and corrupt intention had poore mens goods to their miſuſing, and they have not bee obedient to the law of God in their owne living. Therefore it is writ, that the hardeſt dome ſhall fall on ſuch. An hard dome, for they have miſentred; An harder dome, for they have miſruled; And the hardeſt dome, for they have ſo curſedly lived. Thinke therefore I rede, how thou wilt give reckening of thy baily.

The ſecond bailiffe, that accounteth at this dome for himſelſe and alſo for other, is hee that keeping hath of any communitie, as Kings, Princes, Majors, and Shireves, and Juſtices. And theſe ſhall alſo answer to the ſame three queſtions. The firſt queſtion, how haſt thou entred, that is to ſay, into thine office? Other for helpe of the people to deſtroy falſhed and furtheren truth? Other for deſire of winning of worldly worſhip: If thou take ſuch an office, more for thine owne worldly profit than for helpe of the communitie, thou art a tyrant as the Philoſopher ſeith. For it is to feare left there been too many that deſiren ſuch ſtates, that they may the rather oppreſſe thilke that they hateth, and take gifts to ſpare to puniſh thilke that haven trepaſſed, and ſo maketh them partners of their ſinnes. And many ſuch, when they been ſo high, they recken nought that they beth poore mens brethren, but they wene to paſſe them in kinde, as they paſſeth in worldly worſhip, that is but winde: Of which God ſaith by the Prophet, They have raigned, but nought of mee, they have been princes, but I know nought. So wee reade of Rehoboam, that was the ſonne of King Salomon, what time hee was firſt King, the people of Iſrael comento him, and ſaid, Thy father in his laſt dayes put on us great charge. Wee pray thee ſome deale make it lighter, and wee willen ſerve thee. And the King tooke counſell of the old wiſe men, and they counſailden to answer them faire, and that ſhould bee for the beſt. But hee left theſe old wiſe mennis counſaile, and did after the counſaile of children that were his playfellowes, and ſaid to the people when they came againe; My left finger is greater than my fathers riegge; My father grieved you ſomewhat, but I will echen more thereto. And the people heard this, and rebeleden to him, and tooke them anothor King; and ſith, the kingdom came never whole againe: and therefore it is good, that every ruler of commonalties, that they bee not lad by follies, ne by none other care rowner, that he ne have an eygh of love to the comonty that hee hath to rule. For wete yee well, bee hee never ſo high, that hee ſhall come afore higher, to yeld reckening of his baily.

The ſecond queſtion is, How haſt thou ruled the people, and the office that thou haddeſt to governe? Thou that haſt been a Iudge in cauſes of poore men, how haſt thou kept this heit of God. Thou ſhalt not take heed to the perſon of a poore man, to bee to him

{KING}  
{HEN. 4.}

Eſa. 22. quis tu hic aut  
quasi quid hic.

Iere. 31.

Sap. 6.

Kings, princes  
& magistrates  
admonished.  
How haſt thou  
entred.

Oſe 8.

2 Para. 10.

How haſt thou  
ruled.

Deut. 2.

The rasy ma-  
king of mi-  
nisters.

Oſe 4.

Bernardus.



{ KING }  
{ HEN. 4. }

the harder for his poverty, ne thou shalt not behold a rich mans semblance, to spare or to favour him in his wrong for his riches. O Lord, what abuses is there among officers of both lawes now adayes: If a great man pleadeth with a poore man to have ought that he holdeth, every officer shall be ready to hie all that he may, that the rich man might have such an end as he desired. But if a poore man plead with a rich man, then there shall bee so many delays, that though the poore mans right be open to all the countrey, for pure fault of spending he shall bee glad to cease. Shrieves and Bailiffes willen returne poore mens writs, with *large writs*, but gif they selen need in their hands. And yet I here say, men that have seyen both Lawes, and ilke court that is cleped Christs Court, is much more cursed. Therefore it is writ, gifts they taken out of mens bosomes, to overturne the right way of dome. But it is to dread the word of Christ; In what dome ye deeme, ye should be deemed when ye comen to yeld a reckoning of your bailey.

Prov. 13.  
Mat. 7.

How hast thou  
lived.

Rom. 2.

Susan.

Socrates.

Valerius Maxi-  
mus, libro 7.

The third bailey  
The third ad-  
monition in ge-  
nerall to every  
Christian man  
Austen.

Morali. Greg. 8.

Zacha. 6.

The third question is, How hast thou lived, thou that deemest and punishest other men for their trespasses? A great doctor saith; thee behooveth to flee the wickednesse of other men that thou chastiest them for their trespasses. For if thy selfe doe unlawfullch in deming other men, thou damnest thy selfe, syth thou dost that thou damnest. And Paul saith, why techeest thou nought thy selfe, that thou teachest other? Why stealest thou, that teachest nought other men to steale? S. Gregorie saith, He shall not take governaile of other, that cannot goe before them in good living. And when any man stand before him in dome, hee must take heed tofore what judge he shall stand himselfe, to take his dome after his deedes. But it is to dread, that many fareth as tve false priests that woulde have damned to death holie Susan for the wold not assent to their lecherie. Of the which it is writ, they turned away their eyes, for they would not see heaven, ne heve mind of rightfull domes. So it happeth oft they that were more worthy to be hanged, damnest them that be lesse worthy, as a clerke telleth of Socrates the Philosopher, saith he, upon a day a man asked of him why he laughed: And he said, for I see great theeves leading a little theefe to hanging. I pray thee, whether is he a greater theefe that benimeth a man his house and his land from him & from his heires for evermore, other he that for making of great need stealeth a sheepe or a calfe? Whether trow we nought, that it happeth such extortioners to bee other while iudges, and demeth men thus: but I read thee that thus deemest other, thinke on that dome thou shalt come to, to yeld the reckening of thy bailey.

The third Bailiffe that shall be cleped to this dreadfull account shall be to every Christian man, that shall geve rekening to his Lord God for goods that hee hath had of his. And here I will speak but of the first question, that is this: How entreft thou? And here by the way, ye that have got any worldly good, other take by extortion, by ravine, by usury, other by deceit: Woe shall be to him at this dreadfull day, as S. Austen saith. If he be cast into the fire that hath not given of his owne good; where trowest thou shall he be castin, that hath revved other mens from them? And hee shulle bren with the fend that hath nought clothed the naked, where trowest shall he bren that hath made him naked that was erst clothed. But as S. Gregorie saith, two things maketh men to live thus by ravaine of other neighbours, that they desire heyenes and dread poverty, and what vengeance fallet of this sin of covetise, I may see by figure in holy writ, when the angell said to prophet Zachary, Reare up thy eien, and see what is that goeth out. And the prophet said, what is it? Then the angell said, this is the pot going out, this is the eize of hem on all the earth, and there was a weight of leade I bore, and there was a woman sitting in the middle of this pot, And the angell said, this is impietie: and he tooke her and cast her into the middle of this pot, and he tooke

the gobbet of lead and cast it into the pots mouth And the Prophet lift up his eye, and he saw two women comming out, and spirites in her wings like two kytes other gledes, and they areid up this pot betweene heaven and the earth, and then the prophet spake to the angell, wider wol these beate this pot? And he said, into the Lond of Sennaar: This pot is covetise. For right as a pot hath awide open mouth, so covetise gapeth after worldly good: and right as the licour in the pot profiteth nought to the pot, but to men that draweth and drinketh thereof: so worldly good oft profiteth not to churles, but to other that commeth after, as it is written. Hee that hath money shall have no fruit of it: and this covetise is the eie of couetous men, for they ben blind to see how they should see to goe to heaven, but to winning of worldly things they see many wayes, like to owles and night crowes, that seene better by night than by day. The gobbet of lead, is the sinne of obstination.

Exp. Jac.

Eccle. 5.

The woman that far in the pot, is unpiety, as the angell said, that followeth unrighteousnesse and avarice. For through avarice a man keefeth the pity that he should have of the mischief of his soule. For oft time men leefe the life of their soule by deadly sin, that they doe to have the worldly winning, and also they leefe the pitie that they should have of their body, putting themselves to many great bodilie travails and perils both by sea and land, and all maketh covetise. This pot is stopp'd with the gobbet of lead, when unpiety is thus by sin of obtination closed in covetise, that he may not goe out of the chinchies hart by penance. For as Job saith; when he is fulfilled, he shall bee stopp'd. The two women that bare up this pot, are pride and lult of flesh, that be cleped in holy writ the two daughtren of the watr Lethe, crying, bring, bring. And they had wings, the first wing is grace spirituall, as cunning, wisedome, and counsell, with such other many. For which giftes many men wexe proud. The second wing is bodily grace, as strength, fairehood, gentry, and many other such, whereof men wexe proud. the wings of the second woman, that is, fleshly desire, beth gluttony and sloth. Of gluttony speaketh S. Gregorey; when the wamb is fulfilled, the prickles of lechery beth moved. And of sloth S. Augustine saith, Lot the while he dwelled in businesse among shrewes in Sodome, he was a good man. But when he was in the hill flow; for sykkernes he in his drunkenes lay by his daughtren. And these women had wings like kytes, that wvith a crying voice seecheth their meate, as Bartholmeus saith.

Iob 22.

Against covetise.  
Gregory.

August. de con-  
flictu virtutis  
& vitiorum  
Bartholomeus  
de proprietati-  
bus rerum.  
Austen.

And thus fareth covetise of men; witnessing Saint Augustine, what is the greedinesse of fleshly desire. Inas much as the ravenous fishes have sometime measure, yet when they hunger, they rapine; and when they full fill they spare. But only covetise of men may not be fulfilled. For ever hee taketh, and never hath enough. Neither hee dreads God, neither shame of men. He ne spareth his Father; ne knoweth his Mother, ne accordeth with his brethren, neither keepeth truth with his friend. Hee overpressech Widowes and fatherlesse children. Free men he maketh bond, and bringeth forth false witnesse, and occupieth dead mens things, as hee shoulde never dye. What manhood is this, sayth this Doctor, thus to leefe life and grace, and get death of soule? Win gold, and leefe heaven? And therefore saith the Prophet, have travaile in the midst, and leave unrighteousnesse.

Augustine.  
Psalm. 54.  
Iudoc. 114.

Also Innocent speaking of the harmes that come of covetise, saith thus. O how many men have covetise deceived and spilt? when covetise Balsam would, for gifts that the king proferd him, have cursed Gods people, his own Asse reproved him, and hurt his foot against a wal. Achor was stoned to death: for covetise made him steale gold & cloths, against the comandment of God. Giesy was smit with meslilie, for he sold Naamans heal, that came of Gods grace. Iudas for covetise sold Christ, and afterward hong himselfe. Anany and Zaphira his wife were dead sodenly, for they forsaken to give Peter their

Num. 22.  
Ioh. 7.  
4 Reg. 5.  
Ag. 5.

money



mony that they had. And covetise maketh also that rich men eate the poore, as Beasts done their lesous holding them low. This may we see all day in deed & dread. For if a rich man have a field and a poore man have in the middest or in the side thereof one acre, and a rich man have all a street saveth O house, that some poore brother of his oweth, he ceaseth never till hee get it out of the poore mans hand, either by prayer, or by bying, or by pursuing of deceit. Thus fared it by King Achab, that through his false queenes gin slew the poore man Naboth, for that he would not sell him his Vineyard that was nigh to the Kings palace.

Upon which processe, thus sayth Saint Ambrose; How farre will yee Rich men stretch your covetise? Will yee dwell alone upon the Earth, and have no poore man with you? Why put yee out your fellow by kinde, and challenge to your selfe the possession comen by kinde? In commune to all rich and poore the earth was made. Why will ye rich challenge proper right herein? Kind knoweth no riches, that bringeth forth all men poore. For we be not got with rich clothes, ne borne with gold ne with silver. Naked he bringeth them to this world, needie of meate and of drinke and clothing. Naked the earth taketh us and shee naked brought us hither. Shee cannot close with us our possession in the sepulchre, for kind maketh no difference betwene poore and rich, in coming hither, ne in going hence. All in o manner shee bringeth forth, all in o manner shee closeth in grave. Who so will make difference of poore and rich, abyde till they have a little while leyne in the grave. Then open and looke among dead bones who was rich, and who was poore; but if it be thus that moe clothes rotteth with the rich than with the poore, and that harmeth to them that beth on live, and profit not to them that been dead; Thus saith the doctor of such extortion as it is writ. Other mens fields they repeth, and fro the vine of him that the harme oppressed they plucke away the grapes; they leventh men naked, and taketh away her clothes that hath nought wherewith to helle them in cold, and listen up this pot bytwene heaven and earth. For covetous men nother haveth charity to their brethren upon earth, neither to God in heaven; and they bare this pot into the lond of Sennaar, that is to say, into the lond of Stenche, that is hell, for there shall be stench, in steed of sweete smelling, as I say saith. Beware I reade, that ye nought have to doe with this Pot, ne with the woman therein, and on all manner that yee be nought weddid to her, for then ye must be both one. This is thilke foule lecherous woman: the Kings and Marchaunts of the earth have done lecherie, and of her vertue they have beene made rich, whose damnation is written in the Booke of privities in these words. In o day shall come all these vengeance of her death, weeping and hunger and fire shall brenne her, for stronge is God that shall venge him on her, and then shullesh wepe and howle uppe on her, the Kings of the earth, that haveth done lechery with her, and having lived in delices when they shull see the Smoke of her brenning, stonding asferre weeping and weyling and saying; Alas, alas, thilke great City that was clothed with bys and purple, and brafile, and over gilt with gold and pretious stones & pearle. For in one houre all these great riches shall be destroyed, then shall they sey that shall be damned with her. We have erred fro the way of trouth and rightwisnesse, light have not shined to us, and the sunne of understanding have not risen to us; we have be made weerie in everich way of wickednesse and of lust, and have gone hard wayes, but the wayes of God we knew not: what hath Pride profited to us, or the boalt of riches what hath it brought to us? All this is as a shadow of death, and we mow now shew no token of holinesse, in our wickednesse we be waited away. Thinke therefore I reade, that thou shall yeld reckoning of thy bayly. Here endeth the first part of this sermon, and beginneth the second part.

IN which second part with the helpe of God I will shew first, who shall clepe us to this reckoning. Afterward, tofore what Iudge wee shall reckon: and last what punishing shall bee doe to them that been found false servants and wicked, and what reward shall bee give to them that bee found good and true. For the first, yee shall weteen that there shall bee twey domes. The first dome anone after the departing of body and of soule, and this shall bee speciall. And of this reckoning or dome speaketh the Gospell of Luke. The second reckoning or dome shall bee anone after the generall resurrection, and shall bee universall. And of this is to speken in the Gospell. To the first every man shall bee cleped after other, as the world passeth. To the secunde shall come togedre in the stroke of an eye all mankind. To the first, men shall bee cleped with three sumners, other sergeauntes: The first is sicknesse, the second is age, and the third is death, the first warneth, the second threateneth, and the third taketh: This is a kindly order, but otherwise it faileth, for summe wee seeth dieth that never wist what was sicknesse ne age, as children that been suddenly slaine. And summe, yea the most part that deyeth now adaies, deyeth before her kinde agee of deeth. Therefore, I say, that the first that clepeth to this speciall reckoning is sicknesse, that followeth all mankind, so that every man hath it: and summe is sicknesse that summe men haveth but nought all. Yet the first sicknesse is double, for summe is within in the mightes of the soule, and summe is without in feeblenesse of the bodie that needis mo bee stroied, when time by hemselfe is cause of corruption as philosophie faith, and thereby feeblenesse and sicknesse. And so may wee see hereby, though that a man shut out of the house of his heart all manner of worldly and fleshlie thoughts, yet unneth shall a man, for ought that hee can doe, thinke on God onely, the space of o Pater noster, but that some other thing that is passing entreth into the soule, and draweth her from contemplation. But, O Lord God, what seekenesse is this, an heavy burden on the sonnes of Adam, that one foule moocke and fenn of the world we many thinke long ynow. But on that the soule shoulde most delectation have by kinde mow wee nought thinke so little a space, but if the cokle enter among the wheate. Of this seekenesse speaketh Paul, where hee saith; I see a Law in my limmes fighting agenes the Law of my Spirit, and taking me into the Law of Sinne. So that it fares by us, as by a man that would looke agens the Sunne, and may nought doe it long for nothing. And forsooth, that is for no default that is in the Sunne, for thee is most cleere in her selfe, and so by reason best should be seyn, but it is for feeblenesse of mans eye. Right so, fyth, Adam our first fader was put out of Paradise, all his off-spring have beene thus sicke, as the Prophet seyth. Our faders have eate a bytter grape, and the teeth of the children be waxe an edge. The second sicknesse, that is commune to all mankind, cometh of feeblenesse of the bodie, as hunger and thirst, colde and heate, sorrow and wearinesse, and many other, as Iob 14, faith. A man that is ybore of a woman, lyving a little while, is fulfilled with manie misceses. Yet there is other sicknesse that cometh to some men, but not to all, as Lepyr, Palfye, Fever, Dropisie, Blindnesse, and many other, as it was seyden to the people of Israell, in holy writ. But thou keepe the Commandements that bee writ in this booke, God shall achen the sicknesse of thee and of thy seed, great sicknesse and long abiding. Yet ye shall understand, that God sendeth otherwhile such sicknesse to good men, and otherwhile to shrewes. To good men God doth it for two canses, and that is fouth, Of sicknesse I wol to be understood also, of all maner

{KING}  
{HEN. 4.}

Mar. 25;

3. Sumners.  
Sicknesse.  
Age.  
Death.

Iob. 14.

Deut.



{KING}  
{HEN. 4.}

1. Cor. 12.

Tob. 2.

Antioche.

of tribulations. The first cause, for they shoulde alway ever know, that they have none perfections of themselves, but of God onely, and to echen their meeknesse. And thus saith Paul, lest the greatnesse of revelations rere mee up into pride, is given a pricke of my flesh, the angell of Sathanas to smite mee on the necke, wherefore I have thrice prayed God, that hee should goe fro mee, and he answered mee: My grace is sufficient to thee, for vertue is fulfilled in sicknesse, whereon thus saith the glofe. The fiend, axing Iob to bee tempted, was heard of God, and nought the Apostle axing his temptation to bee remooved. God heard him that should be damned, and hee heard nought him that hee should save. For oft the sicke man axit many things of the leche, that hee wole not geve him, and that is for to make him whole of sicknesse. Also GOD sendeth faints oft sicknesse and persecution, to give us sinnefull wretches example of patience: For if hee suffer his faints to have such tribulation in this world, and they thankin him thereof, much more wretchis, that God sendeth not the hundred apartie of their forrowe, shulden beare it meekely, sith wee have deserved a thousand so much as they haveth. Whereof, Tobie that one day when hee was wearie of burying of poore men, the which shulden have ley unburied, and have beene of houndis, and foules, as carynes, of other unreasonable beasts, when for wearinesse hee had leyde him to rest, through Goddis sufferance the Swallowes that bredden above on his hous, mayden orde into his eyen, and hee waxer blinde. Thus it is writ of this temptation forsoth; Therefore, GOD suffered to come to him, that to them that comen after should bee given ensample of patience, as by the temptation of holy Iob. For sith from his childhood evermore hee dread God, and ever kept his hestes; He was not agreed ayenst GOD that the mischief of blindenesse fell to him; but unmoveable dwelled in the dread of GOD, thanking him all the dayes of his life. Loe that holy Writ saith expressely, That GOD suffered this holy man to have that sicknesse, to give them that should come after him ensample of patience. Also otherwhile GOD sendeth sicknesse and tribulation to wicked men, and for two causes. First, for that they should the rather dreade God, and leave their sinne. As it is writ; Their sicknesse hath been multiplied, and after, they have hyed to Godward. For wee see oft men in sicknesse know their GOD, that never would have turned to him while they hadde beene whole. Also GOD sendeth them sicknesse oft to agast other men, lest they follow their sinne. As the sicknesse of King Antioche, whom GOD smote with such a sicknesse, that wormes fell out of his body while hee lived, in so farre forth that hee stanke so foule, that his friends were so weary of it, that they might not suffer it. And at the last, when hee himselfe might not suffer his owne stinck, then hee beganne to know himselfe, and said; It is rightfull to bee subject to GOD, and a deadly manne not to hold himselfe onely even with God, and the story saith, he asked mercy of GOD, and made a vow to God, that hee would make the City of Ierusalem free, and the Iewes to make them as free as the men of Athens; and that hee would honour GODS temple with precious ary, and multiply the holy vessels, and sinne of his owne rent and spences pertaining to the sacrifice. And hee would become a Iew, and goe over all the lond to preach Gods might. And yet God gafe him not such mercy as hee desired. And I trow certaine that it was for good. In as much as GOD knew hee would not afterward hold his covenant, or else for hee asket it too late. What meede was it for him to forsake his wickednesse? when hee was unmyghty to doe good or evill. Neverthelesse, I trow hee was not damned, in as much as hee had such repentance; for repentance in this life come never too late if it bee true. But by this vengeance that GOD tooke on this King, should men see, what it is to be unobedient

to God. And also it is to take heede, that when ever sicknesse commeth, ever it sheweth, that hee that suffereth this deadly, shall needs die. For though he may scape of his sicknesse, yet hee may not scape death. And so thou must needs come give reckening of thy baily. The second somnor that shall clepe thee to this particular dome, is elde or age. And the condition of him is this, though that hee tarie with thee, hee will not leave thee, till he bring thee to the third, that is death. But there bee many that though they have this somnor with them, they take none heed, though they see her heare bore, her backe crooked, her breth stinke, her teeth faile, her yenderk, her visage rively, her crene vexit hevly to her. What meaneth all this, but that age summeth to the dome?

But what more madhead may bee than a man to bee cleped, and draw to so dreadfull a rekening there, where but hee answer well, hee forgetteth both body and soule to damnation for ever? If seeing a little worldly mirth on the way, hee thinketh so mekill thereon, that hee forgetteth who draweth him, or whether hee draweth: So doth hee that is smitten with age and liketh so on the false worlds wealth, that hee forgetteth whether hee is away: Herefore saith an holy Doctour, that among all abusions of the world most is of an old man that is obstinate: for hee thinketh not on his outgoing of this world, ne of passing into the life that is to come: hee beareth messengers of death, and hee leaveth hem not, and the cause is this, for the threefold cord that such an old man is bounden with is hard to breke. This cord is custome, that is of three plights, that is, of ydle thought, unhoneest speech, and wicked deed: the which if they groweth in a man from the childhoode into mans age, they maketh a treble cord to bind the old man on custome of sinne. Herefore saith Esay, breake the bondes of sinne. Thinke herefore whosoever that thou bee that art thus summed, that thou might not scape, that thou ne shalt yeld the rekening of thy baily.

The third somnor to this reckening, is death. And the condition of him is, that when ever hee come, first, other the second, other the last houre hee ne spareth, neyther power, ne yough, ne hee dreadeth no thretning, ne he ne taketh hede of no prayer, ne of no gift, ne he graunteth no respit, but withouten delay hee bringeth forth to the dome. Herefore seyth Saint Austen: Well ought every man drede the day of his death. For in what state a mans last day findeth him, when he dyeth out of this world, in the same state hee bringeth him to his dome. Herefore seyth the wise man; Sonne thinke on thy last daye, and thou shalt never sinne. Therefore I rede that thou thinke, that thou shalt geve reckoning of thy baily. I said also, that there shall bee another doome, to the which all men shall come together, and this shall bee universall. And right as to the other doome, every man shall bee cleped with these three sumnours; so to this dome all this world shall bee cleped with three generall clepers. And right as the other three messengers tell a mans end, so these tell the end of the world. The first cleper is the worldly sicknesse, the second cleper is feeblenesse, and the third is the end. The sicknesse of the world thou shalt know by charity accooling. His elde and feeblenesse thou shalt know by tokens fulfilling, and his end thou shalt know by Antichristis pursuing. First I said, thou shalt know the worlds sicknesse by charity accooling. Clerkes that treat of kinde sayne; that a body is sicke, when his bodily heate is too lite, or when his unkindly heate is too much. Sythe then all mankind is one body, whose kindelie heate is charity (that is, love to GOD and to our neighbours) unkindly heate is lustfull love to other creatures. When therefore thou seest that the love of men to Godward and to their neighbour is little and faint, and the love of worldly things and lustes of the flesh is great and fervent; then wit thou well, that unkindly heate is too great, and kindly heate is too little. That this bee acknowlich

The second  
sinne:  
Propertie of  
death.

Esay.

The third  
sinne.  
Distinctio  
mortis.

Augustinus;

The day of  
judgment.

To know the  
worlds sicknes:  
Matth. 21.



of this sicknesse, I may prove by authority of Christ. For hee himselfe gave them as a signe of the drawing to the end of the world: For that wickednesse shall bee in plenty, charity shall acoole. Therefore when thou seest charity thus little in the world, and wickednesse encrease, know well that this world passeth and his wealth, and that this summer is come. And thus seyeth S. Paul, Wit yee well, that in the last daies shall come perillous times, and there shall bee men loving themselves, that is to say, their bodies, covetous by pride, unobedient to father and mother, unkynde felons, withouten affection, withouten peace, blamers, incontinent, unmilde, withouten benignity, traitors, rebels, swelling, lovers of lusts more than of God, having a likenesse of piety, and denying the vertue thereof. And these flee thou. If thou seest the people busied with such conditions, wit thou well, that the first summer warneth all the world, that the day of reckoning draweth toward.

The second summer, that warneth all the world, is elde or age of the world and his feeblenesse, and sheweth tokens fulfilling. But I know well, that wee be nought sufficient to know the times other the whiles that the Father in Trinity hath put on his owne power, to shew certainly the day, yeare, other houre of this dome, sith this knowlech was hid fro the privy Apostles of Christ, and from Christs manhood as to shew it to us. Nathlesse, wee inough by authority of holy Writ, with reasons, and expositions of saints well and openly shew, that this day of wrath is nigh: But yett lest any mansey in his heart as it is written of folie baylies, that they shall seie, my Lord, that is, tarryeth to come to the dome, and upon hope hereof hee taketh to smite servants and hynen of God, eate and drinke and make him dronke; I shall shew that this day is at the hond; how ny nevertheles can I not seie ne wole. For if Paul said nowe for a thousand and three hundred yeare, and passed moe; wee ben thilke into whom the endis of the world ben come, much rather may we seie the same that been so much neere the end than hee was. Also S. Chrysostome saith; thou seest over all darkenes, and thou douteft that the day is goe, first on the valeys is darknesse when the day draweth downward: when therefore thou seest the valeys yderked, why douteft thou whether it be night even, but if thou see the Sun so low that derknes is upon the hils, thou wolt seie doubles that it is night: Right so, if thou see first in the seculars and the lewd Christenmen beginneth derkenesses of sinnes, and to have the maistrise, it is token that this world endeth. But when thou seest priests that been put on the high top of spiritual dignities, that shulden bee as hils above the commune people in perfect living, that derknesse of sinnes hath taken them, who doubteth that the world nis at the end? And also Abbot Ioachim in exposition of Ieremie seyeth; Fro the yeare of our Lord 1200. all times both suspected to mee, and wee ben passed on this suspect nigh 200. yeares. Also maiden Hildegarde in the booke of her prophesie the third parte, the eleventh vision, the seventh chapter meeveth this reason. Right as on seven daies G O D made the world, so in 7000. yeare the world shall passe. And right as in the sixth day man was made and fourmed; so in 6000. yeare hee was brought againe and reformed. And as in the seventh day the world was full made; and God left off his working, right so in the 7000. yeare, the number of them that shullen bee saved shall bee fulfilled, and rest shall bee to seyntes full in bodie and soule. If that it be so as it seemeth to follow of this maydens words, that 7000. in passing of the world accordeth to seven daies in his making it, see what lacketh that these 7000. yeares ne both fulfilled. For if wee reken the number of yeares fro the nativity of Christ, to the yeares fro the beginning of the world to Christ, and thou wolt follow Austine, Bede, and Grosse, and most probable Doctors treating of this matter, are passed now almost sixe thousand and sixe hundred, as it is open in a booke that is cleped *Specu-*

*lum judiciale*. So it saweth that this laste day is more than a halfe agoe, if wee shulden give credence to this maydens reason: But if wee shull lene to the Gospell, than wee shall finde in the Gospell of Matthew, that the Disciples axiden of Christ three questions. First, what time the City of Ierusalem should bee destroyed. The second, what token of his comming to the dome. And the third, what signe of the ending of the world.

And Christ gave them no certaine time of these things when they shulden fall, but hee gave them tokens, by which they might know when they drew nigh, and so as to the first question of the destruction of Ierusalem hee said; when the Romanes come to besiege that City, then soon after the shall be destroyed.

And as to the second and the third; hee gave many tokens, that is to say; That Realme shall rise against Realme, and people against people, and pestilences, and earthquakings, the which wee have seene in our dayes. But the last token that hee gave, was this; When yee seene the abomination of elengnesse said of Danyel the Prophet, standing on the Sanctuary; then who so readeth, understand. Upon which text, thus argueth a Doctour in a booke that hee maketh of the end of the world. If the words of Danyel haven authority (as G O D sayth that they haven) it sufficeth of the number of the yeares of the ende of the world, that Daniel hath written. Now Danyel in the twelfth Chapter, speaking of this abomination, putteth betweane the ceasing of the busie sacrifice of the Iewes, the which fell, when by Titus and Vespasianus Ierusalem was destroyed, and the people of the Iewes were disparkled into all the world. And this abomination that Doctours sayne shall bee in the great Antichristes dayes, 1290.

Now proveth this Doctour, that a day must bee taken for a yeare, both by authority of holy Writ in the same place and in other, and also by reason: So it seemeth to this clerke, that the great Antichrist should come in the 1400. yeare fro the birth of Christ, the which number of yeares is now fulfilled, not fully twelve yeares and a halfe lacking. And this reason put not I as to shew any certaine time of his comming, sith I have not that knowledge; but to shew that hee is nye, but how nygh I wot never. But take wee heede to the fourth part of the second vision of saint Iohn, put in the booke of Revelations, in the which, under the opening of the seven seales, is declared the state of the Church, from the time of Christ into the end of the world. The opening of the foure first seales shew the state of the Church, fro the time of Christ to the time of Antichrist and his foregoers, the which is shewed in the opening of the other three seales. The opening of the first seale telleth the state of the Church, in the time of the preaching of Christ and of his Apostles. For the first, that is, the Lyon gave his voice, that betokeneth the preachers of Christes resurrection and his ascension. For then yede out a white horse, and hee that sate upon him had a bow in his hand; and hee yede out overcoming to overcome. By this white-horse wee understand the cleane life and conversation that these preachers haden; and by the bowe, their true teaching; pricking sorrowe in mennes hearts for their sinnes withouten flattering. And they wenten out of Iewry that they comen of, overcoming some of the Iewes, and maken them to leave the trust that they hadden in the olde Lawe, and to beleve in Iesus Christ and shewen his teaching. And they wenten out to overcome the Paynemes; shewing to them that their Images were no gods; but mens workes, unmighty to save themselves or any other, drawing them to the belefe of Iesus Christ God and man. In the opening of the second seale, there cryed the second beast, that is, a calfe, that was a beast wanted to be slaine, and offered to God in the olde law. This sheweth the state of the Church in the time of martyrs, that for their steadfast preaching of Gods true law shed their blood,

{ KING }  
{ HE N. 4 }

Math. 14.

Note.

Antichrist is  
come, an 1400.  
This sermon  
ergo was made  
Anno 1389.  
Apoc. 6.

2 Tim. 3.

Luke 2.

1 Cor. 10.

Chrysostome

A proper  
Institution.

Teaching.  
S. Hildegar.  
gar.

Augustine.



**KING  
HEN. 4.**

*Expositio.  
Nero.  
Constantinus  
magnus.*

*Silvester.*

*The 3. seale.*

*Expositio.*

*The 4. seale.  
Expositio.*

*The 5. seale.*

*The 6. seale.*

*The 7. seale.*

*Apoc.*

that is signified by the red horse that went out at this feale opening; and this estate began at Nero the cursed Emperour, and dured unto the time of Constantine the great, that endowed the Church. For in this time many of Christs servants, and namely the Leaders of Gods stocke were slaine. For of two and twenty bishops of Rome that were betwene Peter and Silvester the first, I reade but of foure but that they weren Martyrs for the Law of Christ. And also in the time of Dioclesian the Emperour, the persecution of the christen men was so great, that in thirty dayes weren slaine 22. thousand men and women in divers countries for the law of God.

The opening of the third seale telleth the state of the Church in time of heretikes that beth figured by the blacke horse, for false understanding of holy write: for then cryed the third beast that is a man, for at that time was it neede to preache the myserie of Christs incarnation, and his passion ayent these erretikis that feliden mis of these pointis; how Christ tooke verreyly mans kinde of our Lady, him being God as he was byfore, and his moder being mayden byfore and after. The opening of the fourth seale, telleth the state of the Church in the time of ypo-crites, that beth signified by the pale horse, that beth signes of penance with outsoorth to blinde the people. And hee that sate upon this horse his name was death, for they shulle slee ghoslyly them that they leden, and teacheth to trust upon other thing than God: and helle followeth him, for helle received thilke that these duseineth. At that time shall it neede, that the fourth beast that is the Egle make his cry, that flyeth highest of foules to reare up Gods Gospell, and to praise that law above other, lest mens witte and their traditions over-gone and treden downe the law of God, enforming of these ypo-crites, and this is the last state, that is, other shall bee in the Church, byfore the coming of the great Antichrist. The opening of the fift seale telleth the state of the Church that then God shall follow, and desire that lovers of Goddis law shulleth have after the end of this world to be delivered of this woe. The opening of the sixt seale telleth the state of the Church in time of the Antichrists time, the which state ye may know to be in the Church whan ye sesh fulfilled, that Saint Iohn propheseth to fall in the opening of this, where he saith thus: after this I sawe foure Angels standing upon foure corners of the earth, holding the foure windes of the earth that they blown nought upon the earth, ne upon the sea, ne upon any tree. These foure Angels beth the number of all the Devils ministers, that on that time shulleth in the pleasure of their Lord Antichrist stoppe the foure windis, that beth the foure Gospels to be preached, and so let the breth of the Grace of the holy Ghost to fall upon men mourning for sinne, and calling them to amendment, and to other that wolden increase in vertues, other upon perfit men? What is there after this to fall, but that the mystery of the seaventh seale be shewed, that he come in his owne person, That Iesus Christ shall see with the spirit of his mouth, when the fiend shall shew the utmost persecution; that he and his servants may doe to Christis limmes, and that shall bee the third warning that the world shall have to come to this dreadfull dome.

In all this matter have I nought seid of my selfe, but of other doctors that beth proved, I seyed also in my second principall part, that it were to wete tofore what Iudge we shall reken. Wherefore we shulleth wite that God himselfe shall heare this reckening, he that seeth all our dedis, and all our thoughts fro the beginning of our life to the end, and he shall shew their the hid things of our hert, opening to all the world the rightfulness of his dome. So that with the might of God, every mans dedis to all the world shall be shewed, and so it seemeth by the words of S. Iohn, in the booke of privities, there he seith thus: I sawe dede men, little and great, standing in the sight

of the throne, and bookes weren opened; and another booke was opened that was of life, and dede men weren judged after the things that weren written in the bookes after their worchings. These bookes beth mens consciences that now beth closed. But then they shulleth bee opened to all the world to reden therein both dedis and thoughts. But the booke of life is Christs living and doctrine, that is now hid to men that shulleth be damned through their owne malice, that deemeth men to serve the world rather than God: In the first book shall be write all that we have done, in that other booke shall be write that we shulden have doe, and then shulle dede men bee demyd of thilke thingis that ben written in the bookis: For if the dedis that we haven doe, the which beene written in the bookis of our conscience, be according to the booke of Christs teaching and his living, the which is the booke of life, we shulle be saved, or else we shulle be damned, for the doome shall be given after our workis. Look therefore now what thing is written in the booke of thy conscience, while thou art here: and if thou findest ought contrary to Christs life, other to his teaching, with the knife of penance and repentance scrape it away and write it better, evermore hertly thinking that thou shalt yelde reckening of thy bayly.

Also I said principally that it were to witen, what reward shall bee geve on that doome, to wise servants and good, and what to false servants and wicked. For the which it is to wite, that our Lord Iesus Christ shall come to the doome here into this world, in the same body that he tooke of our Ladie, having thereon the woundis that he suffered for our againe bieng. And all that ever shullen be saved, taking againe their bodies clyving to their head Christ, shall be ravished metyng him in the aire, as Paul saith: They that shall be damned lyen upon the earth, as in a tonne of wine the dreggis dwellen byneth, and the clere wine hovereth above. Then shall Christ axe reckening of the deedes of mercy, reproving false christen men for the levying of them, reherfing the deedes of the same and other trutthis by the which his true servants then followed him, that shulle thilke false servants goe with the devill, whom they have served in the earth, then swallowing into the endlesse fire. And rightfull men shullen goe into everlasting life, then shall bee fulfilled that is written in the booke of privities; Woe woe, woe, to hem that dwellen in the earth. Woe to the paynym that gafe that worship to dead images wrought of mans hands, and to other creatures that he should have gone to God that him wrought: Woe to the few that trusteth so much in the olde Lawe, then shall he Marie sonne deeming the world whom he despised and set on the crosse: Woe to the false christen man that knew the will of his Lord and fulfilled it nought.

Also woe for sin of thinking to thee, that thou hast shyt out the meine of God, that is, minde of his passion, holy contemplation of his goodnesse, and memory of his benefites, fro the chamber of thine hert; and hast made it a houle of swyn and a den of theeves, by uncleane thoughtes and delightes. As thou here hast sperd God out of thine hert, so he shall spere thee out of heaven: Thou hast herberwid the meine of the fiend, and with them in hell thou shalt ever abide; woe also for sinne of speech, for thou might nought open thy foule and stinking mouth with the which thou hast spoken unhonefely, cursing, fraud, deceite, leasinges, forswearing, scorning, and backebiting, to praise God in the fellowship of Saints. For loving is not comynlych in mouthes of sinners. For in the which gif thou haddeft kept thy mouth cleane, thou shoudest have songed in fellowship of Angels this blessed song; Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus Deus omnipotens; Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God Almighty. Then yelling and weeping thou shalt cry in company of devils;

*Ua, Ua, Ua, quante sunt templa?*

Woe, Woe, Woe, How great beth these darknesse? wo  
also



also for sinne of deede. Thou hast bene proud, thy pride shall be drawne to hell, as Esay saith, or thou hast bene brent with envie of the devill. Envie entered into the world, and they shoulde followen him that ben on his side, as Salomon saith. Or thou hast be- stirred with wrath, and everich man that beareth wrath to his brethren is guilty in doome, as Christ in the Gospell saith of Matthew. Or thou hast be slow to good deedes, my slave shall come to thee as a wayfaring man, and thy poverty as a man armed, as the Booke of Proverbs saith. Or thou hast haunted lechery, gluttonie, or covetise. That forsooth were ye, that everich avouterer, or uncleane man, that is a glutton, other chynch, shall never have heritage in the Realme of Christ and of God, as Paul saith. But fire, brimstone, and the spirit of tempestes, that is, the fiend of hell, shulen be a partie of their paine, as it is written in the Psalter when these Damned men be in this woe, they shulen sing this ruefull Song, that is ywritten in the Booke of mourning: the joy of our heart is a go: our quiet is turned into woe, the Crowne of our head is fallen us fro. Alas for sinne that we have do. But joy and joy, and joy to them that be saved. Ioy in God, ioy in themselves, joy in other that ben saved. Also joy for their travell is brought to so gracious an end. Ioy, for they scape the paine of Hell; Ioy, for their blisse that they han in the sight of God, *Cui si bonis & gloria, in secula seculorum, Amen.*

Note.

Conclusion.

And thus much concerning this worthy and fruit- full sermen, which as by the ancientnes of the phrase seemeth to be preached much about the time John Wickliffe; so I thought here, by the occasion of William Thorpes examination, best to place the same, for the apt coherence both of the spirit, and of the matter. Especially having before our eyes, the publike utility of the Reader, to whom, by the studi- ous reading thereof, might rise plentiful matter of true Christian information, both of the wholesome feare of God, and of the right guiding of every Christians mans life.

Which I thought good to annere further in our story, after the examination of William Thorpe, and the martyrdom of William Sawtre, and of John Badby thus described (as ye have heard) which was about the yere 1409. By the way here is to be con- sidered, at least to be admonished, that all this while the schism in the Church of Rome did yet continue, and so indured till the counsell of Constance, which was in whole, the space of twenty and nine yeres. The origine wherof (as was said before) first be- gan at Urbanus the fifth; which Urbanus being dead, An. 1380. next followed pope Boniface the ninth, who late fourteene yeres. Hee in selling his pardons was so impudent and so past shame, that hee brought the keyes of Peter (as saith Plati- na) in contempt. After him succeded Innocentius the seventh, and late two yeres: who being dead, the cardinalls consulting together, and seeing the soule enormity and inconvenience growing upon this contentious schisme in their Church of Rome (ninding to provide some remedie for the same, af- ter the best device they could) in their conclave where they were assembled for a new election for a pope, took this order, promising among them- selves with solemne vow made to God, to Mary the blessed virgin, to Peter and Paul, and to all the blessed company of saints; That if any of them, within the College or without the college, should be called to that high place of apostolical preeminence; he should effectuously renounce the irridition and title of his popedom, if or whensoever the contra- ry pope for the time being would in like manner re- nounce his place and title, & his cardinalls in the like manner condescend to the other cardinalls of Rome. So that both these two colleges of cardinalls agreeing together, one chiefe bishop might be chose

and taken out of them both, to be made the true pope. Provided moreover, that none should seeke any re- leasement or abolition from the said promise, vow, and bond, once passed among them; Unto all which things furthermore every one subscribed with his hand. These things thus prepared and ratified upon the same, they proceeded to the election. In which was chosen Gregorius the twelfth, who the same day of his election, in the presence of all the cardinalls con- firmed the vow, sacrament, and promise made, sub- scribing the same with his hand in forme as follow- eth. And I Gregorie, this day being the last of No- vember, in the yere of our Lord, 1407. chosen and elected for bishop of Rome, doe sweare, vow, and promise, and confirme all the premises above conta- ned, &c. This being done, shortly after hee was crowned, being of the age of 80 yeres. As the time thus passed, the people and cardinalls were in great expectation, waiting when the pope according to his oath would give over, with the other pope also. And not long after, the matter began indeed between the two popes to be attempted, by letters from one to another, assigning both day and place, where and when they should meet together, but yet no effect did follow.

This so passing on, great murmuring was among the cardinalls, to see their holy perturbed father so to neglect his oth and vow asforesaid. In somuch that at length, divers of them did so take the pope, as be- ing perturbed (as no lesse he was) sending moreover to kings & princes of other lands, for their counsell & assistance therein, to appease the schisme. Amongst the rest, cardinal Bituricensis was sent to the King of England; who published divers propositions and conclusions (remaining in the registers of Tho- mas Arundell) disputeth, that the pope ought to be subiect to lawes and counsels. Then king Henry (moved to write to Gregorie the pope) directeth his letter here under ensuing, which was the yeres of our Lord, 1409. The contents of the letter be these,

### The letter of K. Henry the fourth to pope Gregorie the twelfth.

Most blessed father, if the discreet providence of the Apostolical Sea would call to minde with what great perils the universall world hath bene damned hitherto under pretence of this present Schisme; and especially would consider, what slaugh- ter of Christian people to the number of two hun- dred thousand (as they say) hath bene through the occasion of warre raised up in divers quarters of the world, and now of late, to the number of thirty thou- sand souldiers, which have bene slaine through the dissention moved about the Bishopricke of Leodium betweene two set up, one by the authority of one pope, the other by the authority of the other Pope, fighting in Campe for the title of that Bishopricke. Certes yee would lament in Spirit and be sore grieved in Minde for the same. So that with good conscience ye would relinquish rather the honour of the Sea Apostolike, than suffer such horrible bloodshed hereafter to ensue, under the cloke of dissimulation, following herein the example of the true mother in the booke of Kings: who pleading before Salomon for the right of her Childe, rather would depart from the Childe, than the Childe should be parted by the sword. And although it may be vehemently suspected by the new creation of nine Cardinals, by you last made, contrary to your oth (as other men doe say) that you doe but little heede or care for ceasing the Schisme; Yet farre be it from the hea- ring and noting of the world, that your circumpect seate should ever be noted and distained with such an inconstancy of minde; whereby the last error may be worse than the first. *Ex Chron. D. Albani.* part the second.

{ KING }  
{ HEN. 4. }

The oth and  
vow of pope  
Gregorie the 12.

Ex Chron. D.  
Albani.

The pope  
sillyly perjured.  
Cardinals  
leave the per-  
jured pope.

{ Anno }  
{ 1409. }

Vide supra.

Urbanus 5.  
Bonifacius 9.  
Innocentius 7.

Gregorius 12.  
The cardinals  
device to cease  
the schisme.  
The vow and  
oth of the cardi-  
nals made for  
the schisme.

King Henry 4.  
to pope Grego-  
rie the 12.

Two hundred  
thousand slaine  
by schisme of  
Rome.

Thirty thou-  
sand slaine in  
campe fighting  
for the bishop-  
ricke of  
Leodium.

King



{ KING }  
{ HEN. 4. }

King Henry the fourth to the Cardinals.

King Henry 4.  
to the cardinals.

And to the Cardinals likewise, the said king directeth another letter with these contents here following. Wee desiring to shew what zeale wee have had and have, to the reformation of peace of the Church; by the consent of the States of the realme, have directed to the bishop of Rome our letters after the tenour of the copie herewith in these presents inclosed to be executed effectually: wherefore we seriously beseech your reverend Colledge; That if it chance the said Gregory to be present at the Councell of Pise, and to render up his popedom, according to your desire, and his owne oath; you then so ordaine for his state totally, that chiefly God may be pleased thereby, and that both the said Gregory and also we which entirely love his honour and commodity, may have cause to give you worthily condigne thanks for the same. *Ibid.*

Concilium  
Pisanum.

Ex Chro.  
D. Alban.  
Anno 1410.  
Concil. Pisan.  
Pope Alexander 5.  
Three popes together.

This being done in the yere of our Lord 1409. afterward in the yere next following, An. 1410. the cardinals of both the popes, to wit, of Gregorius and Benedictus, by common advice assembled together at the city of Pise, for the reformation of unity and peace in the church. To the which assembly, a great multitude of prelates and bishops being convened, a new pope was chosen, named Alexander the fifth. But to this election, neither Gregorius nor Benedictus did fully agree. Whereby there were three popes together in the Romane Church (that is to understand) not three crownes upon one popes head, but three heads in one popish church together. This Alexander, being newly made pope, scarcely had well warmed his triple crowne, but straight giveth out full remission, not of a few, but of all manner of sins whatsoever, to all them that conferred any thing to the monastery of S. Bartholomew by Smithfield, resorting to the said Church any of these dayes following; to wit, on Maundie thursday, good Friday, Easter even, the feast of the Annunciation, from the first evenlong to the latter. But this pope, which was so liberall in giving remission of many yerres to other, was not able to give one yere of life to himself, for within the same yere he died. In whose stead stept up pope John 23.

The haine remission by the popes indulgence.  
Pope Alexander dead.  
Pope John 23.

Ex Ioan.  
Cholco de historia Hussitarum lib. 1.  
The Gospell beginneth to take root in Bohemia.

In the time of this Alexander great stirre began in the countrey of Bohemia, by the occasion of the booke of John Wickliffe, which then comming to the hands of John Hus, and of other both men and women, especially of the lay sort, and artificers, began there to do much good. Insomuch, that divers of them not onely men, but women also, partly by the reading of their booke translated into their tongue, partly by the setting forward of John Hus, a notable learned man, and a singular preacher at that time in the University of Prague, were in short time so ripe in iudgement, and prompt in the Scriptures, that they began to move questions, yea and to reason with the priests, touching matters of the holy Scriptures.

The letter of pope Alexander 5. to the archb. Swinco of Bohemia.

By reason whereof, complaint was brought to the said pope Alexander the fifth, who caused effcones the forenamed John Hus to be cited up to Rome. But when he came not at the popes citation, then the said pope Alexander addrest his letters to the archbishop of Swinco. Wherein he straitly charged him to prohibit and forbid, by the authority Apostolicall, all manner of preachings or sermons to be made to the people, but onely in cathedrall churches or colledges, or parish churches, or in monasteries, or els in their churchyards. And that the articles of Wickliffe should in no case of any person, of what state, condition, or degree soever, be suffered to be holden, taught, or defended, either privily or apertly. Commanding moreover and charging the said archbishop, that he with foure batchelers of Divinity,

and two Doctors of the canon law joined unto him, should proceed upon the same, and so provide that no person in churches, schooles, or any other place, should teach, defend, or approve any of the aforesaid articles. So that whosoever should attempt the contrary, should be accounted an heretike, and unlesse he shall revoke solemnly and publickly the said articles, and shall for ever abjure the booke wherein the foresaid articles be contained, so that they may be utterly abolished out from the eyes of the faithfull; the same should be apprehended and imprisoned, all appellation set apart, the helpe also of the secular arme being called thereunto; if need shall require, &c. These were the contents of this mighty and fierce bull of pope Alexander.

The popes bull against John Hus.

Against the which bull on the other side John Hus, lustily complaining, excepteth againe and objecteth many things, as appeareth in his booke intituled De Ecclesia, cap. 18. Where he declareth this mandate of the pope to stand directly against the doings and sayings both of Christ and of his Apostles; considering how Christ himselfe preached to the people, both in the sea, in the desert, in fields, in houses, in synagogues, in villages; And the Apostles also in all places did the same, the Lord mightily working with them. He declared moreover, the said mandate or bull of the pope to rebound unto the great detriment of the church, in binding the word of God, that it might not have his free passage. Also, the same to be prejudiciall unto chappels newly erected for the word of God to be preached in them. Wherefore (saith he) from this commandement or mandate of pope Alexander, I did appeale unto the said Alexander being better informed and advised. And as I was prosecuting my appeale, the lord pope (saith John Hus) immediately died.

John Hus objected against the popes cruel bull.

The popes bull contrary to Christ.

The notable iudgement of God in striking the abbot-faries of the Gospell.

Then the archbishop of Swinco aforesaid, to whom this present bull was directed, when he saw the procelle, bulls and mandates of the bishop of Rome to be thus contemned of John Hus and his fellows, neither having any hope of redresse in Winceslaus the king, which seemed to neglect the matter, went out of his countrey into Hungary, to complaine unto Sigismond king of Hungary, and brother to the said Winceslaus. But this quarrelling archbishop, whether before (as the Bohemians say) or after (as Sibitus saith) that he had spoken with Sigismond; immediately there (by the iust iudgement of God) died in Hungary, as the story saith, for sorrow. Whereby a little more liberty and quiet was given by the Lord unto his Gospell, newly beginning to take root among the Bohemians. Albeit, this tranquillity there did not long continue without trouble and persecution, neither could it in those furious dayes and teigne of Antichrist. For after this Alexander succeeded pope John the 23. Who, likewise playing his part in this tragedy, bent all his might and maine to disturb the Bohemians, as more hereafter (Christ willing) shall be declared in further procelle of our history, comming to the yere of our Lord 1413.

The Gospell seldom times long quiet.

P. John 23.

Thus the poore Christians (as ye see) like to the silly Israelites under the tyranny of Pharaoh, were infested and oppressed in every place, but especially here in England, and that so much the more here, because that the king, not like to Winceslaus, went full and whole with the pope and his prelates against the Gospellers.

By reason whereof the kingdome of the pope and his members here in this realme began to be so strong, that none durst stirre or once mate against them. The bishops having the king so full on their side, armed moreover with lawes, statutes, punishments, imprisonments, sword, fire, and fagot, reigned and ruled as they listed, as kings and princes within themselves. So strong were they of power, that no humane force was able to stand against them:

The pride and glory of the clergy of England in those dayes.



so exalted in pride, and puff up in glory, that they thought all things to be subject to their reverend mat-  
 testies. Whatsoever they set forth or decreed, it must  
 of all men be receyved and obeyed.

And such was their superstitious blindness and  
 curious vanity, that whatsoever they came once in  
 their fantasie; it was straightwayes determined  
 and stablished for a law of all men to be observed,  
 were it never so frivolous or superstitious; as well  
 appeareth by Thomas Arundell archbishop of Can-  
 terbury and other, who having now a little leisure  
 from slaying and killing the innocent people, Mar-  
 tyrs and Confessours of the Lord, and having now  
 brought their enemies (as they thought) under feet;  
 began to set up themselves, and to invent new cu-  
 stome, as the guise is of the popes Church, ever to  
 intrude into the church of God some ceremony or  
 custome of their owne making, whereby the church  
 of Christ hath bene hitherto exceedingly pestred.  
 So likewise this Thomas Arundell, thinking the  
 church yet not sufficiently stuffed with ceremonies  
 and vaine traditions of men, bringeth in a new  
 found gaud, commonly called the tolling of Aves,  
 in honour of our lady, with certaine Aves to be said,  
 and dayes of pardon to be given for the same. For  
 the ratification whereof, under the pretence of the  
 kings request, he directed his mandate to the bishop  
 of London, well stuffed with words of idolatry, as  
 by the reading thereof may appeare, in forme of  
 termes as followeth.

Forty dayes of  
 pardon given  
 by T. Arundell  
 archbishop.

*A mandate of Thomas Arundell, directed to the  
 Bishop of London, to warne men to say certaine  
 prayers at the tolling of the Aves, or  
 ringing of Curfew.*

Thomas, &c. To the right reverend our brother,  
 the lord Robert, by the grace of God bishop of  
 London, greeting, &c. While we lift our eyes round  
 about us, and behold attentively with circumspect  
 consideration, how the most high word that was in  
 the beginning with God, chose to him an holy and  
 immaculate virgin of the kingly stocke, in whose  
 wombe hee tooke true flesh by inspirall inspiration,  
 that the mercifull goodnesse of the Sonne of God, that  
 was uncreate, might abolish the sentence of condem-  
 nation, which all the posterity of mankinde, that  
 was created, had by sinne incurred: Amongst other  
 labours in the vine of the Lord of Sabbath, we sung  
 to God our Saviour with great joy in him, carefully  
 thinking, that though all the people of the Christian  
 Religion did extoll with voices of praises so worthy  
 a virgin, by whom we received the beginnings of our  
 redemption, by whom the holy day first shined to us,  
 which gave us hope of salvation; And although all  
 the same people were drawne to reverence her, which  
 being a happy Virgin, conceived the Sonne of God,  
 the King of heaven, the Redeemer and Saviour of all  
 nations, ministring light to the people that were mi-  
 serably drowned in the darknesse of death: We truly  
 as the servants of her owne inheritance, and such as  
 are written of, to be of her peculiar dower, as we  
 are by every mans confession acknowledged to be, we  
 I say ought more watchfully than any others to shew  
 the endeavours of our devotion in praising her. Who  
 being hitherto mercifull to us, yea being even cowards,  
 would that our power, being as it were spread abroad  
 every where through all the coasts of the world, should  
 with a victorious arme feare all forraigne nations; That  
 our power, being on all sides so defended with the  
 buckler of her protection, did subdue unto our victo-  
 rious standards, and made subject unto us, nations both  
 neere at hand and farre off.

Likewise our happy estate (all the time that wee  
 have passed since the beginning of our lives) may be  
 well attributed onely to the helpe of her medicine;

Ringing of  
 Curfew.

If this be not  
 blasphemous  
 and derogatory  
 to Christ, let  
 the reader  
 judge.

These men  
 make a Billon  
 na. of our Lady

to whom also we may worthily ascribe now of late  
 in these our times, under the mighty government of  
 our most Christian king, our deliverance from the ra-  
 vening wolves, and the mouthes of cruell beasts, which  
 had prepared against our bankets a messe of meat  
 mingled full of gall, and hated us unjustly, secretly ly-  
 ing in wait for us, in recompence of the good will  
 that we shewed to them. Wherefore, that the being  
 on high sitting before the throne of the heavenly ma-  
 jesty, the defendresse and patronesse of us all, being  
 magnified with all mens praises, may more plentifully  
 exhibit to us the sonnes of adoption the tears of her

grace, in all those things that we shall have to do; At  
 the request of the speciall devotion of our Lord the  
 King himselfe, we command your brotherhood, strait-  
 ly enjoying you, that you command the subjects of  
 your city and diocese, and of all other suffragans, to  
 worship our lady Mary the mother of God and our  
 patronesse and protectresse, evermore in all adver-  
 sity, with such like kinde of prayer and accustomed  
 manner of ringing, as the devotion of Christs faith-  
 full people is wont to worship her at the ringing of  
 Courlefeu. And when before day in the morning  
 ye shall cause them to ring, that with like manner of  
 prayer and ringing he be every where honoured de-  
 voutly by the foresaid our and your suffragans, and  
 their subjects as well religious as secular, in your and  
 their Monasteries and collegiate Churches: That we  
 so humbly calling upon the mercy of the heavenly Fa-  
 ther, the right hand of the heavenly piety, may mer-  
 cifully come to the helpe, the protection and defence  
 of the same our Lord the King, who for the happy re-  
 medy of quietnesse, and for our succour from tempe-  
 stuuous fouds, is ready to apply his hands to work, and  
 his eyes with all his whole desire to watching. We  
 therefore coveting more earnestly to stirre up the minds  
 of all faithfull people to so devout an exercise of God,  
 &c. We grant by these presents, to all and every  
 man, &c. that shall say the Lords Prayer and the Salu-  
 tation of the Angell five times at the morning peale  
 with a devout minde, *totiens quavens* (how oft soever)  
 forty dayes pardon by these presents. Given under our  
 seale in our manour of Lambeth the 10. day of Febr.  
*Anno nostra translat. 9. Ex regist. Thom. Arundell.*

By this frivolous and barbarous constitution,  
 with many other of like sort heaped into the church  
 by the papists, appeareth the proper natures and con-  
 dition of this catholike generation. Who being  
 themselves not greatly exercised nor experienced in  
 any serious cogitation of spirituall matter (as seem-  
 eth) take upon them to govern the spirituall Church  
 of Christ, whereof indeed they have no skill or very  
 little. And therefore according to their unskillfull  
 handling, they lead and rule the church after such  
 outward sights and ceremonies, flemly perhaps to  
 their own grosse affection; but not agreeing (nay ra-  
 ther cleane contrary) to the right nature and condi-  
 tion of the spirituall house and kingdom of the  
 Lord. And like as in their inventions they swerve  
 utterly from the right handling of all spirituall go-  
 vernment; so in their manners and forme of life  
 likewise they do resemble little or no part almost of  
 such as are and ought to be true pastors and mini-  
 sters of the mysticall body of Christ.

Examples hereof are plenty and plaine, in these  
 Romane Prelats to be noted; who so well consider-  
 ing the humble state and lowly spirit which ought  
 to be in pastorall leaders of the church, will compare  
 the same with the usuall pomp of these glorious po-  
 testates.

As for example; what can be more convenient for  
 a true pastor ecclesiasticall, than humility of heart  
 and spirit, according to the example of the head bi-  
 shop himselfe? So what greater shew of arrogan-  
 cy and pride could there be, than in this, whom I  
 have oft named before, Thomas Arundell archbi-  
 shop

(KING  
 ) HEN. 4.  
 False blype  
 sought and se-  
 up of idolater

\* The papist  
 would suck  
 our Ladies  
 paps.

\* Will ye star-  
 to this doctrine  
 ye catholikes?  
 Papists blas-  
 phemy lighten  
 against the  
 grace of  
 Christ.  
 Ringing of  
 Curfew.

Forty dayes  
 pardon for 50  
 Aves.

Heaving up ce-  
 remonies in  
 the church.

The pomp of  
 the popes  
 church noted.



KING  
HEN. 4.

Shop of Canterbury: who, passing by the high street of London, did not only look and wait for the ringing of the bells, for a triumph of his comming, but took great guffe, and did suspend all such churches in London (not onely with the steeple and bells, but also with the organs) so many as did not receiue his comming with the noise of bells, according as out of his owne registers may appeare; the word whereof annexed to his owne Sommer, I haue hereto annexed in his owne forme, as followeth.

A Commission directed to the Sommer, to suspend certaine Churches of London, because they rung not their bells at the presence of my

Lord the Archbishop of  
Canterbury.

Thomas by the permission of God, &c. To our welbelovéd Thomas Wilton, our Sommer sworn health, grace, and blessing. The comelinesse of our holy church of Canterbury, over which wee beare rule, deserveth and requireth, that while we passe through the Province of the same our church (having our crosse carried before us) every parish church in their turnes ought and are bounden, in token of speciall reverence that they beare to us, to ring their bells. Which notwithstanding, yea on tuesday last past, when we, betwixt eight and nine of the clocke before dinner, passed openly on foot as it were through the midst of the city of London, with our crosse carried before us; diverse churches, whose names are here beneath noted, shewed towards us willingly (though they certainly knew of our comming) unreverence rather than reverence, and the duty that they owe to our church of Canterbury, ringing not at all at our comming. Wherefore we being willing to revenge this injury, \*for the honour of our spouse as we are bounden, command you, that by our authority you put all those churches under our inditement, suspending Gods holy organs and instruments in the same. Which we also suspend by the tenor of these presents, till the ministers of the aforesaid churches be able hereafter to attaine of us the benefit of more plentifull grace. Given, &c.

What great reason was in this, why this archbishop either should thus looke for the ringing of the bells, or why he should be thus displeased with not ringing, I doe not see. Welike his minde in the meane time was greatly occupied with some great muse, as feeling of Gods feare, with repentance and remembrance of his sinnes, with zealous care and sollicitude for his flock, with the earnest meditation of the passion and life of our Saviour, who in this world was so despised; or els was set upon some grave study, while he so waited for the ringing of the bells, which were wont to be so noysome to all students. And why were not the trumpeters also sent as well, because they did not sound before his person? But though the bells did not clatter in the steeples, and therefore his thunderbolt should have fallen upon the steeples which had deserved; why should the body of the church therefore be suspended? At least, the poore organs (me thinketh) had some part of wrong to be put to silence in the quiet, because the bells rang not in the tower.

Of the like matter also we read in the said registers, falling betwene the bishop of Worcester and the priory of the same towne, for not ringing at the bishops comming into the church. Whereupon much sute and contention was betwene them, till at length the archbishop of Canterbury took up the matter, moderating it, as in the said registers, fol. 441. appeareth to be seen as followeth.

U<sup>niversis, &c. Thomas, &c. Whereas there happened variance lately betwene our reverend brother the lord bishop of Worcester on the one partie,</sup>

and the religious and discrete men the Prior and Convent of the same church on the other partie, for not ringing of bells at the comming of our said brother to his foresaid church, at length the parties (considering the great inconvenience that might come thereof) at our instance and request did agree on this manner, that as often as it shall happen our reverend brother to goe to his aforesaid church, either to celebrate orders, or to visit his church in the head or in the inferiours, or to make creame and oyle in the same church; Also in the feast of the assumption of the blessed virgin Mary, which is the chiefeest feast in the Abbey aforesaid; then the Prior and the Convent, and their successors for the time being, shall ring solemnly against his comming, or shall cause to be rung so emnly without all contradiction or any reclaiming hereafter to be made against the same. Which agreement that it may be more firmly kept, we let you all understand by these presents, sealed with our seale. Given at our palace of Canterbury, 12. Iuly, the 10. yeere of our government.

The like stirre for bell-ringing and for processions, had almost happened betwene the archbishop of Canterbury, successor to this Thomas Arundell, named Henry Chicheley on the one party, and the Abbat of S. Albons on the other party, had not the abbat, in time submitting himselfe to the archbishop, so provided, that the ringing of their bells at his comming might not redound to any derogation of their liberties. Whereunto the archbishop granted by these his letters as followeth.

Henry, &c. to the religious men, the Abbat and Convent of the Monastery of S. Albons in the diocese of Lincolne, health, &c. When as of late there happened a matter of variance betwene us, and you the Abbat and Convent, by reason of not giving reverence to us, being due to our Province of Canterbury, that is, for not ringing the bells, and meeting us with processions when we passed by diverse places of our Province, as well due of common custome, as of old use, and for the Prerogative of the Church of Canterbury, as also being due of every one being within the compasse of this our said Province, when and as often as we shall passe by their places; at length your lord Abbat (comming personally to us) did grant both for you and the Convent aforesaid, to doe and to give of your gentleness all reverence and honour, with such reverence both to us and our church of Canterbury, as often as we passe by your Monastery, or the places nigh or adjoyning thereto, or shall hereafter goe by; so that it might not be prejudiciall to your exemption, and nothing be attempted to the violating of your priviledge; and that it might not be challenged for duty hereafter. Wherefore we, desiring to keepe you from damage, let you understand by these presents, that it is not our intent to derogate your exemptions or priviledge whatsoever herein; nor by any meanes to be prejudiciall to you by these your reverences or other duties, whatsoever you have or shall grant to us of your devotion and liberality, both by you, and in places under your dominion. In witness whereof, &c. Dated the 28. day of January, 1425. at S. Albons, the 12. yeere of our government.

To expresse moreover and describe the glorious pompe of these princelike prelates in these blinde dates of popish religion reigning then in the church, I thought to adioyne hereunto another example not much unlike, neither differing much in time, concerning certain poore men cited up, and imposed strait penance by William Courtney predecessor of the said Thomas Arundell, for bringing litter to his horse, not in waines as they should doe, but in privy sacks, in a secret maner under their cloaks or coats. For the which so heinous and horrible trespass, the said archbishop sitting in his tribunall seat, did call

pp 2 and

Churches of  
London sus-  
pended for not  
ringing at the  
comming of  
the archbishop.

Ob infusions  
mentis to  
Christ his vir-  
ginitie.

Organs sus-  
pended in the  
church, because  
the bells did not  
ring.

Ex Registro  
Tho. Arun-  
delli.

Ringing in the  
archbishop at  
S. Albons.

Ex Regist.  
Hen. Chiche-  
ley fol. 365.

Will. Courtney  
archbishop of  
Canterbury.



Ex Regist.  
W. Courtney

and cite before him the said persons (pro litera, i. for liter. after his owne Latine) and after their submission intorned them penance. Which penance what it was, and what were the names of the foresaid parties, here followeth out of the said archbishops registers, both by his owne words, and by picture of the persons in the same registers annered and painted, in all resemblance, as there standeth, and here is also to be seene.

A description of the poore men doing their penance with their straw on their backe.

*This bag full of straw I beare on my backe,  
Because my lords horse his litter did lacke:  
If ye be not good to my lords graces horse,  
Ye are like to goe barefoot before the crosse.*



The picture of  
them drawne  
in all proporti-  
on according to  
the exemplar  
standing in the  
Register.

Ex Regist.  
W. Courtney

**E**rroris mater ignorantia quosdam Hugonem Pennie, Iohannem Forstall, Iohannem Boy, Iohannem Wanderton, Gulielmum Hayward, & Iohannem White, Tenentes domini de Wengham taliter obcecavit, quod ante adventum dicti domini Archiepiscopi ad palatium suum Cantuariæ in vigilia dominica in ramis palmarum, anno Dom. 1390. de cariando & ducendo ad dictum palatium, fœnum, stramen, sive literam, prout ex tenura terrarum, & tenura suorum, quas & que tenent de domino & ecclesia sua Cantuariæ asfringuntur, per balivum domini ibidem iussi & legitime præmoniti debita servitia more solito impendere dedignantes, stramen huiusmodi non in carrucis & vehiculis publice in sufficienti quantitate sed modicè in saccis sub latibulo pontificis ad palatium prædictum perduxerunt; in vilipendium domini, ac subreptionem iurium ecclesie sue Cantuariæ. Unde super hoc evocati coram domino, die Iovis in hebdomada Pasche in castro suo de Statewode pro tribunali sedente personaliter comparentes, ipsius iudicio in hac parte se humiliter submisserunt, veniam & misericordiam pro commissis devotè petendo. Et deinde dominus præfatus, Hugonem Pennie, Iohannem Forstall, Iohannem Boy, Iohannem Wanderton, Gulielmum Hayward, & Iohannem White, de stando mandatis ecclesie, & fideliter peragendo pœnam eis pro eo-

Marke ye  
Chamarians,  
litera,  
for littour.

rum demeritis injungendam, juratas absolvit in forma juris, nunciata eis & eorum cuilibet, pro modo culpe, pœna salvari; videlicet, quod die dominica tunc proxime sequente prædicti penitentes nudi capita & pedes, processionem apud ecclesiam collegiatam de Wengham faciendam cum singulis saccis super humeris suis palam portantes (plenis videlicet fœno & stramine) ita quod stramen & fœnum huiusmodi ad ora sacorum patentium intuentibus prominerent, lentis incessibus procederent humiliter & devotè.

In English.

**I**gnorence the mother of error so much hath blinded and deceived certain persons, to wit, Hugh Pennie, John Forstall, John Boy, John Wanderton, William Hayward, and John White, tenants of the lord of Wengham, that against the coming of the aforesaid archbishop to his palace of Canterbury on Palmes Sunday even, the pære of our Lord 1390. where they being warned by the bailiffe, to combe and carry hay, straw, and other litters to the aforesaid palace, as they were bound by the tenor of their lands, which they hold of the Sea of Canterbury; refusing and disdainning to do their service, as they were accustomed, brought their straw & other litters, not in carts and waines openly and sufficiently, but by pære meale, and closely in bags or sacks, in contempt of their lord, and derogation of the right and title of the Sea of Canterbury. Whereupon they being ascited and presented before the archbishop, sitting in iudgement at his manor of Statewode, yielded and submitted themselves to his lordships pleasure, humbly craving pardon of their trespasses. Then the aforesaid archbishop absolved the above named Hugh Pennie, &c. they swearing to obey the lawes and ordinances of holy Church, and to do the punishment that should be appointed them for their defaults, that is, that they going leisurely before the procession every one of them should carry openly on his shoulder his bag stuffed with hay and straw; so that the said hay and straw should appeare hanging out, the mouthes of the sacks being open.

Ex Regist.  
W. Courtney  
archbish.  
Cant.

Penance imposed  
for bringing  
straw to  
my lords house

Excommunication  
and at  
solution about

Notes of certaine Parliament matters passed  
in this kings dayes.

**T**he process now further in the reigne of this king, and to intreat also something of his parliaments as we have done of other before. First, we will begin with the parliament holden in the first pære of his coming in.

**M**oreover, forsomuch as our catholike papists will not beleve yet the contrary, but that the jurisdiction of their father the pope hath ever extended throughout all the world, as well here in England, as in other places; Here therefore speaking of the parliaments holden in this kings days concerning this matter, I referre them to the parliament of the said king Henry in his first pære holden, and to the 27. article of the same. Where they may read in the tenth objection laid against king Richard in plaine words; how that forasmuch as the crowne of this realme of England, and the jurisdiction belonging to the same, as also the whole realme it self, at all times lately past, hath been at such liberty, and unmoied such prerogatives, that neither the pope, nor any other out of the same kingdome, ought to intrude himself nor intermeddle therein; it was therefore objected unto the forer named king Richard the second, for procuring the letters Apostolicall from the pope, to the confirming and corroborating of certaine statutes of his, and that his censures might be prosecuted against the breakers thereof. Which samed then to the parliament to tend against the crowne and regall dignity, as also against the statutes and liberties of this the said our realme of England. A. C. Parl. An. 1. Reg. Hen. 4. A. C. 27.

Notes of this  
kings parliament

The popes jurisdiction  
excluded out of  
this realme.

Ex an. 1. Reg  
Henrici,  
A. C. 27.

Furthermore, in the second pære of the said king, this



KING  
HEN. 4.

this was in the parliament required, that all such persons as shall be arrested by force of the statute made against the Lollards, in the second p[er]ce of Henry the fourth, may be bailed, and freely make their purgation; that they be arrested by none other than by the Sheriffes or such like officers, neither that any havock be made of their goods. The king granted to their advice therein.

in. 8. Reg.  
lenr. 4. Act.  
16.

In the 8. p[er]ce mozeober of this kings reigne, it was likewise propounded in the parliament, that all such persons as shall procure, or sue in the Court of Rome any procelle touching any benefice, collation, or presentation of the same, shall incur the paine of the statute of probifors, made in the 13. p[er]ce of Richard 2. wherunto the king granted, that the statutes heretofore provided should be observed.

An. 8. R. Hen.  
Act. 114.

Item, in y<sup>e</sup> said Parliament, there it was put up by petition, that the king might enjoy half the profits of every parsons benefice who is not resident thereon. Therunto the king answered; that the Ordinaries should do their duties therein, or els he would provide further remedy to stay their pluralities.

bid. act. 37.

Item, in the said Parliament it was required; that none do sue to the court of Rome for any benefice, but only to the kings Courts.

In the next p[er]ce following, which was the 9. of this king, another petition of the commons was put in parliament against the court of Rome, which I thought good here to expresse, as followeth.

Ex Rotulo  
Parliamenti,  
in. 9. Hen. 4.

The commons doe beseech, that forasmuch as divers probifors of the benefices of holy church, dwelling in the court of Rome, through their singular covetousnesse now newly imagined to destroy those that have bin long time incumbents in divers their benefices of holy church peaceably, some of them by the title of the king, some by title ordinary, and by the title of other true patrons thereof, by colour of probifions, relations, and other grants made to the same probifors by the Apostoll of the said benefices, do pursue processees in the said court by citation made beyond the sea, without any citations made within the realme in deed against the same incumbents, whereby many of the said incumbents, through such pryvy and crafty processees and sentences of prybation and inhabilitation, have lost their benefices, and others put in the places of the said incumbents before the publication of the same sentences, they not knowing any thing; and many are in great hazard to lose their benefices through such processees, to their perpetuall destruction and mischief; And forasmuch as this mischief cannot be holpen without an especiall remedy be had by parliament: Pleaseth it the king to consider the great mischief and danger that may so come unto divers his subiects without their knowledge, through such citations out of the realme, and thereupon to ordaine by the advice of the lords of this present parliament, that none presented be receyved by any Ordinary unto any benefice of any such incumbent for any cause of prybation or inhabilitation, whereof the procelle is not founded upon citation made within the realme, and also that such incumbents may remaine in all their benefices, untill it be proved by due inquest in the court of the king, that the citations, whereupon such prybations and inhabilitations are granted, were made within the realme: and that if such Ordinaries, or such presented, or others, do pursue the contrary, that then they & their procurators, fautors and counsellors, doe incur the paines contained in the statute made against probifors in the 13. p[er]ce of the reigne of the late Richard king of England the second, by processees to be made as is declared in the statute made against such probifors in the 27. p[er]ce of the reigne of K. Edward, predecesor to our lord the K. that now is, any royall licences or grants in any manner to y<sup>e</sup> contrary notwithstanding; and y<sup>e</sup> all other statutes made against probifors and not repealed before this present parliament, be

The wickednesse of popes  
probifors in citing and de-  
bating benefices  
men in  
England, their  
citation being  
not knowen in  
the realme.

in their full force, and be firmly kept in all points.

That the kings counsell have power by authority of parliament, in case that any man finde himselfe grieved in particular, that he may pursue: wherthat the said counsell by the advice of the Justices, doe right unto the parties. This to indure untill the next Parliament, reserving alwayes unto the king his prerogative and liberty.

Item, that no popes collector thenceforth should leby any money within the realme for first fruits of any ecclesiasticall dignitie, under paine of incurring the statute of probifions.

An. 8. Regie  
Hen. 4. act.  
43.

Besides in the said Parliament holden the eleventh p[er]ce of this king, is to be noted how the commons of the land put up a bill unto the king, to take the temporall lands out from spirituall mens hands or possession. The effect of which bill was, that the temporalities disordnately wasted by men of the Church, might suffice so finde to the king 15. Carls, 1500. Knights, 6200. Esquires, and a 100. houses of Almoſe, to the reliefe of the poore people, more than at those dayes within England. And over all these foresaid charges, the king might put p[er]celly in his cofers 20000. pound.

Ex Chron.  
D. Alban.  
bian, &  
lius.

Provided, that every Carle should have of p[er]celly rent three thousand mark; and every knight a hundred marke and foure plough lands; every Esquire forty mark by p[er]ce, with two plough lands; and every house of Almoſe a hundred marke, with oversight of two true seculars unto every house, and also with probifion, that every Towneship should keepe all poore people of their owne dwellers, which might not labour for their living; with condition that if mo fell in a Towne than the Towne might maintaine, then the said Almoſe houses to reliefe such Towneships.

And to beare these charges, they alledged by their said bill, that the temporalities, being in possession of spirituall men, amounted to iii. C. and xxii. M. mark by p[er]ce. Whereof they affirmed to be in the Sea of Canterbury, with the Abbies of Christ Church, of S. Augustines, Shrewsbury, Coggeshale, and S. Mlus. rr. M. marke, by p[er]ce. In the Sea of Porke and Abbies there, rr. M. marke. In the Sea of Winchester and Abbies there rr. M. marke. In the Sea of London, with Abbies and other houses there, rr. M. marke. In the Sea of Lincolne, with the Abbies of Peterborough, Ramsey, and other, rr. M. marke. In the Sea of Norwich, with the Abbies of Bury and other, rr. M. mark. In the Sea of Ely, Spalding and other, rr. M. mark. In the Sea of Bath, with the abby of Whinborne and other, rr. M. mark. In the Sea of Worcester, with the abbies of Chesham, Abingdon, and other, rr. M. marke. In the Sea of Chester, with the p[re]ciary of the same, with the Seas of S. David, of Salisbury, and Exeter, with their p[re]ciaries, rr. M. mark. The Abbies of Kibens or Kebans, of Fountaines, of Cernons, and divers other to the number of five moe, rr. M. mark. The abbies of Leicester, Malthan, Cosborne, Merton, Ricetir, Mney and other, unto the number of five moe, rr. M. mark. The abbies of Dovers, Batil, Lewys, Coventry, Dabentre, and Dourney, rr. M. mark. The abbies of Portsmouth, Horton, Bisslow, Killingworth, Winchcombe, Hales, Parchiffor, Fridelwilde, Posty, and Cymolthby, rr. M. mark.

A computation  
of church  
goods, to how  
much they doe  
amount.

The which foresaid summes amount to the full of iii. C. M. mark. And for the odd of xxii. M. mark, they appointed Hardford, Rochester, Dunstondon, Swinhead, Cromland, Malmesbury, Burton, Cuskebury, Dunstable, Whitborn, Taunton, and Biland.

And over this, they alledged by the said bill, that over and above the said summe of iii. C. and xxii. M. mark, divers houses of religion in England possessed as many temporalities as might suffice to finde p[er]celly rd. M. priests and clerks, every priest to be allowed for his stipend vii. mark by the p[er]ce.

P p p 3



To the which bill no answer was made, but that the king of this matter would take deliberation and abatement, and with that answer ended, so that no further labour was made.

These things thus hitherto discoursed, touching such acts and matters as have been incident in the life time of this king, followeth next the 13. yere of his reigne. In the which yere the said king Henry the 4. after that he had sent a litle before a certaine company of captaynes and souldiers to aid the duke of Burgundy in France (among whom was the L. Cobham) keeping his Christmas at Eltham, fell grievously sick. From thence he was conveyed to London, where he began to call a parliament, but taried not the end. In the meane time, the infirmity of the king more and more increasing, he was taken and brought into a bed in a faire chamber at Westminster. And as he lay in his bed, he asked how they called y<sup>e</sup> same chamber; and they answered and said, Jerusalem. And then he said it was his propheticke, that he should make his end in Jerusalem. And so disposing himselfe toward his end in the foresaid chamber he died; upon what sicknesse, whether of leprosie, or of some other sharpe disease, I have not to asseigne. Ex vetust. Chron. Anglico, cujus initium: That all men called. The like propheticke we read of pope Silvester 2. to whom being inquisitive for the time and place where he should die, it was answered that he should die in Jerusalem. Who then saying masse in a chappell (called likewise Jerusalem) perceived his end there to be nere, and died. And thus king Henry the 4. successor to the lawfull king Richard 2. finished his life at Westminster, and was buried at Canterbury by the tombe of Thomas Becket, &c. An. 1413.

## King Henry the fifth.



After this Henry the fourth reigned Henry the fifth his sonne, which was borne at Monmouth in Wales, of whose other vertues, and great virtues gotten in France, I have not greatly to intermeddle; especially seeing the memoir of his worthy prowesse, being sufficiently described in other writers in this our time, may both content the Reader, and unburden my labour here; especially seeing these later troubles and perturbations of the church offer me so much, that unnesse any vacant leisure shall be left to intermeddle with matters prophane.

After the coronation then of this new king, which was the ninth day of Aprill, called then Passion Sunday, which was an exceeding stormy day, and so tempestuous, that many did wonder at the portent thereof: not long after the same, a parliament began to be called, and to be holden after the feast of Easter, at Westminster, an. 1413. At which time Thomas Arundell the archbishop of Canterbury collected in Pauls church at London an universall synod of all the bishops and clergy of England. In that synod, among other weighty matters and ponderous, it was determined; that the day of Saint George, and also of S. Dunstan, should be double feast, called Duplex Festum, in holy kitchin, in holy church I would say.

And because the order and manner of those popes holy feasts either yet is not sufficiently knowne to some rude and grosse capacities, or may peradventure grow out of use, and be strange and unknowne to our posterity hereafter; therefore to give a litle memorandum thereof (by the way for erudition of times hereafter to come) touching this mysticall science of the popes deep and secret dignity; here is to be noted, that the feasts of the popes holy mother catholike church be divided into sundry members. Like as a plentifull root in a fruitfull field riseth up

and burgeneth into manifold armes, and the armes againe doe multiply into divers and sundry branches, out of the which moreover, although no fruit do come, yet both leaves and flowers doe bud and blossom in most copious wise, right beautifull to behold; Even so this Festum, containing a large matter of great variety of dayes and feasts, groweth in it selfe and multiplieth, being thus divided; First, into Festum duplex, and into Festum simplex, that is, into feast double, and to feast simple. Again, this Festum duplex brancheth fourfold wise, to wit, into Festum principale duplex; into Majus duplex, into Minus duplex, and Inferius duplex; that is, in principall double, in greater double, in lesser double, and inferiour or lower double. Unto these severall sorts of feasts that dayes were peculiarly assigned, it were too long to recite. For this present purpose it shall suffice to understand, that as unto the principall double feast onely belonged eight dayes in the yere; so the Majus duplex festum had given unto him by this convocation the day of S. George and of S. Dunstan, as is afore remembred; albeit by constitution it was so decreed, yet by custome it was not so used. Item, it is to be noted, that these two feasts, to wit, Principale duplex, and Majus duplex, did differ and were knowne from all other by foure notes; by service in the kitchin, and by service in the church, which were both double, by ringing in the steeple, which was with double peale; by copes in the quier, and bythurifying or censling the altars. For in these two principall and greater double feasts, the seventh, eighth, and ninth lesson must be read with silken copes. Also at the said feasts, in the time of the lessons, the altars in the church must be thurified, that is, smoked with incense, &c. And likewise the Minus duplex, and Inferius duplex had also their peculiar service to them belonging.

Secondly, the Simplex festum, which is the second arme springing of this division, is thus divided: Either having a triple introit, or a double, or els a single introit. Of the which moreover, some have three lessons, some have nine, &c.

And thus much by occasion for popish feasts; not that I do so much deride them, as I lament, that so much and manifest idolatry in them is committed, to the great dishonour of our Lord God, which is onely to be honozed.

## The trouble and persecution of the Lord Cobham.

But to let this by-matter passe, again to return to the foresaid universall synod assembled by Thomas Arundell at S. Pauls Church in London, as is before remembred; the chief and principall cause of the assembling thereof (as repository the chronicle of S. Albans) was to repress the growing and spreading of the Gospell, and especially to withstand the noble and worthy lord Cobham, who was then noted to be a principall labourer, receiver, and maintainer of them, whom the B. mis-named to be Lollards, especially in the diocesses of London, Rochester and Hereford, setting them up to preach whom the bishops had not licensed, and sending them about to preach, which was against the constitution provinciall, before remembred, holding also and teaching opinions of the sacraments, of images, of pilgrimages, of the keys and church of Rome, contrary and repugnant to the received determination of the Romish church, &c.

In the mean time as these were in talk amongst them concerning the good lord Cobham; refreshed unto them the 12. inquisitors of heresies (whom they had appointed at Oxford the yere afore, to search out heretikes, with all Wickliffes bookes) who brought 200. and 46. conclusions, which they had collected as heresies out of the said bookes. The names of the said inquisitors were these:

KING  
HEN. 5.

Festum duplex.  
Principale duplex,  
Majus duplex,  
Minus duplex,  
Inferius duplex.  
Constitution against council.  
Ex tab. festorum.

Simplex festum in the popes church.

The trouble of the lord Cobham.  
Ex Chron. Mon. Alban.

Walden in fasciculo zizaniorum Wicklevi.

Anno  
1413.

The king had a propheticke that he should die in Jerusalem.  
Prophecies decipherable.

Ex vetust. Chron. Anglico, cui initium est,  
That all men called.  
The propheticke of pope Silvester 2.

H. Henry the 5.

Great tempest at the coronation of the new king.

A synod called at London.

S. George and S. Dunstons day made double feast.

The feast of the popes church decreed and divided.



KING  
HEN. 5.

1. Iohn Whiteman, a master in the new Colledge.
2. Iohn Langedon, monk of Christs church in Cant.
3. William Viford, regent of the Carmelites.
4. Thomas Claxton, regent of the Dominickes.
5. Robert Gilbert.
6. Richard Earthisdale.
7. Iohn Lucke.
8. Richard Snedisham.
9. Richard Fleming.
10. Thomas Rotorborne.
11. Robert Ronbery.
12. Richard Crasdale.

These things thus done, and the Articles being brought in, further they proceeded in their communication, concluding among themselves, that it was not possible for them to make whole Christs coate without seame (meaning thereby their patched popish synagogue) unless certaine great men were brought out of the way, which seemed to be the chiefe maintainers of the said disciples of Wickliffe. Among whom this noble knight sir John Oldcastle, the lord Cobham, was complained of by the general proctors to be the chiefe principall. Him they accused, first, for a mighty maintainer of suspected preachers in the diocesse of London, Rochester, and Hereford, contrary to the mindes of the Ordinaries. Not only they affirmed him to have sent thither the said preachers, but also to have assisted them there by force of armes notwithstanding their synodall constitution made afore to the contrary. Last of all, they accused him that he was far otherwise in belief of the sacrament of the altar, of penance, of pilgrimage, of image worshipping, and of the ecclesiasticall power, than the holy Church of Rome had taught many yeres before.

In the end it was concluded among them, that without any further delay processe should be awarded out against him, as against a most pernicious heretike.

Some of that fellowship which were of more crafty experience than the other, thought it not best to have the matter so rashly handled, but by some preparation made thereunto before, considering the said Lord Cobham was a man of great birth, and in favour at that time with the king, their counsell was to know first the kings mind to save all things upright. This counsell was well accepted, and thereupon the archbishop Thomas Arundell, with his other bishops, and a great part of the clergy, went straitwaies unto the king then remaining at Bevington, and there laid forth most grievous complaints against the said Lord Cobham, to his great infamy and blemish, being a man right goodly. The king gently heard those bloodthirsty prelates, and far otherwise than became his princely dignitie: notwithstanding requiring, and instantly desiring them, that in respect of his noble stocke and knight-hood, they should yet favourably deale with him. And that they would, if it were possible, without all rigor or extreme handling reduce him again to the Churches unitie. He promised them also, that in case they were committed to take some deliberation, his selfe would seriously commune the matter with him.

Anon after, the king sent for the lord said Cobham. And as he was come, he called him secretly, admonishing him betwixt him and him, to submit himself to his mother the holy Church, and as an obedient child to acknowledge himselfe culpable. Unto whom the Christian knight made this answer: You most worthy prince, saith he, I am alwayes prompt and willing to obey, forsomuch as I know you a Christian king, and the appointed minister of God, bearing the sword to the punishment of evill doers, and for safeguard of them that be virtuous. Unto you (next my eternall God) owe I my whole obedience, and submit thereunto (as I have done ever)

all that I have, either of fortune or nature, ready at all times to fulfill whatsoever shall in the Lord command me. But as touching the pope and his spirituality, I owe them neither sute nor service, forsomuch as I know him by the Scriptures to bee the great antichrist, the sonne of perdition, the open abberlarie of God, and the abomination standing in the holy place. When the king had heard this, with such like sentences more, he would talke no longer with him, but left him so utterly.

And as the archbishop resorted againe unto him for an answer, he gave him his full authoritie to cite him, examine him, and punish him according to their divellish decree, which they called the lawes of holy church. Then the said archbishop, by the counsell of his other bishops and clergie, appointed to call before him sir John Oldcastle, the Lord Cobham, and to cause him personally to appear, to answer to such suspect articles as they should lay against him.

So he sent forth his chiefe Summoner, with a very sharpe citation unto the castle of Coling, where as he at that time dwelt for his solace. And as the said Summoner was come thither, he durst in no case enter the gates of so noble a man without his licence, and therefore he returned home againe, his message not done.

Then called the archbishop one John Butler unto him, which was then the doxkeeper of the kings privy chamber; & with him he covenanted, through promises and rewards, to have this matter craftily brought to passe under the kings name. Whereupon the said John Butler took the archbishops Summoner with him, and went unto the said Lord Cobham, shewing him, that it was the kings pleasure that he should obey that citation, and so cited him fraudulently. Then said he to them in few words, that he in no case would consent to those most divellish practices of the priests. As they had informed the archbishop of that answer, and that it was for no man privately to cite him after that, without perill of life, he decreed by and by to have him cited by publicke processe or open commandement. And in all the haste possible, upon the Wednesday before the nativity of our Lady, in September, he commanded letters citatoz to bee set upon the great gates of the cathedrall Church of Rochester, which was but three English miles from thence, charging him to appear personally before him at Ledis the eleventh day of the same moneth and year, all excuses to the contrary set apart. Those letters were taken downe anon after by such as bare labour unto the lord Cobham, & so conveyed aside. After that caused the archbishops letters to be set up on the nativity day of our lady, which also were rent downe and utterly consumed.

Then forasmuch as he did not appear at the day appointed at Ledis (where he sate in consistorie, as cruell as ever was Caiaphas, with his court of hypocrites about him) he indged him, denounced him, and condemned him of most deep contumacie. After that, when he had been falsly informed by his hired spies, and other glossing glabers, that the said lord Cobham had laughed him to scorne, disdained all his doings, maintained his old opinions, contemned the Churches power, the dignitie of a bishop, and the order of priesthood (for all these was he then accused of) in his moody madnesse without iust proofe did he openly excommunicate him. Yet was not with all this his fierce tyranny satisfied, but he commanded him to be cited afresh, to appear before him the saturday before the feast of S. Mathew the Apostle, with these cruell threatnings added therunto, that if hee did not obey at the day, hee would more extremely handle him. And to make himselfe more strong towards the performance thereof hee compelled the lay power, by most terrible menacings of curses & interdictions, to assist him against that seditious apostata, schismaticke, and heretike the troubler of the publicke peace, that enemy of the realme, and great

2 Thes. 2.

Mar. 24.

The L. Cobham forsaken of the king.

L. Cobham summoned by the archbishop.

John Butler played Judas part.

Election set up against the L. Cobham.

The citations taken downe.

False accusations against the L. Cobham.

L. Cobham excommunicated.

L. Cobham againe cited.

The L. Cobham accused for maintaining the God-head of Christs.

The L. Cobham accused for his christian beliefe.

Processe against him.

A spirituall practice.

The king speaketh for him.

His gentle promise.

The kings admonishment to the L. Cobham.

The answer of the L. Cobham to the king. Rom. 13. 1 Pet. 2. L. Cobham obedient to the king. A most christ-an obedience.



great aduersaries of all Holy Church; for all these hatefull names did he giue him.

This most constant seruant of the Lord, and worthy knight Sir John Blount, the Lord Cobham, beholding the unpeaceable fury of antichrist thus kindled against him, perceiving himselfe also compassed on every side with deadly dangers; he took paper and pen in hand, and so wrote a Christian confession or reckoning of his faith (which followeth hereafter) both signing and sealing it with his own hand. Wherunto he also answered to the foure chiefest articles that the archbishop laid against him. That done, he took the copy with him, and went therewith to the king, trusting to find mercy and fauour at his hand. None other was that confession of his, than the common beliefe or summe of the Churches faith, called the Apostles creede, of all Christian men then used, with a brieue declaration upon the same, as here under ensueth.

### The Christian beliefe of the Lord Cobham.

I beleue in God the Father Almighty, maker of Heauen and Earth: And in Iesus Christ his only Sonne our Lord, which was conceived by the holy Ghost, borne of the Virgin Mary, suffered under Ponce Pilate, crucified, dead and buried, went downe to Hell, the third day rose againe from death, ascended up to Heauen, sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty, and from thence shall come againe to iudge the quick & the dead. I beleue in the holy Ghost, the vniuersall holy Church, the communion of Saints, the forgiveness of sinnes, the uprising of the flesh, and everlasting life, Amen.

And for a more large declaration (saith he) of this my faith in the Catholike Church, I stedfastly beleue, that there is but one God Almighty, in and of whose Godhead are these three persons, the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy Ghost, and that those three persons are the selfe same God Almighty. I beleue also that the second person in this most blessed Trinity, in most convenient time appointed thereunto before, took flesh and blood of the most blessed Virgin Mary, for the safeguard and redemption of the vniuersall kinde of man, which was before lost in Adams offence.

Whereover I beleue, that the same Iesus Christ our Lord, thus being both God and man, is the only head of the whole Christian Church, and that all those that haue bene or shall be saved, be members of this most holy Church. And this holy Church I thinke to be diuided into three sorts or companies: Wherof the first sort be now in Heauen, and they are the saints from hence departed. These as they were here conuerant, conformed alwayes their liue to the most holy lawes and pure examples of Christ, renouncing Satan, the World, and the flesh with all their concupiscence and evils.

The second sort are in purgatory (if any such place be in the scriptures) abiding the mercy of God, and a full deliuerance of paine.

The third sort are here upon the earth, and be called the Church militant. For day and night they contend against crafty assaults of the Diuell, the flattering prosperities of this world, and the rebellious filthinesse of the flesh.

This later congregation by the last ordinance of God is also leuered into three diuers estates, that is to say, into priesthood, knighthood, and the commons. Among whom the will of God is, that the one should aide the other, but not destroy the other. The priests first of all, secluded from all worldly blisnesse, should conforme their liues utterly to the examples of Christ and his Apostles. Wherefore should they be occupied in preaching and teaching the scriptures purely, and in going whole some examples of god living to the other two degrees of men. More modest also, more loving, gentle, and lowly in spirit should they be, than any other sorts of people.

In the knighthood are all they which beare sword by law of office. These should defend Gods Lawes, and see that the Gospell were purely taught, conformenting their liues to the same, and excluding all false preachers: yea those ought rather to hazard their liues, than to suffer such wicked decrees as either blemish the eternal Testament of God, or yet let the free passage thereof, whereby heresies and schismes might spring in the Church. For of none other arise they, as I suppose, than of erroneous constitutions, craftily first creeping in under hypocritical lies, for advantage. They ought also to preserve Gods people from oppressors, tyrants and thebes, and to see the clergie supported so long as they teach purely, pray rightly, and minister the Sacraments freely. And if they see them doe otherwise, they are bound by the law or office to compel them to change their doings; and to see all things performed according to Gods prescript ordinance.

The later fellowship of this church, are the common people; whose duty is to beare their god minds and true obedience to the foresaid ministers of God, their kings, ciuill Governours and Priests. The right office of these, is indly to occupie every man his facultie, be it merchandise, handicraft, or the tith of the ground. And so one of them to be as an helper to another, following alwaies in their loyts the iust commandements of the Lord God.

Over and besides all this, I most faithfully beleue that the sacraments of Christs Church are necessarie to all Christian believers; this alwayes seeme to, that they be truly ministered according to Christs first institution and ordinance. And forasmuch as I am maliciously and most falsly accused of a misbeliefe in the sacrament of the altar, to the hurtfull slander of many; I signifie here unto all men, that this is my faith concerning that. I beleue in that sacrament to be contained very Christs body and blood under the similitude of bread and wine, yea the same body that was conceived of the holy Ghost, borne of the virgin Mary, done on the crosse, died and was buried, arose the third day from the death; and is now glorified in heauen. I also beleue the vniuersall law of God to be most true and perfect, and they which do not so follow it in their faith & works (at one time or another) can neuer be saved. Wheras he that seeketh it in faith, accepteth it, leaurneth it, delighteth therein, & performeth it in love that taste for it the felicitie of everlasting innocency.

Finally, this is my faith also, that God will aske no more of a Christian believer in this life, but only to obey the precepts of that most blessed law. If any prelates of the Church require more, or else any other kinde of obedience, than this to be used; hee contemneth Christ, exalting himselfe aboue God, and so becommeth an open Antichrist. All the premises I beleue particularly, and generally all that God hath left in his holy scripture, that I should beleue; instantly desiring you my liege Lord and most worthy king, that this confession of mine may be iustly examined by the most goodly wise and learned men of your realme. And if it be found in all points agreeing to the verity, then let it be so allowed; and I thereupon holden for none other than a true Christian. If it be proved otherwise, then let it be utterly condemned; provided alwaies, that I be taught a better beliefe by the word of God; and I shall most reverently at all times obey thereunto.

This brieue confession of his faith the Lord Cobham wrote (as is mentioned before) and so took it with him to the court, offering it with all meeknesse unto the king to read it over. The king would in no case receiue it, but commanded it to be delivered unto them that should be his iudges. Then desired he in the kings presence that an hundred knights and esquires might be suffered to come in upon his purgation, which hee knew would cleare him of all heresies. Whereover he offered himselfe, after the law

(KING  
HEN 5.  
Knight hood  
what it should  
doe.

God here a  
most christian  
heart.

What the com  
mon people  
ought to do.

Beliefe of the  
L. Cobham  
concerning the  
Sacraments.

The sacrament  
of the altar.

Gods law to be  
preferred be-  
fore mans law.

A christian de-  
sire of the Lord  
Cobham.  
This request  
was lawfull.

Obedience un-  
to his king.

L. Cobham  
confesseth his  
God before  
men.

The Apostles  
faith.

The common  
creed of christi-  
ans.

A declaration  
of his beliefe.

1 John 5.  
Gal. 4.  
John 1.  
Luke 2.

Christ is the  
only head of his  
church.

The church di-  
uided into three  
parts.

Contrary  
wrote hee,  
ad parlia-  
mentu Ex  
Waldeno.

The church  
militant di-  
uided in thre.

What the  
priests should  
do.



**{KING}**  
**{HEN. 5.}**  
The Christian  
honour and  
ma. hood of the  
L. Cobham.  
So reasonable  
offer would  
serve.

L. Cobham ap-  
pealed from the  
archb. to  
the pope.

Straighthand-  
ling of the king

L. Cobham  
would not obey  
the beaft.

The confession  
and answer of  
the L. Cobham  
newly copied.

Calphas sic-  
kerb in confi-  
dore.

Antichrist was  
here in full  
power.

A figure of gods  
true servant.

The sacrament  
of the Lords  
body.

of armes, to fight for life or death with any man li-  
ving, Christian or heathen, in the countrell of his  
faith, the king and the Lords of his countrell excepted.  
Finally, with all gentleness he protested before all  
that were present, that hee would refuse no manner  
of correction that should after the lawes of God be  
ministered unto him, but that hee would at all times  
with all meeknesse obey it. Notwithstanding all this  
the king suffered him to bee summoned personally  
in his owne privie chamber. Then said the L. Cob-  
ham to the king that he had appealed from the arch-  
bishop to the pope of Rome, and therefore he caught,  
he said, in no case to be his iudge. And having his  
appeale there at hand ready written, hee shewed it  
with all reverence to the king. Wherewith the king  
was then much more displeased than afore, and said  
angrily unto him, that he should not pursue his ap-  
peale; but rather hee should tarry in hold, till such  
time as it were of the Pope allowed. And then,  
would hee, or nild hee, the archbishop should bee his  
iudge. Thus was there nothing allowed that the  
Lord Cobham had lawfully afore required. But  
forasmuch as he would not bee sworne in all things  
to submit himselfe to the church, and to take that pe-  
nance the archbishop would enioyne him; He was  
arrested againe at the kings commandement and so  
led forth to the Tower of London, to keepe his day  
(so was it then spoken) that the archbishop had ap-  
pointed him afore in the kings chamber.

Then caused he the foresaid confession of his faith  
to be copied againe, and the answer also (which hee  
had made to the foure articles propounded against  
him) to be written in manner of an Indenture in  
two sheetes of paper: That when he should come to  
his answer, hee might give the one copie unto the  
archbishop, and reserve the other to himselfe. As the  
day of examination was come, which was the 23.  
day of September the Saturday before the feast of  
St. Matthew; Thomas Arundell the archbishop, sit-  
ting in Caiaphas roome in the Chapter house of  
Pauls, with Richard Clifford Bishop of London,  
and Henry Wolingborne bishop of Winchester; Sir  
Robert Hoxley knight and lieutenant of the Tower  
brought personally before him the said L. Cobham,  
and there left him for the time; unto whom the arch-  
bishop said these words.

### The first examination of the Lord Cobham.

Sir John, in the last generall convocation of the  
clergie of this our Province, ye were detected of  
certaine heresies, and by sufficient witnesses found  
culpable. Whereupon ye were, by some of spiritu-  
all law cited, and would in no case appeare. In con-  
clusion upon your rebellious contumacie, ye were  
both privately and openly excommunicated. Not-  
withstanding we neither yet shewed our selves un-  
readie to have given your absolution (nor yet doe to  
this houre) would ye have meekely asked it. Unto  
this the lord Cobham shewed, as though he had gi-  
ven no eare, having his minde otherwise occupied,  
and so desired no absolution. But said he would  
gladly before him and his brethren make rehearfall  
of that faith which he held and intended alwaies to  
stand to, if it would please them to license him ther-  
unto. And then he took out of his bosome a certaine  
writing intended, concerning the articles whereof  
he was accused, and so openly read it before them, gi-  
ving it unto the archbishop as he had made thereof  
an end. Whereof this is the copie.

I John Oldcastle knight, L. of Cobham, will that  
all Christian men, sweet and understand, that I  
clepe almighty God into witness, that it hath bin,  
now is, and ever with the help of God, shall be mine  
intent and my will, to believe faithfully and fully all  
the Sacraments that ever God ordained to bee

doe in holy church; and moreover, to declare me in  
these foure points, I believe that the most worship-  
full Sacrament of the altar is Christs body in forme  
of bread, the same body that was born of the blessed  
virgin our Lady saint Mary, done on the crosse, dead  
and buried, the third day rose from death to life, the  
which body is now glorified in heaven.

Also as for the sacrament of penance I believe,  
that it is needfull to every man that shall bee saved  
to forsake sin, and do due penance for sin before done,  
with true confession, very contrition, and due satis-  
faction as Gods law limiteth and teacheth, and els  
may not be saved; which penance I desire all men  
to doe.

And as of images. I understand that they be not  
of beliefe, but that they were ordained sith they be-  
lieve was yelwe of Christ, by sufferance of the church,  
to be Calenders to lewde men, to represent and bring  
to minde the passion of our Lord Iesus Christ, and  
martyrdom and good living of other saints: And  
that who so it be, that doth the worship to dead ima-  
ges that is due to God, or putteth such hope or trust  
in helpe of them, as he should doe to God, or hath af-  
fection in one more than in another, hee doth in that  
the greatest sin of mammetrie.

Also I suppose this fully, that every man in this  
earth is a pilgrime toward blisse, or toward paine;  
and that he that knoweth not, ne will not know ne  
keepe the holy commandments of God in his living  
here (albeit that he be goe on pilgrimages to all the  
world, and he die so) he shall bee damned: hee that  
knoweth the holy commandments of God, and kee-  
peth them to his end, hee shall bee saved though hee  
never in his life goe on pilgrimage, as men now use  
to Canterbury or to Rome, or to any other place.

This answer to his articles thus ended and read,  
he delivered it to the Bishops as is said afore. Then  
counseled the archbishop with the other two bishops  
and with divers of the doctors, what was to be done  
in this matter; commanding him for the time to  
stand aside. In conclusion by their assent and infor-  
mation hee said thus unto him; Come hither sir,  
John. In this your writing are many good things  
contained, and right catholike also, we deny it not;  
but ye must consider that this day was appointed  
you to answer to other points concerning those ar-  
ticles, whereof as yet no mention is made in this  
your bill. And therefore ye must yet declare us your  
munde more plainly.

And thus, whether that ye hold, affirm and believe  
that in the sacrament of the altar, after the consecra-  
tion rightly done by a priest, remaineth materfall  
bread, or not: Moreover, whether ye doe hold, affirm  
and believe, that as concerning the sacrament of pe-  
nance (whereas a competent number of priests are)  
every Christian man is necessarily bound to be con-  
fessed of his finnes to a priest ordained by the church  
or not.

After certain other communication, this was the  
answer of the good lord Cobham. That none other-  
wise would he declare his minde, nor yet answer  
unto his articles, than was expressly in his writing  
there contained. Then said the archbishop againe  
unto him; Sir John, beware what ye do. For if ye  
answer not clearly to those things that are here  
objected against you (especially at the time appoin-  
ted you only for that purpose) the law of holy church  
is, that compelled once by a iudge we may openly  
proclaime you an heretike. Unto whom he gave this  
answer; Doe as ye shall thinke best, for I am at a  
point. Whatsoever hee or the other bishops did aske  
him after that, he had them resort to his bil; for ther-  
by would he stand to the very death. Other answer  
would be not give that day, wherewith the bishops  
and prelates were in a manner amazed and wonder-  
fully disquieted.

Penance.

Images.

Pilgrimage.

The answers  
examined.

Quarrell picked  
where none  
was given.

The wolf was  
hungry, he  
must needs bee  
fed with blood.

The christian  
answer of the  
L. Cobham un-  
to their quar-  
rells.

A tyrannous  
where is that  
mother.

His answer not  
to their minde.

At



Antichrist set-  
terh men above  
God.

The Lord Cob-  
ham reforteth  
unto Christ.

What could be  
more reasona-  
bly said, if they  
had reason to  
receiue it.)

A doctrine of  
diabls to blinde  
the simple.

At the last the archbishop counselled againe with his other bishops and doctors, and in the end thereof declared unto him, that the Holy Church of Rome (following the saying of saint Augustine, saint Hierome, saint Ambrose, and of the holy doctors) had determined in these matters, no manner of menttion once made of Christ. Which determination (saith he) ought all christian men both to believe & to follow.

Then said the lord Cobham unto him, that hee would gladly both believe and observe whatsoever holy Church of Christs institution had determined, or yet whatsoever God had willed him either to believe or to doe. But that the pope of Rome with his Cardinals, Archbishops, Bishops, and other prelates of that Church had lawfull power to determine such matter as stood not with his word thoroughly; that would he not (hee said) at that time affirme. With this the archbishop had him to take good advisement till the munday next following (which was the 25. day of September) and then iudly to answer, specially unto this point; whether there remained materiall bread in the Sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration or not? He promised him also, to send unto him in writing those matters clearly determined, that he might then be the more perfect in his answer making. And all this was nought else, but to blinde the multitude with somewhat. The next day following, according to his promise, the archbishop sent unto him into the Tower, this foolish and blasphemous writing, made by him and by his unlearned clergie.

### The determination of the Archbishop and Clergie.

Ex magno  
processu  
Thomæ A-  
rundel.  
The 1. article.

The 2. article.

The 3. article.

The feed of the  
serpent.

The 4. article.

We seeke their  
ignorance and  
malice.

We putte his  
life in Gods  
hand.

**T**he faith and determination of the holy Church touching the blisfull Sacrament of the Altar, is this; That after the Sacramentall words be once spoken by a priest in his masse, the materiall bread, that was before bread, is turned into Christs very body. And the materiall wine that was before wine is turned into Christs very blood. And so there remaineth in the sacrament of the altar, from thenceforth, no materiall bread, nor materiall wine, which were there before the sacramentall words were spoken; How believe ye this article? Holy church hath determined that every Christian man, living here bodily upon the earth, ought to be shaven to a priest ordained by the Church, if he may come to him. How seele ye this article?

Christ ordained Saint Peter the Apostle to be his vicar here in earth, whose See is the holy Church of Rome; And he granted, that the same power which hee gave unto Peter should succede to all Peters successors, which wee call now popes of Rome; by whose power in Churches particular hee ordained prelates, as Archbishops, Bishops, Parsons, Curates, and other degrees more. Unto whom christian men ought to obey after the lawes of the Church of Rome. This is the determination of holy Church. How seele ye this article?

Holy Church hath determined, that it is meritorious to a Christian man, to goe on pilgrimage to holy places: and there specially to worship holy reliques and Images of saints, Apostles, and Martyrs, Confessors, and all other Saints besides, appoybed by the church of Rome. How seele ye this article? And as the Lord Cobham had read over this most wretched writing, hee marvelled greatly of their mad ignorance. But that he considered againe that God had given them over, for their unbeliefs sake, into most depe errors and blindness of soule. Again, he perceived hereby, that their uttermost malice was purposed against him, howsoever hee should answer. And therefore hee put his life into the hands of God, desiring his only spirit to assist him in his next answer. When the said 25. day of September was come (which was also the munday

before Michaelmas) in the said yeere of our Lord 14.13. Thomas Arundell the archbishop of Canterbury commanded his iudiciall seate to be remooved from the chapter house of Pauls to the Dominicke friers within Ludgate at London. And as he was there set with Richard Bishop of London, Henry the Bishop of Winchester, and Bennet the Bishop of Bangor; He called in unto him his counsell and his officers, with divers other Doctors and friers, of whom these are the names here following; master Henry Ware, the Officiall of Canterbury; Philip Morgan, Doctor of the lawes; Howell Kiffin, Doctor of the canon law; John Kempe, Doctor of the Canon law; William Carleton, Doctor of the Canon law; John Mitnam, of the new Colledge in Oxford; John Whithead, Doctor in Oxford also, Robert Wombewell, Vicar of saint Laurence in the Jewry; Thomas Palmer, the Warden of Monks; Robert Chamberlaine, Prior of the Dominickes; Richard Dobington, Prior of the Augustines; Thomas Malben, Prior of the Carmelites, all Doctors of Divinitie. John Siebens also, and James Cole, both Potaries, appointed these purposely to write all that should be either said or done. All these with a great sort more of Priests, Monks, Canons, friers, Parish clerkes, Beiringers, Wardens disdained him with innumerable mocks and scoorns, reckoning him to be an horrible heretike, and a man accursed afore God.

Then the archbishop called for a Masse booke, and caused all these prelates and doctors to sweare thereupon, that every man should faithfully doe his office and dutie that day. And that neither for labour nor feare, love nor hate of the one partie nor the other, any thing should there be witnessed, spoken or done, but according to the truth, as they would answer before God and all the world at the day of doome. Then were the two foresaid notaries sworn also to write and to witness the proces that there should be uttered on both parties, and to say their mindes (if they otherwise knew) before they should register it. And all this dissimulation was but to colour their mischiefs, before the ignorant multitude.

Consider herein (gentle Reader) what this wicked generation is, and how farre wide from the just feare of God; for as they were then, so are they yet to this day.

After that, came out before them Sir Robert Hooley knight and lieutenant of the Tower, and he brought with him the good lord Cobham, there leading him among them as a lambe among Wolves, to his examination and answer.

### Another examination of the Lord Cobham.

**T**hen said the archbishop unto him, lord Cobham ye be advised (I am sure) of the words and proces which we had unto you upon saturday last past in the chapterhouse of Pauls: which proces were now too long to be rehearsed againe. I said unto you then, that you were accursed for your contumacie and disobedience to the holy Church, thinking that ye should with maknesse have desired your absolution.

Then spake the lord Cobham with a chearefull countenance, and said, God said by his holy prophet Maledicam benedictionibus vestris, which is as much to say as, I shall curse where you blesse.

The archbishop made then as though he had continued forth his tale and not heard him, saying, Sir, at that time I gently profered to have alloped you if you would have asked it. And yet I doe the same if ye will humbly desire it in due forme and manner as holy Church hath ordained.

Then said the lord Cobham, Nay forsooth will I not, for I never yet trespassed against you, and therefore I will not doe it. And with that hee knelt downe on the pavement, holding up his hands towards

{ KING }  
HEN. 5.  
Ex utroque  
exemplari.

The countell  
of Capphas.

The Pharisees  
and Scribes.

A table of An-  
tichrists.

Concilium  
malignanti-  
um.

For a false co-  
lour sweare they  
all done to de-  
scribe the igno-  
rant.

L. Cobham  
cometh againe  
before them.

Ex vetusto  
exemplari  
Londinensi-  
um.  
The curle of  
Antichrist.

Malachi 2.

A wofull offer  
of gentleness.



**KING**  
**HEN. 5.**

L. Cobham  
confessing blin-  
telle unto God.

Gods law be-  
fore Gods law  
preferred.  
Here. 51.

The true chris-  
tian beliefe of  
the L. Cobham

Matth. 26.  
Marke 14.  
Luke 22.  
1 Cor. 11.  
Antichrist al-  
loweth not this  
faith.

The sacrament  
of the altar.

John White-  
head gone from  
his opinions.  
All this would  
not helpe.

A blasphemous  
blood.

Quarrell pro-  
uers.

towards heaven, and said; I shiebe mee here unto thee my eternall living God, that in my fratic youth I offended thee (O Lord) most grievously in pride, wrath, and gluttony, in covetousnesse, and in lechery. Many men have I hurt in mine anger, and done many other horrible sins, god Lord I ask thee mercy. And therewith weepingly he stood up againe and said with a mighty voice. Lo, god people, loe; for the breaking of Gods law and his great commandments, they never yet cursed me. But for their own lawes and traditions most cruelly doe they handle both me and other men. And therefore, both they and their lawes, by the promise of God shall utterly be destroyed.

At this the archbishop and his company were not a little blemished. Notwithstanding, hee tocke stomacke unto him againe after certaine words had, in excuse of their tyrannie, and examined the L. Cobham of his Christian beliefe.

Whereunto the L. Cobham made this godly answer, I believe (saith he) fully and faithfully in the universall lawes of God. I believe that all is true which is contained in the holy sacred Scriptures of the Bible. Finally I believe all that my Lord God would I should believe. Then demanded the archbishop an answer of that bill which he and the clergie had sent him into the Tower the day afore, in manner of a determination of the church concerning the foure articles whereof hee was accused, specially for the sacrament of the altar, how hee believed therein.

Whereunto the L. Cobham said, that with that will he had nothing to doe. But this was his beliefe (he said) concerning the sacrament. That his Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, sitting at his last supper with his most deare disciples, the night before he should suffer toke bread in his hand; And giving thanks to his eternall father, blessed it, brake it, and sogabe it unto them saying; Take it unto you, and eate thereof all, this is my body which shall be betrayed for you: Do this hereafter in my remembrance. This do I thoroughly believe (saith he) for this faith am I taught in the Gospell of Matthew, in Marke, and in Luke, and also in the first Epistle of S. Paul to the Corinthians chap. 11.

Then asked the archbishop, if he believed that it were bread after the consecration or sacramentall words spoken over it.

The L. Cobham said: I believe that in the sacrament of the altar is Christs very body in forme of bread, the same that was borne of the virgin Mary, done on the crosse, dead, and buried, and that the third day arose from death to life, which now is glorified in heaven.

Then said one of the doctors of the law: After the sacramentall words be uttered, there remaineth no bread, but only the body of Christ.

The L. Cobham said then to one master John Whitehead: You said once unto me in the castle of Colwilling, that the sacred host was not Christs body. But I held then against you, and proved that therein was his body, though the seculars and friers could not therein agree, but held each one against the other in that opinion. These were my words then, if yee remember it.

Then shouted a sort of them together and cryed with great noise: Wee say all, that it is Gods body.

And others of them asked him in great anger, whether it were materiall bread after the consecration or not?

Then looked the L. Cobham earnestly upon the archbishop, and said; I believe sorely that it is Christs body in form of bread. Sir believe not you thus?

And the archbishop said, yee may do I.

Then asked him the doctors, whether it were only Christs body after the consecration of a priest, and no bread, or not?

And he said unto them, it is both Christs body and bread; I shall prove it thus: For like as Christs dwelling here upon the earth had in him both Godhead and manhood, and had the invisible Godhead covered under that manhood, which was only visible and seene in him: So in the sacrament of the altar is Christs very body and bread also, as I believe the bread is the thing that we see with our eyes, the body of Christ (which is his flesh and his blood) is therein under hid, and not seene but in faith.

And moreover to prove that it is both Christs body and also bread after the consecration, it is by plain words expressed by one of your own doctors writing against Outpyches, which saith: Like as the self same sacraments doe passe by the operation of the holy Ghost into a divine nature, and yet notwithstanding keep the property still of their former nature; so that principall mystery declareth to remain one true, and perfect Christ, &c.

Then smiled they each one upon other, that the people should indge him taken in a great heresie. And with a great brag divers of them said: It is a foule heresie.

Then asked the archbishop what bread it was? And the doctors also inquired of him whether it were materiall or not?

The L. Cobham said unto them: The scriptures make no mention of this word materiall, and therefore my faith hath nothing to do therewith. Yet this I say and believe, that it is Christs body and bread, For Christ said in the first of Johns Gospell, Ego sum panis vivus, qui de celo descendi: I which came downe from heaven am the living and not the dead bread. Therefore I say now againe as I said afore, as our Lord Jesus Christ is very God, and very man, so in the most blessed sacrament of the altar is Christs very body and bread.

Then said they all with one voice: It is an heresie, One of the bishops stood up by and by, and said: What? it is an heresie manifest, to say that it is bread after the sacramentall words be once spoken but Christs body only.

The lord Cobham said S. Paul the Apostle was (I am sure) as wise as you be now, and more godly learned and he called it bread, writing to the Corinthians. The bread that we breake, saith he, is it not the partaking of the body of Christ? Lo he called it bread and not Christs body, but a meane wherby we receive Christs body.

Then said they againe, Paul must bee otherwise understood. For it is sure an heresie to say that it is bread after the consecration, but only Christs body.

The L. Cobham asked, how they could make good that sentence of theirs?

They answered him thus: For it is against the determination of holy church.

Then said the archbishop unto him: Sir John, we sent you a writing concerning the faith of this blessed sacrament, clearly determined by the church of Rome our mother, and by the holy doctrs.

Then he said againe unto him, I know none holier than is Christ and his Apostles. And as for that determination, I wote it is none of theirs: for it standeth not with the scriptures, but manifestly against them. If it be the Churches, as ye say it is, it hath beene hers only since shee received the great poison of worldly possessions, and not afore.

Then asked they him, to stop his mouth therewith: If he believed not in the determination of the church?

And he said unto them: No forsooth, for it is no God. In all our crede, this word (is) but thrice mentioned concerning beliefe: In God the Father, in God the Son, in God the holy Ghost, three persons and one God. The birth, the death, the buriall, the resurrection and ascension of Christ, saith none (in) for beliefe, but in him. Neither yet hath the Church, the sacraments, the forgiveness of sinne,

The sacrament  
of the altar  
is bread  
and also  
Christs body  
in form of  
bread.

Gelasius con-  
tra Lurychen.

The popes de-  
vinitie.

Patell.

Ioha 6.

An heresie af-  
ter the popes  
making.

1 Cor. 10.

The sacrament  
is called bread.

The determin-  
ation of the  
Church must  
stand, whatsoe-  
ver Paul saith.  
A most childi-  
sh and weak.  
The judgement  
of the L. Cob-  
ham concern-  
ing the deter-  
mination of the  
Church.

The doctors  
confounded in  
their owne  
question.

the



the latter resurrection, nor yet the life everlasting, nor any other (in) than in the holy Ghost.

Then said one of the Lawyers, Tush, that was but a word of office. But what is your beliefe concerning holy Church?

The L. Cobham answered: My beliefe is (as I said afore) that all the scriptures of the sacred Bible are true. All that is grounded upon them I believe thoroughly. For I know, it is Gods pleasure that I should so doe. But in your lordly lawes and idle determinations have I no beliefe. For ye be no part of Christs holy Church, as your open deeds do shew: But ye are very antichrists, obstinately set against his holy law and will. The lawes that ye have made are nothing to his glory, but only for your vain glory and abominable covetousnesse.

This, they said, was an exceeding heresie (and that in a great fame) not to believe the determination of holy Church.

Then the Archbishop asked him, what he thought of holy Church.

He said unto him, my beliefe is, that the holy church is the member of them which shall be saved, of whom Christ is the head. Of this church one part is in heaven with Christ, another in purgatory (you say) and the third is here in earth. This latter part standeth in three degrees, in knighthood, priesthood, and the commonallite, as I said afore plainly in the confession of my beliefe.

Then said the archbishop unto him: Can you tell me who is of the church?

The L. Cobham answered: Yea truly can I.

Then said doctor Walden the prior of the Carmelites; It is doubt unto you who is thereof. For Christ saith in Matthew, Nolite judicare, presume to iudge no man. If ye be here forbidden the iudgement of your neighbour or brother, much more the iudgement of your superiour.

The L. Cobham made him this answer, Christ saith also in the selfe same chapter of Matthew, that like as the evill tree is knowne by his fruit, so is a false prophet by his wordes, appeare they never so glorious: But that ye be left behinde ye. And in John he hath this text: Operibus credite, believe you the outward doings. And in another place of John: Iustum iudicium iudicate; when we know the thing to be true, we may so iudge it, and not offend. For David said also; Recte iudicate filii hominum; Iudge rightly alwaies ye children of men. And as for your superiority, were ye of Christ, ye should be meek ministers, and no proud superiours.

Then said Doctor Walden unto him, We make here no difference of iudgements: Ye put no difference between the evill iudgements which Christ hath forbidden, and the good iudgements, which hee hath commanded us to have. If his iudgement and right iudgement, all is one with you. So swift iudges alwaies are the learned schollars of Wickliffe.

Unto whom the L. Cobham thus answered: It is well sophistred of you forsooth. Preposterous are your iudgements evermore. For as the Prophet Esay saith, We iudge evill god and good evill: and therefore the same Prophet concludeth, that your wayes are not Gods wayes, nor Gods wayes your wayes. And as for the vertuous man Wickliffe, whose iudgements ye so highly disdain, I shall say here of my part, both before God and man, that before I knew that despised doctrine of his, I never abstained from sin. But since I learned therein to feare my Lord God, it hath otherwise I trust been with me: so much grace could I never finde in all your glorious instructions.

Then said Doctor Walden againe yet unto him: It were not well with me (so many vertuous men living, and so many learned men teaching the scripture, being also so open, and the examples of fathers so plenteous) if I then had no grace to amend my life, till I heard the devill preach. S. Hierome saith,

that he which seeketh such suspected matters shall not find the midday light, but the midday dibell.

The L. Cobham said; Your fathers the old pharisees, ascribed Christs miracles to Belzebub, and his doctrine to the dibell. And you as their naturall children have still the selfe same iudgement concerning his faithfull followers. They that rebuke your vicious living must needs be heretikes, and that must your doctors probe, when you have no scripture to doe it. Then said he to them all; to iudge you as you be we need goe no further than to your owne proper ads. Where do you find in all Gods law, that wee should thus sit in iudgement of any Christian man, or yet give sentence upon any other man unto death, as ye do here daily? No ground have ye in all the scripture so lordly to take it upon you, but in Annas and Caiphas, which sat thus upon Christ, and upon his Apostles after his ascension. Of them only have ye taken it to iudge Christs members as ye do, and neither of Peter nor John.

Then said some of the Lawyers: Yes forsooth sir, for Christ iudged Judas.

The L. Cobham said: No, Christ iudged him not, but he iudged himself, and thereupon went forth and so did hang himselfe. But indeede Christ said, Woe unto him, for that covetous act of his, as hee doth yet still unto many of you. For since the bename of him was shed into the Church, ye never followed Christ, neither yet have ye stood in the perfection of Gods law.

Then the archbishop asked him, what he meant by that bename?

The L. Cobham said: Your possessions and lordships, for then cryed an angell in the aire (as your owne Chronicles mention) Woe, woe, woe, this day is denime shed into the Church of God. Before that time all the Bishops of Rome were martyrs in a manner. And since that time we read of very few. But indeede since that saune time, one hath put doun another, one hath poisoned another, one hath cursed another, and one hath slaine another, and done much more mischief besides, as all the Chronicles tel. And let all men consider well this, that Christ was meek, and mercifull; the pope is proud, and a tyrant. Christ was poore and forgaue, the pope is rich and a malicious manslayer, as his daily ads do prove him. Rome is the very nest of Antichrist, and out of that nest come all the disciples of him. Of whom, Pilates, Priests and Pontkes, are the body, these wild friers are the taile, which coveureth his most filthy part.

Then said the Prior of the friers Augustines, Alack sir, why doe you say so? that is uncharitably spoken.

And the L. Cobham said: Not only is it my saying, but also the Prophet Cayas, long afore my time. The Prophet, saith he, which preacheth lies, is the taile behind. For as you friers and Pontkes be (like Pharisees) divided in your outward apparell and vilages, so make ye division among the people. And thus you with such other, are the very naturall members of Antichrist.

Then said he unto them all: Christ saith in his Gospel, Woe unto you Scribes and Pharisees, Hypocrites; for ye close up the kingdome of heaven before men, neither enter ye in your selves, nor yet suffer any other that would enter into it, but ye stop up the waies thereunto with your owne traditions, and therefore are ye the bouthold of Antichrist; ye will not permit Gods veritie to have passage, nor yet to be taught of his true ministers, fearing to have your wickednesse reproved. But by such flatterers as uphold you in your mischieses, wee suffer the common people most miserably to be seduced.

Then said the Archbishop: By our Lady sir, there shall none such preach within my diocese (and God will,) nor yet in my iurisdiction (if I may know it) as either make division, or yet dissention among the poore commons.

{ KING }  
{ HEN. 5. }

Hieron, in  
breviar, in  
minori.  
Luke 11.  
John 10.  
Doctors, when  
the scripture  
saith, they be-  
gin to raile.

The clergy to  
sit on life or  
death, hath no  
ground in the  
scriptures.  
Followers of  
Caiphas.

26. Bishops of  
Rome together  
Harrys, have  
only 14.  
A compassion  
betweene the  
Harrys and  
the popes time.  
A comparison  
betweene Christ  
and the pope.  
Rome is Anti-  
christ's nest.

Esay 9.  
Friers probed  
traitors, and  
yet found no  
traitors.

Mat. 23.

The Religion  
of Bishops.

Note I pray  
you how those  
are counted  
traitors and se-  
ditionous, that  
teach or cause  
Gods truth to  
be taught.  
Luke 23.

The lord Cob-  
ham believeth  
not in the pope.

An heresie af-  
ter the papists.

Holy church  
defined.

Consider him  
to be then in  
his own hand-  
ling.

Walden contra  
Wiclevi-  
stas li. ar. 2.  
cap. 67.  
How we may  
iudge or not  
iudge by the  
Scriptures.  
Mat. 7.

John 1.  
John 7.  
Deut. 16.  
Psal. 56.

Difference of  
iudgements.

A perfit an-  
swer.  
Esay 5.  
Esay 55.

Walden in  
prefatione  
doctrine 7.

A great adver-  
sary.



SKING  
HEN. 5.  
John 19.  
Prophecy.

The L. Cobham said, both Christ and his Apostles were accused of sedition making, yet were they most peaceable men. But Daniel and Christ prophesied that such a troublous time should come, as hath not been yet since the worlds beginning. And this prophecy is partly fulfilled in your dayes and things; for many have ye latine already, and more will ye flap hereafter, if God fulfill not his promise. Christ saith also, If those dayes of yours were not shortned, scarcely should any flesh bee saved; therefore look for it iustly, for God will shorten your dayes. Dozeober, though priests and deacons for preaching of Gods word, and for ministring the sacraments, with provision for the poore, be grounded on Gods law, yet have these other leas no manner of ground hereof, so far as I have read.

Mat. 24.  
Prophecy.  
Jacks. 4.  
Dragons.

Mark this  
working of  
Satan.

Acts 6.

The first article.

Transubstantiation of bread into the body.

The L. Cobham's believe in the sacrament.

The second article.

Confession of sins to God only.  
Malach. 2.

The third article.

Then a doctor of law, called master John Kemp, plucked out of his bosome a copie of the bill which they had afore sent him into the tower by the archbishops counsell, thinking thereby to make shorter work with him. For they were so amazed with his answers (not all unlike to them which disputed with Stephen) that they knew not well how to occupie the time, their wits and sophistry (as God would) so failed them that day.

My L. Cobham (saith this Doct.) we must briefly know your mind concerning these foure points here following. The first of them is this; and then he read upon the bill. The faith and determination of holy Church touching the blessed sacrament of the altar is this; That after the sacramentall words bee once spoken of a priest in his masse, the materall bread, that was before bread, is turned into Christs very body, & the materall wine is turned into Christs blood. And so there remaineth in the sacrament of the altar from thenceforth no materall bread nor materall wine, which were there before the sacramentall words were spoken: sir believe you not this?

The L. Cobham said, This is not my believe. But my faith is (as I said to yee afore) that in the worshipful sacrament of the altar is Christs very body in forme of bread.

Then said the Archbishop, sir John ye must say o' therwise.

The L. Cobham said, Nay, that I will not, if God be upon my side (as I trust he is) but that there is Christs body in forme of bread, as the common believe is.

Then read the doctor againe.

The 2. point is this; holy church hath determined, that every Christian man, living here bodily upon earth, ought to be shryven of a priest ordained by the church, if he may come to him. Sir what say you to this?

The L. Cobham answered and said, A diseased or sore wounded man hath neede to have a sure wise Chirurgion and a true, knowing both the ground and the danger of the same. Most necessarie were it therefore to be first shryven unto God, which only knoweth our diseases, and can helpe us. I deny not in this the going to a priest, if he be a man of good life and learning; for the lawes of God are to bee required of the priest, which is godly learned. But if he be an idiot, or a man of vicious living that is my curate, I ought rather to fly from him than to seeke unto him; for sooner might I catch evil of him that is naught, than any goodnesse towards my soules health.

Then reade the doctor againe.

The third point is this; Christ ordained S. Peter the Apostle to be his vicar here in earth, whose See is the Church of Rome. And hee granted that the same power which he gave unto Peter should succeed unto all Peters successors, which we call now popes of Rome. By whose speciall power in Churches particular be ordained prelates and archbishops, parsons, curates, and other degrees more, to whom Christian men ought to obey after the lawes of the

church of Rome. This is the determination of holy Church. Sir believe ye not this?

To this he answered and said, He that followeth Peter most nighly in pure living, is next unto him in succession. But your Lordly order esteemeth not greatly the lowly behaviour of poore Peter whatsoever ye prize of him. Neither care ye greatly for the humble manner of them that succeeded him, till the time of Silvester, which for the more part were martyrs, as I told you before. Ye can let all their good conditions goe by you, and not hurt your selves with them at all. All the world knoweth this well enough by you, and yet yee can make boast of Peter.

With that, one of the other doctors asked him; Then what do ye say of the pope?

The L. Cobham answered; As I said before, so I say againe; that he and you together make whole the great Antichrist. Of whom he is the great head, you bishops, priests, prelates, and monks, are the body, and the begging friars are the taile, for they cover the filthinesse of you both with their subtill sophistry; neither will I in conscience obey any of you all, till I see you with Peter follow Christ in conversation.

Then read the Doctor againe.

The fourth point is this; Holy church hath determined, that it is meritorious to a Christian man, to goe on pilgrimage to holy places, and there specially to worship the holy reliques and images of saints, Apostles, martyrs, confessors, and all other Saints bestobes, appoybed by the church of Rome. Sir what say you to this?

Whereunto he answered, I owe them no service by any commandment of God, and therefore I minde not to seeke them for your cobetousnesse. It were best ye swept them faire from Cobwebs and dust, and so laid them up for catching of scathe, or els to bury them faire in the ground as ye doe other aged people which are Gods images.

It is a wonderfull thing, that saints now being dead should become so cobetous and needy, and thereby upon so bitterly beg, which all their life time hated all cobetousnesse and begging. But this I say unto you, and I would all the world should mark it, that with your shrynes and Idols, your fained absoluti- ons and pardons, ye drain unto you the substance, wealth and chiefe pleasures of al Christian realms. Why sir (said one of the clerks) will ye not worship good Images?

What worship should I give unto them? said the L. Cobham.

Then said frier Palmer unto him, sir, will ye worship the crosse of Christ, that he died upon?

Where is it said the L. Cobham.

The frier said, I put you the case sir, that it were here even now before you.

The L. Cobham answered. This is a great wise man, to put me an earnest question of a thing, and yet he himselfe knoweth not where the thing it self is. Yet once againe I aske you, what worship I should doe unto it.

A clerke said to him, such worship as Paul speaketh of, and that is this; God forbid that I should ioy, but only in the crosse of Jesus Christ.

Then said the L. Cobham, and spread his arms abroad; This is the very crosse, yea, and so much better than your crosse of Wood, in that it was created of God, yet will not I seek to have it worshipped.

Then said the bishop of London, Sir ye wot well that he died on a materall crosse.

The Lord Cobham said; yea, and I wot also, that our salvation came not in by that materall crosse, but alone by him which died thereupon. And well I wot, that holy saint Paul rejoyced in none other crosse, but in Christs passion and death only, and in his owne sufferings of like persecution

Who's next  
unto Peter.

Succession, not  
of place but of  
condition, maketh  
Peter's  
heir.

Antichrist's  
head, body, and  
taile.

The fourth article.  
Pilgrimage.

What is to be  
done with images.

Saints are become  
now cobetous beg-  
gers.

A whelp of the  
same halce.  
Images not to  
be worshipped.

The crosse,  
whether it is to  
be worshipped.  
Galat. 6.

The materall  
crosse is not  
materall to  
our faith.  
What it is to  
rejoice in the  
crosse of Christ



with him, for the selfe same verity that he hath suffered for afoze.

Another clerke yet asked him, Will ye then see none honour to the holy Crosse?

He answered him, Yes, if it were mine owne, I would lay him up honestly, and see unto him that he should take no more scath abroad, nor be robbed of his goods, as he is now adaise.

Then said the archbishop unto him, Sir John, ye have spoken here many wonderfull words to the slanderous rebuke of the whole spiritualitie, giving a great evill example unto the common sort here, to have us in the more disdaine. Much time have we spent here about you, and all in vaine so far as I can see. Well we must now be at this short point with you, for the day passeth away: Ye must either submit your selfe to the ordinance of holy Church, or else throw your selfe (no remedy) into most deepe danger. See to it in time, for anon it will be else too late.

The L. Cobham said, I know not to what purpose I should otherwise submit me. Much more have you offended me, then ever I offended you, in this troubling me before this multitude.

Then said the archbishop againe unto him, We once again require you to remember your self well, and to have none other manner of opinion in these matters, then the universall faith and reliefe of the holy Church of Rome is. And so like an obedient child return again to the wombe of your mother. See to it I say in time, for yet ye may have remedie, whereas anon it will be too late.

The L. Cobham said expressly before them all; I will none otherwise believe in these points then that I have told you here afoze. Do with me what you will.

Finally, then the archbishop said; Well, then I see none other but we must needs doe the law; we must proceed forth to the sentence definitive, and both iudge you, and condemne you for an heretike.

And with that the Archbishop stood up, and reade there a bill of his condemnation, all the clergie and laity bailing their bonets. And this was as the tenor thereof.

### ¶ The definitive sentence of his condemnation.

IN the name of God; So bee it, Wee Thomas by the sufferance of God, Archbishop of Canterburie, Metropolitane and Primate of all England, and Legate from the Apostolike See of Rome, will this to bee knowne unto all men. In a certaine cause of heresie and upon divers articles, whereupon Sir John Oldcastle knight, and Lord Cobham, after a diligent inquisition made for the same, was detected, accused, and presented before us in our last convocation of all our province of Canterbury, holden in the Cathedrall Church of Pauls at London, At the lawfull denouncement and request of our universall clergie of the said convocation, wee proceeded against him according to the law (God to witnesse) with all the favour possible. And following Christs example in all that we might, which willett not the death of a sinner, but rather that hee might be converted and live; wee tooke upon us to correct him, and sought all other wayes possible to bring him againe to the Churches unitie, declaring unto him what the holy and Unversall Church of Rome hath said, holden, determined, and taught in that behalfe. And though we found him in the Catholike faith farre wide, and so stiffnecked, that he would not confesse his error, nor purge himselfe, nor yet repent him thereof; Wee yet pitying him of fatherly compassion, and entirely desiring the health of his soule, appointed him a competent time of deliberation, to see if he would repent and seeke to bee reformed:

med: but since that time wee have found him worse and worse. Considering therefore, that hee is not corrigible, we are driven to the very extremitie of the law, and with great heavinesse of heart wee now proceed to the publication of the sentence definitive, against him.

¶ Then brought he forth another bill, containing the said sentence, and that he read also in his beggerly Latine. Christi nomine invocato, ipsumque solum prae oculis habentes. Quia per acta inactitata, and so forth. Which I have also translated into English that men may understand it.

¶ Christ wee take unto witnesse, that nothing else wee seeke in this our whole enterprise, but his only glory. Forasmuch as wee have found by divers acts done, brought forth and exhibited, by sundry evidences, signes and tokens, and also by many most manifest proofes, the said sir John Oldcastle knight, and Lord Cobham, not only to be an evident heretike

in his owne person, but also a mighty maintainer of other heretikes against the faith and religion of the holy and universall Church of Rome; namely about the two Sacraments (of the altar, and of penance) besides the Popes power and pilgrimages; And that he, as the childe of iniquitie and darknesse, hath so hardened his heart, that hee will in no case attend unto the voice of his pastor; Neither will hee bee allured by straight admonishments, nor yet bee brought in by favourable words: The worthinesse of the cause

first waighed on the one side, and his unworthinesse aggravated or made double through his damnable obstinacy (we being loth that he which is naught should be worse, and so with his contagiousnesse infect the multitude) by the sage counsell and assent of the very discreet fathers, our honourable brethren and Lords, Bishops here present, Richard of London, Henry of Winchester, and Bennet of Bangor, and of other great learned and wise men here, both Doctors

of Divinitie, and of the lawes canon and civill, seculars and religious, with divers other expert men assisting us: wee sententially and definitively by this present writing judge, declare and condemne the said sir John Oldcastle, Knight, and Lord Cobham, for a most pernicious and detestable heretike, convicted upon the same, and refusing utterly to obey the Church againe, committing him here from henceforth as a condemned heretike, to the secular jurisdiction, power, and judgement, to doe him thereupon to death. Furthermore, we excommunicate and denounce accursed, not only

this heretike here present, but so many else besides, as shall hereafter in favour of his error either receive him or defend him, counsell him or helpe him, or any other way maintaine him; as very fautors, receivers, defenders, counsellors, aiders and maintainers of condemned heretikes.

And that these premisses may bee the better knowne of all faithfull Christian men, wee commit it here unto your charges, and give you straight commandement thereupon by this writing also; That yee cause this condemnation and definitive sentence of excommunication concerning both this heretike and his fautors, to bee published throughout all Diocesses, in Cities, Townes, and Villages by your Curates and parish Priests, at such times as they shall have most recourse of people. And see that it bee done after this sort: As the people are thus gathered devoutly together, let the Curate every where goe into the Pulpit, and there open, declare, and expound this excesse in the mother tongue, in an audible and intelligible voice, that it may bee perceived of all men: and that upon the feare of this declaration also the people may fall from their evill opinions conceived now of late by seditious preachers. Moreover wee will, that after wee have delivered unto each one of you Bishops, which are here present, a copie hereof, that yee cause the same to bee written out againe into divers copies and to bee sent

SKING  
HEN. 5.

Ex magno  
processu  
The  
mz Arunde

That Chur  
is an whore.

A true sheepe  
heareth the  
voice of a true  
pastor.

A colour of de  
ceit.

As Caiaphas  
old Chas.

Christ is con  
demned in his  
faithfull mem  
bers.

How spiritual  
these feeders  
are.

Keep the sepul  
chre never so  
much, yet  
Christ will rise

Standered  
with the truth  
These men  
seeme to stand  
only upon their  
estimation a-  
mongst the  
people.

A wellish offer  
of gentleness.

Bloodie mur-  
ders.

Suffered of  
God as a  
Plague.

An heretike for  
confessors of  
Christ.

Ezech. 18.  
Ezech. 35.

The wolfe  
would appeare  
charitable.

See if they  
shew not them-  
selves.



{KING}  
HEN. 8.  
same office left  
undone pertain-  
ing to Anti-  
christ.  
which care is  
hereto holden by  
their popery.

sent unto the other bishops and prelates, of our whole province, that they may also see the contents thereof solemnly published within their Diocesses and Cures. Finally, we will that both you and they signifie againe unto us seriously and distinctly by your writings as the matter is, without fained colour, in every point performed; the day whercon ye received this proces, the time when it was of us executed, and after what sort it was done in every condition, according to the tenor hereof, that we may know it to be justly the same.

Tho. Walden  
in fasciculo  
Zizaniorum  
Wiclevi.

A copy of this writing sent Thomas Arundel the archb. of Canterbury afterward from Maidston the tenth day of October, within the same yeare of our Lord, 1413. unto Richard Clifford the B. of London, which thus beginneth, Thomas permissione divina, &c.

Richard Clif-  
ford.

The said Richard Clifford sent another copy thereof inclosed within his owne letters, unto Robert Paschall a Carmelite Frier, which was then bishop of Hereford in Wales, written from Hadham, the 23. of October in the same yeare, the beginning whereof is as followeth, Reverende in Christo pater, &c.

Robert Pas-  
chall.

This Robert Paschall directed another Copie thereof from London the seven and twentieth day of November in the same yeare, inclosed in his own Commission also, unto his Archdeacon and deanes in Hereford and Shrewsbury. And this is thereof the beginning, Venerabilibus & discretis viris, &c. In like manner did the other bishops within their Diocesse.

Ex utroque  
exemplari.

After that the Archbishop had thus read the bill of his condemnation, with most extremitie before the whole multitude; the L. Cobham said with a most cherefull countenance: Though ye indge my body which is but a wretched thing, yet am I certaine and sure, that ye can do no harme to my soule, no more than could Satan unto the soule of Job. He that created that, will of his infinite mercy and promise save it. I have therein no manner of doubt. And as concerning these articles before rehearsed, I will stand to them even to the very death, by the grace of my eternal God.

Mat. 10.  
lob 1.

And therewith hee turned him unto the people, casting his hands abroad, and saying with a very loude voice: Good Christian people, for Gods love be well ware of these men, for they will else beguile you, and lead you blindfold into hell with themselves. For Christ saith plainly unto you; if one blind man leadeth another, they are like both to fall into the ditch.

Mat. 10.

After this, he fell downe there upon his knees, and thus before them all prayed for his enemies, holding up both his hands and his eyes towards heaven, and saying, Lord God eternall, I beseech thee of thy great mercy save to forgive my pursuers, if it be thy blessed will. And then he was delivered to Sir Robert Hooley, and so led forth againe unto the tower of London; and thus there was an end of that dayes work.

De prayeris for  
no enemies.

While the Lord Cobham was thus in the tower, he sent out privily unto his friends: And they at his request wrote this little bill here following, causing it to be set up in divers quarters of London, that the people should not believe the slanders and lies that his enemies the bishops servants and priests had made on him abroad: And thus was the Letter.

Ex vetusto  
exemplari  
condensu.

As much as sir John Oldcastle knight, and L. Cobham, is truly convicted and imprisoned, falsely reported and slandered among the common people by his adversaries, that he should both other- wise thinke and speake of the sacraments of the church and specially of the blessed sacrament of the altar, then was written in the confession of his be-

I testimoniall  
made by his  
friends.

liefe; which was intended and taken to the clergie, and so set up in divers open places of the cite of London: knowe he it here to all the world, that he never since varied in any point thereof, but this is plainly his beliefe, that all the sacraments of the Church be profitable and expedient also to all them that shall be saved, taking them after the intent that Christ and his true Church hath ordained. Furthermore he believeth, that the blessed Sacrament of the altar is verily and truly Christs bodie in form of Bread.

To stopp  
lip.  
A cherchell of  
the clergie.  
In some of  
them, but not  
in their bread  
he meaneth.

After this, the bishops and priests were in great discredit both with the nobilitie and commons, partly for that they had so cruelly handled the god L. Cobham; and partly againe, because his opinion (as they thought at that time) was perfect concerning the sacrament. The prelates feared this to grow to further inconvenience towards them both waies, wherefore they drew their heads together, and at the last consented to use another practice somewhat contrary to that they had done afore. They caused it by and to be blowne abroad by their freed servants, friends, and babling sir Johns, that the said L. Cobham was become a god man, and had tolooly submitted himself in all things unto holy church, utterly changing his opinion concerning the sacrament. And thereupon, they counterfeited an abjuration in his name, that the people should take no hold of his opinion by any thing they had heard of him before, and so to stand the more in awe of them, considering him so great a man, and by them subdued.

The clergie in  
hate of the peo-  
ple.

A practice of  
all prelates.

These are  
their common  
seats.

This is the abjuration, say they, of sir John Oldcastle knight, sometime the Lord Cobham.

An Abjuration counterfeited of the Bishops.

IN Dei nomine, Amen. I John Oldcastle denounced, detected and convicted of and upon divers articles labouring both of heresie and error, before the reverend father in Christ and my god Lord, Thomas by the permission of God, L. archb. of Canterbury, and my lawfull and rightfull indge in that behalf, expressly grant and confesse, that as concerning the estate and power of the most holy father the pope of Rome, of his archbishops, his bishops, and his other prelates, the degrees of the church, and the holy sacraments of the same, specially of the sacraments of the altar, of penance, and other observances besides of our mother holy church, as pilgrimages and pardons; I affirme (I say) before the said reverend father archbishop and elsewhere, that I being evill seduced by divers seditious preachers, have grievously erred, and heretically perished, blasphemously answered, and obstinately rebelled. And therefore I am by the said reverend father, before the reverend fathers in Christ also, the bishops of London, Winchester, and Bangor, lawfully condemned for an heretike.

Walden in  
fasciculo zi-  
zaniorum  
Wiclevi.

Marke from  
whence this  
gare cometh.

Fine work-  
manship of  
crow.

Reverthelesse, yet I now remembre my selfe and cōbeting by this meane to avoid that temporall paine which I am worthy to suffer as an heretike, at the assignation of my most excellent Christian Prince and leige Lord, king Henry the fifth, now by the Grace of God most worthy king both of England and of France; minding also to preferre the wholesome determination, sentence, and Doctrine of the holy universall Church of Rome, before the unwholesome opinions of my selfe, my teachers, and my followers, I freely, willingly, deliberately, and thoroughly confesse, grant, and affirme, that the most holy fathers in Christ, Saint Peter the apostle, and his successors Bishops of Rome, specially now at this time, my most blessed Lord Pope John, by the permission of God, the three and twentieth Pope of that name, which now holdeth Peters seate (and each of them in their succession) hath full strength and power to see Christs Vicar in earth, and the Head of the Church

Alas good  
man thou art  
slandered.



Church militant. And y by the strength of his office (what though he be a great sinner, and aforesknowne of God to be damned:) he hath full authoritie and power to rule and governe, bind and lose, save and destroy, accurse and asloyle all other Christian men.

And agreeably still unto this I confesse, grant, and affirme all other Archbishops, bishops, and Prelates in their provinces, diocesse, and parishes (appointed by the said Pope of Rome to assist him in his doings or business) by his decrees, canons, or vertue of his office, to have had in times past, to have now at this time, and that they ought to have in time to come, authority and power to rule and governe, bind and lose, accurse and asloyle the subjects or people of their foresaid provinces, dioceses, and parishes, and that their said subjects or people ought of right in all things to obey them. Furthermore, I confesse, grant, and affirm, that he said spirituall fathers, as our most holy father the pope, archbishops, bishops, and prelates, have had, have now, and ought to have hereafter, authority and power for the state, order and governance of their subjects or people, to make lawes, decrees, statutes, and constitutions, yea, and to publish, command, and compell their said subjects and people to the obserbation of them.

Moreover, I confesse, grant, and affirme, that all these foresaid lawes, decrees, statutes, and constitutions made, published, & commanded, according to the form or spirituall law, all Christian people, and every man in himself is straightly bound to obserbe, and meekly to obey, according to the diversitie of the foresaid powers, as the lawes, statutes, canons and constitutions of our most holy father the pope, incorporated in his decrees, decretals, Clementines, Codes, Charts, rescripts, fertiles, and extrabagants ober all the world; and as the provinciall statutes of Archbishops in their provinces, the synodall acts of bishops in their dioceses, and the commendable rules and customs of prelates in their colledges, and curates in their parishes, all Christian people are both bound to obserbe, and also most meekly to obey. Over and besides all this, I John Oldcastle utterly forsaking and renouncing all the foresaid errors and heresies, and all other errors and heresies like unto them, lay my hand here upon this booke or holy Evangelie of God, and sweare, that I shall never more from henceforth hold these aforesaid heresies, nor yet any other like unto them wittingly. Neither shall I give counsell, aid, helpe, or favour at any time, to them that shall hold, teach, affirme and maintain the same as God shall help me, & these holy Changelists.

And that I shall from henceforth faithfully obey and intolably obserbe all the holy lawes, statutes, canons, and constitutions of all the popes of Rome archbishops, bishops, and prelates, which are contained and determined in their holy Decrees, Decretals, Clementines, Codes, Charts, Rescripts, Seriftles, summs payall, Extrabagants, statutes provinciall, acts synodall, and other ordinarie regules and customs constituted by them; or that shall chance hereafter directly to be determined or made. To these and all such other will I my selfe with all power possible apply. Besides all this, the penance which it shall please my said reverend father the lord archbishop of Canterbury hereafter to enioyne me for my sins, I will meekly obey and faithfully fulfill. Finally, all my seducers and false teachers, and all other besides, whom I shall hereafter know suspected of heresie or errors, I shall effectually present, find or cause to be presented unto my said reverend father Lord Archbishop, or to them which have his authority, so soon as I can conveniently do it, and see that they be corrected to my uttermost power.

This abjuration never came to the hands of the L. Cobham, neither was it compiled of them

for that purpose, but only therewith to blear the eyes of the unlearned multitude for a time. After the which like fetch and subtilie practice was also devised the recantation of the archbishop Ham. Cranmer, to stop for a time, the peoples mouths. Which subtilie in like manner was also practiced, with the false recantation of the bishop Hoper, and divers other, as in their places hereafter (Christ granting) shall be shewed.

And thus much hitherto concerning the first trouble of sir John Oldcastle Lord Cobham, with all the circumstances of the true time, place, occasion, causes, and order belonging to the same, wherein I trust I have sufficiently satisfied all the parties requisite to a faithfull historye without corruption. For the confirmation thereof, to the intent the mind also of the wangling cabiller may be satisfied, and to stop the mouth of the aduersarie (which I see in all places to be ready to bark) I have therefore of purpose annexed with all my ground and foundation, taken out of the Archbishops and registers of the archbishop of Canterbury, Ex Epistola Thom. Arund. ad Rich. Lond. Whereby may appeare the manifest error both of Polydorus, and of Edm. Hall, who, being deceived in the right distinction of the times, assigne this citation and examination of the L. Cobham to be after the Councell of Constance, when as Thomas Arundell archbishop of Canterbury at the Council of Constance was not alive. The Copie and testimonie of his clone Letter shall declare the same, being written and sent to the bishop of London in form as followeth.

The copie of the Epistle of the Archbishop of Canterbury, written to the Bishop of London, whereon dependeth the ground and certainty of this foresaid historie of the L. Cobham above premised.

TO the reverend Father in Christ, and Lord, the L. Robert, by the grace of God bishop of Hereford, Richard by the permission of God, Bishop of London, health and continuall increase of sincere love, Wee have of late received the letters of the reverend Father in Christ and Lord, the L. Thomas by the grace of God Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, and Legat of the apostolike see, to this effect. Thomas by the permission of God, Archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and Legat of the Apostolike see, to our reverend brother the Lord Richard bishop of London, health and brotherly love in the Lord. It was lately concluded before us in the convocation of Prelates and Clergie of our Province of Canterbury last celebrate in our Church of Saint Paul, intreating amongst other things with the said Prelates and Clergie upon the union and reformation of the Church of England, by us and the said Prelates and Clergie; that it was almost impossible to amend the hole of our Lords coate which was without seame, unless first of all certaine Nobles of the Realme, which are authors, favourers, protectors, defenders, and receivers of these heretikes called Lollards, were sharply rebuked, and if need were by the censures of the Church and the helpe of the secular power, they bee revoked from their errors. And afterward having made diligent inquisition in the convocation amongst the protectors of the Clergie and others which were there in number out of every diocesse of our province; it was found out amongst others, that sir John Oldcastle knight, was and is the principall receiver, favourer, protector, and defender of them, and that specially in the Diocesse of London, Rochester and Hereford, he had sent the said Lollards to preach, not being licensed by the ordinaries and bishops of the dioceses or places, contrary to the provinciale constitutions in that behalf made

{ KING }  
{ HEN. 5. }

For confirmation of this history.

Ex archivis & Regist. Thom. Arund. Archi. Cant. Polydorus, Edward Hall deceiver.

A thing thought right necessary that the L. Cobham should be made out of the way, or else not possible for payl-try to flourish

How prove we that by the Scriptures?

No Scripture have they to show.

Intolerable strokes lay, they.

Never made he such an oath. And this maintain they still. The popes holy bible of papists.

Marke this handling.

This charge give they commonly.



{KING  
{HEN. 5.)

and hath bene present at their wicked Sermons ; grievously punishing with threatnings , terrours , and the power of the secular sword , such as did withstand him : alleading and affirming amongst others , that we and our fellow Brethren , Suffragans of our provinces , had not , neither have any power to make any such constitutions . Also he hath holden and doth hold opinion , and teach as touching the sacraments of the Altar , of penance , of pilgrimage , and the worshipping of Saints , and of the keyes , contrary to that which the univerfall Church of Rome doth teach and affirme .

Wherefore , on the behalfe of the said Prelates and Clergie , wee were then required that we would vouchsafe to proceed against the said Sir Iohn Oldcastle upon the premisses . Notwithstanding for the reverence of our Lord the King , in whose favour the said sir Iohn at that present was , and no lesse also for honour of his Knighthood ; wee with our fellow Brethren , and suffragans then present , with a great part of the Clergie of our Province , comming personally before the presence of our Lord the King , being then at his Mannor of Kenington , put up against the said sir Iohn a complaint , partly reciting the faults of the said sir Iohn . But at the request of our Lord the King , we desiring to reduce the said sir Iohn to the unitie of the Church , without any reproch , we deferred all the execution of the premisses for a great time . But at the last , forsomuch as our said Lord the King , and his great travels taken about the conversion of him , did nothing at all profit , as our said Lord the King vouchsafed to certifie us by word and writing ; wee immediately decreed to call forth the said sir Iohn personally to answer before us at a certaine time already passed , in and upon the premisses , and sent our messengers with these our letters of citation to the said sir Iohn , then being at his castle at Cowling . Vnto the which messenger we gave commandment , that he should in no case goe into the Castle , except hee were licensed . But by the meane of one Iohn Butler , porter to the Kings Chamber , hee should require the said sir Iohn , that hee would either license the said Messenger to come into the Castle , or that hee would cite him , or at the least , that hee would suffer himselfe to be cited without his Castle . The which sir Iohn openly answered unto the said Iohn Butler , declaring the premisses unto him on the behalfe of our Lord the King ; that he would by no meanes bee cited , neither in any case suffer his citation . Then wee being certified of the premisses , lawfully proceeded further .

First , having faithfull report made unto us , that hee could not bee apprehended by personall citation , wee decreed to cite him by an Edict , to bee openly set up in the porches of the Cathedrall Church of Rochester next unto him , little more than three English miles distant from the said castle of Cowling . As we had thus caused him to be cited , and our Edict aforesaid to be publicly and openly set upon the porches of the said Church , that hee should personally appeare before us the eleventh day of September last past , to answer unto the premisses and certaine other things concerning heretic : The which day being come , and we sitting in the tribunall seat in our great Chappell within the castle of Leeds of our diocese , the which we then inhabited , and whereas we then kept residence with our court , and having taken an oth , which is requisite in the premisses , and the information by us heard and received , as the common report goeth , in the parts whereas the said sir Iohn dwelleth (fortifying himselfe in his said castle , defending his opinions manifoldly , concerning the keyes of the Church and the Archbishops power ; we therefore caused the said sir Iohn Oldcastle , cited as is aforesaid , to be openly with a loud voice called by the Crier ; and so being called , long looked for , and by no meanes appearing , wee judged him ( as he was no lesse worthy ) obstinate , and for punishing of his said obstinacie we did

then and there excommunicate him . And forasmuch as by the order of the premisses , and other evident tokens of his doings , wee understand that the said Sir Iohn for the defence of his errors doth fortifie himselfe ( as is aforesaid ) against the keyes of the Church , by pretence whereof a vehement suspicion of heretic and schisme riseth against him ; Wee have decreed , if he may bee apprehended , againe personally to cite him , or else , as before , by an Edict , that he should appeare before us the Saturday next after the feast of Saint Matthew the Apostle and Evangelist next coming , to shew some reasonable cause , if he can , why hee should not proceed against him , to a more grievous punishment , as an open heretike , schismaticke , and open enemy of the univerfall Church . And personally to declare why hee should not bee pronounced such an one , or that the aide of the secular power should not be solemnly required against him . And further to answer , doe , and receive as touching the premisses , whatsoever justice shall require . The which time being come , that is to say , the Saturday next after the feast of Saint Matthew , being the twentieth four day of September , Sir Robert Morley Knight , Lieutenant of the Tower of London , appeared personally before us , sitting in the Chapterhouse of the Church of Saint Paul at London , with reverend fellow brethren and lords , Richard by the grace of God Bishop of London , and Henry Bishop of Winchester , and brought with him Sir Iohn Oldcastle Knight , and set him before us ( for a little before hee was taken by the Kings servants , and cast into the Tower : ) unto which Sir Iohn Oldcastle so personally present wee rehearsed all the order of the processe , as it is contained in the acts of the day before passed , with good and modest words and gentle meanes ; That is to say , how he the said sir Iohn was detected and accused in the Convocation of the Prelates and Clergie of our said Province , as is aforesaid , upon the articles before rehearsed , and how hee was cited , and for his contumacie excommunicate . And when wee were come to that point wee offered our selves ready to absolve him . Notwithstanding , the said sir Iohn , not regarding our offer , said , that he would willingly rehearse before us , and my said fellow Brethren , the faith which hee held and affirmed . So he having his desire , and obtaining license , took out of his bosome a certaine schedule indented , and there openly read the contents of the same , and delivered the same schedule unto us , and the schedule of the articles whereupon he was examined , which was in forme following .

### The Catholike faith and confession of the Lord Cobham.

I Iohn Oldcastle knight , lord of Cobham , desire to make manifest unto all Christians , and God to be taken to witnes , that I never thought otherwise , or would think otherwise ( by Gods helpe ) than with a stedfast and undoubted faith to embrace all those his sacraments which he hath instituted for the use of his Church .

Furthermore , that I may the more plainly declare my mind in these 4. points of my faith ; first of all I believe the sacrament of the altar to be the body of Christ under the forme of bread . The very same body which was borne of his mother Mary , crucified for us , dead and buried , rose againe the third day , sitteth on the right hand of his immortall father , now being a triumphant partaker with him of his eternall glory . Then as touching the sacrament of penance , this is my believe , that I doe think the correction of a sinfull life to be most necessarie for all such as desire to be saved , & that they ought to take upon them such repentance of their former life , by true confession , unfeigned contrition , and lawfull satisfaction , as the word of God doth prescribe unto us ; otherwise there will be no hope of salbation .

D q q 3

A thirdly :

The L. Cobham excommunicated.

The L. Cobham cast into the Tower.

The teares of the Crocodile.

Popish absolution neglected.

The sacrament of the altar.

Of penance.

Sir John Oldcastle in favour with the king.

The keyes of the Church falsely wrested.



Of Images.

Thirdly, as touching images, this is my opinion, That I do iudge them no point of faith, but brought into the world after the faith of Christ by the sufferance of the Church, and so gotten in use, that they might serue for a Kalender for the lay people and ignorant; by the beholding whereof they might the better call to remembrance the goodly examples and martyrdome of Christ and other holy men: But if any man doe otherwise abuse this representation, and geve the reverence unto those images, which is due unto the holy men whom they represent, or rather unto him to whom the holy men themselves owe all their honour, setting all their trust and hope in them which ought to be referred unto God: or if they be so affected toward the dumb images, that they be in any behalf adint unto them, either be more adicted unto one saint than another, in my mind they do little differ from idolatry, grievously offending against God the author of all honor.

Of pilgrimages.

Last of all I am thus perswaded, that there be no inhabitants here in earth, but that wee shall passe straight either to life or punishment: for whosoever doth so order his life that he stumbleth at the Commandements of God, which either he knoweth not, or he will not be taught them, it is but in vaine for him to look for salvation, although he can ower all the corners of the world. Contrariwise, he which observeth his commandements cannot perish, although in all his life time he walked no pilgrimage, neither to Rome, Canterbury, nor Compostella, or to any other place, whither the common people are accustomed to walk.

This Schedule, with the articles therein contained, being read (as is aforesaid) by the said sir John, we with our fellow brethren aforesaid, and many other doctors and learned men had conference upon the same, and at the last, by the counsell and consent of them, we spake these words following unto the said sir John there present; Behold sir John, there are many good and Catholike things contained in this schedule. But you have at this time to answer unto other matters which labour of errors and heresies: Whereunto (by the consent of this schedule) it is not fully answered, and therefore you must answer thereunto, and more plainly expresse and declare your faith and opinions as touching those points in the same bill; that is to say, whether you hold, believe, and asseme, that in the sacrament of the altar, after the consecration rightly done, there remaineth materiall bread or not.

Item, whether you hold, believe, and asseme, that it is necessarie in the sacrament of penance for a man to confesse his finnes unto a priest appointed by the Church.

The which articles in this manner delivered unto him, amongst many other things hee answered plainly, that hee would make no other declaration or answer thereunto than was contained in the said schedule. Whereupon wee favouring the said Sir John, with benigne and gentle meanes we spake unto him in this manner; Sir John take heed, for if you doe not plainly answer to these things which are objected against you, within a lawfull time now granted you by the Iudges, we may declare you to be an heretike: but the said sir John perlebered as before, and would make no other answer. Consequently notwithstanding, we together with our said fellow brethren, and others of our counsell, took advice, and by their counsell declared unto the said sir John Oldcastle, that the said holy church of Rome in this matter, following the saying of blessed saint Augustine, Hierome, Ambrose, and other holy men, hath determined, the which determinations every Catholike ought to observe. Whereupon the said sir John answered, that he would believe and observe whatsoever the holy Church determined, and whatsoever God would he should observe and believe. But that he would in no case asseme, that our

Lord the Pope, the Cardinals, Archbishops, and bishops or other prelates of the church, have any power to determine any such matters. Whereunto, we yet favouring him, under hope of better aduancement promised the said sir John, that we would give him in writing certain determinations upon the matter aforesaid, whereunto he should more plainly answer, written in Latine, and for his better understanding translated into English: whereupon wee commanded and heartily desired him, that against Monday next following he should give a plaine and full answer: the which determination we caused to be translated the same day, and to be delivered unto him the Sunday next following. The tenor of which determinations here follow in this manner.

The faith and determination of the holy Church upon the holy sacrament of the altar is this; that after the consecration done in the masse by the priest, the materiall bread shall be changed into the materiall body of Christ, and the materiall wine into the materiall blood of Christ; therefore after the Consecration there remaineth no more any substance of bread and wine, which was there before. What doe you answer to this article?

And the holy mother Church hath determined, that every Christian dwelling upon earth ought to confesse his sins unto a priest ordained by the church if he may come unto him. How thinke you by this article?

Christ ordained saint Peter his Vicar on earth, whose seat is in the Church of Rome, giving and granting the same authoritie, which he gave unto Peter, also to his successors, which are now called Popes of Rome, in whose power it is to ordaine and institute prelates in particular Churches, as Archbishops, Bishops, Curats, and other Ecclesiasticall Orders, unto whom the Christian people owe obedience, according to the tradition of the Church of Rome. This is the determination of the holy Church: what thinke you by this article?

Besides this the holy Church hath determined; That it is necessary for every Christian to goe on pilgrimage to holy places, and there specially to worship the holy reliques of the Apostles, Martyrs, Confessors, and all saints whomsoever the church of Rome hath allotted: what thinke you of this article?

Upon which Monday being the five and twentieth day of the said moneth of September, before us and our fellow brethren aforesaid, having also taken unto us our reverend brother Benedict, by the grace of God, bishop of Bangor, and by our commandment our counsellors and ministers M. Hen. Ware official of our court of Canterbury, Philip Morgan doctor of both lawes, Holwel Kiffin Doctor of the decretals, John Kempe and William Carleton Doctors of law, John Mitnam, Thomas Dainer, Robert Wombewell, John Withe, and Robert Chamberlaine, Richard Dorington, and Tho. Walden, Professors of Divinitie; also James Cole, and John Stevens our Notaries appointed on this behalfe: They all and every one being sworn upon the holy Gospell of God, laying their hands upon the booke, that they should give their faithfull counsell in and upon the matter aforesaid, and in every such cause, and to the whole world: By and by appeared sir Robert Hooley knight, lieutenant of the tower of London, and brought with him the aforesaid sir John Oldcastle, setting him before us. Unto whom we gently and familiarly rehearsed the acts of the day before passed. And as before we told him that he both is and was excommunicate, requiring and entreating him that he would desire and receive in due forme the absolution of the church. Unto whom the said sir John then and there plainly answered, that in this behalf he would require no absolution at our hands, but only of God. Then afterward by gentle and soft meanes wee desired and required him to make plaine answer unto the Articles which were laid

KING  
HEN. 5.  
Wholes con-  
ced in their  
skins.

The summe o  
the popish be-  
liefe.

Confession.

The Popes  
supremacie.

Pilgrimage.

Convenerant  
in unum ad-  
versus Domi-  
num & Chri-  
stum ejus.  
Psal. 2.

See whether  
these men pick  
quarrels where  
they need not.

There is no  
mention made  
of the word of  
God.



{ KING }  
{ HEN. 5. }

laid against him. And first of all, as touching the Sacrament of the Altar. To the which article, besides other things, he answered and said thus; That as Christ being here on earth had in him both Godhead and manhood; notwithstanding, the Godhead was covered and invisible under the humanity, the which was manifest and visible in him: so likewise in the Sacrament of the Altar there is the very body and very bread, bread, which we do see, the body of Christ hidden under the same which we do not see. And plainly he denied, that the faith as touching the said Sacrament determined by the Romish Church and holy Doctors, and sent unto him by us in the said Schedule, was the determination of the holy church. But if it be the determination of the church, he said that it was done contrary unto the Scriptures, after the church was endowen, and after that popson was powored into the church, and not afore. Also, as touching the Sacrament of penance and confession, he plainly said and affirmed then and there, that if any man were in any grievous sin, out of the which he knew not how to rise it were expedient and good for him to goe unto some holy and discrete priest to take counsell of him: But that he should confesse his sin to any proper priest or to any other, although he might have the use of him, it is not necessary to salvation, forsomuch as by onely contrition such sin can be swiped away, and the sinner himselfe purged. As concerning the worshiping of the crosse, he said and affirmed, that the onely body of Christ which did hang upon the crosse, is to be worshipped; forsomuch as that body alone was and is the crosse, which is to be worshipped.

And being demanded what honour he would doe unto the image of the crosse, He answered by express words, that he would onely do it that honour that he would make it cleane and lay it up safe. As touching the power and authority of the keyes, the Archbishops, Bishops, and other prelates, he said that the pope is very antichrist, that is, the head; that the Archbishops, Bishops, and other prelates be his members, and that the Friars be his taile. The which pope, archbishops, and bishops, a man ought not to obey, but so farre forth as they be followers of Christ and of Peter, in their life, manners, and conversation, and that he is the successor of Peter which is best and purest in life and manners. Furthermore, the said sir John, spreading his hands, with a loud voice said thus to those which stood about him: These men, which iudge and would condemne me, will seduce you all and themselves, and will lead you unto hell; therefore take heed of them. When he had spoken those words, he againe as oftentimes before, with lamentable countenance, spake unto the said sir John, exhorting him with as gentle words as we might, that he would returne to the unity of the church, to belæve and hold that which the church of Rome doth belæve and hold. Who expressly answered, that he would not belæve or hold otherwise than he had before declared. Wherefore we perceived, as it appeared by him, that we could not prevaile, at the last with bitternesse of heart we proceeded to the pronouncing of a definitive sentence in this manner.

In the name of God, Amen. We Thomas by the permission of God, Archbishop and humble Minister of the holy Church of Canterbury, Primate of all England, and Legat of the Apostolike See, in a certaine cause or matter of heresie upon certaine articles, whereupon sir John Oldcastle Knight, Lord Cobham, before us in the last convocation of our Clergie of our Province of Canterbury, holden in the Church of Saint Paul in London, after diligent inquisition thereupon made, was detected and accused, and by our said Province notoriously and openly defamed. At the request of the whole Clergie aforesaid thereupon made to us in the said convocation, with all favour pos-

sible that we might (God we take to witnesse) lawfully proceeding against him, following the footstepes and example of Christ, which would not the damnation of a sinner, but rather that hee should be converted and live, wee have endeavoured by all waies and means we might or could to reforme him, and rather reduce him to the unity of the Church, declaring unto him what the holy universall Church of Rome doth teach, hold, and determine in this behalfe. And albeit that we found him wandering al tray from the Catholike Faith, and so stubborne and stiffe-necked, that he would not confesse his error, or cleere himselfe thereof, to detest the same; notwithstanding we favouring him with a fatherly affection, and heartily wishing and desiring his preservation, prefixed him a certaine competent time to deliberate with himselfe; and, if hee would, to repent and reforme himselfe. And last of all, forsomuch as we perceived him to be unreasonable, observing chiefly those things which by the law are required in this behalfe, with great sorrow and bitternesse of heart we proceeded to the pronouncing of the definitive sentence in this wise.

The name of Christ being called upon, setting him onely before our eyes. Forsomuch as by act enacted, signes exhibited, evidences and diverse tokens, besides sundry kinde of proofes, wee finde the said sir John to be and have beene an heretike, and a follower of heretikes in the faith, and observation of the sacred universall Church of Rome, and specially as touching the Sacraments of the Eucharist and of Penance; and that as the sonne of iniquity and darknesse he hath so hardened his heart, that he will not understand the voice of his shepheard, neither will be allured with his monitions, or converted with any faire speech: having first of all searched and sought out, and diligently considering the merits of the cause aforesaid, and of the said sir John, his deserts and faults aggravated through his damnable obstinacie; Not willing that he that is wicked should become more wicked, and infect other with his contagion, by the counsell and consent of the reverend men of profound wisedome and discretion, our brethren the lords, Richard Bishop of London, Hen. Bishop of Winchester, and Benedict Bishop of Bangor, and also of many other Doctors of Divinity, the Decretals and civill Law, and of many other religious and learned persons our assistants, we have judged and declared sententially, and definitively condemned the said sir John Oldcastle Knight, L. Cobham, being convict in, and upon that most detestable guilt, not willing penitently to returne unto the unity of the Church, and in those things which the sacred universall Church of Rome doth hold, teach, determine, and shew forth. And especially as one erring in the articles above written, leaving him from henceforth as an heretike unto the secular judgement.

Moreover, we have excommunicated, and by these writings doe pronounce and excommunicate him as an heretike, and all other which from henceforth, in favour of his error, shall receive, defend, or give him counsell, or favour, or helpe him in this behalfe, as favourers, defenders, and receivers of heretikes. And to the intent that these premisses may be knowne unto all faithfull Christians, we charge and command you, that by your sentence definitive you do cause the Curates which are under you, with a loud and audible voice in their Churches, when as most people is present, in their mother tongue, through all your cities and dioces to publish and declare the said sir John Oldcastle, as is before said, to be by us condemned as an heretike, schismaticke, and one erring in the articles abovesaid; and all other which from henceforth in favour of his errors shall receive or defend him, giving him any counsell, comfort, or favour in this behalfe, to be excommunicate as receivers, favourers, and defenders of heretikes; as is more effectually contained in the processe. That by such means the erroneous opinions of the people (which peradventure

The sacrament both body and bread in diverse respect.

How confession onie to be allowed.

What honor is to be done to the crosse.

The pope is Antichrist, the bishops are his members, and the Friars his taile.

The hold talk of the L. Cobham.

They call themselves humble which rule over kings, and exercise the tyranny of the world.

January 1555

The universall Church of Rome doth teach, hold, and determine in this behalfe.

They call light darknesse, and darknesse light.

Like will to like.

So did the Pharisees bewitch Christ unto Pilate.



peradventure hath otherwise conceived the matter) by those declarations of the truth, how the matter is, may be cut off. The which thing also we will and command to be written and signified by you, word for word, unto all our fellow brethren, that they all may manifest, publish, and declare throughout all their cities and dioceses, the manner and forme of this our proceſſe, and also the ſentence by us given, and all other ſingular the contents in the ſame. And likewise cauſe it to be published by their curats which are under them, as touching the day of receipt of theſe preſents, and what you have done in the premiſſes, how you and they have executed this our commendement. We will that you and they duly and diſtinctly certifie us the buſineſſe being done, by your and their letters patents, according to this tenour.

Dated in our manour of Maidſtone, the 10. of October, Anno 1413. and in the 18. yeere of our tranſlation.

Thus have you here the iudiciall proceſſe of the biſhops againſt this moſt noble Chriſtian knight, deſcribed by their owne letters and ſtile. After all this, the ſentence of death being given, the Lord Cobham was ſent away, ſir Robert Hooley carrying him againe unto the Tower, where after he had remained a certaine ſpace, in the night ſeaſon, (it is not knowne by what meanes) he eſcaped out and fled into Wales, where he continued by the ſpace of foure yeeres.

A defence of the Lord Cobham, againſt Nicolas Harpsfield, ſet out under the name of Alanus Copus.

AS I was entering into this ſtory of the Lord Cobham, after the tractation of all the former hiſtores hitherto paſſed, having next to ſet upon this preſent matter, luckily, and as God would, in ſuch opportunity of ſeaſon, as God may ſeeme to waite himſelfe for defence of his ſaints, cometh to my hands a certaine booke of new found Dialogues, compiled in Latine by Nicolas Harpsfield, ſet out by Alanus Copus, an Engliſhman, a perſon to me unknowne, and obſcure hitherto unto the world, but now to purchaſe himſelf a name with Croſſratuſ, or with the ſonnes of Enachim, cometh out not with his five egges, but with his ſire railing Dialogues. In the which Dialogues the ſaid Alanus Copus Angluſ (whether he under the armoz of other, or other under title of his name, I knowe not, nor paſſe not) uncourteouſly behabing himſelfe, intemperately abuſing his time, ſtudy, and pen, forgetting himſelfe, neglecting all reſpect of honeſty, and milde modeſty, neither dreading the ſtroke of God, nor paſſing for ſhame, neither favouring the living, nor ſparing the dead, who being alive as they never offended him, ſo now cannot answer for themſelves being gone; thus probing both God and man againſt him, after an unſemely ſort, and with a ſoule mouth and a ſtinking breath rageth and ſareth againſt dead mens aſhes, taking now the ſpoile of their good name, after their bodies lie ſtaine in the field; his gall and choler being ſo bitter againſt them, that he cannot abide any memory after them to remaine upon earth. Inſomuch that for the hatred of them he ſpurneth alſo againſt me, and ſleeth in my face, for that in my aads and monuments, deſcribing the hiſtory of the church, I would ſay any thing in the fauor of them, whom the Romiſh catholikes have ſo unmercifully put to death. The answer to whoſe booke although it would require a ſeuerall tractation by it ſelfe (as if Chriſt grant ſpace and leiſure hereafter it ſhall not be forgotten) yet becauſe ſuch opportunity of the booke is offered to me at this preſent comming now to the matter of the Lord Cobham, ſir Roger Acton and other, with whom he firſt beginneth to quarrell,

it ſhall be requiſite a little by the way to cope with this Cope, whatſoever he be, ſo much as truth ſhall give me for their defence to ſay ſomthing. And here to cut off all the offals of his railing talk and unhoneſt rebukes, which I leade to ſcolds and men of his profeſſion againſt they liſt to brawle, let us briefly and quietly conſider the matter for diſcuſſing of the truth. Wherein firſt I ſhall deſire the Reader with equality and indifferency to heare both the parties to ſpeake, aſwell what the martyrs hence gone and ſlain could ſay for themſelves, if they were preſent, as alſo what this man here both obiect againſt them now being gone. And ſo according to the ſame to iudge both upon them as they deſerve, and of me as they ſhall pleaſe.

Now to the ſcope of Maſter Copes matter, which is this; whether this foreſaid ſir John Oldcaſtle L. Cobham (firſt to begin with him) is rather to be commended for a martyr, or to be reprobated for a traitor. And whether that I in writing of him, and of ſir Roger Acton, with other moe in my former edition, have dealt fraudently, and corruptly, in commending them in theſe Acts and Monuments, or no: Touching the diſcuſſion whereof, firſt I truſt the gentle M. Cope my friend, neither will nor wel can deny any part of all that hathen to, touching the ſtory of the L. Cobham, hath ben premiſed; who yet all this while was neither traitor to his countrey, nor rebell to his prince, as by the courſe of his hiſtory hitherto the reader may well underſtand. Firſt, in the time of king Henry the fourth, he was ſent over to France to the Duke of Orleans; he did obey. Afterward, king Henry the fifth comming to the crowne, he was of him likewiſe well liked and favored, untill the time that Thomas Arundell with his clergy, complaining to the king, made bate betwene them. When the Lord Cobham being cited by the archbiſhop, at his citation would not appeare. But ſent for by the king, he obeyed and came. Being come, what lowly ſubiection he ſhewed there to the king, the ſtory declareth. After he yielded an obedient confeſſion of his faith; it would not be received. Then did he appeale to the biſhop of Rome, for the which the king toke great diſpleaſure with him, and ſo was he repealed by the king to the archbiſhop, and committed to the Tower; which alſo he did obey. From thence he was brought to his examination once or twice: there like a conſtant Martyr, and witneſſe of the truth, he ſtood to his confeſſion, and that unto the very ſentence of death deſtined againſt him. If this be not the effect of a true martyr, let Alanus Copus ſay what he will, or what he can: This I ſay, at leaſt I doubt, whether the ſaid Alanus Copus Angluſ, put to the like trial himſelfe, would venture ſo narrow a point of martyrdom for his religion, as this Chriſtian knight did for his. Certes it hath not yet appeared.

To proceed, after this deadly ſentence was thus awarded againſt him. The ſaid L. Cobham was then returned againe unto the tower; which he with patience and meekneſſe did alſo obey; from the which tower if he afterward by the Lords providence did eſcape, whether hath Alanus Copus herein more to praile God for offering to him the benefit, or to blame the man for: taking that which was offered. What catholike in all Loben, having his head over his head on fire, wil not be glad to have, if he might, the dore ſet open to ſite the perill; or els why did Alanus Copus fly his countrey, having ſo little need, if this man, bleeding almoſt under the butchers are, might not enjoy ſo great an offer of ſo lucky deliverance?

Thus hitherto, I truſt, the cauſe of the Lord Cobham ſtandeth firme and ſtrong againſt all danger of juſt reprehention. Who being, as ye have heard, ſo faithfull and obedient to God; ſo ſubmiſſe to his king; ſo ſound in his doctrine; ſo conſtant in his cauſe; ſo afflicted for the truth; ſo ready & prepared to

SKING.  
HEN. 5.

Indifferency  
of the Reader  
craved.

Whether the  
L. Cobham  
to be judged  
traitor or a  
martyr.

The L. Cobham true and obedient to king Henry the fourth.

The L. Cobham in the beginning favored of king Henry the 5. The kings diſpleaſure procured againſt the L. Cobham by popiſh prelate.

The L. Cobham obedient to the king. The L. Cobham conſtant in his faith to the ſentence of death.

Sir Robert Hooley.  
The L. Cobham returned againe to the tower.

Alanus Copus Angluſ with his ſire Dialogues. Croſſratuſ to get him a fame ſet Dianae temple on fire. Alanus Copus Angluſ, intemperately abuſeth his pen.

Copus a bar-  
ker againſt  
dead men.

Answer to A.  
lanus copus.

deah;



{ KING }  
{ HEN. 5. }  
The L. Cob-  
ham worship  
the name of a  
Hartyr.  
by name o' a  
hartyr what it  
ignateth.

Calumnia.

Sir Roger  
Acton knight.  
Pastor John  
Browne, Esq.  
Jo. Webery,  
preacher.

Rob. Fabian  
proved with an  
untruth.

An untruth in  
Alan. Cop.

Praying and  
preaching in  
back corners a  
common thing  
in time of pe-  
recution.  
All will cackles  
all things to  
woyl meaning

death, as we have sufficiently declared, not out of uncertaine and doubtfull Chronicles, but out of the true originals and instruments remaining in ancient records: What lacketh now, or what should let to the contrary, but that he declaring himselfe such a Hartyr, that is, a witnesse to the verity, (for the which also at last he suffered the fire) may therefore worthily be adorned with the title of Hartyr, which is in Greek as much as a witnesse bearer.

But here now streppeth in dame η διαβολη, with her cousin scold Aleco, &c. who neither learning to hold her tongue, nor yet to speak well, must needs finde here a knot in a ruff, and beginning now to quarrell-inferreth thus; But after (saith he) that the Lord Cobham was escaped out of the Tower, his fellowes and confederates, convented themselves together seditiously against the king, and against their country. A great crime no doubt, M. Cope, if it be true; so if it be not true, the greater blame returneth unto your selfe, so to enter this action of such slander, unless the ground whereupon ye stand be sure. First, what fellowes of the L. Cobham were these you meane of? sir Roger Acton ye say, Pastor Browne, and John Webery, with thirty six other, hanged and burned in the said field of saint Cyles. A marvellous matter, that such a great multitude of twenty thousand, specified in story, should rise against the king, and yet but three persons onely knowne and named. And then to proceed further, I would aske of Pastor Cope what was the end of this conspiracie, to rebell against the king, to destroy their country, and so subvert the Christi-an faith, for so purporteth the story. As like true the one as the other. For even as it is like that they being Turkes went about to destroy the faith of Christ wherein they died, and to subvert their country wherein they were bred; even so like it is that they went about to destroy the king, whom God and their conscience taught to obey.

Yet further proceeds this fummie promoter in his accusation, and saith moreover; that these foresaid fellowes and adherents of the Lord Cobham were in the field assembled, and there incamped in a great number against the king; and how is this proved? By Robert Fabian. Which appeareth to be as true as that which in the said Robert Fabian followeth in the same place, where he affirmeth that John Cle-don and Richard Turmish were burnt in the same place, being 1413. when indeed by the true registers they were not burnt before the peere of our Lord 1415. But what will Pastor Cope say, if the origi-nall copy of the indictment of these pretended con-spirators do testifie that they were not there assembled or present in the field, as your accusation pretend-eth? But they purposed (you will say) and inten-ded to come. The purpose and intent of a mans mind is hard for you and me to iudge, whereas no fact ap-peareth. But give their intent was so to come, yet might they not come to those thickets nere to the field of saint Cyles, having Webery their preacher with them (as ye say your selfe) as well to pray and to preach in that worthy place, as to fight? Is this such a strange thing in the Church of Christ in time of persecution, for Christians to resort in desolate woods and secret thickets, from the sight of enemies, when they would assemble in praying and hearing the word of God? In Quene Maries time was not the same colour of treason objected against George Egles, and other moe, for frequenting and using into backshides and fields, who suffered for that whereof he was innocent and guiltlesse? Did not Adam Dantlip die in like case of treason, for having a French crowne given him at his departure out of Rome by Cardinall Pole? What cannot can-kred Calumnia invent, when she is disposed to ca-bill? It was not the Cardinals crowne that made him a traitor, but it was the hatred of his preaching that stirred up the accuser.

In France what assemblies have there bene in late yeeres, of good and innocent Christians con-gregating together in backshides and secret places in great routs, to heare the preaching of good men, and to pray; yea, and not without their intent upon also, for their owne safeguard, and yet never in-tended nor minded any rebellion against their king. Wherefore in cases of religion it may and doth hap-pen many times that such congregations were met without intent of any treason meant. Howsoever the intent and purpose was of these foresaid Confederates of the Lord Cobham, whither to come, or what to do (seeing this is plaine by records, as is aforesaid, that they were not yet come unto the place) how will M. Cope now iustifie his words, so confidently affirming, that they were there assen-bled seditiously together in the field of Saint Cyles against the king? And mark here, I beseech thee, gentle reader, how unlikely and untidely the points of this tale are tied and hanged together (I will not say without all substance of truth, but without all fashion of a cleanly lie;) wherein these accusers in this matter seeme to me to lacke some part of Di-vinons art, in conveying their narration so unartifici-ally. First, say they, the king was come first, with his garrison, unto the field of Saint Cyles, and then after the king was there incamped, conse-quently the fellowes of the Lord Cobham, the Cap-taine being away, came and were assembled in the same field where the king was, against the king, and yet not knowing of the king, to the number of twenty thousand, and yet never a stroke in that field given. And furthermore, of all this 20000. aforesaid, never a mans name knowne but onely three, to wit, sir Rog. Acton, sir Jo. Browne, and J. Webery a preacher. How this geste is clamped together let the reader iudge, and beleve as he seeth cause.

But give all this to be true, although by no de-monstration it can be proved, yet by the popes dis-pensation, which in this earth is almost omnipotent, be it granted; that after the king had taken the field of saint Cyles before, the companions of the L. Cobham afterward coming and assembling in the thickets nere the said field, to fight seditiously a-against the king, their country, and against the faith of Christ, to the number of twenty thousand, where no stroke being given, so many were taken, that all the prisons of London were full, and yet never a mans name known of all this multitude, but onely three; all this I say being imagined to be true, then followeth to be demanded of M. Cope, whether the Lord Cobham was here present, with this compa-ny in the field, or not? Not in person (saith Cope) but with his minde and with his counsell he was present, and addeth this reason, saying; And there-fore he being brought againe after his escape, was con-vict both of treason and heretic, and therefore suf-fraining a double punishment, was both hanged and burnt for the same, &c. And how is all this proved? By Robert Fabian, he saith. Whereunto briefly I an-swer, that Robert Fabian in that place maketh no such mention of the Lord Cobham assisting or con-senting to them either in minde or in counsell. His words be these; That certaine adherents of sir John Blacastle assembled in the field nere to S. Cyles, in great number, of whom was sir Roger Acton, sir John Browne, and John Webery. The which with thirty six moe in number were after convict of he-retic and treason, and for the same were hanged and burnt within the said field of S. Cyles, &c. Thus much in Fabian touching the commotion and con- demnation of these men: but that the lord Cobham was there present with them in any part, either of consent or counsell, as Alanus Copus Anglus pre-tendeth, that is not found in Fabian, but is added of his liberrall cornucopia, wherof he is so copious and plentifull, that he may keepe an open shop of such untortion untruths, which he may afford very good

Another un-  
truth in  
Copus.

An unlikely  
tale.

The L. C.  
has now  
Al. Cop.  
833. lib. 1.

Alan. Copus  
taken with an  
other untruth.



god cheape, I thinke, being such a plentifull artificer.

But here will be objected against me the words of the statute made the second yeare of King Henry the fifth, wherupon this aduersary triumphing with no litle gloze, *απορριπτως ἀντιπαρασέλλομαι*. I thinke himselfe to have double vantage against me; first, in probing these foresaid complices and adherents of the lord Cobham to have made insurrection against the King, and so to be traitors. Secondly, in convicting that to be untrue, where in my former booke of Acts and Monuments I do report, how that after the death of sir Roger Acton, of Broome, and Beverley, a parliament was holden at Leicester, where a statute was made to this effect; that all and singular such as were of Wickliffes learning, if they would not give ower, as in case of felonie and other trespasses, losing all their goods to the King, should suffer death in two manner of kinds, that is, they should first be hanged for treason against the King, and then be burned for heresie against God.

Wherupon it remaineth now in examining this objection, and answering the same, that I purge both them of treason, and my selfe of untruth, so farre as truth and fidelity in Gods cause shall assist me herein. Albeit in beginning first my history of Ecclesiasticall matters, wherein I having nothing to doe with debatement of causes iudiciall, but only following the simple narration of things done and executed; I never suspected that ever any would be so captious with me, or so nice nosed, as to presse me with such narrow points of the law, in trying and discussing every cause and matter so exactly, and straining, as ye would say, the bowels of the statute law so rigorously against me; yet forsomuch as I am therunto constrained now by this aduersary, I will first lay open all the whole statute made the 2. yeare of this foresaid Henry the fifth, after the death of the foresaid sir Roger Acton and his felowes, at the parliament holden at Leicester, Anno 1415. That done I will note upon the words thereof, so as by the circumstances of the same may appeare what is to be concluded, either for the defence of their innocence, or for the accusation of this aduersary. The tenor and purport of the statute hereunder ensueth.

The words and contents of the Statute made  
*Anno 2. Henrici quinti, cap. 7.*

(A)  
The preface or  
preamble of  
the statute.

Forsomuch as great (A) rumors, congregations, and insurrections here in England, by divers the King his Maiesties liege people, have bene made here of late, aswell by those which were of the sect of heresie called Lollardis, as by other of their confederacion, excitacions, and abatement, to the intent (B) to adnull and subvert the Christian Faith and the Law of God within the same realme, as also to (C) destroy our soveraigne Lord the King himselfe, and (D) all manner of Estates of the same his realme, aswell spirituall as temporall, (E) and also all manner policie and the Lawes of the land; Finally, the same our Lord the King, to the honour of God, in conservation and fortification of the Christian Faith, and also in salvation of his royall estate, and of the estate of all his realme, willing to provide a more open and more due punishment against the malice of such heretikes and Lollards, than hath bene had or used in that case heretofore, so that for the feare of the same Lawes and punishments, such heretikes and Lollardies may the rather cease in time to come.

Where it appeareth at whose suite and supplication this statute was let forward, as also the cause why.

By the advice and assent aforesaid, and at the prayer of the said commons, hath ordained and established; that especially the Chanceller, the Treasurer, the Justice of the one Bench and of the other, Justices of Assise, Justices of peace, Sheriffs, Bailiffs, and

Bailiffs of cities and townes, and all other officers, having the government of people either now present, or which for the time shall be, do make an oath in taking of their charge and offices, to extend their whole paine and diligence to put out, to doe to put out, cease and destroy, all manner of heresies and errors commonly called Lollardies, within the places in which they exercise their charges and offices, from time to time, with all their power; and that they assist, labour, and maintain the Ordinaries and their Commissaries, so often as they or any of them shall be therunto required by the said Ordinaries or their Commissaries; So that when the said officers and ministers travele or ride to arrest any Lollard, or to make any assistance at the (F) instance and request of the Ordinaries or their Commissaries, by vertue of this statute, the same ordinaries and commissaries (G) doe pay for their cost reasonably.

And that the services of the King (unto whom the officers be first sworn) be preferred before all other statutes for the liberty of holy Church and the ministers of the same, and especially for the punishment of heretikes and Lollards, made before these dayes, and not repealed, but being in force; and also that all persons convict of heresie, of whatsoever estate, condition, or degree they be, by the said Ordinaries or their commissaries left unto the secular power, according to the lawes of holy Church, shall lose and forfeit all their lands and tenements which they have in fee simple, in manner and form as followeth; that is to say, that the King shall have all the lands and tenements which the said Convicts have in fee simple, and which be immediately holden of him, as forfeited; and that the other Lords, of whom the lands and tenements of such Convicts be holden immediately, after that the King is thereof seized and answered of the (H) year, day, and wast, shall have the very thereof out of the hands of the King, of the lands and tenements aforesaid, so of them holden, as hath bene used in case of attainder of felonies, except the lands and tenements which be holden of the Ordinaries or their Commissaries, before whom any such impeached of heresie be convict; (I) which lands and tenements shall wholly remaine to the King as forfeit. And moreover, that all the goods and cattels of such convicted be forfeit to our right soveraigne Lord the King, so that no person convict of heresie, and left unto the secular power (according to the lawes of holy Church) do forfeit his lands before that he be dead. And if any such person so convicted be interred, whether it be by fine or by deed, or without deed, in lands and tenements, rents, or services, in fee or otherwise in whatsoever manner, or have any other possessions or cattels by gift or grant of any person or persons, to the use of any other than only to the use of such convicts; that the same lands, tenements, rents, or services, or other such possessions, or cattels shall not be forfeit unto our Soveraigne Lord the King in any manner wise.

And moreover, that the Justices of the Kings Bench, the Justices of peace, and Justices of assise, have full power to enquire of all such which hold any errors or heresies, as Lollards, and who be their maintainers, receivers, fautors, and sustainers, common writers of such bookes, as well of their sermons, as Scholes, Conventicles, Congregacions, and Confederacies, and that this clause be put in the Commissions of the Justices of Peace. And if any persons be indicted of any points above said, that the said Justices have power to award against them a Capias, and that the Sheriffe be bound to arrest the person or persons so indicted; as soon as he can finde them, either by himselfe or by his officers. And for so much as the cognizance of heresies, errors, or Lollardies, appertaineth to the Judges of holy Church, and not unto the secular Judges; that such persons indicted (K) be delivered unto the ordinaries of the places, or to their commissaries, by indentures

King  
Hen 5.

Aftereunt  
reges & ph  
risai.

(F)

(G)

(H)

(I)

(K)



**KING** } dentures betwene them to be made, within ten  
**HEN. 5.** } dayes after their arrest, or sooner, if it may be done,  
 to be thereof acquitted, or convicted by the Lawes of  
 holy Church, in case such persons be not indicted of  
 any other thing, the cognizance whereof appertaineth  
 to the iudges and secular officers; in which case after  
 they shall be acquitted, or delivered before the secular  
 iudges, they shall be safely sent unto the said ordina-  
 ries or their commissaries, and to them to be delibe-  
 rated by indentures, as is aforesaid, to be acquitted or  
 convicted of the same heresies, errors, and lollardies,  
 as is aforesaid, according to the Lawes of holy  
 church; & that within the terme above said: provided,  
 that the said indictments be not taken in evidence,  
 (L) but only for information before the iudges spi-  
 rituall, against such persons indicted; but that the  
 ordinaries begin their proccesse against such persons  
 indicted, in the same manner as though no such  
 iudgement were, having no regard to such India-  
 ments. And if any be indicted of heresies, error, or  
 Lollardie, and taken by the sheriffe, or any other of-  
 ficer of the king, he may be let to mainprise within  
 the said ten dayes, by good surety, for whom the said  
 sheriffes or other officers will answer, so that the  
 person so indicted be ready to be delivered unto the  
 said ordinaries, or to their commissaries, before the  
 end of the tenth day above here recited, if he may by  
 any meanes for sickness. And that every ordinary  
 have sufficient commissaries or commissary abiding  
 in every county in place notable, so that if any such  
 person indicted be taken, the said commissaries or  
 commissary may be warned in the notable place of  
 his abiding, by the sheriffe, or any of his officers, to  
 come unto the kings goale within the said County,  
 there to receive the same person so indicted, by in-  
 denture, as is aforesaid: And that in the inquests in  
 this case taken, the sheriffes and other officers unto  
 whom it appertaineth, do impanell good and suffici-  
 ent persons, not suspected, nor procured, that is to  
 say, such as have at the least, every one of them  
 that shall be so impanelled in such inquests, within  
 the realme, an hundred shillings by the peere, in  
 lands, tenements, or rent, upon paine to lose to the  
 kings use twenty pounds. And that those which  
 shall be impanelled upon such Inquests or Sessions  
 and Goales, have every one of them to the value of  
 forty shillings by the peere. And if any such person  
 arrested, whether if he be by the Ordinaries, or the of-  
 ficers of the king, (M) either escape or breakes pri-  
 son before he be thereof acquit before the Ordina-  
 ry; that then all his goods and Cattels, which he  
 had at the day of such arrest, shall be forfeit to the  
 king; And his lands and tenements which he had  
 the same day he seized also into the kings hands,  
 and that the king have the profits thereof from the  
 same day untill he render himselfe to the said prison  
 from whence he escaped. And that the aforesaid Jus-  
 tices have full power to enquire of all such escapes  
 and breaking of prisons, and also of the lands, tene-  
 ments, goods, and cattels of such persons indicted,  
 Provided, that if any such person indicted do not re-  
 turn unto the said prison, and dieth (not being con-  
 vict;) that then it shall be lawfull for his heires to  
 enter into the lands and tenements of his or their  
 ancestor, without any other lease made unto the  
 king for this cause. And that all those which have  
 liberties, or franchises rovall in England, as the  
 Countie of Chester, the Countie and Liberty of  
 Durham, and other like; And also the Lords which  
 have Jurisdictions and franchises rovall in Wales,  
 where the kings Writs do not run, have like power  
 to execute and put in execution in all points, these  
 articles by them or by their Officers in like man-  
 ner, as to the Justices and other the kings officers  
 above declared.

¶ Notes touching the statute prefixed.

Thus having recited the words of the Statute,  
 now let us consider the reasons and obviations of  
 this aduersary, who, grounding peradventure up-  
 on the preface or preamble of this foresaid Statute,  
 will prove thereby the Lord Cobham and sir Roger  
 Acon, with the rest of their abettors, to have bene  
 Traitors to their king and their countrey. Where-  
 unto I answer, first in general, that although the  
 face or preface prefixed before the Stat. may shew and  
 declare the cause and occasion originall why the sta-  
 tute was made, yet the making of the statute im-  
 poseth no necessary probation of the Preface al-  
 waies to be true that goeth before; which being but  
 a colour to induce the making thereof, giveth no  
 force materiall thereunto, nor is any necessary part  
 of the body of the said Statute; but onely adberth  
 as a declaration of the circumstance thereof, and  
 sometime is cleane omitted, and differeth much  
 from the substance of the same. For as Statutes  
 in civill policie most commonly do tend to a pub-  
 like end, and are general; so Prefaces before Sta-  
 tutes, which most commonly declare the cause or be-  
 ginning thereof, are private; and doe stand onely  
 but upon particular facts; which either of ill will  
 or displeasure may be suggested, or by colour may  
 be exaggerated, or for feare may be beleaved, at  
 least suspected, as many suspitions do oft times rise  
 in Princes heads through false furnishes, and mali-  
 cious complaints of certaine evil disposed about  
 them, whereby many cruell Lawes, rising upon a  
 false ground, are promulgate to the ruine of much  
 innocent blood. Example whereof we have not  
 onely in this present Statute, Anno secundo Regis  
 Henrici 5. but also in the like Statute, commonly  
 called the Statute Ex officio vel de comburendo;  
 made by this kings father and predecessor, anno  
 secundo Henrici quarti, cap. 5. In the Preface of  
 which bloupy Statute is contained another like com-  
 plaint of the Prelates and Clergy, not onely as  
 heinous, but also as shamefully false and untrue,  
 against the poore Lollards, as by the words of the  
 Complaint may appeare, beginning; Excellentis-  
 simo & Gratiouissimo Principi, &c. Wherein, most  
 falsly they slander and misreport the true ser-  
 vants of Christ to be Lollards, heretikes, subverters  
 of the Commonwealt, destroyers of the Christian  
 Faith, enemies to all good Lawes, and to the Church  
 of Christ. The words of which statute, proceeding  
 much after the like course as doth this present sta-  
 tute, may easily betwixt the untruth and false sur-  
 mise thereof, if thou please (gentle reader) to mark  
 and conferre the words according as they are there  
 to be read and seene, as followeth; Conventiculas  
 & confederaciones faciunt, scholas tenent & exer-  
 cent, libros conficiunt atque scribunt, populum nequi-  
 tate intrinunt & informant, & ad seditionem seu in-  
 surrectionem excitant, quantum possunt, & magnas  
 dissensiones in populo faciunt, & alia diversa enor-  
 mia auditui horrenda in dies perpetrant, in Fidei  
 Catholicae, & Ecclesiae subversionem, divinique cul-  
 tus diminutionem, ac etiam destructionem status,  
 iurium, & libertatum dista Ecclesiae Anglicanae.  
 And after a few words, Ad omnem juris, & rationis  
 ordinem atque regimen, penitus destruendum, &c.  
 He that is or shall be acquainted with old histo-  
 ries, and with the usuall practices of Saran the  
 old Enemye of Christ, from the first beginning  
 of the Primitive Church, unto this present time,  
 shall see this to be no newes, but a common, and as  
 one would say, a quotidian feever among Christs  
 children, to be vered with false accusations and cru-  
 ell slanders.

Remotion the Egyptian and true Party of  
 Christ, was he not first accused to be a Felon? And  
 when that could not be proved, he was condemned  
 at the same iudgement for a Christian; and therefore  
 being cast into bonds, was scourged, by the com-  
 mandement of the President, double to the other  
 Felons;

Prove upon  
 the Statute a  
 feveland.

Disfavour to  
 the Statute  
 not to be  
 regarded in trial  
 of truth.

Stat. 2n. 2.  
 H. 5. ca. 15.

The preface  
 before the Stat.  
 de combu-  
 rendo.

Ex vetustis  
 instrumentis.

False accusati-  
 on no newes in  
 Christs church.

Example of  
 Remotion  
 Party.



Example of  
Cyprian.

felons; and at length was burned with the thebes, although he never was found there nor felon.

Against Cyprian in like sort it was slanderously objected by Galenus Maximus proconsull, Quod diu sacrilega mente vixerit, & nefaria sibi conspirationis homines adunxerit, That he had long continued with a mind full of sacrilege, and that he had gathered unto him men of wicked conspiracie.

Example of  
Justine the  
 Martyr.  
Example of  
Cornelius B.  
of Rome.

So Justinus Martyr, that false and crininous accusations suffered he by Crescens, Cornelius bishop of Rome and martyr, was accused of Decius, Quod ad Cyprianum literas daret contra remp. i. That he wrote letters unto Cyprian against the common wealth.

Lawes and  
statutes  
grounded upon  
false causes  
against the  
Christians.

To consider the lawes and statutes made by tyrants and Emperors in the first persecution of the primitive Church, against the innocent servants of Christ, and to compare the same with the lawes and statutes in this later persecution under Antichrist; a man shall finde, that as they agree all in like cruelty, so was there no great difference in false forging of pretended causes and crimes devised. For as then the Christians were wrongfully accused of the Gentiles for insurrections and rebellions against the Emperors and empire, for being enemies to all mankind, for murdering of infants, for worshipping the sun (because they prayed toward the east) for worshipping also the head of an asse, &c. upon the rumors thereof divers and sundry lawes and statutes were enacted; some ingraven in basse, some otherwise wrote against them; so in this foresaid statute, An. 2. Hen. 5. cap. 7. also an. 2. Hen. 4. cap. 15. and in such other statutes or inditments made and conceived against the Lollards, the case is not so strange, but it may credibly be supposed, that the making thereof did rise rather upon malice and hatred against their religion conceived, than upon any iust cause ministered of their parts, whom they did wrongfully charge and accuse. Like as in the time of Domitianus, for feare of Dabids stocke, all the nephewes of Jude the Lords brother in the flesh were accused to the Emperors. And also the like feare and hatred stirred up other Emperors, and the Senate of Rome, to proceed with persecuting lawes against the Christian flock of Christ; Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 21. whereupon rose up those malicious slanders, false surmises, infamous lies, and wrongfull accusations against the Christians: so that what crimes soever malice could invent, or rash suspicion could minister, that was imputed against them.

Not unlike also it may seeme, that the pope with his prelates, fearing and misdoubting lest the proceeding of the Gospell preached by these persons should overthrow the state of their Maiesty, did therefore by sinister accusations inflame the hearts of princes against them, and under some coloured covert to shadow their cloaked hatred, devised these and other like crimes which were not true, but which might cleanly serve their purpose.

This hitherto have I said as in a generall sum, answering to the preamble of the foresaid statute, for the defence of sir John Oldcastle, and sir Roger Aston, and other, as not defining precisely what was or was not (for here I may say with Hall, that as I was not present at the deed doing, so with him I may also leave the same at large:) But as one by tracing the footsteps of the truth, as by all contentures hunting out in this matter what is most like, would but only say my minde sine strepitu (as lawyers say) & sine figura iudicii.

Now consequently it followeth that we descend to the speciall points and particulars of the foresaid preamble; to consider what thereof may be collected, or necessarily is to be iudged, either for proove or disprove, of this foresaid sir John Oldcastle and his fellows.

(A)

(A) And first, where the proeme of this statute beginneth with rumors, congregations, and insur-

rections, &c. As it is not like, that if these men had intended any forcible entries or rebellion against the king, they would have made any rumors thereof before the deed done: so is it more credibly to be supposed, all these flourishings of words to be but words of courle, or of office, and to labor rather of the rankness of the inditers pen, who disposed either per amplificationem rhetoricam, to shew his copie, or else per maliciam papisticam, to aggravate the crime, and to make mountaines of molehills, first of rumors maketh congregations, and from congregations riseth up to insurrections; whereas in all these rumors, congregations, and insurrections, yet never a blow was given, never a stroke was stricken, no blood spilt, no furniture nor instruments of warre, no signe of battell, yea no expresse signification either of any rebellious word, or malicious fact described, neither in records, nor yet in any chronicle. Againe, if these rumors were words spoken against the king, as calling him a tyrant, an usurper of the Crowne, the Prince of priests, &c. why then be none of these words expressed in their inditments, or left in records: both master Cope thinke for a man to be called a traitor, to be enough to make him a traitor, unless some plaine and evident proove be brought for him to be so indeed, as he is called: Rumors (saith he) congregations and insurrections were made. Rumors are uncertaine; congregations have been and may be among Christian men in dangerous times for god purposes, and no treason against their Princes meant. The terme of insurrections may be added by practice, or surmise of the prelates and pen men, who to bring them the more in hatred of the king, might add this rather of their owne gentleness, than of the others deserving. Certaine it is and undoubted, that the prelates in those dayes, being so mightily inflamed against these Lollards, were not altogether behind for their parts, nor utterly idle in this matter, but practised against them what they could, first to bring them into hatred, and then to death.

Examples of which kinde of practice among the popish clergy have not lacked neither before, nor since. Moreover, if these men had made such a rebellious insurrection against the king, as is pretended in the preamble before this statute, which were a matter of high treason; how chanceth then, that the whole body of the statute, following after the said preface or preamble, runneth in all the parts or branches thereof both in matter of arrest of inditement, information, request, allowance of officers, cognizance of ordinaries, of the foresaid, &c. upon cases of heresie and not of treason, as by particular tractation shall be (Christ willing) declared.

And for so much as these men be so grievously accused of Alanus Copus, for congregating and rising against their king, and the whole realme, if I had so much leisure to defend, as he hath pleasure to diffame; Here might be demanded of him, to keepe him some further play (touching this mighty insurrection, whereas they came in number twenty thousand against the king) in what order of battell ray they marched, what capitaines, under-captaines, and petty capitaines they had to guide the wings, and to lead the army: whether they were horsemen, or footmen: If they were horsemen (as is pretended) what meant they then to resort to the thickets nere to Saint Giles field, which was no meet place for horses to stirre? If they were footmen; how standeth that with the anthor, which reporteth them to be horsemen? Moreover, it is to be demanded, what ensignes or flagges, what shot, what powder, what armor, weapons and other furniture of warre, also what treasure of money to wage so many, to the number of 20. thousand, what trumpets, drums, and other noise necessary for the purpose they had? All these preparations for such an enterprise requisite and

KING  
HEN. 5.  
Rumors, Con-  
gregations,  
Insurrections

Insurrection:  
the Lollards  
against the  
king not like

The matter  
debated by re-  
cords, whether  
the Lord Cob-  
ham and sir  
Roger Aston  
were traitors  
or not.



{KING}  
{HEN. 5.}

and necessary to be had. And peradventure, if truth were well sought, it would be found at length, that instead of armies and weapon, they were comming onely with their booke, and with Weberly their preacher, into those thickets. But as I was not there present at the fact (as is before said) so have I neither certainty to define upon their case, nor yet Walter Cope to reclaine against them, unlesse peradventure that he, taking an occasion of the time, will thus argue against them; that because it was the hot moneth of January, the second day after the Epiphanie, therefore it is like that sir John Dlocastle, with twenty thousand Lollards camped together in the fields in all the heat of the weather, to destroy the king and all the Nobles, and to make himselfe Regent of England: and why not as well the king, as Regent of England, seeing all the Nobles should have been destroyed, and he onely left alone to reigne by himselfe?

(B)  
A banner of the L. Cobham, that he intended to destroy Christian faith.

It followeth more in the preamble of the foresaid statute, (B) to adnull, destroy, and subvert the christian faith, and the law of God, and holy church, &c. He that was the forger and inventor of this report, as it appeareth to proceed from the prelates, seemeth no cunning Dedalus, nor halfe his craftmaster in lying for the wastestone. Better he might have learned of Sinon in Virgil, more artificially to have framed and conveyed his narration. Which although in no case could sound like any truth; yet some colour of probability should have bene set upon it, to give it some countenance of a like tale. As if he had first declared the Lord Cobham to have bene before in secret confederacy with the great Turke; or if he had made him some Termagant or Mahound out of Babylonia, or some Herod of Judea, or some Antichrist out of Rome, or some grandpant Episcure of this world, and had shewed, that he had received letters from the great Soldan, to fight against the faith of Christ, and law of God; then had it appeared somewhat more credible, that the said sir John Dlocastle, with his sect of heretic, went about to adnull, destroy, and subvert the Christian faith, and law of God, within the realme of England, &c.

But now, where will either he or W. Cope finde men so mad to believe, or so ingenious, that can imagine this to be true, that the Lord Cobham, being a Christian, and so faithfull a Christian, would or did ever cogitate in his minde to destroy and adnull the faith of Christ in the realme of England? Whatsoever the report of this pursuant or preface faith, I report me unto the indifferent reader, how standeth this with any face of truth? That he which before, through the reading of Wickliffes Wozkes, had bene so earnestly converted to the law of God, who had also approbated himselfe such a faithfull servant of Christ, that for the faith of Christ he being examined and tried before the Prelates, not onely ventured his life, but stood constant unto the sentence of death destined against him; being a condemned and a dead man by law, Et qui quantum ad ejus devotionem pertinet & timorem, passus sit quicquid pati poterit, who had, as much as to devotion and feare appertained, suffered already what he might or could suffer, as Cyprian said by Cornelius; That he, I say, which a litle before, in the moneth of September, stood so constant in defence of Christs faith, would now in the moneth of January rise to destroy, adnull, and subvert Christs faith, and the Law of God, and holy Church within the realme of England?

How can it be, not likely onely, but possible to be true, that he which never in all the time of his life denied the faith; which ever confessed the faith so constantly; which was for the same faith condemned; yea and at last also burned for the faith, would ever fight against the faith and law of God, to adnull and subvert it? Let us proceed yet further, and

see when he should have so destroyed and adnull the christian faith and law of God in England, that faith or law then could be, or did he intend to bring into the realme of England? The Turkes faith; or the Jewes faith; or the Popes faith; or what faith els I pray you? for he that will be an enemy to the faith of Christ, and will shew himselfe a friend to no other faith besides, I account him not out of his right faith, but out of his right wits.

(C) And therefore eben as it is true, that Sir John Dlocastle with his confederates and abettors were up in armes to subvert and extinguishe the faith of Christ and law of God in the realme of England, so by the like truth it may be shewed, that the same persons rose also to destroy their soveraigne Lord the king and his brethren. First, thanks be to God, that neither the king nor any of his Brethren had any hurt by him. But his intent, saith the preface, was to destroy their soveraigne Lord the king. Whereunto I answer with this interrogatorie, whether was his intent privily to have destroyed him, or by open force of armes? If privily, what needed then such a great army of 20000. men, to achieve that secret feat: rather I would thinke that he needed more the helpe of such as were more about the king; as some of the kings privy chamber, or some of his secret counsell; whereof neither Chronicle nor record doth insinuate any mention. If his intent was openly to invade the king; you must understand, Walter Cope, that to withstand a king in his owne realme, many things are required, long time, great preparation, many friends, great assistance, and aid of kindred, monie, horse, men, armes, and all other things appertaining for the same.

Carle Godwin of Westsar, who had married Canutus daughter, being a man both ambitious, and as false a traitor, for all his fir sons, and great alliance, yet durst not set upon R. Edw. to invade him in his realme, although he sought many occasions so to do, yet never durst he enterprise openly that which his ambition so greatly presumed unto.

In the time of King Henry 3. Simon Montford Carle of Gloucester, Gilbert Clare Carle of Leicester, Humphrey Bone Carle of Ference, with a great number of Lords and Barons, thought themselves to have great right on their sides; yet durst they not for all their power openly assaile the king in his realme, before great debatement and talk first had betwixen.

Likewise what murmuring and grudging was in the realme against King Edward the second among the Prelates and Nobles, and also prelates (onely Walter bishop of Coventry except) first for Cabelstone, then for the Spencers, at what time Tho. Carle of Lancaster, Guido Carle of Warwick, with the most part of all other Carles and barons, concordly consenting together to the displacing first of Cabelstone, then of the Spencers, yet neither rashly nor without great feare durst stirre up warre in the land, or disquiet or bere the king, but first by all means of moderate counsell, and humble petition, thought rather to perswade, than to invade the king.

In like manner, and with like grudging mindes in the reigne of King Richard the second, Thomas Woodstock Duke of Gloucester, the kings Uncle, with the Carles of Arundell, of Warwick, and Darby, with the power almost of the whole Commons, stood up in armes against the king; and yet notwithstanding all their power ioyned together being so great, and their cause seeming to them so reasonable, yet were they not so hardy, straitwayes to lie upon the king, but by way of Parliament thought to accomplish that which their purpose had conceived, and so did, without any warre striking against the king.

After King Richard the second was deposed, and

(C)  
The L. Cobham faith intended to destroy the king.

How is like it is that the L. Cobham did rise against the king.

Examples what an hard matter it is to rise against the king.

The Nobles against King Henry 3.

The Nobles against King Edward 2.

The Nobles against King Richard 2.

Cyprian. l. 4.  
Epist. 2.

Ar r was



The nobles against King Henry the 4.

The Infection of the Lord Cobham against the King, judged by circumstance.

A rebellion to be of 20000. and yet no country to be knowne from whence they came, it is not like.

Never was any rebellion of Commons in England, but the whole country from whence they came was noted and known

was in prison yet living, others Noble men were greatly inflamed against King Henry the fourth, as Sir John Holland Earle of Huntington, Thomas Spenser Earle of Gloucester, the Carles likewise of Kent, and of Salisbury, with Sir John Cheiney and other moe, whereof others had bene Dukes before, and now depoled by King Henry 4. although they had conceived in their hearts great grudge and malice against the said King Henry, yet had they neither heart nor power openly with mans force to assault the king, but secretly were compelled to achieve their conceived intent, which notwithstanding they could not accomplish; Ex hist. D. Alban.

Thus you may see, Master Cope, or els Master Harspfield, or whatsoever ye be, to gaine stand a king, and with open force to encounter with him in his own land, and in his own chamber of London, where he is so sure and strong, what a matter and of how great chieftance it is, wherein so many and so great difficulties do lie, the attempt to dangerous, the chances so uncertaine, the furniture of so many things required, that scarce in any kings daies heretofore any Peres or Nobles of the Realme, were they never so strongly assisted with power, wit, or counsell, yet either were able, or else well durst to enterprise upon a case so dangerous, notwithstanding they were of themselves never so far from all feare of God, and true obedience. And shall we then thinke, or can we imagine (M. Cope) that Sir John Blacastle, a man so well instructed in the knowledge of Gods word, being but a poore knight by his degree, having none of all the Peres and Nobles in all the world to toyne with him, being prisoner in the Tower of London a litle before in the moneth of December, could now in the moneth of January, so suddenly, in such an hot season of the yere, start up an army of xx. thousand fighting men to invade the king, to kill two Dukes his brethren, to aduall Christian faith, to destroy Gods Law, and to subvert holy Church? And why doth not he add moreover, to set also all London on fire, and to turne all England into a fish pole? Belike these men, which gibe out these figments of Sir John Blacastle, did thinke him to be one of Deucaions stock, who by casting of stones over his shoulder, could by and by make men at his pleasure, or els that he had Cadmus teeth to sow, to make so many harvest men to start up at once.

But let us consider yet further of these xx. thousand souldiers so suddenly without wages, without victuall, or other provision congregated together, what they were, from whence, out of what quarter, countrey, or countreys they came. In other kings daies, whensoever any rebellion was against a king moved by the commons; as when Jack Straw and Wat Tyler of Kent, and Celler rose in the time of King Richard 2. When William Handevill of Abington, Jacke Cade of Kent, in the time of King Henry the 6. In the time of King Henry the eighth when the commotion was of rebels in Lincolnshire, then in Dorsetshire. When in King Edward the 6. time Humphrey Arundell in Devonshire, captaine Rette in Northfolke made stirre against the King, the countrey and parts from whence these rebels did spring, were both noted and also defamed. In this so traitterous commotion therefore let us now learne, what men these were, and from what countrey or countreys in all England they came. If they came out of any, let the Chronicles declare what countreys they were. If they came out of none (as none is named) then let them come out of Eutopia, where belike this figment was first forged and invented. Wherefore seeing neither the countreys from whence they came, nor yet the names of any of all these 20000. do appeare what they were, either in chronicle or in record, but remain altogether unknowne, I leave it (gentle reader) to thy iudgment, to thinke thereupon, as thy wisdome shall lead thee.

(D) It followeth more in the foresaid preface; And to destroy all other manner of estates of the same Realme of England, as well spirituall as temporall, &c. By the course of this preamble it appeareth, that the said Sir John Blacastle was a wonderful cruell tyrant and murderer, who being not yet satisfied with the blood of the king, nor of the two Dukes his brethren, would also make habocke and sweepstake of all manner of estates in the realme of England. What and leave no manner of estate alive? No, neither Lord spirituall nor temporall, but all together shall be destroyed. And what had all these estates done, thus so miserably to be destroyed? Although percase the mood of this man might have bene incensed and kindled against the King, and the Lords spirituall, by whom he had been condemned, as is aforesaid; yet why should all other manner of other estates both spirituall and temporall be killed? If none of all the estates in England, neither duke, earle, baron, lord, knight, or other gentleman had bene his friend, but all his enemies, how then is it like, that he having all the estates, peres, nobles and gentlemen of the realme against him, and none to stand with him, either could or durst attempt any commotion against the whole power of the land, he being but one gentleman only, with Sir Roger Atton, and M. Wolstone left alone? At least, good reason yet would, that those hundred knights should have bene spared out of this bloody slaughter, whom he offered to reduce unto the king, before, for his purgation. And finally, if this was his purpose, that all these estates both spirituall and temporall should have been cut down, what needed then that he should have made himselfe a Regent, when as he might as well have made himselfe a king, or what else he would, being left then prince alone.

(E) The preamble as it began with untruth, and continued in the same figure, heaping one untruth upon another; so now endeth with another misreport as untrue as the rest, shewing and declaring that the intent of Sir John Blacastle was also to destroy all manner of policie, and finally the lawes of the land, &c. We read of William the Conqueror, otherwise named William Bastard: who being a puissant Duke in his countrey, when that the Crowne of England was allotted to him, and he coming over with all his peres, Nobles and Barons of his whole land, into this Realme, and had with great difficulty obtained victory against King Harold; yet to alter and destroy the policie and the lawes of the land, it passed his power. Inasmuch that it had not been permitted unto him to have proceeded so farre as he did, unless he had first sworne to the Nobles of this land, to retaine still the lawes of King Edward, as he found them. And albeit he afterward forswore himself, breaking his oath in altering and changing many of the foresaid lawes, yet wold he mild be, he could not so destroy them all (for the which much ware and great commotions endured long after in the Realme) but that he was constrained, and also contented to allow and admit a great part of the said lawes of King Edward. And if he being king and conqueror, with all his strength of Normans and Englishmen about him, was too weak and insufficient to destroy all manner of policie and lawes of this land which he had conquered; how much lesse then is it to be supposed that Sir John Blacastle being but a private subject, and a poore knight, and a condemned prisoner, destitute and forsaken of all lords, earles and barons, who to save his owne life had more to do than he could well compasse, wold either take in hand or conceit in his head any such exploit, after the subversion of christian faith and law of God, after the slaughter of the king and all manner of estates, as well spirituall as temporall, in the realme of England, after the desolation of holy Church, to destroy

SKING  
HEN. 5.  
(D)  
Another false report of Sir John Blacastle, that he intended to kill all manner of estates in the Realme.

(E)

An hard matter to destroy all policie and lawes of a land.



{ KING }  
{ HEN. 5. }

destroy also all manner of policy, and finally; the lawes of the land: Which monstrous and incredible figment how true it may seeme to M. Cope, or to some other late Chroniclers of the like credulity, I cannot tell; certainly to me, and as I thinke to all indifferent readers, it appeareth as true as to the verbe of the Satyr, wherewith it may well be compared:

Nil intra est oleam, nil extra est in nuce duri.

Objection.

But here will it be said againe perhaps, that the matter of such preambles and p̄fases being but pursuants of statutes, and containing but words of course, to aggravate, and to give a shew of a thing which they would have to seeme more obvious to the people, is not so precisely to be scanned, or exquisitely to be stood upon, as for the ground of a necessary case of truth.

Answer.

This is it (M. Cope) that I said before, and now do well grant and admit the same, that such preambles or p̄fases lined with a non sequitur, containing in them matter but of surmise, and words of course, and rather monsters out of course, and many times rising upon false information, are not alwaies in themselves materiall, or necessary probations in all points to be followed, as appeareth both by this statute, and also by the statute of this kings father, anno 2. Henr. 4. cap. 15. beginning, Excellentissimo, &c. And yet notwithstanding out of these same preambles, and p̄fases of statutes, and other indictments, which, commonly rising upon matter of information, run onely upon words of course, of office, and not upon simple truth, a great part of our Chroniclers do often take their matter, which they insert into their stories, having no respect or examination of circumstances to be compared, but onely following bare rumors, or els such words as they see in such fabling p̄fases or indictments expressed. Whereby it cometh so to passe, that the younger Chronicler following the elder, as the blinde leading the blinde, both together fall into the pit of error. And you also, M. Cope, following the steps of the same, do seeme likewise to erre together with them for good fellowship. And thus concerning the face of this statute hitherto sufficiently.

The reason  
and cause how  
Chroniclers  
of times be  
deceived.

Alan. Cop.  
deceived by his  
Chroniclers.

Now let us consider and discusse in like manner first the coherence, then the particular contents of the said statute. As touching the which coherence, if it be well examined, a man shall finde almost a Chimera of it, in which neither the head accordeth with the body, nor yet the branches of the statute well agree with themselves. Wherein he that was the drawer, or first informer thereof, seemeth to have forgot his verbe and art poetically.

Hor. arr.  
poet.

Atque ita mentitur, sic veris falsa remiscet.  
Primum ne medio, medium ne discrepet imo.

For whereas the p̄face of the statute standeth onely upon matter of treason, conceived by false suggestion and wrong information; the body of the said statute, which should follow upon the same, runneth onely upon matter of heresie pertaining to the Ordinaries, as by every branch thereof may appeare.

(F)  
The body of  
the statute,  
an. 2. reg.  
Hen. 5. ca. 7.  
examined.

(F) For first where he saith, at the instance and request of the Ordinaries or their commissaries, &c. Hereby it appeareth, this to be no cause of treason nor felony. For that every man of duty is bound, and by the lawes of the realme may arrest and apprehend a traitor, or a felon, if he can; where otherwise by this statute an officer is not bound to arrest him which offendeth in case of this statute, without request made by the Ordinaries or their Commissaries; and therefore this offence seemeth neither to be treason nor felony.

(G) Secondly, where it followeth, that the same

ordinaries and commissaries do pay for their costs, &c. This allowance of the officers charges in this sort proveth this offence neither treason nor felony.

(H) Thirdly, where the statute willet the king to be answered of the vere, day, and waite, &c. by this also is proved the offence no. to be treason; for else in cases of treason the whole inheritance, & it w, M. Cope (speaking as no great fullfull lawyer) is forfeit to the prince.

(I) The fourth argument I take out of these words of the statute, whereas such lands and tenements which are holden of the ordinaries, are willed wholly to remain to the king, as forfeit, &c. Whereby it is manifest, that the prelates (for their matter of Lollardie onely) were the occasioners and procurers of this statute; and therefore were barred of the benefit of any forfeit rising thereby, as good reason was they should. And thus it is notorious, that the p̄face running specially, and principally upon treason, and the statute running altogether upon points of heresie, do not well cohere nor ioyne together.

(K) Fifthly, in that such persons indicted shall be delivered unto the ordinaries of the places, &c. it cannot be denied, but that this offence concerneth no manner of treason, so much as ordinaries cannot be iudges in cases of treason or felony, by the lawes of our realme, Bract. in fine 1. libri.

(L) Sixthly, by the indictments provided not to be taken in evidence, but onely for information, before the iudges spirituall, &c. it is likewise to be noted, to what end these indictments were taken; to wit, onely to informe the Ordinaries, which cannot be in cases of treason.

(M) Lastly, where it followeth toward the end of the statute, touching escape or breaking of prison, &c. by this it may lightly be smelt, whereto all the purpose of this statute directeth, that is, to the special escape of the Lord Cobham out of the tower, to this end, to have his lands and possessions forfeit unto the king. And yet the same escape of the Lord Cobham, in this statute considered, is taken by M. Justice Stanf. in libro primo, of the pleas of the Crowne, cap. 33. to be an escape of one arrested for heresie, where he speaketh of the case of the Lord Cobham.

Moreover, as touching the parts of this said statute, how will you ioyne these two branches together, whereas in the former part is said, that the lands of such persons convicted shall be forfeit to the king, not before they be dead; and afterward it followeth, that their goods and possessions shall be forfeit at the day of their arrest to the king: But herein standeth no such great doubt, nor matter to be weighed; This is without all doubt, and notoriously, evidently, and most manifestly may appeare, by all the arguments and whole purport of the statute; that as well the p̄amble and p̄face thereof, as the whole body of the said statute, was made, framed, and procured onely by and through the instigation, information, and excitation of the Prelates and the popish Clergie, not so much for any treason committed against the king; but onely for feare and hatred of Lollardie, tending against their Law, which they more dreaded and abhorred than ever any treason against the Prince. And then to set the king and all the States against them, where by the more readily to loose their dispatch, they thought it best, and none so compendious a policie, as prettily to ioyne treason together with their Lollardie; wherein the poore men once intangled could no waies escape destruction. Pape consilium callidum.

This, Master Cope, have I said, and say againe, not as one absolutely determining upon the matter. At the doing whereof as I was not present my selfe, so with your owne Hall I may and doe leave it at large, but as one leading the reader by all contentures and arguments of probability, and of due

The first procurers of this statute.

Practice of Prelates to couple treason with heresie.

Err 2 circum



circumstance, to consider with themselves what is further to be thought in these old accustomed practices and proceedings of these prelates. Protestings moreover (Haster Cope) in this matter to you, that those Chroniclers which you so much ground upon, I take them in this matter neither to be as witnesses sufficient, nor as judges competent. Altho as they were not themselves present at the deed done no more than I, but only following uncertain rumours, and words of course and office, bringing with them no certain trial of that which they do affirm, may therein both be deceived themselves, and also deceive you and other which depend upon them.

And hitherto concerning this statute enough. Out of which statute you see (H. Cope) that neither your Chroniclers, nor you can take any great advantage, to prove any treason in the Lord Cobham or in his fellows, as hath been hitherto abundantly declared in the premises.

Alan. Copus  
pag. 833. l. 4.

It remaineth further, that forasmuch as you in your first dialogue, with your author Edward Hall, do alledge the records, Et publica iudicii Acta, to defame these men for traitors (although what records they be you bring forth never a word) I therefore in their defence do answer for them, which cannot now answer for themselves. And because you, to accuse them, do mention a certain record, and yet do not shew us what record it is, and peradventure cannot, if ye would: I have taken the paines therefore, for the love of them whom you so hate, to search out such records, whereby any occasion can be raised against them. And first I will declare the commission granted, then the indictment commenced against them.

The which commission, and indictment, albeit in countenance of words will seeme to minister much suspicion against them, to the simple reader, before he be better acquainted with these subtil dealinges and practices of Prelates: yet trusting upon the goodness of the cause, which I see here so falsly and slightly to be handled, I nothing feare nor doubt to produce the same out of the records in latin as they stand; to the intent that when the crafty handling of the adversaries shall be disclosed, the true simplicity of the innocent, to the true hearted Reader, may the more better appeare. The words first of the Commission here follow under written: which when thou shalt heare, let them not trouble thy mind gentle reader, I beseech thee, before thou understand further, what packing and subtle conveyance lieth covered and hid under the same.

*In Rotulo patent. de anno primo  
Henrici quinti.*

The words of  
the commission a-  
gainst the Lord  
Cobham.

(A)

**R.** Delectis & fidelibus suis Willielmo Roos de Hamlak, Henrico le Scrop, Willielmo Croimere majori Civitatis sue London. Hugoni Huls, Ioanni Preston, & Ioanni Martin salutem. Sciatis quod cum nos plenius (A) informemur, ac notorie & manifeste dignoscatur quod quam plures subditi nostri Lollardi vulgari nuncupati, ac alii mortem nostram contra ligeanciam sue debitum proditoriè imaginaverunt, ac quam plura alia, tam in fidei catholica, quam status dominorum & magnatum regni nostri Angl. tam spiritualium quam temporalium destructionem proposuerunt, ac diversas congregationes, & alia conventicula illicita pro nephando proposito suo in hac parte perimplend. fecerunt in nostri exheredationem ac Regni nostri destructionem manifestam: Nos huiusmodi Lollardos ac alios predictos iuxta eorum demerita in hac parte castigari & puniri volentes, ac de fidelitate & circumspectione vestris plenius confidentes, assignavimus vos quinque, quatuor, & tres vestrum, quorum vos prefati major & Hugo, duos esse volumus Iustic. nostros ad inquirend. per factam. proborum & legal. hominum de civitate predicta & suburbii eiusdem, ac de Comi-

tatu Middlesexie, tam infra libertates, quam extra, per quos rei veritas melius sciri poterit de omnibus & singulis prodicionibus & insurrectionibus per huiusmodi Lollardos in civitate, suburbiis, & comitat. predictis, factis & perpetratis, nec non de omnimodo prodicionibus & insurrectionibus, rebellionibus & felonis in civitate, suburbiis, & com. predictis, per quoscunque & qualitercunque factis sive perpetratis, & ad eisd. prodicion. insurrect. rebell. & felonias aud. & termin. secund. legem & consuetudinem regni nostri Angl. Et ideo vobis mandamus, quod ad certos, &c. quos, &c. quorum, &c. ad hoc provideritis diligentes super premissis fac. inquisitiones, & premissa omnia & singula audiat & terminetis in forma predicta facturi, &c. Salvis, &c. Mandavimus enim vicecomitibus nostris Lond. & Midd. quod ad certos, &c. quos, &c. quorum, &c. ejus scire fac. venire facientes coram vobis, &c. quorum, &c. tot, &c. de Balliva sua, tam infra libertates, quam extra, per quos, &c. & inquiri. In cuius, &c. T. R. apud Westm. (B) x. die Ian. Per ipsum Regem.

{ KING  
HEN. 5.

(B)

By these high and tragicall words in this Commission sent downe against the Lord Cobham, sir Roger Acton, and their fellowes; it may peradventure seeme to the ignorant and simple reader, some heinous crime of treason to rest in them, for conspiring against God, the Church, the King and their countrey. But what cannot the fetching practice of the Romish Prelates bring about, where they have once conceived a malice? Wherefore marvell not (good reader) at this, nor iudge thou according to the words which thou hearest, but suspend thy iudgement a while till the matter be more opened unto thee. Examples of like handling be not to rare, but thou mayst some iudge by other times the like also of these. George Eggle, of whom mention was made before, did but preach in time of Quene Mary, and yet commission was directed against him, as in case of raising up a commotion against the Quene. Adam Damlip in Calice did but preach, and the receiving of one more crowne two yeres before at Rome, was enough to make him a traitor. In the time of King Henry the eighth, one Cingleton, chaplaine to Quene Anne, the Quenes Maistries mother that now is, did but preach the Gospel, moved by zeale (as I have credible witness of his owne scholler that heard him speake it, being with him) and yet by vertue of a commission it was objected to him, for raising up commotion against the King, yea and also for killing of Bakington, and suffered for the same as a traitor. So here, what matter or marvell is it, if the King incensed, or rather circumvented by the wrong information of the Prelats, whom he beloved, gave out his commission, against things never wrought nor thought?

Examples of  
divers falsly  
accused for  
treason.

Wherefore I exhort thee, Christian reader, as I said before, iudge not by and by the truth by the words of the commission, but iudge rather the words of the commission by the truth. Neither measure thou the line by the stone, but the stone rather by the line. At least yet deferre thy sentence till both the commission and the indictment being laid together, thou maist afterward see and perceive more what is to be iudged in the case.

In the meane season marke well these words of the king in this commission, (A) Cum nos plenius informemur, &c. By the which words it is easie to be understood, that the king himselfe had no certaine knowledge thereof, but onely by information of others (of Bishops no doubt and Prelats) and thereupon gave forth his commission afore said. And then how will this stand with our Chroniclers and other epitomes and summaries, whom H. Cope doth alledge: for if it be certain that Rob. Fab. saith, that the king himselfe being in the field took certaine of them, as sir Roger Acton, Haster Brothorne, and John

(A)

John



KING  
HEN. 5.  
The English  
monies exam-  
ined by the  
jords of the  
commission.

John Weberley, and your olone Edward Hall also, and your Epitome agreeth to the same, and saith moreover that they were brought before the kings presence: Thomas Couper also, whom you alledge, addeth further and saith, that the king there by strength did take them.

I pray you (master Cope) what needed the king to write this by information, when as he himselfe was both present at the fact, was the taker of them, and a witnesse of the deed? The which if it be true that the li. heard this but by way of information, how will you then defend your Chronicos and your Epitomas? But herein I will neither greatly sticke with you, nor contend with them; desiring the reader onely to beare in minde the date of this present commission when it was given, (B) which soundeth to be the tenth day of January, and afterward to compare the same with the date of the inditement hereunder following, which I wil (the Lord willing) also hereunto annere, leaving nothing out; yea rather ministering to the adversary all manner of helpes, what soever they can seek or require for their most advantage in this matter, to be desired. So sure and confident I am in the innocent cause of these good men, not fearing what soever blind malice can cabill against them.

*The inditement of the Lord Cobham, sir Roger Acton and others, With notes following upon the same.*

Parliamenta coronæ coram domino rege apud Westm. de termino sancti Hilarii, anno regni regis Henrici quinti, post conque. primo, Rot. vii. inter parliamenta regis. Alias coram Gulielmo Roos de Hamlak, Henrico le Scrop, Gulielmo Cromwre majore civitatis London. Hugone Huls & sociis Iustic. domini regis, ad inquirend. per sacram. proborum & legal. hominum de civitate domini regis London. & suburbii ejusdem, ac de Com. Midd. tam infra libertates, quam extra, de omnibus & singulis prodicionibus & insurrectionibus, per quamplures subditos domini regis Lollardos vulgarit. nuncupatos, & alios in civitate, suburbii, & com. prædictis, factis & perpetratis, nec non de omnibus prodicionibus, insurrectionibus, rebellionibus, & feloniiis in civitate, suburbii, & com. præd. per quoscunque & qualitercunque factis sive perpetratis, & ad easdem prodiciones, insurrectiones, rebelliones, & felonias audiend. & terminand. secund. legem & consuetud. regni domini regis Angliæ, per literas ipsius domini regis patentes, assign. apud West. die Mercurii (A) proximo post festum Epiphaniæ domini, an. reg. regis Henr. quinti post conquestum primo, (B) per sacram. xii. Iur. extitit, presentatum; quod Io. Oldcastle de Couling. in com. Kanc. chr. & alii Lollardi vulgar. nuncupat. qui contra fidem catholicam diversas opiniones hæreticas, & alios errores manifestos legi catholicæ repugnantes à diu temerarie tenuerunt, opiniones & errores prædictos manutene- re, ac in facto minime perimplere valentes, quamdiu regia potestas & tam status regal. domin. nostri regis, quam status & officium prelatiæ dignitatis infra regnum Angl. in prosperitate perseverarent, falso & proditorie machinando, tam statum regni, quam statum & officium prælatorum, necnon ordines religiosorum infra dictum regnum Angl. penitus adnulare; Ac dominum nostrum regem, fratres suos, prælatos, & alios magnates ejusdem regni interficere, nec non viros religiosos, reliq. cult. divinis & religiosis observantiis ad occupationes mundanas provocare, & tam ecclesias Cathedralis, quam alias Ecclesias & domos religiosas de reliquis & aliis bonis Ecclesiasticis totaliter spoliare ac funditus ad terram prosternere, & dictum Iohannem Oldcastle (C) Regentem ejusdem regni constituere, & quamplura regimina secundum eorum voluntatem infra regnum prædictum (D) quasi gens sine capite, in finalem destructionem tam fidei Catho-

licæ & cleri, quam status & majestatis dignitatis regal. infra idem regnum ordinare, falso & proditorie ordinaverunt & propoluerunt, quod ipso insimul cum quampluribus rebellibus domini regis (E) ignotis ad numerum viginti millium hominum de diversis partibus regn. Angl. modo guerrino arivar. (F) privatim insurgent. & die Mercurii proximo (G) post festum Epiphaniæ domini anno regni regis prædicti prædicto apud villam & parochiam sancti Egidii (H) extra Barram veteris Templi London. in quodam magno campo ibidem unanimiter convenirent & insimul obviarent pro nefando proposito suo in præmissis perimplend. quo quidem die Mercurii apud villam & parochiam prædictas prædicti I. Oldcastle & alii in hujusmodi proposito proditorie perseverantes, præd. dominum nostrum regem, fratres suos, viz. (H) Tho. ducem Clarentiæ, Ioann. de Laac. & Humfred. de Lancast. nec non Prelatos & magnates præd. interficere, nec non ipsum dominum nostrum regem, & heredes suos de regno suo prædicto exheredare, & præmissa omnia & singula, necnon quamplura alia mala & intolerabilia facere & perimplere falso & proditorie propoluerunt & imaginaverunt (I) & ibidem versus campum prædictum modo guerrino arivati proditorie modo insurrectionis contra ligeancias suas equitaverunt ad debellandum dictum dominum nostrum regem, nisi per ipsum manu forti gratiose impediti fuissent. Quod quidem inditamento Dominus Rex nunc, certis de causis, coram eo venire fecit terminandum. Per quod preceptum fuit vic. quod non omitteret, &c. quin caperet præfatum Iohannem Oldcastle, si, &c. & salvo, &c. Ita quod haberet corpus ejus coram domino Rege apud Westmonasterium ad hunc diem; scilicet die Mercurii proximo post octavas sancti Hilarii isto eodem termino ad respondendum domino Regi de præmissis, &c. Ad quos diem & locum, coram domino Rege vic. return. quod prædictus Ioann. Oldcastle non fuit inventus in balliva sua, &c. Per quod preceptum fuit vic. quod exigi faceret eum de com. in com. quousque utlagetur si non, &c. Et si &c. tunc eum caperet, & salvo, &c. Ita quod haberet corpus ejus coram domino Rege in octavas sancti Iohannis Baptiste ex tunc proximum sequen. ubicunque, &c. ad respondendum domino Regi de prodicionib. & feloniiis superius sibi impositis. Ad quas octavas sancti Iohannis Baptiste, anno Reg. Henrici quinti post conquestum secundo, Ioannes Sutton & Ioannis Michel. vic. Midd. coram domino Rege returnaverunt quod ad com. Midd. centum apud Braynford die Iovis proximo ante festum sancti. Barnabæ Apostoli, anno regn. R. Hen. quint. post conquestum secundo. Et ad quatuor com. ex tunc ex proximo præcedentes prædictus Ioannes Oldcastle exactus fuit, & non comparuit. Et quia ad nullum eorundem com. prædict. utlagatus fuit, per quod inquiratur de terra et catallis suis.

*Notes and considerations upon the inditement and commission above prefixed.*

(A) Die Mercurii proximo post festum Epiphaniæ, &c.

First here is to be noted and considered (good reader) the day and date of giving out the Commission, and then of the verdict presented by the Jurors which was both in one day, that is, on the Wednesday next after the Epiphaniæ, in the first year of the reign of King Henry the fifth, which was the tenth day of the month of January (as the date of the commission saith) anno 1413. after the use of England, or after the Romish use, an. 1414. so that after the use ever we count whether it be anno 1413. or els an. 1414. the deminical letter beginning at the first day of January to change, must needs be G. for the year, and so necessarily make Wednesday next after the Epiphaniæ to be the tenth day of

Rrr 3

(A) The first note concerning the date and day both of the commission, and of the verdict of Jurors concurring on one day.

(E)

(F)  
(G)

(H)

(I)

(B)

(A)

(B)

(C)

(D)

70



the said moneth of January. Thus then this present Wednesday, which was the tenth day of the moneth, being well noted and borne in minde, on the which day both the commission was directed, and also the verdict presented, let us now proceed further in the foresaid indictment. It followeth.

(B) The second note of the names of the Jurors left out.

(B) Per sacramentum xii. Iuratorum extitit presentatum, &c.

¶ If there had been true dealing in this, the Jurors should have bene named. But it is not like that there was ever any such indictment found by any Jurors, and therefore they did best not to name the Jurors, lest they would have denied this indictment to be their act. It followeth more in proceſſe of the indictment.

(C) The third argument, by making a regent, the king being not yet gone over.

(C) Et dictum Ioan. Oldcastle, Regentem ejusdem regni constituere, &c.

¶ If there were no other argument, this were sufficient to prove the manifest untruth of this surmised indictment; when as the king was not yet gone to France, nor determined to go, how could they conspire then to make a Regent? For the king went in July following, viz. the second yere of his reigne, leaving behind him the Quene his mother in law for regent, whereby it may be gathered, that this matter was untruly entered and stollen into the records with an antedate, or els at the least there appeareth manifest untruth, that they should conspire to make a regent, when a regent was not thought upon, unlesse it were already run into the heads of the clergy, who shortly after fearing their temporalities, as Carton saith, perswaded the king to make wars in France. This word regent therefore proceedeth of the secret spirit of the clergy, and maketh the whole matter very suspicious to be grounded altogether upon the malice of the Clergie, and their untrue surmises. It followeth moreover.

(D) The first argument by conspiracy.

(D) Quasi gens sine capite in finalem destructionem, &c. ¶ How doth this stand with that which goeth before, that they conspired to make a regent, except you will say, that to make a regent is to be a people without an head? It followeth.

(E) The fifth argument by the persons unknowne.

(E) Cum quamplurimis rebellibus dicti regis ignotis ad numerum viginti millium hominum, &c. ¶ A strange matter, that they should know of the conspiracy of twenty thousand, and yet know of no more names of the rebels but the Lord Cobham only, or one or two more, and all the rest were ignoti.

(F) The seventh argument by the unskillfull punning.

(F) Privatum insurgentes, &c. ¶ This smelleth of the clergies owne punning, without any great advice of learned counsell; for otherwise such as had been herein skillfull would never have put in privatum insurgentes.

(G) The eighth argument by the date and time.

(G) Die Mercurii proximo post festum Epiph. Dan. R.R. prædict. &c. ¶ This Wednesday next after the Epiphanie was the tenth day of the moneth of January, and the same day when both the conspiracy was put in execution, and the same day when the commission was given out to enquire, also when the fact was by inquiry presented. Whereby it may seeme a strange thing, that so great a conspiracy, knowne before hand, was not suppressed nor inquired of by any commission, but only by a commission bearing date of the same day, upon which day, by the purport of the indictment, the conspiracy should have been put in execution by open rebellion, as it is aforesaid.

(H) The ninth argument, by error and wrong naming the Dukes.

(H) Prædict. D. nostrum regem, fratres suos, viz. Tho. ducem Clarentia, Io. de Lancastre, & Humfr. de Lancastre, &c. ¶ If the kings learned Counsell had dealt in this indictment, as in case of treason they should have done, if it had bene a matter of truth they would never have handled it so slenderly, and wrongly, as to name the dukes of Bedford and of Gloucester, Joh. of Lancastre, and Humfrey of Lancastre, who were made dukes in the thirtieth yere of the reigne of king Henry the fourth their father, as appeareth by Cartons Chronicle.

(I) Et ibidem versus campum prædictum, modo guerino ariati proditorie, modo insurrectiones, contra ligeantias suas equitaverunt ad debellandum dictum D. nostrum regem, &c.

¶ This is falsified by plaine evidence of Histories, and Cope himself confesseth no lesse. For so he saith and confesseth, pag. 833. lin. 12. That Sir John Oldcastle was not there in person, but only that his consent and good will was there.

¶ Again, seeing this equitation or riding toward Saint Giles field was upon the Wednesday next after the feast of Epiphanie, as in this indictment and proceſſe of outlawrie is above testified, which was the tenth day of January, and commission also the same day was charged, and the Jury also impanelled the same day, and yet no Juror named; Item, the verdict the same day presented; how all these can concur together, and all in one day, let the reader after he have well considered the matter, use his iudgement therein, not onely whether it be like, but also whether it be possible.

¶ Over and beside all this it is to be noted, that if this matter had been truly and duly handled, as touching the treason, then had it not bene needfull to have brought Sir Jo. Oldcastle into the Parliament house before the lords, to be iudged: for by his Outlawrie (if it had been true) he was attainted, and without any more ado should have had iudgement in the Kings Bench as a traitor. But the chiefe Justice, knowing the handling of the matter, durst not belike enterprise so farre. Wherefore it was devised, that he should certifie the record into the parliament, which he did, together with the Bishops sentence filed to the record, which was very strange.

And thereupon the Lords gave such a iudgement as was not due for a traitor. For that they gave no iudgement, that he should be drawne, hanged, and let downe alive, and then bowelled and quartered, which is the iudgement of a traitor. And albeit the parliament might have attainted him without any more ado, and by the same act of attainder have ordained a speciall iudgement, as they should thinke good; yet when he was before attainted by the outlawry, they could not lawfully varie from the common iudgement of treason. At least how could or should the iudgement of Sir Roger Aston, Master Browne, and John Webery, who were iudged in the Guildhall before, and without the parliament, vary from the said common iudgement of traitors, if they had truly committed and bene convicted of such high treason?

¶ Add this moreover to the foresaid notes; that if Sir John Oldcastle, after his escape out of prison, had bene culpable, and so attainted of that high treason, whereby his lands had bene immediately forfeit unto the king by the proceſſe of his outlawrie; what needed the king then in the second yere of his reigne, in the parliament after holden at Leicester, have made that proviso to have his land forfeit to him by vertue of parliament, upon his escape on the day of his arrest, when as the lands and castell of his had bene forfeit before, by the proceſſe of the outlawry, as is before specified?

¶ Thus you see, M. Cope, how little bantage you can wrest out of this commission and indictment against the L. Cobham and his fellows, to prove them traitors. And admit the said L. Cobham was attainted of treason by the Act, and that the king, the lords, and the commons assented to the Act; yet it bindeth not in such sort, as if indeed he were no traitor, that any may not by search of the truth utter and set forth sincerely and iustly the very true cause of his death.

¶ Thus then having sufficiently cleared the L. Cobham and his partners, from all that you can object unto them out of records and statutes; let us now come to your English chronicles, wherewith you seem to presse me, and to oppresse them, whom ye name to be Rob. Fabian, Ed. Hall, Pol. Virgil, Tho. Cooper, &c.

KING, HEN. 5. (1) The tenth not of argument, by the absence of the party.

The eleventh note of argument.

The twelfth note of argument. The L. Cobham, Sir Roger Aston, &c. were not traitors.

The 13. note of argument.

Answer to the allegations of Rob. Pol. Virgil, and Hall, &c.

Rac.



{ KING }  
{ HEN. 5. }

Ric. Grafton, with other briefe epitomes and summaries, &c. Concerning which authors, as I have nothing to say, but to their commendations, in this place: so if that you had abouched the same to the commendation rather than to the reprooche of other, I would better have commended your nature, and believed your cause. But now like a spidercatcher sucking out of every one what is the worst, to make up your leystall, you heap up a dunghill of dirty diaboliques, containing nothing in them but malicious railing, virulent slanders, manifest untruths, opprobrious contumelies, and stinking blasphemie, able almost to corrupt and infect the aire. Such is the mad lady and cacochyes of your pen, that it beginneth to barke, before it hath learned well to write. Which of yours notwithstanding I do not here reproch or contemne, as neither do I greatly feare the same. God of his mercy keep the sword out of the papists hand, it is not the pen of the papists I greatly passe upon, though 20. copes and so many surplusses were set against the booke of Donuments, were I to disposed (M. Cope) to dally, or as the Greeks do say *αἰτῖμα*, and to repay againe as I am provoked. But in despitefull railing, and in this satyricall sort of barking I gibe you over, and suffer you therein to passe not only your selfe, but also Cerberus himself, if ye will, the great bandog of Pluto. Wildnes and humanitie rather befits, and is the grace of the latine phrase. If ye could hit upon the vaine thereof, it would win you much more honestly with all honest men. But the Lord hereafter may call you, which I beseech him to do, and to forgive you that you have done.

In the meane time seeing this your prattling pen must needs be talking, yet this you might have learned of these your owne authors whom you alledge, more civilly to have tempered your fame in exclaiming against them whose cause is to you not perfectly knowne. And now briefly to answer to these your foresaid writers, as witnesses produced against these men: there be two things (as I take it) in chronicle writers to be considered; first grounds which they follow: secondly, in what place they serve.

As touching the order and ground of writing among these chronickers, ye must consider, and cannot be ignorant, that as none of all these by you forenamed was present at the deed, nor witnesse of the fact, so have they nothing of themselves herein certainly to affirme, but either must follow publike rumor, and heare say for their author, or else one of them must borrow of another. Whereof neither seemeth to me sufficient. For as publike rumor is never certaine; so one author may more deceive another.

By reason whereof it commeth oft to passe, that as these story-writers hit many times the truth, so againe all is not in the Gospel that they do write: wherefore great respect is here to be had, either not to credit rashly every one that writeth stories, or els to see what grounds they have whom we do follow.

Now to demand (M. Cope) of you, what authority or foundation hath your Rob. Fabian, hath Pol. Virgill, Ed. Hall, and other of your authors, to prove these men to be traitors? What authority do they abouch: what acts, what registers, what records, or out of what court do they shew, or what demonstration doe they make? And doe you think it sufficient, because these men doe only affirme it, without further probation, with your *aut. & con.* therefore we are bound to believe it? Take me not so M. Cope, that I doe here diminish any thing, or derogate from the credit of those writers you alledge, whose labours have deserved well, and serve to great utilitie: but comming now to tryall of a matter lying in controvercie betwene us, we are now forced to seeke out the fountaine and bottom of the truth, where it is not enough to say, so it is, but the cause is to be shewed why it is so affirmed. And what though Robert Fabian, Polydore Virgill, and Edward Hall should all together (as they doe not) agree in the treason of Sir John

Oldcastle and of the rest? yet neither is this any sufficient suretie to prove them traitors; considering that Writers of stories to the most part following either blind report, or else one taking of another, use commonly all to sound together after one tune, *tanquam Dodonæi lebetes*, so that as one saith, all say, and if one erre, all do erre. Therefore you see Master Cope, how it is not sufficient nor sure to stick only to the names and authorities of Chronographers, unless the ground be found substantiall whereupon they stand themselves. Which yet in none of these whom you have produced doth appeare.

Secondly, in alledging and writing of chronicles, it is to be considered to what place and effect they serve. If ye would shew out of them the order and course of times, what yeares were of dearth and plenty, where kings kept their Christmasse, what Conduits were made, what Mayors and Sheriffes were in London, what battels were fought, what triumphs and great feasts were holden, when kings began their raigne, and when they ended, &c. In such vulgar and popular affaires the narration of the Chronicker serveth to good purpose, and may have his credit, wherein the matter forceth not much whether it be true or false, or whether any listeth to believe them. But whereas a thing is denyed, and in cases of iudgement, and in controverties doubtfull, which are to be decided and boyled out by evidence of iust demonstration; I take them neither for iudges of the Bench, nor for arbiters of the cause, nor as witnesses of themselves sufficient necessarily to be stuck unto: albeit I deny not, but histories are taken many times, and so termed for witnesses of times, and glasses of antiquitie, &c. yet not such witnesses, as whose testimonie beareth alwayes a necessary truth, and bindeth beliefe.

The two witnesses which came against Susanna being senators both of ancient yeeres, bare a great countenance of a most evident testimonie, whereby they almost both deceived the people and oppressed the innocent; had not young Daniel, by the holy spirit of God, taken them aside, and severally examining them one from the other, found them to be falsifiers both; leaving to us thereby a lesson of wholsome circumspection, not rashly to believe all that cometh, and also teaching us how to trie them out. Wherefore (M. Cope) following here the like example of Daniel in trying these your records which ye infer against these men, we will in like manner examine them severally yone from another, and see how their testimony agreeth; first beginning with your Rob Fabian. Which Rob. Fab. being neither in the same age, nor at the deed doing, can of himselfe give no credit herein, without due proof and evidence convenient.

How then doth Ro. Fabian prove this matter of treason to be true? what probation doth hee bring: what authority doth he alledge? And doth R. Fabian thinke, if he were not disposed to conceive of the L. Cobham, and those men, a better opinion but to be traitors, that men are bound to believe him onely at his word, without any ground or cause declared, why they should so doe, but only because he so saith, and if pleased him so to write. And if ye thinke (M. Cope) the word only of this witnesse sufficient to make authority, speaking against the L. Cobham, and proving nothing which followed so many yeeres after him; why may not I as well & much rather take the word and testimonie of Ric. Belward a Norfolk man of the town of Crisam, who living both in his time, and possible knowing the partie, and punished also for the like truth, is not reported, but recorded also in the registers of y<sup>e</sup> church of Norwich, to give this testimony among other his articles, for the foresaid L. Cobham, viz. that Sir Jo. Oldcastle was a true catholike man, and falsly condemned, and put to death without a reasonable cause, &c. Ex regist. Norwic.

Words without probation are not sufficient in story matters.

Chronicles how far, and to what effect they serve

Histories not rashly to be believed.

The testimony of Fabian against the Lord Cobham examined.

The testimony of Richard Belward of the L. Cobham

Ex reg. Episc. Norwic.

Against

Honesty commended in writers.

Two things to be observed in story writers

The ground of histories to be considered.

All things not true that be found in stories



Against this man if you take exception, and say, that one heretike will hold with another; why may not I with the like exception reply to you againe, and say as well, one papist will hold with another, and both coniure together, to make and say the worst against a true protestant.

Further, yet to examine this foresaid Fabian, witness against Sir John Oldcastle, as Daniel examined the witnesses against Susanna: I will not here aske under what tree these adherents of Sir John Oldcastle conspired against the king, and subversion of the Land, but in what time, in what year & moneth this conspiracie was wrought? Fabian witnesseth that it was in the moneth of January. Contrariwise Ed. Hall, and other our abridgements following him, doe affirme that they were condemned in the Guild hall the xii. of December, and that their execution upon the same was in January following, so that by their sentence the fact was done either in the moneth of December, or els before, and so Fabianus mentitus est in caput suum, ut cum Daniele dicam: or if it were in the moneth of Jan. as Fabian saith, then is Hall and his followers deceived, testifying the fact to be done in the moneth of December.

And yet to obiect moreover against the said Fabian, so much as he is such a rash witness against these burned persons, whom he calleth traitors: it would be demanded further of him, or in his absence of D. Cope, in what yeare this treason was conspired? If it were in the same year (as he confesseth himselfe) in which year John Cleidon the skinner, and Rich. Carmine Baker were burned, then was it neither in the moneth of Jan. nor in the first year of H. Hen. the fifth, for in the Register of Canterbury it appeareth plain, that John Cleidon was condemned neither in the time of Thomas Arundell archbishop, nor yet in the first nor second yeare of King Henry the fifth, but was condemned in the second yeare of the translation of Henry Chicheley, archb. of Canterbury, the 17. day of August, which was the yeare of our Lord, 1415. So that if this conspiracie was in the same yeare (after the witness of Fabian) in which yeare John Cleidon was burned, then both the testimonie of Fabian neither accord with other witnesses, nor with himselfe, nor yet with truth. And thus much concerning the witness of H. Fabian.

Let us next proceed to Polydore Virgill, whose partiall and untrue handling of our historie, in other places of his bookes, doth offer to us sufficient exception not to admit his credit in this: And yet because we wil rather examine him, than exclude him, let us heare a little what he saith, and how he saileth, and in how many points, numbring the same upon my five fingers.

First ending with the life of King Henry the fourth, hee saith that he reigned fourtene yeeres and five moneths, and two dayes, Angliæ historie Libr. 21. which is an untruth, worthy to be punished with a whole yeares banishment (to speake after the manner of Apuleius) when as truth is, he reigned by the testimonie of the story of S. Albones, of Fabian, of Hall, of our old English Chronicle, and of Scala mundi, but thirtene and six moneths, lacking, as some say, five daies, Hall saith he reigned but twelue yeares.

The second untruth of Polydore is this, where as hee, speaking of this sedition of Sir John Oldcastle and his adherents, affirmeth the same to be done after the burning of John Hus, and Hierome of Prague, which was (saith he) Anno, 1415, in which yeare (saith hee) Thomas Arundell died. His words be these, In eodem concilio damnata est Iohan. Wicliff. hæresis, ac Iohan. Hus, & Hieronimus Pragensis in ea urbe combustis sunt. Quod ubi reliquis consociis, qui etiam tunc in Anglia erant, patefit, tanquam furis agitati primum conjurationes in o-

mnes sacerdotes, deinde in regem, &c. In which words he not only erreth, faulty assigning the cause and occasion of this sedition to the death of John Hus, and of Hierome, but also misleth as much in the order and computation of the yeares. For neither was Sir Roger Aston with his foresaid fellows alive at the time of the council; neither doth he agree therein with any of our English writers, except only with Hall, who also erreth therein as wide as he.

For the third and fourth untruth I note this, where he addeth and saith, that after this rebellion raised against the king, the said Sir John Oldcastle, being there present himselfe, was taken and prisoned in the Tower, and afterward escaped out of the said tower by night; wherein is contained a double untruth. For neither was Sir John Oldcastle there present himselfe, if we believe Fabian and Cope, Dial. 6. pag. 833. lin. 11. neither yet did he ever escape out of the Tower after that conspiracy, if ever any such conspiracy was.

His v. but not the last untruth in Polydore is this that he saith, Tho. Arundel to have died in the same yeare, noting the yeare to be an. 1415. whereas by the true registers he died An. 1414.

To this untruth another may be soynd, where he erring in the computation of the yeares of the said Thomas Arundel archbishop of Canterbury, reporteth him to sit 22. yeeres. Who was there archbishop but only eightene yeeres, as is to be seene in the Records of Cant. The words of Polydore be these, Thomas Arundelius Cantuariensis antistes annum jam tunc sedens tertium & vigesimum ævita excessit, lib. 22. Aug. Albeit in this I do not greatly contend with Polydore, and peradventure the adverbialle will finde some easie shift for this matter.

But let us now passe from Polydore, not (as they say) out of the hall into the kitchen, but out of the kitchen into the hall, examining and perpending what saith Edward Hall another witness in this matter; upon whom D. Cope bindeth so fast, that he suppoeth his knot is never able to be loosed. And moreover he so treadeth me downe under his feete in the dirt (as a man would thinke him some dirt-daubers sonne) so that the spots thereof, hee saith, will never be gotten out while the world standeth, and a day longer. Notwithstanding I trust, Master Cope, that your dirtie pen with your cockish brags hath not so debaused and bespotted me, nor yet convicted mee to bee such a depraver of histories. But I hope to sponge it out. At least way, with a little asperges of the popes holy water, I trust to come to a Dealbabor well enough.

But certes D. Cope, your mastership must first understand, that if ye thinke so to depreesse and disprove me of untruth in my historie, you must goe more groundly to worke, and bring against mee other authoers than Edward Hall. You must consider D. Cope, if you be a controller of stony matters, it is not enough for you to bring a railing spirit, or a mind disposed to carpe and cavill where any matter may be picked: diligence is required, and great searching out of bookes and authoers not only of our time, but of all ages. And especially where matters of religion are touched pertaining to the church, it is not sufficient to see that Fabian or that Hall saith; but the Records must be sought, the Registers must be turned over, letters also and ancient instruments ought to be perused, and authoers with the same compared; finally, the Writers amongst themselves one to be conferred with another. And so with iudgement matters are to be weighed, with diligence to be laboured, and with simplicitie pure from all addition and partialitie to be uttered.

Thus did Aventinus, thus did Sleidanus, wisely. These helps also the eldest and best Historicians seemed

{ KING }  
{ HEN. 5. }

34. Untruth.

Copus pag. 833, lin. 11.

5. Untruth. 2

Another untruth in Polydore noted.

The testimony of Hall against the L. Cobham examined.

Witnesses against the L. Cobham agree not together.

Fabian confutes a manifest untruth in his story of the L. Cobham. Fab. part. 7. in vita Hen. 5. pag. 390.

Ex regist. archiep. Cant.

The testimony of Polydore examined.

5. untruths of Polydore noted in our story. 1. Untruth.

2. Untruth.



{KING  
{HEN. 5.

Cope a carper  
of histories wher-  
of he hath no  
skill.

met to have, both Titus Livius, Salustius, Quintus Curtius, and such like, as by their letters and records inserted may well appeare. The same helpes likewise both in your Fabian and in your Edward Hall were to be required but especially in you (M. Cope) your selfe, which take upon you to cockishly (rather than wisely) to be a controller and master moderator of other mens matters. In which matters (to say the truth) you have no great skill, and lesse experience, neither have you such plentie of authoꝝ meet for that purpose, nor yet ever travelled to search out the origins and grounds of that wherof ye write. But only contented with such as cometh next to hand, or peradventure receiving such alms as some of your poore friends bestow upon you, you thinke it sufficient if you can alledge Fabian and Hall for your purpose.

How what purpose and affection herein doth lead you, or rather doth drive you to the carping and barking against the historie of these good men, that bee hence gone and had their punishment, all men may see it to be no simple sincerity of a minde indifferent, but the scale only of your set of poperie, or rather of fury, which setteth your railing spirit on fire. But now out of the fiery kitchen to come to the hal again, let us see what matter lieth in the testimony of Edw. Hall, to prove these men to be traitoꝝ. And here forsomuch (M. Cope) as you seeme neither sufficiently acquainted with this your owne master and authoꝝ master Hall, nor yet well experienced in the searching out of histories, I will take a little paines for you, in this behalfe, to certifie you concerning the storie of this authoꝝ, wherof percase you your selfe are ignorant.

The truth whereof is this, that as the said Edw. Hall, your great master and testis, was about the compiling of his storie, certaine there were which resorted to him, of whom some were drawers of his pedigree and vineat, some were graveurs, the names of whom were John Wets, and Wyall which bee now both dead. And other there were of the same sodality, who be yet alive, and were then in the house of Richard Grafton both the printer of the said booke and also (as is thought) a great helper of the penning of the same. It to befall that as Hall was entering into the story of Sir John Oldcastle, of Sir Roger Acton, and their fellowes, the booke of John Bale, touching the story of the Lord Cobham, was the same time newly come over. Which booke was privily conveyed by one of his servants into the studie of Hall, so that in turning over his booke it must needs come to his hands. At the sight whereof, when hee saw the ground and reasons in that booke contained, he turned to the authoꝝ in the aforesaid booke alledged, wherupon within two nights after, moved by what cause, I know not, but so it was, that he taking his pen, rased and cancelled all that hee had written before against Sir John Oldcastle and his fellowes: and was now readie to goe to the print, containing nere to the quantitie of three pages. And lest (M. Cope) you, or any other should thinke me to speake beside my booke, be it therefore knowne both to you and to all other, by these presents, that the very selfe same first copie of Hall, rased and crossed with his owne pen, remaineth in my hands to be shewed and seene, as need shall require. The matter which he cancelled out came to this effect. Wherin, he following the narration of Polydore, began with like words to declare how the Sacramentaries here in England, after the death of Jo. Husse, and Hierome of Prague, being picked, as he saith, with a Demoniacall sting, first conspired against the priests, and after against the king, having to their Captains Sir John Oldcastle the Lord Cobham, and Sir Roger Acton knight, with many more words to the like purpose and effect, as Polydore and other such like chroniclers do write against him. All which matter notwithstanding the said Hal

with his pen at the sight of John Bales booke, did utterly extinguish and abolish; adding in the place thereof the words of master Bales booke, touching the accusation and condemnation of the said Lord Cobham, before Thomas Arundell archb. of Canterbury, taken out of the letter of the said Archbishop, as is in his owne storie to be seene: In vita Hen. 5. pag. 2. lin. 30.

And thus Ed. Hall your authoꝝ, reboking and calling backe all that hee had devised before against the L. Cobham (whereof I have his owne hand to shew, and witnesse substantiall upon the same) in his printed booke recordeth of him no more, but only sheweth the processe betweene the Archbishop of Canterbury and him for matters of Religion. And so ending with Sir John Oldcastle he proceedeth further to the assembly of Sir Roger Acton, (whom he falsly calleth Robert Acton) Jo. Browne, and Webery, the narration wherof hee handleth in such sort, that he neither agreeth with the record of other writers, nor yet with the truth it selfe. For where he excludeth the L. Cobham out of that assembly, he discordest therein from Polydore and other; And where he affirmeth the fact of that conspiracy to be wrought before, or at the 12. day of December; that is manifestly false, if the records before alledged be true. And where he reporteth this assembly to be after the burning of John Husse, and of Hierome of Prague, therein he accordeth with Polydore, but not with the truth. Wherof so doubtfull he is and ambiguous, in declaration of his storie, that no great certainty can be gathered of him.

First, as touching the confession of them, he confesseth himselfe that he saw it not, and therefore leaveth it at large. And as concerning the causes of their death, hee leaveth the matter in doubt, not daring (as both M. Cope) to define or pronounce any thing thereof, but onely recite the surmises and mindes of divers men diversly, some thinking it was of conveying the L. Cobham out of the tower, some that it was for treason and heresie; and here cometh in the mention only of a record, but what record it is neither doth he utter it, nor doth he examine it; otherwise again affirming (as he saith) that it was for fained causes furnished by the spiritualtie, more of displeasure than truth. And thus your authoꝝ Hall, having recited the varietie of mens opinions, determineth himselfe no certaine thing thereof, but as one indifferent, neither bound to the conjectures of all men, nor to the witnesses of all men, referreth the whole iudgement of the matter free unto the Reader. And so concluding his narration, forsomuch as he was neither a witness of the fact, nor present at the deed, he overpasseth the story thereof.

And what witness then will you, or can you (master Cope) take of Edw. Hall, which denieth himselfe to be a witness? Will you compell him to say that he saw not? and to witnesse that hee cannot? Wherfore like as Susanna, in the story of Daniel, was quit by right iudgement in the case of adultery because her accusers and testes being examined aunder were found to barie and halt in their tale, and not to agree in the two trees; so why may not in like case of treason, Sir Roger Acton, Sir Jo. Oldcastle, Browne with the rest, claime the same privilege: seeing among the Testes and witnesses produced against them such discord is found, and such halting among them, that neither do they agree in place, person, yeere, day, nor moneth.

1 For first, where Fabian, and his fellowes say; that they were assembled together in a great compaignie, in the field nere to S. Giles, the forged inditement above alledged, saith, they were but riding toward the field.

2 Secondly, where the foresaid inditement and Polydore give the L. Cobham to be present personally in that assembly, Hall, and Alanus Copus Annals

Hal. in vita  
Hen. 5. pag. 2.  
b. lin. 30.

Hall in the story of the Lord Cobham & Sir Roger Acton, agreeth not with other stories. Wherein in Hall noted.

Hall doubtfull in the story of Sir R. Acton, &c.

Hall no witness in Sir R. Acton's case.

Repugnance noted in the witness against the L. Cobham and Sir R. Acton.

1 Repugnance in the place.

2 Repugnance in the person. Alanus Copus p. 33. lin. 12.

glus

Answer to Cr.  
Hall.

al raceth out  
so owne story  
altered against  
the L. Cobham



glus, do exclude his personall presence from thence; and so doth Fabian also seeme to agree, speaking only of the adherents of sir John Mordaunt.

3 Repugnance  
in the peere.

3 Where Hal and Wolsey report this assembly to be after the burning of 30. Hous, & of Jerome at the counsell of Constance, which was an. 1415. that cannot be, but if there were any such conspiracie in the first peere of Hen. 5. it must needs be in an. 1413. And here by the way, why doe certaine of your Epitome writers, speaking of the L. Cobb, committed first to the Tower for heresie, referre the said imprisonment to the peere 1412. whereas by their owne count, reckoning the peere from the Annunciation, it must needs be an. 1413. being done in harvest time.

4 Repugnance  
in the moniey.

4 Fourthly, where Hall with his followers affirm that sir Roger Aston, Browne, and Beberly were condemned the 12. day of December, the record is evident against it, which holdeth the fact to be in worshipping the tenth day of January.

5 Repugnance  
in the day.

5 Fifthly, whereas the foresaid Record of the indictment giveth the Wednesday next after the Epiphanie, which was the tenth day of January that present peere, both the fact to be committed the same day, the commission also to bee granted and delibered to the commissioners the same day, the said commissioners to sit in Commission the same day, the Sherrifs of Middlesex to returne a iurie out of the body of Middlesex the same day, and the iurers to find the indictment of the same day, and yet no iurer in the indictment named the same day.

Item, the L. Cobham the same day to bee found conspiring to make himselfe Regent, when as the King, that day and peere was not yet passed into France: how all these can concur and hang together and all in one day; I suppose it will cost you two dayes, before you with all your learned counsell will studie it out. And when you in your unlawfull assemblies have conspired and conferred together all ye can, yet will ye make it (as I thinke) these dates, before you honestly dispatch your hands of the matter.

And where ye thinke, that ye have impressed in me such a foule note of lying, never to be clawed off while the world standeth, yet shall the posteritie to come iudge betweene you and mee, whether shall appeare more honest and true, my defence for that worthy Lord, or your uncourteous and viperous wrangling against him, mobed with no other cause but only with the peevish spirit of poperie, which can abide nothing but that labourer of your owne sect. For else how many lood lying Legends, yea that Legions of lyes are daily used and received in the popish Church. What dost thou dreames: what fained miracles: what blasphemous tales and frerly fables, and idle inventions, fighting against the sincere religion, doctrine, and crosse of Christ: And could you hold your pen from all these and finde nothing else to set your idlenesse on worke, but onely to write against the L. Cobham, sir Roger Aston, Browne, Onley, Colwbridge, with a few other, whom with much ado at length you have fought out, not so much for any true zeale to rebuke iniquitie, as craftily seeking matter by these to deface & blemish the book of Asse & Monuments: Which seemeth belike to make you scratch there where it itcheth not. And if I should after the like dealing take in hand your popish portrues, and with the like diligence excuse every popish martyr and Saint there canonized: thinke you master Cope, I could not make you out halfe a dozen as ranke traitors and rebels to their kings and princes, as ever were any of these of your picking out: What pope almost hath there bene these last five hundred yeeres, which hath not bene a traitor to his Emperour and Prince, and to his countrey: Either openly rebelling against them, or privately conspiring their destruction, or proudly setting their feet upon their neckes, or spurning their Crownes off from their heads, or making the same

to fight against the Father: how many have they deposed, and set up other in their seats: how many Emperours and kings have they wrongfully cursed: What consuls of Rome have they resisted, deposed, and put to death: What warres have they raised up against their own countrey of Rome: Psea the continuall holding of the cite of Rome from his lawfull Emperour, what is it but a continuall point of treason:

{ KING }  
{ HEN. 5. }

10 What will you answer me (Master Cope) to the Pope, which conspired to let fall downe a stone upon the Emperours head, kneeling at his prayers:

And though this treachery, being as big as a mill stone, seemed but a small mote in your eye, that it could not be espied; yet what will ye say by the monke of Swinestead, that poisoned king John, who was both absolved by his abbot before his treason committed, and after his treason had a perpetuall Masse sung for him, to helpe him out of purgatorie:

The popes  
saints and confessor  
many were traitors.

20 And what thinke ye in your conscience is to be said of Thomas Becket, who did enough, and more then became him, to set the French king, and the king of England together by the eares: Of Anselme likewise, and of Stephen Langton, who departed both out of the realme to complaine of their princes and soveraignes: The like may be said also of Jo Beckham, John Stratford, archbishop of the same see, notoriously resisted the kings commandement, being sent for by Edward the third, to come to the parliament at York; through the default of whose comming the present opposuntie of getting of Scotland was the same time lost.

30 Richard Scrope archbishop of Yorke was openly in armes to rebell and fight against king Henry the fourth, for the which he was condemned and put to death: and yet notwithstanding commission was sent downe from the pope shortly after, to excommunicate them which put him to death, his treason notwithstanding.

Rich. Scrope  
archbishop of  
Yorke, traitor,  
and yet counted  
a holy man.

40 Benedict, 12. and of pope Clement the sixth. And see how the traitorous rebellion of these two popes against Ludobicus their rightfull Emperour can be defended; which Emperour at last was also impoisoned, and not without the practise of pope Clement, as both Hieronimus Marius credibly witnesseth.

Popes' commonly  
traitors.

In the reigne of king Edward the second, mention was made before of Thomas Earle of Lancaster. Who, with a great number of other nobles and barons of the Realme, rose in armour against their prince, and therefore at length were put to death as traitors. And yet notwithstanding this treason committed (Master Cope) if you be so ignorant in our stories that you know it not, set your letters on to search, and you shall finde it true, that certaine noble men went up to Rome, for the canonizing of the said Tho. of Lanc. to be made a saint, and obtained the same. Inasmuch that in a certain old Calendar, the name of the said S. Thomas of Lancaster is yet extant to be seene.

Th. Lancaster  
archbishop, & yet  
made a saint  
by the pope.

50 In the former book of the Asse and monuments a-bode about the pag. 353. or 354. mention was made of Edmund of Abbeniden archb. of Cant, whom although I doe not disprove, but rather commend in my historie, for his bold and sage Counsell given unto king Henry 3. and also for offering the censure of excommunication against the King in so necessarie a cause: yet notwithstanding the same Edm. afterward, about his latter end, went up with a rebelling mind to complaine of his king unto the pope, and in his journey died, before his returne; who afterward for the same was canonized by the pope, and now shineth among the saints in the popes Calendar.

Edmund arch-  
bishop of Can-  
terbury rebel-  
led against his  
prince, and yet  
made a saint  
by the pope.

60 Let us come more neer to these dayes and times, and consider the doings of Thomas Arundell archbishop of Canterbury, who being first deposed and exiled for his contemptuous deserts against the king,

Tho. Arundell  
a ranke traitor  
against his king  
and yet a great  
pillar counted  
in the popes  
church.

Papists cannot  
see great  
beams in their  
own eyes,  
which they find  
in others.

Popes traitors  
to their emper-  
ours and prin-  
ces.



{ KING  
HEN. 5. }

king and afterward coming in with, Henry Bol-  
loubroke duke of Hereford, in open armes and with  
maine force rose against his naturall and lawfull  
li. think you, M. Cope, this is not as great a point  
of treason, as that which was done in Shickels fields:  
and though hee bee not placed among the pious  
saints, yet I thinke nothing contrarie, but in your  
heart you will not greatly stick to say, sancte Thoma  
ora pro nobis.

All these things well considered, tell me (M. Cope) 10  
I pray you, is treason such a strange and uncouth  
thing in your pope-catholike Church, that your burn-  
ing zeale of obedience to kings and princes can  
not read the story of the L. Cobham and sir Roger  
Acton, but your pen must needs be inflamed to write  
against them, and yet so many traitors in your own  
Calendars neither seen, nor once spoken of? And  
if the traitorous conspiracie and rebellion of so ma-  
ny your Calendar Saints committed against em-  
perours, kings and princes, cannot stir your zeale,  
nor move your pen; nor if the treason of pope Gre-  
gory 9. raising war against his owne city of Rome,  
and causing thirty thousand citizens in one battell to  
be slaine, deserbeth not to be elpied, and accused as  
much as this treason of the L. Cobham: yet what  
will you or can you answer to mee (M. Cope) as  
touching the horrible treason of pope Gregory the  
seventh committed not against Empero: nor king,  
nor any mortall man, but against the Lord himselfe,  
even against your God of your own making, being  
therein as you say no substance of bread, but the  
very personall bodie, flesh, blood, and bone of Christ  
himselfe; which body notwithstanding the foresaid  
pope Gregory the seventh tooke and cast with his  
owne hands into the burning fire, because he would  
not answer him to a certain doubt or demand? Ben.  
Card. Wholy, if sir John Oldcastle had taken the  
body of king Henry 5. and throwne him into the  
fire, the fact being so notoriously certaine as this is,  
I would never have bestowed any word in his de-  
fence. And could this and so many other hainous  
treasons passe through your fingers M. Cope, and  
no other to stick in your penn but the Lord Cob-  
ham.

Finally and simply to conclude with you (Matter  
Cope) and not to flatter you, that is the whole wor-  
king, the proceedings, actions and practices of your  
religion, or hath bin almost these five hundred years,  
but a certaine perpetuall kind of treason, to thrust  
downe your princes and magistrates, to derogate  
from their right and iurisdiction, and to advance your  
owne Maiesties and dominations, as hath bene suf-  
ficiently above pproved and laid before your faces  
in a Parliament holden in France, by the lord Peter  
de Cugneris: Wherefore if the assembly of these  
forenamed persons, ether within or without Saint  
Giles field, be such a great mote of treason in your  
eyes, first looke upon the great blockes and mil-  
stones of your owne traitors at home, and when you  
have well discussed the same, then after poyze out  
your wallet of your trifling dialogues, or tria-  
logues if yee list against us, and spare us not. Not  
that I to think this to be a sufficient excuse to purge  
the treason of these men, if your popish Calendars  
and legends be found full of traitors. Multitudo enim  
peccatorum non parit errori patrocinium: but this I  
thinke that the same cause which made them to suf-  
fer as traitors, hath made you also to raile against  
them for traitors, that is, meere hatred onely a-  
gainst their religion, rather than any true affection  
you have to your princes and governours. Who  
if they had bene as ferber in your poperie, and had  
suffered so much for the holy Father of Rome, or  
for the liberties of the holy mother church of Rome,  
I doubt not but they as holy children of Rome had  
bin rung into your Romish Calendar with a solum  
duplex, or at least with a solum simplex, of nine les-  
sons, also with a bigill peradventure before them.

Now because they were of the contrary professi-  
on, and enemies to you Magna Diana Ephesiorum,  
you play with them as the Ephesian carbers did  
with S. Paul, and worse. Ye thrust them out as se-  
ditionous rebels, not only out of life and bodie, but al-  
so cannot abide them to have any more harbor in  
their owne friends houses, among our Acts and mo-  
numents to be remembered. In the which Acts and  
Monuments, if gentle Master Ireneus, with his  
fellow Critobulus in your clerikly dialogues, will  
not suffer them to be numbered for martyrs; yet  
speake a good word for them (M. Cope) they may  
stand for testes or witness bearers of the truth. And  
thus much for defence of them.

Now to the other part of his accusation; wherein  
this Alanus Copus Anglus in his *Exordia*, or first  
dialogues contendeth and chafeth against my for-  
mer edition, to prove me in my historie to be a liar,  
forger, impudent, a misreporter of truth, a depra-  
ver of stories, a seducer of the world, and what else  
not? Whose virulent words and contumelious  
termes, how well they become his popish person,  
I know not. Certes for my part I never deserbed this  
at his hands wittingly, that I do know. M. Cope  
is a man whom yet I never saw, and lesse offended,  
nor eber heard of him before. And if he had not in  
the front of his book intituled himself to be an Eng-  
lishman, by his writing I would have iudged him ra-  
ther some wild Irish man, lately crept out of Saint  
Patricks purgatorie, so wildly he writeth, so sumily-  
ly he saareth.

But I cease here, and temper my self considering  
not what M. Cope deserbeth to be said unto, nor  
how farre the pen here could run if it had his scope,  
but considering what the tradition rather of such  
a serious cause requireth. And therefore seriously to  
say unto you (M. Cope) in this matter, where you  
charge my historie of Acts and Monuments so cru-  
elly, to be full of untruths, false lies, impudent for-  
geries, deprauations, fraudulent corruptions, and  
fained fables; briefly and in one word to answer  
you, not as the Lacones answered to the letters of  
their aduersarie, with si, but with o si; would God  
(M. Cope) that in all the whole booke of Acts and  
monuments, from the beginning to the later end  
of the same, were never a true story, but that all were  
false, all were lies, and all were fables. Would God  
the crueltie of your catholikes had suffered all them  
to live, of whose death ye say now that I doe lie. Al-  
though I deny not but in that book of Acts and mo-  
numents, containing such diversitie of matter,  
something might overscape; yet I have bestowed  
my poze diligence. My intent was to profit all men,  
to hurt none.

If you M. Cope, or any other can better my rude  
doings, and find things out more finely and truly,  
with all my heart I shall reioyce with you and the  
common wealth, taking profit by you. In perfecti-  
on of writing, of wit, cunning, dexterity, finenesse,  
or other induments required in a perfect writer, I  
contend neither with you nor any other. I grant  
that is a laboured storie, such as you seeme to re-  
quire, containing such infinite varietie of matter, as  
this doth, much more time would be required: But  
such time as I had, that I did bestow, if not so labo-  
riously as other could, yet as diligently as I might.

But here partly I heare what you will say; I  
should eabe taken more leisure and done it better. I  
grant and confesse my fault, such is my vice, I can-  
not sit all the day (M. Cope) sitting and minding my  
letters, and combing my head, and smoothing my  
selfe all the day at the glasse of Cicero, yet not  
withstanding doing what I can, and doing my  
good will, mee thinkes I should not bee re-  
pended at least not so much bee railed on at Ma-  
ster Copes hand. Who if he be so pregnant in find-  
ing fault with other mens labours (which is an ea-  
sie thing to doe) it were to bee wished, that hee had  
enterprised

Answer to the  
second part of  
Copes accusa-  
tion concerning  
his untrue  
charging of the  
book of Acts  
and Monu-  
ments.

The book of  
Acts and Mo-  
numents too  
true if it had  
pleased God, o-  
therwise.

Pope Greg. 7. a  
traitor against  
the Lords own  
body.  
Vide supra.

Vide supra.

Religion con-  
stantly maketh  
reason among  
be papists.



enterprised himselfe upon the matter, and so should have proved what faults might have beene found in him. Not that I hercin do utterly excuse my selfe, yea rather am ready to accuse my selfe, but yet notwithstanding thinke my selfe ungently dealt withall at master Copes hands. Who being mine owne countymann an Englishman as he saith, also of the same Universitie, yea, colledge and schole that I was of; knowing that the first edition of these Acts and Monuments was begun in the same parts of Germany, where few friends, no conference, small information could be had; and the same edition afterward translated out of Latine into English by others, whilist I in the meane time was occupied about other registers; and now the said Cope hearing morcover and knowing that I was about a new Edition of the same Acts and Monuments, at this present time to be set forth, for the amending of divers things therein to be reformed; if he had knowen any fault needfull to be corrected, hee might gently by letters have admonished mee thereof; gentlenesse would so have required it, time would well have suffered it. Neither was hee so farre off, but he might sooner have written a Letter to me, than a booke against me. Neither was I so ingratefull and inhumane, but I would have thanked him for his mention; neither yet so obstinate, but being admonished, I would have corrected willingly where any fault had beene committed.

Arguethenesse  
noted in Cope.

The nature of  
the spider.

But herein your nature (master Cope) doth right well appeare. First in the said Booke of Acts and Monuments, where many other good things bee contained, not unfruitfull nor unprofitable peradventure for the instruction of your conscience, and wherein my labours perhaps might have deserved your thanks, all that you dissemble and passe over, onely excepting those matters which make for cabillation. Thus the blacke Spider out of pleasant flowers sucketh his poison. And what Booke is so pleasant and fruitfull, though it were the Popes owne Portues, yea, his owne Decretals, yea, his owne very same Booke, to the reading whereof if I brought the like minde so disposed to cabill, as you bring to the reading of my history, but I could finde out twice as many mendacia, maculas, impudentias, dolos malos, fabulas, fucos, as you have done in these Acts and Monuments: And yet you have done prettily well.

Besides all this, yet better to marke the goodnesse of your gentle nature: Be it so that I had beene in some pece of my story deceived, as I doe not iustifie my selfe in all points therein, yet you, understanding that I was about the correction of my booke againe, might either have taken the best, and left the worst, or els have gently taken the pains to have advertised mee of such notes as you had, without further exclamation, or at least might have deferred your Dialogues for a time, till the coming out of my booke, to see first what would in the later edition be altered. But belike your gall was full, your haffe could not tarie, your ventim must needs burst out.

Et si non aliqua nocuisses, mortuus esses.

Seeing therefore the order of your doings to bee such, and disposition of your nature so farre from all humanitie, dealing with me so extremely, if I thus provoked with your extremitie againe, should now after this your curritish nature shape you a name accordingly, and in stead of Cope godfather you to bee a perpetuall lycophant, could you much blame me: and both not your lycophanticall booke well deserbe it: or think you I could not repay you againe with like extremitie as you bring, and dresse your drowsie or rather lousie Dialogues in their right colors, if I were so disposed: But my purpose is with pa-

Copus Syco-  
phanta.

tence to spare you, and rather to pray for you; God make you a good man. Peradventure he may here, after call you. And rather had I to winn you, than to sing you. Leaving therefore the consideration of your ingratefull doings, I will now consider onely the points wherein you charge me in your booke answering briefly unto the same. Briefly, I say, because the greatnesse of this volume, and abundance of other more fruitfull matter, giveth me little leasure at this present to stand about bawling words.

First he seemeth to bee highly grieved with mee for my Calendar prefixed before the Booke of monuments. Wherein he hath no cause either to bee offended with mee, or to chafe with himselfe. As touching which Calendar I have sufficiently and expressely declared before so much, as might quickly satisfie this scruple of M. Cope, if he either would have taken the pains, or else had had leasure to read the words contained in the Latine preface before the booke prefixed which are thus, Quamquam à me quidem non aliter Calendarium hoc institutum est, nisi ut pro indice duntaxat suum cuiusque Martyris menssem & annum designante, ad privatam lectoris serviret usum, &c. In which words preventing before the cabilling objection of the aduersarie, I forewarned the Reader aforesaid touching the calendar, wherefore it was obtained and prefixed, for no other purpose, but to serve the use onely of the Reader, in stead of a table, shewing the yeare and moneth of every Martyr, what time he suffered, &c. What hurt I pray you is in this Calendar prefixed before the booke of monuments, more than in the table of M. Copes booke, set after his Dialogues: but M. Cope had no leasure to peruse this place; it made not for his humor.

But this grievebth him in the Calendar, and that verie fore: for that I place in this Calendar, Sir John Oldcastle, sir Roger Acton, Browne, Weberlie, and other for martyrs, and displace for them other holy, ancient martyrs and saints, as Anatholius, Sother, Dorothea, Clarus, Lucianus, Severinus, &c. Answer. If M. Cope cannot abide the L. Cobham, sir Roger Acton, Browne, and Weberlie, which were hanged (as hee saith for treason) to have the name of martyrs, then let them beare the name of witnesse bearers, or testes of the truth, because they were also burned for the testimonie of their faith. Seeing there is no difference in the said names, all is one to me by which they are called.

And where he chargeth me for thrusting and shouling out the old and ancient holy saynts aforesaid out of this Calendar, and placing other new come saynts in their rowes: this is not the first untruth that M. Cope hath made in his dialogues, nor yet the least. Unto whom I might therefore fitly answer againe with his owne familiar phrase, or rather the phrase of Cicero, which he doth so much affectate: Quod nimirum hic ipse Alan. Copus Anglus, unde me mendacii coarguit, inde sibi ipsi sempiternam ac inelutibilem turpissimam mendacii ac singularis impudentiam notam inurat. For why have not I as just cause to say this to him, as hee to me: for so much as in the first beginning and preface of the said booke of Acts and Monuments, I so diligently and expressely doe warne all men before, first that I make here no Calendar purposely of any saynts, but a table of good and godly men that suffered for the truth, to shew the day and moneth of their suffering. My words be certant and evident, which are these: Neque vero ideo inter divos a me referuntur isti, quod inferuntur in Calendarium &c. And declaring afterward how the said Calendar doth stand but instead of a table, my words doe follow thus: Haud aliter calendarium hoc institutum est, nisi ut pro indice duntaxat suum cuiusque Martyris menssem & annum designante, Lectori ad usum atque ad manum serviat, &c.

{ KING }  
{ HEN. 5. }

The Calendar  
of the Acts and  
Monument  
is extended.

Ex proemio  
ad lectorem

Objection for  
Martyrs in the  
Calendar.

Answer:

Untruth noted  
in Al. Cope.

Copus p. 130  
lin. 18.

In preface, a  
dict. lector. l.  
Acts & Mon.

Againe



SKING  
HAN. 5.

Againe, neither did I receiue these men into that  
Calendar, that holy Anatholius, Sother, Dorothea,  
with other ancient holy saints should bee removed  
out, as you doe falsly and untruly affirme, but be-  
cause the course of that story, reaching but 500.  
yeeres, did but comprehend those former times of  
such ancient martyrs, but onely of such as suffered  
in these latter dayes, therefore requisite it was that  
in the table such should be placed chiefly, of whom the  
whole booke did then principally and only intreat, to  
demonstrate thereby the time and day of their mar-  
tyrdom. Neither yet were the other excluded out  
of this new calendar, which were never inserted in  
the same before, but only because both together could  
not there haue standing, necessitie so there requi-  
red these in no case to be omitted, and yet no iniury  
meant to the other to be excluded out of their own  
calendars: whereto properly they did pertaine. As  
for this calendar or this table, because they were not  
pertinent unto it, they could not therein, neither  
was it necessarie they should be included. And yet  
neither did I (M<sup>r</sup> Cope) without due and solemne  
protestation omit the same in my foresaid catalogue  
to prevent and stop all cabilling mouthes; As by  
speciall words in the said proeme of my booke unto  
the reader both appeare, following in this wise; In-  
terim nullius ego boni sanctique viri (modo qui verè  
sanctus sit) causam lædo, nec memoriam extinguo,  
nec gloriam minuo. Et si cui hoc displiceat calenda-  
rium, miminerit, non in templis à me collocari, sed  
domestice tantum lectioni preparari, &c. And where  
is now (master Cope) this your reaching, expelling,  
removing, expelling, exempting, deturbating and  
thrusting out of Anatholius, Sother, Dorothea, and  
other holy saints out of Catalogues, fasts, and ca-  
lendars? Or what man is that, or where dwelleth  
he, Cui veros Christi martyres è celo ad tartara de-  
turbat? That is, Which tumbleth downe true mar-  
tyres from heauen into hell? Which if ye mean by  
me, In one word I answer, ye falsly helpe me, master  
Copus, I had almost called you master Capus, so  
like a capon you speak. Neither have you nor any  
other euer heard mee to say. Neither have I euer  
heard of any so mad to play so the giants with their  
mountaines to climbe the heauens to tumble downe  
Gods true and holy martyrs out of heauen into hell,  
unlesse it were your selfe (as yet ye are, ye may bee  
better) and such other of your gilden and popish fra-  
ternitie, which make of Gods true saints stinking  
dunghills, (for so ye terme them in your bookes) and  
not onely thrust into heauen your Pseudosantos,  
saints of your owne making, whom God by his  
word doth not allow; but also depulse downe from  
heauen, and make dunghills of Gods welbelo-  
ved serbants, his faithfull people, and blessed martyrs,  
which have died for the word of God. And what mar-  
vell then, if in your blasphemous bookes ye cast  
downe from heauen to hell the poore saints of Christ,  
when in effect you deieat also the blood and crosse of  
the Sonne of God, Christ Iesus himselfe, setting  
up in his office and place, tu per Thomæ sanguinem,  
quem pro te impendit, fac nos Christe scandere, quod  
Thomas ascendit. Say, master Cope your conscience  
indifferently; set all popish partiallitie apart,  
whereas the scripture teacheth us simply, Quod ci-  
tra sanguinem nulla fit remissio. i. Without blood  
there is no remission; whether ye thinke, by this  
blood of the new Testament is meant the blood of  
Christ alone, or the blood of other moe besides? If  
the blood of one must stand alone, why doe ye then  
with the giants build up your mountaines, and  
make a ladder of Becketts popish blood, for men to  
scale the heauen? Or in so doing, how can you, but  
either with the protestants wipe out of your calen-  
dar Thomæ sanguinem, or else demolish from heauen  
Sanguinem Christi, with the Papists?

And here by the way, I cannot but muse, why  
you are so debout in setting up the Crosse of Christ

in your Church, which are such enemies to the true  
Crosse of Christ to stand in heauen. Look upon this  
(M<sup>r</sup> Cope) and tell me, ultra pars verus veros Chri-  
sti martyres è Cælo in tartara detrudat? And there-  
fore as you falsly helpe mee in this, for deturbing  
and tumbling out of heauen, Anatholius, Iulianus,  
Clarus, Lucianus, Agatha, Dorothea and other a-  
gainst whom I never yet spake any reproaching  
word, but rather in this my volume haue set forth  
their commendation: so is it untrue likewise, where  
you affirme, that in this my calendar I make an  
error, or canonization of false Martyrs. I told  
you before when ye were in England, I tell you  
again, being now in your transmigration, in  
words as plaine as I could: Hanc ego Apotheo-  
sis mihi nunquam sumpsi, quam sibi tam confiden-  
ter sumpsit Gregorius nonus. Were not these words  
of my protestation manifest enough? were they  
not sufficient to satisfie a reasonable Person? And  
to make the matter more plaine, did I not adde  
moreover as followeth? Porro neque eo spectat hoc  
calendarium, ut novam aliquam festorum dierum  
legem præscribam ecclesiæ, &c. And not contented  
with this, foresaying before such wrangling spirits  
to come, as now I see in you; I shewed also the  
cause why I needed not so to doe. My words were  
these: Festorum dierum jam plus satis erat in mun-  
do, &c. And yet further because no cabiller should  
take hold here of any injury done to the holy saints,  
either old or new in the Church: therefore in expresse  
words I removed away all suspicion of any injury,  
preventing the objection of the aduersarie in these  
words: Habeat & Ecclesia suos sanctos, tum recent-  
es tum veteranos, modo probatos, modo interim iudem ne  
odorentur, modo quam sint vetulti, tam etiam verè san-  
cti sint, &c.

These places of my book, if ye did see; why do  
you dissemble them? If ye had not so much leisure  
to read them; how had you so much leisure to write  
against any mans booke, not knowing what is in  
the booke contained? And how stands it then with  
truth, that so like a Home ye cry out so in your  
booke against these new made Martyrs, qui non  
possunt nisi per aliorum injuriam crescere, &c. And  
again, where you exclaime against mee, and say  
that I thrust out hancient martyrs from their seat  
and possession, and place new in their romes, &c.

Also where you continuing yet still in your com-  
mon place of lying (out of which you cannot digresse)  
doe charge me further, that I doe appoint out holy  
dayes and working dayes by colours of red and  
blacke, in my foresaid calendar to be observed; these  
lewd notes of yours, if they had been picked out of  
my calendar by you, without mine owne speciall  
declaration before made to the contrary, they might  
seem to have some blush of credit. Now what will  
the Reader say, or what may hee indge, considering  
and conferring this your cabilling with the matter  
of my premonition made before, but that you are  
altogether set to play the perpetuall Syc. I had  
almost called you by your right name master Cope.  
But God make you (as I said) a good man. Hea-  
ding further in your book I could not but smile and  
laugh at this your ridiculous and most loud lying  
Hyperbolismum; where you comparing my ma-  
king of saints with the popes making, can find (as  
ye say) in the pope no such impudent arrogancie in  
presuming as ye find in me, &c. If the pope had  
not abused his arrogant iurisdiction in canonising  
and deifying his saints, more than I have done; the  
pope should not bee cumbered with so many idle holy  
dayes, nor the calendars with so many raskal saints  
some of them as good, as euer were they that put  
Christ to death.

But where will you finde (Master Cope) any  
man to believe this your hyperbolical comparison  
to be true, which saith and knoweth the infinite and  
unmeasurable excelsse of the Popes arrogancie, not  
So

By the debout  
to the Crosse of  
Christ in each  
but enemies to  
Christ, cross  
in heauen.  
A doubtless  
in Copus

Copus morous  
Copus p. 82c.

Intrusion in  
Cope.

Copus p. 82c  
lin. 25.

Copus p. 81d  
lin. 7.

Copus p. 16r.  
in penultima

Copus almost  
called Capus.

The papists  
could thrust  
owne Gods  
true saints out  
of heauen to  
ell.

Becketts blood  
it up to the top  
of Christs  
lood.

only



onely in shewing such a rabble of blinde Saints of his owne creating; but also in prescribing the same to be receivd universally in the whole world, and not to be receivd only, but also to be invocated for gifts and graces; also to bee worshipped for adlocutes and mediators; wherein riseth a double abomination of the Pope, the one for his idolatrous making and worshipping of saints; the other for his blasphemous injury and derogation to Christ in repulsing him out of his office of mediation, and placing other mediators of his owne making. And now to consider what Saints these were, or what were the causes of their Standings: what Saint almost among all the Popes saints shall you finde (master Cope) made within these five hundred yeres, but commonly hee was either some pope, or some rich bishop and prelate, or some fat abbat, or some blind frier, some monke, or Nun, some superstitious regular, or some builder of monasteries, or some giver and benefactor to the popish clergie, or maintainer agonising for the dignities and liberties of the popish Church: What poore lay man or lay woman, were their lives never to Christian, their faith and confession never so pure, their death never so agonising for the witness of Christ, and truth of his word, shall finde any place of labour in all the Popes *nomine* *sanctorum*, that is, in the Popes calendar, either in red colour, or else in black?

But here (master Cope) if ye had the wit so much to defend as ye have to overthrow, you might take me with the manner, and reply againe for the defence of your great saint-maker, or rather god-maker of Rome; that hee maketh many martyrs and saints of these foresaid poore lay men, and lay women, than ever he did of any other. For he burneth them, hee hangeth them, hee drowneth them, impiseth and famiseth them, and so maketh truer martyrs of Christ, than any other of his new shined saints, whom he hath so dignified in his calendar. For the one he doth rubricate, only with his red letters; the other doth hee rubricate with their owne blood. And therefore to answer you (P. Cope) to your comparison made betwene the Pope and mee, for making of holy martyrs and saints: Briefly I say and report me to all the world, that therein is no comparison. For if ye speake of true martyrs, who doth make them, but the pope? if ye speake of false martyrs, who doth make them, but the pope? And furthermore to compare together the causes of these martyred saints in my calendar with them which shine shined in the popes calendar (taking the same proportion of time as I doe within these last 500. yeres) why may not I have as good cause to celebrate these in my calendar, which lost their lives and were slaine, principally for the cause of Christ and of his word, as the pope hath to celebrate his double and simple feasted saints in his calendar; who in their doings doctrine and life, as they seemed rather to serve the pope, than Christ the Lord; so in their death appeared no such cause, why they should be sanctified in the Church beyond all other? Let not the Church of Christ (P. Cope) be deluded with hypocritical names, nor fained apparitions, and fabulous miracles, neither be you deceived your self, but let us resort sincerely to the word of God. What was in S. Francis (looke upon his superstitious life, and presumptuous testament, wrought no doubt by Satan to diminish and obscure the Testament of Jesus Christ) why he should be made a saint, and not an enemy rather of Christ?

What was likewise in Frier Dominicke, who before Francis tenne yeres together persecuted the poore Waldensis to death and destruction: Why should he stand a saint and a pillar of the Church? I pray you what see you in Thomas Becket, but that hee died for the ambitious liberties of the Popish church? What in Adelmus, and in Anselmus, but onely that they chased away married Priests from

the Churches, and planted in idle Monks in their stead: The like also did Dunstanus, who was rubricated with a duplex festum. Elizabeth who was the wife of the Marquesse of Thuring, when she had with much persuasions got out her husband to fight against the Turkes, and was there slaine, she afterward encloysterd her selfe, and was made a Nun. And doe ye thinke these causes to be sufficient why they should be made saints, worshipped in Churches, and set in calendars? Long it were to make rehearse all of this ruffasse, and almost infinite. One example may suffice for many. S. Gilbert of Sempringham was the sonne of Jocelin a knight, who for his deformitie of his body was set to learning, and afterward made canon, and was author of the Gilbertines in the time of king John.

This Gilbert after he had erected 13. monasteries of his order of Sempringham, was afterward laboured for unto the pope to bee made a saint. Who hearing of his mirailes, wrote his letters to Hubert archbishop of Canterbury, in the behaile of the said Gilbert, willing and commanding per Apostolica scripta, that the feast of the said Gilbert should be solemnized through all the province of Canterb. Ut meritis nimirum ejus & precibus apud misericordissimum judicem misericordiam consequamur &c.

Whereupon Hubert the Archbishop directed downe his writings to all the bishops within his province, the contents of which his writings doe follow: Hubertus Dei gratia Canterb. Archiepiscopus, totius Angliæ primas, dilectis in Christo frat. Episcopis, per provinciam Canterb. Sal. grat. & benedictionem. D. Papa, sicut ex literis ipsius manifestè perpenditur, de conversatione, meritis, & moribus b. Gilberti magistri ordinis de Sempringham, & miraculis à Deo per eum factis per testes & testimonia sufficienter instructus, de concilio fratrum Cardin. ipsum mag. Catalogo sanctorum decrevit ascribi, solennitatem ejus constituit & mandavit per Canterb. provinciam solenniter celebrari. Insuper & corpus ejus cum requisitis fuerimus precepit ad honorem Dei & gloriam elevari. Vestra igitur Univeritas huic mandato cum devotione congaudeat, & secundum formam in ipso mandato præscriptam, prædicti confessoris domini depositionem annuam faciatis cum reverentia & solenniter observari; ut apud dominum & ab illo vestra debeat & possit devotio commendari, necnon & ipsius sancti supplicis intercessio vobis proficiat ad salutem. Valete.

The summe of the which writing of the archbishop tendeth to this effect: That so much as the Pope hearing of the life and miracles of Gilbert, master of the order of Sempringham, by sufficient witness and testimonies: hath in his letters commanded him by the advice of his cardinals, that the said Gilbert, should bee canonized and ascribed in the catalogue of saints, and that his solemnitie should be celebrated solemnly throughout all the province of Canterbury: And also his body to bee taken up and shined to the honour and glory of God: He therefore, at the Popes commandement writing unto them, willet all the suffragans within his province of Canterbury, verely to solemnize and cause to be solemnized reverently the disposition of the said S. Gilbert confessor: to the intent that their devotion may be commended of the Lord, and of him. And also that the humble intercession of the said saint, may profit them to their salvation.

Further more, for the more full canonising (canonising I had almost said) of this new made saint, the saint Pope Innocent writing to Hubert aforesaid, adjoyneth withall a collect of his owne making, which is this, Plenam in nobis æternæ salvatoris virtutis operare medelam, ut qui præclara beati Gilberti confessoris tui merita veneramus, ipsius adjuti suffragiis à cunctis animarum nostrarum languoribus liberemur: Qui vivis & regnas, &c. That is, Worke in us O eternall Saviour full remedie of thy

Double abomination in the popes calendar

The great saintmaker of Rome, and who be his saints.

The great god maker of Rome.

No cause why the popes new saints should be put in the calendar.

Tho. Becket, Adelmus, Anselmus.

King? Hen. 5. Dunstanus. Elizabeth.

The canonization of S. Gilbert of Sempringham.

Ex lib. de vita Gilberti confessoris.

The popes letter and the archbishops for the canonizing of saint Gilbert.

Is this good doctrine? Cope in the popes canonization?

The blasphemous collect of the popes making for saint Gilbert.



{ KING  
HEN. 5. }

Copus p. 119.  
lin. 7.

Cope counsel-  
led to cease his  
railling.

No good com-  
mence of railling

The zeale of  
M. Cope ex-  
pend:d.

thy vertue, & wee which worship the worthy merits  
of blessed Gilbert thy confessor, being succoured by  
his suffrages, may be delivered from all languors &  
diseases of our souls; who livest and reignest, &c.

The consecration of this one saint (who perhaps  
was not the worst) I thought here to commemorate  
to the intent that the reader, measuring by this one  
the canonisation of all the rest, may iudge the better  
upon this comparison of master Cope, whether of us  
doth vindicate more impudent authoritie, the pope  
in his calendar, or I in mine: or to make the com-  
parison more fit, whether is more impudent, the pope  
in his Calendar, or else master Cope in his dia-  
logues more doctish.

But briefly to make an end of this matter with  
you; to canonise or to authorise any saints, for man  
it is presumptuous; to prescribe any thing here to  
be worshipped, beside God alone, it is idolatrous;  
to set up any mediators but Christ only, it is blas-  
phemous. And whatsoever the Pope doth or hath  
done in his Calendar, my purpose in my calendar,  
was neither to deface any old saint, or to solemnize  
any new. In my booke of Acts and Monuments  
entreating of matters passed in the church, these lat-  
ter five hundred yeares, I did regulate out a calen-  
dar, not for any canon to constitute saints, but onely  
for a table of them which within the same time did  
suffer for the testimonie of the word, whom I did,  
and do take to be good and goodly men. If any have  
other iudgement of them, I binde no man to my  
opinion, as the pope doth to his. The day will come  
which shall iudge both them and you. In the meane  
season it shall be best for you (master Cope) in my  
iudgement to keepe a good tongue in your head, and  
to quiet your railing mood. A hard thing it is to  
iudge before the Lord. Mans iudgement may faile  
and is uncertaine, the iudgement of God is always  
sure. Best it is therefore either to be sure by the word  
and iudgement of God before, what you doe say, or  
else to say the best. Of such slanderous and intem-  
perate railing can come no good, neither to them  
whom ye raile upon; nor to your selfe which raileth:  
nor to the church of God that heareth you raile. For  
them you cannot hurt, they are gone. To your selfe  
though your matters bee true, yet little honesty it  
will bring to be counted a railer; and if it bee un-  
certaine, your state is dangerous, and if it bee false  
most miserable: And as to the Church what great  
edification can proceed of such contentious braw-  
ling and barking one against another, I doe not  
greatly see. And if the zeale of the bishop of Romes  
Church have so much swallowed you up, that you  
cannot but stampe and stare at traitors when hee  
them put in calendars: first (master Cope) bee ye  
sure that they be traitors (wisdome would) whom  
you call traitors. And if ye can so probe them (as ye  
have not yet) then let your Irenaeus, or Critobulus,  
tell me, why doth not this flagrant zeale of yours as  
hot as Purgatorie burne out, and flame as well a-  
gainst your owne traitors, having so many in your  
owne Calendar and Church at home?

And if there be such a catholike zeale in you, that  
hath set your gentle breast on such a pelting chafe,  
why then is not this your catholike zeale equallie  
indifferent? Why take ye on so fell on the one side  
against Sir John Oldcastle, sir Roger Acton, M.  
Biborne, &c? A man would thinke you played Her-  
cules furens in Orchestra. On the one side again,  
ye are Oleo tranquillior. What difference (Mas-  
ter Cope) call you this? What zeale make you  
this to be Albert, your zeale I iudge not, as I know  
it not. Swift iudgement shall not become mee,  
which goe about to correct the same in you. But this  
I exhort you to beware (master Cope) that by your  
owne fruits and doings evident, ye doe not bewray  
this zeale in you to be Non secundum scientiam, nor  
such a zeale as fighteth Pro domo Dei, sed pro domo  
Pontificis. As I said, I iudge you not. You have

your iudge to whom ye stand or fall. My counsell is  
that you doe not so zeal the bishop of Rome, that for  
his sake ye lose your own soule. Pee remember the  
old vulgar voice, it is not good Ludere cum sanctis;  
worst it is illudere; worst of all it is Debacchari  
in immerentes; Because that Deus ipse ultionum Do-  
minus many times taketh their cause in hand, accor-  
ding as it is written. Opprobria opprobantium ti-  
bi ceciderunt in me, i. The rebukes of thy rebaters  
fell upon me. And seldome have I seene any such  
blasphemous railers against the end or punishment  
of Gods saints and servants, without great repen-  
tance, to come to any good end themselves.

And admit this (as granted unto you master  
Cope) that these men had been traitors, which ye  
are not able to probe: Well, they, had their punish-  
ment therefore, the world can goe no further, and  
what would you have more? Who if they repented,  
why may they not have as good part in Christs  
kingdome as your selfe: Now forsomuch as the said  
persons also suffering a double punishment were so  
constant in the way of truth, and most principally  
for the same were persecuted, and chiefly therefore  
brought to their death: that part of example, because  
I saw it pertaine to the profit of the Church, why  
might I not insert it with other Church stories in  
my booke? Let the Church take that which belongeth  
to the Church. Let the world take that which to the  
world pertaineth, and go no further. And if ye thinke  
it much, that I would exemplifie these whom ye cali  
traitors in the booke of Martyrs; first, ye must un-  
derstand, that I wrote no such booke bearing the title  
of the booke of Martyrs; I wrote a booke called the  
Acts and Monuments of things passed in the church,  
&c. Wherein many other matters be contained be-  
side the Martyrs of Christ. But this peradventure  
moleth your choler, that in the calendar I name  
them for Martyrs. And why may I not in my Ca-  
lendar call them by the name of Martyrs, which  
were faithfull witnesses of Christs truth and Testa-  
ment, for the which they were also chiefly brought  
unto that end? Or why may I not call them holy  
Saints, whom Christ hath sanctified with his blessed  
blood? And what if I should also call the thiefe and  
murderer, hanging on the right side of the Lord, by  
the name of a holy Saint and confessor, for his wit-  
nessing of the Lord, what can master Cope say a-  
gainst it?

And as for colouring the names of certaine mar-  
tyrs in the said Calendar in red or scarlet letters  
(although that pertaineth nothing to me, which was  
as pleased the Painter or Painter) yet if that bee it  
that so much breaketh patience, why rather doth hee  
not expostulate in this behalfe with the great saint-  
maker of Rome, who hath redded them much more  
than ever did I? For hee did red and die them with  
their owne blood, whereas I did but onely colour  
them with red letters. And thus for matter of my  
Calendar enough.

Proceeding now out of the Calendar unto the  
book wherein he chargeth me with so many lyes, im-  
pudencies, vanities, depavations, and untruths, it  
remaineth likewise I cleare my selfe, answering  
first to those lyes and untruths, which to the storie of  
sir Roger Acton, and sir John Oldcastle doe apper-  
taine. And after to other particulars, as in order of  
my booke doe follow. And first, where he layeth a-  
gainst me while heapes, and cartlobes, I cannot  
tell how many lyes and falsities; I here briefly  
answere master Cope againe (or what English  
Harpesfield else for ever lyeth covered under this  
English Cope) that if a lie be (after the definition of  
S. Austine) whatsoever thing is pronounced with  
the intent to deceive another; then I protest to you  
master Cope, and to all the world, there is never a  
lye in all my booke. What the intent and custome is  
of the Papists to doe, I cannot tell: for mine owne

The name of  
martyrs in the  
Calendar de-  
fended.  
What is a  
martyr?

Holy saintes  
of Christ

Martyrs in the  
calendar co-  
loured with  
red.

The painter  
coloureth with  
red.  
The pope co-  
loureth with  
blood.

The author  
cleareth him-  
selfe of lyes and  
untruths laid  
against him.



part, I will say, although many other vices I have, yet from this one I have allwaies of nature abhor, wittingly to deceive any man or child, so nere as I could, much lesse the Church of God; whom I with all my heart doe reverence, and with feare obey. And therefore among others canles, that haue withdraue my minde from the papists faction, almost there is none greater than this, because I see them so little given to truth, so farre from all serious feeling and care of sincere religion, so full of false pretended hypocrisie and dissimulation, so little regarding the Church of Christ in their inward hearts, which they so much haue in their mouths: so as under the title thereof they may hold up their owne estate. Otherwise so little reverence they yeld to the true and honourable Church of Iesus the Sonne of God, that what unworthy and rascall ministers they take into it they passe not, what fictions, what lies and fables, what false miracles and absurd fables they invent to delude it, they care not. I speak it of all.

Some there bee of that sect unfained in consciences, and more religious, and better disposed natures onely of simple ignorance deceived. But such commonly haue bene and be the chiefe guides and leaders of the papists Church, that little true care and small zeal hath appeared in them toward the church of Christ, not much regarding what corruption increased therein, so that their commoditie might not decrease. Thus out of this fountaine haue gushed out so many prodigious lies in Church Legends, in Saints lives, in monish fictions, in fabulous intricacies, in false and forged reliques, as in peeces of the holy crosse, in the blood of Wales, in our Ladies milke, in the nailes of Christ, which they make to a great number. Likewise in their false and blind errors, corrupt doctrines, absurd intentions, repugnant to the truth of the word. Item, in their bastard books, forged Epistles, their Apocrypha, and Pseudopigrapha. Here come in their forged canons, their foisting and cogging in ancient counsels and decrees, as in *de apostolicis constitucionibus*, in canons of the Apostles (if those canons were the Apostles) Excepta Romana sede, foisted into the decrees by Gratianus, also the cogging in a false canon to the counsell of Nice for the maintenance of the see of Rome, as appeareth in the fifth Synod of Carthage.

Here come in also the Epistles of Clement, and other sundry Epistles Decretall, which as they are no doubt falsly inserted by other, so are they the welhead of many superstitious traditions, oppressing this day the Church of Christ. To speake moze oober of the liturgies of saint James, of Chrysostome and other, of the first masse said by saint Peter at Rome, and that saint Peter late 25. yeeres bishop of Rome. To speake also of the woorkes of Augustine, Ambrose, Hierom, and Gregorie, what Doctor or famous writer hath there been in the Church, under whose name some counterfeited bookes haue not falsly bene fathered, and yet stand still authorized under their patronage, to the great detriment of the Church? What should I speake of Abdias, Amphiloehus, Dionysius Areopagita: The Dialogues of Gregorie, which falsly to this day haue bene ascribed to Gregorie the first, where indeed they were first wrotten in Greeke by Gregorie the third, and afterward translated out of Greeke into Latine by Pope Zacharie, vide supra. Likewise that woorthy and imperiall sermon intituled, Eusebii Pamphili Sermo ad Conuentum Sanctorum, hath to this day wrongfully borne the name of Eusebius. Whereas in very truth it was made by the good Emperour Constantinus himselfe, in his owne hericall stile in Latine, and afterward translated out of Latine into Greeke by Eusebius, as he himselfe confesseth in his woork De vita Constant. lib. 4. But as touching this sermon, although the name bee changed, so goodly and fruitfull it is, that it mattereth not

much under whose name it be read, yet woorthy to be read under the name of none so much as of the emperour Constantine himselfe, who was the true author and owner thereof.

Briefly, except it bee the bookes onely of the new Testament, and of the old; what is almost in the Popes Church, but either it is mingled or depaved, or altered, or corrupted, either by some additions interlaced, or by some diminution mangled and gelded, or by some glosse adulterate, or with manifest lyes contaminate: So that in their doctrine standeth little truth; In their Legends, Portues, and Masse Bookes, lesse truth; In their miracles and Reliques least truth of all. Neither yet doe their Sacraments remaine cleare and bold of manifest lyes and corruption. And specially here cometh in the master Wæ, which bringeth in much sweet honey into Popes hives, the master lye I meane of all lyes, where the Pope leaveth not one crumme of Bread, nor drop of Wine in the reverend Communion; untruely and idolatrously taketh away all substance of Bread from it, turning the whole substance of Bread, into the substance of Christs owne Body; which substance of Bread if the Pope take from the Sacrament, then must hee also take the breaking from it; for breaking and the Bodie of Christ can in no wise stand literally together by the Scripture. Thus then as this is pooded by the Word of God to bee a manifest lye; so thinke not much (good Reader heere) as though I passed the bounds of modesty in calling it the arch lie, or master lie of all lies. Because upon this one infinite number of other lyes and errors in the Popes Church, as Handmaides doe waite and depend.

But soasmuch as I stand here not to charge other men so much, as to defend my selfe, ceasing therefore, or rather deferring for a time to stirre this stinking puddle of these wilfull and intended lies and untruths, which in the popes religion and in Papists bookes bee innumerable, I will now returne to those untruths and impudent lyes which Pastor Cope hath hunted out in my Histories of Ases and Monuments, first beginning with those untruths which hee carpeth in the Roie of the foresaid sir John Deseille; and sir Roger Acton, Browne and the rest.

And first where hee layeth to my charge, that I call them martyrs, which were traitors and seditious rebels against the king, and their countrie; to this I have answered sufficiently before.

Now here then must the Reader needs stay a little, at D. Copes request, to see my banitie and impudencie yet moze fully and amply repressed in refuting a certaine place in my Latine storie, concerning the kings statute made at Leicester, which place and words by him alleaged, be these, pag. 107. Quocirca Rex indicto Leicestræ concilio (quod fortassis Londini ob Cobhami fautores non erat tutum) proposito edicto immanem denunciat poenam his quicunque deinceps hoc doctrinæ genus sectarentur, usque adeo in eos severus, ut non modo hæreticos, sed perduelliones etiam haberi, ac proinde gemino eos supplicio, suspendio simul & incendio, afficiendos statuerit, &c. Et mox; Adeo ille vires, rationesque intendebat omnes adversus Wicklevianos. Wickleviani id temporis dicebantur, quicunque Scripturas Dei sua lingua leſtitarent, &c.

Upon these words out of my foresaid Latine booke alleaged, master Cope perfwadeh himselfe to haue great advantage against me, to proove mee a noxious lye, in three sundry points. First, in that whereas I say, that the king did hold his Parliament at Leicester, adding this by the way of parenthesis (quod fortassis Londini ob Cobhami fautores non erat tutum, &c.) Here he concludeth thereby, simpliciter and precisely, that the Lord Cobham and sir Roger Acton with his fellowes, were traitors, &c.

Whereby

KING  
HEN. 8.

Untruth in the popes doctrine

Untruth in the popes Legends and Masse bookes.

Untruth in the popes miracles and reliques. Untruth in the popes sacraments.

A master lie.

The lies and fictions innumerable in the popes Church.

Untruth in the popish Epistle Decretall.

Untruth in the popish Liturgies.

Untruth in bookes counterfeited.

Gregories Dialogues.

Sermo ad conventum sanctorum, in fine Eusebii, made by Constantine the emperor.

3. Points.  
1. Objection.



KING  
HEN. 5.  
ope caviller  
without cause,

cat. an. 2.  
en. 5. cap. 7.  
Objection.

Copus p. 853.  
n. 6.

Objection.

The sect of  
Wickliffe made  
heretic and  
reason by king  
Henry 5  
Polyd. Virg.  
ib. 22.

T. Walden,  
in tomo pri-  
mo: Doctrina-  
li ad Mart.  
papam in  
prologo.

Walden. to-  
mo 1. De do-  
ctrinali ec-  
clesia, cap. 46.  
lib. 2.

Whereby a man may soon shape a caviller, by the shadow of master Cope. For whereas my Dialys out of the text speaketh doubtfully and uncertainly, by this word (fortassis) meaning indeed the king to be in feare of the Gospellers, that he durst not hold his Parliament at London, but went to Leicester; he argueth precisely therfore, that the lord Cobham, sir Richard Acton, and his fellows went about to kill the king. Secondly, where I affirme that the king in that Parliament made a grievous law against all such as did hold the doctrine of Wickliffe, that they should be taken hereafter, not for here ticks, but also for felons, or rebels, or traitors, and therefore should sustaine a double punishment, both to be hanged, and also to be burned, &c. Where cometh in master Bonnus, with his Cope on his backe, and prying me to such a liar, denyeth plainly that the king made any such statute; vide pag. 853. line 6. Where his words be these: Atqui quod heretici pro perduellionibus, & deinceps geminatas poenas suspendii & incendii lucent, ut nugatur Foxus, nullo modo illic traditur, &c.

First, here would be asked of master Cope, what he calleth patria hostes, & proditores? If hee call these traitors, then let us see whether they that followed the sect of Wickliffe were made traitors and heretikes by the kings law, or not. And first let us heare what saith Polydoze Virgill, his owne witness in this behalfe, whose words in his xxi. booke, pag. 441. be these, Quare publice edixit, ut si usquam deinceps reperirentur qui eam sequerentur sectam, patria hostes haberentur, quo sine omni lenitate severius ac oculis de illis supplicium fumeretur, &c. That is, wherefore it was by publike statute decreed, that whosoever were found hereafter to follow the sect of Wickliffe, should be accounted for traitors; whereby, without all lenitie they should be punished more severely and quickly, &c.

Thus have you (master Cope) the plaine testimony of Polydoze with mee. And because ye shall further see your selfe more impudent in carping, than I am in depraving of histories, you shall understand more over and heare, what Thomas Walden one of your owne Catholike brotherhood, and who was also himselfe alive, and a doer in the same Parliament, being the provinciall of the Carmelites saith in this matter writing to Pope Martin, whose very words in Latine here follow, written in his prologue to the said Martin, in this wise: Nec mora longa processit, quin statutum publicum per omne regni concilium in publico emanavit edicto, quod omnes Wiclevisti, sicut Dei proditores essent, sic proditores regis, proscriptis bonis, censentur & regni duplici poena dandi incendio propter Deum, suspendio propter regem, &c. That is, And it was not long after, but a publike law and statute came out, by the common assent of the generall Parliament of the whole realme, that all Wiclevists, as they are traitors to God, so also should be counted traitors to the king and to the realme, having their goods lost and confiscate to the king. And therefore should suffer double punishment, as to be burnt for God, and to be hanged for the king, &c. And thus have you (M. Cope) not onely my sentence, but also the very words of my storie confirmed by this author; because ye shall not thinke me to speake so lightly or impudently without my booke. And moreover to confirme the sentence of Thomas Walden, it followeth also in another place of the foresaid author: Tom. 1. lib. 2. De doctrinali fidei Ecclesia Cathol. cap. 46. where he writeth in these words: Et tamen jam cum regnare coepisset illustris Rex Henricus 5, qui adhuc agit in sceptris, & de eorum perfidia per catholicos bene doctos legem statui fecit, ut ubique per regnum Wiclevisti probatus, ut reus puniretur de crimine lese majestatis, &c. That is, and yet when the noble king Henry the fifth, who as yet both live and reign, began first to reign,

he began to set forth a law by his learned catholikes which were about him against the fallenesse of these men, so that whosoever was proofed to bee a Wiclevist, through the whole realme, should bee punished for a traitor, &c. What words can you have master Cope, more plaine than these? or what authority can you require of more credit, which lived in the same time, and both did see and heare of the same things done? Who also writing to Pope Martin, was by the said Pope Martin allowed, approved and solemnly commended, as appeareth by the Popes Epistle to him, wherein the Pope declareth, how he caused his bookes, Per solennes viros videri, & examinari, That is, by sollemne persons to be seene and examined, &c. So that you must needs grant either this to be true that Walden writeth, or else that the Pope (tanquam papa) in allowing his writings, may erre and be deceived. Chuse ye (master Cope) of these two opinions whether you will take.

And if ye thinke this my assertion yet not sufficiently rescued with these authorities aforesaid, I will also hereunto adopyn the testimonie of another writer named Roger Wall, who writing De Gestis Henric. 5. and speaking of the said statute of this Parliament something more plainly than the rest, hath these words: In hoc etiam Parlamento nobilitas regia hostes Christi sibi reputans proditores, volens dare intelligere universis, quod ipse absque cujuscunque fluctuationis dubio, quamdiu auras hauriret vitales, verus & perfectus Christiana fidei amulator existeret; statuit & decrevit, ut quotquot ipsius secta, quae dicitur Lollardorum, invenirentur emuli & fautores, eo facto rei proditorii criminis in majestatem regiam haberentur, &c. In English, Also in this Parliament the noble king reputing Christ enemies to be traitors to himselfe, to the intent that all men should know without all doubt that so long as he lived, he would be a true and perfect follower of Christian faith; did enact and decree, that whosoever should bee found followers and maintainers of this sect, which is called the Lollards sect. Ipso facto, should be counted and reputed guilty of treason against the kings maiestie, &c.

By these hitherto alleged if M. Cope will not be satisfied, yet let the reader indifferently iudge; Vtrum in hac re magis nugatur Foxus, an Copus calumniatur. And yet moreover to make the matter more certaine, marke the clamation of the said Roger Wall added to the end of those words abovesaid, whereby we have to understand more clearly both what were the proceedings of the king in the said parliament, and also what was the blinde affection of monkes and priests at that time toward their king and prince (which was then called princeps sacerdotum) in condemning and destroying the poore Lollards. The words of the monke be these: O verus amicus, qui amico illaram injuriam sibi inferri consimiliter arbitrat, praedictum illi intentum reputat esse suum, & ad ejus onera conferenda, auxiliationis humeros supponere non veretur, &c. That is, O true friend, who taketh and reckoneth that injury no lesse done to himselfe, which is done to his friend; and that prejudice which is intended against him, reputeth to be as his owne; and to beare together the burthens of his friend, sticketh not to lay to his owne shoulders, for the easing and helping of him, &c.

How can it now be denied, master Cope) in reading these authors, and seeing their testimonies, but that Lollardie in the Parliament was made both treason and heretic, and had therefore a double indgement of punishment, annexed, to be hanged for the one, and to be burned for the other, according as in my former Latine storie I recorded, and yet I refused not?

But you will say againe (as ye doe) that there is no mention made for heretic to bee made treason, nor of any double punishment to bee inflicted for the

Either Walden  
writeth true, or  
else the pope  
erred.

Rog. Wallus  
lib de gestis  
Hen. 5. fol. 10

King Henry the  
fifth called,  
Princeps sa-  
cerdotum.  
Rog. Wallus,  
ibid.

Copus pag.  
853 lin. 8.  
Objection.



Answer.

Stat. an. 2.  
Hen. 5. cap. 7.

same. In the body of the statute (I grant) there is no expresse mention in words of heresie to bee made treason, expresse signified in rigour of words; but inclusively it is so inferred, that it cannot bee denied. For first, where Lands, Goods and Chattell of the said Lollards were lost and forfeit to the king, what doth this import else, but treason or felony?

And where the lord Cobham (for whose cause specially this statute seemed to bee made) did sustaine afterward both hanging and burning by the vigor of the same statute, what is here contained, but a double penalitie? Again, where in the beginning of the statute mention is made of rumors and congregations, and after upon the same followeth the sentences of the king, whereunto the officers bee first sworn should bee first preferred for libertie of holy Church, and punishment of heretikes, made before these dayes and now repealed, ut supra. What meaneth this; but to make these congregations of the lollards to be forceable entries, riots, great ridings, unlawful assemblies, affrayers of the people, armed, riots, and insurrections, and so sendeth them to the former statutes not repealed, that is, to the statute, an. 13. Henry 4. chapter 7. where the punishment is left to the discretion of the king. And else to the statute; an. 15. Richard 2. chap. 2. where the penalty is made fine and ransom. And else to the statute, an. 5. Richard 2. chapter 6. where such assemblies be made plaine treason, in fine statuti.

And as here is matter of treason sufficiently contained, so for heresie likewise the same statute referreth them to the ordinaries, and to the lawes properly to heresie appertaining, and to the Statute Anno 2. Henry 4. Chapter 15. where the penalitie is burning. Also to the statute Anno 5. Richard 2. Chapter 5.

5 So that in this present statute here mention is contained, as ye see, although not in expresse words, yet inclusively (by referring to other statutes not repealed) both Lollardie which is punished with burning, and forceable entries which are punished at the kings pleasure. And thus much concerning the second untruth, which master Cope untruly noted in me.

3. Objection.

3 The third untruth which he noteth in me concerning this matter is this, wherein he reporteth me, that I say, there was no other cause of debising this sharpe law and punishment against these men, but onely for having the Scripture bookes. And therefore here is to be noted in the margent Foxi dolus malus, but let master Cope take heed he deceive not himselfe and other. For my part I remember no such place in this my Latine storie where I so say. Whely my words be these, added in the latter end of the place abovesaid, Wicleviani vero dicebantur quicunque id temporis scripturas Dei sua lingua legerent, &c. That is; They were called Wiclevists, whosoever at that time read the Scripture in English, or vulgar tongue &c. I say not, that for the Scriptures being read in the English tongue, therefore the law was enacted, but so is master Cope disposed to construe it. What law and statutes were made against writting or reading of any booke in English, or in any other tongue contrary to the Catholike (that is, the Romish faith) or to the determination of the holy Church (that is, of Rome) readeth I beleeve the bloody statute made an. 2. Henry 4. chapter 15. abovespecified. Also read the constitution provinciall of Thomas Arundell abovesaid mentioned: Where it was decreed, that the Text of Holy Scripture should not be had, or read in the vulgar tongue, from the time of master John Wicleff for ever after, unless the said translation be approved first by the ordinarie, or by provinciall counsell, under paine and punishment of heresie. Now let the Reader judge whether the reading of Scripture bookes in the English tongue, by the making or

translating of Wicleff, or from the time of Wicleff downeward, be counted heresie, or not. As for the approving of the ordinarie, or of the provinciall counsell added in the end of the said constitution, it maketh more for a shew, or pretence, than for any int exception, or any true intention. For what man, having those scriptures translated in English, would either present them to their ordinaries being so set against the reading of such bookes? Or what ordinarie would or did ever yet since Arundels time approve any such translation, presented unto them? Or else why did the good Partys of Arundell suffer death, in the beginning of king Henry the eighth, for having and reading certaine bookes of scripture, which were (as is said) only foure Epistles of saint Paul, with certaine other prayers? And the other which heard them but only read, did beare faggots; and the same time, the children were compelled to set faggots unto their fathers; at which time Longland being then bishop of Lincoln, and preaching to them at the stake, said, that whatsoever they were that did but move their lips in reading those Chapters were damned for ever; as when wee come to that time, by the Grace of Christ, shall hereafter more amply and notoriously appeare. And where then is this Dolus malus Foxi, margined against mee, for craftie dealing in my storie?

Whereover, where master Cope proceeding farther in this matter, asketh me; how was the lord Cobham obedient to the king, when as for the feare of him the king durst not then keep his Parliament at London? To whom I answer againe, asking likewise of master Cope, how was the king then affraid to hold his Parliament at London for the lord Cobham, when the lord Cobham at that time was in Wales? And here master Cope thinking to have me at a narrow strait, and to hold me fast, bidde me tell him how it could be otherwise, but the lord Cobham must needs have fautors? And who should these fautors be (saith he) but sir Roger Aston, Browne and their fellows? The which mighty question of master Cope I answer againe; how could sir Roger Aston, Browne and their fellows be then fautors of the lord Cobham, for whom the king durst not hold the Parliament at London, when as the said Roger Aston, Browne and the rest were put to death, a whole yeere almost before the Parliament at Leicester began?

And now as I have hitherto briefly, and truly answered your askings (master Cope) let me be so bold with you againe, to propound to you likewise another question, forsomuch as you have put me to the searching of the statutes in this matter, wherewith before I was not much acquainted. Now out of the same statutes riseth a double scruple, or question, worthy to be solved. The case is this, That forasmuch as so many good Partys and saints of God hitherto, in this realme of England, have been burned from the time of king Henry the fourth, Henry the fifth, Henry the sixth, Henry the eighth, to the time, and in the time of Quene Mary; my question is, that you with all your learned counsell about you will tell mee, by what law or statute of the realme were these men burnt? I know the ancient custome hath been, that heretikes convicted by a provinciall counsell were wont to be left to the secular power. But how will ye prove me, these heretikes were either convicted by such provinciall counsell, or that these secular men ought to bee your butchers in burning them, whom ye have committed to them? If ye allege the six articles made in the raigne of king Henry the 8. those articles neither did serve before the time of king Henry the eighth, neither yet were they rebised after his time. If ye allege the statute made anno 5. Rich. 2. cap. 5. In that statute (I answer) is contained no matter of burning, but only of arrest to be done at the certifications

{ KING  
{ HAN. 5.Children of  
Arundell  
cau  
sed to set fag  
gots to the  
fathers.Copus p. 833  
line 20.Copus p. 836  
line 13.Statute of the  
6 Articles in  
the time of  
king Henry 8.  
Statut. an. 5.  
Ric. 2. cap. 5.Reading of  
scripture bookes  
contrary to the  
Romish faith  
made heresie.Statut. an. 1.  
Hen. 4. cap. 14  
Vid. sup.p. 484.  
The text of the  
scripture not to  
be translated  
into the vulgar  
tongue under  
paine of heresie  
Const. pro-  
vinc. Tho.  
Arund.  
Vide supra.



{KING  
HEN. 5.  
Stat. de com-  
burendo an. 2  
Hen. 4. cap. 15  
Vide supr.  
Hen. 4. de  
comburendo,  
proved not suf-  
ficient to burne  
any man.

cations of the prelates, without any farther punish-  
ment there mentioned. To conclude, if ye allege  
the statute made an. 2. Henry 4. cha. 15. and revived  
in the reign of Quene Mary, mentioned before.  
To that statute I answer, that although the pre-  
sented statute appeareth in forme of words in the  
printed booke to give unto the temporall officers au-  
thority to bring them to the stake; and to burne them  
whom the bishop delivereth (yet is it not to be pro-  
ved, either by you or any other, that statute to be  
law, or warrant sufficient to burne any person or  
persons committed to the secular power by the cler-  
gie. And that I prove thus; for although the same  
statute of king Henry the fourth in the booke prin-  
ted appeare to have law and authority sufficient, by  
the full assent both of the king, of the lords, and of  
the commons; yet being occasioned by master Cope  
to search further in the statutes, I have found that  
in the rolles and first originals of that Parliament,  
there is no such mention either of any petition or  
else of any assent of the Commons annexed, or  
contained in that statute, according as in the prin-  
ted booke usuall in the Lawyers hands to craftily  
and falsly is foisted in, as by the plaine words there-  
of may well appeare.

For where the said statute, an. 2. Henry 4. chap. 15,  
being thus intituled in the rolles; *Petitio Cleri con-  
tra hereticos*, and assented unto in this forme, hath  
these words,

*Stat. an. 2. Henr. 4. cap. 15. Intituled in the Rolle  
thus; Petitio Cleri contra hereticos, and  
assented unto in this forme.*

The printed  
statute an. 2.  
Hen. 4. cap. 15.  
falsly corrupt-  
ed.

QUas quidem petitiones prelatorum & cleri superius  
expressas do. noster rex, de consensu magnatum  
& aliorum procerum regni sui, in presenti Parlamento  
existentium concessit, & in omnibus & singulis juxta  
formam & effectum eorum ordinavit & statuit de  
cetero firmiter observari, and so forth, according to the  
petition: and more words are there not in the sta-  
tute rolle. Wherefore, whereas the statute booke  
printed hath thus: Super quibus quidem novitatibus  
& excessibus superius recitatis (videlicet, in the petiti-  
on of the prelates and clergy) prelati & clerus su-  
pra dicti ac etiam communitates dicti regni in eodem  
parlamento existen. dict. Domino Regi supplicarunt,  
&c. Qui quidem Dominus Rex, &c. ex assensu magna-  
tum & aliorum procerum ejusdem Regni, &c. concessit,  
ordinavit, &c. These words, &c. Etiam commu-  
nitates dicti Regni, &c. are put in further than  
the rolle doth warrant, and seemeth to be the pra-  
ctice of the clergy, to make that as an Act of Par-  
liament, and to seeme to have the force of a law,  
which was never assented unto by the commons.

And thus you see how this foresaid statute, printed  
both in English and in Latine among the provin-  
ciall counsels of Drford (by the vertue whereof so  
many good men have ben burned so long in Eng-  
land) both utterly overthrow it self, for that it swa-  
reth from the record both in forme and in matter,  
and lacketh the assent of the commons. Which  
doubt I thought at this present to propound unto  
you (master Cope) for that you have so urged me to  
the searching out of the statutes, by your declaim-  
ing against the lord Cobham.

Whereover unto this statute aforesaid, toyne also  
withall another Memorandum of like practice done  
Anno 5. Richard 2. In the which yere, whereas  
a Statute was concluded in the Parliament An-  
no 5. Richard 2. chapter 5. against certaine Prea-  
chers specified in the same Statute, which going  
about in certaine habitis from place to place, did  
draw the people to Sermons; and commissions  
were made and directed in the said Parliament  
to the Sheriffes, to arrest all such Preachers, and  
to imprison the same, at the certifications of the pre-  
lates. Here is then to be noted, that the same Sta-

tute, an. 5. Rich. 2. chapter 5. was reboked by the  
king in the parliament, an. 6. Richard 2. upon the  
words of the commons being these, videl. Foras-  
much as the same Statute was never assented, ne  
granted by the commons, but that which therein  
was done, was done without their assent, and now  
ought to be undone, for that it was never their mea-  
ning to be justified, and to binde themselves and  
their successors to the Prelates no more, than their  
ancestors had done before them. Ex Rotul. And yet  
this foresaid rebocation notwithstanding, in quene  
Maries time, they inquired upon that statute.

In searching of these statutes, as you have occa-  
sioned me to finde out these scruples; so being found  
out, I thought here not to dissemble them, for so much  
as I see and heare many now adapes so boldly to  
beare themselves upon this statute, and thinking so  
to excuse themselves, doe say, that they have done  
nothing but the law, the law; to the intent that these  
men seeing now how incalculable they be both before  
God and man, having no law to beare them out,  
may the sooner repent their bloody and unlawfull  
tyranny, exercised so long against Gods true Ser-  
vants, yet in time before that the last law of God  
shall finde out their unright dealings, which partly he  
beginneth already to doe, and more no doubt will  
doe hereafter.

In the meane tyme, this my petition I put up  
to the commons, and to all other which shall here-  
after put up any petition to the Parliament:  
that they, being admonished by this abuse, will  
show themselves hereafter more wise and circum-  
spect, both what they agree unto in Parliaments,  
and also what cometh out in their name. And  
as these good Commons in this time of king  
Henry the fourth, would not consent nor agree  
to this bloody statute, nor to any other like; For  
so we read that the Commons in that bloody time  
of king Henry the fourth, when another like cruell  
bill was put up by the prelates in an. 8. Henry 4. a-  
gainst the Lollards, they neither consented to this,  
and also overthrew the other: so in like manner it is  
to be wished, that the commons in this our time, or  
such other that shall have to doe in Parliaments  
hereafter, following the steps of these former times,  
will take vigilant heed to such cruell bills of the  
popes prelates, being put up, that neither their con-  
sent doe passe rashly, nor that their names in any  
condition be so abused; Considering with them-  
selves that a thing once being passed in the Parlia-  
ment cannot afterward be called back; And a lit-  
tle inconvenience once admitted, may grow after-  
ward to mischiefs that cannot be stopped. And  
sometime it may so happen, that through rash con-  
sent of voyces, the end of things being not well ad-  
vised, such a thing may be granted in one day, that  
afterward many dayes may cause the whole realme  
to rue. But I trust men are bitten enough with such  
blacke Parliaments to beware of afterclaps. The  
Lord Jesus onely protector of his Church, stop all  
crafty devices of subtil enemies, and with his wise-  
dome direct our Parliaments, as may be most to  
the advantage of his Word, and comfort of his  
people, Amen, Amen.

And thus much having said for the defence of the  
lord Cobham, of sir Roger Aston knight, M. John  
Broome Esquire, John Webery preacher, and of  
other their fellows against Alanus Copus Anglus,  
here I make an end with this present Interim, till  
further leisure serve me hereafter (Christ willing) to  
pay him the whole interest which I owe unto him.  
Adding this in the meane time, and by the way;  
that if master Cope had bene a Roman any thing  
reasonable, he had no great cause so to wrangle with  
me in this matter, who as I did commend the  
lord Cobham, and that worthily, for his va-  
liant standing by the truth of his Doctrine before  
Thomas Arundell the Archbishop; so touching the  
matter

Ex Rot. Paris.

The prela-  
tes in burning  
Gods people  
have done a-  
gainst the law.

A necessary ad-  
monition to  
the commons  
of England.

Ex constitui-  
onibus pro-  
vincialibus  
Oxonie ce-  
lebratis. Io-  
an. Antho.

Vide stat. an.  
5. Rich. 2.  
cap. 5.



matter of this conspiracy, I did not affirme or de-  
fine any thing thereof in my former history to pre-  
cisely, that he could well take any vantage thereof  
against me, who in writing of this conspiracie laid  
against sir Roger Acton and sir John Oldcastle, doe  
but disundately or doubtfully speake thereof, not  
concluding certainly this conspiracie either to be  
true, or not true, but only probing the same not to be  
true at that time, as Polydore Virgil, and Edward  
Hall in their histories doe affirme; which say, that  
this conspiracie began after the burning of John  
Buss and Hierome of Prague, which could not be.  
And thereto tendeth my assertion. By words are  
plaine, and are these: Therefore it is evident that  
there was either no conspiracie at all against the  
king, or els that it was at some other time, or done  
by some other capitaines, &c.

These be my words with other moe: In the which  
proposition disuasive, if either part be true, it is  
enough for me. His part it was to resell both; which  
he hath not done. But onely standing fast upon the  
one part disuiveth the other. And this is Alanus  
Copus Anglus, who by that time he shall come from  
Rome (whither he is now gone, as I heare say) I  
trust he will return a better Anglican home again  
in suam Angliam.

But to the truth of the matter; as I said before,  
to I say againe, whatsoever this worthy, noble, ver-  
tuous knight, sir Roger Acton was otherwise, this  
is certaine, that he was alwayes of contrary minde

and opinion to the bishop of Rome, and to that kind  
of people, for the which cause he had great envy and  
hatred at their hands, and could as little beare it:  
neither do I greatly dissent from them, which doe  
suspect or iudge that the Lord Cobham, by his friend-  
ly helpe escaped out of the Tower, and that perad-  
venture was the cause why he was apprehended  
and brought to trouble, and in the end came to his  
death. Other causes also there might be, that these  
good men percase did frequent among themselves  
some conventicles, (which conventicles were made  
treason by the statute aforesaid) either in those thic-  
kets or in some place else, for the hearing of Gods  
Word, and for publike Prayer; and therefore had  
they this Weberley their preacher with them.

But to conclude, whatsoever this Sir Roger Ac-  
ton was, this is the truth, which I may boldly re-  
cord, as one writing the Acts and things done in  
the Church, that he was at length apprehended, con-  
demned, and put to death or martyrdom three yers  
and more before the lord Cobham died. Likewise  
master John Brokone, and John Weberley the prea-  
cher, suffered with him the same kinde of death (as  
some say) in the field of saint Giles, with other moe,  
to the number of 36, if the stories be true. Which was  
in the moneth of January, An. 1413. after the com-  
putation of our English histories, counting the yere  
from the annunciation, but after the Latine writers  
counting from Christs nativity, Anno 1414, accord-  
ing as in this Picture is specified,

**KING**  
HEN. 5.  
Causes conte-  
stuall why  
sir Roger Ac-  
ton with the  
rest, were put  
to death, for  
Treason and  
Lollards.

### The picture of the hanging and burning of diverse persons counted for Lollards, in the first yeere of the reigne of King Henry the fifth.





{ KING }  
HEN. 5.  
{ Anno }  
1414.  
Directly in  
Authors.

An English  
book beginning  
thus.  
A table of all  
the kings.

Dr. Cope gone  
to Rome.

The death of  
Thomas A-  
rundell arch-  
bishop of Canter-  
bury.  
Ex hist. S. Al-  
ban.  
Gods works  
and punish-  
ments to be  
noted.

Thomas A-  
rundell gibeth  
sentence a-  
gainst the lord  
Cobham and  
God gibeth  
sentence a-  
gainst Tho.  
Arundell.  
The condem-  
ned man over-  
threw his con-  
demner.

Polydor Vir-  
gil ecceth.

Thom. Gas-  
conius in  
Dictionario  
theologico.  
An example of  
Gods working  
hand against  
the enemies of  
his word.

These men, as is said, suffered before the lord Cobham about thre yeres, of whose death divers do write diversly. Some say they were hanged and burnt in S. Giles field; of whom is Fabian, with such as follow him. Other there be which say that some of them were hanged and burnt. Polydorus speaking onely of their burning, maketh no mention of hanging. Another certain English chronicle I have in my hands borrowed of one D. Wolper, who somewhat differing from the rest, recordeth thus of sir Roger Adon, that his iudgement before the Justice was thus, to be drawne through London to Tiborne, and there to be hanged, and so he was naked, save certain parts of him covered with a cloth, &c. And when certaine dayes were past (saith the author) a trumpeter of the kings called Thomas Cliffe, got grant of the king to take him doونه, and to burie him, and so he did, &c. And thus have you the story of sir Roger Adon, and his fellows brethren. As touching their cause, whether it were true, or els by error mistaken of the king, or by the fetch of the bishops furnished, I referre it to the iudgement of him which shall iudge both the quick and the dead, & scilicet per ignem. To whom also I commit you D. Cope; God speed your journey well to Rome, whither I heare say you are going, and make you a god man.

After the decafe of martyrdom of these abobe mentioned, who were executed in the moneth of January, an. 1414. in the next moneth following, and in the same yere, the 20. day of February, God took away the great enemy of his word, and rebell to his king, Thomas Arundell archbishop of Canterbury, whose death following after the execution of these god men abobe recited, by the marvellous stroke of God so suddenly, may seeme somewhat to declare their innocency, and that he was also some great procurer of their death, in that God would not suffer him longer to live, striking him with death incontinently upon the same. But as I did the other before, so this also I do referre to the secret iudgement of the Lord, who once shall iudge all secrets openly.

In the meane time this may seeme strange, that the same Thomas Arundell, who a little before late in iudgement against the lord Cobham, and pronounced sentence of death upon him, did himselfe feele the stroke of death, and the sentence of God executed upon him before the other. Who would have thought but that the lord Cobham, being so cast and condemned definitely by the archbishops sentence, should have died long before the archbishop? But such be the works of Gods almighty hand, who so turned the whele that this condemned lord survived his condemner thre or foure yeres.

In the death of this archbishop first Polydor Virgil is deceived, who in his 22. booke, pag. 441. affirmed his death to be anno 1415. and in the second yere of king Henry 5. also after the beginning of the Councell of Constance, who indeed never reached the beginning thereof, nor ever saw the second yere of that king (unless ye count the first day for a yere) but died before, Anno 1414. February 20. Ex hist. S. Albani & multis. Furthermoze, concerning the death of this Arundell, and the manner thereof, who had been so heaue a troubler of Christs saints in his time, because the thing seemeth worthy of noting, to behold the punishment of God upon his enemies, this is the report, as I have found it alleaged out of Thomas Gascon in Dictionario Theologico, whose plain words be these: Anno 1414. Tho. Arundel. Canr. Archiepiscopus. sic lingua percussus erat, ut nec deglutire, nec loqui per aliquot dies ante mortem suam potuerit, divinis epulonis exemplo, & sic tandem obiit. Atque multi tunc fieri putabant, quia verbum alligasset, ne suo tempore predicaretur. That is, Thomas Arundel archbishop of Canterbury was so stricken in his tongue, that hee

could neither swallow nor speake for a certaine space before his death, much like after the example of the rich glutton, and so died upon the same. And thus was thought of many to come upon him, for that he bound the Word of the Lord, that it should not be preached in his dayes, &c. Which if it be true, as it doth well here appeare, these and such other horrible examples of Gods wrath may be terrible spectacles for such as occupy their tongues and braines to busily to stop the course of Gods Word, striding but against the streame, against the force whereof neither are they able to resist, and many times in resisting are overturned themselves, and drowned therein. And thus much for the death of Thomas Arundell, who continued archbishop in the See of Canterbury the space of 18. yeres.

After this Arundell, succeeded next in the said see of Canterbury Henry Chicheley, made archbishop Anno 1414. and late five and twenty yeres. This Henry following likewise the steps of his predecessor, shewed himselfe no small adversary against the labourers of the truth. In whole time was much trouble and great affliction in the Church. For as the preaching and teaching of the Word did multiply and spread abroad daily more and more, so on the contrary side, more vigilant care and strait inquisition followed and increased against the people of God, by reason whereof divers did suffer, and were burned; some for feare fled the country; many were brought to examination, and by infirmity constrained to abiure. Of whom hereafter Christ willing particularly in order of their times we will intreat.

As true piety and sincere preaching of Christs word began at this time to decay; so idle monkery and baine superstition in place thereof began to increase. For about the same yere the king began the foundation of two monasteries, one of the one side of Thames of friers oberdant, the other on the other side of Thames called Sheene and Sion, dedicated to Charter house monks, with certain Bridgit nuns or recluses, to the number of sixty, dwelling within the same precinct, so that the whole number of these with priests, monks, deacons, and nunnas, should equal the number of twelbe Apostles, and seventy two Disciples. The order of these was according to the description of S. Paul the Apostle, Col. 1. Eat not, taste not, touch not, &c. to eat no flesh, to weare no linnen, to touch no money, &c.

About Michaelmas, the same yere the king began his parliament at Leicester, abobe mentioned. In the which parliament the commons put up their bill againe, which they had put up before, Anno 1411. Hen. 4. that temporalities, disorderly waisted by men of the Church, might be converted and employed to the use of the king, of his earles and knights, and to the reliefe of the poore people, as is before recited. In feare of which bill, lest the king would give thereunto any comfortable audience (as testifieth Robert Fabian and other writers) certaine of the prelates and other head men of the Church put the king in mind to claime his right in France. Whereupon Henry Chicheley archbishop of Canterbury made a long & sollemne oration before the king to perswade him to the same, offering to the king in the behalf of the clergy great and noble summes. By reason whereof (saith Fabian) the bill was againe put off, and the king set his minde for the recovery of the same; so that some after he sent his letters and messengers to the French king concerning that matter, and received from him againe answer of derision, with a pipe of tennis balls (as some record) sent from the Dolphin, for him to play with at home. Whereby the kings minde was intenced the more toward that voyage. Who when furnishing himself with strength and armor, with powder and shot, and gunstones to play with in France, & with other artillery for that purpose convenient, so set over into France, where he got Warehem with divers other

The many t-  
housands of  
men upon  
the sea. &  
Arundell's death  
at Can.

Henry Chicheley  
at Warehem  
Gods word.

Henry Chicheley  
at Warehem  
Gods word.

Shon and  
Bridgton bur-  
ard.

Vide supra.

Fabian with  
other.

A crafty pra-  
ctice of the  
prelates.  
The king stir-  
red up to wars  
by the bishops.



other townes and castles in Normandy and Picardy, and at Agencourt had a great victory over the French army, they being counted but seven thousand by picking sharpe stakes before them, &c. After that he wan Cane, Towke, Kowan, with other townes more, as Belune, or Helone, and married with Katharine the French kings daughter. And yet notwithstanding the third time he made his voyage againe into France, where at length at Blopes he fell sicke and died: concerning all which voyages, because they are sufficiently discoursed in Fabian, Hall, and other Chronographers, referring therefore the reader unto them, I will retorne my story to other matters of the Church more effectuell.

### The entrie of the Storie of the Bohemians.

Vide supra.

The Bohemians receiving the Gospell.

The Pope against the Bohemians. Iohn Hus cited of the pope.

Iohn Hus appeareth from the pope to the pope.

Pope Iohn 23.

Iohn Hus accused to pope Iohn.

I Declared a little before how by the occasion of Queene Anne, which was a Bohemian, and married to king Richard 2. the Bohemians, coming thereby to the knowledge of Wickliffes books here in England, began first to taste and labour Christs Gospell, till at length by the preaching of Iohn Hus they increased more and more in knowledge. Inasmuch that Pope Alexander the 5. hearing thereof, began at last to stirre coales, and directed his bull to the archbishop of Swines, requiring him to look to the matter, and to provide that no person in churches, scholles or other places, should maintaine that doctrine, citing also Iohn Hus to appeare before him. To whom the said Iohn answering againe, declared that mandate or bull of the Pope utterly to repugne against the manifest examples and doings both of Christ and of his Apostles, and to be preiudiciall to the liberty of the Gospell, in binding the Word of God not to have free recourse. And therefore from this mandate of the pope he appealed to the same pope better advised. But while he was prosecuting his appeale, pope Alexander died, as is aforesaid. Ex Cochlezo in hist. Hussit.

After whom succeeded Pope Iohn the thirde and twentieth, who also, playing his part here in this matter like a pope, fought by all meanes possible how to repress and keepe under the Bohemians, first beginning to worke his malice upon the foresaid Iohn Hus their preacher, who at the same time preaching at Prague in the temple of Bethlehem, because he seemed rather willing to teach the Gospell of Christ, than the traditions of bishops, was therefore accused of certain to the forenamed pope Iohn the thirde and twentieth for an heretike. The bishop committed the whole matter unto cardinall de Columna; who when he had heard the accusation, he appointed a day to Iohn Hus, that he should appeare in the court of Rome: which thing once done, Wenceslaus king of the Romans, and of Boheme, at the request specially of his wife Sophia, and of the whole nobility of Boheme, as also at the earnest suite and desire of the towne & University of Prague, sent his Ambassadors to Rome, to desire the bishop to quit and clearly deliver Iohn Hus from that sentence and iudgement: and that if the bishop did suspect the kingdome of Boheme to be infected with any hereticall or false doctrine, he should lend his Ambassadors, the which might correct and amend the same, if there be any error or fault in them. And that all this should be done at the only cost and charges of the king of Boheme; and to promise in his name that he would aid and assist the Bishops legats with all his power and authority, to punish all such as should be taken or found in any erroneous doctrine. In the meane season also Iohn Hus, before his day appointed, sent his lawfull and make procurators unto the court of Rome, and with most firme and strong reasons did prove his innocency; whereupon he trusted so, that he thought he should have easily obtained that he should not have bene

compelled, by reason of the great danger to appeare the day appointed. But when as the Cardinall de Columna, (unto whose will and iudgement the whole matter was committed) would not admit any defence or excuse, Iohn Hus his procurators appealed unto the high bishop: yet notwithstanding this last refuge did not so much prevaile with cardinall de Columna, but that he would openly excommunicate Iohn Hus as an obstinate heretike, because he came not at his day appointed unto Rome.

Notwithstanding, so much as his procurators had appealed unto the high bishop, they had other iudges appointed unto them, as cardinall Aquileianus and cardinall Venetus, with certaine others. The which iudges, after they had prolonged and deferred the matter by the space of one yeere and a halfe, at last they returned to the sentence and iudgement of cardinall de Columna, and, confirming the same, commanded Iohn Hus his procurators that they should leave off to defend him any more, for they would suffer it no longer. Whereupon when his procurators would not cease their instant suite, certaine of them were cast into prison, and grievously punished, the other leaving their business undone, returned into Boheme.

The Bohemians notwithstanding little cared for all this, but continuing still, as they grew more in knowledge, so the lesse they regarded the pope, complaining daily against him and the archbishop for stopping the word of God, and the Gospell of Christ to be preached, saying that by their indulgences and other practices of the court of Rome, and of the Bishops consistory, they sought their owne profit, and not the glory of Iesus Christ; that they pluckt from the Word of Christ the wooll and milke, and did not feed them, either with the Word of God, or with good examples. Teaching moreover and affirming, that the commandements of the Pope and prelates are not to be obeyed, but so farre as they follow the doctrine and life of Christ and of his Apostles, and that lay men ought to iudge the works of prelates, as Paul iudged the works of Peter in correcting him, Gal. 2. Furthermore, they had amongst them certain notes and observations, whereby they might discern how farre and wherein they might obey their prelates; they derided also and scorned the Popes jurisdiction, because of the schisme that was then in the Church, when there were three popes together, one striving against another for the papacie.

Over and besides this, at the same time Iohn Hus did propound publicly, and by the notaries caused to be written three doubtfull questions, the tenor thereof followeth here word for word, and is this. Inasmuch, saith he, as it is good for men being in doubt to aske counsell, whereby all dubitation is removed, they may be able more firmly to adhere to the truth, these doubts arise here to be solved. The first doubt is, whether we ought to beleve in the pope. The second, whether it be possible for any man to be saved, which confesseth not with his mouth unto a mortall priest. The third doubt is, whether any of the Doctors do hold or say, that some of Pharaohs host being drowned in the red Sea, and of the Sadducites being subverted, be saved.

As concerning the first, he did hold negatvely, alleaging the saying of Webe upon this place of the Apostle (To him that belongeth upon him which instructeth the wicked, his faith is imputed to righteousness, Rom. 4.) Upon this place saith Webe: Aliud est credere in Deum, aliud credere Deo, aliud credere Deum, &c. The second doubt saith he: the matter of the sentences both answer, lib. 4. dist. 17. cap. 11. in these words: What is then to be holden or said herein? Certes, that without the confession of the mouth, and assolving of the outward paine, sins be forgiven through contrition and humilitie of heart, &c. For the third doubt he brought in the words of S. Hier. upon the prophet Nahum, speaking of the Egyptians

KING (HEN. 5.)

Iohn Hus excommunicate by cardinall de Columna.

The Bohemians against the pope and his doings.

Ex Cochlezo in Hist. Hussit. lib. 1.

Three doubts of Iohn Hus propounded.

Credere in Deum. Credere Deo. Credere Deum. Pet. Lumb. lib. 4. dist. 17. cap. 11. Against avarice confession.



{ KING }  
{ HEN. 5. }

Egyptians destroyed in the Sea, and of the Sodomites destroyed with fire, and of the Israelites destroyed in the desert. Know you (saith Hierome) that God therefore punished them for their sinnes here temporarily, because they should not be punished hereafter perpetually, and therefore because they were here punished, they should not be punished hereafter, for els the Scripture should lie, which is not to be granted. These three questions belike John Hus did bring in to declare how the Doctors do not agree in all things, neither with the Church of Rome, neither are to be followed in all points of all men.

It followeth moreover after the death of the archbishop Swinco above mentioned, that one named Conradus was placed by the pope there to be chiefe generall, which Conradus conferring with the Divines and Doctors of the Univerſity of Prague, required their advices and counsels, what way they might best take to allwage the dissention and discord betweene the Clergy and the people. Whereupon a certaine counsell was devised to be holden after this sort and manner as followeth.

1 First, that all Doctors and Masters of the Univerſity of Prague should be assembled in the court of the archbishop, and in his presence, that every doctor and master should sweare, not to hold or maintaine any of the 45. articles of John Wickliffe before condemned.

2 Item, concerning the seven Sacraments of the Church, the keyes and censures of the Church, the manners, rites, ceremonies, customes, and liberties of the Church, concerning also the worshipping of reliques and indulgences, the orders and religions of the Church, that every one shall sweare that he doth hold, beleve and maintaine, and will maintaine, as doth the church of Rome and no otherwile, of the which church of Rome the Pope is the head, and the colledge of cardinals is the body: who are the true, and manifest successors of blessed saint Peter prince of the Apostles, and of the colledge of the other Apostles of Christ.

3 Item, that every one shall sweare, that in every Catholike matter, belonging to the Church, he will stand to the determination of the apostolicall See, and that he will obey the prelates in all manner of things, wheresoever the thing, which is pure good, is not forbidden; or that which is more ill, is not commanded; but is meane and indifferent between both. Which meane or indifferent thing, yet notwithstanding by circumstances of time, place or person, may be either good or evil.

4 Item, that every one shall sweare and confesse by his oath, that the opinions of Wickliffe and others, touching the 7. Sacraments of the Church, and other things above notified, being contrary to the said Church of Rome, be false.

5 Item, that an oath be required of them all, that none of them shall hold, defend or maintaine any of the 45. Articles of John Wickliffe aforesaid, or in any other matter catholike, and especially of the 7. Sacraments and other articles above specified, but only as doth the church of Rome, and no otherwile.

6 Item, that every Ordinary in his diocesse shall cause the said premisses, contained in the 1. 2. 3. 4. Articles aforesaid, to be published in his Synods, and by his preachers to be declared to the people in the kingdome of Boheme.

7 Item, if any clerk, student, or lay man shall withstand any of the premisses, that the ordinary have authority, if he be convicted thereof, to correct him according to the old lawes and canons, and that no man shall defend such a one by any meanes; for none but the ordinary hath power to correct such a man, because the archbishop is chancelor both of the kingdome and Univerſity of Prague.

8 Item, that the songs lately forbidden, being odious, slanderous, and offensive to others fame, be not sung either in streets, tabernes, or any other place.

9 Item, that master John Hus shall not preach so long as he shall have no absolution of the court, neither shall hinder the preaching in Prague by his presence; that by this, his obedience to the Apostolicall See may be knowne.

10 Item, that this counsell doth appeare to be good and reasonable for the putting away of ill report and dissension that is in the kingdome of Boheme.

11 Item, if master John Hus with his complices will performe this, which is contained in the 4. former articles, then we will be ready to say as they would wish us and have us, whensoever need shall require, that we do agree with them in matter of faith; otherwise if they will not so do, we in giving this testimony, should lie greatly unto our lord the king and to the whole world. And moreover, we will be content to write for them to the court of Rome, and do the best we can for them, our honours saved. This counsell and devise being considered amongst the heads of the Univerſity of Prague, the foresaid administrator named Conradus, presented unto the king and to the barons of the realme, and also to the Senate of Prague. Whereof as soon as word came to John Hus and his adherents, they likewise drew out other articles in manner and forme of a counsell as followeth:

For the honor of God and the true preaching of his Gospell, for the health of the people, and to avoid the sinister and false infamie of the kingdome of Boheme, and of the Marquesship of Moravia, and of the city and Univerſity of Prague, and for the reforming of peace and unity between the clergy and the scholars of the Univerſity.

1 First, let the right and iust decreement of the princes, and of the kings counsell, be holden and stand in force, which betwene the lord archbishop Swinco on the one party, and between the rector and master John Hus on the other party, was made, proclaimed, sealed, and solemnly on both parts received and allowed in the court of our soveraigne lord the king.

2 Item, that the kingdome of Boheme remaine in his former rites, liberties, and common customes, so as other kingdomes and lands do enjoy, that is, in all approbations, condemnations, and other acts concerning the holy mother univerſall church.

3 Item, that master John Hus (against whom the foresaid lord Swinco could object no crime before this counsell) may be present in the congregation of the clergy, and there whosoever will object to him either heresie or error, let him object, binding himselfe to suffer the like paine, if he do not prove it.

4 Item, if no man will set himself on the contrary part against him, then let the commandment be made by our soveraigne lord the king through all his cities and likewise let it be ordained and proclaimed through all villages and townes, that master John Hus is ready to render account of his faith, and therefore if any will object unto him any heresie or error, let him write his name in the chancery of the lord archbishop, and bring forth his probations openly before both the parties.

5 Item, if none such shall be found to object, or which will write his name, then let them be called for, which caused to be noyed and rumored, in the popes court, that in the kingdome of Boheme, in the city of Prague, and in the Marquessdome of Moravia, many there be whose hearts be infected with heresie and error, that they may prove who they be; and if they be not able to prove it, let them be punished.

6 Item, that commandment be directed to doctors of divinity and of the canon law, and to the chapter of cathedrall churches, and that it be required of them all and of every one particularly, that they will bring forth his name, if they know any such to be an heretike or erroneous, and if they deny to know any such, then let them make recognition thereof, before the publicke notary, confirming the same with their seales.

7 Item:

Counsell of  
the prelates of  
Prague against  
the Gospellers.

Purum bo-  
rum,  
Purum ma-  
um,  
Medium.



7 Item, these things thus done and premised, then that our sovereign lord the king, and also that the archbishop will give commandment under paine, that no man shall call one another heretike or erroneous, unless he will stand to the probation of that heresie or error, as it becommeth him.

8 Item, after these things obtained, that our sovereign lord the king, with the consent of his barons, will then lettie a subsidie, or collect of the clergy, and direct an honest ambassie to the popes court, with the which ambassadors let them also goe upon their own proper charges or expences for their purgation, which have caused this kingdome falsly and grievously to be infamed in the apostolicall court.

9 Item, in the meane season for the presence of master John Hus, no interdicit ought to be made, as it was made of late contrary to the order and determination of our holy mother Church, &c.

As this matter was thus in altercation betwene the two parts, the one objecting, the other answering in articles as is aforesaid: In the meane time it happened by the occasion of Ladislaus king of Naples, who had besieged the Popes townes and territories, that pope John raising up warre against the said Ladislaus, gave full remission of sinnes to all them which would warre of his side to defend the Church. When this bull of the popes indulgence was come to Prague, and there published, the king Wenceslaus, who then favoured that pope, gave commandment that no man should attempt any thing against the said popes indulgences. But Hus with his followers, not able to abide the impiety of those pardons, began manifestly to speak against them; of the which company were three certaine artificers; who hearing the priest preaching of these indulgences, did openly speake against them, and called the Pope Antichrist, which would set up the crosse to fight against his ebenchristened. Wherefore they were brought before the senate, and committed to ward. But the people toyning themselves together in armes, came to the magistrates, requiring them to be let loose. The magistrates with gentle words and faire promises satisfied the people, so that every man returning home to his owne house, the tumult was asswaged. But the captaynes being in prison, were notwithstanding there beheaded, whose names were John, Martine, and Salscon. The death and martyrdome of these three being knowen unto the people, they took the bodies of them that were slain, and with great solemnity brought them unto the Church of Bethlem. At whose funerall divers priests favouring that side, did sing on this wise; These be the Saints which for the Testament of God gave their bodies, &c. And so their bodies were sumptuously interred in the Church of Bethlem, John Hus preaching at the same funerall, much commending them for their constancy, and blessing God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, which had hid the way of his verity from the prudent of this world, and had revealed it to the simple lay people and inferior priests, which chose rather to please God than men.

Thus the city of Prague was divided. The prelates with the greatest part of the clergy, and most of the barons, which had any thing to lose, did hold with the Pope, especially Steven Paletz, being the chiefest doer on that side. On the contrary part the commons with part of the Clergy and Students of the University, went with John Hus. Wenceslaus the king, fearing lest this would grow to a tumult, being moved by the Doctors and prelates and counsell of his Barons, thought best to remove John Hus out of the city, who had bene excommunicated before by the Pope. And further to cease this dissention risen in the Church, he committed the matter to the disposition of the Doctors and the clergy. They, consulting together among themselves, did set forth a decree, ratified and confirmed by the sentence of the king, containing the summe of 18. Articles for

the maintenance of the Pope and of the See of Rome, against the doctrine of Wickliffe and John Hus. The names of the Doctors of divinity were these: Steven Paletz, Stanislaus de Znoyma, Petrus de Ikoyma, Ioannes Helie, Andreas Broda, Iohannes Hildesen, Mattheus Monachus, Hermanus Heremita, Georgius Bora, Simon Wenda, &c. John Hus, thus departing out of Prague, went to his countrey, where he, being protected by the Lord of the soile, continued there preaching, to whom resorted a great concourse of people, neither yet was he so expelled out of Prague, but that sometimes he resorted to his Church at Bethlem, and there also preached unto the people.

Moreover, against the said decree of the Doctors, John Hus with his company replied againe, and answered to their articles, with contrary articles againe as followeth.

20 The objections of John Hus and of his part against the decree of the Doctors.

First, the foundation of the Doctors whereupon they found all their writings and counsels, is false, which foundation is this, whereas they say that part of the clergy in the kingdome of Boheme is pestilent and erroneous, and holdeth falsly of the Sacraments.

2 The doctors hereby doe defame the kingdome of Boheme, and do raise up new discords.

3 Let them shew therefore those persons of the clergy, whom they call pestilent, and so let them verify their report, binding themselves to suffer the like paine, if they be not able to prove it.

4 False it is that they say the Pope and his Cardinals to be the true and manifest successors of Peter and of the Apostles, and that no other successors of Peter and of the Apostles, can be found upon the earth besides them. When as no man knoweth whether he be worthy of hatred or of labour. And all Bishops and Priests be successors of Peter and of the Apostles.

5 Not the Pope, but Christ onely is the head; and not the Cardinals, but all Christs faithfull people be the body of the Catholike Church, as all holy Scripture and decrees of the holy fathers doe testify and affirme.

6 And as touching the pope, if he be a reprobate, it is plaine that he is no head, no member also of the holy Church of God, but of the Divell, and of his synagogue.

7 The clergy of the Gospellers agreeing with the saying of saint Austen which they alledge, and according to the sanctions of the fathers, and determinations of the holy mother Church, do say and affirm landably, that the condemnation and prohibition of the 45. Articles is unlawfull, and unjust, and rashly done: and that not onely because the Doctors, but also all bishops, and archbishops, in such great causes, namely touching faith (as these articles doe) have no authoritie at all, as appeareth. De baptismo & ejus effectu cap. Majores. Et in Can. 17. dist. cap. Hinc sedi, &c.

8 The second cause of the discord which they alledge also is most false; seeing the faith of whole Christendome, concerning the church of Rome, is divided in three parts by reason of three popes, which now together do reigne: and the fourth part is neutrall. Neither is it true, that we ought to stand in all things to the determination of the pope, and of the cardinals, but so farre forth as they doe agree with the holy Scripture of the old and new Testament, from whence the sanctions of the fathers did first spring, as is evident. De accusationibus cap. Qualiter, &c.

9 In the fourth article they brast out into a certain dosage, and are contrary to themselves. By reason that they dothfully have reprehended the gospellers, who

The pope making warre.

John, Martine, Salscon, a great enemy to John Hus.

Steven Paletz a great enemy to John Hus.

John Hus banished out of Prague.

KING  
HEN. 5.



KING  
HEN. 5.

who in all their doings receiue the holy Scripture (which is the law of God, the way of truth and life) for their iudge and measure: and afterward they themselves do allage the Scripture, Deut. 17. where all Iudges both Popes and Cardinals are taught to iudge and discern betwene leper and leper, and in every ecclesiasticall cause, only after the rule of Gods Law. And so are they contrary unto their second article, wherein they say, that in every Catholike matter we must run to the Pope; which is contrary to the foolish condemnation of the Articles aforesaid.

10 Consequently, like idiots they doe most falsely allage for their purpose the canon, under the name and authority of Hierome written 24 q. 1. Hæc est fides Papa, &c. where they doe apply the words of Hierome most impertinently to the pope of Rome, which he writeth to S. Austin, calling him a most blessed Pope.

11 By the which place of Hierome it is manifest that the first article of those Doctors is false. Forasmuch as by these words appeareth that other besides the bishop of Rome and his cardinals are called blessed popes, holding the faith and seat of Peter, and are successors of the Apostles, as was Austin and other holy bishops moe.

12 Whereof it followeth moreover, that the church of Rome is not that place, where the Lord did appoint the principall See of his whole Church. For Christ, which was the head Christ of all, did first sit in Jerusalem, and Peter did sit first in Antioch, and afterward in Rome. Also other popes did sit some in Bonony, some at Perusum, some at Avinion.

13 Item, the foresaid prelates are falsifiers of the holy Scriptures and Canons, and therefore are worthy to be punished: Which affirme and say, that we must obey the pope in all things. For why it is knowne that many popes have erred, and one pope was also a woman. To whom not onely it was not lawfull to give obedience, but also unlawfull to communicate with them. As all Rubricks, and infinite Canons do declare.

14 Item, their 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11. Articles do stand and are grounded upon untrue and false persuasions. And therefore are to be reioiced and detested like the other before: Seeing they do induce not to peace and verity, but to dissention and falsity.

15 It is manifest also to the laity, that this dissention among the clergy riseth for no other cause, but onely for the preaching of the Gospell, which reprehendeth such Simonacks, and such heretikes in the Church of God, as namely haunt the court of Rome spreading out their branches abroad into all the world. Who deserve to be removed and extirpate, not onely of the clergy Gospellers, but also of the secular power. And so these three vices, to wit, simony, lurrury, and avarice (which is idollworship) be the causes of all this dissention among the clergy in the kingdome of Boheme, and not the other, which they falsly ascribe to the Gospellers of Prague. These three vices being removed, peace and unity would some be restored in the clergy.

16 Moreover, their last article is too grosse, and not onely is without all law, but also without all colour of law: whereas they fondly and childishly do argue thus, that the processe made against M. Iohn Hus ought to be obeyed, because forsooth the common sort of the clergy of Prague, hath received them. By the same reason they may argue also, that we must obey the diuell, for our first parents Adam and Eve obeyed him. Also our fore-ancestors before us were Pagans, wherefore we must obey them, and play also to the Pagans.

17 But let this frivolis opinion goe, this is certaine truth, that the said processe, made against M. Iohn Hus, by law are none. Forasmuch as they were obtained, by force, by wrong, and executed contrary to the commission of the pope, against the de-

termination of the holy mother Church, as appeareth Cap. Sacro de Sententia excom. and a thousand other lawes besides.

18 Finally, whosoever willingly and obstinately do defend and execute (the said processe made) consenteth unto them, are all to be counted as blasphemers, excommunicate, and heretikes, as hath been afore written and exhibited to the lord generall bishop Blounte. And more shall be declared and proved, if audience may be given openly before all the Doctors. Ex Aenza Sylvi. & Cochlae.

¶ Unto these objections of Iohn Hus and his part, the catholike Doctors againe did answer in a long tedious processe. The scope whereof principally tended to defend the principallty of the pope, and to maintaine his obedience aboue all other potentates in the world; affirming and contending, that although Christ is the head alone of the whole multitude of them that are sleeping in purgatory, and which are labouring in the church militant, and which are resting in heaven, yet this letteth not, but the pope is head of the Church here militant, that is, of all the faithfull, which here in this world live under his office. Like as Christ is king of all kings, and yet Charles may be the king of France: so say they, Christ may be the universall head, and yet the pope may be head under him of the whole Church; And thus concluded they that the pope is the head, and that the colledge of cardinals is the body of the Romish Church, which Church of Rome is placed in the ecclesiasticall office here ober the earth, to know and define upon every ecclesiasticall and catholike matter; to correct errors and to purge them, and to have care upon all such universall matters, and care upon all universall Churches; and upon the universall stocke of faithfull Christians, forasmuch as in the regiment of the church through the universall world, there must needs remaine in such office always some such manifest and true successors of Peter, prince of the Apostles and of the colledge of the other Apostles of Christ; neither can there be found or given upon earth any other successors, but only the pope which is the head, and the colledge of cardinals, which is the body of the foresaid Church of Rome. And although the whole universall multitude of the faithfull doe make the body of Christ, yet the same body of Christ is not placed here in office to exercise such authority upon earth. Because that universall multitude was never yet, nor ever can be congregate together.

And therefore necessary it is, that some such true and manifest successors and iudges be appointed, in whom recourse must be had in all such catholike and ecclesiasticall matters determinable. For like as in earthly regiments every cause of discord is brought before his iudge, and hath his place assigned where to be decided: so like reason would require, that in principall matters and controverties of faith, some such presidents and places be limited for the purpose to have such doubts resolved. And this being granted, then the Doctors proceed, and here must needs conclude (say they) that there cannot be given in all the world any other place, but only the church of Rome; the head whereof is the pope, & the body is the colledge of cardinals. For like as Christ, departing out of this world in his corporall presence, left his body here with us under the Sacrament in another forme, whereby he remaineth with us (according to his promise, Mat. ult.) unto the consummation of the world: even so Christ walketh here on earth in his bodily presence, he was pope himselfe and chief bishop, and so head of the Church here militant in earth, corporally conioyned with the same, as the head is to his body. But after that he departed out of the world, because his body which is the Church militant upon the earth, should not be headlesse, therefore he left Peter and his successors to his Church, for an head in his place, unto the con-

As Charles may be king of France, so also we grant the Pope may be bishop of France, and so it is a good consequence. He may so be if God had so appointed him, but where doth he so appoint?

Ex Cochlae in hist. Hussit. Catholikes, that is, universall.

If we go to humane police, who ever law any private case of England, brought to the Emperours court to be decided. If we go to Gods policy, then shew Gods Word for it.

The promise of Christ corporally applied.

A deely divinity of these doctors.

At t. summa.

4. q. 1. Hæc est fides. Iuden called Pope.

Pope Joane a woman.

Simony, lurrury, avarice, three causes of dissention in the clergy.



summation of the world, saying to him, Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church, &c. Matth. 16. And againe he saith, Feed my sheepe: Ioan. ult. That is to say, be thou Peter the head o-ber thy brethren.

It is thus to rectify all the babbles of these doctors in this their long responfall. Who so listeth to see the bottom of their profound writing and knowledge, may resort either to the history of Silbins, or els to master Cochleus, in his first booke De hist. Hussit.

Thus then Master John Hus being driven out of Prague (as is afore touched) by the motion of these Doctors, and moreover being so excommunicate, that no masse nor other must be said there where he was present: the people began mightily to grudge and to cry out against the prelates and other popish Priests, which were the workers thereof, accusing them to be Simoniacks, covetous, whozemasters, adulterers, proud, sparing not to lay open their vices to their great ignominy and shame: And much craving reformation to be had of the clergy.

The king seeing the inclination of the people, being also not ignorant of the wickednesse of the clergy, under pretence to reforme the Church, began to require greater exactions upon such Priests and men of the clergy, as were knowne and accused to be wicked liers. Whereupon they on the other part that favoured John Hus, taking that occasion present, complained of all, accused many, and spared none, whomsoever they knew to be of the catholike faction, or enemies to John Hus. By reason whereof the priests of the popish clergy were brought, such as were faulty into great distresse, and such as were not faulty, into great feare. Insomuch that they were glad to fall in, at least not to fall out with the Protestants, being afraid to displease them. By this means Hus began to take some more liberty unto him, and to preach in his Church at Bethleem, and none did controul him: by the same meanes the people also received some comfort, and the king much gaine and money by that reason.

And thus the popish clergy, while they went about to persecute John Hus, were intrapped themselves in great tribulation, and afflicted on every side, as well of lay men, as of learned men of the Clergy. Insomuch that Women also and Childzen were against them. And by the same reason, wherewith they thought to intangle him, they were overthrowen themselves. For the doctors which before condemned this doctrine in John Hus for intolerable heresie, and cried out so much against him, for teaching that temporall lords might take away temporall livings from the clergy sinning habitually, that is, lying and continuing still in the custome of iniquity; now when the king and the lords temporall began to mearle them and bereave them of their temporalities for their transgressions, the said doctors did keepe silence and durst speake never a word. Again, where the foresaid doctors before could not abide in John Hus, that tithes were to be counted for pure almes, now comming to the Guildhall, they were faine to intreat for their temporall goods not to be taken from them, pleading the same temporalities to be merite almes and debotion of good men, given unto the Church. Ex Cochlaeo.

And thus now did they themselves grant the thing, which before they did condemne. The more that the popes clergy was pinched, the more grudge and hatred redounded to John Hus, although he was in no cause thereof, but only their own wicked doings, for the which cause Steven Palecz, and Andreas de Broda, being the chief champions of that faction, though they would not remedy the cause, yet to ease their minds, wrote sharp and cruell letters to master Hus. And to helpe the matter forward, the pope also here must help at a pinch, who likewise

writeth his letters to Wenceslaus king of Bohemia, which was brother to Sigismund emperor, for the suppressing of John Hus and of his doctrine. Which was in the fifth and last yere of his popedom, Anno 1414. The tenor of whose letters to king Wenceslaus in this wise proceedeth.

KING  
HEN. 5.

### The letter of Pope John to King Wenceslaus.

John Bishop, servant of Gods servants, to his welbelovd sonne in Christ, Wenceslaus, King of Romans and of Boheme, greeting and Apostolically benediction. Among other desires and delights of our heart, who, although unworthy, represent the roome of Christ here in earth; this doth chiefly redound to our singular comfort, so often as we do heare of the brotherly entreaty of peace and of concord (by which concord kingdomes doe increase, as contrary by discord they are diminished) which is betweene your honour and our welbelovd sonne in the Lord, Sigismund your brother Germaine and cosin, for the noble king of the Romanes, &c. And furthermore it followeth in these words; And as we have cause to joy at the premises; so likewise againe the heavy rumors which are here, do trouble and dampe our mindes. For we heare that in divers places under your dominion, there be certaine which do follow and leane to the errors of that archheretike Wickliffe, whose bookes have beene long since condemned in the generall Romane Councell, to be erroneous, hereticall, and swerving from the catholike faith. And furthermore, which is worst of all, the said persons cleaving to the opinions of the heretikes (lest they should be corrected of their superiour powers for their excesse, to cover their naughtinesse and stubbornnesse in despising the commandmentes of the Apostolically seat) doe openly teach disobedience and contempt of the keyes and ecclesiasticall censure, to the subversion of the apostolically dignity, setting at naught the decrees of the holy Fathers and Canons. Wherefore we do exhort your worship for the mercy of our God, as heartily as we may or can, that it would please you, as we desire and hope you will (so effectuously) to shew forth your regall power, both for the glory of God, and defence of the catholike faith (which you goe about to defend) and for the conservation of your kingly name, state and honour, for the prosperous and safe government of your kingdome and dominions, as it becommeth a Catholike Prince, whereby this blot of heresie (which doth so lamentably and miserably spring and creep in those parts, and doth so infect the minds of mortall men, to the destruction of their souls, and doth sequester them from the congregation of the pure and catholike faith and truth) may be rooted out, &c.

The letter of  
pope John to  
king Wenceslaus.

Given at Bononia in the Ides of Iune, in the fifth yere of our popedom, &c.

In this Epistle of pope John above prefixed, so much as mention is made of a certaine councell before holden at Rome (which was foure yere before) against the articles and bookes of John Wickliffe, it shall not be impertinent nor out of purpose to repeat a certain merry history and worthy other-while to be noted, written by Nicholas Clemangis of a certaine spirit, which ruled the Popish coun- cels; his words are these.

The same pope called a councell at Rome about foure yeres before, at the earnest suite of diverse men. And a masse of the holy Ghost being said at the entrance into the said councell, (according to the accustomed manner) the councell being set, and the said John sitting highest in a chaire prepared for him for that purpose: Behold, an ugly and dreadfull dwale, or as the common proverbe is, the evil signe of some mischance of death to follow, comming out of the backe halfe of him, set to and fro with her evil favoured voice, and standing upon the middle brame

The story of  
an Owl ap-  
pearing at the  
councell of  
pope John.  
Ex Nic. Cle-  
mangis.

Vine Aneam  
Silv. & Co-  
chlaeum, De  
Hist. Hussit.  
lib. i.

The priests of  
Boheme dis-  
played and  
tared for their  
ill life.

The popish do-  
ctors and  
priests over-  
throwen in  
their owne  
reason.

Steven Pa-  
letz, Andrew  
Broda, write a-  
gainst John  
Hus.

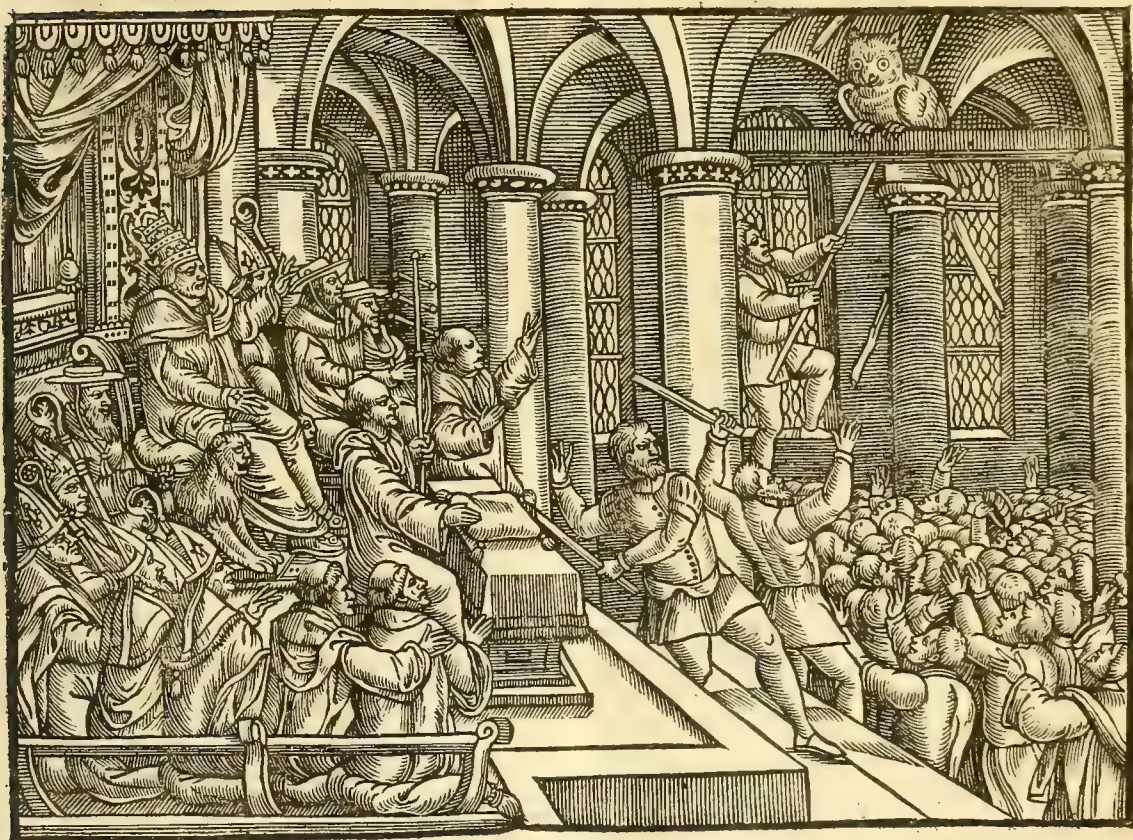


{KING}  
{HEN. 5.}

beame of the Church, cast her staring eyes upon the Pope sitting. The whole company began to marvell, to see the night Crow, which is wont to abide no light, how he should in the mid day come in the face of such a multitude, and iudged (not without cause) that it was an illabozed token. For behold, said they! (whispering one in anothers care) the spirit appeareth in the shape of an Owle. And as they stood beholding one another, and advising the pope, scarcely could they keepe their countenance from laughter. John himselfe, upon whom the Owle stedfastly looked, blushing at the matter, began to sweat and to fret and fume with himselfe, and not finding by what other meanes hee might salve the matter, being so confused, dissolving the councell, rose up and departed. After that there followed another Session: in the which the Owle againe, after the manner aforesaid, although, as I beleve, not called, was present, looking stedfastly upon the Bishop; whom hee beholding to bee come againe, was more ashamed than hee was before (and iustly;) saying, hee could no longer abide the sight of her, and commanded that shee should bee driven away with battes and shou-

tings: but she being afraid neither with their noise, neither with any thing else, would not away, untill that with the strokes of the stiches, which were throwne at her, she fell downe dead before them all. This I learned of a faithfull friend, who at the same time came to Rome: the which thing I scarcely crediting for the rarenesse of the matter, he affirmed by his oth, that it was most certaine and true: adding moreover, that all there present were much offended, and did greatly deride that councell called for such a purpose, and by little and little the councell was dissolved, nothing done there, as hee saith. Although it hath not bene alwayes sene that such spirituall Popes have bene present with Popes and their Councells, and governed them; yet their evill doctrine declareth no lesse. Heade gentle Reader, the Booke of Clemangis, and thou shalt not thinke thy labor evill bestowed. For hee hath both learnedly, truly, freely, and godly bewrayed the filthinesse of Antichrist, and his ministers, their wickednesse, impiety, and cruelty, and the miserable state and face of the Church, &c. And thus much for Pope John.

The description of the Popes Councell holden at Rome,  
in which appeared a monstrous Owle, to the utter  
defacing of the Pope, and all his Clergie.



### The Councell of Constance.

The Councell  
of Constance.

HERE by the way is to be noted and understood, that during all this time of Pope John, there were 3. popes reigning together, neither was yet the schisme ceased, which so long time had continued, the space (as I said) of 29. years. By reason whereof a generall Councell was ordained and holden at Constance in the same years, Anno 1414, being

called by Sigismund the Emperour, and Pope John the three and twentieth, for the pacifying of the foresaid schisme, which was then between three popes, striving for the popedom. The first whereof was John, whom the Italians set up. The second was Gregory, whom the Frenchmen set up. The thirde was Benedict, whom the Spaniards placed. In this schismaticall ambitious confusio, everyp one defended his pope, to the great disturbance

Three Popes  
together striv-  
ing for the  
Popedom.



of Christian nations. This counsell endured foure yeares long, wherein all their matters were decided most by foure Nations, to say, the English, Germane, French, and Italian nation. Out of which foure nations were appointed and chosen foure Presidents to iudge and determine the matters of the Counsell. The names of which Presidents were these; John the Patriarke of Amioch for France, Anthony Archbishop of Aigen for Italy, Nicolas archbishop of Genesensis for Germany, and Nicolas bishop of Batho for England; by whom many great and profitable things to the glory of God, and publike profit, might have bene concluded, if the rotten felsh of the Churchmen could have bidden the salt of the Gospel, and if they had loved the truth. But, as Gregorius Nazianzenus writeth, there lightly come few generall Councils, but they end more with disturbance, than tranquillity: so it happened in this counsell. For whereas John the 23, in the first Session exhorted them by these words: taken out of the eight of Zacharie, Veritatem diligite, that is to say, Love the truth, further monishing them, and specially the Divines, every man to doe his endeavour for the unity of the Church, and to speake their minde freely; how soon this his exhortation was forgotten, it appeared shortly after by the despising of the prophets, and persecuting of Christ in his members, as by the grace of Christ shal appeare hereafter in the procelle of this story. First this John did resigne his papacie; the emperour giving him thanks killed his fate.

Afterward the said John repenting him that hee had so done, sought means to flee, whereunto Fredericke, duke of Austria did assist him; for he changing his garments fled by night with a small company. And when hee was now come unto Schaffhouse to goe into Italy, the emperour pursuing toke him, and proclaimed Fredericke traitour, and for that cause toke away certaine cities from him. At the last the matter was appealed under this condition, that Fredericke should require grace of the emperour, and resigne all his possessions unto him. Whereupon the emperour received him againe into favor, and restored him to his dukedome: This pope, being thus deposed, was committed unto the county Palatine, and by him carried to the castle of Hainheim, where hee was kept prisoner by the space of thre yeares. Afterward hee was againe by pope Martine admitted to the number of cardinals.

This pope John was deposed by the decre of the Counsell, more than 43. most grievous and hainous crimes being obieded and proved against him; as that hee had hired Marcilus Vermentis a physician to poison Alexander his predecessor. Further, that he was an heretike, a simoniacke, a liar, an hypocrite, a murdherer, an inchanter, a diceplayer, an adulterer, and a sodomite; and finally, that crime is it that he was not infected withall.

And now to retorne unto the counsell, first we will declare the order of their Sessions, with things therein concluded, in generall; then we will (Christ willing) adioyne the special tractation of such matters, as pertaine to the story of the Bohemians, and John Hus, and Hierome of Prague, who in the same ungodly counsell were condemned and burned.

This counsell therefore of Constance, which was summoned by the emperour Sigismund, and Pope John 23. about the nativity of our Lord Jesus, An. 1414. began the same yeare to bee assembled about the latter end of the year. Which first beginning, as the manner is, with a masse of the holy Ghost, as they were singing according to their custome their Hymne, Veni sancte spiritus, there was at the same time a certain bill set up in the Church by some wel disposed man, as it seemed, wherein were contained these words following; Aliis rebus occupati nunc adesse vobis non possumus, That is to say, We are otherwise occupied at this time, we cannot intend to

come to you. Here is also to be remembred the worthy laying of the emperour Sigismund, when talke was ministred as touching the reformation of the spirituall, and some said; quod oporteat incipere à Minoritis, that is, the reformation ought first to begin at the Minorites; the emperour answering againe, Non à Minoritis, sed à Majoritis, that is, not with the Minorites, saith he, but with the Majorites. Meaning the reformation ought first to begin with the Pope, Cardinals and Bishops, and other superiour states of the Church; and so to descend after to the inferiours. Thus much by the way, and now to the purpose and order of the Sessions as were promised. The which counsell continued, as is aforesaid, by the space of foure yeares, and had in it 45. Sessions, wherein many things were concluded, the which altogether were too long to bee recited in this place; as the deposition of thre severall popes, which were before spoken of, and the hearing of certain legates. Yet I minde to make some brieve recapitulation of the most principall matters there done in the Sessions orderly ensuing.

In the first Session chiefly was concluded, first that this counsell was lawfully congregated.

2 Item, that the going away of the pope should be no let or stay, but the counsell might proceed.

3 Wherein note (gentle Reader) that the authority of the generall counsell is above the pope, contrary to their owne doctrine.

4 Item, this counsell should not bee dissolved before the Church were reformed, as well in the superiours, as inferiours.

In the 4. Session amongst other things, this was first concluded; That a Synode congregated in the Holy Ghost, making a generall Counsell, representing the whole catholike Church here militant, hath power of Christ immediately, to the which power every person, of what state or dignity soever he be, yea being the pope himselfe, ought to bee obedient in all such things as concerne the generall reformation of the Church, as well in the heads, as in the subjects.

Item, the said pope should not translate the court of Rome, and the officers of the same court, from the city of Constance. And that all his censures, doings and workings after the time of his departure, whatsoever he should enterprize to doe to the prejudice of this counsell, should be of no effect.

In the 5. Session the same articles were repeated and concluded againe.

In the 6. Session procuration and citation was sent out against the pope.

Item, commissioners were appointed out of the foure nations for the hearing of John Hus, which shall be hereafter mentioned in his story following.

Item, the memory of John Wickliffe was condemned, and the sentence, given in the counsell holden at Rome upon the condemnation and burning of Wickliffes booke, was there confirmed.

Item, in the same Session, citation was sent out against Hierome of Prague, the tenor whereof is rehearsed in the story of the said Hierome.

Item, in this Session was decreed against libels of infamy.

In the 7. Session, nothing was handled, but that the tenor of the citation against Pope John was recited.

In the 8. Session, the sentence and condemnation of John Wickliffe, and his 45. articles was recited, and sentence given against his memory, and bones to be burned. The tenor whereof is rehearsed in the history of John Wickliffe before passed.

In the 9. Session, the matter and cause of Pope John was againe intreated, and Commissioners appointed to enquire upon his cause, and Judges for the same.

In the 10. Session, suspension was given out and read against the said pope.

**SKING**  
**HEN. 5.**  
The worthy answer of the emperour touching the order of reformation

1  
2  
Note by this example, the authority of councils preferred before the Pope.  
3

4  
Annos 1415.

5  
Commissioners appointed to heare John Hus.

6  
Citation granted against Hierome of Prague.

7  
8  
Sentence given for the burning of Wickliffes bones.

9

10

Fin

The prelates assembled in this counsell were numbered together with their deputies, 1940. Philip and Gregory, &c. Gregorius in Epistola quadam.

Duke Fredericke of Austria proclaimed a traitor.

Pope John taken and cast into prison.

Marke the good qualities of Pope John.

A wise king let us know the holy Ghost had no leisure to come to the counsell of Constance.



{ KING }  
{ HEN. 5. }

11  
12

13  
The people of  
England excom-  
municated  
from the com-  
munion of the  
holy cup.

14

15  
The solemn  
publishing of  
the sentence of  
condemnation  
against John  
Hus.

16

17  
The emperor's  
journey into  
Arragon.

18

19  
Pardons were  
here dog-cheap

20

21  
Pardons were  
here dog-cheap

22

23  
Confium  
foedifragium

24

25

26

27

28

29

30

In the 11. and 12. Sessions, notaries were assign-  
ned and definitive sentence given against the said  
pope: where also it was decreed that none of them,  
that intended before for the papacy, should be cho-  
sen pope.

In the 13. Session was decreed, Quod nullus pres-  
byter sub poena excommunicationis communicet po-  
pulo sub utraque specie panis & vini; That is, that no  
priest under paine of excommunication shall com-  
municate unto the people under both kinds of bread  
and wine.

In the 14. Session came in the resignation of pope  
Gregory the 12. which was one of the thre before  
mentioned, sitting for the papacy, with certaine o-  
ther articles concerning the election of the Bishop of  
Rome, and the ratification of their resigning, which  
gave over the papacy.

Then ensueth the 15. Session, in the which silence  
was commanded on all parts under paine of excom-  
munication and the great curse, that no person or  
persons high or low, of what estate or degree soever  
he were, Emperor, King, Cardinall or other, should  
disturbe the said Session with any manner of noise,  
either by hand, foot or voice. This being done, the  
sentence and condemnation against John Hus was  
read and published, which after in the story of John  
Hus followeth to be seene more at large.

In the 16. Session, ambassadors were assigned by  
the councill to goe into Arragon to Benedictus the  
13. to treat with him for the resignation of his papa-  
cy, as the other two had done before.

Item, power was given to iudges to cite under  
paine of deprivation, all such as privily departed  
away from the councill; in the which Session also  
the sentence against John Hus was confirmed and  
ratified.

In the 17. Session, the emperor took upon him  
a journey to the king of Arragon, to treat with pope  
Benedictus. An excommunication denounced a-  
gainst all such as should goe about to impeach the  
emperours journey, about that matter, &c.

Item, prayers and processions were determined  
to be made by the councill every Sunday for the  
same cause, with an hundred dayes of pardon given  
to them that would be present thereat; and that all  
prelats should be present at every of these said mas-  
ses and processions in their pontificalibus. Granting  
besides to every Priest that said one masse, for the  
same a hundred dayes of pardon: And to all other  
that once a day should say one Pater noster, and one  
Ave, for the safety of the Emperour, forty dayes of  
pardon.

In the 18. Session certaine iudges were assigned  
for the hearing of matters, which the councill had  
no leisure to heare.

It was there also decreed, that such letters and  
buls, as were written in the name of that councill,  
should be received with no lesse credit and authority  
than the buls proceeding from the Sea Apostolicall,  
and that the falsifiers of the same should incurre no  
lesse penalty, than the falsifiers of the other. Legats  
also and Ambassadors were sent into Italy.

In the 19. Session, which was the same yeere in  
the moneth of September, Hierome of Prague, who  
was cited as is before said, was accused of heresie,  
and cast into prison by the said councill, and constrain-  
ed to abjure. The which his abjuratiō hercafter  
followeth to be seene in his history.

Item it was decreed, Quod non obstantibus salvis  
conductibus Imperatoris, Regum, &c. possit per judi-  
cem competentem de haeretica pravitate inquiri, &c.  
That is, notwithstanding the safe conduct given by  
the emperor and kings, &c. Inquiry may be made a-  
gainst a man for heresie by a sufficient iudge, and  
processe to be made according to the law.

The causes of heresies were committed to cer-  
taine iudges and deputies.

Item, the Chart called Carolina, and divers other

Charis and constitutions concerning the liberties  
of the Church of Rome, being brought forth were  
approved and confirmed.

In the 20. Session, letters and instruments were  
made and set upon Church doores, to require and  
admonish Duke Fredericke to restore againe unto  
George bishop of Austriack, such lands, rents, and  
revenues as he detained and withheld, under paine  
of interdictement, suspending and excommunicating.

During the time of this session, the Ambassadors  
returned out of Arragon from pope Benedict, and  
were heard with great audience; whereas certaine  
articles and conditions betweene the pope and the  
Council were brought forth and agreed upon to the  
number of twelke.

In the yeere of our Lord 1416. was the 21. session,  
beginning after their manner with a masse of the  
holy Ghost, with procession and such other rites, in  
the time of which masse, James Bishop of Londy  
made a sermon, taking for his theme these wordes;  
Exprobravit Deus incredulitatem eorum & duriciam:  
That is, the Lord rebuked their misbeliefe and  
hardnesse, &c. This sermon being ended, Jerome of  
Prage which had abjured as is said the year before,  
being present thereat, stood up upon a certaine bench  
or forme, replying against the foresaid James and  
his sermon, alledging and preaching divers and sun-  
dry things, whereupon the Patriarch of Constanti-  
nople, one of the commissioners proceeded against  
him, pronouncing the sentence definitive, which hee  
had in writing against the said Jerome; which sen-  
tence being read and approved by the councill (the  
tenor whereof ensueth in his history) the said Je-  
rome was delivered unto the secular power, and  
burned.

The 22. and 23. sessions containe no worthy mat-  
ter, but only the placing of the ambassadors of Al-  
phonfus king of Arragon and granting them voices in  
the Council.

In the 24 session, citation was given out against  
Benedict, keeping with Alphonfus king of Arragon.

The 25. session containeth nothing but a certaine  
Commendam given to the church of Memucensis.

In the 26. session there was nothing else handled,  
but the uniting and incorporating of the ambassa-  
dors of the king of Sabar into the councill, and also  
concerning the derogation of the priority of boyces.

After this followed the 27. and 28. sessions, which  
were in the yeere 1417. Wherein was treated the  
relation and declaration concerning the cause be-  
twixt Duke Fredericke and the bishop of Trident,  
and processe given out against the said Duke, ac-  
cusing him of sacrilege; and also excommunicating  
him for not obeying the admonition of the Council;  
concerning the usurpation and detaining of the city  
of Trident, and other possessions from bishop George,  
as is before specified.

In the 29. and 30. sessions, protestors and notaries  
were given out in the cause against pope Benedic-  
tus, and order decreed upon his obstinacie; where in also  
the withdrawing of the king of Arragon from the  
same pope was recited, and approved by the coun-  
cell.

In the 31. session, certaine instruments and spe-  
ciall letters monitory were directed from the Coun-  
cell to a certaine Earle of Italy named Comes vir-  
tutum, for laying violent hands upon Albert bishop  
of Asce, and for bringing him to prison; requiring the  
said earle, under paine of interdiction and excommu-  
nication, to let the said bishop at libertie. Also ano-  
ther decree was set forth for the restoring againe the  
liberties of the Church of Baran.

In the 32. and 33. sessions, the accusation of pope  
Benedict was renewed, and his obstinacie accused,  
and witness brought in; at which thing doing the  
emperor Sigismund was present.

In the 34. session, the cause of the foresaid Pope  
was heard, and processe given out against him.

Act 3 In

11  
12  
13  
14  
15  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25  
26  
27  
28  
29  
30  
31  
32  
33  
34

{ Anno }  
{ 1416. }

Jerome of  
Prage replied  
against the sen-  
tence of the bi-  
shop of Londy.

22, 23.

24.

25.

26.

27, 28.

{ Anno }  
{ 1417. }

29, 30.

31.

32. 33.  
Pope Benedict  
accused.

34.



In the 35. Session, the Ambassadors of the king of Castile were brought in, and united to the Council, and instruments thereof made and read. Also, that notwithstanding the oaths made to the foresaid Pope, men might lawfully forsake his obedience.

In the 36. Session, a certaine citation was made and read against the Pope, containing his depriuation, and the sentence against him, and instruments made upon the same. And whereas this Pope had thundred out his curses, depriuations and excommunications against them; the said synod did annihilate all his doings.

The 37. Session did renew againe the accusation of the foresaid Pope, and the sentence definitive against him was published.

In the 38. Session certaine decrees were made touching the annihilating of the penalties of the ambassadors of king Henry, sonne of Alphonsus king of Arragon. Also, another decree was made touching the revocation of the voices granted to the ambassadors of the king of Arragon.

Thus Pope Benedict being deposed and excommunicated, as is aforesaid, in the next Sessions following they addressed themselves to the election of a new Pope, beginning first in the 39. Session, to give out decrees concerning generall Councils, and provision for the avoiding of such like schismes hereafter. Decreasing every tenth yeare to have a generall Council, after the two Councils that should follow immediately after this; of the which, the one should be kept within five yeares then next following and the second within seven yeares after that.

Item, in the same Session was drawne out a forme touching such things as the Pope should profess and binde himselfe to observe at the time of his election, of the which forme the order and tenor is this.

I, P. elected for Pope, profess with heart and mouth unto Almighty God, whose Church I take upon me to governe by his helpe, and to blessed S. Peter the Prince of the Apostles, so long as I shall endure in this fraille and brittle life, firmly to helpe and hold the holy catholike faith after the traditions of the Apostles, of generall councils, and of other holy fathers, and namely of the eight generall council; Nicene the first, the second, of Constantinople, Ephesine the third, Chalcedon the fourth, the fifth and sixth of them in Constantinople, the seventh of Nice, the eighth of Constantinople. And also of the generall councils of Lateran, Lyons, and Trient, willing to observe the same faith unviolate even to the uttermost, and to preach and defend the same, even to the spending of my life and blood, and also by all meanes possible to prosecute and observe the rite of the Sacraments canonically delivered to the catholike Church. And this my profession and confession, by my commandement being written out by the Notarie of the Arches of the holy Church of Rome, I have subscribed with mine owne hand, and sincerely with a pure minde and devout conscience I offer it unto the Almighty God upon such an Altar, &c. In the presence of such witness, &c. Seven, &c.

It was also decided in this Session, that no prelates should be translated against their wills.

The third of the same moneth and the same yeare, followed the 40. Session, wherein certaine decrees were constituted and read, as touching reformations to be made through the whole Church by the Pope that next should be, with the council, before this synod should break up.

Item, that they should so proceed to the election of the bishop of Rome, notwithstanding the absence of those cardinals which were with pope Benedict in Spaine. This done, the order and manner was decreed for the election of the pope.

After these things thus decreed; in the next Session, which was 41. the constitution of Clement the

sixth was read, concerning the order and diet of the cardinals being then in the conclave about the chusing of the pope; and upon the same, oaths were ministered unto the cardinals and other electors, binding them to observe and keep all such things as they should be bound to, during the time of the election.

First, that they should enter into the conclave within ten dayes after the fortieth Session, which was this present day after sun-set.

Secondly, that every Cardinall should have but two servants attending upon him at the most, either of the laity or clergie, as they would themselves.

Thirdly, that they should remaine together in the said conclave, without any wall betwixt them, or any other cover, save onely bare curtaines, if any were disposed to sleepe.

Fourthly, that the conclave should so be shut up, and the entry to the priby chamber be kept so straitly, that none of them should come in or out, nor any have recourse unto them to talke with them pribyly or aperily, nor they to admit any man to come to them, except by the consent of them all certaine should be called about matters concerning the election.

Fifthly, that no man should send to them either messenger or writings.

Sixthly, that a competent window should be assigned unto them to receive in their vituals, but that no person might come in thereat.

Seventhly, that no day after their first ingresse into the conclave, beside bread, wine, and water, they should have any more dishes but one of one onely kinde, either of flesh or fish, eggs, pottage, made of fish or flesh, not after the daintiest sort, beside salads, cheese, fruit, and conserves, whereof there shall be no principall messe made but for saluce and taste.

Eighthly, that not one should be compelled to goe into the conclave; but if they did all refuse to go in, then they should be compelled thereunto.

Ninthly, that such as would go out, might; but if they would all goe out before the pope were elect, they should be compelled to go in againe, except such whom infirmity did excuse; but without the excuse of infirmity, if any went out, he should no more be admitted, except they went all out together.

Tenthly, that such as went out by reason of infirmity, to be absent and returne before the election be determined, may be admitted againe into the conclave in the same state wherein they shall finde the election to stand.

Further and besides, the keepers of the conclave should also be sworn to see all these premises observed and kept without fraud or guile, and that they should not straiten the cardinals and other electors above the order here taken.

And if the king be there himselfe, sitting in his throne of estate, he should receive the same oath of the cardinals.

Upon this, such as should be electors, beside the cardinals were chosen.

Furthermore, forasmuch as the goods and substance of such as were elect, were accustomed to be given and granted unto such as could catch them; whereupon under the pretence of the same, many did invade the goods of the cardinals, and others which were in the conclave, falsly fasting them to be elected which were not to be elected. To stop the greedy ravening of such, a decree also was published in the same session.

These things thus prepared and set in order, the Patriarch of Constantinople, with the cardinals and other Archbishops, Bishops, Abbats, Priors, Deanes, Archdeacons, Doctors, with other electors, entering into the conclave upon monday, on that day after they had hatched out a pope, being S. Martin even, whereupon they named him Martin.

{ KING  
HEN. 5.

The order and manner of the conclave in chusing the pope.

The pope entered the conclave.

Decrees for generall councils.

The profession which the pope is bound to.

These were wise cardinals, they would not go into the conclave, but they would be sure to have their goods safe unspoiled.

This



{ KING }  
{ HEN. 5. }  
Pope Martin  
hatched.

The Emperour  
leadeth the  
popes horse by  
the bridle on  
the right hand.  
The Prince  
elector leadeth  
the popes horse  
on the left hand

This Martin thus being elected, was straight way brought in by the Emperour and the Councell into the Church of Constance, and there inthronised for Pope, not without great solemnitie and triumph. The twentie one day of the said moneth, this forsaide Martin, according to their accustomed pompe, was honorably brought in to be crowned with sumptuous procession from the high church of Constance, unto the monastery of Saint Austin: the Emperour on foot leading his horse by the bridle on the right hand, and the Marquesse of Brandenburg Prince Elector likewise leading his horse on the left hand, the pope himselfe riding in the midst upon his palfrey. And thus being brought into the monasterie aforesaid, and so reduced round about againe from thence to the high Church of Constance, hee was there crowned with all magnificence.

Notwithstanding all this, yet all the triding and fond vanitie of this councell, more great than wise, did not end thus: for in the next Session, which was the forty two, came out a decree in the name of the pope & the councell, discharging the bond of the Emperour and the county Palatine, touching the safe custody of pope John, who was by bond committed unto them to be kept in safety.

In the 43. Session, certaine other decrees and statutes were made by pope Martin in the said synod; annullating and reprobing all the acts and proceedings of the other popes before, during the time of the schisme from the time of Gregorie the eleventh. As in matters concerning exemptions, unions, fruits and profits of the Church, benefices, simony, dispensations, tithes, and other burthens of the church. Also concerning the apparell of the clergy, and such other things.

In the 44. Session, the sage fathers of this councell were occupied about the determining what place the next councell should be kept in. The forty five session brake up and dissolved this synod.

Now to finish our tedious rehearsal of this Synod; The cardinall Ambals by the commandement of the Pope and the Councell, with a high and loud voice pronounced these words, Domini ite in pace; which is, Lords depart in peace; wherunto the standers by answered, Amen.

Thus the Councell being dissolved, Friar John Bishop of Cathan, by the consent and commandement of the pope and the councell, went up into the pulpit to make a sermon, taking for his theme, Vos autem tristiciam habetis; iterum autem videbo vos, & gaudebit cor vestrum. You are now in sadness, I will see you againe, and then your hearts shall reioyce. The which collation being ended, another cardinall named Anthony was sent up by the Pope and the councell, with this proclamation; First, to dismisse the synod, and to give every man leaue to depart home. Also to declare the popes indulgence unto them, who by the authoritie of God Almighty, had granted to them all and every one present at that councell, full absolution once in their life: so that every one, within two moneths after the hearing of this indulgence, should procure the same in forme of writing. Also, another indulgence was granted in like manner of plenarie remission at the houre of death, and that was understood as well of the household, as of the masters themselves. But under this condition, that from the time of notification of the same, they should fast by the space of one whole yeere every friday, for the absolution in their life time: And for the absolution at the houre of death, to fast the same friday another yeere, except they had some lawfull impediment to the contrary, so that after the second yeere, they should fast unto their lives end, or else doe some other good worke. The which being in this manner proclaimed, the synod brake up, and every man departed home.

The number of the forenners resorting to this Councell, both spirituall and temporall, was 60500.

whereof the number of Archbishops and Bishops, was 346.

Abbats and Doctors, 564.

Princes,  
Dukes,  
Secular men, Charles,  
Knights,  
Esquires } 16000.

Besides common women belonging to the same Councell, 450.

Barbers, 600. Minstrels, Cooks, and Tilters 320.

So that the whole multitude which were decreed to be in the towne of Constance, betwene Easter and Whitson tide, were numbered to be 60500. Strangers and forenners at that Councell.

Here is to be noted that in this councell of Constance nothing was decreed or enacted worthy of memory, but this only, that the popes authority is under the councell, and that the councell ought to iudge the pope.

And as touching the communion in both kinds, although the councell did not deny, but that it was used by Christ and his Apostles; yet notwithstanding by the same councell it was decreed to the contrary.

Whereto wee have comprehended the order and discourse of this councell, with the Acts and Sessions concerning the same: which councell, although it was principally thought to bee assembled, for quietting of the schisme betwene the three popes, yet notwithstanding a great part thereof was for the cause of the Bohemians, and especially for John Hus, as appeared by their preparation before the councell. For before the councell began, the emperour Sigismund aforesaid sent certaine gentlemen Bohemians which were of his owne household, giving them in charge to bring John Hus bachelor of Divinitie, unto the said councell, and that under his safe conduct. The meaning and intent thereof was, that John Hus should purge and cleare himselfe of the blame which they had laid against him: and for the more better assurance, the Emperour did not onely promise him safe conduct, that he might come freely unto Constance, but also that he should return againe into Boheme, without fraud or interruption; he promised also to receive him under his protection, and under safeguard of the whole empire. For the same only cause the Emperour sent him afterwards the said safe conducts double written, both in Latin and Almane, the forin whereof both hereafter ensue.

C. Sigismund by the grace of God King of the Romans, of Hungary and Denmarke, Croatia, &c. To all princes as well ecclesiasticall as secular, Dukes, Marqueses, and Earles, Barons, Captaines, Borowmasters, Judges, and governours, Officers of towne, Bourgages and Villages, and unto all Rulers of the Communalitie, and generally to all the Subjects of our Empire, to whom these letters shall come, grace and all goodnesse.

We charge and command you all, that you have respect unto Iohn Hus, the which is departed out of Boheme, to come unto the generall Councell, the which shall be celebrate and holden very shortly at the towne of Constance. The which Iohn Hus we have received under our protection and safeguard of the whole empire, desiring you that you will cheerefully receive him when he shall come towards you, and that you intreat and handle him gently, shewing him favour and good will, and shew him pleasure in all things, as touching the forwardnesse, ease, and assurance of his journey, as well by land as by water.

Moreover, we will that he and all his company, with his carriage and necessities, shall passe thorowout all places, Passages, Ports, Bridges, Lands, Governances, Lordships, Liberties, Cities, Townes, Bourgages, Castles and Villages, and all other your Dominions, without paying of any manner of imposition or Dane money, peage, tribute, or any other manner of tolle whatsoever it be. We will also that you suffer to passe, rest, tarry

The number of  
persons in the  
councell of  
Constance.

Common women  
in the  
councell of  
Constance.  
605000  
Strangers at the  
councell of  
Constance.

The generall  
councell about  
the pope.

Communion in  
both kinds  
ordained by this  
councell.

The safe conduct  
given to  
master Iohn  
Hus.

Small here  
reader, this  
made well for  
the popes purpose

Ex Paralipomeno  
Abbat. Vrsip.



carry, and to sojourne at liberty, without doing unto him any manner of impeachment, or vexation, or trouble; and that if need shall so require, you doe provide a faithfull company to conduct him withall, for the honour and reverence which you owe unto our Imperiall Majesty. Yeven at Spire the 18. of October, in the yeere of our Lord God 1414.

**¶** By this it may appeare, that this safe conduct was granted not in the time of the councell by the bishop, but before the councell by the emperor: who was ought to be the principall ordainer and director of the councell under God. Now whether the bishops did well in breaking and adnulling this promise of the emperor, against the emperors minde, because the discussion thereof belongeth *Ad materiam juris*, non facti, being a matter rather of law than of story, I will deferre to reason this case with *M. Cope*, to such time as may be more convenient to the full tractation thereof.

Notwithstanding briefly to touch and passe, let us consider part of the reasons of the said *Cope*, how frivolous and false they bee, and easie to be refuted. What (saith he) if he preached by the way coming up: First, that it is false, vide infra. What (saith he) if he stood obstinate in his heresie? What if hee sought to escape away after his coming up? To this the lords of Boheme doe answer, that this safe-conduct was broken, and he imprisoned not only before he attempted to escape, or before hee was condemned for an heretike, but also before hee was heard of the councell that he was. Vide infra.

Further, where *Cope* saith that the generall councell was above the emperor, and hath power in case of heresie to break publicke leagues and grants; to that I say that this safe conduct stood not only upon the emperor, but also upon the content of the Pope himselfe. Vide infra.

And admit that to be true, that the councell had power to make this decree, to break promise with heretikes; yet this cannot be denyed, but that *Iohn Hus* was condemned and iudged before that decree in the nineteenth Session was made. Finally when *Cope* hath proved by what Scripture the councells have power to defeat the authoritie of their emperors in such secular causes touching safe conducts, and outward safety, then will I answer him more fully herein. But to the purpose againe of the story.

*Iohn Hus* seeing to many faire promises, and the assurance which the emperor had given unto him, sent answer unto the emperor, that he would come unto the councell. But before he departed out of the realme of Boheme, and specially out of the towne of Prague, he did write certaine bills long enough afore, as well in Latine as in the Bohemian language, and Almaine, and caused them to be set and fastned upon the gates of the cathedrall Churches and parish Churches, cloisters and abbies, signifying unto them all, that he would goe to the generall councell at Constance. Wherefore if any man have any suspicion of his doctrine, that he should declare it before the lord Conrad, or bishop of Prague, or if he had rather, at the generall councell, for there he would render and give up unto every one, and before them all, an account and reason of his faith. The example of his letters and intimations, set up were these, the copie whereof here followeth.

**¶** The letters of *Iohn Hus* set up in common places of the citie of Prague.

**M**aster *Iohn Hus*, Bachelor of Divinitie, will appeare before the most reverend father the lord Conrad, archbishop of Prague, and legat of the apostolike seat, in their next convocation of all their prelates and clergie of the kingdome of Boheme, being readie alwaies to satisfie all men which shall require him to give a reason

of his faith and hope that he holdeth, and to heare and see all such as will lay unto his charge either any stubbornnesse of error or heresie, that they should write in their names there, as is required both by Gods law and mans. And if so be that they could not lawfully prove any stubbornnesse of error or heresie against him, that then they should suffer the like punishments that he should have had; unto whom all together hee will answer the next generall councell at Constance, before the archbishop and the prelates, and according to the decrees and canons of the holy fathers, shew forth his innocency in the name of Christ. Dated the Sunday next after the feast of S. Bartholomew.

The intimations following, were drawne out of the Bohemian tongue.

**I** Master *Iohn Hus* set up to all men, that I am ready to come and stand before the face of my Lord the Archbishop, and to answer to all things whereof I am falsely accused in the next convocation of Bachelars; and chiesly to this point, that in many places they doe report me to be an heretike not having respect unto iustice or law, neither yet to my merits or deserts. Therefore since that I, which do never cease to slander and backbite me with your words, do understand and know these things, come forth openly before the face and presence of the lord Archbishop, and with an open mouth declare and shew forth what false doctrine or other things yee have heard me teach, contrary to the catholike faith; and if that I shall be found taulie in never so small a matter, contrary or against the faith of Christ, or in any false doctrine, and that I doe chuse that or other things contrary to the faith of Christ, then I will hold my peace and suffer punishment as an heretike. And if there be no man that will resist against mee, or accuse me in this point, once againe I say unto you, that I am ready to appeare at Constance in the famous congregation, to the end that I may stand in the company of the Divines, even before the face of the pope. Therefore whosoever knoweth any false doctrine contrary to the faith of Christ in me, let him come thither and shew it forth boldly, if he have any thing to say against me, and for my part I will not be slacke, if I may understand or know it, to answer as well to small as great, as touching the truth which I have received of God, and desire to be defended. All you good men therefore which love the truth, say now whether by these my words I doe thinke or goe about any thing, either contrary to the law of God or man. If I be not admitted then to be heard, be it knowne and manifest unto all men, that it hapneth not through my fault the same day.

**¶** This Epistle which followeth was set upon the gates of the kings palace, translated into Latine, out of the Bohemian tongue.

**U**nto the Kings maiestie, the Queen, and to all such as are of his councell, and to all other rulers and magistrates, which now are in the kings court, I *Iohn Hus* do signifie and publish that I have understood not by any vaine rumour or tale, that there be letters brought from the pope to the kings maiestie, the contents whereof is this; That the kings maiestie should bring to passe, that the heretikes which were now lately sprung up in his kingdome and dominions, should not take any firm or strong root. Forso much as without any desert, as I trust by Gods grace the fame or noise is sprung and blown abroad; it shall be our part to foresee and take heed, that neither the kings maiestie, neither the noble kingdome of Boheme, should be driven to beare or suffer any reproch or slander for me. Wherefore now of late I have sent my letters to and fro, which I have with great labour and diligence caused to be openly set up,

{ KING }  
{ HEN. 5. }

Another intimation of *Iohn Hus* set up for his going to Constance.

The offer of *Iohn Hus* to his enemies.

Al. Copns.  
p. 929.

Answer to  
Al. Copns.

*Iohn Hus* takeeth the emperor's safe conduct.

Letters of  
*Iohn Hus* set up.

A writing of  
*Iohn Hus* at the kings gates.



**{KING}** up to this intent, that I might thereby cause the Arch-  
**{HEN. 5.}** bishop to bee carefull and diligent about the matter, signifying openly, that if there were any man in all Boheme, which did know mee to bee a follower of any false or corrupt doctrine, hee should professe his name in the Archbishop his Court, and there shew forth and declare what hee thought. And forasmuch as there would none be found or come forth, which would accuse mee, the Archbishop commanded mee and my procurers to depart in peace. Wherefore I require and desire the Kings Majesty, which is the defender of the truth, also the Queene and their counsellors, and all other rulers and magistrates, that they would give mee a faithfull testimoniall of this matter; forsomuch as I have oftentimes willed and attempted this, and no man hath either accused mee or troubled me. I doe it moreover to bee knowne unto all Boheme, and to all nations, that I will bee present even at the first time before the Councell of Constance, in the most famous place, in the presence of the Pope, the Pope being President; and finally, in the presence of all others which will come to that most famous place; and that whosoever hath any suspicion of me, that I have either taught or defended any thing contrary unto the faith of Christ, let him come thither also, let him declare there before or in the presence of the Pope, and all the Doctors of Divinitie, what erroneous and false doctrine I have at any time followed or holden. More, if hee shall convince mee of any error, or prove that I have taught any thing contrary unto the Christian faith, I will not refuse to suffer whatsoever punishment shall bee due for an heretike, But I hope and trust even from the bottome of my heart, that GOD will not give the victory to unfaithfull and unbelieving men, the which doe willingly kicke and spurne against the truth,

The same time Iohn Hus sent his procurers to the lord Bishop of Parareth, ordained by the Apostolike Sea, Inquisitor of heresie of the cite and diocesse of Prage, requiring him, that if hee had found any error in him, hee would declare it openly. But the said bishop before the said procurer, and the publicke Notary, with many other credible witnesses, answered, that he had often talked with Iohn Hus, and that hee never knew any thing in him, but as becommeth a godly and faithfull man; and this his testimony of Iohn Hus, he approved by his letters, the copy whereof is here under writtten.

### ¶ The Bishop of Nazareth his Testimoniall.

**V**VE Nicolas by the grace of GOD Bishop of Nazareth, and Inquisitor, specially deputed by the Apostolike seat, for heresies both of the City and Diocesse of Prage, by these presents doe it to bee knowne unto all men, that wee in times past have often communed and talked with that honourable man master Iohn Hus, Bachelor of Divinity, of the famous Vniversity of Prage, and have had divers and sundry conferences with him, both of the Scriptures and divers other matters, and in all his sayings, doings, and behaviour, wee have proved and found him to bee a faithfull and a catholike man, finding no manner of evill, sinister, or by any meanes erroneous doings in him unto this present. Wee doe witnesse and protest moreover, how the said Iohn Hus, of late, in the Cathedral Church of Prage, and in other both Collegiate and Parish Churches, and in the Colledges of the Vniversity of Prage, and in the gates and porches of the most noble Prince and lord, the lord Wenceslaus King of Romans and of Boheme; also in the gates of the reverend father the lord Conrade Archbishop of Prage, Legate of the Apostolike Sea, and Chancellour of the

Vniversity of Prage, and of other Princes and Barons, then being in the City of Prage, hath set up his letters written both in Latine, and in the Bohemian tongue, containing sententially in effect, how the foresaid Master Iohn Hus would appeare before the reverend father the Lord Conrade, the foresaid Archbishop of Prage, and all the Prelates and Clergy of the kingdom of Boheme, that shall bee congregated and called together by the said Archbishop, at the day appointed in the said City of Prage, ready alwayes to satisfie every man that shall desire and require him to shew a reason of his Faith and Hope, that hee holdeth, and to see and heare all and every one which could prove any obitancy of error or heresie lawfully against him, under the paine to receive the like punishment unto whom all together hee would, by Gods helpe answer in the Councell of Constance, which was now at hand, before the said lord Archbishop and us, with all other Prelates, and there in Christs Name, according to the Decrees and Canons of the Holy Fathers, to declare and shew forth his Innocency. After the which letters, as is aforesaid by the said Master Iohn Hus openly set up, there did no man appeare before us, the which would accuse the said Master Iohn Hus of any error, either of any heresie. For the evident witnesse of all which things wee have commanded these present letters to bee made, and confirmed the same with the setting of our Seale. Dated in Prage the thirtieth of August, Anno M. iiii. C. xiiii.

Upon which matter also, a publike Instrument was dracone, testified with the hand and seale of the publicke Notary, named Michael Pauthatietz. The copy of which Instrument here under followeth.

### ¶ An Instrument of Recognition, or Protestation of the Lord Inquisitor of heresies.

**I**n the Name of God, Amen. In the yeare of his Nativity, one thousand foure hundred and fourteen, the thirtieth of August, in the fifth yeare of the Bishoprike of the most holy Father in Christ, Iohn by the grace of God Pope, the three and twentieth of that name, in the uppermost Parlour of the house of the most famous man the lord Peter of Zwogsta, called Zuirglits, Master of the Mint of the most famous Prince and lord, the lord Wencelaus, King of the Romans and of Boheme, in the greater City of Prage, about the Abbey of Saint James the Apostle, in the presence of mee the publicke Notary here under writtten, and certaine witnesses here within writtten; specially called for that purpose.

There was personally present Master Iohn Iessenitz, master of Art, procurer in the name of the honourable man, Master Iohn Hus, Bachelor, formed in Divinity of the Vniversity of Prage. Hee most humbly and earnestly required of the reverend father in Christ and lord, Nicolas Bishop of Nazareth, Inquisitor of Heresies for the City and Diocesse of Prage, specially appointed by the Apostolike Sea, being there also present, saying; Reverend father, doe you know any heresie or error in Master Iohn Husnetz, otherwise called Hus. The which said Lord Nicolas, not compelled or constrained, but of his owne will and accord freely and openly did there recognize, saying these or the like words in the Bohemian tongue.

I have often and many times beene conversant with Master Iohn Hus, and have eaten and drunke with him; also I have beene often present at his sermons, and divers of his collations which hee hath made upon divers places of the Scripture, and I never found or perceived in him any error or heresie, but in all his words and deeds I have found him alwayes a true and a catholike man, neither have I found any thing that doth savour of any error or heresie.

Against

The testimony  
of the good bi-  
shop of Naza-  
reth.

The bishop of  
Nazareth wit-  
nesseth with  
Iohn Hus.



Againe, the said Master Iohn his procurer in the behalfe as above, required and asked the said lord Nicolas, Bishop and Inquisitor, whether any man have accused the said Master Iohn Hus of any heresie before him, being Inquisitor for heresie, and hath convicted him of heresie. Hee answered, that since the time hee knew Iohn Hus, and that hee was made Inquisitor for heresie in the city and dioecesse of Prague (as is aforesaid) never any man accused, either convinced the said master Iohn Hus of any heresie before him unto this present time. Adding moreover, that hee the said master Iohn Hus did openly set up his letters patents this present yeare aforesaid, in the said Moneth of August, upon the porches of the Cathedrall Church of Prague, and other Collegiate and Parish Churches of the City of Prague, and upon the gates of our said lord, our lord the King, and the Archbishop of Prague, containing in them this effect; how that he would appeare before Conrade Archbishop of Prague, and all the Prelates and Clergy of the Kingdome of Boheme, which should bee congregated and called together at a certaine day of the moneth aforesaid, ready alwayes to satisfie all men as touching the faith and hope which hee held, and to see and heare all or singular that would lay any obstinacy of error and heresie unto him, that they should determine themselves there to suffer the like punishment, according to the extremity both of Gods Law and mans law, unto whom altogether hee would answer in his owne right before the said Archbishop of Prague, and the said lord Nicolas, Bishop and Inquisitor aforesaid, and the Prelates even in the next generall Councell of Constance, and there according unto the Canons and Decrees of the holy Fathers, declare and shew forth his uprightness and innocencie, upon all and singular: of which proceedings, Master Iohn de Iesenitz procurer, and in the procurers name or behalfe as afore, required and desired that hee might have one or many publike instruments made unto him by mee the publike Notary here under writen. These things were done the yeare, indiction, day, moneth, houre, place, and bishopricke, as is aforesaid, in the presence of these noble and famous men, the lord William de Zwingelitz, Baron of the kingdome of Boheme, Peter his sonne, the lord Hlawaczion, de Renow, likewise Baron Wenceflaus de Lunarx, Vassone de Miekoniz, Burgrave of the Castle of Liechetenburg, Czitborius de Bodanetz Esquire, and William de Dupoer, knight of the said Dioecesse of Prague, with many other worthy and credible witnesses, which were specially desired and required unto the premisses. And I Michael, sometimes of the sonne of Nicolas de Prachatitz of the Dioecesse of Prague, and by the Imperiall authority, publike Notary, was present with the witnesses forenamed, at the affaires aforesaid, at the request, demand, answer, and petition, and all and singular the doings within writen, and did see and heare all these things to bee done in the foresaid manner and forme. But being busied with other matters, I have caused this to bee faithfully drawne and writen, and subscribing the same with mine owne hand, have published and reduced it into this forme, and have signed it with my seale and name accustomed, being called and required to beare witnesse of all and singular the premisses.

After this, as all the Barons of Boheme were assembled in the Abbey of Saint James, about the affaires of the realme, whereas the Archbishop of Prague was also present: There the said Iohn Hus presented supplications, by the which he most humbly desired the Barons, that they would shew him that labour towards the said Archbishop, that if the said Archbishop did suspect him of any error or heresie, that hee would declare it openly, and that he was ready to endure and suffer correction for the same at his hands. And if that he had found or perceived no such thing in him, that he would then give him a te-

stimoniall thereof, through the which hee being as it were armed, he might the more freely go unto Constance. The said Archbishop confessed openly before all the assembly of Barons, that hee knew not that the said Iohn Hus was culpable or faulty in any crime or offence, and this was his onely confesse; that the said Iohn Hus should purge himselfe of the excommunication hee had incurred. This report, which the Archbishop had given of Iohn Hus, doth appeare by the letters which the Barons of Boheme sent unto the emperor Sigismund by the said Hus, in the towne of Constance.

Finally, all the prelates and clergy assembled together in the towne of Prague, in the Archbishop his court, where appeared personally the worshipfull master Iohn Iesenitz, doctor of decretals and procurer, in the name and behalfe of the honorable man master Iohn Hus, requiring that either the said master Iohn Hus, or that hee in the name and behalfe of him might bee suffered to come into the said Archbishops court, to the presence of the archbishop, and the prelates which were there congregated together, forsomuch as master Iohn Hus is ready to satisfie all men which shall require him to shew any reason of his faith or hope which he holdeth, and to see and heare all and singular which were there gathered together, that is to say, the lord Archbishop and prelates, or any of them which would lay any manner of obstinacy, or error, or heresie unto him, that they should there write in their names, and according both unto Gods Law and mans, and the canon law, prepare themselves to suffer like punishment, if they could not lawfully prove any obstinacy of error or heresie against him: unto whom altogether he would, by Gods helpe, answer before the said archbishop and the prelates in the next generall Councell holden at Constance, and stand unto the law, and according to the canons and decretals of the holy fathers, shew forth and declare his innocencie in the name of Christ. Unto the which, master Iohn de Iesenitz doctor, one called Ulricus Swabe of Swabentiz, Marshall of the said Archbishop, coming forth of the said court, did utterly deny unto the said master doctor and his party, all manner of ingresse and entrance into the court, and to the presence of the Archbishop aforesaid, and of the prelates there gathered together. Pretending that the archbishop, with the prelates aforesaid, were occupied about the kings affaires, requiring the said master doctor, that he would tarry in some place without the said Court, that when the archbishop, and the prelates had finished the kings affaires, he might then retorne, and have liberty to come into the court there. The said master Iohn Hus, and the doctor of law tarried awhile, intreating to bee admitted into the Archbishops court: but seeing hee could prevaile nothing, hee made there a solemne protestation of his request, that both hee, and also master Iohn Hus and his party, could not be suffered to come into the archbishops court, to the presence of the Archbishop and the prelates. Requiring of the foresaid Notary publike instruments to bee made of the same, which also was done.

And these were the things which were done before Iohn Hus took his journey to the generall Councell of Constance, the which I minded briefly to rehearse, whereunto I will also annex somewhat as touching his journey thitherwards.

About the Ides of October, 1414, Iohn Hus being accompanied with two noble gentlemen, that is to wit, Wencelat of Doba, and Iohn of Clum, hee parted from Prague, and took his journey towards Constance. And in every place as hee passed, he notified his presence by his letters which hee sent abroad, and especially in every good towne or citie of name, the tenor whereof ensueth,

{ KING }  
{ HEN. 5. }

Conrade the  
Archbishop  
cleareth Iohn  
Hus.

Iohn Hus re-  
quireth to give  
testimony of  
his faith, and  
could not be  
admitted.

Iohn Husa-  
kerh his iourne  
to Constance.

The



{ KING }  
{ HEN. 5 }

¶ The copie of the Letters which Iohn Hus set up in the common places of the Cities which he passed thorow, going to the Councell.

The letters which Iohn Hus set up in cities as he passed to Constance.

MAfter Iohn Hus goeth now unto Constance, there to declare his faith which he hath hitherto holden, and even at this present doth hold, and by gods help wil defend and keep even unto death. Therefore even as he hath manifested throughout all the kingdome of Boheme by his letters and intimations, willing before his departure to have satisfied and given an account of his faith unto every man, which should object or lay any thing against him in the generall convocation holden in the archbishop of Prages court : So likewise he doth manifest and signify that if there be any man in this noble and imperiall citie, the which will impute or lay any error or heresie unto him, that he should prepare himselfe to come unto the councell, forsomuch as the said master Iohn Hus is ready to satisfie every man at the said councell, which shall lay any thing unto his charge as touching his faith.

How Iohn Hus was received by the way going up to the councell.

In all cities as he passed by, and principally when he was departed out of Boheme, and entred into Almaine, a great number of people did come unto him, and he was very gently received and entertained of his hosts throug all the towms of Germany, and especially of the Citizens and Burgeses, and oftentimes of the Curats. Insomuch that the said Hus did confesse in a certain Epistle, that he found in no place to great enemies as in Boheme. And if it hapned that there were any brute or nosse before of his coming, the streets were alwayes full of people which were desirous to see Iohn Hus and gratifie him; and amongst all other, especially at Rozenburge, whereas certaine merchants, which went before, certified the Citizens of his coming. In the same Citie there were many Curats which came unto him, desiring him that they might talke with him secretly apart : unto whom he answered, that hee loved much rather to pronounce and shew forth his mind and opinion openly before all men, than in hugger mugger, for he would keep nothing close nor hidden. So after dinner, untill it was night he spake before the Priests and Senators, and others other citizens, in somuch that they all had him in great estimation and reverence, one only Doctor except, which was a Charterhouse monke, and the Curat of S. Sebauld, which did impropbe all that he had said.

Rozenburge.

A Charterhouse monke against Iohn Hus.

The twentieth day after that he departed out of the Towne of Prague, which was the third day of November, he came unto Constance, and lodges at an honest matrons house, being a widow named Faith, in Saint Gallen street.

Iohn Husles justice named Faith.

The morrow after, the gentleman master Iohn de Clum, and master Henry Latzemboge, went to speake with the pope, and certified him that Iohn Hus was come, whom they had brought to Constance to the generall Councell, under the emperor his safe conduct; desiring him also that he on his part would grant the said Iohn Hus libertie to remaine in Constance, without any trouble, veration, or interruption. Unto whom the pope answered: that albeit that Iohn Hus had killed his brother, yet would he goe about as much as in him lay, that no outrage or hurt should be done unto him during his abode in the towne of Constance.

The pope contented to the safe-conduct of Iohn Hus.

In this meane time, the greatest adberlarie that Iohn Hus had, named master Steven Paletz, the which was also a Bohemian borne, was come unto Constance. But his companion master Stanislaus Znoma was not yet passed the borders of Boheme when he was stricken with an impostume, whereof hee died. As soone as the said Paletz was come to

Stanislaus Znoma, Husles enemy, going to Constance, did by the way.

Constance, hee did associate unto him one Michael de Caulis, the which had before falsely accused and blamed the same Iohn Hus. And this may not be forgotten, that the said Paletz had beene familiarly conversant and acquainted with the said Iohn Hus from his youth upward; but after that there was a bull brought unto Prague, from pope John the 23. against the king of Apulia, named Ladislaus, the said Iohn Hus withstood it openly, forsomuch as hee saw that it was wicked and naught.

Steven Paletz and Michael de Caulis, chief enemies to Hus. A bull against Ladislaus king of Apulia.

And as touching the said Paletz, albeit that hee had confessed at a certaine banquet in the presence of the said Iohn Hus, that the said bull was contrary to all equitie and right; yet notwithstanding forsomuch as he was obliged and bound unto the pope, by meanes of certaine benefices received at his hand, hee maintained and defended the said bull against Iohn Hus. And this was the cause of the discord and falling out between them. As for Michael de Caulis, the companion of master Paletz, he was sometime the Curate of new Prague; but hee not being content therewith, but seeking after a further prey, dreamed and imagined out a new device how to attaine unto it, for he made a semblance that hee had found out a new invention or meane, whereby the mines of gold in Silooy, which were perished and lost might be renewed and set on worke againe. By this meane hee did so much with the king Wenceslaus, that hee did put a great sum of money into

20

30

40

50

60

70

his hands, to do that withall which he had promised. This honest man, after hee had labored and travailed certaine dayes about it, and perceiving that hee brought nothing to passe, and that by that meane he was utterly in despair of his purpose, hee conceived himselfe privily out of the realme of Boheme with the rest of the money, and withdrew himself as a worthy bird for such a nest into the Court of Rome. Such a man of such conditions was easily corrupt with money, and that by the adberlarie of the said Hus, and promised them to do what hee could for them, the which hee did shortly after. These two solly roisters, Steven Paletz and Michael de Caulis, drew out certaine articles against the said Hus, saying, that they had gathered them out of his owne writings, and specially out of his Treatise which hee had written of the Church. They ratted up and downe, hither and thither, taking great pains to shew the said articles unto the said cardinals, bishops, and monkes, and such other of that sort, doing them also to understand, that there were other matters of greater importance, which the said Iohn Hus had committed and done against the holy constitutions, and other ordinances of the pope and the Church; which if need were, they said they would propound before the councell. Through the kindling of this their fire, they did so incense the cardinals, and all the priests, that all they with one minde and consent thought to cause the good man to bee taken and laid hands on.

Michael de Caulis.

The wicked life of Michael de Caulis, wyles enemy described.

The enemies of Hus practice against him.

The 26. day after the said Hus was come to Constance, during all which time hee was occupied in reading, writing, and familiar talk with his friends; the cardinals, through the instigation and motion of Paletz and Michael de Caulis, sent two bishops; to wit, the bishop of Augusta, and of Trident, and with them the Burrowmaster of the towne of Constance, and a certaine knight to the place where Iohn Hus lodged, about dinner time, which should make report unto him, that they were sent by the Pope and his Cardinals, to advertise him that he should come to render some knowledge or witnesse of his Doctrine before them, as hee had oftentimes desired, and that they were ready to heare him.

Unto whom I. Hus answered, I am not come for any such intent, as to defend my cause particularly before the pope & his cardinals, protesting that I never desired any such thing, but that I would willingly appeare before the whole assembly of the councell,

Iohn Hus desired to plead his cause before the whole councell.

and



and there answer for my defence openly, without any feare or doubt, unto all such things as shall be demanded or required of me. Notwithstanding, said he, so much as you require me so to doe, I will not refuse to goe with you before the cardinals. And if it happen that they evill intreat or handle mee, yet neverthelesse I trust in my Lord Iesus, that hee will so comfort and strengthen mee, that I shall desire much rather to die for his glory sake, than to deny the verity and truth which I have learned by his holy Scriptures. Wherefore it came to passe, that the Bishops being instant upon him, and not shewing any outward semblance that they bare any malice or hatred against him in their hearts, albeit they had privily laid garrisons both in the house where they were assembled, and also in other houses; John Hus tooke his horse which he had at his lodging, and went unto the court of the Pope and the Cardinals.

When he was come thither, and had saluted the Cardinals, they began to speake to him in this sort: Wee have heard many reports of you, the which, if they be true, are in no case to be suffered. For men say, that you have taught great and manifest errors, and contrary and against the doctrine of the true Church; and that you have sowed your errors abroad through all the realme of Boheme, by a long space of time; wherefore we have caused you to be called hither before us, that wee might understand and know how the matter standeth.

Unto whom John Hus answered in few words, Reverend fathers, you shall understand that I am thus minded and affectioned, that I should rather chuse to die; than I should be found culpable of one only error; much lesse of many and great errors. For this cause I am the more willingly come unto the generall Councell, which is here appointed to shew my selfe ready even with all my heart to receive correction, if any man can prove any errors in mee. The Cardinals answered him againe, that his sayings pleased them very well, and upon that they went away, leaving the said John Hus, with master John de Clum, under the guard and keeping of armed men.

In the meane season, they did suborne and furnish out a certaine Divine, a frier Franciscane, a subtil and crafty man, and a malicious hypocrite, to question with the said John Hus, which was compassed round about with armed men. This man drawing neere in his monkish gesture, said, Reverend master, I a simple and rude idiot am come unto you to learne; for I have heard many strange and contrary things against the catholike faith to be ascribed unto you, the which doe diversly move my mind being holy inclined to the truth. Wherefore I doe desire you, even for the love which you beare unto the truth, and to all good and godly men, that you would teach mee most simple and miserable man, some certainty and truth. And first, men say, that you hold opinion that after the consecration and pronounciation of the words in the sacrament of the Altar, there remaineth onely materiall bread. John Hus answered, that it was falsly attributed and imputed unto him. Then said he, I pray you is not this your opinion? So verily, said John Hus, I doe not so thinke of it. When the monke asked this question the third time, master John de Clum being somewhat moved with him, said, Why art thou so importunate upon him? Verily, if any man had affirmed or denyed any thing unto me but once, I would have believed him. And thou albeit he hath shewed thee his minde so often, yet ceaseest not to trouble him. Then said the monke, Gentle master, I pray you pardon me a poore idiot and simple frier; surely I did it of a good mind and intent, being willing and desirous to learn. This frier put forth another question unto him, professing his simplicity and ignorance, what manner of untie of the Godhead

and manhood was in the person of Christ? When John Hus had heard this quest on, he turning himselfe unto master John de Clum, in the Bohemian language said, Truly this frier is not simple as he doth pretend, for he hath propounded unto me a very hard question. And afterward turning himselfe to the frier, hee said unto him; Brother, you say that you are simple, but as I have heard of you, I perceive very well that you are double and craftie, and not simple. It is not so verily, said the frier. Well said John Hus, I will cause you well to understand that it is so. For as touching the simplicity of a man it is required in things that concerne civillie and manners; that the spirit, the understanding, the heart, the words and the mouth should agree together; and I do not perceive that this is in you. There is in your mouth a certain semblance of simplicity, the which would very well declare you to be an idiot and simple, but your deeds shew plainly and evidently a great subtiltie and craft in you, with a great quicknesse and libelnesse of wit, in that you have propounded unto mee so hard and difficult a question.

Notwithstanding, I will not feare to shew you my minde in this question. And when he had made an end, the monke gave him great thanks for his gentlenesse, and so departed. After that, the Popes garrison which were about the said John Hus, told him, that this frier was called master Dicae, who was esteemed and counted the greatest and most subtle divine in all Lombardy. Wh, said J. Hus, that I had knowne that afore, I would have handled him after another sort and fashion; but I would to God they were all such, then through the helpe and aide of the holy Scriptures I would feare none of them. In this manner the said Hus, and master John de Clum, were left under the keeping of these men of armes, untill foure of the clocke at afternone. After which time the Cardinals assembled again in the Popes court, to devise and take counsell what they should do with J. Hus. Then Stephen Paletz, and Michael de Caufis, with others other of their adherents, made earnest sute that he should not be let goe at libertie againe, and having the favour of the Judges on their part, they bragged up and downe in a manner, as they had been mad men, and mocked the said John Hus, saying; Now we will hold thee well enough, thou art under our power and jurisdiction, and shalt not depart untill such time as thou hast paid the uttermost farthing.

A little afore night, they sent the Provost of the Roman court unto master John de Clum, to shew him that he might returne to his lodging; but as for John Hus, they had otherwise provided for him. When master John de Clum heard these newes, he was wonderfully displeased, for so much as through their crafts, subtilties, and glossing words, they had so trained this good man into their snares, whereupon he went unto the pope, declaring unto him all that was done; most humbly beseeching him, that he would call to remembrance the promise which he had made unto him and master Henry Latzembog, and that he would not so lightly falsifie and breake his faith and promise. The pope answered, that all these things were done without his consent or commandement, and said further to master Clum apart; What reason is it that you should impute this deed unto me, seeing that you know well enough that I my selfe am in the hands of these Cardinals and Bishops.

In mine opinion, for so much as pope John feared that which indeede did after follow, that he should be deprived of his dignitie, hee thought to winne the favour of these Herodian cardinals and bishops, by betraying this good man unto them. So the said master Clum returned very pensifull and sorrowe; he complained very sore, both privily and openly, of the injury and outrage that the pope had done, but all profited nothing. After this, the said John Hus

SKING  
HEN. 5.3

A Wolfe in a  
lambes samite.

Didace a craftie  
titer.

Many a man  
beguiled under  
the cloke of  
simplicitie.

John Hus  
accuses the  
triumph over him  
when he was  
taken.

The pope breake  
heth promise.

The pope to  
please the  
councell, was  
against John  
Hus.

was

John Hus is  
come before the  
Pope and the  
Cardinals.  
The words of  
the Pope and  
the Cardinals to  
John Hus.

The answer of  
John Hus to  
the Pope and  
the Cardinals.

Dolus malus  
Cardinalium,

A feter minor  
purcheth two  
questions to  
John Hus.

A frierly In-  
das.

Master John  
de Clum, spea-  
keth for John  
Hus.



KING  
HEN. 5.

was led by the officers to the Chapter house of the great Church of Constance, where he was kept prisoner by the space of eight dayes; from thence hee was carried unto the Jacobines, hard by the river of Rhine, and was shut up in the prison of the Abby the which was hard by the Bogards.

he imprisoned  
and sick-  
ly of J. Hus.

After he had bene inclosed there a certaine time he felt soze sicke of an ague, by meanes of the stench of the place, and became so weake, that they despaired of his life. And for fear lest this good man should die in prison, as others are wont to doe, the pope sent unto him certaine of his Physicians to cure and helpe him. In the midst of his sicknesse his accusers made importunate sute to the principals of the council, that the said John Hus might bee condemned, and presented unto the pope these articles hereunder written.

Articles presented against John Hus.

articles a-  
gainst J. Hus.

First, he doth erre about the Sacraments of the Church, and specially about the sacrament of the body of Christ, forsomuch as he hath openly preached, that it ought to be ministered openly unto the people under both kindes, that is to say, the body and blood. This article is evident, forsomuch as his disciples at this instant in Prague doe minister the same in both kindes. Moreover, it is affirmed by others, that he hath taught both in the Schooles and in the church, or at the least that he doth hold this opinion, that after the wordes of consecration pronounced upon the Altar, there remaineth still materiall bread in the sacrament. This Article shall be knowne by his examination.

he supper of  
a Lord.

Secondly, he doth erre as touching the ministers of the Church, forsomuch as he saith, that they cannot consecrate or minister the sacraments when they are in mortall sinne. This article shall likewise be knowne by his examination. Notwithstanding, all that which is here contained may be gathered by his writings De Ecclesia; the which he deny, let there then be some divines and others appointed, to peruse and look over his said writings of the church. Moreover hee saith, that other men beside Priests may minister the sacrament. This article is evident forsomuch as his disciples doe the same at Prague, the which of themselves doe violently take the sacrament out of the treasure, and communicate among themselves, when the holy communion is denyed unto them. By this and other things also it is sufficiently evident, that he hath taught that every man, being without mortall sin, hath the power of orders or priesthood, forsomuch as such only as have taken orders ought to minister the sacrament unto themselves. And because he proceedeth from small matters unto great and weightier, it doth consequently appeare and follow, that those which be in state of grace can binde and lose.

the admini-  
stration of the  
sacraments.

the Church.

Thirdly, he doth erre as touching the Church, and specially for that hee doth not allow and admit that the church signifyeth the pope, cardinals, archbishops, and the clergie underneath them; but saith, that this signification was drawne out from the scholmen, and is in no case to be holden or allowed. This Article is manifest by his said treatise upon the Church.

ecclesiastical  
verities.

Moreover, he doth erre concerning the church, in that he saith, that the church ought not to have any temporall possessions. And that the temporall lords may take them away from the Church and the clergie without any offence. This error is evident, forsomuch as through his doctrine and inticements many Churches in the kingdome of Boheme, and in the cite of Prague, are already spoiled and robbed of a great part of their temporalties and goods. He saith also, that Constantinus and other secular princes erred by intiching and inoping Churches and

Monasteries. This article is manifest by that which goeth next before.

Fourthly, he erreth as touching the church, in that he saith, that all priests are of like power, and therefore affirmeth, that the reprobations of the Popes casualties, the ordering of bishops, and the consecration of the priests, were invented only for covetousnesse. This article doth somewhat appeare by those afore going, but by his examination shall be more evident.

Fifthly, he erreth concerning the Church, in that he saith, that the Church being in sinne hath no power of the keyes, when as the pope, cardinals, and all other of the priests and clergie are in deadly sin, the which he saith is possible enough. This also doth appeare in his treatise upon the Church in his first error as touching the ministers of the Church.

Sixthly, he erreth touching the church, forasmuch as through contempt he doth not feare excommunication. This doth notoriously appeare by his owne doings that he did contemne and despise the apostolike and ordinarte censure, and in all the apostolike excommunications and intimations hee hath borne himselfe upon the divine commandements, and in contempt of the keyes, to the setting out of his hypocrisse, he hath laid masse all the waies betwixen this and the cite of Prague, and thereby hath prophane the processe and authoritie of the Church.

Seventhly, hee erreth againe as touching the Church, because he keepeth not the institutions and investitures thereof, but holdeth opinion that every man hath authoritie to invest and appoint any man to the cure of soules. This is evident by his owne doings, forsomuch as many in the kingdome of Boheme, by their defenders and favourers, or rather by himselfe, were appointed and put into parish Churches, the which they have long ruled and kept, not being appointed by the Apostolike See, neither yet by the ordinarte of the Cite of Prague.

Eighthly, hee erreth as touching the Church, in that he holdeth opinion, that a man, being once ordained a Priest or a Deacon, cannot be forbidden or kept backe from the office of preaching. This is likewise manifest by his owne doings, forsomuch as he himselfe could never be letted from preaching, neither by the apostolike See, neither yet by the archbishop of Prague.

And to the intent that the said John Hus, who is clothed in sheepes clothing, and inwardly a ravening Wolfe, may be the better knowne by his fruits, for the better information of you most reverend fathers; I say, that from the first time that hee took in hand, or went about to low such errors and heresies, the which afterward hee did indeed, hee understanding and perceiving himselfe to be withstanding and gaineclayed by the Germanes, which were in the Universitie of Prague, forsomuch as hee could conclude nothing, because they had three voices, and hee on his part had but one only voice: hee went about and brought to passe, and that by the secular power, that the Germanes should have but one voice, and hee and his parts three voices: the which thing when the Germanes once perceived, rather then they would loose or forsake any part of their right which they had in voices, or bee in danger in their persons, the which would then have ensued upon it, to save themselves, they wholly with one consent agreed together to depart out of Prague and by this meanes this soleinne and famous Universitie of Prague was made desolate, that had brought forth so many notable men in divers sciences. Behold this his first fruits which divided that so famous Universitie, forsomuch as grapes are not gathered of thornes, neither figges of brambles.

Moreover, when there were questions moved amongst the divines of the Universitie of Prague upon the 45. articles of John Wickliffe and that they had called a convocation, and all the divines of Boheme,

the power of  
the keyes, &c.

the power of  
the keyes, &c.

excommuni-  
cation.

investitures

the office of  
preaching.

Lepus agnum  
accusat quod  
carnarum boni-  
tem.

A heaping to-  
gether of many  
graves, &c.

The departure  
of the Ger-  
manes from  
the Universitie  
of Prague.

The 45. arti-  
cles of Wickliffe  
187.



Boheme, (for the Germans were already departed) they concluded that every one of those articles were either hereticall, scditions, or erroneous. He alone held the contrary opinion, that none of those articles were either hereticall, scditions, or erroneous. as afterward hee did dispute, hold, and teach, in the common scholes of Prague, whereby it is evidently enough forshene, that he doth affirme those articles of Wickliffe, the which are not only condemned in England, but also by the whole Church, because they were first invented and set forth by the members of Antichrist.

Moreover, he being complained of to the archbishop of Prague, that hee preached and set forth certaine articles which were hereticall, false, and scditions, hee was forbidden by the said archbishop to preach any more, who proceeded against him, according to the canonick sanctions, the which proccesse is confirmed by the Apostolike See, and published as well in the court of Rome, as without; the which John Hus and his adherents have divers and manifold waies violated and prophanated. And whosoever did speake against him, they were deprived of their benefices, and other placed in, which have ruled and yet doe rule the said Churches, and the flocks pertaining to the same, not having any cure or charge of the soules committed unto them, neither by the Apostolike See, neither yet by the Ordinary of the place.

Also as many, as well priests as lay men in the Citie of Prague and Kingdome of Boheme, which have spoken against the doctrine of Hus, and the prophanation of the proccesse aforesaid, or at the least not allowed the same, have suffered most morall hatred and persecutions, and yet to this day doe suffer. But that at this present it is dissimuled untill the end of the proccesse against John Hus. Wherefore if hee bee now let goe againe, without doubt they shall suffer great persecution both in body and goods and throughout all the Realme of Boheme, house shall be against house, and this mischief will creepe, yea suddenly spring up throughout all Germanie, and innumerable soules shall bee infected, so that there shall be such persecution of the clergie and faithfull, as hath not bene since the tyme of the emperor Constantine to this present day; for hee ceaseth not to move and stirre up the lattie against the clergie and faithfull Christians. And when any of the clergie would draw him away, or call him from his heresie, and for that cause doth forbid him to preach, that hee doth not teach any heresies: then saith he, and teacheth that the clergie both that of envie and malice, because he rebuketh their vices and faultes; that is to say, their simonie, and pride, and covetousnesse.

Moreover, hee stirreth up the secular princes against the Prelates of Churches, Monasteries, and Universities, and generally against the whole clergie. Going about by this meanes, hee preacheth and teacheth that Prelats and other men of the Church ought not to have any temporall goods or possessions, but onely to live upon almes. And by this meanes hee hath done already very much hurt, and annoped divers and many prelats, clerks and churches in the kingdome of Boheme, and citie of Prague forsomuch as thereby they are already spoiled and robbed of their possessions. Yea, hee teacheth also that it is lawfull for the lay people without sinne to withhold and keepe backe the tithes and oblations, or to give the Church goods to any other minister; all the secular princes are greatly inclined hereunto, but specially the lattie, who follow every man his owne will.

He hath generally to lay for himselfe all those heretikes which doe but very finally regard the ecclesiasticall censures, and hate the authoritie of the Roman Church, yea doe utterly detest and abhorre the same; the which thing will more and more encrease, except it be effectually and manfully withstood; and

if hee doe by any meanes escape from the counsell; he and his fabourers will say that his doctrine is iust and true, and that it is allowed by the authoritie of the universall sacred counsell, and that all his adberaries are wicked and naughty men, so that he would do more mischief, than ever any heretike did since the tyme of Constantinus magnus.

Wherefore most holy fathers, provide and take heed to your selves, and to the whole flock amongst whom the holy Ghost hath placed you, to rule the Church of Christ the which hee hath purchased with his owne blood; and whylest the disease is new and fresh, helpe and remedie it, as well touching him which doth to infect and trouble the church of God, as also concerning the occasions, through the which he hath presumed, and might doe the same, because the prelats doe abuse the ecclesiasticall censures, and as well the prelats as those that are under them, doe not keepe and observe the order of the Church which is appointed them by God, whereby it cometh to passe, that whilest they themselves do walke the broken and unknowne paths, their focke falleth headlong into the ditch.

Wherefore let our soveraigne lord the pope, and this most sacred counsell ordaine and depute Commissioners, the which may examine the said John Hus upon all aforesayd and other things, in the presence of them which know the matter. Let there be also certaine Doctors and Masters appointed to reade over and peruse his bookes which hee hath written, whereof some are here present, that the church may bee speedily purged and cleansed from these errors.

Upon this his accusation, they ordained and appointed three commissioners or iudges, that is to say, the patriarch of Constantinople, and the bishop of Castile, and the bishop of Lybuste. The which prelats being thus deputed, heard the accusation and the witness which was brought in by certaine babbling priests of Prague, confirmed by their oathes, and afterward recited the said accusation unto the said Hus in the prison, at such time as his ague was fervent and extremely upon him.

Upon this, John Hus required to have an advocate to answer for him; the which was plainly and utterly denyed him. And the reasons that the masters and commissioners brought against it was this, that the plaine canon doth forbid that any man should be a defender of any cause of his, which is suspect of any kinde of heresie. The vanitie and folly of the witnesses was such, that if in case they had not bene both the accusers and iudges themselves, there should have needed no distinct constitation. I would have rehearsed the testimonies in this place, but that I knew them to be such, as the prudent and wise reader could not have read without great tediousnesse. Notobest, some of them shall bee declared, when wee come to the proccesse of his iudgement.

Afterward when John Hus had recovered a little strength or health by the commandement of the three commissioners, there were presented unto him certaine articles, many in number, which they said they had gathered out of his booke which bee made of the church; of which articles some were forged and invented by master Waleis, and other some were gathered onely by halbes, as shall bee more plainly declared hereafter, when wee come to speake of the iudgement pronounced and given against the said Hus.

Hus John Hus remained in the prison of the convent of the Franciscanes, untill the Wednesday before Palme Sunday, and certaine appointed to keepe him; and in the meane season to imploy and spend his time withall, he wrote certain bookes, that is to say, of the ten commandments, of the love and knowledge of God, of matrimonic, of penance, of the enemies of mankind, of the prayer of our Lord, and of the Supper of our Lord.

{ K I N D  
H E N . }

Walter Dufferin, for the  
by which hee  
nature to see  
to that count

The office of  
binder by the  
archbishop.

Unlearned  
feared in Bo-  
heme against  
the clergie.

John Hus fi-  
of an ague in  
prison.

John Hus de-  
bated of his  
advocate.

The bookes  
which J. Hus  
wrote in pris-  
on.

Carpenter pro-  
phesied.



SKING  
HEN. 5.  
Dope John fled  
out of Con-  
stance.

Noblemen of  
Boheme labo-  
r for J. Hus.

The safe con-  
duct of the en-  
peror chal-  
enged.

The reveren-  
ces J. Hus  
labored for.

The constita-  
tion of certain  
landers.

The bishop of  
Lichonis.

The same day pope John 23. changed his appa-  
rell, and conveyed himselfe secretly out of Con-  
stance, fearing the iudgement by the which after-  
ward hee was excofited of his papall dignitie, by  
meance of most execrable and abominable forswes  
and doings. This was the cause that John Hus  
was transported and carried unto an other prison:  
for the popes servants, which had the charge and kee-  
ping of John Hus, understanding that their master  
was fled and gone, delivered up the keyes of the pri-  
son unto the emperor Sigismund, and to the cardina-  
ls, and followed their master the pope. Then by the  
whole content of the counsell, the said John Hus  
was put into the hands of the bishop of Constance,  
who sent him to a castle on the other side of the river  
of Rhine, not very farre from Constance, where he  
was shut up in a Towre with fetters on his leggs,  
that hee could scarce walke in the day time, and at  
night he was fastened up to a tacket against the wall  
hard by his bed.

In the meane season, certain noblemen and gen-  
tlemen of Pole and Boheme did all their endeavor  
to purchase his deliverance, having respect to the  
good renown of all the realme, the which was won-  
derfully defamed and slandered by certaine naugh-  
ty persons. The matter was growne unto this  
point, that all they which were in the towne of Con-  
stance, that seemed to beate any labour unto John  
Hus, were made as mocking stockes, and derided  
of all men, yea even of the slaves and base people.  
Wherefore they tooke counsell and concluded toge-  
ther to present their request in writing unto the  
whole counsell, or at the least unto the foure nations  
of Almaine, Italy, France, and England: this re-  
quest was presented the 14. day of May, Anno 1415  
the tenor here ensueth.

The first Schedule or Bill, which the Nobles of  
Boheme delivered up to the Counsell for the  
deliverance of John Hus, the 14.  
day of May, An. 1415.

Most reverend fathers and lords, The nobles  
and lords of Boheme and Pole here present, by  
this their present writting doe shew and declare unto  
your fatherly reverences, how that the most noble  
king and lord, the lord Sigismund, king of Romanes  
alwaies Augustus, king of Hungary, Croatia, Dal-  
matia, &c. hearing of the great dissension that was  
in the kingdome of Boheme, as heire king and lord  
successor willing and minding to seee and provide  
for his owne honour, sent these noble men, master  
Wenceslate de Duba, and John de Clum here pre-  
sent, that they would bring and assure master John  
Hus under the king his name and safe-conduct. So  
that hee would come to the sacred generall counsell  
of Constance, under the safe-conduct of the said  
king and the protection of the sacred empire, openly  
given and granted unto the said master John Hus,  
that he might purge himselfe and the kingdome of  
Boheme from the slander that was raised upon  
them, and there to make an open declaration of his  
faith to every man that would lay any thing to his  
charge. The which the said nobles, with the forena-  
med master John Hus, have performed and done,  
according to the kings commandement.

When as the said master John Hus was freely of  
his owne accord come unto Constance, under the  
said safe-conduct, he was grievously imprisoned be-  
fore he was heard, and at this present is tormented  
both with fetters and also with hunger and thirst.  
Albeit that in times past at the counsell holden at  
Maylan, 1410. In the peere of our Lord, the here-  
sies which were condemned, were suffered to re-  
maine there at libertie, and to depart home freely;  
notwithstanding this master John Hus, neither be-  
ing convicted nor condemned, no not so much as once

heard, is taken and imprisond. When as neither  
king nor any prince elector, neither any count, or  
of any Universitie was yet come or present. And  
albeit the lord the king, together with the nobles  
and lords here present, most instantly required and  
desired, that as touching his safe conduct they would  
foresee and have respect unto his honour, and that  
the said master John Hus might bee openly heard,  
so much as he would render and shew a reason of  
his faith; and if hee were found and convicted obsti-  
nately to affirme or maintaine any thing against  
the truth of holy Scripture, that then he ought to  
correct and amend the same, according to the instru-  
ction and determination of the counsell: yet could  
he never obtaine this. But the said master John  
Hus notwithstanding all this, is most grievously  
oppressed with fetters and irons, and so weakened  
with thin and slender diet, that it is to bee feared  
lest that, his power and strength being hereby con-  
sumed and wasted, he should be put in danger of his  
wit or reason.

And although the lords of Boheme here present  
are greatly slandered, because they seeing the said  
master John Hus so to be tormented and troubled,  
contrary to the kings safe conduct, have not by their  
letters put the king in mind of his said safe conduct,  
that the said lord and king should not any more suf-  
fer any such matters, so much as they tend to the  
contempt and disregard of the kingdome of Bo-  
heme, which from the first original and beginning,  
since it receiveth the catholike faith, never departed  
or went away from the obedience of the holy church  
of Rome; yet notwithstanding they have suffered  
and borne all these things patiently hitherto,  
lest by any meane occasion of trouble or vexati-  
on of this sacred counsell might arise or spring  
thereof.

Wherefore most reverend fathers and lords, the  
nobles and lords before named doe wholly and most  
earnestly desire and require your reverences here  
present, that both for the honour of the safe conduct  
of our said lord the king, and also for the preferbati-  
on and increase of the worthy fame and renowne,  
both of the foresaid kingdome of Boheme, and your  
owne also, you will make a short end about the af-  
faires of master John Hus; so much as by the  
meanes of his strait handling hee is in great dan-  
ger by any longer delay; even as they doe most spe-  
cially trust upon the most upright consciences and  
iudgements of your fatherly reverences. But so far  
much as, most reverend fathers and lords, it is now  
come to the knowledge and understanding of the  
nobles and lords of Boheme here present, how that  
certaine backbiters and slanderers of the most fa-  
mous kingdome of Boheme aforesaid, have decla-  
red and told unto your reverences, how that the  
Sacrament of the most precious blood of our Lord  
is carried up and downe through Boheme in vessels  
not consecrate or hallowed, and that coblers doe  
now heare confessions, and minister the most blessed  
body of our Lord unto others. The nobles therefore  
of Boheme here present require and desire you, that  
you will give no credit unto false promoters and  
tale tellers, for that, as most wicked and naughty  
slanderers and backbiters of that kingdome aforesaid,  
they doe report and tell untruthes; requiring  
also your reverences, that such slanderous persons  
of the kingdome aforesaid may be named & known.  
And the lord the king, together with your reveren-  
ces, shall well perceive and see that the lords of Bo-  
heme will goe about in such manner to refeit and  
put away the false and frivolous slanders of these  
naughty persons, that they shall be ashamed to ap-  
peare hereafter before the lord the king and your re-  
verences.

As soone as this their supplication was read, the  
bishop of Lichonis rising up, said Most reverend  
fathers, I well perceive and understand that the last



last part of his writing doth touch me, my familiars and friends, as though the kingdome of Boheme were standized by us. Wherefore I desire to have time and space of deliberation, that I may purge my selfe from this crime that is laid against mee. The principall of the councell appointed him the 17. day of May, at the which day the lords of Boheme should be present againe, to heare both the answer of the councell, and also the excuse of the Bishop of Luthonis; the which thing indeed was afterward performed: for the seventeenth day of May, which was the fourth day before Whitson tide, they met there againe; where first of all a certaine bishop in the name of the whole councell answered by word to the nobles of Boheme; the contents of whose answer may easily be knowne by the second supplication, which the Bohemians put up to the councell. But first I shall here in these few words following shew how the bishop of Luthonis defended himselfe against that which is before written.

¶ The answer of the Bishop of Luthonis, to the last part of the supplication, which the nobles of Boheme presented unto the Councell.

The answer and accusation of the bishop of Luthonis against Iohn Hus.

Most reverend fathers and noble lords, as Peter de Pladonepoltz bachelor of art, in the name of certain of the nobles of the kingdome of Boheme in his writings, amongst other things, did propound how that certaine slanderers and backbiters of the said kingdome have brought to the eares of your reverences, that the most precious blood of Christ is carried up and downe in Boheme in bottles, and that Coblers do heare confessions, and minister the body of Christ unto others; whereupon most reverend fathers and lords, albeit that I together with the other prelates, doctors, masters, and other innumerable Catholics of the said kingdome, the which doe desire as much as in them lieth to defend the faith of Christ, have laboured for the extirpation and rooting out of that most wicked and detestable sect of Wickliffites, which now (alas for sorrow) beginneth to spring and rise in the said kingdome, as it is well knowne: notwithstanding, here in this my opinion, not for any shame or reproche, but for the honour of the kingdome aforesaid, I have propounded, and declared a certaine new sect, which is now lately springing up in the said kingdome, the followers whereof doe minister and communicate the Sacraments in many cities, townes, and places of the said kingdome, under both kinds both of bread and wine, and doe constantly teach the common people, both men and women, that it is so to bee communicated, obstinately affirming the same, and that the clergie which doe repugne or say nay unto it, are to be counted Church robbers, as by the writings of their assertions being directed and presented hither shall openly appeare.

Moreover by the report and same which goeth here abroad, and by the writings which were sent over unto mee, I have propounded that it came to my knowledge, that the blood of Christ is carried about in vessels not consecrated, approving the foresaid erroneous assertion of the Wickliffites, that affirme it necessarie for salvation, that the people should communicate under both kinds of bread and wine; and that it is necessary, as the body of Christ is carried in the pike or boxe, so the blood of Christ should be carried in bottles, or other necessary vessels from place to place, and specially about the ministracion of the sick. Also I declared not of my selfe, but I heard it to bee declared by others, both great and credible persons, that there was a certain woman a follower of that sect, the which taking by violence the body of Christ out of a priests hands, did communicate unto her selfe, and affirmed that all men ought to doe so, if the priests should

deny them the communion. And the same woman amongst many other errors, of the which she was convicted, did affirme that a good lay woman might better consecrate and give absolution, than an evil priest; affirming that an evil priest can neither consecrate nor absolve. But I know that neither I, neither any of my assistance in this matter, have brought this at any time unto your eares, that Coblers in the said kingdome doe heare confession, or minister the Sacrament of the body of Christ, as is alledged by the said Peter, in the behalfe of the said supplicants. Notwithstanding that, we did feare, if meanes were not found to recount or stoppe the offence before named, that this would immediately follow upon it. Wherefore most reverend fathers, lest that the kingdome might be defamed any more by such pestiferous sects, and that the Christian faith might happen to be endangered; with all reverence and charitie I doe desire you, even by the bowels of mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ, that this most sacred councell would provide some speedie remedy for this kingdome, as touching the premises.

Moreover whether be they backbiters and slanderers, or wicked and false enviers of the kingdome of Boheme, the which do let the errors aforesaid, and many others, more which are sown by the Wickliffites in the said kingdome, and also elsewhere, which also both doe labour and have laboured for the extirpation and rooting out of those errors out of the kingdome aforesaid, and as Catholike men, for the zeale of their faith have manifestly put forth themselves against the maintainers of the said errors, or such as doe maintaine and defend the teachers of those errors; this answer I have here presented before your reverences, alwaies wholly submitting my selfe and assistance unto your iudgement, and to the definition of this most sacred Councell of Constance.

¶ The answer of the Nobles of Boheme.

The day before Whitson tide, the nobles of Boheme did confute this their answer made two dayes before in the councell to their former writing as here followeth. Most reverend fathers and lords, for so much as upon thursday it was answered in the behalfe of your reverences to the request of the nobles and lords of Boheme, that the said lords were misinformed of divers points contained in the declaration of their said bill: therefore the foresaid lords have now determined and decreed to declare their former propounded requests more at large unto your reverences, not minding hereby to argue or reprove your fatherly wisdomes and circumspections, but that your reverences (their desires being partly on this behalfe fulfilled) might the more effectually and distinctly discern, and iudge as touching this matter.

And first of all, whereas the lords alledged and said, how that master Iohn Hus was come hither unto Constance, freely of his owne good will, under the safe conduct of the lord the king, and the proceSSION of the sacred empire: it is answered on the behalfe of your reverences, how that the said lords are misinformed as touching the safe conduct, and that you have understood by such as are toothy credit, that the friends and saviours of the said master Iohn Hus, did first procure and get his safe conduct, fifteen dayes after his imprisonment.

The lords of Boheme, and specially the lord Iohn de Clum here present, whom this matter doth chiefly touch, doth answer, that not only the fiftenth day after, but even the very same day that Iohn Hus was apprehended and taken, when as our reverend father the Pope, in the presence of all his Cardinals, demanded of master Iohn de Clumme, whether master Iohn Hus had any safe conduct from

KING  
HEN. 5.

The bishop of Luthonis answer confuted.

The bishops do quarrell about the safe conduct of J. Hus.

The safe conduct of J. Hus obtained and shewed before the imprisonment of J. Hus.



KING  
HEN. 5.

from the king his loanne: hee answered most help-  
fully and cardinals, know ye that he hath a safe-con-  
duct; and when hee was asked the question againe  
the second time, he answered in like manner.

Yet notwithstanding none of them required to  
have the safe conduct shewed unto them: and againe,  
the third day following, the lord John de Clum com-  
plained unto our lord the Pope; how notwithstanding  
the safe conduct of our soveraigne Lord the king,  
he detained and kept M. John Hus as prisoner, shew-  
ing the said safe conduct unto many. And for the fur-  
ther truth herein, he referreth himselfe unto the tes-  
timonies and witnesses of divers earles, bishops,  
knights, gentlemen, and famous citizens of the city  
of Constance, the which all together at this present  
did see the said safe conduct, and heard it read; where-  
upon the said John de Clum is ready to binde him-  
selfe under what penaltie shall be required, evidently  
to prove and confirme that which hee hath promised,  
whosoever say to the contrary.

Moreover the lords of Boheme refer themselves  
unto the knowledge of certain princes electors, and  
other princes, bishops, and many other noble men,  
which were present before the kings maiesty, where  
and when as the said safe conduct was granted and  
given out by the speciall commandement of our said  
lord the king.

Whereby your fatherly reverences may under-  
stand and perceiue that the said lords of Boheme are  
not evil informed as touching the said safe conduct;  
but rather they which by such reports have falsly and  
untruely informed your reverences. And first of all,  
they have offended against the Lord our King, and  
his chancellors. Secondly, against the Lords and  
nobles of Boheme, as though we had pitifully and by  
stealth, purchased the said safe conduct. Wherefore  
the lords aforesaid most humbly require and desire  
your reverences, that you will not so lightly believe  
such as be not worthy of credit, but rather hearing  
the contrary part, to labour and discusse that the  
truth may the more evidently appeare.

Secondly, whereas the lords aforesaid, alledging  
how master John Hus, coming unto Constance  
of his owne free-will, being neither condemned nor  
heard, was imprisoned, your reverences have made  
answers therunto, that he the said M. John Hus in  
the time of Alexander the fifth, was infamed and  
slandered upon certain heresies, and thereupon cited  
personally to appeare in the court of Rome, and  
there was heard by his procurers.

And forsomuch as hee refused obstinately to ap-  
peare, he was excommunicated; in the which excom-  
munication he continued (as you affirme) by the  
space of five yeares, for the which he was indged, and  
counted not only a simple and plaine heretike, but  
an heresiarch, that is to say, an inventor and sower  
of new and strange heresies, and that he, coming  
toward Constance, did preach by the way openly.  
To this the Lords aforesaid doe answer, that as  
touching his slander and citation, they can affirme  
nothing, but by report. But as touching that hee did  
not personally appeare, that say they have heard  
both himselfe and divers other credible persons say,  
yea even the most famous prince Wenceslaus king  
of Boheme, and almost all the whole nobility is wit-  
nesse, that hee would willingly have appeared at  
Rome, or elsewhere, if he might safely have come  
thither, and that deadly enmity had not letted: and  
moreover, his procurers which he sent unto the court  
of Rome, alledging reasonable causes for his non-  
appearance, some of them were cast into prison, and  
others were evil intreated.

As for the excommunication which he hath so long  
sustained, they have heard him often say, that hee  
hath not resisted against the same by continuance, or  
stubbornnesse, but under evident appellation, and  
thereupon referreth himselfe unto the acts of his  
causes which were pleaded in the court of Rome,

wherein all this is more largely contained, the which  
your reverences may evidently perceiue and see  
in this our present publike transumpt, which wee  
have offered unto you upon certaine points aforesaid.

As concerning his preaching, wherewithall his  
enemies doe report and charge, that master John  
Hus did preach openly in the city of Constance: the  
lords aforesaid, and specially the lord John de Clum  
here present, doe answer, that hee hath continually  
lodged with the said master John Hus here in Con-  
stance; and that whosoever they be, that have beene  
so bold, or dare bee so bold to say and affirme that  
master John Hus had preached (as is promised) of  
that which lesse is, since the time of his coming  
unto this cite, even unto the very day and time of  
his captivitie and imprisonment, that hee went but  
one steppe out of the house of his lodging, that the  
said lord John de Clum will and is content to binde  
himselfe, with any such as shall affirme the same,  
under what penaltie soever it be, of money or other-  
wise, that that which hee hath falsly reported unto  
your reverences hee shall never bee able iustly and  
truely to affirme and prove,

Thirdly, whereas your reverences doe say, that  
you doe not understand or know, what the lords doe  
meane, by the heretiks condemned at the councill  
holden at Pisa, whether the mocking or deriding of  
the Pope, whose ambassadors came thither for unity  
or concord, the which were suffered and gen'ly en-  
treated, as their lords were most inclined unto uni-  
ty and peace; or else that they did understand or  
meane the particular heretikes, which were there  
condemned; adorning thereunto, that the heretiks  
also coming unto the councill under the pretence  
of that unitie, should bee gently handled and entreat-  
ed, &c. Reverend fathers and lords, whether they be  
counted, the first, or that they bee thought the second  
or last, the lords aforesaid require none other thing,  
but that the said master John Hus may use such li-  
bertie as they used, forsomuch as hee came willingly  
unto this most sacred Councell, not for any other  
purpose, but only publicly to recognize his faith. And  
in what point soever he shall seeme to varie from the  
Word of God, and the union of the holy mother the  
Church in that point he will willingly be united and  
reconciled againe therunto, and not only himselfe;  
but also his labourers and adherents he would move  
and provoke therunto, of whom the greater number  
are in the kingdome of Boheme. Also he is come th-  
ther, that he might purge and cleare the noble king-  
dome of Boheme from the sinister and evil slander  
which was raised upon it.

Last of all most reverend fathers and lords, forso-  
much as your reverences have most favourably an-  
swered unto the principall request made by the  
lords aforesaid, that the proccesse of master John Hus  
through Gods help should be determined and ended  
with all expedition and gentlenesse; the lords aforesaid  
doe render most heartie thanks unto your re-  
verences, and whensoever their desire by Gods help  
shall come to the end or effect long wished or looked  
for, they will not only here, but also before the whole  
kingdome of Boheme, and in all other places where-  
soever they come, render most immortall thanks  
unto your reverences for ever.

This declaration of the nobles of Boheme a-  
bove prefixed, may serve not onely to the confuta-  
tion of the bishop Luthonis this Bohemian, but  
also against the cabillations of Alanus Copus An-  
gulus, Dial. 6. pag. 929. touching the safe conduct of  
John Hus, whereof sufficiently before hath beene  
said.

When as the noble men of Boheme by long time  
could receive no answer of those applications which  
they had already put up, they determined the last  
day of May following, by an other supplication be-  
ing put up unto the principals of the Councell, to  
certificat

John Hus falsly  
reported to  
preach openly  
at Constance.

John Hus falsly  
charged to  
preach coming  
to the councill.

The bishops of  
the councill  
falsly informed  
touching the  
safe conduct of  
John Hus.

John Hus im-  
prisoned before  
he was either  
condemned or  
heard.

Alexander the  
fifth.  
He answer  
touching the  
citation of Jo.  
Hus to the  
court of Rome.

John Hus his  
procurers evil  
intreated at  
Rome.

John Hus had  
many wellwil-  
lers in Bohem-  
nia.



entreat that John Hus might bee delivered out of prison, and defend his owne cause openly: they also put up the testimoniall of the Bishop of Bazareib, as touching John Hus. The copie whereof is expressed in the beginning of this history, word by word.

Vide supra.

*Another supplication of the Nobles of Boheme.*

Another supplication of the Bohemians for John Hus.

Most Reverend Fathers and Lords in Christ, of late there was a supplication put up unto your reverences on the behalfe of the Lords and Nobles of Boheme, and the nation of Pole, wherein they most humble desired your reverences to consider how the informations which were put up unto your reverences, by the enemies of master Iohn Hus, were insufficient; and with reverence be it spoken, in many points untrue, as in the safe conduct granted by the kings majestie, and also in other articles, as more plainly appeareth in the Schedule, which was then offered unto you; upon the which said schedule and other things at that present, being put up, they could not as yet receive any answer: Wherefore the Lords aforesaid most humbly require your fatherly reverences, that it would please you to consider the said supplication, and to give some answer to the Lords aforesaid thereupon, and specially having respect unto the great injuries and griefes which are done unto the said master Iohn Hus, the which may be understood and known by the Schedule aforesaid, that you will mercifully consider and foresee, that all those griefes and evils, so far different from all brotherly love and charitie, are done unto him by his enemies even for very malice and hatred.

To the intent therefore that the rancour and malice may be confounded and overthrowne, and the plaine and evident truth appeare, it may please your fatherly reverences to understand that it is, notified and knowne unto the Barons, Nobles, and Citizens, Clergy and Laitye of the kingdome of Boheme, that master Iohn Hus in all his acts and doings as well Scholasticall as Ecclesiasticall, and specially in all his publike and open Sermons, hath made and hath accustomed to make these manner of protestations, and which without any thing to the contrary hee hath alwaies endeavoured to have them strong and firme, as by this his protestation here following, which he made about the determination of a certaine question, it may most evidently and plainly appeare unto every man which would behold and look upon the same; the forme and tenor whereof here followeth, and is such.

¶ *The protestation of Iohn Hus.*

The protestation of J. Hus.

Forasmuch as about all things I doe desire the honour of God, the profit of the holy Church, and that I my selfe may be a faithfull member of our Lord Iesus Christ, which is the head and husband of the holy Church which hee hath redeemed; therefore as heretofore oftentimes I have done, even so now again I make this protestation, that I never obstinately said, or hereafter will say any thing that shall be contrary unto the truth and veritie; and moreover that I have alwaies holden, doe hold, and firmly desire to hold the very true and infallible truth and veritie; so that before that I would defend and maintaine any error contrary thereunto, I would rather choofe by the hope and helpe of the Lord to suffer extreme punishment, even unto death: yea and through the helpe of God I am ready to offer this my miserable life unto death for the Law of Christ, the which I doe believe every part and parcell thereof to be given and promulgate for the salvation of mankind, by the councell and deter-

mination of the most Holy Trinitie and the Saints of God, &c.

{ KING }  
{ HEN. 5. }

By the which his protestation, and also other protestations by the said Master Iohn Hus, being well observed and noted, it may be easily gathered and known that his whole intent and purpose was and is, that hee neither would nor will have spoken or written any thing in his Bookes, Treatises, Doctrines or publike Sermons; or else to have affirmed any articles, the which willingly and wittingly he did understand or know to be erroneous, offensive, seditious, hereticall, or offending the godlyeare; albeit that these and such like things are falsly imputed unto him by his enemies. But it hath alwaies beene his chief intent and purpose, and so is, that every point, conclusion or article contained in his bookes or articles, to have put and affirmed them to this end, according to the truth of the Gospell, the holy Doctors and Writers upon the holy Scriptures, and to that end and purpose, as is before expressed in his protestations: and if in any point hee should be found to varie or goe astray, or that he were not well understood of others, by like information to be informed, understood, corrected and amended, and that he will by no meanes sustaine or defend any manner of article against the holy Church of Rome, or the Catholike faith.

Wherefore most reverend fathers, the premisses notwithstanding, his enemies, through the extreame hatred which they beare unto him, have picked and taken out by peecemeale certaine articles out of the bookes of master Iohn Hus, rejecting and not looking upon the allegations and reasons, neither having any relation unto the distinction of their equivocations, have compounded and made thereof certaine false and fained articles against him to this end, that all charity and love being set apart, they might the better overthrow him, and bring him unto death, contrary unto the safe-conduct upon good and just occasion openly assigned, and given unto the said master Iohn Hus, by the most noble Prince the Lord Sigismund, King of the Romanes and of Hungarie, for his just defence against all the frivolous accusations and assaults of the enemies, not only of the said master Iohn Hus, but also of the famous Kingdome of Boheme, and for the quiet appeasing of all such tumults and rumours rising and springing in the said kingdome of Boheme, or elsewhere: the avoiding of which most perillous uprores the said King of Romanes doth greatly desire and wish, as the right heire and successour of the said kingdome.

Articles foisted out of his bookes by his enemies.

Whereupon the Barons and Nobles aforesaid, most humbly desire and require, the premisses being considered, and respect had unto the great infamy and slander which may happen by the premisses unto the said kingdome and inhabitants thereof, that you will put to your hands and take some order and meane, that master Iohn Hus may be directly heard by some famous men, divines already deputed, or otherwise to be appointed, upon all and singular such articles as shall be laid unto him, to declare his owne minde and intent, and also the mind of the Doctors alledged for this purpose, with the manifold distinctions and equivocations; in the which the drawers out of the most part of his articles have also made equivocations, that so according unto the disposition of the witnesses, of the which a great number of them are and have a long time beene his mortall enemies, that at the frivolous instigation of his enemies, when hee was miserably detained prisoner, that he should not be condemned unheard. Forasmuch as by the said declarations your fatherly reverences might be the more better informed of the truth, he himselfe is ready alwaies to submit himselfe under the determination of this most sacred Councell. For your reverences, by the craftie and fained perswasions of his enemies, are thus informed, that master Iohn Hus hath beene incurably obstinate by a long time in most perillous Articles, the which your reverences may now plainly perceive to bee untrue; and for the

The Councell will informed against J. Hus.

Vid. in prima edit p. 207.



KING  
HEN. 5.

the more evidence herein to be shewed, there is presented unto your reverences an instrument of publike recognition of the most reverend father in Christ the Lord Nicolas Bishop of Nazareth, an Inquisitor of heresies, specially appointed by the Apostolike See in the Diocesse of Prage, the which by your reverences is more diligently to be hearkened unto.

Wherefore it may please your fatherly reverences to command the said master Iohn Hus, neither convicted nor condemned, to be taken and brought out of his bonds and chaines, in the which he is now most grievously detained and kept, and to put him into the hands of some reverend Lord Bishops, or Commissioners, appointed or to be appointed by this present Councell; that the said master Iohn Hus may somewhat be relieved, and recover againe his health, and be the more diligently and commodiously examined by the Commissioners. And for the more assurance, the Barons and Nobles aforesaid of the kingdome of Boheme will provide most sure and good sureties, the which will not breake their fidelity and faith for any thing in the world. Which also shall promise in this behalfe, that he shall not flee or depart out of their hands, untill such time as the matter be fully determined by the said Commissioners. In the execution of the which premises, we have determined to provide and foresee unto the same and honour of the said kingdome of Boheme, and also to the safe conduct of the most worthy Prince, the King of Romanes, lest that the enemies and detractors of the honour and fame of the kingdome aforesaid might not a little slander and reprove the said Lords, pretending and shewing forth hereafter, that they had made unreasonable or unlawfull requests: for the withstanding of which mischief, we require your fatherly reverences, that you will decree, and most graciously consent, that this our petition and supplication may be drawne out againe by your Notarie, and reduced into a publike forme and order.

After this supplication was read before the Deputies of the foure nations, the Patriarch of Antioch answered in the name of them all unto every article of the said supplication; but it was done in few words.

First, as touching the protestation of Iohn Hus, whether it be true or false, it shall be made evident in the processe of his cause. Whereover, whereas they say that the adversaries of Iohn Hus have perverfly sayne certain things out of his booke, that also the matter it selfe shall declare in the end. Whereas if it shall be found and decreed that Iohn Hus is unjustly and untruly accused, that then it shall come to passe that his adversaries shall incur perpetuall ignominie and slander. But as touching sureties, albeit there might be a thousand put in or bound, yet can it not by any means be, that the Deputies of the Councell with a safe conscience may receive or take them in this mans cause, unto whom there is no faith or credit to be given. Howbeit thus much they will doe, upon the fifth day of June next, Iohn Hus shall be brought againe unto Constance, and there have free liberty to speake his minde before the Councell, and he promised that they would lob noly and gently heare him: but the matter in the end fell out farre contrary to this promise.

The same day the said Barons and Lords presented a supplication of this tenor unto the Emperour:

Unto the most high and mighty prince, the Lord Sigismund king of the Romanes, alwayes Augustus, king of Hungarie, Croatia, and Dalmatia, our most gracious lord, faithfull and true service in all things, and at all times. Most noble prince, and gracious lord, we signify unto your worthinesse, that we all together with one minde, consent and accord, have delivered up unto the reverend fathers and lords, the Deputies of the foure Nations, and to the whole sacred Councell of

Constance, this our supplication, heereunto written, a reasonable, iust, and worthy of consideration, the which nor whereof heretofore with word by word; and is this.

The copy of the supplication, which was presented unto the Deputies of the Councell, is before written, whereunto this which followeth was annexed,

Wherefore we most humbly require and desire your princely majesty, that both for the love of justice, and also of the fame and renowne of that most famous kingdome of Boheme, whereof we acknowledge you undoubtedly the true lord, heire, and successor; and also foreseeing unto the liberty of your safe conduct, that you will with your favourable countenance, beholding these most reasonable and just supplications, which we have put up to the Lords aforesaid, put to your helping hand toward the said most reverend fathers and lords, that they will effectually heare us, in this our most iust petition, which we have offered up to them, as is aforesaid; lest that the enemies of the renowne and honour of the famous kingdome of Boheme, and such be our slanderers also, hereafter may detract and slander us, that we should make unreasonable and unlawfull requests unto the said reverend fathers and lords: and therefore we required and desired of them, that it would please them to decree by setting to their publike hand and seale to authorize our said publication. Likewise we doe most heartily require your highnesse, that you would vouchsafe in like manner to give us your testimony of the premises.

But what answer the Emperour made hereunto, we could never understand or know; but by the processe of the matter a man may easily iudge, that this god Emperour was brought and led even unto this point, through the obstinate mischief of the Cardinals and Bishops, to breake and falsifie his promise and faith which he had made and promised; and this was their reason whereby he was dyben thereunto, that no defence could or might be given either by safe conduct or by any other meane unto him, which was suspected or iudged to be an heretike. But by the epistles and letters of Iohn Hus a man may easily iudge what the kings minde was. Now we will proceed in the history.

The fifth day of June, the cardinals, bishops, and the rest of the priests, all that were almost in Constance, assembled at a great number, at the convent of the Franciscans in Constance, and there it was commanded, that before I. Hus should be brought forth, in his absence they should rehearse the wickednes and articles which they had slanderously gathered out of his booke: the which articles, with Iohn Hus answer, we will hereafter repeat. By chance there was then present a certaine Notary, named Peter Bladonewitz, the which bare great love and amity unto the said Hus, who as soon as he perceived that the bishops and cardinals were already determined and appointed to condemn the said articles in the absence of Iohn Hus, he went with all speed unto master Wencelate de Duba, and Iohn of Clum, and told them all the matter, who incontinent made report thereof to the Emperour. Who understanding their intent, sent Lewis the Count Palatine of Heppelberg, and the lord Fredericke, Burgrave of Nuremberge, to signify unto them which ruled the Councell, that nothing should be resolved or done in the case of Iohn Hus, before that it were first heard with equity; and that they should send him all such articles as were laid against the said Hus, which were either false or hereticall, and he would do so much, that the said Articles should be examined by god and learned men. Then according to the Emperours will, the iudgement of the principals of the Councell was suspended, untill such time as Iohn Hus were present.

The Barons supplication to the king for Iohn Hus.

The king forced by the importunity of the Cardinals to breake promise.

The mischiefous counsel of the Popish band.

The chief counsel of the papist stopped by the emperor.



In the meane season these gentlemen, master of Dube and of Clum, did give unto the two princes, which the Emperour had sent, certaine small treatises which the said John Hus had made, out of the which they had drawne certaine articles to present unto them which rule the councell, under this condition, that they would render them againe, when they should demand them. The intent and meaning of these barons was, that by this meanes the aduersaries of John Hus might the more easily be reproved, the which of a naughty and corrupt conscience had picked out corrupt sentences out of the said books of John Hus. The books were delivered unto the Cardinals and Bishops: and that done, John Hus was brought forth, and the princes which were sent by the emperour, departed back againe. After they shewed the bookes unto John Hus, and he confessed openly before the whole assembly that he had made them, and that he was ready, if there were any fault in them, to amend the same.

Now hearken a litle to the holy proceedings of these reverend fathers, for here happened a strange and shamefull matter. With much ado they had scarcely read one Article, and brought forth a few witnesses upon the same against him, but as he was about to open his mouth to answer, all this mad heard or flock began so to crie out upon him, that he had no leasure to speake one onely word. The noise and trouble was so great and so vehement, that a man might well have called it a bruite or noise of wild beasts, and not of men; much lesse was it to be indged a congregation of men gathered together, to iudge and determine so grabe and weighty matters. And if it happened that the noise and crie did never so litle cease, that he might answer any thing at all, out of the holy Scriptures or Ecclesiasticall Doctors, by and by he should heare these goodly replies upon him; that maketh nothing to the purpose.

Besides all this, some did outrage in words against him, and other some spitefully mocked him: so that he seeing himselfe overwhelmed with these rude and barbarous noises and cries, and that it profited nothing to speak, he determined finally with himselfe to hold his peace and keep silence. From that time forthward all the whole rout of his aduersaries thought that they had won the battell of him, and cried out all together, now he is dumb, now he is dumb: This is a certaine signe and token, that he doth content and agree unto these his errors. Finally, the matter came to this point, that certaine of the most moderate and honest among them, seeing this disorder, determined to proceed no further, but that all should be deferred and put off untill another time. Though their advice, the prelates and others departed from the councell for that present, and appointed to meet there againe the morrow after to proceed in iudgement.

The next day, which was the seventh of June, on which day the Sun was almost wholly eclipsed, some what after about seven of the clock, this same flock assembled againe in the cloyster of the Friars Minor, and by their appointment John Hus was brought before them, accompanied with a great number of armed men. With him went also the emperour, whom the gentlemen, Master of Dube, and Clum, and the Notarie named Peter, which were great friends of the said Hus, did follow to see what the end would be. When they were come thither, they heard that in the accusation of Michael de Carriss, they read these words following: John Hus hath taught the people divers and many errors both in the chappell of Bethlehem, and also in many other places of the city of Prague, of the which errors some of them he hath drawne out of Wickliffes bookes, and the rest he hath forged and invented of his owne head, and doth maintaine the same very obstinately and stiffely.

First that, that after the consecration and pronunciation of the words in the Supper of the Lord, there remaineth materiall bread; and this is proved by the witness of John Portiwate, parish priest of Saint Clements in Prague, John Becklow, preacher at S. Giles in Prague, Benise preacher in the castle of Prague, Andrewe Brode, Canon of Prague, and divers other Priests. Unto this John Hus taking a solenne oath, answered that he never spake any such word; but thus much he did grant, that at what time the archbishop of Prague forbade him to use any more that terme or word bread, he could not allow the bishops commanement; so much as Christ in the sixth chapter of John both oftentimes name himselfe the bread of Angels, which came downe from heaven, to give life unto the whole world. But as touching materiall bread, he never spake any thing at all. Then the cardinal of Cambray taking a certaine bill in his hand, which he said he received the day before, said unto John Hus: Will you put any universallities à parte rei, i. as touching the thing? When John Hus answered, that he would, because S. Anselme and divers others had so done, the Cardinal did proceed to gather his argument in this manner.

It followeth then, said he, that after the consecration is made, there remaineth the substance of materiall bread; and that I do thus prove: that the consecration being done, whiles the bread is changed and transubstantiated into the body of Christ, as you say, either there doth remain the common substance of materiall bread, or contrariwise. If the substance do remaine, then is our purpose at an end. If contrariwise, then it doth follow, that by the decision of the singularity, the universall ceaseth any more to be: John Hus answered, truly it ceaseth to be in this singular materiall Bread, by meanes of this Transubstantiation, when as it is changed and Transubstantiated into the Body of Christ; but notwithstanding in other singularities it is made subiect.

When a certaine Englishman by that argument would prove out of the first position, that there remained materiall bread. Then said John Hus, that is a childish argument, which every boy in schooles knoweth, and thereupon gave a solution. When another Englishman would prove, that there remained materiall bread in the Sacrament, because the bread after the consecration was not annihilate. Unto whom John Hus answered; Although said he, that the bread be not annihilate or consumed, yet singularly it ceaseth there to bee by meanes of the alteration of his substance into the body of Christ. Here another Englishman stepping forth, said; John Hus seemeth unto me to use the same kinde of cristie speech which Wickliffe used, for hee granted all these things which this man hath done, and yet in very deed was fully perswaded that materiall bread remained in the Sacrament after the consecration. The which when John Hus had denied, saying, that he spake nothing but onely sincerely and uprightly, according to his conscience, the Englishman proceeded to demand of him againe, whether the body of Christ be totally and really in the Sacrament of the Altar. Whereunto John Hus answered, verily; I doe thinke that the body of Christ is really and totally in the Sacrament of the Altar, even that body which was bozne of the Virgin Mary, suffered, died, and rose againe, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty. When they had disputed a good while to and fro, as touching universallities, the Englishman which before would prove that materiall bread remained in the Sacrament, because that the bread was not annihilate, interrupting and breaking their talke, said: to what purpose is this disputation upon universallities, the which maketh nothing to the purpose, as touching faith? For as farre as

{ KING }  
{ HEN. 5. }

Barter made  
against John  
Hus.  
False witness  
against John  
Hus.

The answer of  
John Hus.

naming of  
bread forbidden  
by the  
archbishops.

The cardinal  
sophisticately  
with J. Hus.

The disputation  
of the Eng-  
lish men.

An Engli-  
man.

J. Hus agreeth  
with that blind  
man in the  
Sacrament.

John Hus forced  
to keep silence  
by outrage of the  
bishops and  
priests.

The like practice  
in these  
later dayes  
was used at  
Oxford against  
the goodly  
fathers.

An outrageous  
Council.

A great eclipse  
of the Sun.

They went  
forth with  
swords and  
shaves, as it  
had bene to  
take a church.

Peter and  
John follow  
Christ in to the  
bishops house.



**KING**  
**HEN. 5.**  
Hokes an  
Englishman.

I can perceiue or heare, this man holdeth a good opinion as touching the Sacrament of the Altar.

Then another Englishman, named Stokes, said, I have seene at Prague (said he) a certaine treatise, the which was ascribed unto this man Iohn Hus, wherein it was plainly set forth, that after the consecration there remained materiall bread in the Sacrament. Verily, said Iohn Hus, saving your reverence, that is not true.

False witnesse.

Then they returned againe unto the witnesses of them which were spoken of a little before, who every man for himselfe affirmed with an oath that which he had said. Amongst whom Iohn Brodyway, parish priest of Saint Clements in Prague, when he should come to confirme his testimony, added more, that Iohn Hus should say, that Saint Gregory was but a rimer, when he did alledge his authority against him. Unto whom Iohn Hus answered, that in this point they did him great injury, forsomuch as he alwayes esteemed and reputed Saint Gregory for a most holy Doctor of the church.

The cardinal of Florence.

These contentions and disputations being some what appeared, the Cardinal of Florence turned himselfe toward Iohn Hus, and said; Master, you know well enough that it is written that in the mouth of two or three witnesses all witnesse is firm and stable: and here you see now almost twenty witnesses against you, men of authority and worth of credit, amongst the which some have heard you teach these things themselves, the other by report and common bruite or voice do testifie of your doctrine, and all together generally bring firme reasons and proofs of their witnesse, unto the which we are forced and constrained to give credit; and for my part, I see not how you can maintaine and defend your cause against so many notable and well learned men. Unto whom Iohn Hus answered in this manner: I take God and my conscience to witnesse, that I never taught any thing, neither was it euer in my minde or fantasie to teach in such sort or manner, as these men here have not feared to witnesse against me that which they never heard. And albeit they were as many more in number as they are, for all that, I do much more esteeme, yea and without comparison regard the witnesse of my Lord God, before the witnesse and iudgement of all mine adversaries upon whom I do in no point stay my selfe. Then said the Cardinal againe unto him, it is not lawfull for us to iudge according to your conscience, for we cannot chuse, but that we must needs stay our selves upon the firme and evident witnesse of these men here. For it is not for any displeasure or hatred that these men doe witnesse this against you (as you do alledge:) for they alledge and bring forth such reasons of their witnesse, that there is no man that can perceiue any hatred in them, or that we can in any case be in doubt thereof. And as touching master Steven Paley, whereas you say, you doe suspect him that he hath craftily and deceitfully drawne out certaine points or articles out of your books to betray them afterward: it seemeth that in this point you doe him great wrong, for in mine advice he hath used and shewed a great fidelity and amity toward you, in that he hath alleviated and moderated many of your articles much more than they are in your owne books. I understand also that you have like opinion of divers other notable men, and specially you have said, that you doe suspect M<sup>r</sup>. Chancelor of Paris, than whom there is no more excellent and Christian man in all the whole world.

De meanness of Iohn Hus.

Then was there read a certaine article of accusation, in the which it was alledged that Iohn Hus had taught, and obstinately defended certaine erroneous articles of Wickliffes in Boheme. Whereunto Hus answered, that he never taught any errors of Iohn Wickliffes, or of any other mans. Wherefore if it be so that Wickliffe hath sowed any errors in England, let the Englishmen look to that

themselves. But to confirme their article, there was alledged that Iohn Hus did withstand the condemnation of Wickliffes articles, the which were first condemned at Rome; and afterward also, when the archbishop of Swinco, with other learned men, held a conbocation at Prague for the same matter, when as they would have there been condemned for this cause, that none of them were agreeing to the Catholike faith or doctrine, but were euer heretick, call erroneous, or offensive: he answered, that he durst not agree thereunto, for offending his conscience, and especially for these articles, that shouldest the Pope and Constantine did erre in bestowing those great gifts and rewards upon the Church, Also, that the pope or priest, being in mostall sinne, cannot consecrate nor baptise. This article said he, I have thus determined, as if I should say, that he both unworthily consecrate or baptise, when as he is in deadly sinne, and that he is an unworthy minister of the sacraments of God. Here his accusers with their witnesses, were earnest and instant that the article of Wickliffe was written by the very same words of the treatise which Iohn Hus made against Stephen Paley. Verily said Iohn Hus, I feare not to submit my selfe, euen under the danger of death, if you shall not finde it so as I have said. When the booke was brought forth, they found it written as Iohn Hus had said. He added also moreover, that he durst not agree unto them which had condemned Wickliffes articles, for this article: the tenths were pure almes.

Certaine articles of Wickliffe that Iohn Hus stood in.

A treatise against Steven Paley.

Whether tenths be pure almes.

Almes band of duty.

Here the Cardinal of Florence objected unto him this argument, as touching the almes: it is required that it should be given freely without bond or dutie. But tenths are not given freely without bond or dutie; therefore they are no almes. Iohn Hus denying the maior of this Syllogisme, brought this reason against him. Forsomuch as rich men are bounden under the paine of eternall damnation, unto the fulfilling of the 6. workes of mercy, which Christ repeateh in the 25. chapter of Matthew, and these workes are pure almes: Ergo, almes is also given by bond and duty. Then an archbishop of England stepping up, said, if we all be bound unto those 6. workes of mercy, it doth follow that poore men, which have nothing at all to give should be damned. I answer, said Hus unto your antecedent, that I spake distinctly of rich men, and of those which had where withall to doe those workes: They I say, were bound to give almes under paine of damnation.

He answered moreover unto the Minor of the first argument, that tenths were at first given freely, and afterward made a bond and dutie: and when as he would have declared it more at large, he could not be suffered by declared also divers other causes why he could not with safe conscience consent unto the condemnation of Wickliffes articles. But howsoever the matter went, he did affirme and say, that he did never obstinately confirme any articles of Wickliffes, but only that he did not allow and consent that Wickliffes articles should be condemned before that sufficient reasons were alledged out of the holy Scripture for their condemnation; and of the same mind, said Iohn Hus, are a great many other doctors and masters of the University of Prague. For when as Swinco the archbishop commanded all Wickliffes bookes to be gathered together in the whole cite of Prague, and to be brought unto him, I my selfe brought also certaine bookes of Wickliffes, which I gave unto the archbishop, desiring him, that if he found any error or here-  
sie in them, he would note and marke them, and I my selfe would publish them openly. But the archbishop, albeit that he shewed mee no error nor here-  
sie in them, burned my bookes, together with those that were brought unto him, notwithstanding that he had no such commandement from  
Pope

Iohn Hus his mind touching the condemnation of Wickliffes articles.

Wickliffes bookes burned in Prague, by the archbishop Swinco.

Another accusation for denying of Wickliffes articles.



Pope Alexander the fifth of that name. But notwithstanding by a certaine policie he obtained a bull from the said Pope by meanes of Jaroslavus bishop of Sarcpte, of the order of Franciscans, that all Wickliffes books for the manifold errors contained in them (whereof there was none named) should be taken out of all mens hands.

The archbishop, using the authority of this bull, thought he should bring to passe that the king of Boheme and the nobles should consent to the condemnation of Wickliffes books; but therein he was deceived. For notwithstanding he calling together certaine Divines, gave them in commission to sit upon Wickliffes books, and to proceed against them by a definitive sentence in the canon law. These men by a general sentence iudged all those books worthy to be burned. The which when the Doctors, Masters and Schollars of the University heard report of, they all together with one consent and accord (none excepted but onely they, which before were chosen by the archbishop to sit in iudgement) determined to make supplication unto the king to stay the matter. The king granting their request, sent by and by certaine unto the archbishop to examine the matter. Where he denied that he would decree any thing as touching Wickliffes books contrary unto the kings will and pleasure. Whereupon, albeit that he had determined to burne them the next day after, yet for feare of the king, the matter was passed over.

In the meane time pope Alexander the fifth being dead, the archbishop, fearing lest the bull which he had received of the Pope, would be no longer of any force or effect, privily calling unto him his adherents, and shutting the gates of his court round about him, being guarded with a number of armed souldiers, consumed and burned all Wickliffes books. Besides this great injury, the archbishop by meanes of his bull aforesaid committed another no lesse tolerable. For he gave out commandement, that no man after that time, under paine of excommunication, should teach any more in Chappels. Whereupon I did appeale unto the Pope; who being dead, and the cause of my matter remaining undetermined, I appealed likewise unto his successor John 23. Before whom when as, by the space of two yeres, I could not be admitted by my advocats to defend my cause, I appealed unto the high Judge Christ. When John Hus had spoken these words, it was demanded of him, whether he had received absolution of the Pope or no? He answered, no. Then againe, whether it were lawfull for him to appeal unto Christ or no? Whereunto John Hus answered; Verily I doe affirme here afoze you all, that there is no more iust or effectual appeale, than that appeale which is made unto Christ, forasmuch as the law doth determine, that to appeale, is no other thing than in a cause of griefe or wrong done by an inferiour Judge, to implore and require aid and remedy at a higher Judges hand. Who is then an higher Judge than Christ? Who I say, can know or iudge the matter more iustly, or with more equity? when as in him there is found no deceit, neither can he be deceived; or who can better helpe the miserable and oppressed than he? While John Hus with a devout and sober countenance was speaking and pronouncing those words, he was decider and mocked of all the whole council.

Then was there rehearsed another article of his accusation in this manner; that John Hus to confirme the heresie which he had taught the common and simple people out of Wickliffes books, said openly these words; that at what time a great number of monkes and friers, and other learned men were gathered together in England in a certaine church, to dispute against John Wickliffe, and could by no meanes vanquish him, or give him the foyle, suddenly the Church doze was broken open with

lightning, so that with much ado Wickliffes enemies hardly escaped without hurt. He added moreover, that he wished his soul to be in the same place where John Wickliffes soule was. Whereunto John Hus answered that a dozen yeres before that any bookes of Divinity of John Wickliffes were in Boheme, he did see certaine workes of Philosophy of his, the which, he said, did marvellously delight and please him. And when he understod the good and godly life of the said Wickliffe, he spake these words: I trust, said he, that Wickliffe is saved; and albeit that I doubt whether he be damned or no, yet with a good hope I wish, that my soule were in the same place where John Wickliffes is. Then againe did all the company iest and laugh at him.

It is also in his accusation, that John Hus did counsell the people, according to the example of Moses, to resist with the sword against all such as did gainsay his doctrine. And the next day after he had preached the same, there were found openly in divers places certaine intimations, that every man, being armed with his sword about him, should stoutly proceed and that brother should not spare brother, neither one neighbour another. John Hus answered, that all these things were falsly laid unto his charge by his abderfaries; for he at all times when he preached, did diligently admonish and warn the people, that they should all arme themselves to defend the truth of the Gospell, according to the saying of the Apostle, with the helmet and sword of salvation; and that he never spake of any materall sword, but of that which is the sword of God. And as touching intimations of Moses sword, he never had any thing to do therewithall.

It is moreover affirmed in his accusation and witnesse, that many offences are sprung up by the doctrine of Hus. For first of all, he sowed discord between the ecclesiasticall and the politike state: whereupon followed the persecution, spoiling and robbery of the clergy and bishops. And moreover, that he through his dissention dissolved the University of Prague. Whereunto John Hus briefly answered, that these things had not happened by his meanes or default. For the first dissention that was betwene the ecclesiasticall and politike state, sprang and grew upon this cause, that pope Gregory the 12. of that name, promised at his election, that at all times at the will and pleasure of the cardinals, he would depart from and give over his seat againe; for under that condition he was elect and chosen. This man, contrary and against Winceslaus king of Boheme, and was then also king of the Romans, made Lewis Duke of Babaria emperor.

A few yeres after it happened, when as Pope Gregory would not refuse and give over his seat and office at the request of the Cardinals, that the whole colledge of Cardinals sent letters to the king of Boheme, requiring him, that together with them he would renounce and forsake his obedience unto pope Gregory, and so it should come to passe, that by the authority of a new bishop he should recover againe his imperiall dignity. For it is cause the king consented to the will of the Cardinals as touching a neutrality, that is to say, that he would neither take part with pope Gregory, neither yet with Benedict the twelfth, bishop of Avinion, which was then named pope, as it doth appeare by chronicles. In this cause then, forasmuch as the Archbishop Swinco with the clergy were against the king, and abstaining from the divine service, many of them departed out of the city, and the archbishop himself breaking downe the tombe of the lord Wincelare, contrary and against the kings will, did also take Wickliffes books and burned them: Whereupon the king without any gainsaying, suffered that certaine goods of theirs, which of their owne wills were fled away, should be spoiled, because they should not consent or accord with the Bishop. Whereupon it is

{ KING }  
{ HEN. 5. }

Hus accused for trusting that Wickliffes soule is saved.

Sedition laid to his charge.

Hus accused for moving certaine tumults against the clergy and division in the University of Prague.

A Story of Popes.

The cause why Swinco and other of the clergy did fly out of Prague.

A narrat[i]on touching Wickliffes books.

The University of Prague made supplication to the king to stay the matter.

Wickliffes books burned in Prague against the kings will. A decree that no man should teach any more in chappels.

John Hus appealed to the pope, and from the pope to Christ.

A question of the council, whether it be lawfull to appeale to Christ or no.

The popish church doeth Christ.



**KING**  
**HEN. 5.**

This doctor  
Huso was  
counsellor to  
king Edward  
Six.

caste to be understood and knowne, that John Hus was falsly accused for that matter. Howbeit a certaine man, one Haso, rising up said; The clergie (said he) did not abstaine from the divine service, because they would not sweare to consent unto the king; but because that they were spoiled and robbed of their goods and substance. And the cardinall of Cambray, who was one of the iudges, said; Here I must say somewhat which is come into my minde.

When as I came from Rome, the same yee that these things were done, by chance I met on the way certaine prelates of Boheme. Whom when I demanded what newes they had brought out of Boheme, they answered, that there was happened a wonderfull cruell and famous fact: for all the clergy were spoiled of all their substance, and very ill intreated and handled. Then John Hus alledging the same cause which he did before, went forward unto the second part of the article which was objected against him, denying also that it hapned through his fault, that the Germans departed from the University of Prague. But when as the king of Boheme, according to the foundation of Charles the fourth his father, granted three voices unto the Bohemes, and the fourth unto the Germans; whereat the Germans judging, that they should be exempted from their voices, of their owne accord departed and went their wayes; binding themselves with a great oath, and under a great penalty, both of their fame, and also money, that none of them should returne againe unto Prague. Notwithstanding, I am not ashamed to confesse, that I did approve and allow the doings of the king, unto whom of duty I owe obedience for the commodity and profit of my country. And because you shall not thinke that I have spoken any untruth. Here is present Albert Warren Trips, which was deacon of the faculties, who had sworne to depart with the rest of the Germans; he, if that he will say the truth, shall easily cleere me of this suspicion.

But when as Albert would have spoken, he could not be heard. But the foresaid Haso, of whom before is made mention, after he had asked leave to speak, said; This matter doe I understand well enough; for I was in the kings court when these things were done in Boheme, when as I saw the masters of the three nations, of the Germans, Havarians, Sarrons, and Silicians, amongst whom the Polonians were also numbred, most humbly come unto the king, requiring that he would not suffer the right of their voices to be taken from them. Then the king promised them, that he would foresee and provide for their requests. But John Hus and Jerome of Prague, with others others, perswaded the king that he should not do so. Whereat the king at the first being not a little moved, gave him a sore check, that he and Jerome of Prague did so much intermeddle themselves, and moved such open controversies, insomuch that he threatened them, that except they would foresee and take heed, he would bring it to passe that the matter should be determined and decided by fire. Wherefore most reverend fathers, you shall understand that the king of Boheme did never favor with his heart these men, whose unshamefastnesse is such, that they feared not even of late to treat me evil, being so much in the kings favor and credit. After him stepped forth Palet, saying: Truly most reverend fathers, not onely the learned men of other nations, but also of Boheme it selfe, are through the counsell of John Hus and his adherents banished out of Boheme; of the which number, some remaine yet in exile in Pozabia. Hereunto John Hus answered: How can this be true, said he, since I was not at Prague at that time, when as these men you speak of departed and went away from thence? These things were thus debated the day aforesaid as touching John Hus.

This done, the said John Hus was committed to the custody of the bishop of Keigen, under whom Jerome of Prague was also prisoner. But before that he was led away, the Cardinall of Cambray calling him back againe in the presence of the Emperour, said; John Hus, I have heard you say, that if you had not bene willing of your owne mind to come unto Constance, neither the emperor himselfe neither the king of Boheme could have compelled you to do it. Unto whom John Hus answered; under your licence most reverend father, I never used any such kinde of talke or words. But thus I told say, that there was in Boheme a great number of Gentlemen and Noblemen, which did favour and love me, the which also might easily have kept me in some sure and secret place, that I should not have bene constrained to come into this Towne of Constance, neither at the will of the Emperour neither of the king of Boheme. With that the Cardinall of Cambray, even for very anger began to change his colour, and despiteously said: Do you not see the unshamefastnesse of the man here? And as they were murmuring and whispering on all parts, the lord John de Clum, ratifying and confirming that which John Hus had spoken, said, that John Hus had spoken very well; for on my part, said he, which in comparison of a great many others am but of small force in the realme of Boheme, yet alwayes if I would have taken it in hand, I could have defended him easily by the space of one yee, even against all the force and power of both these great and mighty kings. How much better might they have done it which are of more force or puissance than I am? And have stronger castles and places than I have? After that the lord de Clum had spoken, the Cardinall of Cambray said, Let us leave this talk. And I tell you John Hus, and counsell you that you submit your selfe unto the sentence and mind of the counsell, as you did promise in the prison; and if you will do so, it shall be greatly both for your profit and honour.

And the Emperour himselfe began to tell him the same tale, saying: Albeit that there be some which say, that the fifteenth day after you were committed to prison, you obtained of us our letters of safe-conduct; notwithstanding, I can well prove by the witness of many Princes and Noble men, that the said safe conduct was obtained and gotten of us by my Lord de Dube and de Clum, before you were parted out of Prague, under whose guard we have sent for you, to the end that none should doe you any outrage or hurt, but that you should have full liberty to speake freely before all the Councell, and to answer as touching your Faith and Doctrine: And as you see, my Lords the Cardinals and Bishops have so dealt with you, that we do very well perceive their good will towards you, for the which we have great cause to thank them. And forsomuch as divers have told us, that we may not ought not of right to defend any man which is an heretike, or suspect of heresie; therefore now we give you even the same counsell which the Cardinall of Cambray hath given you already, that you be not obstinate to maintaine any opinion, but that you do submit your selfe under such obedience as you owe unto the authority of the holy councell, in all things that shall be laid against you, and confirmed by credible witnesses. The which thing if you do according to our counsell, we will give order that for the love of us, of our brother and the whole realm of Boheme, the councell shall suffer you to depart in peace, with an easie and tolerable penance and satisfaction. The which thing if you contrariwise refuse to do, the Presidents of the Councell shall have sufficient wherewithall to proceed against you. And for our part be ye well assured, that we will sooner prepare and make the fire with our owne hands, to burne you withall, than we will indure or suffer any

Hus committed  
to custody.  
Jerome of  
Prague.

The cardinall  
of Cambray.

John de Clum

A declaration  
how the Ger-  
mans departed  
from the Uni-  
versity of  
Prague.

The penalty of  
money was 100  
silver shock.

The Under of  
the unshame-  
fast hypocrit.

The emperors  
oration to John  
Hus.

Palet speak-  
eth against  
John Hus.



The answer  
of John Hus  
unto the em-  
peror.

any longer that you shall maintaine or use this stiff-  
nelle of opinions, which you have hitherto maintai-  
ned and used. Wherefore our advice and counsell is,  
that you submit your selfe wholly unto the iudge-  
ment of the councell. Unto whom John Hus answer-  
ed in this sort; A most noble emperor, I render  
unto your highnesse most immortall thanks for  
your letters of safe-conduct. Upon this, lord John  
de Clum did breake him of his purpose, and admo-  
nished him that he bid in no point excuse himselfe of  
the blame of obstinacy.

Then said John Hus, A most gentle Lord, I doe  
take God to my witness, that I was never minded  
to maintaine any opinion eber obstinately, and that  
for this same intent and purpose I did come hither  
of mine owne good will, that if any man could lay  
before me any better or more holy doctrine than  
mine, that then I would change mine opinion with-  
out any further doubt. After he had spoken and said  
these things, he was sent away with Sergeants.

The morrow after, which was the eighth day of  
June, the very same company which was assembled  
the day before, assembled now againe at the Cobent  
of the Franciscans. And in this assembly were also  
John Hus his friends, lord de Dube, and lord de  
Clum, and Peter the notary. Whither was John  
Hus also brought: and in his presence there were  
read about thirty nine articles, the which, they said,  
were drawne out of his books. Hus acknowledged  
all those that were faithfully and truly collected and  
gathered to be his; of the which sort there were but  
very few. The residue were counterfeited and forged  
by his aduersaries, and specially by Stephen Pa-  
letz, the principall author of this mischief: for they  
could find no such thing in the books, out of the which  
they said they had drawne and gathered them; or at  
the least, if they were, they were corrupted by han-  
ders, as a man may easily perceiue by the number  
of articles.

These be the same articles in a manner which were  
shewed before in the prison to John Hus, and are  
rehearsed here in another order. Howbeit there  
were more articles added unto them, and other some  
corrected and enlarged. But now we will shew them  
one with another, and declare what the said Hus did  
answer both openly before them all, as also in the  
prison, for he left his answers in the prison briefly  
written with his owne hand in these words.

I John Hus, unworthy minister of Iesus Christ,  
master of Art, and Batcheler of Divinity, do con-  
fesse that I have written a certaine small treatise  
intituled, Of the Church; the copie whereof was  
shewed me by the notaries of the thre presidents  
of the councell, that is to say, the Patriarch of Con-  
stantinople, the bishop of Castle, and the bishop of  
Libusse; the which deputies or presidents, in reproof  
of the said treatise, delivered unto me certaine arti-  
cles, saying, that they were drawne out of the said  
treatise, and were written in the same.

The first article. There is but one holy uniberfall  
or Catholike Church, which is the uniberfall compa-  
ny of all the predestinate. I do confesse that this  
proposition is mine, and is confirmed by the saying  
of S. Augustine upon S. John.

The second article. Saint Paul was never any  
member of the Diabell, albeit that he committed,  
and did certaine acts like unto the acts of the malig-  
nant Church. And likewise S. Peter, which fell into  
an horrible sin of perjury and deniall of his master,  
it was by the permission of God, that he might the  
more firmly and stedfastly rise againe and be confir-  
med. I answer according to S. Augustine; that it is  
expedient that the elect and predestinate should sin  
and offend.

Whereby it appeareth that there are two manner  
of separations from the holy church. The first is, not  
to perdition, as all the elect are divided from the  
Church. The second is to perdition, by the which

certaine heretikes are through their deadly sin dis-  
bed from the Church. Yet notwithstanding, by the  
grace of God, they may retorne againe unto the  
flock, and be of the fold of our Lord Iesus Christ, of  
whom he speaketh himselfe saying; I have other  
sheep which are not of this fold, John 11.

The third article. No part or member of the  
Church doth depart or fall away at any time from  
the body, for so much as the charity of predestination,  
which is the bond and chaine of the same, doth never  
fall. This proposition is thus placed in my book. As  
the reprobate of the Church proceed out of the same,  
and yet are not as parts or members of the same;  
for so much as no part or member of the same doth fi-  
nally fall away, because that the charity of predesti-  
nation, which is the bond and chaine of the same,  
doth never fall away. This is proved by the thir-  
teenth chapter of the first to the Corinthians, and to  
the Romanes, the eighth chapter: All things turn  
to god to them which love God. Also I am certaine  
that neither death nor life can separate us from the  
charity and love of God, as it is more at large in  
the book.

The fourth article. The predestinate, although  
he be not in the state of grace according to present  
iustice, yet is he alwayes a member of the uniber-  
fall Church. This is an error, if it be understood of  
all such as be predestinate: for thus it is in the book,  
about the beginning of the fifth chapter, where it is  
declared, that there be divers manners and sorts  
of being in the Church; for there are some in the  
Church, according to the mishapen faith, and other  
some according to predestination, as Christians  
predestinate now in sin, but shall retorne againe unto  
grace.

The fifth Article. There is no degree of hono-  
r or dignity, neither any humane election, or any sensible  
signe, that can make any man a member of the uni-  
versall Church. I answer, this article is after this  
manner in my book. And such subtilties are under-  
stood and known by considering what it is to be in  
the Church, and what it is to be a part or member of  
the Church, and that predestination doth make a  
man a member of the uniberfall Church, the which  
is a preparation of grace for the present, and of glo-  
ry to come: and not any degree of dignity, neither  
election of man, neither any sensible signe. For the  
traitor Judas Iscariot, notwithstanding Christs  
election, and the temporall graces which were given  
him for his office of Apostleship, and that he was  
reputed and counted of men a true Apostle of Iesus  
Christ, yet was he no true disciple, but a wolfe co-  
vered in a sheeps skin, as S. Augustine saith.

The sixth article. A reprobate man is never a  
member of the holy Church. I answer, it is in my  
booke with sufficient long probation out of the 26.  
Psalme, and out of the fifth chapter to the Ephe-  
sians, and also by S. Bernards saying; The Church  
of Iesus Christ is more plainly and evidently his  
body, than the body which he delivered for us to  
death. I have also written in the 5. chapter of my  
book, that the holy Church is the barne of the Lord,  
in the which are both good and evill, predestinate and  
reprobate; the good being as the good corne or grain,  
and the evill as the chaffe; and thereunto is added  
the exposition of S. Augustine.

The seventh Article. Judas was never a true  
disciple of Iesus Christ. I answer, and I do confesse  
the same. This appeareth by the fifth article, which  
is passed before, and by S. Augustine in his booke of  
penance, where he doth expound the meaning of  
S. John, in the first epistle and second chapter, where  
he said; They came out from amongst us, but  
they were none of us. He knew from the begun-  
ning all them which should beleve, and him also  
which should betray him, and said; And therefore I  
say unto you, that none cometh unto me, except it  
be given him of my father. From that time many

{ KING }  
{ HEN. 5 }

The members  
of the church  
never fall fi-  
nally away.

The predesti-  
nate is alwayes  
a member of  
the uniberfall  
church, al-  
though he be  
in present iustice.

To be in the  
church, and a  
member of the  
church.

Predestination

Both good and  
bad in the  
church.

39. Articles  
laid to John  
Hus.

The answer of  
John Hus con-  
cerning his  
book of the  
Church.

S. Paul was  
never any  
member of the  
diabell.

Two manner  
of separations  
from the  
church.



{ KING }  
{ HEN. 5. }

of the Disciples parted from him; and were not those also called Disciples, according to the words of the Gospell: And yet notwithstanding they were true Disciples, because they did not remaine and continue in the Word of the Sonne of God, according as it is said; If you remaine in my Word, you be my Disciples. Forasmuch then as they did not continue with Christ as his true Disciples, so likewise are they not the true sonnes of God: although they seemed so, unto him they are not so, unto whom it is knowne what they shall be, that is to say, of god, evil. Thus much writeth S. Augustine: It is also evident that Judas could not be the true Disciple of Christ, by means of his covetousnesse; for Christ himselfe said in the presence of Judas, as I suppose, Except a man forsake all that he hath, he cannot be my Disciple. Forasmuch then as Judas did not forsake all things, according to the Lords will, and follow him, he was a theefe, as it is said John the 12. and a Diuell, John the 6. whereby it is evident by the Word of the Lord, that Judas was not his true but fained Disciple. Whereupon S. Augustine writing upon John, declaring how the sheepe heare the voice of Christ, saith, What manner of hearers, think we, his sheepe were? Truly Judas heard him and was a wolf, yet followed he the shepheard; but being clothed in a sheeps skin, he lay in wait for the shepheard.

The eighth Article of the congregation of the predestinate, whether they be in the state of grace or no, according unto present iustice, is the holy universall Church, and therefore it is an article of faith, and it is the same Church which hath neither wrinkle, neither spot in it, but is holy and undefiled, the which the Sonne of God doth call his owne. The answer, The words of the booke out of the which this article was drawne, are these: Thirdly, the church is understood and taken for the congregation and assembly of the faithfull, whether they be in the state of grace, according to present iustice or not. And in this sort it is an article of our faith, of the which S. Paul maketh mention in the fifth chapter to the Ephesians: Christ so loved his Church, that he delivered and offered himselfe for the same, &c. I pray you then, is there any faithfull man the which doth doubt that the Church doth not signifie all the elect and predestinate, the which we ought to believe to be the universall Church, the glorious Spouse of Jesus Christ, holy and without spot: Wherefore this article is an article of faith, the which we ought firmly to believe according to our Creed, I believe the holy catholike Church; and of this Church doth S. Augustine, S. Gregory, S. Jerome, and divers other make mention.

The ninth Article. Peter never was, neither is the head of the holy universall Church. The answer. This article was drawne out of these words of my book. All men do agree in this point, that Peter had received of the rocke of the Church (which is Christ) humilitie, poverty, steadfastnesse of faith, and consequently blessednesse. Not as though the meaning of our Lord Jesus Christ was, when he said, Upon this rock I will build my church, that he would build every militant church upon the person of Peter, for Christ should build his church upon the rock which is Christ himselfe, from whence Peter received his steadfastnesse of faith, forasmuch as Jesus Christ is the only head and foundation of every church, and not Peter.

The tenth article. If he that is called the Vicar of Jesus Christ, do follow Christ in his life, then he is his true Vicar. But if to be, he do walk in contrary paths and waies, then is he the messenger of Antichrist, and the enemy and adversary of S. Peter, and of our Lord Jesus Christ, and also the Vicar of Judas Iscariot. I answer, The words of my book are these: If he which is called the Vicar of Saint Peter, walks in the waies of

Christian vertues aforesaid, we doe believe verily that he is the true Vicar, and true Bishop of the Church which he ruleth; but if he walks in contrary paths and waies, then is he the messenger of antichrist, contrary both to S. Peter, and our Lord Jesus Christ. And therefore Saint Bernard in his fourth booke did write in this sort unto pope Eugene; Thou delightest & walkest in great pride and arrogancy; being gorgeously and sumptuously arrayed, what fruit or profit do thy flock or shepe receive by thee? If I durst say it, these be rather the pastures and feedings of Devils than of shepe. S. Peter and S. Paul did not so; wherefore thou seemest by these thy doings to succeed Constantine, and not S. Peter. These be the very words of S. Bernard. It followeth after in my book, that if the manner and fashion of his life and living be contrary to that which S. Peter used, or that he be given to avarice and covetousnesse, then is he the vicar of Judas Iscariot, which loved and chose the reward of iniquity, and did set out to sale the Lord Jesus Christ. As soon as they had read the same, those which ruled and governed the Councell, beheld one another, making mocks and mooves, they nodded their heads at him.

The eleventh Article. All such as do use simony, and priests living dissolutely and wantonly, do hold an untrue opinion of the seven Sacraments, as unbelieving bastards, and not as children, not knowing what is the office and duty of the keyes or censures, rites and ceremonies, neither of the divine service of the church, or of veneration or worshipping of reliques, neither of the orders constituted and ordained in the church, neither yet of indulgences or pardons. I answer, that it is placed in this manner in my book. This abuse of authority or power is committed by such as do sell and make merchandise of holy orders, and get & gather together riches by simony, making faires and markets of the holy Sacraments, and living in all kinde of voluptuousnesse and dissolute manners; or in any other filthy or villanous kinde of living; They do pollute and defile the holy ecclesiasticall state. And albeit that they professe in words that they do know God, yet do they deny it againe by their deeds, and consequently believe not in God: But as unbelieving bastards they hold a contrary and untrue opinion of the seven sacraments of the church. And this appeareth most evidently, forasmuch as all such do utterly contemne and despise the name of God, according to the saying of Malachi, the first chapter; Unto you, O priests, be it spoken, which do despise and contemne my name.

The twelfth Article. The papall dignity hath his originall from the Emperors of Rome. I answer, and mark well what my words are; The preeminence and institution of the pope is sprung and come of the emperors power and authority. And this is proved by the 96. distinction: For Constantine granted this priviledge unto the Bishop of Rome, and after him confirmed the same: That like as Augustus for the outward and temporal gods bestowed upon the church, is counted alwayes the most high king above all others; so the Bishop of Rome should be called the principall father above all other bishops. This notwithstanding, the papall dignity hath his originall immediatly from Christ, as touching his spirituall administration and office, to rule the church. Then the cardinal of Cambrai said; In the time of Constantine, there was a generall Councell holden at Nice, in the which, albeit the highest room and place in the church was given to the Bishop of Rome, for honors cause, it is ascribed unto the Emperors. Wherefore then doe ye not aswell affirme and say, that the papall dignity toke his originall rather from that councell, than by the emperors authority and power?

The sixteenth Article. No man would reasonably

Bern. ad Eug.  
gen. lib. 4.

Orlans making merchandise of holy orders.

12  
The pope taketh his originall from the emperors.  
96. dist.

13

The Church is taken sometime for the congregation of the elect and faithfull, and so is the article taken in the Creed.

9  
Peter never was head of the whole universall Church

The Church builded upon Peter, how.

10  
The vicar of Christ, how he is to be taken.

¶ ¶

by



The Pope is  
not the head of  
any particular  
Church.

14 bly affirme (without relation) either of himselfe or of any other, that he is the head of any particular church. I answer, I confesse it to be written in my booke, and it followeth straight after; Albeit that through his good living he ought to hope and trust that he is a member of the holy universall church, the Spoule of Iesus Christ, according to the saying of the Preacher; No man knoweth whether he be worthy and have deserved grace and favour, or hatred. And Luke the 17. When ye have done all that ye can, say that you are unprofitable servants.

The fourteenth Article. It ought not to be believed that the pope, whatsoever he be, may be the head of any particular church, unless he be predestinate or ordained of God. I answer, that I do acknowledge this proposition to be mine, and this is easie to prove forsomuch as it is necessary that the Christian faith should be depaved, forsomuch as the church was deceived by it, as it appeareth by S. Augustine.

15 The Popes  
power vaine.

The fifteenth Article. The popes power as Vicar, is but vaine and nothing worth, if he do not confirm and addresse his life according to Iesus Christ, and follow the manners of S. Peter. I answer, that it is thus in my booke; that it is meet and expedient that he which is ordained Vicar, should addresse and frame himselfe, in manners and conditions, to the authority of him which did put him in place. And John Hus said moreover before the whole council; I understand that the power and authority in such a pope as doth not represent the manners of Christ, is frustrate and void, as touching the merit and reward, which he should obtaine and get thereby, and doth not get the same; but not as concerning his office. Then certaine others standing by, asked of him, saying, Where is that glasse in your booke? I Hus answered, You shall finde it in my treatise against B. Paley, whereat all the assistance (looking one upon another) began for to smile and laugh.

Distinction of  
merit and of  
office.

The sixteenth Article. The pope is most holy, not because he doth supply and hold the roome and place of S. Peter, but because he hath great rebenewes. I answer, that my words are mutilate, for thus it is written; He is not most holy, because he is called the vicar of S. Peter, or because he hath great and large possessions; but if he be the follower of Iesus Christ in humilitie, gentleness, patience, laboꝝ and travell, and in perfect love and charity.

16 Holinesse com-  
meth not by  
Acting, but by  
following.

The seventeenth Article. The Cardinals are not the manifest and true successors of the other Apostles of Iesus Christ, if they live not according to the fashion of the Apostles, keeping the commandments and ordinances of the Lord Iesus. I answer, that it is thus written in my booke, and it provech it selfe sufficiently: For if they enter in by another way than by the doore which is the Lord Iesus, they be murderers and thieves.

17 The cardinals  
do count it he-  
retic, that they  
should be com-  
pelled to be  
followers of  
the Apostles.

Then said the Cardinall of Cambray; Behold both this and all other Articles before rehearsed; he hath written much more detestable things in his booke than are presented in his articles. Truly John Hus, thou hast kept no order in thy Sermons and writings. Had it not been your part to have applied your Sermons according to your audience? For to what purpose was it, or what did it profit you before the people to preach against the cardinals, when as none of them were present? It had been meet for you to have told them their faults before them all, than before the laity. Then answered John Hus; Reverend father, for so much as I did see many priests and other learned men present at my Sermons, for their sakes I spake those words. Then said the cardinall, thou hast done very ill, for by such kind of talke thou hast disturbed and troubled the whole state of the Church.

The eighteenth Article. An heretike ought not to be committed to the secular powers to be put to death, for it is sufficient onely that he abide and suffer the ecclesiasticall censure. These are my words;

18 John Hus con-  
demneth the  
cruelty of the  
priests in seek-  
ing the death  
of heretikes.

That they might be ashamed of their cruell sentence and iudgement, specially forsomuch as Iesus Christ, Bishop both of the old and new Testament, would not iudge such as were disobedient by civill iudgement, neither condemne them to bodily death. As touching the first point; it may evidently be seen in the 12. chapter of S. Luke. And for the second it appeareth also by the woman which was taken in adultery, of whom it is spoken in the eighth chapter of S. John. And it is laid in the eighteenth chapter of S. Mat. If thy brother have offended thee, etc. Marke therefore that I do say; That an heretike whatsoever he be, ought first to be instructed and taught with Christian love and gentleness by the holy Scriptures, and by the reasons drawne and taken out of the same, as S. Augustine and others have done, disputing against the heretikes. But if there were any which after all these gentle and loving admonitions and instructions, would not cease from, or leave off their stiffnesse of opinions, but obstinately resist against the truth, such, I say, ought to suffer corporall or bodily punishment.

As come as John Hus had spoken those things, the Judges read in his booke a certaine clause, where in he seemed grievously to inbeigh against them which delivered an heretike unto the secular power, not being confuted or convicted of heresis, and compared them unto the high Priests, Scribes and Pharisees, which said unto Pilate; It is not lawfull for us to put any man to death, and delivered Christ unto him: and yet notwithstanding, according unto Christs own witness, they were greater murderers than Pilate. For he, said Christ, which hath delivered me unto thee, hath committed the greatest offence. Then the Cardinals and Bishops made a great noise, and demanded of John Hus, saying; Who are they that thou dost compare or assimile unto the Pharisees? When he said, all those which delivered up any innocent unto the civill sword, as the Scribes and Pharisees delivered Iesus Christ unto Pilate. So, no, said they againe; for all that, you spake here of doctors. And the Cardinall of Cambray, according to his accustomed manner, said; Truly they which have made and gathered these Articles, have used great lenitie and gentleness, for his writings are much more detestable and horrible.

The nineteenth Article. The nobles of the world ought to constrain and compell the ministers of the Church to observe and keepe the Law of Iesus Christ. I answer, that it standeth thus word for word in my booke. Those which bee on our part doe preach and affirme that the Church militant, according to the parts which the Lord hath ordained, is divided, and consisteth in these parts; That is to say, Ministers of the Church, which should keepe purely and sincerely the ordinances and commandments of the Son of God, and the peoples of the world that should compell and oblige them to keepe the commandments of Iesus Christ, and of the common people, serving to both these parts and ends, according to the institution and ordinance of Iesus Christ.

The twentieth Article. The ecclesiasticall obedience, is a kinde of obedience, which the priests and monkes have invented without any expresse authority of the holy Scriptures. I answer and confesse, that those words are thus written in my booke. I say that there be three kindes of obedience, spirituall, secular and ecclesiasticall. The spirituall obedience is that which is only due according to the Law and Ordinance of God, under the which the Apostles of Iesus Christ did live, and all christians ought to live. The secular obedience is that which is due according to the civill lawes and ordinances. The ecclesiasticall obedience is such as the priests have invented, without any expresse authority of scripture. The first kind of obedience doth utterly exclude from it all evill, as well on his part which giveth the commandment, as on his also which doth obey the same, And

{ KING }  
{ HEN. 5. }

The betraying  
and condem-  
ning of inno-  
cents.  
And how could  
this Bishop of  
Cambray under-  
stand the books of John  
Hus being  
written in Bo-  
hemian speech,  
which he under-  
stood not?

19 The church  
militant stand-  
eth in three  
parts.  
1 Ministers.  
2 Nobles.  
3 Commons.

20 Three kindes  
of obedience.  
1 Spirituall.  
2 Secular.  
3 Ecclesiastical  
call.

True obed-  
ience ruled by  
Gods com-  
mandment.



{ KING }  
{ HEN. 5. }  
Deut. 24.

And of this obedience it is spoken in the 24. chapter of Deut. Thou shalt doe all that which the priests of the kindred of Levi shall teach and instruct thee, according as I have commanded them.

The twenty one Article. He that is excommunicated by the pope, if he refuse and forsake the iudgment of the pope, and the generall Councell, and appealeth unto Iesus Christ, after he hath made his appellation, all the excommunications and curses of the pope cannot annoy or hurt him. I answer, that I do not acknowledge this proposition; but indeed I did make my complaint in my booke, that they had both done me, and such as favoured me great wrong, and that they refuse to heare me in the popes court. For after the death of one pope, I did appeale to his successor, and all that did profit me nothing. And to appeale from the pope to the counsell it were too long; and that were even as much as if a man in trouble should take an uncertaine remedy. And therefore last of all I have appealed to the head of the church my Lord Iesus Christ, for he is much more excellent and better than any pope, to discusse and determine matters and causes, forsomuch as he cannot erre, neither yet deny iustice to him that doth aske or require it in a iust cause, neither can he condemne the innocent. Then spake the cardinall of Cambray unto him, and said, Wilt thou presume above Saint Paul, who appealed unto the emperor, and not unto Iesus Christ? Iohn Hus answered; Forsomuch then as I am the first that doe it, am I therefore to be reputed and counted an heretike? And yet notwithstanding Saint Paul did not appeale unto the emperor of his owne motion or will, but by the will of Christ, which spake unto him by revelation and said, Be firme and constant, for thou must goe unto Rome. And as he was about to rehearse his appeale againe, they mocked him.

Forsomuch as mention here is made of the appeale of the said Hus, it seemeth good here to shew the manner and forme thereof.

### The copie and tenor of the appeale of Iohn Hus.

Forasmuch as the most mighty Lord, one in essence, three in person, is both the chiefe and first, and also the last and uttermost refuge of all those which are oppressed, and that he is the God which defendeth verity and truth throughout all generations, doing iustice to such as be wronged, being ready and at hand to all those which call upon him in verity and truth, unbinding those that are bound, and fulfilling the desires of all those which honour and feare him; defending and keeping all those that love him; and utterly destroying and bringing to ruine the stiffe-necked and unpenitent sinner, and that the Lord Iesus Christ very God and man, being in great anguish, compassed in with the Priests, Scribes and Pharisees, wicked Iudges and witnesses, willing by the most bitter and ignominious death to redeeme the children of God, chosen before the foundation of the world, from everlasting damnation; hath left behinde him this godly example for a memorie unto them which should come after him, to the intent they should commit all their causes into the hands of God, who can do all things, and knoweth and seeth all things, saying in this manner: O Lord, behold my affliction, for my enemy hath prepared himself against me, and thou art my protector and defender. O Lord, thou hast given me understanding, and I have acknowledged thee, thou hast opened unto me all their enterprises; and for mine owne part, I have beene as a meek lamb which is led unto sacrifice, and have not resisted against them. They have wrought their enterprises upon me, saying; Let us put wood in his bread, and let us banish him out of the land of the living, that

his name be no more spoken of nor had in memory. But thou O Lord of hosts, which judgest iustly, and seest the devices and imaginations of their hearts, hasten thee to take vengeance upon them, for I have manifested my cause unto thee, forsomuch as the number of those which trouble me is great, and have counselled together, saying, The Lord hath forsaken him, pursue him and catch him. O Lord my God, behold their doings, for thou art my patience; deliver me from mine enemies, for thou art my God; doe not separate thy selfe farre from me, forsomuch as tribulation is at hand, and there is no man which will succour me. My God, my God, looke downe upon me, wherefore hast thou forsaken me? So many dogs have compassed me in, and the company of the wicked have besieged me round about, for they have spoken against me with deceitfull tongues, and have compassed me in with words full of despite, and have informed me without cause. Instead of love towards me they have slandered me, and have recompensed me with evil for good, and in place of charity they have conceived hatred against me.

Wherefore behold, I laying my selfe upon this most holy and fruitfull example of my Saviour and Redeemer, doe appeale before God for this my griefe and hard oppression, from this most wicked sentence and judgement, and the excommunication determined by the Bishops, Scribes, Pharisees, and Iudges, which sit in Moses seat, and resigne my cause wholly unto him; so as the holy Patriarch of Constantinople Iohn Chrysostome, appealed twice from the Councell of the Bishops and Clergie; and Andrew Bishop of Prague, and Robert Bishop of Lincolne, appealed unto the soveraigne and most iust Iudge, the which is not defiled with cruelty, neither can he be corrupted with gifts and rewards, neither yet be deceived by false witness. Also I desire greatly that all the faithfull servants of Iesus Christ, and especially the Princes, Barons, Knights, Esquires, and all other which inhabit our countrey of Boheme, should understand and know these things, and have compassion upon me, which am so grievously oppressed by the excommunication which is out against me, the which was obtained and gotten by the instigation and procurement of Michael de Causis my great enemy, and by the consent and furtherance of the Canons of the Cathedrall Church of Prague, and given and granted out by Peter of Saint Angels, Deane of the Church of Rome; and Cardinall, and also ordained Iudge by Pope Iohn xxiii. who hath continued almost these two yeeres, and would give no audience unto my advocates and procurators, which they ought not to deny. (no not to a Jew or Pagan, or to any heretike whatsoever he were) neither yet would he receive any reasonable excuse, for that I did not appeare personally, neither would he accept the testimonials of the whole University of Prague with the seale hanging at it, or the witness of the sworne Notaries, and such as were called unto witness. By this all men may evidently perceive, that I have not incurred any fault or crime of contumacie or disobedience, forsomuch as that I did not appeare in the court of Rome, was not for any contempt, but for reasonable causes.

And moreover, forsomuch as they had laid ambushments for mee on every side by wayes where I should passe, and also because the perils and dangers of others have made mee the more circumspect and advised: And forsomuch as my procurers were willing and contented to binde themselves even to abide the punishment of the fire to answer to all such as would oppose or lay any thing against me in the court of Rome; as also because they did imprison my lawfull procurator in the said court, without any cause, demerit, or fault, as I suppose. Forsomuch then as the order and disposition of all ancient lawes as well divine of the old and new Testament, as also of the canon lawes, is this, that the Iudges should resort unto the place where the crime or fault is committed or done,

After this example of Christ he maketh his prayer to God.

A godly prayer of Iohn Hus.

Chrysostome.

Andrew of Prague. Robert bishop of Lincolne appealeth from men to Christ.

Iohn Hus complaineth of Michael de Causis his great enemy.

The procurator of Iohn Hus imprisoned in Rome

Appealing unto Christ.

Appealing unto Christ forbidden by the cardinall of Cambray.

The appeale of Iohn Hus from pope Iohn 23. unto Christ.

The fervent complaint and prayer of Christ against wicked Iudges



and there to enquire of all such crimes as shall be objected and laid against him which is accused or slandered, and that of such men as by conversation have some knowledge or understanding of the party so accused (the which may not be the evill willers or enemies of him which is so accused or slandered; but must be men of an honest conversation, no common quarrell pickers or accusers, but fervent lovers of the Law of God :) and finally, that there should be a fit and meet place appointed, whither as the accused party might without danger or perill, resort or come, and that the judge and witnesses should not be enemies unto him that is accused. And also forsomuch as it is manifest, that all these conditions were wanting and lacking, astouching my appearance for the safeguard of my life, I am excused before God from the frivolous pretended obstinacie and excommunication. Whereupon I Iohn Hus do present and offer this my appeale unto my Lord Iesus Christ, my just Iudge, who knoweth and defendeth, and justly judgeth every mans just and true cause.

**The twenty two Article.** A vicious and naughty man liveth viciously and naughtily; but a vertuous and godly man liveth vertuously and godly. I answer, My words are these. That the division of all humane works is in two parties, that is, that they be either vertuous, or vicious; forsomuch as it doth appeare, that if any man be vertuous and godly, and that he do any thing, he doth it then vertuously and godly. And contrariwise, if a man be vicious and naught, that which hee doth is vicious and naught. For as vice, which is called crime or offence, and thereby understand deadly sinne, doth universally infect or deprave all the acts and doings of the subject, that is, of the man which doth them: so likewise vertue and godlinesse doth quicken all the acts and doings of the vertuous and godly man; insomuch that he being in the state of grace is said to pray and do good works even sleeping, as S. Augustine, S. Gregory, and divers others affirme. And it appeareth in the sixth chapter of Luke, if thine eye, that is to say, the minde or intention be simple, not depraved with the perversnesse of any sin or offence, all the whole body, that is to say, all the acts and doings shall be clere and shining, that is, acceptable and gratefull unto God. But if thine eye be evill, the whole body is darkened. And in the second to the Corinthians, 10. chapter, All things that you do, do them to the glory of God. And likewise in the first Epistle to the Corinthians, and last chapter, it is said, Let all your doings be done with charity. Wherefore all kinde of life and living according unto charity, is vertuous and godly; and if it be without charity, it is vicious and evill. This saying may well be proved out of the 23. chapter of Deuteronomie, where God speaketh to the people, that he that keepeth his commandments is blessed in the house and in the field, outgoing and in coming, sleeping and waking, but he that doth not keep his commandments is accursed in the house and in the fields, in going out and in coming, in sleeping and waking, &c. The same also is evident by S. Augustine upon the Psalm where he writteth, that a good man in all his doings doth praise the Lord. And Gregory saith, that the sleep of saints and holy men doth not lack their merit. How much more then his doings which proceed of good zeale, be not without reward, and consequently be vertuous and godly: And contrariwise it is understood of him which is in deadly sin, of whom it is spoken in the law, that whosoever the unclane man doth touch, is made unclane.

So this end doth that also appertaine which is before repeated out of the first of Malachi. And Gregory in the first book and first question saith, We do defile the bread, which is the body of Christ, when as

we come unworthily to the table, and when we being defiled, do drink his blood. And S. Augustine upon the 146. Psalm, saith; If thou dost exceed the due measure of nature, and dost not abstaine from gluttony, but gorge thy selfe up with drunkenesse, what soever laud and praise thy tongue doth speak of the grace and favour of God, thy life doth blaspheme the same. When he had made an end of this article, the

Cardinall of Cambray said, The Scripture saith that we be all sinners. And againe, if we say we have no sin, we deceive our selves, and so we should alwaies live in deadly sin, Iohn Hus answered, The Scripture speaketh in that place of veniall sins, the which do not utterly expell or put away the habit of vertue from a man, but do associate themselves together. And a certaine Englishman whose name was W. said, But those sins do not associate themselves with any act morally good. Iohn Hus answered againe S. Augustines place upon 146. Psalm, the which when he rehearsed, they all with one mouth said, what makes this to the purpose?

**The twenty three Article.** The Minister of Christ living according to his law, and having the knowledge and understanding of the Scriptures, and an earnest desire to edifie the people, ought to preach; notwithstanding the pretended excommunication of the Pope. And moreover, if the pope or any other ruler do forbid any priest or minister, so disposed to preach, that he ought not to obey him. I answer, that these are my words; That albeit the excommunication were either threatened or come out against him, in such sort that a Christian ought not to do the commandments of Christ, it appeareth by the words of Saint Peter and the other Apostles, that we ought rather to obey God than man. Whereupon it followeth that the Minister of Christ living according unto his law, &c. ought to preach notwithstanding any pretended excommunication. For it is evident that it is commanded unto the Ministers of the Church to preach the Word of God, Acts 5. God hath commanded us to preach and testify unto the people, as by diverse other places of the Scripture, and the holy fathers rehearsed in my treatise, it doth appeare more at large. The second part of this article followeth in my Treatise in this manner.

By this it appeareth, that for a Minister to preach, and a rich man to give almes, are not indifferent workes, but duties and commandments. Whereby it is further evident, that if the Pope or any other ruler of the Church do command any minister, disposed to preach, not to preach, or a rich man disposed to give almes, not to give, that they ought not to obey him. And he added moreover, to the intent that you may understand me the better, I call that a pretended excommunication, the which is unjustly disordered and given forth, contrary to the order of the law and Gods commandments. For the which the meet minister appointed thereunto, ought not to cease from preaching, neither yet to feare damnation.

Then they objected unto him, that he had said that such kinde of excommunications were rather blessings. Verily, said Iohn Hus, even so I do now say againe, that every excommunication, by the which a man is unjustly excommunicate, is unto him a blessing before God; according to that saying of the Prophet, I will curse where as you blesse: and contrariwise, they shall curse, but thou O Lord shalt blesse. Then the Cardinall of Florence, which had alwayes a Notary ready at his hand to write such things as he commanded him, said, The law is, that every excommunication, be it never so unjust, ought to be feared. It is true, said I. Hus; for I do remember eight causes, for the which excommunication ought to be feared. Then said the Cardinall; Are there no more but eight? It may be, said Iohn Hus, that there be more.

KING  
HEN. 5.

Cardinall of  
Cambray ob-  
jecteth.

Iohn Hus an-  
swereth.

23  
Forbidding  
1  
preach, where-  
it ought to be  
obeyed.

Acts 5.

Preaching an  
almes giving  
be not workes  
indifferent, but  
duties and com-  
mand-  
ments.  
To forbid a  
minister to  
preach, and to  
forbid a rich  
man to give  
almes, is both  
ont.

How the popes  
curfings are  
blessings.

The Cardinall  
of Florence  
with his No-  
tary.  
Eight causes  
why excommu-  
nication ought  
to be feared.

The

The pope pro-  
ved to doe a-  
gainst his own  
canon law.

22  
A knot found  
in a cloth.

The tree that  
is good, bring-  
eth forth good  
fruit.

2 Cor. 10.

1 Cor. ult.

Deut. 23.



{ KING  
HEN. 5.  
24

The twenty fourth Article. Every man which is admitted unto the ministry of the Church, receiveth also by speciall commandement the office of a preacher, and ought to execute and fulfill that commandement, notwithstanding any excommunication pretended to the contrary. The answer: My words are these. Forasmuch as it doth appeare by that which is aforesaid, that whosoever commeth, or is admitted unto the ministry, receiveth also by speciall commandement the office of preaching, he ought to fulfill that commandement, any excommunication to the contrary pretended notwithstanding. Also no Christian ought to doubt but that a man sufficiently instructed in learning is more bound to counsell and instruct the ignorant to teach those which are in doubt, to chastise those which are unruly, and to remit and forgive those that doe him iniury; than to do any other workes of mercy. Forasmuch then as he that is rich and hath sufficient, is bound under the paine of damnation, to minister and give corporall and bodily almes, as appeareth in the 25. chapter of Matthew, how much more is he bound to do spiritual almes?

a minister once admitted, is more bound to preach, than to do any other work of mercy, the popes prohibition notwithstanding.

Censures of the popes church multiply the popes covetousnesse.

The twenty five Article. The ecclesiasticall censures are Antichristian, such as the clergy have invented for their owne preferment, and for the bondage and servitude of the common people. Whereby if the laity be not obedient unto the clergy at their will and pleasure, it doth multiply their covetousnesse, defendeth their malice, and prepareth a way for Antichrist. Whereby it is an evident signe and token, that such censures proceed from Antichrist; the which censures in their processes they do call fulminations or lightnings, whereby the clergy doth chiefly proceed against such as do manifest and open the wickednesse of Antichrist, which thrust themselves into the office of the clergy. These things are contained in the last Chapter of his treatise of the Church. I answer, and I deny that it is in that forme. But the matter thereof is largely handled in the 23. chapter. And in the examination of the audience, they have gathered certaine clauses most contrary therunto. The which when they had read, the Cardinall of Cambray renewed his old song, saying; Truly these are much more grievous and offensive, than the Articles which are gathered.

The twenty sixth Article. There ought no interdiction to be appointed unto the people, forasmuch as Christ the high Bishop, neither for Iohn Baptist, neither for any injury that was done unto him, did make any interdiction. My words are these; When as I complained, that for one ministers sake, an interdiction was given out, and thereby all good men ceased from the laud and praise of God. And Christ the high Bishop, notwithstanding that the Prophet was taken and kept in prison, than whom there was no greater amongst the children of men, did not give out any curse or interdiction, no not when as Herod beheaded him; neither when as he himself was spoyled, beaten, and blasphemed of the Souldiers, Scribes and Pharisees, did he then curse them, but prayed for them, and taught his Disciples to do the same, as it appeareth in the fifth chapter of Saint Matthew. And Christs first Vicar, following the same doctrine and learning, saith in his first Epistle of Saint Peter, and the second chapter; Hereunto are ye called; for Christ hath suffered for us, leaving us an example, that we should follow his footsteps, who when he was cursed and evil spoken of, did not curse againe. And Saint Paul following the same order and way in the twelfth chap. of the Romans, saith; Bless them that persecute you. There were besides these many other places of Scripture recited in that book; but they being omitted, these were only rehearsed, which did helpe or prebaile to stirre up more the Judges minds.

And these are the Articles which are alledged out of Iohn Hus his book intituled, Of the Church.

Other Articles moreover out of his other books were collected, and forced against him, first out of his Treatise written against Stephen Paley, to the number of seven Articles. Also five other Articles straitned out of his Treatise against Stanislaus / norma. Whereunto his answers likewise be adioyned, not untrifull to be read.

Here followeth seven Articles, which are said to be drawne out of his Treatise which hee wrote against Stephen Paley.

The first article. If the Pope, Bishop, or Prelate be in deadly sin, he is then no Pope, Bishop, nor Prelate. The answer: I grant therunto, and I send you unto Saint Augustine, Jerome, Chrysostome, Gregory, Cyprian, and Bernard; the which doe say moreover, that whosoever is in deadly sin, is no true Christian, how much lesse then is he Pope, or Bishop? Of whom it is spoken by the Prophet Amos in his eight chapter; They have reigned and ruled, and not through me; they became princes, and I knew them not, &c. But afterward I doe grant that a wicked pope, bishop, or priest, is an unworthy minister of the Sacrament, by whom God doth baptize, consecrate, or otherwise worke to the profit of his Church; and this is largely handled in the text of the book by the authority of the holy doctors; for even he which is in deadly sinne, is not worthily a king before God, as appeareth in the first booke of Kings, the fiftenth chapter. Whereas God saith unto Saul by the Prophet Samuel, saying, Forasmuch as thou hast refused and cast off my Word, I will also refuse and cast thee off, that thou shalt be no more king. Whilst these things were thus intreating, the emperor looking out at a certaine window of the cloyster, accompanied with the Count Palatine, and the Burgrave of Porenberg, conferring and talking much of Iohn Hus, at length he said, that there was never a worse or more pernicious heretike than he. In the mean while when Iohn Hus had spoken these words as touching the unworthy king, by and by the emperor was called, and he was commanded to repeat those words againe; which after that he had done, his duty therein being considered, the emperor answered; So man, saith he, doth live without fault. Then the cardinall of Cambray being in a great fury, said, Is it not enough for thee that thou dost contemne and despise the ecclesiasticall state, and goest about by thy writings and doctrine to perturb and trouble the same, but that now also thou wilt attempt to thyow kings out of their state and dignity? Then Paley began to alledge the lawes whereby he would prove that Saul was king, even when those words were spoken by Samuel, and therefore that David did forbid that Saul should not be slaine, not for the holinesse of his life, the which there was none in him, but for the holinesse of his anointing. And when as Iohn Hus repeated out of S. Cyprian, that he did take upon him the name of Christianity in vain, which did not follow Christ in his living; Paley answered, Behold and see what a folly is in this man, which alledgeth those things which make nothing for the purpose; for albeit any man be not a true Christian, is he not therefore true Pope, Bishop, or King? When as these are names of office, and to be a Christian is a name of merit and desert; and so may any man be a true Pope, Bishop, or King, although he be no true Christian. Then said Iohn Hus; If Pope John the thirte and twentieth were a true Pope, wherefore have ye deprived him of his office? The emperor answered, The lords of the Councell have now lately agreed thereupon that he was true Pope; but for his notorious and manifest evil doings, wherewithall he did offend and trouble the Church of God, and did spoile and bring to ruine the power thereof.

Articles drawn out of the treatise written against Stephen Paley.

The emperors judgement of Iohn Hus.

The cardinall of Cambray.

Christ interdicted none, but was crucified.

1 Pet. 2.

Rom. 12.



thereof, he is reiected and cast out of his office.

The second Article. The grace of predestination is the bond whereby the body of the Church, and every part and member thereof is firmly knit and ioyned unto the head. The answer; I acknowledge this Article to be mine, and it is proved in the text out of the eighth chapter to the Romans; Who shall separate us from the charity and love of Christ, etc. and in the tenth chapter of Iohn: Whose voice I hear, and I know them, and they follow me, and I give them eternall life, neither shall they perish eternally, neither is there any man which shall take them out of my hands. This is the knot of the body of the Church, and of our spirituall head Christ, understanding the Church to be the congregation of the predestinate.

The third Article. If the Pope be a wicked man, and specially a reprobate, then even as Judas the Apostle, he is a Diuell, a Thiefe, and the Sonne of perdition, and not the head of the holy militant Church, forsomuch as he is no part or member thereof. The answer, My words are thus, if the Pope be an evill or wicked man, and specially if he be a reprobate; then even as Judas, so is he a Diuell, a Thiefe, and the Sonne of perdition. How then is he the head of the holy militant Church? Whereas he is not truly any member or part thereof; for if he were a member of the holy Church, then should he be also a member of Christ, and if he were a member of Christ, then should he cleave and stick unto Christ by the grace of predestination and present justice, and should be one spirit with God, as the Apostle saith in the first Epistle to the Corinthians, the sixth chapter, know ye not that your bodies are the members of Christ?

The fourth Article. An evill pope or prelate, or reprobate is no true pastor, but a thiefe and a robber. The answer: The text of my booke is thus: If he be evill or wicked, then is he an hireling, of whom Christ speaketh; he is no shepheard, neither are the sheepe his owne. Therefore when he seeth the Wolf comming, he runneth away and forsaketh the sheepe; and so finally doth every wicked and reprobate man. Therefore every such reprobate, or wicked pope or prelate, is no true pastor; but a very thiefe and a robber, as is more at large proved in my booke. Then said Iohn Hus, I do so limit all things, that such as touching their desert, are not truly and worthily popes and shepheards before God, but as touching their office and reputation of men, they are popes, pastors, and priests.

When a certaine man rising up behinde Iohn Hus clothed all in silke, said, My lords, take heed lest that Iohn Hus deceive both you, and himselfe with these his glosses, and look whether these things be in his booke or not; for of late I had disputation with him upon these Articles, in the which I said, that a wicked Pope, etc. was no Pope, as touching merit and desert, but as touching his office he was truly Pope. Whereupon he used these glosses which he had heard of me, and did not take them out of his booke. Then Iohn Hus turning himselfe unto him, said, Did you not heare that it was so read out of my booke: and this did easily appeare in Iohn the twenty third, whether he were true pope, or a very thiefe and robber. Then the Bishops and Cardinals looking one upon another, said that he was a true Pope, and laughed Iohn Hus to scorn.

The fifth Article. The Pope is not, neither ought to be called according unto his office, most holy; for then the king ought also to be called most holy, according to his office. Also the tormentors, liars, and devils ought also to be called holy. The answer: My words are otherwise placed in this manner; So ought a seiner say, that if any man be a most holy father, then he doth most holily observe and keepe his fatherlinesse; and if he be a naughty and wicked father, then doth he most wickedly keep the same.

Likewise, if the Bishop be most holy, then is he also most good; and when as he saith, that he is Pope, it is the name of his office.

Whereupon it followeth, that the man which is pope, being an evill and reprobate man, is a most holy man; and consequently by that his office he is most good. And forsomuch as no man can be good by his office, except he do exercise and use the same his office very well; it followeth that if the Pope be an evill and reprobate man, he cannot exercise or use his office well. Forsomuch as he cannot use the office well, except he be morally good, Matthew 12. How can you speake good things, when your selves are evill: And immediately after it followeth, If the pope by reason of his office be called most holy, therefore should not the king of Romans be called most holy, by reason of his office and dignity: When as the king, according unto S. Augustines mind, representeth the Deity and Godhead of Christ, and the priest representeth only his humanity. Wherefore also should not Judges, yea even tormentors be called holy, forsomuch as they have their office by ministring unto the Church of Christ: These things are more at large discussed in my booke; but I cannot finde or know, saith Iohn Hus, any foundation whereby I should call the pope most holy, when as this is onely spoken of Christ: Thou only art most holy: Thou only art the Lord, etc. Should I then truly call the pope most holy?

The sixth Article. If the Pope live contrary unto Christ, albeit he be lawfully and canonically elected and chosen, according to humane election, yet doth he ascend and come another way than by Christ. The answer; The text is thus: If the pope live contrary unto Christ in pride and avarice, how then doth he not ascend and come in another way into the shepfold, than by the lowly and meke doore our Lord Iesus Christ? But admit as you say, that he did ascend by lawfull election, the which I call an election principally made of God, and not according unto the common and vulgar constitution and ordinances of men, yet for all that, it is affirmed and proved that he should ascend and come in another way; for Judas Iscariot was truly and lawfully chosen of the Lord Iesus Christ unto his Bishoprick, as Christ saith in the sixth of Iohn, and yet he came in another way into the shepfold, and was a thiefe and a diuell, and the sonne of perdition. Did he not come in another way? When as our Saviour spake thus of him, he that eateth bread with me, shall lift up his heele against me.

The same also is proved by S. Bernard unto pope Eugenius. Then said Paley, Behold the fury and madnesse of this man; for what more furious or mad thing can there be than to say, Judas is chosen by Christ, and notwithstanding he did ascend another way, and not by Christ? Iohn Hus answered, verily both parts are true, that he was elected and chosen by Christ, and also that he did ascend, and came in another way, for he was a thiefe, a diuell, and the sonne of perdition. Then said Paley, cannot a man be truly and lawfully chosen pope, or bishop, and afterward live contrary unto Christ? And that notwithstanding, he doth not ascend any other wayes. But I, said Iohn Hus, doe say, that whosoever doth enter into any bishoprick or like office by simony, not to the intent to labour and travell in the Church of God, but rather to live delicately, voluptuously and unrighteously, and to the intent to advance himselfe with all kinde of pride, every such man ascendeth and cometh up by another way, and according unto the gospell he is a thief and a robber.

The seventh Article. The condemnation of the forty five Articles of Iohn Wickliffe made by the doctors is unreasonable and wicked, and the cause by them alledged is fained and untrue. That is to say, that none of those articles are catholike, but that every of them be either hereticall, erroneous or offensive,

{ KING }  
{ HEN. 5. }

6

7



KING  
HEN. 5.

offensive. The answer; I have writtten it thus in my treatise; The fortie and fife Articles are condemned for this cause, that none of those fortie and fife is a Catholike article, but each of them is either hereticall, erroneous, or offensive.

A master Doctor, where is your proof: you feine a cause which you doe not prove, &c. As it appeareth more at large in my treatise. Then said the Cardinal of Cambraz, John Hus, thou dost say that thou wouldest not defend any error of John Wickliffes. And now it appeareth in your booke, that you have openly defended his Articles. John Hus answered, Reverend Father, even as I said before, so doe I now say againe, that I will not defend any errors of John Wickliffes, neither of any other mans: but forsomuch as it seemed unto mee to bee against conscience, simply to consent unto the condemnation of them, no scripture being alledged or brought contrary and against them, thereupon I would not consent or agree unto the condemnation of them; And forsomuch as the reason which is copulative cannot be verified in every point, according to every part thereof,

Now there remaine five Articles of thirty nine. These are said to be drawne out of another treatise which hee wrote against Stanislaus de Znopma.

The first Article. No man is lawfully elect or chosen, in that the Electors or the greater part of them have consented with a lively voice according to the custome of men to elect and chuse any person, or that he is thereby the manifest and true successor of Christ, or Vicar of Peter in the Ecclesiasticall office, but in that that any man doth most abundantly worke meritoriously to the profit of the Church he hath thereby more abundant power given him of God therunto. The answer: These things which follow are also writtten in my booke. It standeth in the power and hands of wicked Electors to chuse a woman into the Ecclesiasticall office, as it appeareth by the election of Agnes, which was called John, who held and occupied the Popes place and dignitie by the space of two yeeres and more.

It may also be that they doe chuse a thief, a murderer or a diuell, and consequently they may also elect and chuse Antichrist.

It may also be that for love, covetousnesse, or hatred, they doe chuse some person whom God doth not allow. And it appeareth that that person is not lawfully elect and chosen; Inasmuch as the Electors or the greater part of them have consented and agreed together according to the custome of men, upon any person, or that he is thereby the manifest successor or vicar of Peter the Apostle, for any other in the Ecclesiasticall office.

Therefore, they which most accordingly unto the Scripture doe elect and chuse, revelation being set apart, doe onely pronounce and determine by some probable reason upon him they doe elect and chuse, whereupon whether the Electors doe so chuse good or evill, we ought to give credit unto the workes of him that is chosen; for in that point that any man doth most abundantly worke meritoriously to the profit of the Church he hath thereby more abundant power given him of God therunto. And hereupon saith Christ in the tenth of John, give credit unto workes.

The second article. The Pope being a reprobate is not the head of the holy Church of God. The answer, I wrote it thus in my treatise, that I would willingly receive a probable and effectuell reason of the Doctor, how this question is contrary unto the faith, to say, that if the pope bee a reprobate, how is he the head of the holy Church? Behold, the truth cannot decay or faile in disputation, for did Christ dispute against the faith, when hee demanded of the Scribes and Pharisees, Matthew the twelfth. Bee

stocke and offspring of vipers, how can you speake good things, when you your selves are damned and evil? And behold, I demand of the Scribes, if the pope be a reprobate, and the stocke of vipers, how is hee the head of the holy Church of God, that the Scribes and Pharisees, which were in the Council house of Prage may make answer hereunto. For it is more possible that a reprobate man should speake good things, forsomuch as hee may be in state of grace according unto present iustice, then to be the head of the holy Church of God.

Also in the fifth of John, our Saviour complaينeth upon the Jewes, saying: How can you believe which doe seeke for glory amongst your selves, and doe not seeke for the glory that cometh onely of God? And I likewise do complaine how that if the pope be a reprobate, can he be the head of the Church of God, which receiveth his glory of the world, and seeketh not for the glory of God? For it is more possible that the Pope being a reprobate should believe than that hee should be the head of the Church of God; forsomuch as he taketh his glory of the world.

The third Article. There is no sparke of apparance, that there ought to be one head in the spiritualtie, to rule the Church, the which should be alwaies conseruant with the militant Church. The answer, I do grant it. For what a consequence is this. The king of Boheme is head of the kingdome of Boheme: Ergo, the pope is head of the whole militant Church: Christ is the head of the spiritualtie, ruling and governing the militant Church by much more and greater necessitie than Cesar ought to rule the temporaltie. Forsomuch as Christ, which sitteth on the right hand of God the Father, doth necessarily rule the militant Church as head. And there is no sparke of apparance that there should bee one head in the spiritualtie ruling the Church, that should alwaies be conseruant with the militant Church, except some infidell would heretically affirme, that the militant Church should have here a permanent and continuall citie or dwelling place, and not enquire and seek after that which is to come. It is also farther evident in my booke, how unconsuet the proportion of the similitude is for a reprobate pope to be the head of the militant Church, & a reprobate king to be the head of the kingdome of Boheme.

The fourth Article. Christ would better rule his Church by his true Apostles dispersed throughout the whole world without such monstrous heads: I answer, that it is in my booke as here followeth, that albeit that the Doctor doth say, that the body of the militant Church is oftentimes without a head; yet notwithstanding wee doe verily believe that Christ Iesus is the head over every Church, ruling the same without lack or default, pouring upon the same a continuall motion and sense, even unto the later day: neither can the Doctor give a reason why the Church in the time of Agnes, by the space of two yeeres and five moneths, lived according to many members of Christ in grace and labour, but that by the same reason, the Church might be without a head, by the space of many yeeres. Forsomuch as Christ should better rule his Church by his true Disciples dispersed throughout the whole world, without such monstrous heads. Then said they all together, Behold now he prophesieth. And John Hus againe further prosecuting his former talke said, but I say that the Church in the time of the Apostles was farre better ruled and governed than now it is. And what doth let and hinder that Christ should not now also rule the same better by his true Disciples without such monstrous heads, as have bene now a late? For behold even at this present we have no such head, and yet Christ ceaseth not to rule his Church. When he had spoken these words, he was derided and mocked.

The fifth Article. Peter was no universall past or shepheard of the shep of Christ, much lesse is the

The Cardinal  
of Cambraz.Articles drawn  
out of his treatise  
written against  
Stanislaus de Znopma.



the Bishop of Rome. The answer; those words are not in my booke, but these which doe follow: Secondly it appeareth by the words of Christ, that hee did not limit unto Peter, for his iurisdiction, the whole world, no not one only Province. So likewise neither unto any other of the Apostles. Notwithstanding certaine of them walked through many regions, and other some sever, preaching and teaching the kingdome of God, as Paul, which laboured and travelled more than all the rest, did corporally visit and convert most provinces, whereby it is lawfull for any Apostle or his Vicar to convert and confirme as much people, or as many provinces in the faith of Christ, as they are able, neither is there any restraint of their libertie or iurisdiction, but only by disability or insufficiency.

The sixth article. The Apostles and other faithfull priests of the Lord have stoutly ruled the Church in all things necessarie unto salvation before the office of the Pope was brought into the Church, and so would they very possibly doe still, if there were no Pope evert unto the latter day. When they all cryed out againe and said, Behold the Prophet. But John Hus said, verily it is true that the Apostles did rule the Church stoutly, before the office of the Pope was brought into the Church. And certainly a great deale better than it is now ruled. And likewise may other faithfull men which doe follow their steps doe the same; for as now we have no pope, and so peradventure it may continue and endure a yere or more. Besides this, were brought against him other nineteene Articles, objected unto him being in prison, which with his answers to the same here likewise follow. Of the which articles, the first is this:

The first Article. Paul according unto present iustice was a blasphemour and none of the Church, and therewithall was in grace, according unto predestination of life everlasting. The answer; This proposition is not in the booke, but this which followeth; Whereby it doth seeme probable, that as Paul was both a blasphemour according to present iustice, and therewithall also was a faithfull childe of our holy mother the Church, and in grace according to predestination of life everlasting; So Iheronimus was both in grace according unto present iustice, and was never of our holy mother the church, according to the predestination of life everlasting, forasmuch as he lacked that predestination. And so Iheronimus albeit he was an Apostle, and a Bishop of Christ, which is the name of his office, yet was hee never any part of the universall Church.

The second Article. Christ doth more love a predestinate man being sinfull, than any reprobate in what grace possible soever he be. The answer; By words are in the fourth chapter of my booke intituled of the Church, and it is evident that God doth more love any predestinate being sinfull, than any reprobate in what grace soever he be for the time; forasmuch as he will, that the predestinate shall have perpetuall blessednesse, and the reprobate to have eternall fire. Wherefore God partly infinitely loving them both as his creatures, yet he doth more love the predestinate because hee giveth him greater grace, or a greater gift, that is to say, life everlasting, which is greater and more excellent than only grace, according unto present iustice. And the third article of those articles before soundeth much nere unto this, that the predestinate cannot fall from grace, for they have a certaine radicall grace rooted in them, although they be deprived of the abundant grace for a time. These things are true in the common sense.

The third Article. All the sinfull according unto present iustice, are not faithfull, but doe swarve from the true catholike faith, forasmuch as it is impossible that any man can commit any deadly sinne but in that point, that he doth swarve from the faith. The

answer; I acknowledge that sentence to be mine, and it appeareth that if they did thinke upon the punishment which is to be laid upon sinners, and did fully believe, and had the faith of the divine knowledge and understanding, &c. then undoubtedly they would not so offend and sinne. This proposition is verified by the saying of the Prophet Ezechiel, Thy rulers are unfaithfull, misbeliebers, fellows and companions of theeeves, they all love bribes and follow after rewards. Behold, the prophet calleth the rulers of the Church infidels for their offences, for all such as doe not keepe their faith inviolate unto their principall Lord, are unfaithfull servants, and they also are unfaithfull children which keepe not their obedience, feare, and love unto God their Father.

Item, this proposition is verified, by the saying of the Apostle, the first chapter to Titus, They doe confesse that they know God, but by their workes they doe deny him. And forasmuch as they which are sinfull, doe swarve away from the meritorious workes of blessednesse, therefore they doe swarve from the true faith grounded upon charitie, forasmuch as faith without workes is dead. To this end doth also pertaine that which the Lord speaketh, Matthe. 23. of the faithfull and unfaithfull servant.

The fourth Article. These words of John in his two and twentieth chapter, receive the holy Ghost, and whatsoever you shall binde upon earth, &c. and Matthe. the sixteenth and eighteenth chapter, for lacke of understanding shall terrifie many Christians, and they shall be wonderfully afraid, and others shall be deceived by them, presuming upon the fulnesse of their power and authoritie. The answer; This sentence I doe approve and allow, and therefore I say in the same place, that it is first of all to be supposed that the saying of our Saviour is necessarie, as touching the vertue of the Word, forasmuch as it is not possible for a priest to binde and loose, except that binding & loosing be in heaven. But for the lacke of the true understanding of those words, many simple christians shall be made afraid, thinking with themselves that whether they be in sin or in iustice, the priests may at their pleasures, whensoever they will, binde them. And the ignorant priests doe also presume and take upon them to have power to binde and loose whensoever they will. For many foolish and ignorant priests doe say, that they have power and authoritie to absolve every man confessing himselfe, of what sinne or offence soever it be, not knowing that in many sinnes it is forbidden them, and that it may happen that an hypocrite doe confesse himselfe, or such a one as is not contrite for his sin, wherof proofe hath oftentimes been found and it is evident, forasmuch as the letter doth kill, but the spirit doth quicken.

The fifth article. The binding and loosing of God, is simply and plainly the chiefe and principall. The answer; This is evident, forasmuch as it were blasphemous presumption to affirme, that a man may remit and forgive an euill fact or offence done against such a Lord, the Lord himselfe not approving or allowing the same. For by the universall power of the Lord, it is necessarie that he doe first absolve and forgive, before that his Vicar doe the same; neither is there one article of our faith, which ought to be more common or knowne unto us, than that it should be impossible for any man of the militant Church to absolve or binde, except in such case as it be conformable unto the Head of the Church Jesus Christ. Wherefore every faithfull Christian ought to take heed of that saying; if the pope or any other pretend by any manner of sign to bind or loose that he is thereby bound or loosed; for hee that doth grant or confesse that, must also consequently grant and confesse that the pope is without sin, and so that he is a God, for otherwise he must needs erre and do contrary unto the keyes of Christ. This saying propheth

{ KING }  
{ HEN. 5 }

Titus 1.

The fourth article.  
The words of Christ for binding and loosing, unlesse they be well understood, minister too much feare or presumption.

The fifth article.  
Binding and loosing chiefly and principally belong to Christ.

The first Article.  
Paul how he was both a blasphemour and also a member of Christ.

The second article.  
Predestination

The third article.  
Who so committeth deadly sinne swarveth from the faith.



KING  
HEN. 5.

the fact of the pope, who alwaies in his absolution presupposeth contrition and confession. Wea mozeouer, if any letter of absolution bee given unto any offender, which doth not declare the circumstances of the offence which ought to be declared, it is said that thereby the letter of absolution is of no force and effect. It is also hereby evident, that many priests doe not absolue those which are confessed, because that either through shamefastnesse they doe cloake or hide greater offences, or else that they have not due contrition or repentance; for unto true absolution there is first required contrition. Secondly, a purpose and intent to sinne no moze. Thirdly, true confession. And fourthly, stedfast hope of forgiveness. The first appeareth by Ezechiel, if the wicked doe repent him, &c. The second in the fifth and eighth of Iohn. Doe thou not sinne any moze. The third part by this place of Luke, Shew your selves unto the priests. And the fourth is confirmed by the saying of Christ, My son believe, and thy sins are forgiven thee. I also added many other probations in my treatise out of the holy fathers, Augustine, Jerome, and the master of the sentences.

The sixth article. The priests do gather and heape up out of the Scriptures those things which serue for the belly, but such as pertaine to the true imitation and following of Christ that they reiect, and refuse as impertinent unto salvation. The answer; This Saint Gregory doth sufficiently prooue in his fiftieth Homily, alledging the saying of Christ; The harvest is great, the workemen are few; speaking also that which we cannot say without griefe or sorrow, that albeit there be a great number which willingly heare good things, yet there lacke such as should declare the same unto them; for behold, the world is full of priests, but notwithstanding there is a scarcitie of workemen in the harvest of the Lord. We take upon us willingly priesthood, but we doe not fulfill and doe the works and office of priesthood. And immediately after he saith, We are fallen unto outward affaires and businesse, for we take upon us one office for honour sake, and wee doe exhibit and give another to ease our selves of labour. We leave preaching, and as far as I can perceive we are called bishops to our paine, which doe retain the name of honour, but not the vertue.

And immediately after he saith, We take no care for our flocke, we daily call upon for our stipend and wages, wee covet and desire earthly things with a greedy minde, wee gaze after worldly glory, wee leave the cause of God undone, and make haste about our worldly affaires and businesse, we take upon us the place of sanctitie and holinesse, and we are wholly wrapped in worldly cares and troubles, &c. This writeth Saint Gregory, with many other things moze in the same place. Also in his pastorall, in his Morales, and in his Register. Also S. Bernard as in many other places, so likewise in his 33. sermon upon the Canticles, he saith, All friends, and all enemies, all kinsfolkes and aduersaries, all of one household, and no peacemakers; they are the Ministers of Christ and serue Antichrist; they goe honorably honored with the goods of the lord, and yet they do honor, &c.

The seventh article. The power of the pope, which doth follow Christ, is not to be feared. The answer; It is not so in my treatise, but contrariwise, that the subjects are bound willingly and gladly to obey the vertuous and good rulers, and also those which are wicked and evil. But notwithstanding, if the pope doe abuse his power, it is not then to be feared as by bondage. And so the lords the cardinals, as I suppose, did not feare the power of Gregorie the twelfth before his deposition, when as they resisted him, saying, that he did abuse his power contrary unto his owne oath.

The eighth article. An evil and a wicked pope is not the successor of Peter, but of Judas. The answer;

I wrote this in my treatise. If the pope bee humble and meke, negotiating and desiring the honors and lucre of the world; if hee bee a shepheard, taking his name by the feeding of the flocke of God (of the which feeding the Lord speaketh, saying, feed my sheep) if he feed the sheepe with the word, and with vertuous example, and that hee become even like his flocke with his whole heart and minde; if he do diligently and carefully labour and travell for the Church; then is he without doubt the true vicar of Christ. But if he walke contrary unto these vertues, for so much as there is no societie betwene Christ and Beliall, and Christ himselfe saith, he that is not with me is against me, how is hee then the true vicar of Christ or Peter, and not rather the vicar of antichrist? Christ called Peter himselfe Sathanas, when hee did contrary him but onely in one word, and that with a good affection, even him whom he had chosen his vicar, and specially appointed over his church. Why should not any other then, being moze contrary unto Christ, bee truly called Sathanas, and consequently Antichrist, or at least the chiefe and principall minister or vicar of Antichrist? There be infinite testimonies of this matter in S. Augustine, S. Jerome, Cyprian, Chrysostome, Bernard, Gregory, Remigius, and Ambrose, &c.

The ninth article. The pope is the same beast of whom it is spoken in the Apocalypse, power is given unto him to make warre upon the saints. The answer; I deny this article to be in my book.

The tenth article. It is lawfull to preach notwithstanding the popes inhibition. The answer; The article is evident, for so much as the Apostles did preach contrary to the commandement of the bishops of Jerusalem. And saint Hilary did the like, contrary to the commandement of the pope which was an Arrian. It is also manifest by the example of cardinals, which, contrary unto the commandement of pope Gregory the twelfth, sent throughout all realmes such as should preach against him. It is also lawfull to preach under appeal, contrary unto the popes commandement. And finally hee may preach which hath the commandement of God, wherunto he ought chiefly to obey.

The eleventh article. If the popes commandement bee not concordant and agreeable with the doctrine of the Gospell or the Apostles, it is not to be obeyed. The answer; I have thus written in my book, The faithful disciple of Christ ought to weigh and consider whether the popes commandement be expressly and plainly the commandement of Christ or any of his Apostles, or whether it have any foundation or ground in their doctrine or no; and that be once knowne or understood, hee ought reverently and humbly to obey the same. But if he do certainly know that the popes commandement is contrary and against the holy scripture, and hurtfull unto the church; then he ought boldly to resist against it, that he bee not partaker of the crime and offence by consenting thereunto. This I have handled at large in my treatise, and have confirmed it by the authorities of saint Augustine, Jerome, Gregory, Chrysostome, Bernard, and Bede, and with the holy Scripture and canons, the which for brevities cause I doe here passe over. I will only rehearse the saying of saint Iddore, who writeth thus, he which doth rule, and doth say or command any thing contrary and besides the will of God, or that which is evidently commanded in the scriptures, he is honoured as a false witness of God, and a church robber. Whereupon we are bounden to obey no prelate, but in such case as he do command or take counsell of the counsels and commandements of Christ.

Likewise saint Augustine upon this saying, upon the chaire of Moses, &c. saith, secondly, they teach in the chaire of Moses the law of God Ergo, God teacheth by them; but if they will teach you any of their own

The pope doing contrary to Christ, is not the vicar of Christ, but Antichrist.

The ninth article. Iohn Hus need not prove this article, the pope will prove it himselfe. The tenth article. To preach against the popes commandement.

The eleventh article.

How far prelates are to be obeyed.

Iddor.

To true absolution four things are required.

The sixth article.

Ex Gregorio.

Priests more then to their witnesse and duty, than to be service of Christ.

The seventh article.

The popes power doing nothing is not to be feared.

The eighth article.



obey inventions, do not give eare unto them, neither do as they command you. Also in the saying of Christ Ihe that heareth you, heareth me, all lawfull and honest things be comprehended, in the which we ought to be obedient, according to Christs saying, It is not you, which doe speake, but the spirit of my Father which speaketh in you. Let therefore my adversaries and slanderers learne that there bee not onely twelbe counsels in the Gospell, in the which subiects ought to obey Christ and his appointed ministers, but that there are so many counsells and determinations of God, as there be lawfull and honest things loyded with precepts and commandments of God, binding us therunto, under the paine of deadly sin; for every such thing doth the Lord command us to fulfill in time and place, with other circumstances, at the will and pleasure of their minister.

The twelfth Article. It is lawfull for the clergie and laitie, by their power and irridition to iudge and determine of all things pertaining unto salvation, and also of the workes of the prelates. The answer; I have thus written in my booke, that it is lawfull for the clergie and laitie to iudge and determine of the workes of their heads and rulers. It appeareth by this, that the iudgement of the secret counsells of God, in the court of Conscience in one thing, and the iudgement of the authority and power in the Church is another. Wherefore subiects first ought principally to iudge and examine themselves, 1 Corinthians the eleventh chapter. Secondly, they ought to examine all things which pertaine unto their salvation, for a spirituall man iudgeth and examineth all things. And this is alledged as touching the first iudgement, and not the second, as the enemy doth impute it unto me. Whereupon in the same place I doe say, that the lay man ought to iudge and examine the workes of his prelat, like as Paul doth iudge the doings of Peter in blaming him. Secondly to avoid them according to this saying, Beware of false prophets, &c. Thirdly, to rule over the ministrie: For the subiect ought by reason to iudge and examine the workes of the prelates. And if they be good, to praise God therefore and reioyce: But if they be evil, they ought with patience to suffer them, and to be sorry for them, but not to doe the like, lest they be damned with them, according to this saying, If the blind leade the blind, both fall into the ditch.

The thirteenth Article. God doth suspend of himselfe every wicked Prelate from his Ministerie, while he is actually in sinne, for by that means that he is in deadly sinne, he doth offend and sinne whatsoever he doe, and consequently is forbidden to do doe; therefore also is hee suspended from his ministerie. The answer; This is proved as touching suspension from dignitie, by the fourth chapter, and Clap, and Malachie the first. And Paul in the first to the Corinthians, the eleventh chapter, suspendeth all such as bee sinfull, or in any grievous crime or offence, from the eating of the body of the Lord, and the drinking of his blood, and consequently suspendeth all sinfull prelates from the ministracion of the reverend Sacrament. And God doth suspend the wicked and sinfull from the declaration of his righteousness, Psalme 49. For so much then as to suspend in effect, is to prohibit the ministerie or any other good thing for the offence sake, or as the new lawes doe determine or call it, to interdict forbid: it is manifest by the scriptures afore rehearsed, that God doth prohibit the sinfull, being in sin, to exercise or use their ministerie or office, which by Gods commandment ought to be exercised without offence. Whereupon he saith by Clap the Prophet, He that carrieth the vessels of the Lord bee purified and made cleane. And to the Corinthians it is said, Let all things be done with love and charity, &c. The same thing also is commanded by divers and sundry canons, the which I have alledged in my treatise.

The fourteenth article. The answer which hee made to the five and twentieth Article in prison sufficeth for this, that is to say, that the clergie for their owne pferment and exaltation, doth supplant and undermine the lay people, doth increace and multiply their covetousnes, cloketh and defendeth their malice and wickednesse, and prepareth a way for antichrist.

The first part hee proveth by experience, by the example of Peter de Luna, which named himselfe Benedia, by the example of Angelus Corarius, which named himselfe Gregorie the twelfth, and also by the example of John the thirce and twentieth. Likewise by the thirteenth and twentieth fourth of Ezechiel, and out of Gregoy which saith; What shall become of the flock, when the shepheards themselves are become Wolves, &c. Also out of Wile, Miche, and other of the Prophets, and many places of S. Bernard.

The second part is proved by the eighth chapter of Jeremy, Gregorie in his seventieth Homily, and S. Bernard upon the Canticles.

The third part of this Article is also proved by experience; for who defendeth the wickednesse of any schisme but only the clergie, alledging scriptures, and bringing reasons therfore: Who excuseth simonie, but only the clergie: likewise covetousnesse in heaping together many benefices, luxuriousnesse and fornication: For how many of the clergie are there now a dayes which doe say it is no deadly sin, alledging (albeit disorderly) the saying of Genesis, Increase and multiply?

Whereby also is the fourth part of the article easily verified. For the way of Antichrist is wickednesse and sin, of the which the Apostle speaketh to the Thessalonians: Gregoy in his Register, Balfozall and and Morals; also S. Bernard upon the Canticles plainly saith, Wicked and evil priests prepare the way for Antichrist.

The fifteenth article. John Hus doth openly teach and affirm that these conclusions aforesaid are true. The answer is manifest by that which I have afore written. For some of these propositions I did write and publish, other some mine enemy did feine, now adding, then deminishing and taking away, now falsly ascribing and imputing the whole proposition unto me, the which thing the commissioners themselves did confesse before me. Whom I desired, for the false invention and feining of those Articles, that they would punish those, whom they themselves knew and confessed to be mine enemies.

The sixteenth Article. Whereby also it appeareth, that it is not true which they have affirmed in the article following, that is to say, that all the aforesaid conclusions bee false, erroneous, seditious, and such as doe weaken and make feeble the power and strength of the Church, invented contrary to the holy scriptures and the Church. But if there bee any such, I am ready most humbly to revoke and recant the same.

The seventeenth Article. There was also an objection made against me as touching the treatises which I wrote against Palet; and Stanislaus de Znojina. The which I desired for Gods sake they might bee openly read in the audience of the whole Councell, and said, that I notwithstanding my former protestation, would willingly submit my selfe to the iudgement of the whole councell.

The eighteenth article. There was also another Article objected against mee in this forme. Item, John Hus said and preached that hee should goe to Constance, and if hee that for any manner of cause hee should be forced to recant that hee had before taught, yet notwithstanding hee never purposed to doe it with his minde; for so much as whatsoever hee had before taught, was pure and true, and the sound doctrine of Christ. The answer; This article is full of lies, to the inventor whereof I suppose the Lord saith thus, All the day long thou hast imagined mischiefes and

SKING.  
HEN. S  
The fourteenth  
article.  
The lay people  
the supplant  
by the clergie.

Concilia pra-  
cepta.

The twelfth  
article.

The clergie  
and laity may  
iudge of the  
workes of their  
prelats.

Iudgement  
double.

Secret in the  
court of con-  
science.  
Open in the  
court of autho-  
ritie.

The thirteenth  
article.  
To Godward  
all wicked mi-  
nisters be sus-  
pended.

The fifteenth  
article.  
The dishonesty  
of such as ga-  
thered false ac-  
cusations a-  
gainst Jo. Hus

The sixteenth  
article.

The seven-  
teenth article.

The eight-  
teenth article.



{KING}  
{HEN. 5.}

and wickednesse, and with thy tongue as with a sharpe saw, thou hast wrought deceit: thou hast delighted and loved rather to talke of wickednesse and mischief, than of equitie and iustice. Merely I do grant, that I left behind me a certain epistle to be read unto the people, the which did containe that all such, as did weigh and consider my carefull labours and trabels, should pray for mee, and stedfastly persevere and continue in the doctrine of our Lord Iesus Christ, knowing for a certaintie that I never taught them any such errors as mine enemies doe impute or ascribe unto me; and if it should happen that I were overcome by false witness, they should not be vexed or troubled in their minds, but stedfastly continue in the truth.

Thenineteenth  
article.

The nineteenth article. Last it was objected against me, that after I was come into Constance, I did write unto the kingdome of Boheme, that the Pope and Emperour received me honourably, and sent unto mee two bishops to make agreement betwene me and them; and that this seemeth to be written by mee to this end and purpose, that they should confirme and establish mee and my hearers in the errors which I had preached and taught in Boheme. This article is falsly alledged even from the beginning. For both manifestly false should I have written that the pope and the emperour did honour me, when as otherwise I had written before that as yet we knew not where the emperour was. And before the emperour himselfe came unto Constance, I was by the space of three weekes in prison. And to write that I was honored by my imprisonment, the people of the kingdome of Boheme would repute the honour as no great renouene and glory unto me. Whobest mine enemies may in derision say unto me, that according to their wills and pleasures I am exalted and honored. Wherefore this article is wholly throughout false and untrue.

Nineteen arti-  
cles drawn out  
by the Paris-  
ians against  
Iohn Hus.  
Iohn Gerson  
Chancelor of  
Paris.

Unto these articles aboue prefixed were other articles also to be annexed, which the Parisians had drawne out against master Iohn Hus, to the number of nineteene. The chiefe author thereof was Iohn Gerson chancelor of the Universitie of Paris, a great letter on of the pope against god men. Of these articles Iohn Hus doth often complaine in his epistles, that he had no timenoz space to make answer unto them. Which articles being falsly collected and wrongfully depared, although I Hus had no time to answer unto them, yet I thought it not unfit here to set them down for the reader to see and iudge.

Articles formally contained or picked out of the treatise of Iohn Hus of Prage, which he intituled of the Church, following in this part or behalfe the errors, as they terme them, of Iohn Wickliffe.

**T**he first article. No reprobate is true pope, lord, or Prelat. The error is in the faith, and behavoz, and manners, being both of late and many times before condemned, as well against the pooze men of Lions, as also against the Waldenses and Pikards. The affirmation of which error is temerarious, seditious, offensive and pernicious, and tending to the subversion of all humane policie and governance, so far as much as no man knoweth whether he be worthy of love or hatred, for that all men doe offend in many points, and thereby should all rule and dominion be made uncertaine and unstable, if it should be founded upon Predestination and charitie: neither should the commandement of Peter have been good, which willet all servants to be obedient unto their masters and lords, although they be wicked.

**T**he second Article. That no man being in deadly sin, whereby he is no member of Christ, but of the Devil, is true pope, prelate, lord. The error of this is like unto the first.

The third Article. No reprobate or otherwise being in deadly sin, sitteth in the Apostolic seat of Peter, neither hath any Apostolicall power over the Christian people. This error is also like unto the first.

The fourth Article. No reprobates are of the church, neither likewise any which do not follow the life of Christ. This error is against the common understanding of the doctors, concerning the Church.

The fifth Article. They only are of the Church, and sit in Peters seat, and have Apostolic power which follow Christ and his Apostles in their life and living. The error hereof is in faith and manners, as in the first article, but containing more arrogancy and rashnesse.

The sixth Article. That every man which lieth uprightly according to the rule of Christ, may and ought openly to preach and teach, although he be not sent, yea although he be forbidden or excommunicat by any prelat or bishop, even as he might and ought to give almes; for his good life in living together with his learning doth sufficiently send him.

This is a rash and temerarious error, offensive and tending to the confusion of the whole ecclesiastical hierarchy.

The seventh Article. That the pope of Rome being contrary unto Christ, is not the universall bishop, neither hath the Church of Rome any supremacy over other Churches, except peradventure it be given unto him of Cesar, and not of Christ. An error lately and plainly reprobed.

The eighth Article. That the pope ought not to be called most holy, neither that his feet are holy and blessed, or that they ought to be kissed. This error is temerarious, unbecomingly and offensively published.

The ninth Article. That according unto the doctrine of Christ, heretike, as they never so obstinate or stubborne, ought not to be put to death, neither to be accursed or excommunicated. This is the error of the Donatists, temerariouly, and not without great offence affirmed against the laws of the ecclesiastical discipline, as S. Augustine doth proove.

The tenth article. That subjects and the common people may and ought publicly and openly to detect and reprove the vices of their superiours and rulers, as having power given them of Christ, and example of S. Paul so to do. This error is pernicious, full of offence, inducing all rebellion, disobedience and sedition, and the curse and malediction of Cham.

The eleventh Article. That Christ only is head of the Church and not the pope. It is an error according unto the common understanding of the doctors, if all the reason of the supremacy, and of being head be secluded and taken away from the pope.

The twelfth article. That the only Church, which comprehendeth the predestinate and good libers, is the universall Church, whereunto subiects doe owe obedience. And this is consequent unto the former Article. The error is contained as in the former Articles.

The thirteenth Article. That tithes and oblations given unto the Church are publike and common almes. This error is offensive, and contrary to the determination of the Apostle, 1 Corin. 9.

The fourteenth article. That the clergy living wickedly, ought to be reprobed and corrected by the lay people, by the taking away of their tithes and other temporall profits. A most pernicious error and offensive, inducing the secular people to perpetrate sacrilege, subverting the ecclesiastical libertie.

The fifteenth Article. That the blessings of such as are reprobate or evil libers of the clergy are maledictions and cursings before God, according to the saying, I will curse your blessings. This error was lately reprobed of S. Augustine, against S. Cyprian and his followers, neither is the master of the sentences allowed of the masters in that point that he seemeth to favour this Article.

The



16 The sixteenth Article. That in these dayes and in long time before, there hath bene no true Pope, no true Church, or Faith, which is called the Romish Church, whereunto a man ought to obey, but that it both was and is the synagoge of Antichrist and Satan. The error in this Article is in this point, that it is derided, and taketh his foundation upon the former Articles.

17 The seventeenth Article. That all gift of money given unto the Ministers of the Church, for the ministracion of any spirituall matter, doth make such ministers in that case users of simonie. This error is seditious and temerarious, forsomuch as some thing may be given unto the clergie, under the title of sustentation or maintaining the minister, without the selling or buying of any spirituall thing.

18 The eighteenth Article. That whosoever is excommunicate of the pope if he appeale unto Christ, hee is preferred that hee need not feare the excommunication, but may utterly contemne and despise the same. This error is temerarious and full of arrogancie.

19 The nineteenth Article. That every deed done without charitie is sin. This error was reproved and reboked before this time at Paris. specially if it be understood of deadly sinne; for it is not necessary that he which lacketh grace should continually sin and offend anew, albeit he be continually in sin.

This following, the masters of Paris by their whole voice and consent did adde and adjoyne unto these nineteene Articles, for their reason and determination.

**V**Ve affirm that these articles aforesaid are notoriously hereticall, and that they are indicially to be condemned for such, and diligently to be rooted out with their most seditious doctrines, lest they doe infect other. For albeit they seeme to have a zeal against the vices of the prelates and the clergie, the which (the more is the pittie and grieve) doe but too much abound, yet is it not according unto learning: for a sober and discreet zeale suffereth and lamenteth those finnes and offences, which he seeth in the house of God, that hee cannot amend or take away; for vices cannot be rooted out and taken away by other vices and errors, forsomuch as devils are not cast out through Belzebub, but by the power of God which is the holy Ghost, who willet that in correction the measure and meane of prudence be alwaies kept, according to the saying: Marke, who, what, where and why, by what meanes and when prelates and bishops are bound under grievous and expresse penalties of the law, diligently and vigilantly to beare themselves against the foresaid errors and such other like, and the maintainers of them; for let it alwaies be understood and noted, that the error which is not resisted is allowed, neither is there any doubt of privie assintie or societie of him, which slacketh to withstand a manifest mischiefe.

These things are entermedled by the way under correction, as by way of doctrine.

John Gerson Chancellour of Paris,  
unworthily.

**T**hese things thus declared, a man may easily understand, that John Hus was not accused for holding any opinion contrary to the Articles of our faith, but because he did stoutly preach and teach against the kingdom of Antichrist for the glory of Christ, and the restoring of the Church.

Now to returne unto the storie: when as the first thirtie nine Articles, which I have before rehearsed, were all read over together with their testimonies, the Cardinall of Cambray calling unto John Hus, said; Thou hast heard what grievous and horrible crimes are laid against thee, and what a number of

them they are; and now it is thy part to devise with thy selfe what thou wilt doe. Two wayes are propounded and set before thee of the counsell, whereof the one of them thou must of force & necessity enter into.

First, that thou doe humbly and meekely submit thy selfe unto the iudgement and sentence of the counsell, that whatsoever shall be there determined, by their common voice and iudgement, thou wilt patiently beare and suffer the same. The which thing if thou wilt doe, we of our part, both for the honor of the most gentle emperor here present, & also for the honor of his brother the king of Boheme, and for thy owne safeguard and preservation, will intreat and handle thee with as great humanitie, love and gentleness, as we may. But if as yet thou art determined to defend and of those articles which wee have propounded unto thee, and dost desire or require to be further heard thereupon, we will not deny thee power and license thereunto; but this thou shalt well understand, that here are such manner of men, so cleave in understanding and knowledge, and having so firme and strong reasons and arguments against thy articles, that I feare it wil be to thy great hurt, detriment, and perill, if thou shouldst any longer will or desire to defend the same.

This I do speak and say unto thee, to counsell and admonish thee, and not as in manner of a Judge.

This Oracion of the cardinals many other prosecuting every man for himselfe did exhort and persuade John Hus to the like; unto whom with a lowly countenance he answered. Most reverend fathers I have often said that I came hither of mine owne free will, not to the intent obstinately to defend any thing, but if that in any thing I should seeme to have conceived a perverse or evill opinion, that I should meekly and patiently be content to be reformed and taught. Whereupon I desire that I may have yet further liberty to declare my mind. Whereof except I shall alledge most firme and strong reasons, I will willingly submit my selfe (as you require) unto your information.

Then there start up one which with a loud voice said, Behold, how craftily this man speaketh: Hee feareth it information and not correction or determination. Verily, said John Hus, even as you will feare me, information, correction, or determination: for I take God to my witness, that I speak nothing but with my heart and mind.

Then said the cardinall of Cambray; forsomuch then as thou dost submit thy selfe unto the information and grace of this counsell, this is decreed almost by these same doctors, whereof some of them are now departed hence, in whose roome and place the Parisians are succeeded; and also it is approved by the whole counsell, not one man speaking the contrary thereunto.

First of all, that thou shalt humbly and meekely confesse thy selfe to have erred in these articles, which are alledged and brought against thee.

Moreover, that thou shalt promise by an oath, that from henceforth thou shalt not teach, hold or maintain any of these articles. And last of all, that thou shalt openly recant all these articles.

Upon the which sentence, when as many others had spoken their minds, at the length John Hus said, I once againe doe say, that I am ready to submit my selfe to the information of the counsell; but this I most humbly require and desire you all, even for his sake, which is the God of us all, that I be not compelled or forced to doe the thing which my conscience doth repugne or strive against, or the which I cannot do without danger of eternal damnation, that is, that I should make rebovation by oath to all the articles, which are alledged against me. For I remember that I have read in the booke of universalities, that to abiure, is to renounce an error which a man hath before holden. And forsomuch as many of these Articles are said to be mine, which

KING  
HEN. 5.

A double inconvenience for John Hus to fall into.

John Hus answered.

The cardinall of Cambray appointed certain conditions whereby he may be delivered.

The answer of John Hus.



**KING**  
**HEN. 5.**

were never in my mind or thought to hold or teach, how should I then renounce them by an oath? But as touching those articles which are mine indeed, if there be any man which can teach me contrariwise unto them, I will willingly performe that which you desire.

The emperor rebueth John Hus to recant.

Then said the emperor, why mayest not thou without danger also renounce all those Articles which thou sayest are falsly alledged against thee by the witnesses? For I verily would nothing at all doubt to abjure all errors, neither doth it follow that therefore by and by I have professed any error. To whom John Hus answered, Most noble emperor, this word to abjure doth signifie much otherwise than your maiesty doth here use it. Then said the cardinal of Florence, John Hus, you shall have a forme of abjuration, which shall be gentle, and tolerable enough, written and delivered unto you, and then you will easily and soon determine with your selfe, whether you will doe it or no. Then the Emperor, repeating againe the words of the cardinal of Cambray, said, thou hast heard that there are two waies laid before thee: first, that thou shouldest openly renounce those thy errors, which are now condemned, and subscribe unto the iudgement of the Councell, whereby thou shouldest trie and find their grace and favour. But if thou proceed to defend the opinions, the Councell shall have sufficient, whereby according to their lawes and ordinances, they may decree and determine upon thee. To whom John Hus answered, I refuse nothing (most noble emperor) whatsoever the councell shall decree or determine upon me. Only this one thing I except, that I doe not offend God and my conscience, or say that I have professed those errors which was never in my minde or thought to professe. But I desire you all, if it may be possible, that you will grant me further liberty to declare my mind and opinion, that I may answer as much as shall suffice, as touching those things which are objected against me, and specially concerning ecclesiasticall offices, and the state of the ministry.

The force of false witness.

The emperor to John Hus.

But when as other men began to speake, the Emperor himselfe began to sing the same song which hee had sung before. Thou art of lawfull age, said the emperor, thou mightest easily have understood what I said unto thee yesterday, and this day; for wee are forced to give credit unto these witnesses which are worthy of credit, forsomuch as the Scripture saith, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses all truth is tried; how much more then by so many witnesses of such worthy men?

Wherefore if thou be wise, receive penance at the hands of the councell, with a contrite heart, and renounce thy manifest errors, and promise by an oath that from henceforth thou wilt never more teach or preach them. The which if thou refusest to doe, there are lawes and ordinances whereby thou shalt be iudged of the councell.

An old Bishop of Pole.

Here a certaine very old bishop of Pole put to his verdict. Hee said the lawes are evident as touching heretikes, with what punishment they ought to be punished. But John Hus constantly answered as before; inasmuch that they said hee was obstinate and stubborn. Then a certaine well fed priest, and gayly apparelled, cried out unto the Presidents of the councell, saying; he ought by no means to be admitted to recantation, for hee hath written unto his friends, that although hee doe sweare with his tongue, yet he will keepe his minde unworke without oath; wherefore he is not to be trusted. Unto this slander John Hus answered as is said in the last article, affirming that he was not guilty of any error.

Objection of a priest better fed than taught.

Then said Paletz, to what end is this protestation, forsomuch as thou sayest that thou wilt defend no error, neither yet Wickliffe, and yet dost defend him? When he had spoken these words, he brought forth for witness nine articles of John Wickliffe, and read them openly, and afterward hee said,

Paletz against John Hus.

When as I and master Stanislaus in the presence of Ernestus of Austria duke of Prage, preached against them, he obstinately defended the same, not only by his sermons, but also by his bookes which he set forth. The which except you doe here exhibit, we will cause them to be exhibited. So said the Emperor also. Unto whom John Hus answered, I am very well contented that not only those, but also all other my bookes be brought forth and shewed.

A new name of slander.

In the meane time there was exhibited unto the councell a certaine Article, wherein John Hus was accused, that hee had slanderously interpreted a certaine sentence of the popes: the which he denied that hee did, saying, that hee never saw it but in prison, when as the article was shewed him by the commissioners. And when hee was demanded who was the authour thereof, he answered that he knew not, but that he heard say that master Jellentz was the authour thereof.

What (said they) then doe you thinke or iudge of the interpretation thereof? Then answered John Hus, what should I say thereto, when as I said I never saw it, but as I have heard it of you. Thus they were all so grievous and troublesome unto him that hee waxed faint and weary, for hee had passed all the night before without sleepe, through the paine of his teeth.

John Hus waxed faint and weary.

Then was there another article read, in the which was contained that three men were beheaded at Prage, because that through Wickliffes doctrine and teaching they were contumelious and slanderous against the popes letters: and that they were by the same Hus, with the whole pompe of the scholars, and with a publike convocation or congregation carried out to be buried, and by a publike Sermon placed amongst the number of saints. And the same doctor, also, of whom you have heard certaine testimonies already recited, affirmed the same to be true, and that hee himselfe was present, when as the king of Bohemia commanded those blasphemers so to be punished.

Another quarrell against John Hus, touching these three men beheaded at Prage. Vide supra.

Then said John Hus, both those parts are false; that the king did command any such punishment to be done, and that the coarces were by mee conveyed with any such pompe unto their sepulture or buriall: wherefore you do injury both unto me and the king. Then Paletz confirmed the affirmation of Doctor Palo his fellow, with this argument (for they both labored to one end and purpose); That it was provided by the kings commandement, that no man should once speake against the Popes Bulls: And these three spake against the Popes Bulls: Ergo, by vertue of the kings commandement they were beheaded. And what John Hus his opinion and minde was as touching these men, it is evident enough by his booke entituled Of the Church, wherein he writeth thus; I beleeve they have read Daniel the Prophet, where as is said, And they shall perish with sword and fire, and with captivity, and many shall fraudulently and craftily associate themselves unto them. And afterward he saith, how this is fulfilled in these two lay men, who not contenting, but speaking against the feined lies of Antichrist, have offered their lives therefore, and many other were ready to doe the same, and many were fraudulently associate unto them, which being feared by the threatnings of Antichrist are fled, and have turned their backs, &c.

John Hus lied.

Ex puris affirmativis non consistit argum. in 2 figura.

When these things were read, one looking upon another, as though they had bene all in a marvelous strange study, they held their peace for a certaine space. For this Paletz, and the foresaid doctor Palo had also added that John Hus in an open sermon had inflamed and stirred up the people against the magistrates, inasmuch that a great number of the citizens did openly set themselves against the magistrates; and by that meanes was it, that he said those three were ready to suffer death for the truth.



Another quarrell picked by Englishmen against Iohn Hus.

The testimony all of D. Ford for Wickliffe brought to Prague.

A piece of the stone of Wickliffe sepulchre brought for a relike to Prague

And this sedition was hardly appeased by any benefit, or helpe that the king could doe. Then the English men exhibited the copie of a certaine Epistle, which they said was falsly conveyed unto Prague, under the title of the Univerſity of Oxford, and that Iohn Hus did reade the same out of the pulpit unto the people, that hee might commend and praise Iohn Wickliffe unto the citizens of Prague. When they had read the same before the Councell, the English men demanded of Iohn Hus, whether hee had read the same openly or no. Which when he had confessed, because it was brought thither by two scholars under the seale of the Univerſity; they also inquired of him what scholars they were. He answered, this is my friend (meaning Stephen Paley) knoweth the one of them as well as I, the other I know not what he was.

Then they first enquired of him, as touching the last man, where he was. Iohn Hus answered, I heard say (said he) that in his returne into England he died by the way. As touching the first, Paley said, that hee was a Bohemian and no Englishman, and that hee brought out of England a certaine small piece of the stone of Wickliffe's sepulchre, which they that are the followers of his doctrine at this present doe reverence and worship as a thing most holy. Whereby it appeareth for what intent all these things were done; and that Iohn Hus was the author of them all.

Then the English men exhibited another Epistle, contrary to the first, under the seale of the Univerſity, the effect and argument whereof was this: The Senate of the Univerſity, not without great sorrow and griefe, hath experimented and found, that the errors of Wickliffe are scattered and spread out of that Univerſity throughout all England. And to the intent that through their helpe and labor meanes may be found to remedy this mischief, they have appointed for that purpose twelve Doctors, men of singular learning, and other masters, which should sit in iudgement upon the bookes of Wickliffe.

These men have noted out above the number of two hundred articles, the which the whole Univerſity have iudged worthy to be burnt; but for the reverence of the said sacred Councell, the said Univerſity hath sent them unto Conſtance, referring and remitting the whole authority of the iudgement unto this Councell.

Here was great silence kept for a while. Then Paley rising up, as though hee had finished now his accusation, said, I take God to my witness before the Emperors Paley here present, and the most reverend fathers, cardinals and bishops, that in this accusation of Iohn Hus, I have not used any hatred or evil will; but that I might satisfie the oath which I took, when I was made doctor, that I would be a most cruell and sharpe enemy of all manner of errors, for the profit and commoditie of the holy Catholike Church. Michael de Causis did also the like. And I, said Iohn Hus, doe commit all these things unto the heavenly Judge, which shall iustly iudge the cause or quarrels of both parties. Then said the cardinal of Cambray, I cannot a little commend and praise the humanity and gentleness of master Paley, which he hath used in drawing out the articles against master Iohn Hus. For as we have heard there are many things contained in his booke much worse and more detestable.

When hee had spoken these words, the bishop of Wygen, unto whom Iohn Hus was committed, commanded that the said Iohn Hus should be carried againe safely unto prison. When Iohn de Clum following him, did not a little incourage and comfort him. So tongue can expresse what courage and stomacke hee received by the short talke which hee had with him; when as in so great a broile and grievous hatred, hee saw himselfe in a manner forsaken of all

men. After that Iohn Hus was carried away, the Emperour began to exhort the Presidents of the Councell in this manner, saying.

SKING  
HEN. 5.

YOU have heard the manifold and grievous crimes which are laid against Iohn Hus, which are not onely proved by manifest and strong witnesses, but also confessed by him; of the which everie one of them by my judgement and advice have deserved, and are worthy of death. Therefore except hee doe recant them all, I judge and thinke meete that hee be punished with fire: and albeit hee doe that which hee is willed and commanded to doe; notwithstanding, I doe counsell you, that hee bee forbid the office of preaching and teaching, and also that hee returne no more into the kingdome of Boheme. For if hee be admitted againe to teach and preach, and specially in the kingdome of Boheme, hee will not observe and keepe that which he is commanded, but, hoping upon the favour and good will of such as be his adherents and fautors there, hee will returne againe unto his former purpose and intent, and then, besides these errors, he will also flow new errors amongst the people; so the last error shall be worse than the first.

Moreover, I judge and thinke it good that his articles which are condemned, should be sent unto my brother the King of Boheme, and afterward into Pole and other Provinces; whereas mens minds are replenished with his Doctrine; with this commandment; that whosoever doe proceed to hold or keepe the same, they should by the common aid both of the ecclesiasticall and civill power, be punished. So at the length shall remedie be found for this mischief, if the boughes together with the root be utterly rooted and pulled up: and if the Bishops and other prelates, which here in this place have laboured and travelled for the extirpating of this heresie, be commended by the whole voices of the councell unto the King and Princes, under whose dominion they are. Last of all, if there be any found heere at Conſtance, which are familiars unto Iohn Hus, they also ought to be punished with such severity and punishment as is due unto them, and specially his scholer Ierome of Prague. Then said the rest, when the master is once punished, we hope we shall finde the scholer much more tractable and gentle.

The emperors oration to the presidents of the councill.

That which God planteth man shall never root up.

Ierome of Prague mentioned and promoted by the emperor.

After they had spoken these words, they departed out of the Cloyster, where they were assembled and gathered together. The day before his condemnation, which was the first of July, the emperor Sigismund sent unto him foure bishops accompanied with master Wencelate de Duba, and Iohn de Clum, that they should heare and understand of him what hee did intend to doe. When as hee was brought out of prison unto them, Iohn de Clum began first to speake unto him, saying.

Foure Bishops sent to Iohn Hus.

M After I. Hus, I am a man unlearned, neither am I able to counsell or advertise you, being a man of learning and understanding: notwithstanding I doe require you, if you know your selfe guilty of any of those errors, which are objected and laid against you before the Councell, that you will not be ashamed to alter and change your minde to the will and pleasure of the Councell; if contrariwise, I will be no author unto you, that you should doe any thing contrary, or against your conscience, but rather to suffer and indure any kinde of punishment, than to deny that which you have knowne to be the truth. Unto whom Iohn Hus turning himselfe, with lamentable teares said; Verily as before I have oftentimes done, I doe take the most high God for my witness, that I am ready with my whole heart and minde, if the Councell can instruct or teach me any better by the holy Scripture, and I will be ready with all my heart to alter and change my purpose. Then one of the bishops, which fate by, said unto him, that

The pitifull and loving oration of Iohn de Clum unto Iohn Hus.

The marvelous constancy of Iohn Hus.

The oath of Paley.

The oath of Michael de Causis. Iohn Hus witnesseth the Lord.

Iohn de Clum both comfort Iohn Hus.



SKING  
HEN. 5.

That is no  
tate modesty  
but more re-  
ardeth to ob-  
nan, than ma-  
ifest verity.  
ohn Hus an-  
wereth.

hee would never bee so arrogant or proud, that hee would preferre his owne minde or opinion before the judgement of the whole Councell. To whom Iohn Hus answered, neither do I otherwise minde or intend. For if hee which is the meanest, or least in all this Councell, can convict mee of error, I will with an humble heart and minde performe, and doe whatsoever the Councell shall require of mee. Marke said the bishops; how obstinately he doth persevere in his errors. And when they had thus talked, they commanded the keep- 10 ers to carry him againe unto prison, and so they returned againe unto the Emperour with their Commis- sion.

The next day after, which was Saturday, and the sixth day of July, there was a generall Session holden of the Princes and lords, both of the ecclesiastical and temporall estates in the head Church of the citie of Constance, the Emperour Sigismund being president in his imperiall robes and habit; in the midst whereof there was made a certain high place, being square about like a table, and hard by it there was a deske of wood, upon the which the garments and bestiments pertaining unto priesthood were laid for this cause, that before Iohn Hus should be deli- 20 bered over unto the civill power, he should be openly deprived and spoiled of his priestly ornaments. When Iohn Hus was brought thither, he fell down upon his knees before that same high place, and prayed a long time. In the meane while the bishop of Londy went up into the pulpit, and made this Sermon following.

The Sermon of the Bishop of Londy,  
before the sentence was given  
upon Iohn Hus.

The Sermon  
before the sen-  
ence.

IN the Name of the Father, the Sonne, and of the Holy Ghost. Trusting by humble invocation upon the divine helpe and aid, most noble Princee, and most Christian Emperour, and you most excellent Fathers, and reverend Lords, Bishops, and Prelates, also most excellent doctors and masters, famous and noble Dukes, and high Counts, honourable Nobles, and Barons, and all other men worthy of remembrance; that the intent and purpose of my minde may the more plainly and evidently appeare unto this most sacred Congregation, I am first of all determined to intreat or speake of that which is read in the Epistle on the next Sunday, in the sixt chapter to the Romanes; That is to say, Let the bo- 50 dy of sin be destroyed, &c.

The theme:

his theme  
confirmed by  
Aristotle.

It appeareth by the authority of Aristotle, in his booke intituled *De celo & mundo*, how wicked, dangerous, and foolish a matter it seemeth to be, not to withstand perverse and wicked beginnings. For hee saith, that a small error in the beginning is very great in the end. It is very damnable and dangerous to have erred, but more hard to be corrected or amended. Whereupon that worthy Doctor S. Ierome in his booke upon the exposition of the Catholike faith, teacheth how necessary a thing it is that heretikes and heresies should be suppressed, even at the first beginning of them, say- 60 ing thus; The rotten and dead flesh is to be cut off from the body, lest that the whole body do perish & putrifie. For a scabbed sheepe is to be put out of the fold, lest that the whole flocke be infected. And a little fire is to be quenched, lest the whole house be consumed and burned. Arrius was first a sparke in Alexandria, who because hee was not at the first quenched, hee presumed and went about with his wicked and perverse imaginations, and phantastical inventions, to spot and defile the Catholike faith, which is founded and established by Christ, defended with the victorious triumphs of so many Martyrs, and illuminate and set forth with the excellent doctrines and writings of so many men. Such therefore must bee resisted; such heretikes of necessity must be suppressed and condemned.

Wherefore I have truly propounded, as touching the punishment of every such obstinate heretike, that the body of sinne is to bee destroyed. Whereupon it is to bee considered according unto the holy traditions of the Fathers, that some sinnes are adverse and contrary unto another. Other some are annexed or conjoyned together; other some are, as it were branches and members of others; and some are as it were the rootes and head of others. Amongst all which, those are to bee counted the most detestable, out of the which the most and worst have their original and beginning. Wherefore, albeit that all sinnes and offences are to bee abhorred of us; yet those are specially to bee eschewed, which are the head and roote of the rest. For by how much the perverseness of them is of more force and power to hurt, with so much the more speed and circumspection ought they to bee rooted out and extinguished, with apt prefer- 10 vatives and remedies. Forasmuch then as amongst all sinnes, none doth more appeare to bee inveterate than the mischief of this most execrable schisme, therefore have I right well propounded that the body of sinne should bee destroyed. For by the long continuance of this schisme, great and most cruell destruction is sprung up amongst the faithfull, and hath long continued; abominable divisions of heresies are growne; threatnings are increased and multiplied; the confusion of the whole clergy is growne thereupon, and the opprobries and slanders of the Christian people are abundantly sprung up and in- 20 creased. And truly it is no marvell, forasmuch as that most detestable and execrable schisme, is, as it were, a body and heape of dissolution of the true faith of God: for what can bee good or holy in that place, whereas such a pestiferous schisme hath reigned so long a time? For as saint Bernard saith, Like as in the unity and concord of the faithfull, there is the habitation and dwelling of the Lord; so likewise in the schisme and dissipation of the Christians; there is made the habitation and dwelling of the Devill. Is not schisme and division the original of all subver- 30 sion, the denne of heresies, and the nourisher of all offences? for the knot of unity and peace being once troubled and broken, there is free passage made for all strife and debate. Coverousnesse is uttered in others for lucre sake, lust and will is set at liberty, and all meanes opened unto slaughter. All right and equity is banished, the Ecclesiastical power is injured, and the calamity of this schisme bringeth in all kinde of bond- 40 age, sword and violence doth rule, the laity have the dominion; concord and unity are banished, and all prescript rules of religion utterly contemned and set at naught.

They cannot  
abide the laity  
to rule in any  
case.

Consider most gentle lords, during this most pestiferous schisme; how many heresies have appeared and shewed themselves; how many heretikes have escaped unpunished, how many Churches have bene spoiled and pulled downe, how many Cities have bene oppressed, and regions brought to ruine, what confusion hath there hapned in the Clergy? What and how great destruction hath bene amongst the Christian people? I pray you marke how the Church of GOD, the spouse of Christ, and the mother of all faithfull, is contemned and despised. For who doth reverence the keyes of the Church, who feareth the censures or lawes, or who is it that doth defend the liberties thereof? But rather who is it, that doth not offend the same, or who doth not invade it, or else what is hee that dare not violently lay hands upon the patrimony or heritage of Iesus Christ? The goods of the clergy, and of the poore, and the reliefe of pilgrims and strangers, gotten together by the blood of our Saviour, and of many Martyrs, are spoiled and taken away: behold the abomination of the desolation brought upon the Church of GOD; the destruction of the faith, and the confusion of the Christian people, to the ruine of the Lords flocke or fold, and all the whole company of our most holy 70 Saviour

All the popes  
religion hath  
in laide, and  
shes and live-  
ries.

Note here the  
popes divinity,  
how the blood  
of Christ ser-  
veth to pur-  
chase their pa-  
trimony.



Saviour and Redeemer. This losse is more great or grievous than any which could happen unto the martyrs of Christ, and this persecution much more cruell, than the persecution of any tyrant; for they did but onely punish the bodies, but in this schisme and division the foules are tormented. There the blood of men was onely shed, but in this case the true faith is subverted and overthrowne. That persecution was salvation unto many; but this schisme is destruction unto all men. When the tyrants raged, then the faith did increase; but by this division it is utterly decayed. During their cruelty and madnesse, the primitive Church increased; but through this schisme it is confounded and overthrowne. Tyrants did ignorantly offend; but in this schisme many doe wittingly and willingly even of obitancy offend. There came in heretikes, users of simony, and hypocrites; to the great detriment and deceit of the Church; under those tyrants, the merits of the just were increased.

But during this schisme mischief and wickednesse are augmented: for in this most cursed and execrable division, truth is made an enemy to all Christians, faith is not regarded, love and charity hated, hope is lost, justice overthrowne, no kinde of courage or valiantnesse, but onely unto mischief: modesty and temperance coked, wisdom turned into deceit, humility feined, equity and truth falsified, patience utterly fled, conscience small, all wickednesse intended, devotion counted folly, gentleness abject and cast away, religion despised, obedience not regarded, and all manner of life reprochfull and abominable. With how great and grievous sorrowes is the Church of God replenished and filled, whilest that tyrants doe oppresse it, heretikes invade it, users of simony doe spoile and rob it, and schismatikes goe about utterly to subvert it? O most miserable and wretched Christian people, whom now by the space of fortie yeares, with such indurate and continuall schisme, they have tormented, and almost brought to ruine! O the little Barke and Ship of Christ, which hath so long time wandered and strayed now in the midst of the whirlpooles, and by and by sticketh fast in the rocks, tossed to and fro with most grievous and tempestuous storms! O miserable and wretched boate of Peter, if the most Holy Father would suffer thee to sinke or drowne, into what dangers and perils have the wicked pirats brought thee? amongst what rockes have they placed thee? O most godly and loving Christians, what faithfull devout man is there, which, beholding and seeing the great ruine and decay of the Church, would not bee provoked unto teares? What good conscience is there that can refrain weeping? because that contention and strife is powred upon the Ecclesiasticall rulers, which have made us to erre in the way; because they have not found, or rather would not finde the way of unity and concord; Whereupon so many heresies, and so great confusion is sprung up, and growne in the flocke of Peter, and the fold of our Lord.

Many Princes, Kings and Prelates, have greatly laboured and travelled for the rooting out hereof; but yet could they never bring to passe, or finish that most wholesome and necessary worke. Wherefore, most Christian King, this most glorious and triumphant victory hath tarried onely for thee, the crowne and glory thereof shall bee thine for ever, and this most happy victory shall bee continually celebrate to thy great honour and praise, that thou hast restored againe the Church which was so spoiled, thou hast removed and put away all inveterate and overgrown schismes and divisions, thou hast troden downe users of simony, and rooted out all heretikes: Dost thou not behold and see how great, perpetuall and famous renowne and glory it will bee unto thee? For what can bee more just, what more holy, what more better, what more to bee desired, or finally, what can bee more acceptable, than to roote out

this wicked and abominable schisme, to restore the Church againe unto her ancient libertie, to extinguish and put away all simony, and to condemne and destroy all errors and heresies from amongst the flocke of the faithfull? Nothing truly can bee better, nothing more holy, nothing more profitable for the whole world, and finally, nothing more acceptable unto God. For the performance of which most holy and godly worke, thou wast elect and chosen of God, thou wast first deputed and chosen in heaven, before thou wast elect and chosen upon earth. Thou wast first appointed by the celestiall and heavenly prince, before the electors of the Empire did elect or choose thee, and specially, that by the imperiall force and power, thou shouldest condemne and destroy those errors and heresies, which wee have presently in hand to bee condemned and subverted. To the performance of this most holy worke, God hath given unto thee the knowledge and understanding of his divine truth and verity, power of princely majesty, and the just judgement of equity and righteoufnesse, as the most highest himselfe doth say; I have given thee understanding and wisdom, to speake and utter my words, and have set thee to rule over nations and kingdomes, that thou shouldest helpe the people, plucke downe and destroy iniquity, and by exercising of justice thou shouldest, I say, destroy all errors and heresies, and specially this obstinate heretike here present, through whose wickednesse and mischief, many places of the world are infected with most pestilent and hereticall payson, and by his meanes and occasion almost utterly subverted and destroyed. This most holy and godly labour, O most noble Prince, was reserved onely for thee, upon thee it doth onely lie, unto whom the whole rule and ministration of justice is given. Wherefore thou hast established thy praise and renowne, even by the mouths of infants and sucking babes, for thy praises shall be celebrate for evermore, that thou hast destroyed and overthrowne such and so great enemies of the faith. The which that thou maiest prosperously and happily performe and bring to passe, our Lord Iesus vouchsafe to grant thee his grace and helpe, who is blessed for ever and ever. Amen.

\* When this sermon was thus ended, the proctor of the Councell rising up, named Henricus de Piro, required that the procelle of the cause against John Hus might be continued, and that they might proceed unto the definitive sentence. When a certain bishop, which was appointed one of the Judges, declared the procelle of the cause, which was pleaded long since in the court of Rome and elsewhere, betwene John Hus and the prelates of Prague.

At the last he repeated those Articles which wee have before remembred, amongst the which he rehearsed also one article, that John Hus should teach the two natures of the Godhead and manhood to be one Christ. John Hus went about briefly with a word or two to answer unto every of them; but as often as hee was about to speake, the Cardinall of Cambray commanded him to hold his peace, saying, hereafter you shall answer to all together, if you will. Then said John Hus, how can I at once answer unto all those things which are alledged against me, when as I cannot remember them all? Then said the cardinall of Florence we have heard thee sufficiently. But when as John Hus for all that would not hold his peace, they sent the officers which should force him thereunto. Then began hee to intreat, pray, and beseech them, that they would heare him, that such as were present might not credit or beleve those things to be true which were reported of him. But when all this would nothing prevaile, hee kneeling downe upon his knees committed the whole matter unto God, and the Lord Iesus Christ, for at their hands hee beleeveth easily to obtaine that which he desired.

SKING  
HENRY

Loripidem  
rectus deridi  
at, æthiopen  
albus.

Note the bile  
flattery of the  
papists when  
they would  
have any thing  
of the emperor  
for their purpose.

The victor of  
the Councell  
called for the  
sentence.

The cardinall  
of Cambray  
commanded  
John Hus to  
keepe silence.

John Hus  
could not be  
heard in the  
Councell.

John Hus  
committed his  
cause to the  
Lord Christ.

This schisme  
continued 40.  
yeares.

See likewise  
the Emperours  
Sigismund.

When



**KING**  
HEN. 5.  
Mark the un-  
manifeste  
them to sette  
what they felt.  
John Hus a-  
aine standeth.

When the articles abovesaid were ended, last of all there was added a notable blasphemy, which they all imputed to John Hus, that is, that he said there should be a fourth perion in divinitie, and that a certain doctor did heare him speake of the same. When John Hus desired that the doctor might bee named; the bishop which had alleadged the article said, that it was not needfull to name him. Then said John Hus, O miserable and wretched man that I am, which am forced and compelled to beare such a blasphemy and slander.

Afterward the article was repeated, how hee appealed unto Christ, and that by name was called hereticall. Whereunto John Hus answered; O Lord Jesus Christ, whose word is openly condemned here in this councill, unto thee againe I doe appeale; which when thou wast evil treated of thine enemies, diddest appeale unto God thy father, committing thy cause unto a most iust iudge, that by thy example wee also, being oppressed with manifest wrongs and injuries, should see unto thee. Last of all the article was rehearsed, as touching the contempt of the excommunication by John Hus. Whereunto he answered as before, that he was executed by his advocates in the court of Rome, wherefore he did not appeare when he was cited; and also that it may be proved by the acts, that the excommunication was not ratified; and finally, to the intent he might cleare himselfe of obstinacie, hee was for that cause come unto Constance, under the emperors safe conduct. When he had spoken these words, one of them, which was appointed Iudge, read the definitive sentence against him, which followeth thus word for word.

The sentence or judgement of the councill of Constance given against John Hus.

The most holy and sacred generall Council of Constance, being congregated and gathered together, representing the Catholike Church, for a perpetuall memorie of the thing, as the verity and truth doth witness, an evil tree bringeth forth evil fruit; hereupon it cometh, that the man of most damnable memory John Wickliffe, through his pestiferous doctrine, not through Jesus Christ by the Gospell; as the holy fathers in times past have begotten faithfull children, but contrary unto the wholesome faith of Jesus Christ, as a most venomous root, hath begotten many pestilent and wicked children, whom he hath left behind him, successors and followers of his perverbe and wicked doctrine, against whom this sacred Synode of Constance is forced to rise up as against bastards and unlawfull children, and with diligent care, with the sharpe knife of the ecclesiasticall authoritie to cut up their errors out of the Lords field, as most hurtfull brambles and briars, lest they should grow to the hurt and detriment of others.

Forasmuch then as in the holy generall Council lately celebrated and holden at Rome, it was decreed that the doctrine of John Wickliffe, of most damnable memory, should be condemned, and that his bookes which contained the same doctrine should bee burned as hereticall, and this decree was approved and confirmed by the sacred authoritie of the whole Council; nevertheless one John Hus here personally present in this sacred Council, not the Disciple of Christ but of John Wickliffe, an arch-heretike, after, and contrary, or against the condemnation and decree hath taught, preached, and affirmed the Articles of Wickliffe, which were condemned by the Church of God, and in times past by certaine most reverend fathers in Christ, lords, archbishops, and bishops, of divers kingdoms and realmes, masters of divinitie of divers Universities; especially resisting in his open sermons, and also with his adherents & complices in the

schools, the condemnation of the said Articles of Wickliffe oftentimes published in the said University of Prague, and hath declared him the said Wickliffe, for the favour and commendation of his doctrine, before the whole multitude of the clergie and people, to be a catholike man, and a true Evangelicall doctor. He hath also published and affirmed certaine and many of his articles, worthy recommended, to be catholike, the which are notoriously contained in the bookes of the said John Hus.

Wherefore, after diligent deliberation and full information first had upon the premises by the reverend fathers and lords in Christ of the holy church of Rome, Cardinals, Patriarchs, Archbishops, Bishops, and other Prelates, Doctors of divinitie, and of both laws, in great number assembled and gathered together, this most sacred and holy Council of Constance declareth and determineth the articles abovesaid (the which after due conference had are found in his bookes written with his owne hand, the which also the said John Hus in open audience, before this holy Council, hath confessed to bee in his bookes) not to be Catholike, neither worthy to bee taught, but that many of them are erroneous, some of them wicked, otherwise offensive to godly eares, many of them temerarious and seditious, and the greater part of them notoriously hereticall, and even now of late by the holy fathers and generall counsels reproved and condemned. And forasmuch as the said Articles are expressly contained in the bookes of the said John Hus, therefore this said sacred Council doth condemn and reprove all those bookes which he wrote in what forme or phrase soever they be, or whether they be translated by others and doth determine and decree, that they all shall be solemnly and openly burned in the presence of the clergie and people of the citie of Constance, and elsewhere; adding moreover for the premises, that all his doctrine is worthy to bee despised and eschewed of all faithful Christians. And to the intent this most pernicious and wicked doctrine may be utterly excluded and shut out of the Church, this sacred Synode doth straitly command, that diligent inquisition be made by the ordinaries of the places by the ecclesiasticall censure, for such treatises and workes, and that such as are found be consumed and burned with fire. And if there be any found, which shall contemne or despise this sentence or decree, this sacred Synode ordaineth and decreeth that the ordinaries of the places, and the inquisitors of heresies, shall proceed against every such person as suspect of heresie.

Wherefore, after due inquisition made against the said John Hus, and full information had by the commissaries and doctors of both laws, and also by the sayings of the witnesses which were worthy of credit, and many other things openly read before the said John Hus, and before the fathers and prelates of this sacred council (by the which allegations of the witnesses it appeareth that the said John Hus hath taught many evil and offensive, seditious, and perillous heresies, and hath preached the same by a long time) this most sacred and holy Synode, lawfully congregated and gathered together in the holy Ghost, the name of Christ being invocated and called upon, by this their sentence which here is set forth in writing, determineth, pronounceth, declareth, and decreeth, that J. Hus was and is a true and manifest heretike, and that he hath preached openly errors and heresies lately condemned by the church of God, and many other seditious, temerarious and offensive things to no small offence of the divine maiestie, and of the universall Church, and detriment of the Catholike Faith and Church, neglecting and despising the keys of the Church, and ecclesiasticall censure. In the which his error he hath continued with a mind altogether inderate and hardened by the space of many yeeres, much

¶ p p 3 offending

That shall  
but in the  
fast to the  
of the same  
and out of  
being a heretic  
fore time  
present for  
my name so.  
Luk. 22.

\* The said  
concilium  
malignantia.

¶ Many shall  
come in my  
name and shall  
decieve many.  
Mark. 13.

The Council  
which call he  
eccell to ap-  
peale to Christ.

Contempt of  
the popes ex-  
communication  
aid to John  
Hus.

The sentence  
read against  
John Hus.



To appeale to  
Christ is de-  
gatoe to the  
popes holiness.

Artis con-  
demned for he-  
resie.

Iohn Hus clea-  
rech himselfe of  
obstinacie.

They condemn  
the books writ-  
ten in the Bo-  
hemian tongue  
which they ne-  
ver read.

Hus prayeth for  
his enemies.

Iohn Hus com-  
manded to put  
on the priests  
garments.

Iohn Hus his  
oration unto the  
people.

offending the faithfull Christians by his obstinacie and stubbornesse, when as hee made his appeale unto the Lord Iesus Christ, as the most high Judge, omitting and leaving all ecclesiasticall meanes. In the which his appeale he alledged many false, iniurious, and offensive matters, in contempt of the Apostolike sea and the ecclesiasticall censures and keyes.

Whereupon, both for the premises and many other things, the said Synod pronounceth Iohn Hus to be an heretike, and iudgeth him by these presents to bee condemned and iudged as an heretike; and reproobeth the said appeale as iniurious, offensive, and done in derision unto the ecclesiasticall iurisdiction, and iudgeth the said Hus not onely to have seduced the Christian people by his writings and preachings, and specially in the kingdome of Boheme, neither to have been a true preacher of the Gospel of Christ unto the said people, according to the exposition of the holy doctors; but also to have been a seducer of them, and also an obstinate and stiffnecked person, yea and such an one as both not desire to returne againe to the lap of our holy mother the Church, neither to abiure the errors and heresies which he hath openly preached and defended. Wherefore this most sacred counsell decreeth and declareth, that the said Iohn Hus shal be famously deposed and degraded from his priestly orders and dignitie, &c.

Whilest these things were thus read, Iohn Hus, albeit he were forbidden to speake, notwithstanding did often interrupt them, and specially when he was reprobed of obstinacie, he said with a loud voice: I was never obstinate, but as alwaies heretofore, when so now againe I desire to be taught by the holy Scriptures, and I doe professe my selfe to be so desirous of the truth, that if I might by one onely word subvert the errors of all heretiks, I would not refuse to enter into what perill or danger soever it were. When his bookes were condemned, he said, Wherefore have you condemned those books, when as you have not proved by any one article, that they are contrary to the Scriptures, or articles of faith? And moreover what iniury is this that you do to me, that you have condemned these books written in the bohemian tongue, which you never saw, neither yet read? And oftentimes looking up unto heaven he prayed.

When the sentence and iudgement was ended, kneeling downe upon his knees, he said; Lord Iesus Christ, forgive mine enemies, by whom thou knowest that I am falsly accused, and that they have used false witnessse and slanders against me; forgive them I say, for thy great mercies sake. This his prayer and oration the greater part, and specially the chiefe of the priests, did deride and mock.

At the last, the seven Bishops which were chosen out to degrade him of his priesthood commanded him to put on the garments pertaining unto priesthood, which thing when he had done, untill he came to the putting on of the Albe, hee called to his remembrance the white vesture which Herod put upon Iesus Christ to mock him withall. So likewise in all other things he did comfort himselfe by the example of Christ. When he had now put on all his priestly vestures, the bishops exhorted him that hee should yet alter and change his minde and purpose, and provide for his honour and safeguard. When hee (according as the manner of the ceremonie is) going up to the top of the scaffold, being full of teares, spake unto the people in this sort.

These lords and bishops doe exhort and counsell me, that I should here confesse before you all that I have erred, the which thing to doe, if it were such as might be done with the infamy and reproach of man onely, they might peradventure easily perswade me thereunto; but now truly I am in the sight of the Lord my God, with-

out whose great ignominy and grudge of mine own conscience, I can by no meanes doe that which they require of me. For I doe well know, that I never taught any of those things which they have falsly alledged against me, but I have alwaies preached, taught, written and thought contrary thereunto. With what countenance then should I behold the Heavens? with what face should I looke upon them whom I have taught, whereof there is a great number, if through mee it should come to passe that those things, which they have hitherto knowne to bee most certaine and sure, should now be made uncertaine? Should I by this my example astonish or trouble so many soules, so many consciences, indued with the most firme and certaine knowledge of the Scriptures and Gospell of our Lord Iesus Christ and his most pure doctrine, armed against all the assaults of Satan? I will never doe it, neither commit any such kinde of offence, that I should seeme more to esteeme this vile carcase appointed unto death, than their health and salvation. At this most godly word hee was forced againe to heare, by the consent of the bishops, that hee did obstinately and maliciously persevere in his pernicious and wicked errors.

Then hee was commanded to come downe to the execution of his iudgement, and in his coming downe one of the seven bishops afore rehearsed, first took away the chalice from him which he held in his hand, saying, Woe be it to thee, Iudas, thy hast thou forsaken the counsell and wayes of peace, and hast counselled with the Jewes: we take away from thee this chalice of thy salvation. But Iohn Hus received this curse in this manner: but I trust unto God the Father omnipotent, and my Lord Iesus Christ, for whose sake I doe suffer these things, that he will not take away the chalice of his redemption, but have a stedfast and firme hope that this day I shall drinke thereof in his kingdome. Then followed the other bishops in order, which every one of them took away the vestments from him which they had put on, each one of them giving him their curse. Whereunto Iohn Hus answered, that hee did willingly embrace and heare those blasphemies for the name of our Lord Iesus Christ. At the last they came to the rasing of his shaven crowne. But before the bishops would goe in hand with it, there was a great contention betweene them, with what instrument it should be done, with a razor, or with a paire of sheares.

In the mean season, Iohn Hus turning himselfe toward the Emperour, said, I marvell that so much as they be all of like cruell minde and stomake, yet they cannot agree upon their kinde of cruelty. Notwithstanding, at the last they agreed to cut off the skin of the crowne of his head with a paire of sheares. And when they had done that, they added these words, Now hath the Church taken away all her ornaments and priviledges from him. Now there resteth nothing els, but that he be delivered over unto the secular power. But before they did that, there yet remained another knack of reproach. For they caused to be made a certaine crowne of paper, almost a cubit deep, in the which were painted three diavels of wonderfull ugly shape, and this title set over their heads, Heresiarcha. The which when he saw, he said, My Lord Iesus Christ for my sake did weare a crowne of thorns; why should not I then for his sake againe weare this light crowne, bee it never so ignominious? Truly I will doe it, and that willingly. When it was set upon his head, The Bishops said; now we commit thy soule unto the diavell. But I, said Iohn Hus (lifting his eyes up towards the Heavens) doe commit my spirit into thy hands, O Lord Iesus Christ, unto thee I commend my spirit which thou hast redeemed. These contumelious opprobries thus ended, the Bishops turning themselves

{KING  
HEN. 5.}

The degrading  
of Iohn Hus.

The words of  
Iohn Hus unto  
the Emperour.

The crowne of  
Iohn Hus pa-  
red away with  
sheares.

The marve-  
lous constan-  
ce and courage of  
the blessed  
martyr.

The paper  
word the in-  
scription set  
upon Iohn Hus  
head.



{ KING }  
{ HEN. 5. }

selbes towards the Emperour said; This most sacred Synod of Constance leaveth now Iohn Hus, which hath no more any office, or to do in the Church of God, unto the civil iudgment and power. Then the Emperour commanded Lodobicus duke of Bavaria, which stood before him in his robes, holding the golden apple with the crosse in his hand, that he should receiue Iohn Hus of the Bishops, and deliver him unto them which should do the execution. By whom as he was led to the place of execution, before the Church doores he saw his books burning, where at he smiled and laughed. And all men that he passed by he exhorted, not to thinke that he should die for any error or heresie, but onely for the hatred and ill will of his aduersaries, which had charged him with most false and unjust crimes. All the whole City in manner being in armor, followed him.

The protestation of Iohn Hus as he was led to the place of execution.

The place appointed for the execution was before the gate Goltelbian, betwene the gardens and the gates of the suburbs. When as Iohn Hus was come thither, kneeling downe upon his knees, and lifting his eyes up unto heauen, he prayed, and said certaine Psalmes, and specially the 50. 31. Psalms. And they which stood hard by, heard him oftentimes in his prayer, with a merry and cherefull countenance, repeat this verse, Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit, &c. Which thing when the Lay people beheld which stood next unto him, they said, what he hath done afore, we know not, but now we see and heare that he doth speake and pray very deboutly and godly. Other some wished that he had a confessor. There was a certaine priest by, sitting on horsebacke, in a greene gowne, drawne about with red silke, which said, he ought not to be heard, because he is an heretike. Yet notwithstanding, whilest he was in prison, he was both confes-

The prayer of Iohn Hus well liked of the people.

sed, and also absolved by a certaine doctor, a monke, as Hus himselfe doth witness in a certaine Epistle which he wrote unto his friends out of prison. Thus Christ reigneth unknowne unto the world, even in the midst of his enemies. In the meane time whilest he prayed, as he bowed his necke backward to looke upward unto heauen the crowne of paper fell off from his head upon the ground. Then one of the souldiers taking it up againe said, let us put it againe upon his head, that he may be burned with his masters the Devils, whom he hath served.

When as by the commandement of the tormentors he was risen up from the place of his prayer, with a loud voice he said, Lord Iesus Christ assist and helpe me, that with a constant and patient minde, by thy most gracious helpe, I may beare and suffer this cruell and ignominious death, where unto I am condemned for the preaching of thy most holy Gospell and Word. Then, as before, he declared the cause of his death unto the people. In the meane season the hangman stripped him of his garments, and turning his hand behinde his backe, tied him fast unto the stake with ropes that were made wet. And whereas by chance he was turned towards the East, certaine cried out that he should not looke towards the East, for he was an heretike: so he was turned towards the West. Then was his necke tied with a chaine unto the stake, the which chaine when he beheld, finding he said, that he would willingly receiue the same chaine for Iesus Christs sake, who, he knew, was bound with a farre worse chaine. After his feet they set two fagots, admixing straw withall, and so likewise from the feet up to the chin he was inclosed in round about with wood. But before the wood was

John Hus fastened to the stake  
John Hus turned towards the West.

## The description of the burning of Iohn Hus, contrary to the safe conduct granted unto him.





Parson offered againe to Iohn Hus.

The last contention of Iohn Hus.

The martyrdom of blessed Iohn Hus.

Preious in the light of the Lord is the death of his Saints.

The heart of Iohn Hus beaten with stones, and consumed with fire. The ashes of Iohn Hus cast into the river of Rheine.

The author and witness of this story.

So Iohn Pizibram is thought to be his name. Ex Cochleo lib. 2. de Hist. Hussit.

set on fire. Lodowicus duke of Warbaria, with another gentleman with him, which was the sonne of Clement, came and exhorted Iohn Hus, that he would not be mindfull of his safeguard, and renounce his errors. To whom he said, what creature should I renounce, when as I know my selfe guilty of none? For as for those things which are falsly alledged against me, I know that I never did so much as once think them, much lesse preach them. For this was the principall end and purpose of my doctrine, that I might teach all men penance and remission of sins, according to the verity of the Gospel of Iesus Christ, and the exposition of the holy doctors; wherefore with a cheerful minde and courage I am here ready to suffer death. When he had spoken these words, they left him, and taking hands together, they departed.

Then was the fire kindled, and Iohn Hus began to sing with a loud voice, Iesus Christ the sonne of the living God have mercy upon me. And when he began to say the same the third time, the wind drove the flame to upon his face, that it choked him. Yet notwithstanding he moved a while after, by the space that a man might almost say three times the Lords prayer. When all the wood was burned and consumed, the upper part of the body was left hanging in the chaine, the which they threw down stake and all, and making a new fire, burned it, the head being first cut in small goblets, that it might the sooner be consumed unto ashes. The heart, which was found amongst the bowels, being well beaten with staves and clubs, was at last pitched upon a sharpe stick, and rosted at a fire apart untill it was consumed. Then with great diligence gathering the ashes together, they cast them into the river of Rhene, that the least remnant of the ashes of that man should not be left upon the earth, whose memory notwithstanding cannot be abolished out of the minds of the goodly, neither by fire, neither by water, neither by any kinde of torment.

I know very well that these things are very slenderly written of me as touching the labours of this most holy Martyr Iohn Hus, with whom the labours of Hercules are not to be compared. For that ancient Hercules slew a few monsters; but this our Hercules with a most stout and valiant courage, hath subdued even the world it selfe, the mother of all monsters and cruell beasts. This story were worthy some other kind of more curious handling; but forsomuch as I cannot otherwise performe it my selfe, I have endeavoured according to the very truth, as the thing was indeed, to commend the same unto all goodly minds: neither have I heard it reported by others, but I my selfe was present at the doing of all these things; and as I was able, I have put them in writing, that by this my labour and endeavour, howsoever it were, I might preferre the memory of this holy man and excellent doctor of the Evangelicall truth.

What was the name of this author which wrote this story it is not here expressed. Cochleus in his 2. booke contra Hussitas, supposeth his name to be Ioannes Pizibram, a Bohemian. Who afterward succeeding in the place of Iohn Hus at Prague, at last is thought to relent to the papists.

This holy Servant and Martyr of Christ was condemned by the cruell Councell, and burned at Constance, Anno 1415, about the moneth of July.

How grievously this death of Iohn Hus was taken among the nobles of Boheme and of Moravia, hereafter (Christ willing) shall appeare by their letters which they sent unto the Councell, and by the letters of Sigismund the king of Hungarie, written unto them. Wherein he labourerth, all that he can, to purge and excuse himselfe of Hus's death. Albeit he was not altogether free from that cruell fact, and innocent from that blood: yet notwithstanding he

pretendeth in words so to wipe away that blot from him, that the greatest part of that crime seemeth to rest upon the bloody Decretals of that Councell, as the words of the king do purport in forme as followeth.

*Interea (inquit) nobis adhuc in partibus Rheni exsistentibus, pervenit ad Constantiam, &c. i.* In the meane time as wee were about the coasts of Rhene, Iohn Hus went to Constance, and there was arrested, as is not to you unknowne. Who if he had first resorted unto us, and had gone with us up to the Councell, perhaps it had bene otherwise with him. And God knoweth what griefe and sorrow it was to our heart, to see it so to fall out, as with no words can be well expressed. Whereof all the Bohemians, which were there present, can beare us witness, seeing and beholding how carefull and solicitous we were in labouring for him: Insomuch that we many times with anger and fury departed out of the Councell; and not onely out of the Councell, but also went out of the city of Constance taking his part, unto such time as the rulers of the Councell sending unto us, said; That if we would not permit them to prosecute that which right required in the Councell, what should they then doe in the place? Whereupon thus we thought with our selves, that here was nothing else for us more to doe, nor yet to speake in this case, forasmuch as the whole Councell otherwise had bene dissolved. Where is to be noted moreover, that in Constance the same time there was not one clerke, or two, but there were Ambassadors from all Kings and Princes in Christendom, especially, since the time that (Petrus de Luna giving over) all those Kings and Princes which took his part, came to us; so that whatsoever good was to be done, it was now to be passed in this present Councell, &c. Ex Regist. Imp. Sigismund, ad Nobiles, &c.

By this it may appeare that the Emperour, as partly ashamed and sorry of that which was would gladly have cleared himselfe thereof, and have washed his hands with Pilate; yet he could not so cleare himselfe, but that a great portion of that murder remained in him to be noted, and well worthy of reprehension, as may appeare by his last words spoken in the Councell to Iohn Hus, whereof Iohn Hus in his Epistles complaineth, writing to certaine of his friends in Bohemie in his 33. Epistle, as by his words here following may appeare.

I Desire you yet againe for the love of God, that the Lords of Boheme joyning together will desire the king for a final audience to be given me. Forsomuch as he alone said to me in the Councell, that they should give me audience shortly, and that I should answer for my selfe briefly in writing: it will be to his great confusion, if he shall not performe that which he hath spoken. But I feare that word of his will be as firme and sure, as the other was concerning my safe conduct granted by him. Certaine there were in Bohemia, which willed me to beware of his safe conduct. And other said, he will surely give you to your enemies. And the Lord Mikael Dwakie told me before M. Iessnitz, saying, master, know it for certaine you shall be condemned. And this I suppose he spake, knowing before the intention of the King. I hoped well that he had bene well affected toward the Law of God and the truth, and had therein good intelligence: now I conceive that he is not greatly skilfull, nor so prudently circumspect in himselfe. He condemned me before mine enemies did. Who if it had pleased him, might have kept the moderation of Pilate the Gentile, which said: I finde no cause in this man; or at least if he had said but thus, Behold, I have given him his safe conduct safely to returne. And if he will not abide the decision of the Councell, I will send him home to the

KING? HEN. 5. Ex Cochleo de Hist. Hussit. lib. 4.

The Emperour excuseth himselfe of the death of Iohn Hus.

Ex Epist. Ioh. Hus 33.

The Emperour uncourteous to Iohn Hus.

Pilate more moderate to Christ than this Emperour to Iohn Hus.



**THE KING** the King of Bohemia with your sentence and attestations, that hee with his Clergy may judge him. But now I heare by the relation of Henry Lessi, and of other, that hee will ordaine for me sufficient audience; And if I will not submit my selfe to the judgement of the Councell, hee will send mee safe, the contrary way, &c.

This Iohn Hus being in prison, wrote divers treatises, as of the Commandements, of the Lords Supper, of mortall sinne, of matrimony, of the knowledge and love of God, of three enemies of mankind, the world, and flesh, and the Devill, of Penance, of the Sacrament of the body and blood of the Lord, of the sufficiency of the Law of God to rule the Church, &c. He wrote also divers Epistles and letters to the lords, and to his friends of Bohemia; And in his writings did foreshew many things before to come, touching the reformation of the Church; and saemeth in the prison to have had divers propheticall revelations shewed to him of God. Certaine of which his letters and predictions, I thought here underneath to insert, in such sort, as neither in reciting all I will overcharge the volume too much; nor yet in reciting of none will I bee so briefe, but that the reader may have some taste, and take some profit of the Christian writings and doings of this blessed man; First beginning with the letter of the lord Clum, concerning the safe-conduct of Iohn Hus.

#### A letter of the Lord Iohn de Clum, concerning the safe-conduct of Iohn Hus.

To all and singular that shall see and heare these presents, I Iohn de Clum doe it to understand; how Master Iohn Hus bachelor of Divinity, under the safe conduct and protection of the renowned Prince and Lord Sigismund of Romans, semper Augustus, and King of Hungary, &c. My gracious Lord, and under the protection, defence, and safeguard of the holy Empire of Rome, having the letters patent of the said my Lord King of Romans, &c. Came unto Constance to render a full count of his faith in publike audience to all that would require the same. This the said Master Iohn Hus, in this Imperiall City of Constance, under the safeconduct of the said my Lord King of Romans, hath been and yet is detained. And although the Pope with the Cardinalls have bene seriously required by solemne Ambassadors of the said my Lord King of Romans, &c. in the Kings Name and behalfe, that the said Master Iohn Hus should bee set at liberty, and bee restored unto mee, yet notwithstanding, they have and yet doe refuse hitherto to set him at liberty, to the great contempt and derogation of the safe-conduct of the King, and of the safeguard and protection of the Empire, or Imperiall Majesty. Wherefore I Iohn aforesaid, in the name of the King, doe here publish and make it knowne, that the apprehending, and detaining of the said Master Iohn Hus was done wholly against the will of the forenamed King of Romans my Lord, seeing it is done in the contempt of the safe-conduct of his subjects, and of the protection of the Empire, because that the said my Lord was then absent farre from Constance, and if hee had bene there present, would never have permitted the same. And when hee shall come, it is to bee doubted of no man, but that he, for this great injury and contempt of this safe-conduct done to him and to the Empire, will grievously be molested for the same.

Given at Constance, in the day of the nativity of the Lord, 1414.

In this instrument abovesayd prefixed note (gentle Reader) three things.

First, the godnesse of this gentle lord Iohn de Clum, being so fervent and zealous in the cause of Iohn Hus, or rather in the cause of Christ.

Secondly, the safe-conduct granted unto the said Iohn Hus, under the faith and protection of the Emperour, and of the Empire.

Thirdly, here is to be seene the contempt and rebellion of these proud prelates, in disobeying the authority of their high magistrate, who contrary to his safe-conduct given, and the minde of the Emperour, did arrest and imprison this good man, before the coming of the said Emperour, and before that Iohn Hus was heard. Let us now, as we have promised, adovne some of the Epistles of this goodly man.

#### An Epistle of Iohn Hus, unto the people of Prague, in his owne vulgar speech.

Grace and peace from our Lord Iesus Christ, that you being delivered from sinne may walke in his grace, and may grow in all modesty and vertue, and after this may enjoy eternal life.

A letter of Iohn Hus to the people of Prague.

Dearly beloved, I beseech you which walke after the law of God, that you cast not away the care of the salvation of your soules, when as you hearing the Word of God are premonished wisely to understand that you bee not deceived by false Apostles; which doe not reprehend the sinnes of men, but rather doe extenuate and diminish them; which flatter the priests, and doe not shew to the people their offences; which magnifie themselves, boast their owne workes, and marvellously extoll their owne worthinesse, but follow not Christ in his humility, in poverty, in the crosse and other manifold afflictions. Of whom our mercifull Saviour did premonish us before, saying; False Christs and false Prophets shall rise, and shall deceive many. And when hee had forewarned his welbeloved disciples, hee said unto them, Beware and take heed of false prophets, which come to you in sheepes clothing, but inwardly are ravening wolves: yee shall know them by their fruits. And truth it is, that the faithfull of Christ have much need diligently to beware and take heed unto themselves. For as our Saviour himselfe doth say, the elect also, if it were possible, shall bee brought into error. Wherefore my welbeloved, bee circumspect and watchfull, that yee bee not circumvented with the crafty traines of the devill. And the more circumspect yee ought to bee, for that Antichrist laboureth the more to trouble you. The last judgement is neere at hand: death shall swallow up many, but to the elect children of God the kingdome of God draweth neere, because for them hee gave his owne body. Feare not death, love together one another, persevere in understanding the good will of God without ceasing. Let the terrible and horrible day of judgement be always before your eyes, that you sinne not; and also the joy of eternall life, whereunto you must endeavour. Furthermore, let the passion of our Saviour bee never out of your mindes; that you may beare with him, and for him gladly, whatsoever shall be laid upon you. For if you shall consider well in your mindes his crosse and afflictions, nothing shall be grievous unto you, and patiently you shall give place to tribulations, cursings, rebukes, stripes, and prisonment, and shall not doubt to give your lives morever for his holy truth, if neede require. Know yee welbeloved, that Antichrist being stirred up against you, deviseth divers persecutions. And many hee hath not hurt, no not the least haire of their heads, as by mine owne example I can testifie, although hee hath bene vehemently incensed against mee. Wherefore I desire you all, with your prayers to make intercession for mee to the Lord, to give mee intelligence, suffrance, patience and constancie, that I never swarve from his divine verity. Hee hath brought mee now to Constance. In all my journey, openly and manifestly, I have not feared to utter my name as becometh the servant of God. In no place I kept my selfe secret, nor used any dissimulation. But never did I find in any place more pestilent and manifest enemies than at Constance.

Which



Which enemies neither should I have had there, had it not bene for certaine of our owne Bohemians, hypocrites and deceivers, who for benefites received, and stirred up with covetousnesse, with boasting and bragging have perwaded the people that I went about to seduce them out of the right way: But I am in good hope, that through the mercy of our God, and by your prayers, I shall persist strongly in the immutable verity of God unto the last breath. Finally, I would not have you ignorant, that whereas every one here is put in his office, I onely as an outcast am neglected, &c. I commend you to the mercifull Lord Iesus Christ, our true God, and the Sonne of the immaculate Virgin Mary, which hath redeemed us by his most bitter death, without all our merits, from eternall paines, from the thraldome of the devill, and from sinne.

From Constance the yere of our Lord, 1415.

### Another letter of Iohn Hus to his Benefactors.

Another letter of Iohn Hus.

MY gracious Benefactors and defenders of the truth, I exhort you by the bowells of Iesus Christ, that now yee setting aside the vanities of this present world, will give your service to the Eternall King, Christ the Lord. Trust not in Princes, nor in the sonnes of men, in whom there is no health. For the sonnes of men are dissemblers and deceitfull. To day they are, tomorrow they perish, but God remaineth for ever. Who hath his servants, not for any neede hee hath of them, but for their owne profit: unto whom hee performeth that which hee promisseth, and fulfilleth that which hee purporeth to give. He casteth off no faithfull servant from him; for hee saith; Where I am, there also shall my servant bee. And the Lord maketh every servant of his to be the lord of all his possession, giving himselfe unto him, and with himselfe, all things; that without all tediousnesse, feare, and without all defect hee may possesse all things, rejoycing with all Saints in joy infinite. O happy is that servant, whom, when the Lord shall come, hee shall finde watching. Happy is the servant which shall receive that King of glory with joy. Wherefore welbeloved Lords, and benefactors, serve you that King in feare; which shall bring you, as I trust, now to Boheme at this present by his grace in health, and hereafter, to eternall life of glory. Fare you well, for I thinke that this is the last letter that I shall write to you; who to morrow, as I suppose, shall bee purged in hope of Iesus Christ, through bitter death for my sinnes. The things that happened to mee this night I am not able to write. Sigismund hath done all things with mee deceitfully. God forgive him, and onely for your sakes. You also heard the sentence which he awarded against me. I pray you have no suspicion of faithfull vicis.

### Another letter to the lord Iohn de Clum.

Another letter of Iohn Hus.

MOST gracious benefactor in Christ Iesus, dearly beloved, yet I rejoyce not a little, that by the grace of God I may write unto your honour. By your letter, which I received yesterday; I understand, first how the iniquity of the great strumpet, that is, of the malignant congregation (whereof mention is made in the Apocalyps) is detected, and shall bee more detected. With the which strumpet the Kings of the earth doe commit fornication, fornicating spiritually from Christ, and as is there said, sliding backe from the truth; and consenting to the lies of Antichrist, through his seduction and through feare, or through hope of confederacy, for getting of worldly honour. Secondly, I perceived by your letter, how the enemies of the truth begin now to bee troubled. Thirdly, I perceived the fetted constancy of your charity, wherewith you proffesse the truth bodily. Fourthly, with joy I perceived

that you minde now to give over the vanity and painfull service of this present world, and to serve the Lord Iesus Christ quietly at home. Whom to serve is to raigne, as Gregory saith. Whom he that serveth faithfully, hath Iesus Christ himselfe in the kingdome of heaven to minister unto him, as he himselfe saith. Blessed is that servant, whom when the Lord shall come, hee shall finde waking, and so doing. Verily I say unto you, that he rising shall gird himselfe, and shall minister to him. This do not the Kings of the world to their servants; whom onely they do love so long as they are profitable and necessary for their commodities, &c.

Another Epistle of Iohn Hus, wherein he declareth why God suffereth not his to perish, bringing divers examples, wherewith he doth comfort and confirme both himselfe and other.

THE Lord God be with you. Many causes there were, welbeloved in God my deare friends, which moved mee to thinke that those letters were the last, which before I sent unto you, looking that same time for instant death. But now understanding the same to bee deferred, I take it for great comfort unto mee, that I have some leisure more to talke with you by letters; and therefore I write againe to you, to declare and testifie at least my gratitude and mindfull duty toward you. And as touching death, God doth know why hee doth deferre it both to mee, and to my welbeloved brother Master Ierom, who I trust will die holily and without blame; and doe know also that hee doth, and suffereth now more valiantly, than I my selfe a wretched sinner. God hath given us a long time, that we might call to memory our sinnes the better, and repent for the same more fervently. Hee hath granted us time, that our long and great temptation should put away our grievous sinnes, and bring the more consolation. Hee hath given us time, wherein wee should remember the horrible rebukes of our mercifull King and Lord Iesus, and should ponder his cruell death, and so more patiently might learne to beare our afflictions. And moreover that wee might keepe in remembrance, how that the joyes of the life to come are not given after the joyes of this world immediately, but through many tribulations the saints have entred into the kingdome of heaven. For some of them have bene cut and chopt all to pieces, some their eyes bored through, some sod, some roasted, some flaine alive, some buried quicke, stoned, crucified, grinded betwixt millstones, drawne and hailed hither and thither unto execution, drowned in waters, strangled and hanged, torne in pieces, vexed with rebukes before their death, pined in prisons, and afflicted in bands. And who is able to recite all the torments and sufferings of the holy saints, which they suffered under the old and new Testament for the verity of God; namely, those which have at any time rebuked the malice of the priests, or have preached against their wickednesse? And it will bee a marvell if any man now also shall escape unpunished, whosoever dare boldly resist the wickednesse and perversitie, especially of those priests, which can abide no correction. And I am glad that they are compelled now to reade my bookes, in the which their malice is somewhat described; and I know they have read the same more exactly and willingly, than the holy Gospell, seeking therein to finde out errors. Given at Constance upon Thursday, the 28. day of Iune, Anno 1415.

Another letter of Iohn Hus, wherein he rehearseth what injuries hee received of the Council, and of the Deputies.

IF my letter be not yet sent to Boheme, keepe it and send it not, for hurt may come thereof, &c.  
Item, if the King doe aske, who ought to bee my Iudge, since that the Councell neither did call mee,

{KING}  
{HEN. 5.}

The torments of the martyrs under the old and new Testament.

We meane to be like that hee should move the king in these matters contained in this Epistle.

nor



{KING  
HEN. 5.}

nor did cite mee, neither was I ever accused before the Councell, and yet the Councell hath imprisoned mee, and hath appointed their proctor against me.

Item, I desire you right noble and gracious Lord Iohn, if audience shall bee given mee, that the King will bee there present himselfe, and that I may have a place appointed neere unto him, that hee may heare mee well, and understand what I say; and that you also with the Lord Henry, and with Lord Wencelaus and other mo, if you may, will bee present, and heare what the Lord Iesus Christ, my procurator and advocate, and most gracious Iudge, will put in my mouth to speak, that whether I live or die, you may bee true and upright witnesses with me, lest lying lips shall say hereafter that I swarved away from the truth which I have preached.

Item, know you that before witnesses and notaries in prison, I desired the commissioners that they would depute unto mee a proctor and an advocate, who promised so to doe, and afterward would not performe it. Wherefore I have committed my selfe to the Lord Iesus Christ, that he will be my procurator and advocate and Iudge of my cause.

Item, know you, that they have as I suppose no other quarrell against mee, but onely this, that I stood against the Popes bull, which Pope Iohn sent downe to Boheme, to sanctifie warre with the signe of the crosse and full remission of finnes to all them which would take the holy crosse, to fight for the patrimony of the Romish Church against Ladislaus king of Naples, and they have mine owne writing which was read against mee, and I doe acknowledge it to bee mine. Secondly, they have also against mee, that I have continued so long in excommunication, and yet did take upon me to minister in the Church and say Masse. Thirdly, they have against mee, because I did appeale from the Pope to Christ. For they read my appeale before me, the which with a willing mind, smiling, I confessed before them all to bee mine. Fourthly, because I left a certaine letter behinde mee, which was read in the Church of Bethleem, the which letter my adversaries have very evilfavouredly translated, and sinisterly expounded, in the which I did write that I went out with a safe-conduct. Whereunto you your selves can say and beare mee record, that I in my going out had no safe-conduct of the Pope, neither yet did I know whether you should goe out with mee when I wrote that letter.

Item, if audience may be given to me, and that after the same audience the King would suffer mee not to bee returned againe into prison, but that I may have your counsels and others my friends; and if it may please God that I may say something to my soveraigne Lord the King, for the behalfe of Christianity, and for his owne profit, &c.

*Another letter of Iohn Hus, wherein hee confis-  
meth the Bohemians, and describeth the wic-  
kednesse of that Councell.*

Iohn Hus, in hope the servant of God, to all the faithfull in Boheme, which love the Lord, greeting through the grace of God. It commeth in my minde, wherein I must needs admonish you, that bee the faithfull and beloved of the Lord, how that the Councell of Constance being full of pride, avarice, and all abomination, hath condemned my bookes written in the Boheme tongue for hereticall, which bookes they never saw, nor ever heard them read. And if they had heard them, yet they could not understand the same, being some Italians, some Frenchmen, some Brittaines, some Spaniards, Germanes, with other people of other nations moe; unlesse peradventure Iohn Bishop of Litomish understood them, which was present in that Councell, and certaine other Bohemians, and priests which are against mee, and labour all they may how to deprave both the verity of GOD, and the honesty of

our country of Boheme. Which I judge in the hope of God, to bee a godly land, right well given to the true knowledge of the faith, for that it doth so greatly desire the Word of God, and honest manners. And if you were here at Constance, ye should see the grievous abomination of this Councell, which they call so holy, and such as cannot erre. Of the which Councell I have heard it by the Swechers reported, that the City of Constance is not able in thirty yeare to be purged of those abominations in that Councell committed. And all bee offended almost with that Councell, being sore grieved to behold such execrable things perpetrate in the same.

When I stood first to answer before mine adversaries, seeing all things there done with no order, and hearing them also outrageously crying out, I said plainly unto them, that I looked for more honest behaviour, and better order and discipline in that Councell. Then the chiefe Cardinall answered, sayest thou so? But in the Tower thou spakest more modestly. To whom said I, In the Tower no man cried out against mee, whereas now all doe rage against mee, My faithfull and beloved in Christ, bee not afraid with their sentence in condemning my bookes. They shall bee scattered hither and thither abroad, like light butterflies, and their statutes shall endure as Spider-webs. They went about to shake my constancy from the verity of Christ: but they could not overcome the verue of God in me. They would not reason with the Scriptures against mee, as diverse honourable lords can witness with me, which being ready to suffer contumely for the truth of God, tooke my part stoutly; namely lord Wenceslaus de Duba, and lord Iohn de Clum: for they were let in by King Sigismund into the Councell. And when I said, that I was desirous to be instructed, if I did in any thing erre; then they heard the chiefe Cardinall answer againe; Because thou wouldest be informed, there is no remedy but that thou must first revoke thy doctrine, according to the determination of fiftie Bachelers of Divinity appointed. O high instruction!

After like manner S. Katherine also should have denied and revoked the verity of God and faith in Christ, because the fiftie Masters likewise did withstand her: which notwithstanding, that good virgin would never doe, standing in her faith unto death: But shee did winne those her Masters unto Christ, when as I cannot winne these my Masters by any meanes. These things I thought good to write unto you, that you might know how they have overcome me, with no grounded Scripture, nor with any reason: but onely did assay with terrors and deceits to perswade mee to revoke and to abjure. But our mercifull God, whose law I have magnified, was and is with mee, and I trust, so will continue, and will keepe me in his grace unto death. Written at Constance after the feast of Iohn Baptist, in prison and in bands, daily looking for death; although for the secret judgements of God, I dare not say whether this bee my last Epistle: for now also Almighty God is able to deliver me.

*Another letter of Iohn Hus, wherein he com-  
forteth his friends, and willet them not to bee  
troubled for the condemning of his bookes:  
and also declareth the wickednesse  
of the Clergy.*

After Iohn Hus, in hope the servant of God, to all the faithfull which love him and his statutes witheth the truth and grace of God,  
Beloved, I thought it needfull to warne that you should not feare or bee discouraged because the adversaries have decreed that my bookes shall be burnt. Remember how the Israelites burned the preachings of the Prophet Ieremy, and yet they could not avoid the things that were prophesied of in them. For after they were burnt, the Lord commanded to write the

The abomina-  
tion of the  
council of  
Constance de-  
scribed.

Iohn Hus seer-  
meth here to  
prophecy of the  
council, as it  
came to passe.  
The council  
afraid to be  
cried by the  
Scriptures.

This cardinal  
was cardinall  
Cambresio.

Saint Katha-  
rine disputed  
with fiftie do-  
ctors, conver-  
ted them; but  
Iohn Hus  
could not con-  
vert his fiftie  
doctors.

Vid. supra  
pag. 551.

Another letter  
of Iohn Hus.

The Councell  
condemne  
bookes which  
they understand  
not.

Præf. of Bo-  
hemia.

Good bookes  
of good men  
have beene bur-  
ned of old  
times.



the same prophecies againe, and that larger; which was also done. For Ieremie sitting in prison spake, and Baruch which was ready at his hand, wrote. This is written either in the thirty five or forty five Chapter of the vision of Ieremy. It is also written in the bookes of the Machabees, that the wicked did burne the Law of G O D, and killed them that had the same. Againe, under the New Testament, they burned the Saints, with the bookes of the Law of G O D. The Cardinals condemned and committed to fire certaine of Saint Gregories bookes, and had burnt them all if they had not bene preserved of G O D by the meanes of Peter, Gregories minister. Having these things before your eyes, take heed lest through feare you omit to reade my bookes, and deliver them to the adversaries to be burnt. Remember the sayings of our mercifull Saviour, by which hee forwarneth us, Matthew, 24. There shall bee (saith hee) before the day of Iudgement, great tribulation, such as was not from the beginning, untill this day, neither shall bee afterwards: So that even the elect of God should bee deceived, if it were possible. But for their sakes those dayes shall bee thorned. When you remember these things (beloved) bee not afraid, for I trust in G O D that that schoole of Antichrist shall bee afraid of you, and suffer you to bee in quiet, neither shall the Councell of Constance extend to Bohemia. For I thinke, that many of them which are of the Councell, shall die before they shall get from you my bookes. And they shall depart from the Councell and bee scattered abroad, throughout the parts of the world, like storks, and then they shall know when Winter cometh, what they did in Summer. Consider that they have judged their head the Pope worthy of death, for many horrible facts that he hath done. Goe to now; Answer to this you preachers, which preach that the Pope is the god of the earth, that hee may, as the lawyers say, make sale of the holy things; that hee is the head of the whole holy Church in verity well governing the same; that hee is the heart of the Church in quickning the same spiritually: that hee is the well-spring from which floweth all vertue and goodnesse: that hee is the sunne of the holy Church: that hee is the safe refuge to which every Christian man ought to flee for succour. Behold now that head is cut off with the sword, now the god of the earth is bound, now his finnes are declared openly, now that well-spring is dried up, that sunne darkened, that heart is plucked out and thrown away, lest that any man should seeke succour thereat. The Councell hath condemned that head, and that for this offence, because hee tooke money for Indulgences, Bishopricks and other such like. But they condemned him by order of judgement which were themselves the buyers and sellers of the same merchandise. There was present Iohn Bishop of Lytomisia, who went twice about to buy the Bishopricke of Prage, but others prevented him. O wicked men, why did they not first cast out the beame out of their owne eyes? These men have accursed and condemned the seller, but they themselves which were the buyers and consenters to the bargain, are without danger. What shall I say, that they doe use this manner of buying and selling at home in their owne Countries? For at Constance there is one Bishop that bought, and another which sold, and the Pope for allowing of both their facts tooke bribes on both sides. It came so to passe in Bohemia also as you know. I would that in that Councell God had said, Hee that amongst you is without sinne let him give the sentence against Pope Iohn: Then surely they had gone all out of the Councell house, one after another. Why did they bow the knee to him alwayes, before this his fall, kisse his feete, and call him the most holy father, seeing they saw apparently before, that hee was an heretike, that hee was a man killer, that he was a wicked sinner, all which things now they have found in him? Why did the Cardinals chuse him to be Pope, knowing before

that hee had killed the holy father? Why suffered they him to meddle with holy things, in bearing the office of the Popedome? for to this end they are his counsellors, that they should admonish him of that which is right. Are not they themselves as guilty of these faults as he? seeing that they accounted these things vices in him, and were partakers of some of them themselves? Why durst no man lay ought to his charge, before hee had fled from Constance, but as soone as the secular power, by the sufferance of God, laid hold upon him, then, and never afore, they conspired all together that he should not live any longer? Surely, even at this day is the malice, the abomination and filthinesse of Antichrist revealed in the Pope and others of this Councell.

Now the faithfull servants of G O D may understand what our Saviour Christ meant by this saying; When you shall see the abomination of desolation, which is spoken of by Daniel, &c. who so can understand it, &c. Surely, these be great abominations, pride, covetousnesse, simony, sitting in a solitary place, that is to say, in a dignity void of goodnesse, of humility, and other vertues; as wee doe now clearly see in those that are constituted in any office and dignity. O how acceptable a thing should it bee (if time would suffer mee) to disclose their wicked acts, which are now apparant, that the faithfull servants of God might know them? I trust in God that hee will send after mee those that shall bee more valiant; and there are alive at this day, that shall make more manifest the malice of Antichrist and shall give their lives to the death for the truth of our Lord Iesus Christ, who shall give both to you and me the joyes of life everlasting. This Epistle was written upon S. Iohn Baptists day, in prison and in cold irons, I having this meditation with my selfe, that Iohn was beheaded in his prison and bonds, for the word of God.

#### Another letter of Iohn Hus.

Iohn Hus in hope the servant of G O D, to all the faithfull at Boheme, which love the Lord, wisheth to stand and die in the grace of God, and at last to attain unto eternall life.

Ye that beare rule over other and be rich, and yee also that bee poore, welbeloved and faithfull in God, I beseech you, and admonish you all, that yee will be obedient unto God, make much of his Word, and gladly hearing the same, will humbly performe that which ye heare. I beseech you sticke fast to the verity of Gods Word, which I have written and preached unto you out of his law, and the sermons of his saints. Also I desire you if any man either in publike sermon, or in private talke heard of me any thing, or have read any thing written by me which is against the verity of God, that he do not follow the same, Albeit I doe not finde my conscience guilty that I ever have spoken or written any such thing amongst you.

I desire you moreover if any man at any time have noted any levity either in my talke or in my conditions, that hee doe not follow the same; but pray to G O D for mee, to pardon me that sinne of lightnesse. I pray you that yee will love your priests and ministers, which be of honest behaviour, to preferre and honour them before others; namely such priests as travell in the word of God. I pray you take heede to your selves and beware of malicious and deceitfull men, and especially of these wicked priests of whom our Saviour dorth speake; that they are under sheepes clothing, and inwardly are ravening wolves. I pray such as bee rulers and superiours, to behave themselves gently towards their poore inferiours, and to rule them justly. I beseech the citizens that they will walke every man in his degree and vocation with an upright conscience. The Artificers also I beseech, that they will exercise their occupations diligently, and use them with the feare of G O D. I beseech the servants, that they will serve their masters faithfully. And likewise

SKING  
HEN. 5.

Antichrist, not  
first beginner  
to be revealed  
in the pope.

A prophetic  
Iohn Hus.

Good men  
with their  
bookes to be  
burned no  
newes.

Iohn Hus seeth  
with prophetic  
of the council  
of Constance.

The blasphemous  
opinion  
of Lawyers  
and papists  
touching the  
soveraignty of  
the Pope.

One Simonist  
condemned  
another.

The bishops of  
the council noted  
of among.

Pope Iohn  
made a pope  
being knowne  
to be a murderer.



KING  
HEN. 5.

wife the schoolemasters I beseech, that they living honestly will bring up their scholars virtuously, and teach them faithfully, first to learne to feare God; then for the glory of God and the publike utility of the common-wealth, and their owne health, and not for avarice or for worldly honour, to employ their mindes to honest Arts. I beseech the Students of the Vniuersity and all schooles, in all honest things to obey their masters, and to follow them, and that with all diligence they will study to be profitable both to the setting forth of the glory of God, and to the soules health, as well of themselves, as of other men. Together I beseech and pray you all, that you will yeeld most hearty thanks to the right honourable lords, the lord Wencelass de Duba, lord Iohn de Clum, lord Henry Lumlovio, lord Vilem Zagecio, lord Nicolas, and other lords of Boheme, of Moravia and Polonie; that their diligence towards mee may bee gratefull to all good men; because that they, like valiant champions of Gods truth, have oftentimes set themselves against the whole Councell for my deliverance, contending and standing against the same to the uttermost of their power; but especially L. Wencelans de Duba, and lord Iohn de Clum. Whatsoever they shall report unto you, give credit unto them; for they were in the Councell when I there answered many. They know who they were of Bohemia, and how many false and slanderous things they brought in against me, and that Councell cried out against me, and how I also answered to all things whereof I was demanded. I beseech you also that ye will pray for the King of Romans, and for your King, and for his wife your Queene, that God of his mercy would abide with them and with you, both now and henceforth in everlasting life, Amen.

This Epistle I have written to you out of prison and in bonds, looking the next day after the writing hereof for the sentence of the Councell upon my death; having a full trust that he will not leave me, neither suffer me to denie his truth and to revoke the errors, which false witneses maliciously have devised against me. How mercifully the Lord God hath dealt with me, and was with me in marvellous temptations, ye shall know when as hereafter by the helpe of Christ we shall all meet together in the joy of the world to come. As concerning M. Hierome my dearly beloved brother and fellow, I heare no other but that he is remaining in strait bonds, looking for death as I doe; and that for the faith which he valiantly maintained amongst the Bohemians, our cruell enemies of Boheme have given us into the power and hands of other enemies, and into bands. I beseech you pray to God for them.

Moreover, I beseech you, namely you of Prage, that yee will love the temple of Bethleem, and provide so long as God shall permit, that the Word of God may be preached in the same. For, because of that place, the diuell is angry, and against the same place he hath stirred up Priests and Canons, perceiving that in that place his kingdome should be disturbed and diminished. I trust in God that he will keepe that holy church so long as it shall please him, and in the same shall give greater increase of his word by other, than he hath done by me a weake vessell. I beseech you also, that ye will love one another, and withholding no man from the hearing of Gods word, ye will provide and take care that good men be not oppressed by any force and violence. Written at Constance, the yeere of our Lord, 1415.

¶ Another right godly letter of Iohn Hus to a certaine Priest, admonishing him of his office, and exhorting him to be faithfull; Worthy to be read of all Ministers.

The peace of our Lord Iesus Christ, &c. My deare brother be diligent in preaching the Gospell, and do the worke of a good Evangelist; neglect not your

vocation; labour like Iohannis the sonne of Christ, and live godly and honestly. Secondly, teach faithfully and truly. Thirdly, be an example to others in well doing, that you be not reprehended in your sayings, correct vice and set forth vertue. To evil liuers threaten eternal punishment, but to those that be faithfull and godly, set forth the comforts of eternal joy. Preach continually, but be short and fruitfull, prudently understanding, and discreetly dispensing the holy Scriptures. Never affirme or maintaine those things that be uncertaine and doubtfull, lest that your adversaries take hold upon you, which rejoyce in depraving their brethren, whereby they may bring the Ministers of God into contempt. Exhort men to the confession of their faith, and to the communion of both kinds, both of the body and blood of Christ, whereby such as doe repent earnestly of their sinnes, may the more often come to the holy communion. And I warne you that you enter into no tavernes with guests, and be not a common company-keeper. For the more a preacher keepeth him from the company of men, the more he is regarded. Albeit, deny not yet your helpe and diligence, wheresoever you may profit other. Against fleshly lust preach continually all that ever you can; For that is the raging beast, which devoureth men, for whom the flesh of Christ did suffer. Wherefore my heartily beloved, I beseech you to flee fornication; for whereas a man would most profit and doe good, there this vice useth most to lurke. In any case flee the company of young women, and believe not their devotion; For S. Austin saith; the more devout she is, the more proclive to wantonnesse, and under the pretence of religion the snare and venome of fornication lurketh. And this know my welbeloved, that the conversation with them subverteth many, whom the conversation of this world could never blemish nor beguile. Admit no women into your house, for what cause soever it be, and have not much talke with them otherwise, for avoiding of offence. Finally, howsoever you do, feare God and keep his precepts; so shall you walk wisely, and shall not perish; so shall you subdue the flesh, contemne the world, and overcome the diuell; so shall you put on God, finde life, and confirme other, and shall crowne your selfe with the crowne of glory, the which the iust Iudge shall give you. Amen.

¶ This letter of Iohn Hus containeth a confession of the infirmity of mans flesh, how weak it is, and repugnant against the spirit. Wherein he also exhorteth to persevere constantly in the truth.

Health be to you from Iesus Christ, &c. My deare friend, know that Paletz came to me to perswade me that I should not feare the shame of abjuration, but to consider the good which thereof will come. To whom I said, that the shame of condemnation and burning is greater than to abjure; and why should I feare then that shame? But I pray you tell me plainly your mind; Presuppofe that such articles were laid to you, which you knew your selfe not to be true; what would you do in that case? would you abjure? Who answered; The case is sore, and began to weep. Many other things he spake which I did reprehend. Michael de causis was sometimes before in the prison with the deputies. And when I was with the deputies, thus I heard him speak unto the keepers, We by the grace of God will burne this heretike shortly, for whose cause I have spent many Florenes. But yet understand that I write not this to the intent to revenge me of him, for that I have committed to God, and pray to God for him with all my heart.

Yet I exhort you againe, to be circumspect about our letters. For Michael hath taken such order, that none shall be suffered to come into the prison; no nor yet the keepers wives are permitted to come to me.

S. Augustine meaneth not here of all, but of the common sort of light persons.

This Paletz was the chiefest enemy of Iohn Hus, and procurer of his death.

Michael de causis another bitter enemy of Iohn Hus. Iohn Hus prayeth for his enemies.

A prophete of Iohn Hus.

A note for all able men to mark and to follow.

27

A worthy lesson for all ministers and prelates.



O holy God, how largely doth Antichrist extend his power and cruelty. But I trust that his power shall be shortened, and his iniquity shall be detected more and more amongst the faithful people.

Almighty God shall confirm the hearts of his faithful, whom he hath chosen before the constitution of the world, that they may receive the eternal crowne of glory. And let Antichrist rage so much as he will, yet he shall not prevaile against Christ, which shall destroy him with the spirit of his mouth, as the Apostle saith; and then shall the creature be delivered out of servitude of corruption, into the liberty of the glory of the sonnes of God, as saith the Apostle in the words following. We also within our selves do groane, waiting for the adoption of the sonnes of God, the redemption of our body.

I am greatly comforted in those words of our Saviour, Happy be you when men shall hate you, and shall separate you, and shall rebuke you, and shall cast out your name as execrable, for the sonne of man. Rejoyce and be glad, for behold, great is your reward in heaven, Luke 6. O worthy, yea O most worthy consolation, which not to understand, but to practise in time of tribulation, is a hard lesson.

This rule Saint Iames, with the other Apostles, did well understand, which saith, Count it exceeding joy my brethren, when ye shall fall into diverse temptations, knowing that the probation of your faith worketh patience; let patience have her perfect work. For certainly it is a great matter for a man to rejoyce in trouble, and to take it for joy to bee in diverse temptations. A light matter it is to speake it and to expound it; but a great matter to fulfill it. For why? our most patient and most valiant champion himselfe, knowing that he should arise againe the third day, overcoming his enemies by his death, and redeeming from damnation his elect after his last supper, was troubled in spirit and said, My soule is heavie unto death. Of whom also the Gospell saith, that he began to feare to be sad and heavie. Who being then in an agonie, was confirmed of the Angell, and his sweat was like the drops of blood falling upon the ground. And yet he notwithstanding, being so troubled, said to his disciples, Let not your hearts be troubled, neither feare the cruelty of them that persecute you, for you shall have me with you alwayes, that you may overcome the tyranny of your persecutors. Whereupon those his souldiers, looking upon the Prince and King of glory, sustained great conflicts. They passed thorow fire and water, and were saved, and received the crowne of the Lord God, of the which Saint Iames in his canonick Epistle, saith; Blessed is the man that suffereth temptation, for when he shall be proved, he shall receive the crowne of life, which God hath promised to them that love him. Of this crowne I trust stedfastly the Lord will make me partaker also with you, which be the fervent sealers of the truth, and with all them which stedfastly and constantly doe love the Lord Iesus Christ, which suffered for us, leaving to us example that we should follow his steps. It behoved him to suffer, as he saith, and us also it behoved to suffer, that the members may suffer together with the head. For he saith, If any man will come after me, let him denie himselfe, and take up his crosse, and follow me.

O most mercifull Christ, draw us weake creatures after thee, for except thou shouldest draw us, we are not able to follow thee. Give us a strong spirit, that it may be ready, and although the flesh be feeble, yet let thy grace goe before us, goe with us, and follow us; for without thee we can doe nothing, and much lesse enter into the cruell death for thy sake. Give us that prompt and ready spirit, a bold heart, an upright faith, a firme hope and perfect charity, that wee may give our lives patiently and joyfully for thy names sake, Amen. Written in prison and in bonds in the Vigil of holy S. Iohn the Baptist, who,

being in prison and in bonds for the rebuking of wickednesse, was beheaded.

{ KING  
HEN. 5.

Among divers other letters of John Hus, which he wrote to the great consolation of others; I thought also here to intermixe another certain godly letter written out of England, by a faithful scholar of Wickliffe, as appeareth unto John Hus and the Bohemians, which for the zealous affection therein contained, seemeth not unworthy to be read.

A letter of I. Hus, and to the Bohemians from London.

Greeting, and whatsoever can bee devised more sweet, in the bowels of Christ Iesus. My dearly beloved in the Lord, whom I love in the truth, and not I only, but also all they that have the knowledge of the truth; which abideth in you, and shall be with you through the grace of God for evermore. I rejoyced above measure, when our beloved brethren came and gave testimonie unto us of your truth, and how you walked in the truth. I have heard brethren how sharply Antichrist persecuteth you, in vexing the faithful servants of Christ with divers and strange kinds of afflictions. And surely no marvel, if amongst you (since it is so a most all the world over) the law of Christ be too too grievously impugned, and that red dragon having so many heads (of whom it is spoken in the Apocalyps) have now vomited out of his mouth that great flood, by which he goeth about to swallow up the woman; but the most gracious God will deliver for ever his only and most faithful spouse. Let us therefore comfort our selves in the Lord our God, and in his unmeasurable goodness, hoping strongly in him, which will not suffer those that love him to be unmercifully defrauded of any their purpose; if wee according to our dutie shall love him with all our heart; for adversitie should by no means prevaile over us, if there were no iniquitie reigning in us. Let therefore no tribulation or sorrow for Christs cause discourage us, knowing this for a surety, that whomsoever the Lord vouchsafeth to receive to be his children, those he scourgeth; for so the mercifull father will have them tried in this miserable life by persecutions, that afterwards he may spare them. For the gold that this high artificer hath chosen, he purgeth and trieth in this fire, that he may afterwards lay it up in his pure treasure. For we see that the time we shall abide here is short and transitorie; the life which wee hope for after this is blessed and everlasting. Therefore whilst we have time, let us take paine that we may enter into that rest. What other thing do we see in this battell life, than sorrow, heaviness and sadness, and that which is most grievous of all to the faithful, too much abusing and contempt of the law of the Lord? Let us therefore endeavour our selves, as much as we may, to lay hold of the things that are eternall and abiding, despising in our mindes all transitorie and fraile things. Let us consider the holy fellowship of our father that have gone before us. Let us consider the Saints of the old and new Testament. Did they not passe through this sea of tribulation and persecution? were not some of them cut in peeces, othersome stoned, and other of them killed with the sword? some others of them went about in pelts and goates skinned, as the Apostle to the Hebrews witnesseth. Surely they all walked straitwaies, following the steps of Christ, which said, Hee that minisreth unto me, let him follow me wherefoever I goe, &c. Therefore let us also, which have no nobler examples given us of the Saints that went before us, laying away, as much as in us lieth, the heave burden and the yoke of sinne which compasseth us about, runne forward through patience, to the battell that is set before us, fixing our eyes upon the Authour of Faith, and Iesus the Finisher of the same; who, seeing the joy that was set before him, suffered the paines of the crosse, despising death. Let us call upon him, which suffered such reproch against himselfe of sin-

A zealous letter of I. Hus from London

The example of Christ.

The prayer of John Hus to Christ.

Examples of the old martyrs.



KING  
HEN. 5.

ners, that wee bee not wearied, fainting in our hearts, but that wee may heartily pray for helpe of the Lord, and may fight against his adversary Antichrist; that we may love his law, and not bee deceitfull labourers, but that wee may deale faithfully in all things, according to that which God hath vouchsafed to give us, and that wee may labour diligently in the Lords cause, under hope of an everlasting reward. Behold therefore brother Hus, most dearly beloved in Christ, although in face unknowne to mee, yet not in faith and love (for distance of places cannot separate those whom the love of Christ doth effectually knit together) be comforted in the grace which is given unto thee, labour like a good souldier of Christ Iesus, preach, bee instant in word and in example, and call as many as thou canst to the way of truth; for the truth of the Gospel is not to be kept in silence, because of the frivolous censures and thunderbolts of Antichrist. And therefore to the uttermost of thy power, strengthen thou and confirme the members of Christ, which are weakened by the devill; and if the Lord will vouchsafe it, Antichrist shall shortly come to an end, And there is one thing wherein I doe greatly rejoyce, that in your realme and in other places God hath stirred up the hearts of some men that they can gladly suffer, for the word of God, imprisonment, banishment and death.

Further, beloved, I know not what to write unto you, but I confesse, that I could wish to powre out my whole heart, if thereby I might comfort you in the law of the Lord. Also I salute from the bottome of my heart all the faithfull lovers of the law of the Lord, and specially Iacobellus your coadjutor in the Gospel, requiring that hee will pray unto the Lord for mee in the universall Church of Iesus Christ. And the God of peace which hath raised from the dead the shepheard of the sheepe, the mighty Lord Iesus Christ, make you apt in all goodnesse, to doe his will, working in you, that which may bee pleasant in his sight. All your friends salute you which have heard of your constancy, I would desire also to see your letters written backe to us, for know yee that they shall greatly comfort us.

At London by your servant, desiring to be fellow with you in your labours Ricus Wichewitze, priest unworthy.

Another letter of Iohn Hus to his friends of Boheme.

THE Lord God bee with you. I love the counsell of the Lord above gold and precious stone. Wherefore I trust in the mercy of Iesus Christ, that hee will give mee his spirit to stand in his truth. Pray to the Lord, for the spirit is ready and the flesh is weake. The Lord Almighty bee the eternall reward unto my lords, which constantly, firmly and faithfully doe stand for righteousness; to whom the Lord God shall give in the kingdom of Boheme, to know the truth. For the following of which truth, necessary it is that they returne againe into Boheme, setting apart all vaine-glory, and following not a mortall and miserable king, but the king of glory which giveth eternall life.

O how comfortable was the giving of the hand of lord Iohn de Clum unto mee, which was not ashamed to reach forth his hand to mee a wretch, and such an abject heretike, lying in fetters of iron, and cried out upon all men! Now peradventure I shall not speake much hereafter with you: Therefore salute in time as you shall see them all the faithfull of Boheme.

Paletz came to mee into prison. His salutation in my vehement infirmity was this before the Commissioners, that there hath not risen a more perillous heretike since Christ was borne, than was Wickliffe and I. Also hee said, that all such as came to heare my talke were infected with this heresie, to thinke that the sub-

stance of bread remained in the Sacrament of the altar. To whom I answered and said, O master what a grievous salutation have you given me, and how greatly do you sinne? Behold I shall die, or peradventure to morrow shall be burnt; And what reward shall be recompensed to you in Boheme for your labour?

This thing peradventure I should not have written, lest I might seeme to hate him. I have alwayes had this in my heart, Trust not in Princes, &c. And againe, Curfed bee the man that trusteth in man, and maketh flesh to be his arme. For Gods sake be you circumspect how you stand and how you returne. Carry no letters with you. Direct your bookes not all by one, but diversly by divers friends.

Know this for certaine, that I have had great conflicts by dreames, in such sort as I had much adoe to refrain from crying out. For I dreamed of the Popes escape before he went. And after the lord Iohn had told me thereof, immediately in the night it was told me that the Pope should returne to you againe. And afterward also I dreamed of the apprehending of master Ierome, although not in full manner as it was done. All the imprisonments, whither and how I am carried, were opened to mee before, although not fully after the same forme and circumstance. Many serpents oftentimes appeared unto mee, having heads also in their taile; but none of them could bite mee, and many other things more.

These things I write, not esteeming my selfe as a Prophet, or that I extoll my selfe, but onely to signifie unto you what temptations I had in body and also in minde, and what great feare I had, lest I should transgresse the commandement of the Lord Iesus Christ. Now I remember with my selfe the words of master Ierome, which said, that if I should come to the councell, hee thought I should never returne home againe. In like manner there was a good and godly man, a tailor, which taking his leave of me at Prage, spake to mee in these words, God bee with you (said he) for I thinke verily, my deare and good master Iohn, that you shall not returne againe to us with your life. The King, not of Hungary, but of heaven, reward you with all goodnesse, for the faithfull doctrine which I at your hands have received, &c.

And shortly after the writing hereof, hee sendeth also unto them another propheticall vision of his to be expounded touching the reformation of the church, written in his 44. epistle; the contents whereof be these.

Another letter of Iohn Hus, sent to the Lord Iohn de Clum.

I Pray you expound to me the dreame of this night. I saw how that in my Church of Bethlehem they came to race and put out all the images of Christ, and did put them out. The next day after I arose and saw many printers, which painted and made more fairer images and many more than I had done before; which images I was verie glad and joyfull to behold. And the painters with much people about them, said, Let the bishops and priests come now, and put us out these pictures. Which being done, much people seemed to me in Bethleem to rejoyce, and I with them. And I awaking therewith felt my selfe to laugh, &c.

This vision lord Iohn de Clum, and Iohn Hus himselfe in his booke of Epistles in the 45. epistle seemeth to expound, and applieth the images of Christ unto the preaching of Christ and of his life. The which preaching and doctrine of Christ, though the pope and his cardinals should extinguishe in him, yet did he foresee and declare, that the time should come, wherein the same doctrine should bee restored againe by others, so plentifully, that the pope with all his power should not be able to prevaile against it. Thus much as concerning this vision of I. Hus. Wherunto doth wel accord the prophecy of Ierome of

The visions of Iohn Hus by dreames.

A prophete of master Ierome of Prage.

This talloze name was Andrew a Bohemian.

Prophecia.



of Prague, printed in the coine called Moneta Husi; of the which coine I have my selfe one of the plates having this superscription following printed about it; Centum revolutis annis Deo respondebitis & mihi, that is, after an hundred yeres come and gone, you shall give account to God and to me. Whereof (God willing) more shall be said hereafter.

Prophetia.

Furthermore, in the 48. epistle the said John Hus seeming to speak with the like spirit of prophetic, hath these words following, Sed spero, quod quæ dixi sub testis, prædicabuntur super testis: That is, but I trust that those things which I have spoken with in the house, hereafter shall be preached upon the top of the house.

And because we are here in hand with the prophecies of John Hus, it shall serve well in place, here moreover to record his words in a certaine treatise by him written, De Sacerdotum & monachorum carnalium abominacione; wherein the said John Hus, speaking prophetically of the reformation of the church, hath these words following. Ex istis ulterius adverte incidentaliter, quod Dei ecclesia nequit ad pristinam suam dignitatem reduci, &c.

That is in English.

Prophetia.

Moreover, herenpon note and mark by the way, that the Church of God cannot be reduced to his former dignity, or be reformed, before all things first be made new; The truth whereof is plaine by the temple of Salomon. Like as the clergy and priests, so also the people and laity; Wherelike all such as now be addid to abarice, from the least to the most, be first converted and reclaimed, as well the people as clergy and priests. Albeit as my minde now giveth me, I believe rather the first, that is, that then shall rise a new people, formed after the new man, which is created after God. Of the which people new clerks and priests shall come, and be taken; which all shall hate covetousnesse, and the glory of this life, hastening to an heavenly conversation. Notwithstanding all these things shall come to passe, and be brought by little and little in order of times, dispensed of God for the same purpose. And this God doth and will doe for his owne goodnesse and mercy, and for the riches of his great longanimity and patience, giving time and space of repentance to them that have long lien in their sinnes, to amend, and ste from the face of the lords fury, while that in like manner the carnall people, and carnall priests successively and in time shall fall away and be consumed as with the moth, &c.

#### Another Letter of John Hus.

After Martin my deare brother in Christ, I exhort you in the Lord that you feare God, keep his commandements, and flee the company of women, and beware of hearing their confession, lest by the hypocrisie of women Satan deceive you; trust not their devotion. You know how I have detested the avarice and the inordinate life of the clergy: wherfore through the grace of God I suffer now persecution, which shortly shall be consummate in me, neither do I feare to have my heart powred out for the name of Christ Iesus; I desire you heartily be not greedy in seeking after benefices. And yet if you shall be called to any cure in the country, let the honour of God, the salvation of soules, and the travell thereof move you thereunto, and not the having of the living or the commodities thereof. And if you shall be placed in any such benefice, beware you have no young woman for your cooke or servant, lest you edifie and increase more your house than your soule. See that you be a builder of your spirituall house, being gentle to the poore and humble of mind, and waste not your goods in great fare. I feare also if you doe not amend your life, ceasing from your costly and superfluous apparell, lest you shall be grievously chastised, as I also wretched man shall be punished,

Note that then priests were not married, and therefore he willeth them to avoide the company of women.

which have used the like, being seduced by custome of evill men and worldly glory, whereby I have bene wounded against God with the spirit of pride. And because you have notably knowne both my preaching and outward conversation even from my youth, I have no need to write many things unto you, but to desire you for the mercie of Iesus Christ, that you doe not follow me in any such levitie and lightnesse, which you have seene in me. You knew how before my priesthood (which grieveth me now) I have delighted to play oftentimes at chesse, and have neglected my time, and have unhappily provoked both my selfe and other to anger many times by that play. Wherefore besides other my innumerable faults, for this also I desire you to invoke the mercy of the Lord, that hee will pardon me, and so direct my life, that having overcome the wickednesse of this present life, the flesh, the world and the devell, I may finde place in the heavenly countrey, at the least in the day of judgement. Fare yee well in Christ Iesus, with all of them which keepe his law. My gray coat, if you will, keepe to your selfe for my remembrance, but I think you are ashamed to weare that gray colour; therefore you may give it to whom you shall thinke good. My white coat you shall give the Minister N. my schollar. To George or else to Zuzikon 60. groats, or else my gray coat for he hath faithfully served me.

The superscription.

I pray you that you doe not open this letter, before you be sure and certaine of my death.

#### The consolation of master Jerome to master Hus.

MY master, in those things which you have both written hitherto, and also preached after the law of God against the pride, avarice, and other inordinate vices of the Priests, go forward, be constant and strong. And if I shall know that you are oppressed in the cause, and if need shall so require, of mine owne accord I will follow after to helpe you, as much as I can.

By the life, acts and letters of John Hus hitherto rehearsed, it is evident and plaine, that hee was condemned not for any error of doctrine, which they could well prove in him, who neither denied their popish transubstantiation, neither spake against the authoritie of the Church of Rome, if it were well governed, nor yet the seven sacraments, and also said masse himselfe, and almost in all their popish opinions was a papist with them; but only of evill will was accused of his malicious adberaries, because he spake against the pompe, pride and abarice, and other wicked enormities of the pope, cardinals and prelates of the church, and because he could not abide the high dignities and livings of the Church, and thought the doings of the pope to be Antichrist-like. For this cause hee procured so many enemies and false witnesses against him. Who straining and picking matter out of his bookes and writings, having no one iust article of doctrine to lay unto him, yet they made him an heretike, whether he would or no, and brought him to his condemnation. This can hatred and malice doe, where the charity of Christ hath no place. Which being so, as thy charity (good reader) may easily understand, in perusing the whole course of his story; I beseech thee then, what cause had John Cochleus to write his twelve books against J. Hus and Husites? In which bookes how bitterly and intemperately he misleth his pen, by these few words in his second booke thou mayest take a little taste: which words I thought here briefly to place in English, to ynd that all English men may iudge thereby, with what spirit and truth these Catholics be carried. His words bee these: Lib. 2. Hist. Dico igitur Ioan. Hus neque sanctum neque beatum habendum esse, sed impium potius, &c.

SKING  
HEN. 5.  
He repeneth  
his gay gar-  
mentes.

He repeneth  
his playing at  
the chesse.

John Hus from  
his gay gar-  
mentes com-  
meth to his  
white coate.

John Hus con-  
demned for no  
erroneous do-  
ctrine wherein  
he was culpa-  
ble.

Cochleus raf-  
leth against  
J. Hus without  
cause.

Ex Cochle.  
lib. 2. hist.  
Husitarum,  
pag. 88.

That



{KING  
{HEN. 5.}

That is, I say therefore John Hus is neither to be counted holy nor blessed, but rather wicked and eternally wretched; in so much that in the day of indgement, it shall be more easie, not onely with the infidell Pagans, Turkes, Tartarians and Jewes, but also with the most sinfull Sodomites, and the abominable Persians, which most filthily do lie with their daughters, sisters, or mothers, yea and also with most impious Cain, killer of his own brother, with Thiestes, killer of his own mother, and the Lestrygones and other Anthropophagi, which devoure mans flesh; yea more easie with those infamous murderers of infants, Pharaoh and Herod, than with him, &c. These be the words of Cocheus. Whose railing books although they deserbe neither to be read, nor answered, yet if it please God, it were to be wished, that the Lord would stirre up some towardly young man, that hath so much leisure, to defend the simplicity of this John Hus, which cannot now answer for himself. In the meane time, something to satisfie or stay the readers minde against this immoderate hyperbole of Cocheus, in like few words I will bring out John Hus to speak and to cleare himself against this slander: whose words in his book *De sacerdotum & monachorum abominacione desolationis*, pag. 84. &c. I beseech the reader to note, Nam & ista scribens fateor, quod nihil aliud me in illis perurget, nisi dilectio Dom. nostri Iesu crucifixi, &c. That is, for in writing these things, I confesse nothing els to have moved me hereunto, but onely the love of our Lord Iesus crucified, whose prints and stripes (according to the measure of my weaknesse and vilenesse) I cobet to beare in my self, beseeching him so to give me grace that I never seek to glory in my self or in any thing els, but only in his crosse, and in the inestimable ignominy of his passion which he suffered for me. And therefore I write and speak these things, which I do not doubt will like all such as unfainedly do love the Lord Christ crucified; and contrary will mislike not a little all such as be of Antichrist. Also againe, I confesse before the most mercifull Lord Iesus Christ crucified, that these things which I do now write, and those that I have written before, neither I could have written, nor knew how, nor durst so have written, unlesse he by his inward unction had so commanded me, neither yet do I write these things as of authority, to get me fame and name. For as S. Augustine and Hierome do say, that is only to be given to the Scriptures and writings of the Apostles, Evangelists and Prophets, and to the canonical Scriptures, which do abound in the fulnesse of the Spirit of Iesus. And whatsoever is there said, is full of verity and wholesome utility, &c. And here place also would require something to say to Aeneas Sylvius, to Antoninus, and to Laziardus, which falsly impute articles to him, which he never maintained. But because time suffereth not, I will proceed to the story of master Ierome of Prage.

✱ The tragicall and lamentable history of 60  
the famous learned man and godly martyr of Christ,  
master Ierome of Prage, burned at Constance for  
like cause and quarrell as master Iohn  
Hus was, 1416.

These things hitherto being discoursed, touching the life, age and constant martyrdom of master John Hus, with part also of his letters adioyned to the same, whose death was on the sixth of July, an. 1416. now remaineth consequently to describe the like tragedy and cruell handling of his Christ an companion and fellow in bands master Ierome of Prage. Who grievously sorrowing the slanderous reproch and defamation of his country of Boheme, and also hearing tell of the manifest injuries done unto that man of worthy memory master John Hus; freely and of his own accord came unto Con-

stance the fourth day of April, An. 1415. Who there perceiving that John Hus was desired to be heard, and that watch and wait was laid for him on every side, he departed to Berling a city of the empire, untill the next day; the which city was a mile off from Constance, and from thence he wrote his letters by me unto Sigismund king of Hungary and his barons, and also unto the Council, most earnestly requiring that the king and the council would give him a safe conduct freely to come and goe, and that he would then come in open audience to answer unto every man, if there were any of the council that would lay any crime unto him, as by the tenor of his intimation shall more at large appeare.

When as the said king of Hungary was required therunto, as is aforesaid, being in the house of the lord cardinall of Cambray, he denied to give master Ierome any safe conduct, excusing himselfe for the evil speed he had with the safe conduct of John Hus before, and alleging also certaine other causes. The deputies also of the four nations of the council being moved thereunto by the lords of the kingdome of Boheme, answered, we (say they) will give him a safe conduct to come, but not to depart. Whose answers, when they were reported unto master Ierome, he the next day after wrote certain intimations according to the tenor here under written, which hee sent unto Constance to be set upon the gates of the city, and upon the gates of the churches and monasteries, and of the houses of the cardinals, and other nobles and prelates. The tenor wherof here followeth word for word in this manner.

Unto the most noble prince and lord, the lord Sigismund, by the grace of God king of the Romans, alwayes Augustus, and of Hungary, &c. I Ierome of Prage master of Art of the generall Universities of Paris, Cullen, Heidelberg and Prage, by these my present letters do notifie unto the king together with the whole reverend council, and as much as in me lieth, doe all men to understand and know, that because of the crafty slanderers, backbiters and accusers, I am ready freely and of mine will to come unto Constance, there to declare openly before the council, the purity and sincerity of my true faith and mine innocency, and not secretly in corners before any private or particular person. Wherefore if there be any of my slanderers, of what nation or estate soever they be, which will obide against me any crime of error or heresie; let them come forth openly before me in the presence of the whole council, and in their owne names obide against me, and I will be ready, as I have written, to answer openly and publicly before the whole council, of mine innocency, and to declare the purity and sincerity of my true faith. And if so be that I shall be found culpable in error or heresie, then I will not refuse openly to suffer such punishment as shall be meet and worthy for an erroneous person, or an heretike.

Wherefore I most humbly beseech my lord the king and the whole sacred council, that I may have to this end and purpose aforesaid, safe and sure access. And if it happen that I offering such equity and right as I do, before any fault be proved against me, be arrested, imprisoned, or have any violence done unto me; that then it may be manifest unto the whole world, that this generall council doth not proceed according to equity and iustice, if they would by any meanes put me back from this profound and strait iustice, being come hither freely of mine own mind and accord. The which thing I suppose to be far from so sacred and holy council of wise men.

When as yet is through such intimations copied out in the Bohemian, Latine, and German tongue, being set up as is aforesaid, could not get any safe conduct, then the nobles, lords, and knights specially of the Bohemian nation, present in Constance, gave unto master Ierome their letters patents

The safe conduct was required, but in vain, of the emperor.

The intimations of Ierome of Prage, set up in divers places of the town of Constance.

The story of Ierome of Prage.

Ierome cometh to Constance.

Safe conduct denied to Ierome.



Jerome returneth toward Boheme, with the testimonies of the lords of Boheme. Jerome apprehended in the way by duke John. Michael de Causis, and Palatz enemies to Jerome.

patents, confirmed with their seales for a testimony and witness of the premittees. With the which letters the said master Jerome returned againe unto Boheme; but by the treason and conspiracy of his enemies he was taken in Hirsau by the officers of duke John, and in Zultzbach was brought backe againe to the presence of the duke. In the meane time such as were the letters forward of the councell against master John Hus, and master Jerome, that is to say, Michael de Causis and master Palatz and other their accomplices, required that the said master Jerome should be cited by reason of his intimations, and certaine dayes after the citation hereunder written was set upon the gates and porches of the city, and churches, which followeth here in this manner.

Jerome of Prague cited by the councell when he was taken.

**T**his most sacred and holy Synod and generall councell of Constance, faithfully congregated and gathered together in the holy Ghost, representing the universall militant church, unto Jerome of Prague, which writeth himselfe to be a master of Art of so many Universities, & pretendeth those things which are onely pertaining unto sobriety and modesty, and that he knoweth no more than he ought, &c. know thou that there is a certain writing come unto our understanding and knowledge, the which was set up as it were by thine owne person upon the gates of the churches and city of Constance, upon the Sunday, when there was sung in the Church of God; Quasi modo geniti. Wherein thou dost asserme, that thou wilt openly answer unto thy accusers and slanderers which shall obiect any crime, error or heresie against thee, whereof thou art manifestly infamed and accused before us, and specially touching the doctrine of Wickliffe, and other doctrines contrary unto the Catholike faith, so that thou mightest have granted unto thee a safe conduct to come. But forsomuch as it is our part principally and chiefly to foresee and look unto these crafty Foxes which go about to destroy the vineyard of the Lord of hosts, therefore we doe cite and call forth by the tenor of these presents, thy person manifestly defamed and suspected for the temerarious affirming and teaching of manifold errors; so that within the terme of fiftene dayes to be accounted from the date of these presents, whereof fife dayes are appointed for the first terme, fife for the second, and other fife for the third, we doe ordaine and appoint by canoncall admonition and warning, that thou doe appeare in the publique Session of the sacred councell, if there be any holden the same day, or els the first day immediately following, when as any session shall be, according to the tenor of thy said writing, to answer to those things, which any person or persons shall obiect or lay against thee in any cause of thy faith, and to receive and have as iustice shall require. Whereupon, so much as in us lieth, and as Catholike faith shall require, we offer and assigne to thee, by the tenor hereof, our safe conduct from all violence (iustice alwayes being saved;) certifying thee, that whether thou dost appeare or not, the said terme or time appointed notwithstanding, processe shall goe forward against thee by the said sacred councell, or by their commissary or commissaries, for the time aforesaid not observed and kept, thy contumacy or stubbornnesse in any thing notwithstanding. Given in the sixth Session of the generall Councell, the seventeenth day of Aprill, under the seale of the presidents of the foure nations.

Grumpert Faber Notarie of the  
Germanies.

This Duke John in history is commonly called the sonne of Clement.

**A**fter that Sigismund king of Hungary, with the rest of the councell, understood by the foresaid duke John, that master Jerome was taken, they were earnestly in hand, requiring that master

Jerome should be brought before them unto the councell. The which duke John, after he had received letters of the king and the councell, brought master Jerome bound unto Constance, whom his brother duke Ludobicus led thow the city to the cloister of the Friars Minor in Constance, whereas the chiefe priests and elders of the people, Scribes and Pharisees, were gathered together; attending and waiting for his coming. He the said master Jerome carried a great handbolt of iron with a long chaine in his hand, and as he passed, the chaine made a great rattling and noise, and so the more confusion and despite towards him, they led him by the same chaine after duke Ludobicus aforesaid, holding and stretching out the same a great way from him, with the which chain they also kept him bound in the Cloister. When he was brought into the Cloister, they read before him the letter of duke John, which was sent with the said master Jerome unto the Councell, containing in effect, how that the said duke John had sent master Jerome unto the councell, who by chance was fallen into his hands, because he heard an evil report of him, that he was suspected of the heresies of Wickliffe; that the councell might take order for him, whose part it was to correct and punish such as did erre and stray from the truth, besides many other flattering tales which were written in the said letter for the praise of the councell. After this they read the citation which was given out by the councell against master Jerome, whereof we have spoken before. When certain of the bishops said unto him, Jerome, why diddest thou flee and run away, and diddest not appeare when thou wast cited? He answered, because I could not have any safe conduct, neither from you, neither from the king, as it appeareth by these letters patents of the barons, which you have, neither by mine open intimations could I obtaine any safe conduct.

Wherefore I, perceyving many of my grievous and heavy friends to be here present in the councell, would not my selfe be the occasion of my perils and dangers; but if I had knowne or had any understanding of this citation, without all doubt, albeit I had been in Boheme, I would have returned again. When all the whole rabble rising up, alledged divers and sundry accusations and testimonies against him with a great noise and tumult. When the rest held their peace, then spake master Gerson the Chancellor of Paris; Jerome, when thou wast at Paris thou thoughtest thy selfe by means of thy eloquence to be an Angell, and diddest trouble the whole University, alledging openly in the scholes many erroneous conclusions with their corollaries, and especially in the question de universalibus & de Ideis, with many other very offensive questions. Unto whom master Jerome said, I answer to you master Gerson; Those matters which I did put forth there in the scholes at Paris, in the which also I answered to the arguments of the masters, I did put them forth philosophically, and as a Philosopher, and master of the University; and if I have put forth any questions which I ought not to have put forth, teach me that they be erroneous, and I will most humbly be informed, and amend the same.

Whyles he was yet speaking, another (as I suppose, the Master of the University of Cullen upon the river of Rheine) rising up said, When thou wast also at Cullen in thy position which thou diddest there determine, thou diddest propound many erroneous matters. Then said master Jerome unto him, shew me first one error, which I propounded. Whereunto he being in a manner asfrighted, said, I do not remember them now at the first, but hereafter they shall be objected against you.

And by and by the third man rising up, said, when that you were also at Heidelberg, you propounded many erroneous matters as touching the Trinity, and

{ KING }  
{ HEN. 5. }  
Jerome is brought bound unto Constance by duke John.

The councell neither would give him liberty safely to come, nor freely to goe.

Jerome was accused by Gerson, with commendation of his eloquence.

Gerson remitted matters.

The master of the University of Cullen. This man would accuse, but he lacked matter.

The master of the University of Heidelberg.



{ KING }  
{ HEN. 5. }

and there painted out a certaine shield or scutchine, comparing the Trinitie of persons in diuinitie unto water, snow and ice, and such like. Unto whome master Jerome answered, Those things that I wrote or painted there, the same will I also speake, write and paint here; and teach me that they bee erroneous, and I will most humbly reboke and recant the same.

Then certaine cryed out, Let him be burned, let him be burned. Unto whome he answered, If my death doe delight or please you, in the name of God let it be so.

Then said the archbishop of Salisburg; not so master Jerome, forsomuch as it is written, I will not the death of a sinner, but rather that he conuert and liue. When these and many other tumults and cries were passed, whereby they did then most disorderly and outragiously witnesse against him, they deliuered the said master Jerome, being bound, unto the officers of the city of Constance, to be caried to prison for that night; and so every one of them returned to their lodgings.

In the meane time, one of the friends of master John Hus, looking out at a window of the Cloister, said unto him, master Jerome. Then said hee, you are welcome my deare brother. Then said Peter unto him, Be constant and feare not to suffer death for the truth sake, of the which, when you were in times past at libertie, you did preach so much goodnesse. Unto whome Jerome answered, truly brother I doe not feare death, and forsomuch as wee knowe that wee have spoken much thereof in times past; let us now see what may bee knowne or done in effect. By and by his keepers comming to the window threatening him with strokes, did put away the said Peter from the window of the Cloister.

Then came there one Titus unto master Jerome and said, master how do you? Unto whome he answered truly brother, I do very well. Then his keepers comming about him laid hold of the said Titus, saying, this is also one of the number, and kept him. When it drew towards evening, the archbishop of Rigen sent certaine of his seruants which led away master Jerome, being strongly bound with chaines, both by the hands and by the necke, and kept him so for certaine houres. When night drew on, they caried him unto a certaine tower of the citie in Saint Pauls Churchyard, where they tying him fast unto a great blocke, and his feete in the stocks, his hands also being made fast upon them, they left him; whereas the block was so high, that he could by no meanes sit thereupon, but that his head must hang downeward. They caried also the said Titus unto the archbishop of Rigen, who demanded of him, why he durst be so bold to talke with such a man being a reprobate of all men, and an heretike: and when as hee could finde no cause of imprisonment in him, and that he said he was master John de Clums friend (taking an oth and promise of him that hee should not goe about to endamage the counsell by reason of that imprisonment and captiuitie) so dismissed him and sent him away.

Walter Jerome, unknowne unto us whither hee was caried, lay in the said tower two daies and two nights, relieued only with bread and water. Then one of his keepers, comming unto master Peter, declared unto him how that master Jerome lay hard by in bonds and chaines, and how he was fed. Then master Peter desired that he might haue leaue giben him to giue him meat, because he would procure the same unto him. The keeper of the prison, granting his request, caried meat unto him. With in eleuen daies after, so hanging by the heeles, hee used so small repast, that he fell soe sicke even unto the death. When as he liuing then in that captiuitie and prison desired to haue a Confessor, they of the counsell denyed that he should haue any, untill such time as, by great importunitie he obtained to haue

one; his friends being then there present in the same prison and tower, wherein he then lay by the space of one yeere lacking but seven daies.

After they had put John Hus to death, then about the feast of the natiuitie of Marie the virgine they brought forth master Jerome, whom they had kept so long in chaines, unto the church of S. Paul; and threatening him with death, being instant upon him, they forced him to abiure and recant, and consent unto the death of S. John Hus, that he was lustly and truly condemned and put to death by them. What for feare of death, and hoping thereby to escape out of their hands, according to their will and pleasure, and according to the tenour which was exhibited unto him, did make abjuration, and that in the cathedrall Church and open Session, the draught whereof was penned to him by the papists, here ensueth.

### ¶ The abjuration of master Hierome of Prage.

I Hierome of Prage, master of Art, acknowledging the catholike Church, and the Apostolike faith, doe accurse and renounce all heresies, and specially that whereof I haue hitherto been infamed, and that which in times past John Hus and John Wickliffe haue holden and taught in their wozkes, treatises and sermons, made unto the people and clergie; for the which cause the said Wickliffe and Hus, together with the said doctrines and errors, are condemned by this Synode of Constance as heretikes, and all the said doctrine sententially condemned, and especially in certaine articles expressed in the sentences and iudgements giben against them by this sacred Councell.

Also I do accord and agree unto the holy Church of Rome, the Apostolike seat in this sacred Councell, and with my mouth and heart do professe in all things, and touching all things, and specially as touching the keyes, sacraments, orders, and offices, and Ecclesiasticall censures, of pardons, reliques of Saints, Ecclesiasticall libertie, also ceremonies, and all other things pertaining unto Christian religion, as the Church of Rome, the Apostolike See and this sacred councell doe professe: and specially that many of the said articles are notoriously heretikal, and lately reproobed by the holy fathers, some of them blasphemous, other some erroneous; some offensive unto goodly eares, and many of them temerarious and seditious. And such also were counted the articles lately condemned by the sacred councell, and it was inhibited and forbidden to all and singular Catholike men hereafter to preach, teach, or presume to hold or maintaine any of the said articles, vnder paine of being accursed.

And I the said Hierome, forsomuch as I haue laboured by Scholasticall arts to perswade the opinion, De Vniuersalibus realibus, and that one substance of the common kinde should signifie many things subiect under the same, and every one of them, as Saint Ambrose, Hierome, Augustine, do affirme, and likewise others; for the teaching hereof by a plaine example I described as it were a certaine triangle, form or figure, the which I called the Shield of faith.

Therefore utterly to exclude and take away the erroneous and wicked understanding thereof, the which peradventure some men may gather thereby, I doe say, affirme, and declare that I neuer made the said figure, neither named it the Shield of faith to that intent or purpose, that I would extoll or preferre the opinion of vniuersalities aboue or before the contrary opinion, in such sort, as though that were the Shield of faith, and that without the affirmation thereof the catholike faith could not bee defended or maintained. When as I my selfe would not obstinately sicke thereunto. But this I said, because

Walter Jerome was kept in prison the space of one yeere.

The forced abjuration of Hierome.

Crucifige, crucifige eum.

Jerome is comforted by the Rectorie.

Et tu de illis es.

Luc. 22.  
Titus the companion of John de Clums.

Jerome straitly bound hand and foot.

Titus had to the archbishop of Rigen.

Titus bound by oth.

Jerome hanging in the stocks was fed with bread and water.  
Peter bringeth meat to Jerome.

Jerome in great sickness calleth for a Confessor.



cause I had put example in the description of the triangle of forme, that one diuine essence consisted in three subiects of persons in themselves distinct, that is to say, the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost. The Article of the which Trinitie, is the chiefe shield of faith, and foundation of the Catholike truth.

Furthermore, that it may bee evident unto all men what the causes were for the which I was reputed and thought to sticke to, and fauour sometime John Hus; I signifie unto all men by these presents, that when as I heard him oftentimes both in his sermons, and also in the Schooles, I believed that he was a very good man, neither that he did in any point gainesay the traditions of our holy mother the Church, or holy doctors; insomuch as when I was lately in this cite, and the Articles which I affirmed were shewed unto mee, which were also condemned by the sacred Councell, at the first sight of them I did not believe that they were his, at the least not in that forme. But when as I had further understood by certaine famous doctors and masters of diuinity that they were his Articles, I required for my farther information and satisfaction to haue the booke of his owne hand written shewed unto me, wherein it was said those Articles were contained. The which booke, when they were shewed unto mee written with his owne hand, which I did know as well as mine owne, I found all, and every one of those Articles therein written in like forme as they are condemned. Wherefore I do worthily iudge and think him and his doctrine, with his adherents to be condemned and reprobed by the sacred Councell, as hereticall and without reason. All which the premisses with a pure minde and confidence, I doe here pronounce and speake, being now fully and sufficiently informed of the foresaid sentences and iudgements given by the sacred Councell against the doctrines of the said John Wickliffe and John Hus, and against their owne persons, unto the which iudgement as a devout catholike in all things, I doe most humbly consent and agree.

Also I the foresaid Ierome, which before the reverend fathers the lords cardinals, and reverend lords, prelates and doctors, and other worshipfull persons of this sacred Councell in this same place, did heretofore freely and willingly declare and expound mine intent & purpose amongst other things speaking of the Church, did diuide the same into three parts; And as I did perceiue afterward, it was understood by some that I would affirme, that in the triumphant Church, there was faith. Whereas I do firmly believe that there is the blessed sight and beholding of God, excluding all darke understanding and knowledge. And now also I doe say; affirm and declare, that it was never my intent and purpose, to proue that there should be faith, speaking of faith, as faith is commonly defined, but knowledge farre exceeding faith. And generally whatsoever I said, either there, or at any time before, I doe refferre, and most humbly submit my selfe unto the determination of this Sacred Councell of Constance.

Moreover, I doe sweare both by the holy Trinitie, and also by the most holy Gospel, that I will for evermore remaine and persevere without all doubt, in the truth of the Catholike Church. And all such as by their doctrine and teaching shall impugne this faith, I iudge them worthily together with their doctrines of eternall curse. And if I my selfe at any time (which God forbid I should) do presume to preach or teach contrary thereunto, I will submit my selfe unto the severity of the canons, and be bound unto eternall pain and punishment. Whereupon I do deliver up this my confession and tenor of my profession willingly before this sacred generall Councell, and have subscribed and written all these things with mine owne hand.

After all this they caused him to be caried again unto the same prison, but not so straitly chained and bound as he was before; notwithstanding kept every day with soldiers and armed men. And when as afterward, his enemies which were appointed against him, as Michael de Causis, and wicked Balletz, with other their companions in these affaires, understood and knew by the words and talke of Master Ierome and by other certaine tokens, that he made the same abjuration and recantation, not of a sincere and pure minde, but onely to the intent thereby to scape their hands, they together with certain friers of Prage, of the order of Carmelites, then comming in, put up new accusations against the said master Ierome, and drew the same into articles, being very instant and earnest that he should answer thereunto. And forsomuch as his iudges, and certaine cardinals, as the cardinal of Cambray, the cardinal de Vrfinis, the cardinal of Aquilegia, and of Florence, considering the malice of the enemies of master Ierome, did see the great injury that was done unto him, they laboured before the whole Councell for his deliuey.

It happened upon a certaine day, as they were labouring in the Councell for the deliberte of the said master Ierome, that the Germaynes and Bohemians his enemies with all force and power resisted against it, crying out that hee should in no case be dismissed. When start up one called doctor Pass, which said unto the cardinals; We marvell much of you most reverend fathers, that your reverences will make intercession for such a wicked heretike, for whose sake we in Boheme with the whole clergy have suffered much trouble and mischief, and peradventure your fatherhoods shall suffer; and I greatly feare, lest that you have receiued some rewards, either of the king of Boheme, or of these heretikes. When as the Cardinals were thus rebuked, they discharged themselves of master Ieromes cause and matter.

Then his enemies aforesaid obtained to haue other iudges appointed, as the Patriarch of Constantinople, and a Germane doctor; forsomuch as they did know that the patriarch was a grieuous enemy unto master Ierome, because hee being before appointed iudge by the councell, had condemned John Hus unto death.

But M. Ierome would not answer them in prison, requiring to haue open audience, because hee would there finally declare unto them his minde, neither would he by any meanes consent unto those private iudges. Whereupon the presidents of the Councell, thinking that the said M. Ierome would renew his recantation before the said audience, and confirme the same, did grant him open audience.

In the yeere of our Lord 1416. the 25. day of May, which was the Saturday before the Ascension of our Lord, the said master Ierome was brought unto open audience before the whole councell, to the great cathedrall Church of Constance, where by the commissioners of the Councell, in the behalfe of his foresaid enemies, there were laid against him of new a hundred and seven articles, to the intent that he should not scape the snare of death, which they provided and laid for him; insomuch as the iudges had before declared that by the saying of the witnesses it was already concluded in the same audience. The day aforesaid, from morning untill noone, he answered unto more than 40. articles, most subtilly objected against him; denying that hee held or maintained any such articles as were either hurtfull or false; and affirming that those witnesses had deposed them against him falsely and slanderously, as his most cruell and mortall enemies. In the same Session they had not yet proceeded unto death, because that the none time drew to fast on, that hee could not answer unto the articles. Wherefore, for lacke of time sufficient to answer unto the residue

SKING  
HEN. 5.  
Ierome after  
his abjuration  
returne d. into  
prison.

Ierome accus  
anew by Saul  
Balletz, and el  
Carmelites.  
The cardine  
of Cambray  
with certaine  
other cardina  
labour for the  
deliuey of  
Ierome.

Si dimittis  
hunc non es  
amicus Ca-  
saris.

The patriarch  
of Constanti-  
nople gave ten-  
ence of death  
both against  
M. Hus, and  
M. Ierome o  
Prage.

{ Anno }  
1416.  
Ierome brought  
again before the  
Councell.

False witnesses  
against Ierom.

Ierome is  
made here to  
say not his own  
mind, but what  
pleaseth them.



{ KING  
HEN. 5. }

of the articles, there was another time appointed, which was the third day after the foresaid Saturday before the Ascension of our Lord, at which time againe early in the morning hee was brought unto the said Cathedral Church to answer unto all the residue of the articles.

The vertue of  
of Hierome in  
containing his  
adversaries.

In all which articles, as well those which he had answered unto the Saturday before, as in the residue, he cleared himselfe very learnedly, refelling his adversaries (who had no cause, but only of malice and displeasure were set against him, and did him great wrong in such sort, that they were themselves astonished at his oration, and refutation of their testimonies brought against him, & with shame enough were put to silence; As when one of them had demanded of him, what he thought by the Sacrament of the altar, he answered, Before consecration (said he) it is bread and wine; after the consecration it is the true bodie and blood of Christ; adding withall moe words according to their catholike faith. Then another rising up, Hierome, said hee, there goeth a great rumor of thee, that thou shouldest hold bread to remaine upon the altar. To whom he pleasantly answered, saying, that he believed bread to be at the bakers. At which words being spoken one of the Dominick freres humbly took on, and said; What doest thou deny, that which no man doubteth of? Whose words sanctified Hierome with these words did well repelle; Hold thy peace (said he) thou monk, thou hypocrite; and thus the monke being nipped in the head sat downe dumbe. After whom, started up another, who with a loud voice cried out, I sweare (said he) by my conscience, that to be true, that thou dost deny. To whom said Hierome againe, speaking in Latine; Heus, inquit, sic jurare per conscientiam tutissima fallendi via est. That is, thus to sweare by your conscience is the next way to deceive. Another there was, a spitefull and a bitter enemy of his whom he called by no other name than dog, or asse. After he had thus refuted them one after another, that they could find no crime against him, neither in this matter nor in any other, they were all dighten to keep silence.

Falsse witnesses

This done, then were the witnesses called for, who coming in presence gave testimonie unto the articles before produced. By reason whereof the innocent cause of Hierome was oppressed, and began in the counsell to be concluded. Then Hierome rising up began to speake; Forasmuch (saith he) as you have heard mine adversaries so diligently hitherto, contentment it is that you should also now heare mee to speake for my selfe. Whereupon with much difficulty at last audience was given in the counsell for him to say his minde, which being granted, he from morning to none continuing, intreated of divers and sundry matters, with great learning and eloquence. Who, first beginning with his prayer to God, besought him to give him spirit, aibilitie, and utterance, which might most tend to the profit and salvation of his owne soule. And so entring into his Oration,

The oration of  
Hierome had  
before the  
Counsell.

I know saith hee, reverend lords, that there have bene many excellent men, which have suffered much otherwise than they have deserved, being oppressed with falsse witnesses, and condemned with wrong iudgements. And so beginning with Socrates, he declared how he was unjustly condemned of his countrey men, neither would he escape when he might; taking from us the feare of two things, which seeme most bitter to men, to wit of imprisonment, and death. When he inferred the captivitie of Plato, the banishment of Anaxagoras, and the torments of Zeno. Moreover, he brought in the wrongfull condemnation of many Gentiles, as the banishment of Apollonius, reciting also the unworthy death of Boetius and of others, whom Boetius himselfe doth write of.

Socrates,

Plato,  
Anaxagoras,  
Zeno,  
Apollonius,  
Boetius.

From thence, he came to the examples of the Hebrewes and first began with Moses the deliverer of the people and the lawgiver, how hee was oftentimes slandered of his people as being a seducer and contemner of the people. Joseph also saith he, for envie was sold of his brethren, and for falsse suspicion of whoredome was cast into bands. Besides these, he reciteth Elias, Daniel, & almost all the prophets who as contemners of God, and seditious persons, were oppressed with wrongful condemnation. From thence he proceeded to the iudgement of Susanna, and of others other besides, who being good and holy men, yet were they unjustly cast away with wrongful sentence. At the length he came to John Baptist, and so in long processe he descended unto our Saviour, declaring how it was evident to all men, by what falsse witnesses both he and John Baptist were condemned. Moreover, how Stephen was slain by the Colledge of the Priests, and how all the Apostles were condemned to death, not as good men but as seditious stirrers up of the people, and contemners of the gods, and evil doers. It is unjust, saith he, unjustly to be condemned one priest of another, and yet he proved that the same hath so happened most unjustly in that Counsell of Priests. These things did he discourse at large, with marvellous eloquence, and with singular admiration of all that heard him.

Moses,

Joseph.

Elias,  
Daniel.

The Prophets  
Susanna.

John Baptist,  
Christ.

The Apostles

And forasmuch as all the whole sum of the cause did rest only in the witnesses, by many reasons he proved that no credit was to be given unto them, especially seeing they spake all things of no truth, but only of hatred, malice, and envie. And so prosecuting the matter, so lively and expressly he opened unto them the causes of their hatred, that he had almost perswaded them. So lively and likely their hatred was detected, that almost no trust was given to their testimonies, save onely for the cause and quarrell wherein they stood touching the Popes doctrine. All mens minds here were mooved and bending to mercy towards him; for hee told them how that hee of his owne accord came up to the Counsell, and to purge himselfe hee did open unto them all his life and doings, being full of vertue and godlinesse. This was (saith he) the old manner of ancient and learned men and most holy Elders, that in matters of faith, they did differ many times in arguments, not to destroy the faith, but to finde out the verity. So did Augustine and Jerome dissent, not only being diverse; but also contrary one from the other, and yet without all suspicion of heresie.

The falsse witnesses of Jeron returned.

All this while the popes holy Counsell did waite still, when he would begin to excuse himselfe, and to retract those things which were objected against him, and to crave pardon of the Counsell. But he persisting still in his constant oration, did acknowledge no error, nor gave any signification of retraction.

At last, entring into the praise and commendation of St. John Hus, he affirmed, that he was a god, iust, and holy man, and much unworthy that death which he did suffer. Whom he did know from his youth upward, to be neither fornicator, drunkard, neither any evil or vicious person, but a chaste and sober man, and a iust and true preacher of the holy Gospel; and whatsoever things master John Hus and Wickliffe had holden or written specially against the abuse and pompe of the clergie, he would affirm even unto the death, that they were holy and blessed men, and that in all points of the Catholike faith he doth believe as the holy Catholike Church doth hold or believe. And finally hee did conclude, that all such articles as John Wickliffe & John Hus had written and put forth against the enormities, pompe and disorder of the prelates, he would firmly and stedfastly, without recantation hold and defend even unto the death. And last of all he added, that all

Hierome commended the life, and bewailed the death of John Hus.

the



the sins that eber he had committed, did not so much gnaue and trouble his conscience, as did that onely sinne, which he had committed in that most pestiferous fact, when as in his recantation he had uniuersally spoken against that good and holy man and his doctrine, and specially in consenting unto his wicked condemnation, concluding that hee did utterly reboke and deny that wicked recantation which hee made in that most cursed place, and that hee did it through weaknesse of heart and feare of death; And mozeouer, that whatsoeuer thing hee hath spoken against that blessed man, he hath altogether lyed upon him, and that he doth repent him with his whole heart that eber he did it.

And at the hearing hereof the hearts of the hearers were not a little sorry. For they wished and desired greatly that such a singular man should be saved, if otherwise their blinde superstition would have suffered it. But he continued still in his prescribed sentence, seeming to desire rather death than life. And persisting in the praise of John Hus, hee added mozeouer, that he neuer maintained any doctrine against the state of the Church, but only spake against the abuses of the clergie, against the pride, pompe, and excesse of the prelates. Forasmuch as the parsonages of the Churches were first giuen for the poore, then for hospitality, and thirdly to the reparations of the Churches; it was a grieue to that good man (said he) to see the same mispent and cast away upon harlots, great feastings, and keeping of houses and dogs, upon gorgeous apparell, and such other things unseemly Christian Religion. And herein he shewed himselfe marvellous eloquent; yea neuer moze.

And when his oration was interrupted many times by diuers of them, carping at his sentences as he was in speaking, yet was there none of all those that interrupted him which escaped unblancht, but he brought them all to confusion, and put them to silence. When any noise began, he ceased to speak and after began againe proceeding in his oration, and desiring them to giue him leaue awhile to speak, whom they hereafter should heare no moze, neither yet was his minde eber daunted at all these noises and tumults.

And this was marvellous in him to behold, notwithstanding he continued in strait prison 340. daies having neither book, nor almost light to read by, yet how admirable his memory serued him; Declaring how all those paines of his strait handling did not so much grieue him, as he did wonder rather to see their unkind humanitie towards him.

When hee had spoken these and many things as touching the praise of John Wickliffe, and John Hus, they which late in the counsell whispered together, saying; by these his words it appeareth that he is at a point with himselfe, Then was he againe carried into prison, and grievously fettered by the hands, armes and feet, with great chaines and fetters of iron.

The Saturday next before the Ascension day, early in the morning, he was brought with a great number of armed men unto the Cathedraill Church before the open Congregation, to haue his iudgement giuen him. Where they exhorted him, that those things which he had before spoken in the open audience, as is aforesaid touching the praise and commendation of Master John Wickliffe, and master John Hus, confirming and establishing their doctrine, he would yet recant the same: but hee marvellously stoutly without all feare spake against them, and amongst other things said unto them; I take God to my witnesse, I protest here before you all, that I do beleue and hold the articles of the faith, as the holy Catholike Church doth hold and beleue the same; but for this cause shall I now be condemned, so that I will not consent with you unto the condemnation of those most holy and blessed men aforesaid.

said, whom you haue most wickedly condemned for certaine articles, detestling and abhorring your wicked and abominable life. Then he confessed there before them all his beleafe, and uttered many things very profoundly and eloquently, in so much that all men there present could not sufficiently commend and praise his great eloquence and excellent learning, and by no means could they induce or perswade him to recant.

Then a certaine bishop, named the bishop of Lory, made a certaine sermon exhortative against master Hierome, perswading to his condemnation.

After the bishop had ended the said sermon, master Hierome said againe unto them; You shall condemne me wickedly and uniuersally. But I after my death will leaue a remembrance in your conscience, and a naille in your hearts; Et cito vos omnes, ut respondeatis mihi coram altissimo & iustissimo iudice post centum annos. That is, And here I cite you to answer unto me before the most high and iust Judge, within a hundred yeres.

So open can sufficiently write, or note those things which he most eloquently, profoundly, and philosophically had spoken in the said audience, neither can any tongue sufficiently declare the same; therefore I haue but onely touched here the superficiall matter of his talk, partly and not wholly noting the same. Finally, when as by no meanes he might be perswaded to recant the premises, immediately even in his presence, the sentence and iudgement of his condemnation was giuen against him, and read before him.

In the name of God, Amen. Christ our God, and our Saviour being the true vine, whose father is the husbandman, taught his Disciples, and all other faithfull men, saying; If any man dwell not in me, let him be cast out as a bough or branch, and let him wither and dry. &c. The doctrine and precepts of which most excellent doctor, and master this most sacred Synod of Constance executing and following in the cause of inquisition against heretikes, being moved by this said sacred Synod, through report, publike fame, and open infamation, proceeding against Hierome of Prage, master of Art, lay man. By the acts and processe of whose cause it appeared that the said master Hierome hath holden, maintained, and taught diuers articles hereticall and erroneous, lately reprobed and condemned by the holy Fathers, some being very blasphemous, other some offending godly eares, and many temerarious and seditious, which haue been affirmed, maintained, preached and taught by the men of most damnable memory, John Wickliffe and John Hus, the which are also written in diuers of their bookes and bookes, which articles of doctrine and books of the said John Hus and Wickliffe, together with their memory and the person of the said John Hus, were by the said sacred Synod condemned of heresie.

The which sentence of condemnation this Hierome afterward during the time of inquisition, acknowledged in the said sacred Synod, and approbated the true Catholike and Apostolike faith, therunto consenting, accursing all heresie, specially that whereof he was infamed, and confessed himselfe to be infamed, and that which in times past John Hus and John Wickliffe maintained and taught in their bookes, sermons, and books, for the which the said Wickliffe and Hus, together with their doctrine and errors, were by the said sacred Synod as hereticall condemned. The condemnations of all which the premises he did openly profess & allow, and did sweare that he would persevere and continue in the verity of that faith. And if he should presume at any time to hold opinion, or preach contrary thereunto, that he would submit himselfe to the trial and truth of the Canons, and be bound to perpetuall punishment. And this his profession written with

{ KING }  
{ HEN. 5. }  
The eloquence  
of M. Hierome

The prophecy  
of M. Hierome

The sentence  
read against  
M. Hierome.

Hierome re-  
open eth his  
speaking a-  
gainst John  
Hus.

Hus neuer  
maintained a-  
ny doctrine a-  
gainst the  
Church of  
Rome, but only  
spoke against  
their nauigry  
life.

Hierome did  
put them to si-  
lence.

Hierome in pri-  
son 340. daies.  
The excellent  
memory in  
M. Hierome.

M. Hierome  
brought againe  
before the coun-  
cell.

M. Hierome  
holdeth all the  
articles of the  
Catholike  
Church.



{KING}  
{HEN. 5.}

with his owne hand hee deliuered up unto the holy Councell. Many dayes after his said profession and abjuration, as a dog returning unto his vomit, to the intent he might openly vomit up the most pestilent poison which had long lurked and lpen hid in his brest, he required and desired that he might be openly heard before the Councell. The which being granted unto him, he affirmed, said and professed before the whole Synode, being publickly gathered together, that he had wickedly consented and agreed to the sentence and iudgement of the condemnation of the said Wickliffe and Hus, and that he had most shamefully lied in approbating and allowing the said sentence, neither was hee ashamed to confesse that he had lyed; yea, he did also reboke and recant his confession, approbation, and protestation, which hee had made upon their condemnation, affirming that hee neuer at any time had reade any errors or heresies in the bookes and treatises of the said Wickliffe and Hus. Albeit he had before confessed it, and it is evidently prooved, that hee did diligently studie, reade, and preach their bookes wherein it is manifest that there are contained many errors and heresies. Also the said master Hierome did professe as touching the Sacrament of the altar, and the transubstantiation of the bread into the body of Christ, that he doth hold and belieue as the Church doth hold and belieue, saying also that he doth giue more credit unto S. Augustine, and the other doctors of the Church, than unto Wickliffe and Hus. It appeareth moreover by the premises, that the said Hierome is an adherent and maintainer of the said Wickliffe and Hus, and their errors, and both is and hath been a labourer of them. Wherefore the said sacred Synode determineth the said master Hierome as a rotten and withered branch, not growing upon the vine, to be cut off and

cast out. The said Synode also pronounceth, declareth and condemneth him as an hereticke and browned in all kinde of heresies, excommunicate and accursed, leading him unto the arbitrement and iudgement of the secular iudge, to receive iust and due punishment, according to the qualitie of so great an offence; the sacred Synode notwithstanding intreating that the said iudge would moderate his sentence of iudgement without perill of death.

The which sentence so giuen before his face, and ended, a great and long miter of paper was brought unto him, painted about with red diables, the which when he beheld and saw, throwing away his hood upon the ground amongst the prelates, he tooke the miter and put it upon his head, saying, Our Lord Iesus Christ, when as he should suffer death for me most wretched sinner, did weare a crowne of thorne upon his head; and I for his sake instead of that crowne, will willingly weare this miter and cap. Afterward he was laid hold of by the secular power.

After that hee was led out of the said Church to the place of execution: when he was going out of the Church, with a cheerefull countenance and a loud voice lifting his eyes up unto heaven, hee began to sing, Credo in unum Deum, as it is accustomed to be sung in the Church. Afterward as he passed along, hee did sing some Canticles of the Church; the which being ended, in the entering out of the gate of the citie, as men goe unto Gethsemane, hee did sing this hymne, Felix namque. And that respond being ended, after he came to the place of execution where master John Hus before had suffered death innocently, kneeling down before an image which was like unto the picture of master John Hus, which was there prepared to burne master Hierome, he made a certaine devout prayer.

St. Hierome given to the secular power.

A paper with red diables put upon the head of St. Hierome by secular papists.

St. Hierome committed to the secular power.

St. Hierome went singing unto his martyrdom.

St. Hierome prayeth.

## The burning of master Jerome of Prage.





While he was thus praying, the tormentors took him up, and lifting him up from the ground spoiled him of all his garments, and left him naked, and afterwards girded him about the loines with a linnen cloth, and bound him fast with cords and chaines of iron, to the said image which was made fast unto the earth, and so standing upon the ground, then as they began to lay the wood about him, he sung *Salve festa dies*. And when the hymne was ended, he sung again with a loud voice, *Credo in unum Deum*, unto the end. That being ended, he said unto the people in the Germane tongue in effect as followeth, *Dearely beloved children, even as I have now sung, so do I believe and none otherwise. And this creed is my whole faith, notwithstanding now I die for this cause because I would not consent and agree to the councell, and with them affirm and hold that master John Hus was by them holily and iustly condemned; for I did know well enough that hee was a true preacher of the Gospell of Iesus Christ.*

After that he was compassed in with the wood up to the crown of the head, they cast all his garments upon the wood also, and with a firebrand they set it on fire. The which being once fired, hee began to sing with a loud voice, *In manus tuas Domine commendo spiritum meum*. When that was ended, and that he began vehemently to burne, he said in the vulgar Bohemian tongue, *O Lord G.d. father almighty, have mercy upon me, and bee mercifull unto mine offence, for thou knowest how sincerely I have loved thy truth. Then his body by the vehemency of the fire was choked and stopped, that it was no longer heard, but he moved continually his mouth and lips, as though hee had still prayed or spoken within himselfe.*

When as in a manner his whole body with his beard was burned round about, and that there appeared through the great burning upon his body certaine great bladders as big as an egge, yet hee continually very strongly and stoutly mooved, and shaken his head and mouth, by the space almost of one quarter of an houre. So burning in the fire, he lived with great paine and martyrdom, whilst one might easily have gone from S. Clements over the bridge unto our Lady Church, he was of such a stout and strong nature. After that he was thus dead in the fire, by and by they brought his bedding, his strawbed, his booties, his hood, and all other things that he had in the prison, and burned them al to ashes in the same fire. The which ashes, after that the fire was out, they did diligently gather together, and carry them in a cart, and cast them into the river of Mheine, which ran hard by the City.

That man which was the true reporter hereof, and which testified unto us the acts & doings about the condemnation of master Hierome, and sent the same unto us to Prage in writing, doth thus conclude. All these things (saith he) I did behold, see, and heare to be done in this forme and manner. And if any man doe tell you the contrary, doe not credit him; for all these things which happened unto him, when he came toward Constance, and also at his first comming unto Constance of his owne free will, and afterward when he was brought bound unto Constance, as is aforesaid, I my selfe did see and perfectly behold, and for a perpetuall memorie thereof to be had for ever, I have directed the same unto you, not lying or falsifying any point thereof, as he which is the searcher of all mens hearts can beare me witness, willing rather to sustain the note of ignorance and rudeness of life, to beare witness unto the truth, than I would by any meanes bee compelled by tickling, or flattering the eares of the hearers with fained and cloyed speech, to swarbe or goe aside from the truth.

Thus end the tragicall histories of master John Hus and master Hierome of Prage, faithfully gathered and collected by a certaine Bohemian, being

a present witness and beholder of the same, written and compiled first in Latine, and so sent by the said Bohemian into his country of Boheme, and again translated out of the Latine with like fidelitie into our English tongue.

In the meane time while master Hierome was in this trouble, and before the Councell, the nobles and lords of Boheme and of Moravia (but not a little aggrieved thereof) directed their letters unto this barbarous Councell of popish murderers, in tenor and forme of words as followeth.

The letter of the 54. Nobles of Moravia written unto the Councell of Constance in the defence of master John Hus and Hierom of Prage.

To the right reverend fathers and lords in Christ, the lords cardinals, patriarches, primate, archbishops, bishops, ambassadoers, doctors and masters, and to the whole Councell of Constance, We the nobles, lords, knights and esquires of the famous Marquesdome of Moravia, with the desire of all goodnesse, and the observation of the commandements of our Lord Iesus Christ.

Forasmuch as every man both by the law of Nature, and also by Gods Law, is commanded to doe that unto another man, which hee would have done unto himselfe, and is forbidden to do that thing unto another, which he would not have done unto himselfe, as our Saviour saith, All things whatsoever you will that men should doe unto you, the same doe you unto them, for this is the law and the Prophets; yea, the law is fulfilled in this one point, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thy selfe: We therefore (God being our author) having respect as much as in us lyeth unto the said law of God, and the love of our neighbour, before did send our letters unto Constance for our dearly beloved friend of good memorie, master John Hus bachelor of divinitie, and preacher of the Gospell. Whom of late in the councell of Constance (we know not with what spirit being led) you have condemned as an obstinate heretike; neither having confessed any thing, neither being lawfully convict as were expedient; having no errors or heresies declared or laid against him, but only at the finisier, false and importune accusations, suggestions and insligations of his mortall enemies, and the traitors of our Kingdome and Marquesdome of Moravia. And being thus unmercifully condemned, you have slaine him with most shamefull and cruell death, to the perpetuall shame and infamy of our most Christian Kingdome of Boheme, and the famous Marquesdome of Moravia (as we have written unto Constance, unto the most noble Prince and Lord, the Lord Sigismund king of Romanes, and of Hungarie, the heire and successor of our kingdom) the which was also read and published in your congregations, which we will here also have enrolled; and have burned him, as it is reported, in reproch and contempt of us.

Wherefore we have thought good even now to direct our letters parents to your reverences now present in the behalfe of master John Hus, openly professing and protesting both with heart and mouth, that he the said master John Hus was a just, good, and catholike man, and a long season worthily commended and allowed in our kingdom for his life and conversation. He also preached and taught us and our subjects the law of the Gospell, and of the holy Prophets, and the bookes of the old and new Testament, according to the exposition of the holy doctors approved by the Church, and left many monuments in writing, most constantly detesting and abhorring all errors and heresies, continually admonishing both us and all faithfull Christians to doe the like, diligently exhorting all men

{ KING }  
{ HEN. 5. }

Id. Hierome  
tyed to an  
image like to  
John Hus.

Id. Hierome  
angry at his  
burning.

The words of  
Hierome to the  
people.

Id. Hierome  
gibbereth into  
the mouth of J. Hus.

The last words  
of Id. Hierome.

The cruelty of  
his death.

The ashes of  
Id. Hierome  
cast into the ri-  
ver of Mheine.

The witness of  
the writer.

The truth of  
this story.

The cause of  
John Hus  
created by the  
testimony of  
the nobles of  
Bohemia.



{ KING }  
{ HEN. 5. }

as much as in him lay, by his words, writings, and travell, unto quietnesse and concord; so that using all the diligence that we might, we never heard or could understand, that master Iohn Hus had preached, taught, or by any meanes affirmed any error or heresie in his Sermons, or that by any manner of meanes he had offended us, or our subjects, either by word or deed, but that he alwayes led a quiet and a godly life in Christ, exhorting all men diligently, both by his word and workes, as much as he might, to observe and keepe the Law of the Gospell, and the institutions of the holy Fathers, after the preaching of our holy mother the Church, and to the edifying of mens soules. Neither did these premisses, which you had so perpetrated to the reproach both of us and our Kingdome and Marquedome, suffice and content you, but that also without all mercie and pity you have apprehended, imprisoned and condemned, and even now peradventure, like as you did master Iohn Hus, you have most cruelly murdered the worshipfull man master Ierome of Prage, a man abounding in eloquence, master of the seven liberrall Arts, and a famous Phylosopher, not being seene, heard, examined, neither convict, but onely at the sinister and false accusations of his and our accusers and betrayers.

Furthermore, it is come to our knowledge and understanding (which we doe not without great grieve rehearte) as we may also evidently gather by your writings, how that certaine detractors, odious both to God and men, privy enviers and betrayers, have wickedly and grievously, albeit falsely and traiterously, accused us, our Kingdome and Marquedome aforesaid, before you in your councell, that in the said Kingdome of Boheme, and Marquedome of Moravia, divers errors are sprung up, which have grievously and manifoldly infected both our hearts, and also the hearts of many faithfull men; insomuch that without a speedy stop or stay of correction, the said Kingdome and Marquedome, together with the faithfull Christians therein, should incur an irrecuperable losse and ruine of their soules.

These cruell and pernicious injuries which are laid unto us, and to our said Kingdome and Marquedome, albeit most falsely and slanderously, how may we suffer? Forasmuch as through the grace of God (when in a manner all other Kingdomes of the World have oftentimes wavered, making schismes and Antipopes) our most gracious Kingdome of Boheme, and most noble Marquedome of Moravia, since the time they did receive the Catholike Faith of our Lord Iesus Christ, as a most perfect \* quadrant, have alwayes without reproofe stucke upon the Church of Rome, and have sincerely done their true obedience. Also with how great costs and charges and great travell, with what worship and due reverence they have revered the holy mother the Church and her pastors; by their Princes and faithfull Subjects, it is more manifest then the day light unto the whole world; and, your selves, if you will confesse the truth, can witnesse the same also.

Wherefore, that we, according to the minde of the Apostle, may procure honest and good things, not onely before God, but before men also, and lest by neglecting the famous renowne of the Kingdome and Marquedome, we be found cruell toward our neighbours; having a stedfast hope, a pure and sincere conscience and intent, and a certaine true faith in Christ Iesus our Lord, by the tenour of these we signifie and declare unto your fatherhoods, and to all faithfull Christians, openly professing both with heart and mouth, that whatsoever man, of what estate, preeminence, dignitie, condition, degree, or religion soever he be, which hath said, or affirmed, either doth say or affirme, that in the said Kingdome of Boheme, and Marquedome of Moravia, heresies have sprung up which have infected us and other faithfull Christians, as is aforesaid (the onely person of our most noble Prince and Lord,

Sigismund King of Romanes and of Hungary, &c. our Lord and heire successeur, being let apart, whom we trust and beleieve, not to be guiltie in the premisses) all and every such man (as is aforesaid, doth lyethfully upon his head, as a wicked and naughty traitour and betrayer of the said Kingdome and Marquedome, and most traiterous unto us, and most pernicious heretike, the sonne of all malice and wickednesse, yea, and of Iohn 8. the devill himselfe, who is a lyar and the father of all lies.

10 Notwithstanding, we for this present committing the foresaid injuries unto God, unto whom vengeance pertaineth, who will also abundantly reward the workers of iniquitie, will prosecute them more amply before him, whom God shall appoint in the Apostolike Sea, to governe his holy Church, as the onely and undoubted Pastor. Vnto whom, God willing, we exhibiting our due reverence and obedience as faithfull children, in those things which are lawfull, honest, and agreeable to reason and the Law of God will make our request and petition, that speedy remedy may be provided for us, our said Kingdome and Marquedome upon the premisses, according to the Law of our Lord Iesus Christ, and the institutions of the holy Fathers. The premisses notwithstanding, we setting apart all feare and mens ordinances provided to the contrary, will maintaine and defend the Law of our Lord Iesus Christ, and the devoute, humble and constant Preachers thereof, even to the shedding of our blood.

These noble men offered their obedience to the pope, no further then was lawfull, honest and agreeable to reason and the Law of God. Marke this and learne you noble men.

Dated at Sternberg, in the yecre of our Lord, 1415. upon S. Wendellaus day, Martyr of our Lord Iesus Christ.

10 Round about the said letters there were 54. seales hanging, and their names subscribed, whose seales they were. The names of which noble men I thought it good here to anner withall, partly for the more credit of that which hath been said, partly also for examples sake, to the intent that our noble men and Gentlemen in this our Realme of England, now living in this cleare light of the Gospell, may by their example understand, that if they joyne themselves with the Gospell of Iesus, zealously, and as they should doe, yet are they neither the first, nor the most that so have done before them: if not, yet the truth may here remaine in the story to their shame, or else to their instruction, seeing so many noble and worthy gentlemen, within the small Kingdome of Bohemia, to be so forward in those so dark dayes, and among so many enemies 200. yeres agoe, to take part with Christ; And yet our gentlemen here in such long continuance of time, being so diligently taught, are neither in number nor in zeale to them to be compared, but will still take part contrary both to Christ, and to the example of these nobles, whose names they may see and reade here following.

1. Alsokabat de Wiscowitz.
2. Vlricus de Lhota.
3. Ioan. de Ksimicz.
4. Iosko de Sczitowicz.
5. Pærdus Zwirowicz.
6. Ioan. de Ziwlá.
7. Ioan. de Reychenberg.
8. Wildo Skitzyny.
9. Diliko de Biefa.
10. Kos de Doloylatz.
11. Ioan. de Simufin.
12. Dobessimus de Tiffa.
13. Drazko de Aradeck.

14. Steph. de Hmdorkat.
15. Ioan. Dern de Gabonecx.
16. Barfo dictus Hlodof de Zeinicz.
17. Ioan. Hmrdorf.
18. Pfateska de Wilklek.
19. Petrus Mog de Sczitowicy.
20. N. Studenica.
21. N. Brischell.
22. N. de Cromassona.

All that will live godly in Christ.  
1 Tim. 3.

Defence of Ierome of Prage.

He meaneth he long schisme spoken of before, where three popes were striving one against another. \* A quadrant being four square properlieth a man that is constant and immutable.  
Rom. 12.



23. Arannissick Donant de Polonia.
24. Ioan. Donant de Polonia.
25. Ioan. de Cziczow.
26. Wenceslaus de N.
27. N. de N.
28. N. N.
29. Iosleck de N.
30. Henricus de N.
31. Waczlals de kuck.

This Noble man did accompany John Hus, and with certaine horsemen conduct him to Constance.

32. Henr. de Zrenowicz.
33. Baczko de Convald.
34. Petr. dictus Nienick de Zaltoroldeck.
35. Czenko de Mofnow.
36. N.
37. Zibilutz do Clezam.
38. Ioan. de Pater-

- swald.
39. Parsifal de Namyescz.
40. Zodonide Zwietzick.
41. Raczeck Zawkalp.
42. Ion de Tossawicz.
43. Diwa de Spissnia.
44. Steffko de Draczdw.
45. Isfko de Draczdw.
46. Odich. de Hlud.
47. Wosfart de Paulowicz.
48. Pirebborde Tyrenicz.
49. Rynard de Tyrczewicz.
50. Bohunko de Wratisdow.
51. Vlricus de Racdraw.
52. Dessaw de Nali.
53. Bonesb de Frabrenicz.
54. Eybl de Roissowan.

After these things thus declared and discoursed concerning the history of John Hus, and Jerome of Prague, the order of place and country next would require, consequently to inferre and comprehend the great troubles and perturbations which happened after and upon the death of the men in the country of Boheme: but the order of time calleth me back, first to other matters here of our owne country, which passed in the mean time with us in England. Which things being taken by the way and finished, we will (Christ willing) afterward returne to the tractation hereof, to prosecute the troubles and conflicts of the Bohemians, with other things beside pertaining to the latter end of the Council of Constance, and choosing of pope Martin: as the order of yeeres and time shall require.

We heard before how after the death of Thomas Arundell archbishop of Canterbury succeeded Henry Chicheley, Anno 1414. and late 25. yeeres. In whose time was much trouble and great affliction of good men here in England; of whom many were compelled to abjure, some were turned, others were driven to exile. Whereof partly now to intreat as we finde them in registers and histories recorded, we will first begin with John Claidon Coriar of London, and Richard Turning, whom Robert Fabian doth falsly affirme to be burned in the yere wherein sir Roger Acton and W. Wolvone suffered; who indeed suffered not before the second yere of Henry Chicheley being archbishop of Canterbury, which was Anno 1413. The history of which John Claidon in the Registers is thus declared.

The story of John Claidon Coriar, and of Richard Turning Baker.

The history of John Claidon Coriar of London, and Richard Turning Baker. Examined.

The 17. of August 1415. did personally appeare John Claidon Coriar of London (arrested by the maior of the said citie for the suspicion of heresie) before Henry archbishop of Canterbury, in Saint Dunles Church which John (if being objected to him by the archbishop, that in the Citie of London and other places of the province of Canterbury he was suspected by divers goodly and learned men for heresie, and to be contrary to the Catholike faith, and determination of the Church) did openly confesse and denyed not, but that he had bene for the space

of xx. yeeres suspected both about the Citie of London, and also in the Province of Canterbury, and specially of the common sort, for Lollardie and heresie, and to be contrary to the Catholike faith and determination of the Church of Rome, and defamed of the same all the time aforesaid.

Insomuch that, in the time of Maister Robert Baybrooke bishop of London deceased, he was for the space of two yeeres committed to the prison of Contwey for the foresaid defamation & suspicion, and for the same cause also he was in prison in the flate for thre yeeres. Out of which prison he (in the reign of King Henry the fourth) was brought before the Lord John Scarle then Chancellor to the King, and there did abjure all heresie and error. And the said John Claidon being asked of the said archbishop whether he did abjure the heresie of which he was suspect before any other: he did confesse, that in a Convocation at London in Pauls Church before Thomas Arundell late archbishop deceased, he did abjure all such doctrine which they called heresie and error contrary to the Catholike faith and determination of the Church, and that he had not onely left such articles and opinions, wherein he was defamed, but also did abstaine from all company that were suspected of such opinions, so that he should neither give ayde, helpe, counsell, nor favour unto them.

And moreover, the said John was asked by the said archbishop, whether he ever had in his house since his abjuration, in his keeping, any booke written in English. Whereunto he confessed that he would not deny, but that he had in his house, and in his keeping many English bookes; for he was arrested by the Maior of the Citie of London for such bookes as he had, which bookes (as he thought) were in the Maiors keeping. Upon the which the Maior did openly confesse, that he had such bookes in his keeping, which in his judgement were the worst, and the most perverse that ever he did read or see, and one booke that was well bound in red leather, of parchment, written in a good English hand; and among the other bookes found with the said John Claidon, the Maior gave up the said booke before the archbishop. Whereupon the said John Claidon, being asked of the archbishop if he knew that booke, did openly confesse that he knew it very well, because he caused it to be written of his owne costs and charges, for he spent much money thereupon since his abjuration. When was he asked who wrote it. He did answer, one called John Gvine.

And further, being required what the said John Gvine was, he answered, he could not tell. Again, being demanded whether he did ever read the same booke, he did confesse that he could not read, but he had heard the fourth part thereof read of one John Fullar. And being asked whether he thought the contents of that booke to be Catholike, profitable, good, and true: He answered, that many things which he had heard in the same booke were both profitable, good and healthfull to his soule; and as he said, he had great affection to the said booke, for a Sermon preached at Horseldowne, that was written in the said booke. And being further asked, whether, since the time of his said abjuration, he did commune with one Richard Baker of the Citie aforesaid; he did answer, yea: for the said Richard Baker did come often unto his house to have communication with him. And being asked whether he knew the said Richard to be suspected, and defamed of heresie, he did answer againe, that he knew well that the said Richard was suspected and defamed of many men and women in the Citie of London, as one whom they thought to be an heretike.

Which confession being made, he did cause the said booke to be delivered to Maister Robert Gilbert, doctor of divinity, to William Lindwood doctor of both lawes, and other clerkes to be examined, and in the meane time David Beard, Alexander Philip,

KING }  
HEN. 5. }

John Claidon first imprisoned by Robert Baybrooke bishop of London.

John Claidon before abjured.

English books.

The judgement of the maior of London.

Claidon bestowed much money upon English books.

John Claidon could not read.

Richard Turning Baker.

This Turning belike was then in prison.

William Lindwood, doctor of both lawes.



{KING  
{HEN.5.

Philip and Balthazar Hero were taken for witnesses against him, and were committed to be examined to master Iohn Escourt generall examiner of Canterbury. This done, the archbishop continued his Session till Sunday next in the same place. Which Sunday being come, which was the 22. of the said month, the said master Escourt openly and publickly exhibited the witnesses being openly read before the archbishop, and other bishops: which being read, then after that were read divers tradations, found in the house of the said Iohn Claydon: out of the which being examined, divers points were gathered and noted for heresies and errors, and specially out of the booke aforesaid, which broke the said Iohn Claydon confessed by his owne cofts to be written and bound, which booke was intituled, The Lanthorne of light. In the which and in the other examined were the Articles under written contained.

1 First, upon the text of the Gospel, how the enemy ore scw the tares, there is said thus: that wicked Antichrist the pope hath sowed among the lawes of Christ his popish and corrupt decrees, which are of no authority, strength, nor valure.

2 That the archbishops and bishops speaking indifferently, are the seats of the beast antichrist, when he sitteth in them and raigeth above other people in the darke caves of errors and heresies.

3 That the bishops licence, for a man to preach the word of God, is the true Character of the beast. antichrist, and therefore simple and faithful priests may preach when they will against the prohibition of that antichrist, and without licence.

4 That the court of Rome is the chiefe head of antichrist, and the bishops be the body: and the new sects, that is the monkes, canons, and fyers, brought in not by Christ, but damnable by the pope, be the venomous and pestiferous taile of Antichrist.

5 That no reprobate is a member of the Church, but onely such as be elected and predestinate to salvation: sating the Church is no other thing but the congregation of faithful soules, which doe and will keepe their faith constantly, as well in deed as in word.

6 That Christ did never plant private religions in the Church, but whilst he lived in this world he did roote them out. By which it appeareth that private religions be unprofitable branches in the Church, and to be rooted out.

7 That the materiall Churches should not be decked with gold, silver, and precious stone sumptuously, but the followers of the humility of Iesus Christ ought to worship their Lord God humbly in meane and simple houses, and not in great buildings, as the Churches be now adaves.

8 That there be two chiefe causes of the persecution of the Christians: one is, the Bishops unlawfull keeping of temporall and superfluous goods: the other is, the unattable begging of the fyers, with their high buildings.

9 That almes is not given vertuously nor lawfully, except it be given with these foure conditions: first, unlesse it be given to the honor of God: secondly, unlesse it be given of goods justly gotten: thirdly, unlesse it be given to such a person as the giver thereof knoweth to be in charitie: and fourthly, unlesse it be given to such as have need, and do not dissemble.

10 That the often singing in the Church is not founded in the Scripture, and therefore it is not lawfull for Priests to occupy them selves with singing in the Church, but with the study of the law of Christ, and preaching his word.

11 That Iudas did receive the body of Christ in bread and his blood in wine. In the which it doth plainly appeare, that after consecration of bread and wine made, the same bread and wine that was before, doth truly remaine on the altar.

12 That all ecclesiasticall suffrages doe profit all

vertuous and godly persons indifferently.

13 That the popes and the bishops indulgences be unprofitable, neither can they profit them to whom they be given by any means.

14 That the laity is not bound to obey the prelates what eever they command, unlesse the prelates doe watch to give God a just account of the sences of them.

15 That images are not to be sought to by pilgrimages, neither is it lawfull for Christians to bow their knees to them, neither to kisse them, nor to give them any manner of reverence. For the which articles, the archbishop with other bishops, and divers learned communing together, first condemned the bookes as hereticall, and burned them in fire: and then because they thought the said Iohn Claydon to be forsworne and false into heresie, the archbishop did proceed to his definitive sentence against the said Iohn personally appearing before him in judgement (his confessions being read and deposed against him) after this manner.

IN the name of God, Amen. We Henry by the grace of God Archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and Legate of the Apostolike See, in a certaine cause of hereticall pravity and of relapse into the same, whereupon Iohn Claydon Layman of the Province of Canterbury, was detected, accused and denounced, and in the said our Province of Canterbury publickly defamed (as by publicke fame and common report notoriously to us hath beene knowne) first, sitting in judgement seate and observing all things lawfully required in this behalfe, doe proceed to the pronouncing of the sentence definitive in forme as followeth. The name of Christ being invocated and onely left before our eyes, forasmuch as by the acts and things enacted, produced, exhibited and confessed before us, also by divers signes and evidences we have found the said Iohn Claydon to have beene, and to be publickly and notoriously relapsed againe into his former heresie, heretofore by him abjured; according to the merits and deserts of the said cause, being of us diligently searched, weighed and pondered before, to the intent that the said Iohn Claydon shall not infect other with his scab, by the consent and assent of our reverend brethren Richard Bishop of London, Iohn Bishop of Coventrie and Lichfield, and Steven Bishop of Saint Davids, and of other Doctors as well of Divinity as of both Lawes, and also of other discreet and learned men assisting us in this behalfe, we doe judge, pronounce, and declare the said Iohn Claydon to be relapsed againe into his heresie, which he before did abjure, finally and definitively appointing him to be left unto the secular judgement, and so doe leave him by these presents.

Thus Iohn Claydon, receiving his judgement and condemnation of the archbishop, was committed to the secular power, and by them unjustly and unlawfully was committed to the fire, so: that the temporall magistrate had no such law sufficient for them to burne any such man for religion condemned of the prelates, as is above sufficiently proved and declared. But to be short, Quo iure, quaque injuria, Iohn Claydon notwithstanding by the temporall magistrates not long after was had to Smithfield, where meekely he was made a burnt offering unto the Lord, Anno 1415.

Robert Fabian, and other Chronologers which follow him, adde also that Richard Turning Bachelor, of whom mention is made before in the examination of Iohn Claydon, was likewise the same time burned with him in Smithfield. Albeit in the Register I finde no sentence of condemnation given against the said Turning, neither yet in the Story of Saint Albans is there any such mention of his burning made, but onely of the burning of Iohn Claydon aforesaid: wherefore the judgement hereof I leave free to the Reader. Notwithstanding,

Aaaa 2

concerning

The bookes of Iohn Claydon burned.

The sentences and condemnation of Iohn Claydon.

Iohn Claydon committed to the secular power. The Law of combustion, insufficient.

The death and martyrdom of Iohn Claydon.

Iohn Claydon, Richard Turning martyr.

An English booke intitled, The Lanthorne of light.

The head and taile of antichrist.

This is true, speaking of the true state of the Church.

Two causes of persecution noted.

Foure conditions in giving almes.

That bread is made in the Sacrament.



concerning the said Turming this is certaine, that he was accused to the Bishops, and no doubt was in their hands, and hands. What afterward was done with him, I referre it unto the Authoꝝ.

The burning of John Claidon, and  
Richard Turming.



The next yere after the burning of these two aforesaid, and also of Iohn Hus being burnt at Constance, which was An. 1416. the prelates of England seeing the daily encrease of the Gospel, and fearing the ruine of their papall kingdome, were busily occupied with all their counsell and diligence to maintaine the same. Wherefore to make their state and kingdome sure, by statutes, lawes, constitutions, and terror of punishment, as Thomas Arundell, and other prelates had done before, so the forenamed Henry Chicheley archbishop of Canterbury, in his convocation holden at London, maketh another constitution (as though there had not enough beene made before) against the poore Lollards; the coppie and tenor whereof he sendeth abroad to the bishop of London, and to other his Suffragans, by them to be put in straight execution, containing in wordes as followeth.

Ex Regist. Chicheley. 217.

**H**ENRY by the grace of God archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, and Legate of the chief seat, to our reverend brother in the Lord, Richard by the grace of God Bishop of London, health and brotherly love, with continuall increase. Wately in our last convocation in S. Pauls Church in London, being kept by you and other our brethren and clergy of our province, we doe remember to have made this order under written by your consents: When as among many other our cares this ought to be chiefe, that by some meanes we may take those heretikes, which like foxes lurke and hyde themselves in the Lords vineyard; and that the dust of negligence may be utterly shaken from our secte and from the feete of our fellow brethren; in this the said convocation of the prelates and clergy, we have ordained, that our fellow brethren, our Suffragans, and archdeacons of our province of Canterbury, by themselves, their Officials or Commissaries in

their jurisdictions, and every of their charges in their country, twice every yere at the least, doe diligently inquire of such persons as are suspect of heresie; and that in every such their archdeacons in every parish, wherein is reported any heretikes to inhabit, they cause three or more of the honestest men and best reported of, to take their oath upon the holy Evangelist, that if they shall know or understand any frequenting either in priory conventicles, or else differing in life or manners from the common conversation of other catholike men, or else that hold any either heresies or errors, or else that have any suspected bookes in the English tongue, or that doe receiue any such persons suspect of heresies and errors into their houses, or that be labourers of them that are inhabitants in any such place, or conversant with them, or else have any recourse unto them; they make certificates of those persons in writing, with all the circumstances wherewith they are suspect, unto the said our suffragans or archdeacons, or to their commissaries, so soone, and with as much speed as possibly they can; And that the said Archdeacon, and every of their Commissaries aforesaid, doe declare the names of all such persons denounced together with all the circumstances of them, the diocess, and places, and secretly under their seales doe send over unto us the same: and that the same diocessans effectually direct forth lawfull processe against them, as the quality of the cause requireth, and that with all diligence they discern, define and execute the same.

And if perhaps they leave not such persons convicted unto the secular court, yet notwithstanding, let them commit them unto the perpetuall or temporall prisons, as the quality of the cause shall require, untill the next convocation of the prelates and clergy of our province of Canterbury, there personally to remaine; and that in the same Prisons they cause them to be kept according as the law requireth: And that of all and singular the things aforesaid, that is, what inquisition they have made, and what they have found, and how in the processe they have behaved themselves, and what persons so convicted they have caused to be put in safe keeping, with what diligence or negligence of the commissaries aforesaid, with all and all manner of other circumstances presumed, and thereunto in any wise appertaining, and specially of the abjurations, if in the meane time they shall chauce to abjure any heresies: that then in the next convocation of the prelates and clergy under the forme aforesaid, they cause the same finally and apertly to be certified to us and our successors: And that they deliver effectually to the Officiall of our court, the same processe to remaine with them, or else in the register of our court of Canterbury, so that every one, to whom such things appertaine for the further execution of the same processe, may have recourse unto the same officiall with all effect.

We therefore command, that as touching the constitution brought unto your City and Diocessan, you cause the same in convenient place and time to be published, and that in all points you both observe the same you selves, and cause it also of others to be diligently observed: Commanding furthermore all and singular our fellow brethren and Suffragans, that they in like wise cause the same to be published throughout all their Cities and diocesse, and both diligently observe the same themselves, and also cause all others doe the same: and what thing soever you shall doe in the premises, that you certifie us betwixt this and the feast of Saint Peter ad vincula next coming, that you duly certifie us of these things, by your letters patents, containing the same effect, sealed with your seales. Dated at our house in London, the first day of July, Anno 1416.

During the time of this convocation in the yere aforesaid, two Priests were presented and brought before the bishops, noted and defamed for heretikes, one

SKING  
HEN. 5.  
Twice every yere to enquire for Lollards.

Against priory conventicles. To differ from the common sort in life and manners; against the popes law. Against English bookes.

Anno 1416.

You should be better occupied to shake off the dust from your dusty Pulpits.



**KING HENRY.**  
The trouble of John Barton, and Robert Chapell in cause of religion.  
This Philip seemeth to be Philip Revington afore mentioned in the story of Wickliffe.

one named John Barton, unto whom it was objected by Philip bishop of Lincolne, that he had been excommunicated about fixe or seven yeeres before, upon articles concerning religion, and yet neither would appeare being cited, nor would seeke to be reconciled againe unto the Church. Which things being so probed against him, he was committed to the custody of the foresaid Philip bishop of Lincolne, and so to be holden in prison, till he should heare further what should be done.

The other was Robert Chapell, otherwise named Wolbech, chaplaine sometimes to the Lord Cobham; unto whom likewise it was objected, that he being under the sentence of excommunication about thre or foure yeeres, yet notwithstanding to the contempt of the keyes, did continue saying masse, and preaching, and sought not to be reconciled; Chapell denying that he did know any such excommunication given out against him. Then was the copie of his excommunication first made by the bishop of Ross, afterward denounced by the Bishop of London at Pauls crosse, brought and read before him: and so that done that Session brake up for that time, which was about the latter end of May, Anno 1416.

The xii. day of the moneth of July next following, the said Chapell appeared againe before the archbishop and the prelates. To whom when it was objected as before, how he had preached without the Bishops licence in divers places, as at Cobham, at Cowling, and at Shorne; at length he confessing and submitting himself, desired pardon. Which although it was not at the first granted unto him, yet at the last the Bishop of Ross, putting in his hands the decrees of the canon law; i. q. 7. cap. Quoties, &c. And causing him to read the same, made him to abjure all his former articles and opinions as hereticall and schismaticall, never to hold the same againe, according to the contents of the foresaid Canon. Whereupon the said Robert being absolved by the authority of the Archbishop, (save onely that he should not intermeddle with saying masse before he had bene dispensed from the pope himselfe for irregularity) was injoynd by the Archbishop himselfe for his penance, standing at Pauls to publish these articles following unto the people, in stead of his confession given him to be read.

In primis, I confesse that bishops, priests and other ecclesiasticall persons, having no other precession to the contrary, may lawfully have, receive, and retaine lands and possessions temporall, to dispense and dispose the same and the rents thereof, to the behoofe of themselves, or of their Church where they dwell, according as seemeth good to them.

2 Item, I confesse that it were very unlawfull, yea rather unjust, that temporall men upon any occasion, whatsoever it be, should take away temporall lands and possessions from the Church, either universall or particular, to which they are given, the consideration of the abuse of mortall prelates, priests, or other ministers in the Church conversant (which are mixt together good with bad) abusing the same, to the contrary notwithstanding.

3 Item, I confesse that peregrinations to the reliques of Saints and to holy places are not prohibited; nor to be contemned of any Catholike, but are available to remission of finnes, and approved of holy fathers, and worthy to be commended.

4 Item, I confesse that to worship the images of Christ or of any other Saints, being set up in the Church, or in any other place, is not forbidden; neither is any cause inducible of idolatry, being so used as the holy fathers doe will them to be worshipped; But rather such images do profit much to the health of Christians, because they doe put us in remembrance of the merits of those Saints whom they represent and the sight of them doth move and stirre up the people to prayers and devotion.

5 Item, I confesse that auricular confession used in

the Church is necessary for a sinner to the salvation of his soule, and necessary to be done of such a priest, as is ordained by the Church to heare the confession of the sinner, and to enioyne him penance for the same, without which confession if it may be had, there is no remission of finnes to him that is in sin mortall.

6 Item, I confesse and firmly doe hold, that although the Priest be in mortall sinne, yet may he make the body of Christ and minister other Sacraments and Sacramentals, which nevertheless are profitable to all the faithfull whosoever receive them in faith and devotion of the Church.

7 Item, I confesse that bishops in their owne diocesses may forbid, decre, or ordaine upon reasonable causes, that priests should not preach, without their speciall licence, the Word of God, and that those that doe against the same should suffer the ecclesiasticall censures.

8 Item, I confesse that priuate religions, as well of monkes, canons and other, as also of the begging fryers, being allowed by the Church of Rome, are profitable to the universall Church, and in no means contrary to Gods Law, but rather founded and authorized thereon.

9 Item, I promise and sweare upon these holy Evangelists, which I hold here in my hands, that I will henceforth never hold, affirme, nor by any means teach any thing contrary unto the premises either openly or privately.

After the setting out of the constitution aforesaid in the dayes of the abovenamed Henry Chicheley Archbishop of Canterbury, great inquisition hereupon followed in England, and many good men, whose hearts began to be wonne to the Gospel, were brought to much vexation and caused outwardly to abiure.

Thus, while Christ had the inward hearts of men; yet the catholike antichrist would needs possess their outward bodies, and make them sing after his song. In the number of whom, being compelled to abjure, besides the other aforesaid, was also John Taylor of the parish of St. Michaels at Querne: William James, master of Art and Physicion, who had long remained in prison, and at length after abjuration, was licensed with his keeper to practise his physick.

Also John Dwarf, so named for his low stature, which was sent by the Duke of Bedford to the foresaid Chicheley and other Bishops to be examined before them in the convocation: there he at length revolting from his doctrine recanted and did penance.

In like manner John Jourdelay of Lincolnshire, well commended in the Registers for his learning, accused by the priests of Lincolne for a certain book, which he contrary to the former decrees of the bishops did conceale and did not exhibite unto them, was therfore enforced to abiure. After whom was brought likewise before the Bishops one Katharin Derisford a Spinster, who being accused and examined upon these 3. Articles concerning the Sacrament of the Popes altar, adoration of images, and of pilgrimage, answered that she was not able, being unlearned to answer to such high matters, neither had she any further skill, but onely her Creed and tenne Commandements; and so was she committed to the vicar generall of the Bishop of Wint. (for that she was of the same diocess) to be kept and further to be examined of the same. Ex Regist. H. Chicheley.

At the same sitting was also brought before the said Archbishop and his fellow Bishops, by the Lieutenant of the Tower, the Parson of Heggely in Lincolnshire, named M. Rob. who being long kept in the Tower, at length by the Kings writ was brought and examined the same time upon the like articles, to wit, touching the Sacrament of their Altar, peregrination, adoration of Images, and whether it was lawfull for spirituall men to enjoy temporall lordships, &c. To the which articles he answered

Aaaa 3

By this it is manifest that the priests, by their counsel, did cause the same to be done.

How can these priests be the doctors of Christ which be the keys of Church.

Private Religion prohibited, it is well known.

Strait inquisition in England.

Christ had the hearts of men they had their bodies.

At this time of the abjuration, were Henry Chicheley, John Taylor, &c. Examined.

John Dwarf.

J. Jourdelay.

J. Jourdelay abjurer.

Robert Parson of Heggely examined.



(saith the Register) doubly and mockingly, save onely in the Sacrament he seemed something more conformable, albeit not yet fully to their contentation. Wherefore being committed to the custody and examination of Richard bishop of Lincoln, in the end he was also induced to submit himselfe.

At Henry of Wenterden examined.

The same likewise did M. Henry of Wenterden, being suspected and arrested for company keeping with them whom the bishops called Lollards, and for having suspected bookes.

A booke of the new law.  
F. Calle.  
Rob. Donke.  
Bert. Cornmenger.  
Th. Hoyer.  
Th. Granter, troubled for their doctrine.

Besides these, divers other there were also which in the same conbocation were contented and reboked their opinions, as F. Calle a priest of London, for having a booke in English, intituled, A booke of the new law. Item, Richard Donk, vicar of Chesham in Lincolnshire, who submitted himself likewise. In this case and number followed moreover, Bartholomew Cornmenger, Ric. Hoyer servant to the Lord Cobham, Thomas Granter with other more, mentioned in the foresaid Register.

Among the rest which were at this time troubled for their faith, was one Radulph Hugin Priest, who for the same doctrine was arrested and sent by the Lord Chancellor of England, to the foresaid Archbishop, and by him committed to David Price, vicar generall to the Bishop of London: Where after he had endured four moneths in prison, he was by the said David presented to the conbocation, against whom divers articles were objected.

A subsidie gathered by the Pope to fight against the faithfull of Bohemia.

But for the better explaining of the matter, first here is to be noted, that touching the time of this conbocation provinciall, Pope Martin had sent downe to the clergy of England for a subsidie to be gathered of the Church, to maintaine the Popes war against the Lollards (so the papists did terme them) of Bohemia. Also another subsidie was demanded to persecute one Peter Clerke master of Art of Oxford, who flying out of England, was at the councell of Basil, disputing on the Bohemians side. And thirdly, another subsidie was also required to persecute William Russell, Warden of the gray friers in London, who the same time was fled from England to Rome, to maintaine his opinion before the pope, and there escaped out of prison, &c. of whom more largely hereafter (Christ willing) we shall entreate. In the meane time marke here the pretty shifts of the Pope to hooke in the English money, by all manner of pretences possible.

Romish sleights to get the English money.

Articles objected against Rafe Hugin.

Thus Rafe Hugin, the foresaid examinee, appearing before the Bishops in the conbocation, it was articulated against him, first that he should affirme and hold, that it was not lawfull for any Christian to fight and make warre against the hereticks of Bohemia.

Item, it was to him objected, that he did hold and say, that it was not lawfull for any man to have propriety of goods, but the same to be common; which he expressly denied that ever he so said or affirmed. Whereby we have to observe how the crafty malice of these adberfaries useth falsely to collect and surmise of men, what they never spake, whereby to oppresse them wrongfully whom by plaine truth they cannot expugne.

Moreover, they objected against him, that he should keep company with master Clerke aforesaid, and also that he dispersed in the Citie of London certain bookes of John Wickliffe and of Peter Clerk, namely the Booke Trialogus, and the Gospels of John Wickliffe, &c. He was charged moreover to have spoken against the popes indulgences, affirming that the pope had no more power to give indulgences then he had.

Trialogus.  
The Gospels translated by J. Wickliffe.

Upon these and other such Articles objected, the said Hugin, being asked if he would reboke, answered that it seemed to him not just or meete so to doe, which did not know himselfe guilty of any heresie. Thus he being respited for the time, was com-

mitted to prison till the next sitting, who then being called divers and sundry times afterward before the bishops, after long inquisition and straight examination made, also depositions brought in against him so much as they could search out, he notwithstanding still denied as before to recant. Wherefore the foresaid Henry the Archbishop, proceeding to his sentence definitive, condemned him to perpetuall prison.

Radulph Hugin condemned to perpetuall prison.

After whose condemnation, the Sunday next following the recantation of Thomas Granter, and of Richard Donke Priests above mentioned, were openly read at Pauls Crosse; the bishop of Rochester the same time preached at the said Crosse. The tenour of whose recantation, which his articles in the same expressed, hereunder followeth.

Thomas Granter.  
Richard Donke.

In the name of God. Before you my lord of Canterbury, and all you my lords here being present, and afoze you all here gathered at this time. I Thomas Granter priest unworthy, dwelling in the citie of London, feeling and understanding that afoze this time I affirmed open errors and heresies saying, beleaving, and affirming within this citie, that he that Christian men callen pope, is not very pope, ner Gods vicary in earth, but I said he was Antichrist. Also I said, beleaved, and affirmed, that after the sacramentall words said by a priest in the masse, there remaineth materiall bread and wine, and is not turned into Christs body and His blood. Also I

The recantation of Thomas Granter.  
Note the doctrine and opinions in those days, where the Gospel took place.

said and affirmed that it was not to doe in no wise, to goe on pilgrimage, but it was better I said to abide at home and beat the stoles with their beeles; for it was, I said, but tre and stone that they sought. Also I said and affirmed that I held no Scripture catholike ner holy, but onely that is contained in the Bible. For the Legends and lives of Saints, I held hem nought, and the miracles written of hem I held untrue. Because of which errors and heresies I was afoze master Dabe Price vicar generall of my lord of London, and since afoze you my lord of Canterbury and your brethren in your Councell provinciall, and by you fully informed, which I said, mine affirming, beleaving and teaching bene open errors and heresies, and contrarious to the determination of the Church of Rome. Wherefore I willing to follow and sewe the doctrine of holy Church, and depart fro all manner errors and heresie, and turne with good will and heart to the one head of the Church, considering that holy Church shitteth ner closeth not her bosome to him that will turne again, ne God will not the death of a sinner, but rather he ben turned and live; with a pure heart I confesse, detest, and despise my said errors and heresies, and the said opinions I confesse as heresies and errors to the faith of the Church of Rome, and to all universally holy Church repugnant. And therefore these said opinions in speciall, and all other errors and heresies, doctrines and opinions, aye the faith of the Church, and the determinations of the Church of Rome, I abiure and forswear heretofore you all, and sweare by these holy Gospels by me bodily touched, that from henceforth I shall never hold, teach, ne preach error, errors, heresie, ne heresies, nor false doctrine against the faith of holy Church, and determination of the Church of Rome ner none such thing I shall obstinately defend, ne any man holding or teaching such manner things by me or any other person, openly or privily I shall defend, I shall never after this time be receitor, fautor, counsellor, or defensor of heretikes, or of any person suspect of heresie, ner I shall grow to him, ner wittingly fellowship with him, ner geve him counsell, favour, gifts, ne comfort. And if I know any heretikes, or of heresie, or of such false opinions any person suspect, or any man or woman making or holding pryvy conventicles, or assemblies, or any divers or singular opinions from the common doctrine of the Church

One head, that is, the unities of the Church.

Denied to the Church of Rome.



**KING** of Rome, or if I may know any of their fautors, comforters, counsellors, or defenders. or any that have suspect books or quiers of such errors and heresies: I shall let you my lord of Canterbury; or your officers in your absence, or the Diocelans and Ordinaries of such men, have look and ready knowing, to help me God and holydome, and these holy Evangelies by me bodily touched.

The affliction and trouble in Kent under Whicheley.

After this recantation at the crosse thus published, and his submission made, the said Granter then was by the abbice of the Diocelates put to seven years imprisonment, under the custody and charge of the Bishop of London.

After this followed in like manner the recantation of Richard Spoke. Also of Edmund Frith, which was before Butler to sir John Oldcastle.

Besides these above remembered, many and divers there be in the said register recorded, in who like wife for their faith and religion were greatly bereaved and troubled, especially in the diocesse of Kent, in the Townes of Romney, Wenterden, Wadchurch, Crumbrook, Stophelherst, Beninden, Walden, Rolbenyden and others, whereas whole households, both man and wife, were driven to forsake their houses and townes for danger of persecution: as sufficiently appeareth in the processe of the Archbishop Whicheley against the said persons, and in the certificate of Wurbath his officiall, wherein are named these persons following,

1. W. White Priest.
2. Th. Grensted Priest.
3. Bartho. Cornmonger.
4. John Wadnon.
5. Ioan his wife.
6. Tho. Everden.
7. William Everden.
8. Steven Robin.

9. W. Chiveling.
10. Iohn Tame.
11. Iohn Fowlin.
12. William Somer.
13. Marian his wife.
14. Iohn Abraham.
15. Robert Munden.
16. Laurence Coke.

These being cited up together by the bishop would not appeare. Whereupon great inquisition being made for them by his officers, they were constrained to flee their houses and townes, and shift for themselves as covertly as they might. When Wurbath and other officers had sent word to the Archbishop that they could not be found, then he directed downe order that Citations should be set up for them on every Church dore thorow all townes where they did inhabit, appointing them a day and terme when to appeare. But notwithstanding, when as they yet could not be taken, neither would appeare, the Archbishop sitting in his tribunall seat, proceedeth to the sentence of excommunication against them. What afterward happened to them in the Register doth not appeare: but like it is, at length they were forced to submit themselves.

Concerning sir John Oldcastle the lord Cobham, and of his first apprehension, with his whole story and life, sufficiently hath been expressed before, how he being committed to the Tower, and condemned falsely of heresie, escaped afterward out of the Tower and was in Wales about the space of four yeeres. In the which meane time, a great sum of money was proclaimed by the King to him that could take the said sir John Oldcastle, either quicke or dead. About the end of which four yeeres being expired, the lord Holmes, whether for love or greedynesse of the money, or whether for hatred of the true and sincere doctrine of Christ, seeking all manner of waies how to play the part of Judas, at length obtained his bloody purpose, and brought the lord Cobham bound up to London; which was about the yeare of our Lord, 1417. and about the moneth of December. At which time there was a parliament assembled in London, for the reliefe of money the same time to be sent to the king, whom the bishops had sent out (as ye heard before) to fight in France. The records of which parliament doe thus

say: that on Tuesday the fourteenth day of December, and the nine and twentieth day of the said Parliament, Sir John Oldcastle of Cowling in the County of Kent, Knight, being outlawed (as is aforeminded) in the Kings Bench, and excommunicated before by the Archbishop of Canterbury for heresie, was brought before the lords, and having heard his said convictions, answered not thereto in his excuse. Upon which record and processe it was adjudged that he should be taken as a traitour to the king and the Realme that he should be carried to the Tower of London, and from thence by wine thorow London unto the new Gallies in Saint Giles without Temple barre, and there to be hanged, and burned hanging.

As touching the pretended treason of this lord Cobham falsely ascribed unto him in his inditement, rising upon wrong suggestion and false surmise, and aggravated by rigour of words rather than upon any ground of due probacion, sufficiently hath beene discoursed before in my defence of the said lord Cobham, against Alanus Copus. Where againe it is to be noted, as I said before, and by this it appeareth that the lord Cobham was never executed by force of the inditement or outlawry, because if he had, he should then have bene brought to the barre in the Kings Bench, and there the Judges should have demanded of him, what he could have said, why he should not have died; and then not shewing sufficient cause for the discharge or delay of execution, the Judges should have awarded and given the judgement of treason; which being not so, it is cleare he was not executed upon the inditement. Besides, to prove that he was not executed upon the inditement and the outlawry, the manner of the execution proveth it, because it was neither an execution of a traitor, nor was the whole punishment thereof pronounced by the Judge, as by due order of law was requisite.

Finally, as I said before, here I repeate againe, that albeit the said lord Cobham was attainted of treason by the act, and that the King, the Lords, and the Commons assented to the act: yet all that bindeth not in such sort (as if indeed he were no traitor) that any man may not by search of the truth, utter and set forth sincerely and justly the very true and certaine cause whereupon his execution did follow. Which seemeth by all circumstance and firme arguments, to rise principally of his religion, which first brought him in hatred of the bishops; the bishops brought him in hatred of the King; the hatred of the King brought him to his death and Wardensome. And thus much for the death and execution of this worthy servant of Christ the lord Cobham.

Moreover, in the records above mentioned it followeth, how in the said Parliament, after the Martyrdom of this valiant Knight, motion then was made, that the lord Holmes might be thanked and rewarded, according to the Proclamation made for his great travell taken in the apprehension of sir John Oldcastle Knight, heretike. Thus stand the words of the record. Where two things are to be noted: first, how sir John here in the Record is called not traitor, but heretike onely. Secondly, marke how this brother of Judas here craveth his reward for betraying the innocent blood. Wherein it is not to be doubted, but that his light face, and quid vultis mihi dare in this world, will have an heavy reward hereafter in the world to come, unlesse he repented, &c.

Furthermore, in the said Parliament, Act, 17. it was enacted that the Church and all estates should enjoy all their liberties, which were not repealed, or repealeable by the common law; meaning belike the excluding of the jurisdiction of the Bishops for same power, which hath alwayes by the common law been excluded out of this Realme.

Treason falsely submitted.

With false.

Judas seeketh for his reward.

An. s. Hen. 5. Act. 17.

The

Persons persecuted in Kent.

The second apprehension of the lord Cobham.

The L. Holmes mayeth Judas.



## The description of the cruell Martyrdome of Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham.



An. 5. Hen. 5.  
Act. 17.

All the blame  
laid to the  
Lollards.

In the same Parliament also a grievous complaint was made (by the bishops no doubt) against insurrections. In the end they suspected that they were the Lollards, heretikes and traitours, with a request that commissions might at all times be granted to inquire of them. Whereunto answer was made, that the statutes therefore made should be executed, &c. Thus the clergy, Tanquam leones rugientes, ceased not to roare after Christian blood: and whosoever was else in fault, still the clergy cried, Crucifie Christ, and deliver us Barabbas, for then all horrible facts and mischiefs, if any were done, were imputed to the poore Lollards.

And now from our English matters, to returne againe to the story of the Bohemians, from whence we have a little digressed: when as the news of the barbarous cruelty exercised at Constance against John Hus, and Hierome of Prague, were noised in Boheme, the Nobles and Gentlemen of Moravia and Boheme, such as favoured the cause of John Hus, gathering themselves together in the zeale of Christ: first sent their letter unto the counsell, exhorting with them for the injury done to those godly men, as is before expressed. For the which letter they were all cited up to the counsell. Unto this letter Sigismund the Emperour maketh answer againe in the name of the whole counsell; first, excusing himselfe of John Hus his death, which hee said was against his late conduct, and against his will: Informing that he rose in anger from the Counsell, and departed out of Constance, as is before remembered. Secondly, he requireth them to be quiet, and to conform themselves peaceably unto the order of the Catholike Church of Rome, &c.

Also the counsell hearing of fearing some stirre to rise among the Bohemians, did make lawes and articles whereby to bridle them, to the number of xiiij.

Articles decreed in the  
Counsell of  
Constance  
against the  
Bohemians.

First, that the King of Bohemia shall be sworne to give obedience and to defend the liberties of the Church of Rome.

That all Pastors, Doctors and Priests shall be sworne to abjure the doctrine of Wickliffe and Hus, in that Counsell condemned.

That all they which being cited would not appear, should also be sworn to abjure: and they which would not appeare, condemning the censure of the keyes, should have process against them, and be punished.

That all such lay men as had defended the causes of John Wickliffe and John Hus, should sweare to defend them no more, and to approve the doings of that Counsell, and the condemnation of John Hus.

That all such secular men as had spoiled the clergy should be sworne to restitution.

That Priests being expelled from their benefices, should be restored againe.

That all profaners of Churches should be punished after the canonically sanctions.

That such as had bene promoters in the counsell against John Hus, should be permitted safely to returne into Boheme againe, and to enjoy their benefices.

That the reliques and treasure taken out of the Church of Prague, should be restored fully againe.

That the University of Prague should be restored againe and reformed, and that they which had bene the disturbers thereof should be really punished.

That the principall heretikes and doctors of that sect should be sent up to the Sea Apostolike, namely, Iohannes Ieffenez, Iacobellus de Misna, Simon de Tysna, Simon de Rochinzano, Christianus de Bracharitz, Ioannes Cardinalis, Zdenko de loben, The pprobst of Alhallowes, Zaislaus de Suiertitz, and Michael de Czisko.

The favourers  
of John Hus  
in Boheme.

That



KING  
HENRY.

This suffragan  
was a good  
man, and held  
with J. Hus.  
Whelkisses  
books transla-  
ed by J. Hus  
and Jacobel-  
us, into the  
Bohemian  
speech.

Concilium ma-  
lignum.

Depositing of  
Dope John  
Ex hyst. Albani.

The election of  
Dope Martin.  
The Emperor  
kisseth the  
Popes feet.

Dope Martine

That all Secular men, which communicated un-  
der both kindes, should abjure that heresie, and  
swear to stop the same hereafter.

That they which were ordained priests by the suf-  
fragane of the archbishop of Prague, taken by the  
lord Zenczo, should not be dispensed with, but sent  
up to the Sea Apostolike.

That the treatises of John Wickliffe, translated  
into the Bohemian tongue by John Hus, and Jaco-  
bellus, should be brought to the Ordinary.

That the treatises of John Hus, condemned in the  
councell, should also be brought to the Ordinary.

That all the tradations of Jacobellus De utra-  
que specie de Antichristo (wherein he calleth the  
Dope Antichrist) Et de remanentia panis post con-  
secrationem, should likewise be brought and burned.

That all songs and ballets made to the prejudice  
of the councell, and of the Catholike persons of both  
states, should be forbid to be sung in cities, townes  
and villages, under great and extreame punishment.

That none should preach the word without the li-  
cence of the Ordinary, or of the Parson of that place.

That Ordinaries and Prelates, having jurisdic-  
tion, should not be stopped in their jurisdiction, by the  
secular power, under paine of excommunication.

That all and singular persons shall be command-  
ed to obedience, under pain of excommunication:  
and that whosoever knoweth any person to favour  
any Wickeliffs or their doctrine, or that keepeth  
company with suspect persons, he shall present the  
same to his Diocessans or his his Officials.

That the confederacy of the seculars made be-  
twene themselves, or any of the spirituality, to the  
prejudice of the foresaid councell, and of the Aposto-  
like Sea and Church of Rome in the favor of John  
Hus, Hierome of Prague, and other in the said coun-  
cell condemned, shall be dissolved.

That the rites and ceremonies of Christian reli-  
gion, touching Gods service, images, and worship-  
ping of reliques shall be observed, and transgressors  
of the same be punished.

That all and singular, either spirituall or secular  
that shall preach, teach, hold, or maintaine the opi-  
nions and articles of John Wickliffe, John Hus,  
and Hierome, in this councell condemned, and con-  
vict of the same, shall be holden for heretikes, and  
falling in relapse shall be burned.

That all secular persons being monished and  
charged by the Ordinaries, shall be bound to give  
their aid and furtherance unto them touching the  
premisses.

The Bohemians, notwithstanding these cruell  
articles, condemning the vaine devices of these pre-  
lates and fathers of the councell, ceased not to pro-  
ceed in their league and purpose begun, joyning  
themselves more strongly together.

In this meane time it happened, that during this  
councell of Constance, after the depositing of Dope  
John, and spoling of his goods, which came to 75.  
thousand pounds of gold and silver, as is reported in  
the story of Saint Albans, Dope Martine upon the  
day of Saint Martine, was elected. Concerning  
whose election great preparation was made before  
of the Councell, so that beside the Cardinals, five  
other bishops of every nation should enter into the  
conclave, who there together should be kept with  
thin diet, till they had founde a Dope. At last, when  
they were together, they agreed upon this man, and  
not tarrying for opening the doore, like mad men for  
haste they brast open an hole in the wall, crying out,  
Habemus Papam Martynum. We have a Martine  
Dope. The Emperor hearing thereof, with the like  
haste came apace, and falling downe kisseth the new  
Popes feet. Then went they all to the church toge-  
ther, and sang Te Deum.

The next day following, this Martine was made  
priest (which before was but a cardinall deacon) and  
the next day after was consecrate bishop, and sang

his first masse, whereat was present 140. mitred  
Bishops. After this the next morrow, the new holy  
pope ordained a generall procession, where a certain  
clerke was appointed to stand with flare, and fire;  
who setting the flare on fire, thus said, Ecce pater  
sancte, sic tranfit gloria mundi. Behold holy father,  
thus vadeth the transitory glow of this World.  
Which done, the same day the holy father was  
brought up unto an high Scaffold (saith the story). I  
will not say to an high mountaine, where was offer-  
red to him all the glow of the world, &c. there to be  
crowned for a triple King. This done, the same day  
after dinner, the new crowned pope was with great  
triumph brought through the midst of the cite of  
Constance, where all the bishops and abbats fol-  
lowed with their miters. The popes horse was all  
trapt with red skarlet downe to the ground. The  
Cardinals horses were all in white silk; the em-  
peror on the right side, and Prince Elector on the  
left, (playing both the popes footemen) went on  
fote, leading the popes horse by the bridle.

As this Pageant thus with the great giant pro-  
ceeded, and came to the market place, there the  
Jewes (according to the manner) offered to him  
their law and ceremonies. Which the Pope recei-  
ving cast behinde him, saying, Recedant veterana  
sunt omnia. i. Let old things passe, all things be  
made new, &c. Ex hyst. S. Aib. ex paralip. Vrlperg.  
This was Anno, 1417.

Thus the pope, being now confirmed in his king-  
dome, first beginneth to write his letters to the Bo-  
hemians, wherein partly he moneth them to catho-  
like obedience, partly he dissembleth with them, say-  
ning that if it were not for the Emperors request,  
he would enter proccesse against them. Thirdly and  
finally he threatneth to attempt the uttermost a-  
gainst them, and with all force to invade them, as  
well with the Apostolike, as also with the secular  
armie, if they did still persist, as they began.

Albeit, these new threats of the new bishop did  
nothing move the constant hearts of the Bohemi-  
ans, whom the inward zeale of Christs Word had  
before inflamed.

And although it had bene to be wished, such blood-  
shed and warres not to have followed: yet to say the  
truth, how could these Rabines greatly blame them  
herein, whom their bloody tyranny had before pro-  
voked so unjuilly, if now with their glowing letters  
they could not so easily appease them againe?

Wherefore these foresaid Bohemians, partly for  
the love of John Hus and Jerome their country-  
men, partly for the hatred of their malignant pa-  
pistry, assembling together, first agreed to celebrate  
a solenne memoriall of the death of John Hus and  
Jerome, decreeing the same to be holden and cele-  
brate yeerely. And afterward, by meanes of their  
friends they obtained certain Churches of the king,  
wherein they might freely preach and minister the  
Sacraments unto the congregation. This done,  
they suppressed divers monasteries, pharisaicall  
temples, and idolatrous phanes, beginning first  
with the great monastery of the blacke fyers, eight  
miles from Prague, driving away the wicked and  
vicious priests and monkes out of thent, or compell-  
ing them unto a better order. And thus their num-  
ber more and more increasing under the safe conduct  
of a certaine noble man named Nicholas, they went  
againe unto the king, requiring to have more and  
amplier Churches granted unto them. The king  
seemed at the first willingly and gently to give  
eare unto the said Nicholas intreating for the peo-  
ple, and commanded thent to come againe the next  
day.

When the people were departed, the king fur-  
ning himself to the nobleman Nicholas, which tar-  
ied still behinde, said; Thou hast begun a web to put  
me out of my kingdome, but I will make a rope of  
it, wherewithall I will hang thee. Whereupon he  
immediately

The coronation  
of Dope Mar-  
tine.

Meinix equi-  
tas superbi-  
an: A. 1417.

The pope on  
his backe, the  
emperor on  
fote.

Ally then doth  
the pope keepe  
still the old  
Jewes ceremo-  
nies, if all  
things be made  
new?

Anno 2  
1417.

A yeerely me-  
moriall of John  
Hus, and Je-  
rome kept at  
mon: the Bo-  
hemians.

St. Cencelous  
threatneth Ni-  
cholas.



immediately departed out of the kings presence, and the king himself went into the castle of Tilsgrade : within a while after, into a new castle, which he himself had builded five stones casts from thence, sending Embassadors to his brother to require aide.

These Protestants being assembled in the towne of Prague, holding their conventions, the king sent forth his chamberlain with three hundred horsemen to runne upon them ; but he having respect unto his life, fled. When newes thereof was brought unto the king, all that were about him being amazed, utterly detested the fact : but the kings cupbearer standing by, said, I knew before that these things would thus come to passe. Whom the king in a rage taking hold of, threw him downe before his feet, and with his dagger would have slaine him ; but being letted by such as were about him, with much ado he pardoned him his life. Immediately the king being taken with a palsei fel sick, and within eighteen dayes after, when he had marked the names of such whom he had appointed to be put to death, incessantly calling for aide of his brother, and other his friends, he departed this life before the Princes which he had sent unto were come with aide, when he had raigned five and fifty yeres, and was about the age of seven and fifty yeres.

#### The Story of Zisca.

Immediately after the death of Wenceslaus, there was a certaine nobleman named Zisca, bozne at Troisnobla, which from his youth upward was brought up in the kings Court, and had lost one of his eyes in a battell, whereas he had valiantly bozne himselfe. This man being sore grieved for the death of John Hus, and Hierome of Prague, minding to revenge the injuries which the counsell had done, greatly to the dishonor of the kingdom of Boheme, upon their complices and adherents ; he gathered together a number of men of warre, and subverted the Monasteries and idolatrous Temples, pulling downe and breaking in peeces the images and idols, driving away the Priests and Monkes, which he said were kept up in their cloysters, like swine in their sties to be fatted. After this his army being increased, having gathered together about forty thousand men, he attempted to take the castle of Tilsgrade, which was but slenderly warded. From thence the said Zisca, under the conduct of Coranda, went speedily unto Belzina, where he knew he had many friends of his faction, and toke the towne into his power, fortifying the same very strongly, and those which carried behinde, toke the castle of Tilsgrade.

When the Queen Sophia, being very carefull, sent letters and messengers unto the Emperour Sigismund, and other Nobles adjoyned unto her, requiring aid and helpe : but the Emperour made preparation against the Turk, which had then lately won certaine castles of him. Whereupon the Queen seeing all aid so farre off, together with Zenko Marterberge, gathered an host with the kings treasure, and fortified the castle of Prague, and the lesser city which joyneth unto the castle, making gates and towers of wood upon the bridge over the river Multaine, to stop that the protestants should have no passage that way. When it happened that at the Ile of St. Benedict one Peter Sterenberge fought an equal and indifferent battell with them.

In the meane time, the number of the Protestants being increased in Prague, they fought for the bridge. In which battell many were slaine on both parts, but at the length the Hussites won the bridge and the nether part of lesser Prague, the Queens part flying into the upper part thereof : where they turning againe fiercely renewed the battell, and fought continually day and night by the space of five dayes. Many were slaine on both parts, and goodly build-

ings were rased, and the Councell house, which was in a low place, was utterly defaced and burned.

During the time of this troublous estate the Embassadors of the Emperour Sigismund were come : which taking upon them the rule and governance of the Realme, made a truce or league with the City of Prague under this condition, that the castle of Tilsgrade being rendered, it should be lawfull for them to send Embassadors to the Emperour Sigismund to intreate as touching their Estate, and that Zisca should render Pilzina and Pilska with the other forts which he had taken. These conditions thus agreed upon and received, all the forrein Protestants departed out of the City, and the Senate of the City began to govern againe according to their accustomed manner, and all things were quieted. Howbeit, the Papists which were gone out of the Towne, durst not returne againe, but still looked for the Emperour, by whose presence they thought they should have bene safe. But this their hope was frustrate by meanes of certaine letters which were sent from the Emperour, wherein it was writtten, that he would shortly come and rule the kingdom, even after the same order and manner as his father Charles had done before him. Whereupon the Protestants understood that their sect and religion should be utterly banished, which was not begun during the raigne of the said Charles.

About Christmas the Emperour Sigismund came to Bonna, a city of Moravia, and there he pardoned the citizens of Prague, under condition that they would let downe the chaines and barres of the City, and receive his rulers and magistrates. Whereunto the whole city obeyed, and the magistrates thereof, lifting up their hands unto heaven, rejoiced at the coming of the new King. But the Emperour turned another way, and went unto Bratislava, the head citie of Slesia, where a little before the communalty of the city had slaine, in an insurrection, the Magistrates, which his brother Wenceslaus had set in authority ; the principals whereof he beheaded. The newes wherof when they were reported at Prague, the citizens being feared by the examples of the Bratislavians, distrustful their pardon, rebelled out of hand, and having obtained Encho, on their part, which had the government of the Castle of Prague, they sent letters into all the Realme, that no man should suffer the Emperour to enter, which was an enemy unto Boheme, and sought nothing else but to destroy the kingdome : which also bound the ancient city of the Prutenians under order by pledges, and put the Marquesse of Brandenburg, from the Bohemian crowne : and had not onely suffered John Hus and Hierome of Prague to bee burned at the counsell of Constance, but also procured the same, and with all his endeavour did impugn the doctrine and faith which they taught and followed. Whilest these things were thus done Zisca having given order Belzina by composition, was twice assaulted by his enemies, but through policy he was alwayes victor. The places where they fought were rough and unknown, his enemies were on horsebacke, and all his souldiers on foot, neither could there be any battell fought but on foot. Whereupon when his enemies were allighted from their horses, Zisca commanded the women which customably followed the host, to cast their kerchiefs upon the ground, where in the horsemen being intangled by their spurs, were slaine before they could unlase their feete.

After this, he went unto Auska, a towne situate upon the river Lucinitius, out of which Towne, Procopius and Alricius, two brethren papists, had cast out many protestants. This towne Zisca toke by force of armes the first night of Lent, rased it, and set it on fire. He also toke the castle of Litius, which was a mile off, whither Alricius was fled, and put Alricius and all his family to the sword saving one onely.

Then,

The death of King Wenceslaus.

The marvelous worke of Gods judgement to be noted, in defending his people.

Out of Encas Silvius.

Zisca getteth Pilzina.

The Queen sendeth for Sigismund the Emperour.

SKING  
HEN. 5.  
The Emperours ambassadors agree with the citizens of Prague.

The City of Prague fell from the Emperour.

The complaint of the city of Prague against Sigismund.

The policy of Zisca.



KING  
HEN. 5.  
The Citie of  
Thabor  
ruined.

When forsomuch as he had no walled or fenced Towne to inhabite, he chose out a certaine place upon the same river, which was fenced by nature, about eight miles from the city of Ausca. This place he compassed in with walls, and commanded every man to build them houses, where they had pitched their tents, and named this City Thabor, and the inhabitants his companions Thaborites, because their city by all like, was builded upon the top of some hill or mount. This city, albeit it was fenced with high rocks and cleaves, yet was it compassed with a wall and baumure, and the River of Lucinius fencech a great part of the Towne: the rest is compassed in with a great Breake, the which running straight into the river Lucinius is stopped by a great rocke, and driven back towards the right hand all the length of the city, and at the further end it joineth with the great river. The way into it by land is scarce thirty foot broad, for it is almost an Island. In this place there was a deepe ditch cast, and a triple wall made, of such thickness, that it could not be broken with any engine. The wall was full of Towers and Forts set in their convenient and meet places. Zisca was the first that builded the Castle, and those that came after him fortified it, every man according to his owne device. At that time the Thaborites had no horsemen amongst them, untill such time as Nicolas, master of the Mint (whom the Emperour had sent into Bohemia with a thousand horsemen to set things in order, and to withstand the Thaborites, lodging all night in a village named Mlogize) was surprised by Zisca coming upon him suddenly in the night, taking away all his horse and armour, and setting fire upon the Village. Then Zisca taught his souldiers to mount on horsebacke, to leape, to runne, to turne, and to cast a ring, so that after this he never led army without his wings of horsemen.

Sigismund  
gathereth the  
Cittie of Prague.

In this meane time Sigismundus the Emperour gathering together the Nobles of Slesia, entered into Boheme, and went unto Czechem, and from thence with a great Army unto Cuthna, alluring Ceneho with many great and large promises to render up the Castle of Prague unto him, and there placed him to annoy the Towne. This Ceneho, infamed with double treason, returned home. The Citizens of Prague sent for Zisca, who speeding himselfe thither with the Thaborites, received the City under his governance. In the Bohemians host there were but onely two Barons, Wilco Crufina of Lituburge, and Wilco Waldestene, with a few other Nobles. All the residue were of the common people. They went about first to subdue the Castle, which was by nature very strongly fenced, and could not be won by any other means than with famine: whereupon all the passages were stopped, that no victuals should be carried in. But the Emperour opened the passages by dint of sword, and when he had given unto them which were besieged all things necessary, having sent for aid out of the Empire, he determined shortly after to besiege the city. There were in the Emperours campe the Dukes of Saron, the Marquesse of Brandenburge and his sonne in law of Albert of Austriah. The City was assaulted by the space of six weekes. The Emperour Sigismund was crowned in the Metropolitane house in the Castle, Conradus the Archbishop solemnizing the ceremonies of the coronation. The City was straitly besieged. In the meane time the captaines Rosenes and Chzageri, which had taken the tents of the Thaborites, being overcome in battell by Nicolas Hus, whom Zisca had sent with part of his power, for that purpose, were driven out of their tents, and Czechem the Quene's city was also taken.

There is also above the towne of Prague a high hill, which is called Wiedehon. On this hill had

Prague besieged  
of Sigismund.

Zisca strongly planted a garrison, that his enemies should not possesse it, with whom the Marquesse of Slesia skirmishing, lost a great part of his souldiers. For when as the Slesians had gotten the top of the hill, being driven back into a tower, which was broken and deepe, and fiercely set upon, when as they could no longer withstand the violent force of their enemies, some of them were slaine, and some falling headlong from the hill, were destroyed.

The Marquesse  
of Slesia  
overcome, in the  
skirmish.

Whereupon the Emperour Sigismund raising his siege, departed into Cuthna, and Zisca with his company departed unto Thabor, and subdued many places; amongst which he subverted a Towne pertaining to the Captaine of Utsgrade. During this time the Castle of Utsgrade was strongly besieged, where, when other victuals wanted, they were compelled to eat horse flesh. Last of all, except the Emperour did aid them by a certaine day, they promised to yield it up, but under this condition, that if the Emperour did come, they within the Castle should be no more molested.

Sigismund the  
Emperour  
leaveth his siege.

The Emperour was present before the day, but being ignorant of the truce taken, entering into a strait underneath the castle, was suddenly set upon by the souldiers of Prague, where he had a great overthrow, and so leaving his purpose unperformed, returned backe againe. There were slain in that conflict fourtene Noblemen of the Bohemians, and of the Hungarians, and other a great number. The Castle was delivered up unto them. Whilst these things were in doing, Zisca took Wolanus a Captaine, which was surnamed Cignus, by force, in a very strong towne of his, and brought him unto his religion. Also a few yeeres after, leaving the Protestants host in Austria, was wounded before Rhegium, and died. There were in the territory of Helina many Monasteries, of the which Zisca subverted and burned five. And forsomuch as the Monastery of Saint Clare was the strongest, there he pitched himselfe.

The Emperour  
sithence  
Zisca had the  
overthrow.

Whither also came the Emperour with his Army: But when Zisca brought for his power against him, he most cowardly fled, and not long after, he departed and left Boheme. Then Zisca went with his Army unto Helina. But forasmuch as he saw the City so fenced, that he was in doubt of winning the same, he went from thence to Comstabilia a famous Citie, the which he take by force, burning all the Priests therein.

Zisca marcheth  
into the  
Empire  
to fight.

Afterward, when as he lay before the Towne of Raby, and strongly besieged the same, he was stricken with a shaft in the eye, having but that one before to see withall. From thence he was carried to Prague by Physicians, where he being cured of his wound, and his life saved, yet he lost his sight, and for all that he would not forsake his Army, but still took the charge of them.

Zisca loseth his  
power  
over one in  
breed.  
Zisca, albeit he  
lost his eyes,  
yet would not  
forsake his  
Army.

After this the garrisons of Prague went unto Warona, where there was a great garrison of the Emperours, and took it by force, many being slaine of either part. They also took the towne of Broda in Germany, and slew the garrison, and afterward took Cuthna and many other Cities by composition. Further, when as they led their army unto a town called Wons, which is inhabited of the Slesians, the Barons meeting them by the way, because they durst not joine battell, they returned backe. After all this, the Emperour appointed the princes Electors a day, that at Barthelmeweide they should with their army invade the West part of Boheme: and he with an host of Hungarians would enter into the East part. There came unto his aid the Archbishop of Mentz, the Countie Palatine of Rhein, the Dukes of Saron, the Marquesse of Brandenburge, and many other bishops out of Almaine; all the rest sent their aides. They encamped before the town of Sozious, a strong and well fenced place,

Zisca taketh  
his townes.

The Slesians  
retire.

The Emperour  
with his power  
entrench against  
into Boheme.

which



which they could by no meanes subdue. The countrey was spoiled and wasted round about, and the siege continued untill the feast of S. Calle. When it was broken up, because the Emperour was not come at his day appointed: but he having gathered together a great army of the Hungarians, and West Bohemians, about Christmas entered into Boheme; and tooke certaine Townes by force, and Cuthna was yielded unto him. But when Zisca (although he was blinde) came towards him, and set upon him, he being afraid, and many of his Nobles slain, fled. But first he burned Cuthna, which the Thaborites, by means of the silver Mines, called the pulch of Antichrist. Zisca pursuing the Emperour a dayes journey, got great and rich spoile, and taking the Towne of Breda by force, set it on fire: the which afterward almost by the space of fourten yeeres, remained disinhabited. The Emperour passed by a bridge over the river of Aglaria. And Pisa a Florentine, which had bought fifteen thousand horsemen out of Hungary to these wars, passed over the ice; the which by the multitude and number of his horsemen being broke, devoured and destroyed a great number. Zisca having obtained this victory, would not suffer any image or idoll to be in the Churches, neither thought it to be bozne withall, that Priests should minister with copes or vestments: for the which cause he was much the more envied amongst the states of Boheme. And the consuls of Prague, being aggrieved at the insolency of John Bremonstratensis, called him and nine other of his adherents, whom they supposed to be the principalls of this faction into the countrell house, as though they would conferre with them as touching the common wealth: and when they were come in, they slew them, and afterward departed home every man to his owne house, thinking the city had bene quiet, as though nothing had bene done. But their servants being not circumspect enough, washing down the court or yard, washed out also the blood of those that were slaine, thorow the sinkes or chanel; the which being once sene, the people understode what was done. By and by there was a great tumult; the countrell house was straightway overthrowne, and eleven of the principall Citizens, which were thought to be the authors thereof, were slaine, and divers houses spoiled.

About the same time the castle of Bургell, where in the Emperour had left a small garrison (whither also many Papists with their wives and children were fled) was through negligence burned, and those which escaped out of the fire went unto Pelsina. After this orders of the Bohemian captains, and the Senate of Prague, sent ambassadoes to Sigold Duke of Lithuania, and made him their king. This did Zisca and his adherents gain say. This Sigold sent Sigismund Coributus with two thousand horsemen into Boheme, who was honourably received of the inhabitants of Prague. At his coming they determined to lay siege unto a Castle situate upon a hill, which was called Charles stone.

Here Sigismundus had left for a garrison foure centurions of soldiers. The tents were pitched in three places. The siege continued five moneths, and the assault never ceased day and night. Five great slingses threw continually great stones over the walls, and about two thousand vessels, tubs, or baskets, filled with dead carcases and other enormities, were cast in among those which were besieged: which thing did so infect them with stench, that their teeth did either fall out, or were all loose. Notwithstanding they bare it out with stout courage, and continued their fight untill the winter, having privily received medicine out of Prague, to lessen their teeth againe.

In the meane time Frederick the elder, prince of Brandenburg, entering into Boheme with a great power, caused them of Prague to raise the siege,

And Sigoldus at the request of Ladislaus King of Pole, which had talked with the Emperour in the borders of Hungary, called Coributus his Uncle, with his whole army, out of Boheme, whereupon the Emperour supposed that the Protestants being destitute of forraigne ayde, would the sooner doe his commandement: but he was farre deceived therein; for they leading their armies out of Boheme, subdued the borderers thereupon adjoining. It is also reported that Zisca went into Austring, and when as the husbandmen of the country had carried away a great number of their cattell by water into an Ile of the River called Danubius, and by chance had left certaine Calves and Swine in their Villages behinde them: Zisca drave them unto the River side, and kept them there so long, beating them, and causing them to roare out and cry, untill that the Cattle feeding in the Island, hearing the lowing and grunting of the Cattle on the other side the water, for the desire of their like did swim over the River; by the meanes whereof, he got and drave away a great boty.

About the same time the Emperour Sigismundus gave unto his sonne in law Albert duke of Austring, the Countrey of Moravia, because it should not want a ruler. At the same time also Ericus King of Denmarke, and Peter Infant, brother to the King of Boxtengall and father of James, cardinal of Saint Eustachius, came unto the Emperour, being both very expert men in the affaires of war, which did augment the Emperours hoast with their aide & powder. Whereupon they straightway pitched their campe before Lutemperge, a towne of Moravia, and continued the siege by the space of three moneths. There was at that time a certaine knight at Prague surname Aquas, which was very rich and of great authority. This man, forsomuch as he had no childe of his owne, adopted unto him his sisters sonne, named Procopius; whom when he was of meane nature and age, he carried with him into France, Spaine, and Italy, and unto Jerusalem, and at his returne caused him to be made Priest. This man when the Gospell began to flourish in Boheme, took part with Zisca; and forsomuch as he was strong and valiant, and also painefull, he was greatly esteemed.

This Procopius for his valiant acts was afterward called Procopius Magnus, and had committed unto him the whole charge of the Province of Moravia, and the defence of the Lutemperges, who receiving a great power by force (manner all the whole power which lay in the siege) carried victuals into the towne which was besieged, and so did frustrate the Emperours siege: The Emperour before this, had delivered unto the Marqueses of Misnia the bridge and towne of Asca, upon the River of Albis, that they should fortifie them with their Garisons. Whereupon Zisca besieged Asca; and Frederick the Marquesse of Misnia, with his brother the Landgrave of Turing, gathering together a great army out of Saronia, Turing, Misnia, and both the Lufaces, determined to rescue and ayde those which were besieged.

There was a great battell fought before the City and the victory depended long uncertaine; but at last it fell on the protestants part. There were slaine in the battell the Burgraves of Misnia or Chyppogenses, the barons of Glychen and many other Nobles, beside nine thousand common souldiers, and the towne of Asca was taken and utterly rased.

At the last, dissention rising betweene Zisca and them of Prague, they of Prague prepared an army against him, wherewith he perceiving himselfe overmatched, fled unto the River of Albis, and was almost taken, but that he had passage thorow the towne of Doggiebras; but they of Prague, pursuing the taile of the battell, slew many of his Thaborites. At the length they came unto certaine hills, where Zisca going into the valley, knowing the straits

The Emperour afraid of Zisca, fleeth.

The power of Antichrist.

A noble victory of Zisca.

Zisca destroyeth images and idolls in Churches.

Instants Protestants. The martyrdome of certaine godly Bohemians finally circumvented and killed with the sword. Didst murder at length come out.

Stench very hurtfull for the teeth.

KING HEN. 5.

Another warlike pollicie of Zisca. Stratagema.

Procopius Magnus.

The valiant courage of Procopius.

The victory of Protestants.

The battell betwene the City of Prague and Zisca.



**KING** of the place, that his enemies could not spread their  
**HEN. 5.** army, he commanded his standard to stand still, and  
 exhorting and encouraging his souldiers he gave  
 them battell.

**The noble vic-**  
**toy of Zisca.** This battell was very fierce and cruell; but Zisca  
 having the upper hand, slew three thousand of them  
 of Prague, and put the rest to flight, and straight-  
 waies took the citie of Cuthna by force (which they  
 of Prague had repaired) and set it on fire: then with  
 all speed he went with his army to besiege Prague,  
 and incamped within a bow-shot of the town. There  
 were many both in the city, and also in his host,  
 which grudged sore at that siege; some accusing  
 Zisca, other some them of Prague. There were great  
 tumults in the campe, the souldiers saying that it  
 was not reasonable, that the city should be suppress-  
 ed, which was both the head of the kingdome, and  
 did not dissent from them in opinion, saying, that  
 the Bohemians power would soon decay, if their  
 enemies should know that they were divided within  
 themselves; also that they had sufficient warres a-  
 gainst the Emperour, and that it was but a foolish  
 device to move warres amongst themselves. This  
 talke came unto the eare of Zisca, who calling to-  
 gether his army, standing upon a place to be heard,  
 spake in these wordes.

**Zisca besiegeth**  
**Prague.**  
**A notable opar-**  
**ation of Zisca to**  
**his souldiers.** Brethren, be ye not agrieved against me, neither  
 accuse him which hath fought your health and safe-  
 guard. The victories which ye have obtained under my  
 conduct are yet fresh in memory, neither have I brought  
 you at any time unto any place, from whence you have  
 not come victors. You are become famous and rich,  
 and I for your sake have lost my sight, and dwell in  
 darknesse. Nothing have I gotten by all these fortunate  
 battels, but only a vaine name. For you have I fought,  
 and for you have I vanquished; neither doe I repent  
 me of my travels, neither is my blindnesse grievous  
 unto me, but onely that I cannot provide for you ac-  
 cording to my accustomed manner: neither doe I per-  
 secute them of Prague for mine own cause, for it is your  
 bloud that they thirst and seek for, and not for mine.  
 It were but small pleasure for them to destroy me, be-  
 ing now an old man and blinde, it is your valiantnesse  
 and stout stomackes which they feare. Either must you  
 or they perish; who whilest they seeme to lye in waight  
 for me, doe seeke after your lives. You must rather  
 feare civill warres then forraigne, and civill sedition  
 ought first to be avoyded. We will subdue Prague, and  
 banish the seditious Citizens before the Emperour shall  
 have any newes of this sedition. And then having but  
 a few of his faction left, we may with the lesse feare  
 looke for it; better then if these doubtfull Citizens of  
 Prague were still in our campe. But because ye shall ac-  
 cuse me no more, I give you free libertie to doe what  
 you will. If it please you to suffer them of Prague to live  
 in quietnesse, I will not be against it, so that there be no  
 treason wrought. If you determine to have warre, I  
 am also ready. Look which part you will incline unto,  
 Zisca will be your ayde and helper.

**The hearts of**  
**the souldiers**  
**altered by the**  
**oration of Zisca**  
**th.** When he had spoken these wordes, the souldiers  
 mindes were changed, and wholly determined to  
 make warres, so that they ran by and by to take up  
 their armour and weapons, to run unto the wals, to  
 provoke their enemies to fight for the gates of the ci-  
 ty. Zisca in the meane time prepared all things rea-  
 dy for the assault. There is a little from Belšina a  
 certaine villiage named Rochezana. In this place  
 there was a child borne of poore and base parentage,  
 whose name was John; he came unto Prague, and  
 got his living there by begging, and learned Gram-  
 mar and Logick. When he came to mans state, he  
 became the scholemaster of a noble mans child, and  
 for so much as he was of an excellent wit and ready  
 tongue, he was received into the colledge of the poore;  
 and last of all, being made priest, he began to preach  
 the word of God to the citizens of Prague, and was  
 named Ioannes de Rochezana, by the name of the

towne where he was borne. This man grew to be of  
 great name and authority in the town of Prague.  
 Whereupon when as Zisca besieged Prague, he by  
 the consent of the citizens went out into the campe,  
 and reconciled Zisca againe unto the citie.

When as the Emperour perceived that all things  
 came to passe according unto Zisca his will and  
 minde, and that upon him alone the whole state of  
 Boheme did depend, he sought privy meanes to re-  
 concile and get Zisca into his favour, promising him  
 the governance of the whole kingdome, the guiding  
 of all his hostes and armies, and great yeerely reve-  
 nues if he would proclaime him King, and cause  
 the cities to be swoyne unto him. Upon which con-  
 ditions, when as Zisca for the performance of the  
 covenants went unto the Emperour, being in his  
 journey at the Castle of Priscovia, he was stricken  
 with sicknesse and dyed.

It is reported, that when he was demanded, being  
 sick, in what place he would be buried; he comman-  
 ded the skin to be pulled off from his dead carcase,  
 and the fleshy to be cast unto the fowles and beasts,  
 and that a drum should be made of his skinne, which  
 they should use in their battels; affirming, that as  
 soon as their enemies should hear the sound of that  
 drum, they would not abide but take their flight.  
 The Thaborites despising all other images, yet set  
 up the picture of Zisca over the gates of the citie.

The Epitaph of Iohn Zisca, the valiant Captaine  
 of the Bohemians.

**The Epitaph**  
**of Zisca.** Iohn Zisca, not inferiour to an Emperour, or  
 Captaine in warlike policie, a severe punisher of  
 the pride and avarice of the clergie, and a defender of  
 my country, doe lye here. What which Appius Clau-  
 dius by giving good counsell, and M. Furius Camillus  
 by valiantnesse did for the Romans; the same I be-  
 ing blinde have done for my Bohemians. I never  
 lacked opportunity of battell, neither did fortune at  
 any time faile me. I being blinde did foresee all op-  
 portunitie of well ordering or doing my businesse.  
 Eleven times in joyning battell I went victour out  
 of the field. I seemed to have worthily defended the  
 cause of the miserable and hungry against the deli-  
 cate, fat, and gluttonous priests, and for that cause  
 to have received helpe at the hands of God. If their  
 envy had not let it, without doubt I had deserved  
 to be numbr'd amongst the most famous men. Not  
 withstanding my bones lye here in this hallowed  
 place, even in despite of the Pope.

IOANNES ZISKAES ὁ βολημῆς ὁπ' ἀσθενειῶν  
 ἱερῶν ἐχθρὸς, ἀλλὰ ἐν θεῷ νικῶν.

¶ Iohn Zisca a Bohemian, enemy to all wicked and  
 covetous Priests, but with a godly zeale.

And thus have you the acts and doings of this  
 worthy Zisca, and other Bohemians, which for the  
 more credit we have drawne out of Aeneas Sylvius,  
 onely his railing termes excepted which we have  
 here suppressed.

All this while the Emperour with the whole power  
 of the Germans, were not so busie on the one side,  
 but Martin the Pope was as much occupied on the  
 other side: who about the same time directed downe  
 a terrible bull, full of all popson, to all bishops and  
 archbishops, against all such as took any part or  
 side with Wickliffe, Iohn Hus, Jerome, or with  
 their doctrine and opinions. The copie of which bull,  
 which I found in an old written monument, I with  
 the Reader thorowly to peruse, wherein he shall see  
 the Pope to pour out at once all his popson.

The bull of Pope Martin directed forth against  
 the followers of Iohn Wickliffe of England,  
 of Iohn Hus of Boheme, and Je-  
 rome of Prague.

**M**artin, bishop, the servant of Gods servants,  
 to our reverend brethren the archbishops of  
 B b b b Salisbury.



Dope Martins  
in vny bull to  
all bishops and  
archbishops.

Salzeburgen. Gueinen. and Pragen. and to the bi-  
shops of Munzen. Luthomullen. Bamberg. **SKING**  
Hinnen. Patavien. Trasilaben. Katiponen. Cra- **HEN. 5.**  
roben. Bosniamen. and Pitrien. and also to our be-  
loved children the inquisitors appointed of the pre-  
lats aboue recited, or where else soever, unto whom  
these present letters shal come, greeting and Aposto-  
licall benediction. Amongst all other pastorall cares  
wherein we are oppressed, this chiefly and speci-  
ally doth inforce us, that heretikes with their false  
doctrine and errors, being utterly expelled from a-  
mongst the company of christian men, & rooted out  
(so farre forth as God will make us able to doe) the  
right and catholike faith may remain sound and un-  
defiled; and that all Christian people, immoevable  
and intoliate, may stand and abide in the sinceritie  
of the same faith, the whole veile of obscurity being  
removed. But lately in diuers places of the world,  
but specially in Bohemia, and the dukedome of Mo-  
ravia, and in the Straits adioyning thereunto, cer-  
taine archheretikes have risen and sprung up, not a-  
gainst one only, but against diuers and sundry docu-  
ments of the catholike faith, being landloperes, schis-  
matikes, and seditious persons, fraught with deuil-  
lish pride and wolbush madnesse, deceived by the sub-  
tilty of Satan, and from one evil vanity brought to a  
wor'e. Who although they rose up and sprang in di-  
uers parts of the world, yet agreed they all in one,  
having their tales as if were knit together, to wit,  
John Wickliffe of England, John Hus of Bohem-  
ia, and Jerome of Prague of damnable memory,  
who drew with them no small number to miserable  
ruine and infidelity. For when as those and such like  
pestiferous persons did in the beginning of their poi-  
soned doctrine obstinately sow and spread abroad per-  
uerse and false opinions, the prelates who had the regi-  
ment and execution of the iudicial pow'wer, like dumb  
does not able to bark, neither yet reuenging speedily  
with the Apostle all such disobedience, nor regarding  
corporally to cast out of the Lords house (as they  
were inioyned by the Canons) those subtle and pe-  
nitent archheretikes, and their wolbush surp and cru-  
elty, with all expedition, but suffering their false and  
pernitious doctrine negligently, by their over-long  
delays, to grow and was strong: a great multitude  
of people in stead of true doctrine receiued those  
things, which they did long, falsly, pernitiously and  
damnablely sow among them, and giuing credit unto  
them, fell from the right faith, and are intangled (the  
more pitie) in the foule errors of Paganisme.

All these errors  
and heresies  
be, for that they  
speake against  
the pride of  
prelats and  
their excessive  
dignities.

All be Pagans  
with the Pope,  
that like not  
his superstiti-  
ous and idola-  
trous traditi-  
ons.

A great differ-  
ence betwene  
a leuing mo-  
ther, and the  
francke whope  
of Babylon.

Insomuch, that these archheretikes, and such as  
spring of them, have infected the catholike flocks of  
Christ in diuers climates of the world, and parts  
bordering upon the same, and have caused them to  
putrifie in the filthy dunghill of their lyes. Where-  
fore the generall Synod of Constance was compell-  
ed with Saint Augustine to reclaime against so  
great and ruinous a plague of faithfull men, and of  
the sound and true faith it selfe, saying; What shall  
the soveraigne medicine of the Church doe, with mo-  
therly love seeking the health of her childe, chasing,  
as it were, amongst a company of men franticke,  
and having the disease of the Lethargy: what shall  
the best and leave off her good purpose? No, not so.  
But rather let her, if there be no remedy, be sharpe  
to both these sorts, which are the grievous enemies  
of her wombe. For the physician is sharpe unto the  
man distraught and raging in his frenzie, and yet he  
is a father to his owne rude and unmannerly sonne,  
in binding the one, in beating the other, by shewing  
therein his great love unto them both. But if they  
be negligent, and suffer them to perishe (saith Saint  
Augustine) this manfitude is rather to be suppo-  
sed false cruelty.

And therefore the foresaid Synod, to the glory of  
Almighty God, and preservation of his catholike  
faith, and augmenting of Christian religion, and for  
the saluation of mens soules, hath corporally reje-

cted and cast forth of the household of God, the fore-  
said John Wickliffe, John Hus, and Jerome: who  
amongst other things did beleve, preach, teach, and  
maintaine of the Sacrament of the Altar, and other  
Sacraments of the Church and articles of the faith,  
contrary to that the holy church of Rome beleveth,  
holdeth, preacheth and teacheth, and have presumed  
obstinately to preach, teach, hold, and beleve many  
other moe, to the damnation of themselves and of o-  
thers; and the said Synod hath separated the same, as  
obstinate and malapert heretikes from the commu-  
nion of the faithfull people, and hath declared them to  
be spiritually throwne forth. And many other things  
both wholesome and profitabell hath the same coun-  
cell, as touching the premisses, stablished and de-  
creed, whereby they, which by the meanes of those  
archheretikes, and by their false doctrine, have spi-  
ritually departed from the Lords house, may by  
the canonick rules be reduced to the straight path  
of truth and verity.

And moreover (as we to our great grieve doe  
heare) not onely in the kingdome of Bohemia, and  
dukedome of Moravia and other places aboue reci-  
ted, but also in certaine parts and provinces nere  
adjoyning and bordering upon the same, there be  
many other of the sectaries and followers of the fore-  
said archheretikes and hereticall opinions, casting  
behinde their backs as well the feare of God, as the  
shame of the world, neither receiuing fruit of con-  
version and repentance by the miserable destruction  
of the foresaid John Hus and Jerome, but as men  
drowned in the dungeon of their sinnes, cease not to  
blaspheme the Lord God, taking his name in vaine  
(whose mindes the father of lyes hath damnablely  
blinded) and doe reade and study the foresaid bookes  
or workes, containing heresies and errors, being  
lately by the foresaid Synod condemned to be bur-  
ned; also to the perill of themselves and many other  
simple men, and against the statutes, decrees, and  
ordinances in the Synod aforesaid, and the canon-  
icall sanctions, doe presume to preach and teach the  
same, to the great perill of soules, and derogation of  
the Catholike faith, and slander of many other be-  
sides: We therefore considering that error, where  
it is not refuted, seemeth to be allowed and liked;  
and having a desire to resist such evil and pernitious  
errors, and utterly roote them out from amongst the  
company of faithfull Christians, especially from the  
afore recited places of Bohemia, Moravia, and other  
Straits and Ilands forming and bordering upon the  
same, lest they should stretch out and enlarge their  
limits; we will and command your discretions by  
our letters Apostolicall, the holy councill of Con-  
stance approving and allowing the same, that you  
that are archbishops, bishops, and other of the cler-  
gie, and every one of you by himselfe, or by any other  
or others, being grave and fit persons to have spiri-  
tuall jurisdiction, doe see that all and singular per-  
sons, of what dignitie, office, preeminence, state, or  
condition soever they be, and by what name soever  
they are knowne, which shall presume otherwise to  
teach, preach, or observe, touching the most high and  
excellent, the most wholesome and superadmirable  
Sacrament of the bloud of our Lord Iesus Christ,  
or else of the Sacrament of Baptisme, Confessi-  
on of sinnes, Penance for sinnes, and extreame  
Unction, or else of any other Sacraments of the  
Church, and the Articles of the Faith, then that  
which the right holy and Universal Church of  
Rome doth hold, teach, preach, and observe; or else  
that shall presume obstinately by any wayes or  
meanes, privily or apertly, to hold, beleve, and  
teach the articles, bookes, or doctrine of the foresaid  
archheretikes, John Wickliffe, John Hus, and  
Jerome of Prague, being by the foresaid Synod of  
Constance with their Authours (as is said) dam-  
ned and condemned, or dare presume publicly or  
privily to allow or commend in any wise the death  
and

The fooler  
thought their  
life to be man-  
nesse, and their  
end without  
honour.  
Sapient. 5.

Et os eius sicut  
os Leonis, i.  
And his mouth  
is like the  
mouche of a  
Lion.  
Apo. 13.



{ KING }  
{ HEN. 5. }

*Draconis lex  
fingine scripta.  
The Dopes  
religion hath  
left all sense of  
humanity.*

and end of the said archheretikes, or of any other their receiuers, aiders, and labourers, in the labour or supposition of the foresaid errors, as also their beloebers and adherents; that then as before, you see and cause them, and every of them to be most severely punished, and that you iudge and give sentence upon them as heretikes, and that as arrant heretikes you leave them to the secular court or power. Let the receiuers also and labourers and defenders of such most pestiferous persons, notwithstanding they neither believe, labour, nor have devotion towards their errors, but haply shall receive or entertaine such pestiferous persons because of carnall affection, or friendly love, besides the punishment due unto them by both Lawes, over and above the same punishment by competent Judges, be so afflicted, and so for so heinous acts of theirs with so severe pain and punishment excruciated, that the same may be to other in like case offending an example of terror; that at the least, those whom the feare of God by no meanes may reboke from such evill doing, yet the severitie of this our discipline may force and constraime.

As touching the third sort, which shall be any manner of wayes infected with this damnable sect, and shal after competent admonition repent and amend themselves of such errors and sects aforesaid, and will returne againe into the lap and unity of our holy mother the Church, and fully acknowledge and confesse the Catholike faith towards them let the severitie of iustice, as the qualitie of the fact shall require, be somewhat tempered with a taste of mercy.

And furthermore we will and command, that by this our authority Apostolicall we exhort and admonish all the professors of the Catholike faith, as Emperors, Kings, Dukes, Princes, Marqueses, Carles, Barons, Knights, and other Magistrates, Rectors, Consuls, Proconsuls, Shires, Countries, and Universities of the Kingdomes, Provinces, Cities, Townes, Castles, Villages, their lands and other places, and all other executing temporall iurisdiction, according to the forme and erigence of the Law, that they expell out of their kingdomes, provinces, cities, townes, castles, villages and lands, and other places, all and all manner of such heretikes, according to the effect and tenour of the Council of Laterane, beginning, Sicut ait Ecclesia, &c. that those whom publicly and manifestly by the evidence of their deeds shal be known to be such as like sick and scabbed shep infect the Lords flock, they expell and banish till such time as from us, or you, or else other ecclesiasticall Judges or Inquisitors, holding the faith and communion of the holy Church of Rome, they shall receive other order and countenance; and that they suffer no such within their shires and circuits, to preach or to keep either house or family, either yet to use any handy craft or occupations or other trades of merchandize, or else to follow themselves any wayes, or frequent the company of Christian men.

And furthermore, if such publike and knowne heretikes shall chance to die, (although not so denounced by the church) yet in this so great a crime let him and them want christiann buriall, and let no offerings or oblations be made for them, nor received. His goods and substance also from the time of his death, according to the canonical sanctions being confiscate, let no such enjoy them to whom they appertain, till that by the ecclesiasticall Judges, having power and authority in this behalfe, sentence upon that his or their crime of heresie be declared, and promulgate; and let such owners as be found suspect or noted with any such suspicion of heresie, before a competent and ecclesiasticall Judge, according to the consideration and erigence of that suspicion, and according to the quality of the person, by the arbitrement of such a Judge, shew and declare his proper and own innocency with devotion, as becometh

meth in that behalfe. And if in his purgation, being canonically interdicted, he doe faile, or be not able canonically to make his purgation, or that he refuse to take his oath by damnable obstinacy to make such purgation; then let him be condemned as an heretike. But such as through negligence or through sloathfulness shall omit to shew their said innocency, and to make such purgation, let him be excommunicate, and so long put out from the company of Christian men, till that they shall make condigne satisfaction; so that if by the space of one whole year they shall remaine in such excommunication, then let them as heretikes be condemned.

And further, if any shall be found culpable in any point of the foresaid pestiferous doctrine of the archheretikes aforesaid, or in any article thereof, whether it be by the report of the seditious, or else well disposed; let them yet be punished according to the Canons. If only through infamy and suspicion of the foresaid articles, or any of them, any man shall be found suspect, and in his purgation canonically for this thing being interdicted, shall faile; let him be accounted as a man convict, and as a convict person by the Canons let him be punished.

And furthermore, we invoking and putting in execution the Canon of our predecessor of happy memory, pope Boniface the eight, which begynneth thus, Ut inquisitionis negotium, &c. In exhorting, we require, and also command all temporall potentates, Lords and Judges aforesaid, by whatsoever dignities, offices, and names they are known, that as they desire to be had, esteemed, and counted for the faithful members and children of the church, and doe rejoyce in the name of Christ, so in likewise for defence of the same faith, they will obey, intend, give their ayde and favourable helpe to you that are archbishops, bishops, and ecclesiasticall men, inquisitors of all hereticall pravities, and other Judges and ecclesiasticall persons by you hereunto, as aforesaid, appointed (holding the faith and communion of our holy Mother the Church) for the searching out, taking, and safe custody of all the aforesaid heretikes, their beloebers, their labourers, their receiuers, and their defenders, whensoever they shall be thereunto of them required.

And that they bying and cause to be brought (all delay set apart) the foresaid pestiferous persons to seeking to destroy others with them, into such safe keeping and prisons, as by you the archbishops, bishops, clergie and inquisitors aforesaid, are to be appointed, or else unto such other place or places, as either you or they shal command within any of their dominions, governments and rectories, where they by catholike men, that is, by you the archbishops, bishops, the clergie and inquisitors, or any other that shall be by you appointed, or are already appointed by any of you, may be holden and kept in safe keeping, putting them in fetters, shackles, bolts, and manacles of Iron under most straight custodie for escaping away, till such time as all that business, which belongeth unto them, be by the judgement of the Church finished and determined, and that of such heresie, by a competent ecclesiasticall Judge (which firmly holdeth the faith and communion of the foresaid holy Church of Rome) they be condemned.

The residue let the foresaid temporall Lords, Rectors, Judges, or other their officers and pursuants take amongst them with condigne deaths, without any delay to punish. But fearing lest to the prejudice and slander of the foresaid catholike faith and religion, through the pretext of ignorance, any man herein should be circumvented, or that any subtle & crafty men should under the veile of frivolous excuse cloke and dissemble in this matter; and that as touching the combining or apprehending of the foresaid heretikes, their receiuers and defenders, favourers, beloebers, and adherents, and also of such as

*Note the tem  
perance of this  
loving mother  
the church of  
Rome.*

*Et faciat omnes  
iustitias, & iungat  
nos, & distinet,  
& pascit, & servat,  
recipere charitate in  
manu sua dextera.*

*1. And he shall  
make both little  
and great,  
rich and poor,  
free and bond  
to take his character  
in their right hand, &c.  
Apoc. 13.*

*Satan calleth  
his chamele.*



are suspect of heresie, and with such like perverse doctrine in any wise spotted, we might give more perfect instruction; Therefore as well to the kingdom of Bohemia, and parts neere adjoining to the same, as all other where this superstitious doctrine began to spread, we have thought it good to send the articles hereunder written concerning the sect of those arch-heretikes, for the better direction of the foresaid Catholike faith.

Teaching which articles, by vertue of holy obedience, we charge and command you and all other archbishops and bishops, all manner of commissaries and inquisitors, that every of them within the diocesse and limits of their jurisdiction, and also in the foresaid kingdom, and dukedom, and places neere adjoining, although the same places be beyond the same their jurisdiction, in the favor of the catholike faith, doe give most diligent and vigilant care about the extirpation and correction of those errors, arch-heresies, and most pestiferous sect aforesaid; and also that they compell all defamed persons and suspect of so pestiferous a contagion, whether it be under the penaltie of the crime confessed, or of excommunication, suspension or interdict, or any other formidable paine canonically or legall, when and wheresoever it shall seem good unto them, and as the quality of the fact requireth, by an oath corporally taken either upon the holy Evangelists, or upon the reliques of saints, or upon the image of the crucifix, according to the observances of certaine places, and according to the interrogatories, to make convenient answer to every article therein written. For we intend against all and singular archbishops, bishops, ecclesiasticall persons, or inquisitors, which shall find themselves negligent and remisse in the extirpation of the leaven of this hereticall pravity, and purging their territories, diocesse, and places to them appointed, of such evil and wicked men, to proceed and to cause to be proceeded unto the deprivation and deposition of their pontifical dignities, and shall substitute such other in their places, which can and may be able to confound the said hereticall pravity, and proceed to further paines against such by the lawes limited, and to other yet more grievous (if need require) we our selves will proceed and cause to be proceeded, according as the party his fact, and filthinesse of his crime committed, shall deserve. The tenor of those articles whereof we have made mention in this our own writing are in words as follow.

¶ The Articles of John Hus to be enquired upon:

1 There is one onely universall Church, which is the universitie of the predestinate, as shall after be declared.

2 The universall church is onely one; as there is one universitie of those that are predestinate.

3 Paul was never a member of the Devill, although he did certaine acts like unto the acts of the church malignant.

4 The reprobate are not parts of the church, for that no part of the same finally falleth from her, because that the charity of predestination, which bindeth the same church together, never faileth.

5 The two natures (that is) the Divinity and the Humanity, be one Christ.

6 The reprobate, although he be sometime in grace according to present justice, yet is he never a part of the holy church, and the predestinate is ever a member of the church, although sometime he fall from grace adventitia, but not from grace of predestination; ever taking the church for the convocation of the predestinate, whether they be in grace or not, according to present justice. And after this sort the church is an article of our beleefe.

7 Peter is not, nor ever was the head of the holy Catholike Church.

8 Priests living viciously doe defile the authority of priesthood, and so, as unfaithfull children, doe unfaithfully beleave of the seven Sacraments, of the keyes of the church, of offices, of censures, of ceremonies, of the worshipping of reliques, indulgences, orders, and other holy things of the church.

9 The Papall dignitie came and grew from the Emperour; and his government and institution sprang from the Emperours government.

10 No man can reasonably affirme either of himselfe or other, that he is the head of any particular church, or that the bishop of Rome is the head of the church of Rome.

11 A man ought not to beleave, that he which is bishop of Rome is the head of every particular church, unlesse God have predestinate him.

12 None is the Vicar of Christ, or else of Peter, unlesse he follow him in manners and conditions, seeing that there is no other following more pertinent, nor otherwise apt to receive of God this power procurator. For unto the office of a vicegerent of Christ is required the conformity of manners, and the authority of the institutor.

13 The Pope is not the manifest and true successor of Peter the Prince of the Apostles, if he live in manners contrary to Peter; and if he hunt after avarice, then is he the vicar of Judas Iscariot. And likewise the Cardinals be not the true and manifest successors of the Colledge of the other Apostles of Christ, unlesse they live according to the manner of the Apostles, keeping the Commandments and counsels of our Lord Jesus Christ.

14 The doctors alleagging that a man, which will not be amended by the ecclesiasticall censures, is to be delivered to the secular powers, do follow in this point the bishops, Scribes and Pharisees, that delivered Christ to the secular power (saying, it is not lawfull for us to kill any man) because he would not obey them in all things; and that such be greater homicides than Pilate.

15 The ecclesiasticall obedience is such an obedience as the priests of the church have found out, besides the expresse authority of the Scripture. The immediate division of humane workes, is, that they be either vertuous or vicious; And if a man be vicious, and doth any thing, then doth he it vitiously, and if he be vertuous, and doth any thing, then doth he it virtuously. For like as vice, which is called a great offence or mortall sin, doth stain all the doings of a vicious man; so vertue doth quicken all the doings of a vertuous man.

16 A priest of God living after his law, and having the knowledge of the Scripture, and a desire to edifie the people, ought to preach, notwithstanding any excommunication pretended of the Pope. And further, if the Pope, or any other Magistrate doth forbid a Priest so disposed to preach, he ought not to be obedient unto him. For every one that taketh upon him the order of priesthood, receiveth in charge the office of a preacher; and of that burden ought he well to discharge himselfe, any excommunication against him pretended in any wise notwithstanding.

17 By the censures ecclesiasticall, as of excommunication, suspending, and interdict, the clergy to their owne advancement cause the lay people to aid them; they multiply their avarice, they defend their malice, and prepare the way to Antichrist. And it is an evident signe that such censures proceed from Antichrist, which in their proesse they call Fulminations, that is, their thunderbolts wherewith the clergy principally proceeded against those that declare the wickednesse of Antichrist, who so greatly for his owne commodity hath abused them.

18 If the Pope be evil, especially if he be a reprobate, then is he with Judas a very devill, a thiefe, and the soune of perdition, and is not the head of the holy church militant, nor any member of the same.

19 The grace of predestination is the band where-

SKING  
HEN. 5.

The Papall  
dignity touched

The old manner of the Pope's oath.

Speaking of the invisible church, the article is true.

This article seemeth to be taken out of the words of Jerome of Prague.



{ KING }  
{ HEN. 5. }

with the body of the Church and every member of the same is indissolubly joyned to their head Christ.  
20 The pope or prelate, that is evill and a reprobate, is a pastor in name, and not in deed, yea he is a theefe and a robber in very deed.

21 The pope ought not to be called the most holy one for his office sake, for then ought a King to be called by his office the most holy one and hangmen, with other such officers also, were to be called holy, yea the devill himselfe ought to be called holy, for as much as he is Gods officer.

22 If the pope live contrary unto Christ, although he climbe up by the right and lawfull election, according to the common custome of men; yet notwithstanding should he otherwise climbe then by Christ, yea though we admit that he should enter by the election principally made by God. For Judas Iscarioth was lawfully elected of God Christ Jesus to his bishoprick, and yet came not he the same way he ought to doe unto the therspold.

23 The condemnation of forty five Articles of John Wickliffe by the doctors made is unreasonable, wicked and nought, and the cause by them alleged is fained, that is, that none of them are Catholike, but every one of them hereticall, erroneous, or slanderous.

24 Not for that the electors or the most part of them have consented together with lively voice, according to the custome of men upon the person of any, therefore that person is lawfully elected, or therefore is the true and manifest successor and vicar of Peter the Apostle, or of any other the Apostles in the ecclesiastical office. Wherefore, whether the electors have either well or evill made their election, it behoveth us to believe the same by the workes of him that is elected. For in that that every one worketh more meritoriously to the profit of the Church, he hath so much the more greater authority from God.

25 There is not so much as one sparke of appearance, that there ought to be one head, ruling and governing the Church in spiritual causes, which should alwayes be conversant in the Church militant; for Christ without any such monstrous heads, by his true Disciples sparsed thorough the whole world, could better a great deale rule his Church.

26 The Apostles and faithfull Priests of God have right worthily, in all things necessary to salvation, governed the Church before the popes office took place, and so might they doe againe, by like possibility untill Christ came to judgement, if the office should faile.

Let every one that is suspected in the foresaid Articles or else otherwise found with the assertion of them, be examined in manner and forme as followeth.

**I**N primis, whether he knew John Wickliffe of England, John Hus of Bohemia, and Jerome of Prague, or any of them, and how he came by the knowledge of them, whether that during the lives of them, or any of them, they had either bin conversant with them, or found any friendship at their hands.

2 Item, whether he knowing them, or any of them to be excommunicate, did willingly participate with them; esteeming and affirming the same their participation to be no sinne.

3 Item, whether that after their deaths, he ever prayed for them or any of them, openly or privily, doing any worke of mercy for them, affirming them to be either Saints, or else to be saved.

4 Item, whether he thought them, or any of them to be Saints, or whether that ever he spake such words, and whether ever he did exhibite any worship unto them as unto Saints.

5 Item, whether he believe, hold and affirme, that every generall Council, as also the Council of Constance, doth represent the universall Church.

6 Item, whether he doth believe, that that which the holy council of Constance, representing the universall

Church, hath and doth allow in the favour of the faith, and salvation of soules, is to be approved and allowed of all the faithfull Christians; and that whatsoever the same council hath condemned, and doth condemne to be contrary both the faith and to all good men, is to be believed, holden, and affirmed for condemned, or not.

7 Item, whether he believe that the condemnations of John Hus, John Wickliffe, and Jerome of Prague, made aswell upon their persons, as their bookes and doctrine, by the holy generall council of Constance, be rightly and justly made, and of every good Catholike man are so to be holden and affirmed, or not.

8 Item, whether he believe, hold, and affirme, that John Wickliffe of England, John Hus of Bohemia, and Jerome of Prague, were heretikes or not, and for heretikes to be nominated and preached, yea or not; and whether their bookes and doctrines were

20 and be perverse or not; for the which, together with their pertinacy, they were condemned by the holy sacred council of Constance for heretikes.

9 Item, whether he have in his custome any treatises, final workes, epistles, or other writings in what language or tongue soever, set forth and translated by any of these heretikes, John Wickliffe, John Hus, and Jerome, or any other of their false disciples and followers, that he may deliver them to the ordinaries of that place, or his commissary, or to the inquisitors upon his oath. And if he say that he hath no such writings about him, but that they are in some other place, that then you sweare him to bring the same before his Ordinary, or other aforesaid, within a certaine time to him persued.

10 Item, whether he knoweth any that hath the treatises, workes, epistles, or any other writings of the aforesaid John Wickliffe, John Hus, and Jerome, in whatsoever tongue they are made or translated, and that he detect and manifest the same, for the purgation of their faith and execution of justice.

11 Item, especially let the learned be examined, whether he believe that the sentence of the holy Council of Constance upon the forty five articles of John Wickliffe, and the thirty articles of John Hus be not catholike; which faith that some of them are notorious and hereticall, some erroneous, others some blasphemous, some slanderous, some rash and seditious, some offensive to godly cares.

12 Item, whether he believe and affirmeth that in no case it is lawfull for a man to sweare.

13 Item, whether he believe, that at the commandement of a Judge or any other it is lawfull to take an oath to tell the truth in any convenient cause, although it be but purging of infamy, or not.

14 Item, whether he believe that perjury withtongly committed, upon what cause soever, whether it be for the safeguard of his owne life or of any other mans life, (yea although it be in the cause and defence of the faith) be a sinne or not.

15 Item, whether a man condemning purposely the rites of the Church, and the ceremonies of exorcisme, of catechisme, and the consecration of the water of Baptisme be in deadly sinne or not.

16 Item, whether he believe, that after the consecration of the pax, in the Sacrament of the altar, under the figure of bread and wine be no materiall bread and wine; but in all points the same very Christ which was crucified upon the crosse, and sitteth upon the right hand of the Father.

17 Item, whether he believe, that after the consecration made by the Priest, under the only forme of bread, and besides the forme of wine, be the very flesh of Christ and his blood, his soule and his deitie, and so whole Christ as he is; and in like wise, under the forme of wine, without the forme of bread, be the very flesh of Christ and his very blood, his soule, and deitie, and so whole Christ, and the same body absculutely under every one of those kindes singularly.

W b b b 3 18 Item,

John Hus ex-  
poundeth this  
article with  
this distinct.  
Non ratione mo-  
riti, sed ratione  
officii.

John Hus de-  
clareth his  
minde touching  
this article suf-  
ficiently before.

Election mak-  
eth not the  
successor of  
Peter, but i-  
mitation.

The head of  
the universall  
Church, beleeve  
Christ, hath no  
foundation in  
all Scripture.

The forme and  
manner of the  
popes inquisi-  
tion.

Hereticke to pray  
for John  
Wickliffe or  
John Hus, &c.

Hereticke not to  
believe the  
Council of  
Constance.



Heretic to mi-  
nister in both  
kindes.

18 Item, whether he doth beleve, that the custome of houseling of the lay people under the forme of bread onely, obserued of the universal Church, and allowed by the onely counsell of Constance, be to be used, and not without the authority of the Church at mens pleasures to be altered, and that they that obstinately affirme the contrary to this are to be punished as heretikes, or not.

19 Item, whether he beleve that those which contemne the receiuing of the Sacraments of confirmation, or extreame unction; or else the solemnization of matrimony, commit deadly sinne or not.

20 Item, whether he beleve that a Christian man, over and besides the contrition of heart, being licensed of a contentient Priest, is bound to confesse himselfe onely to a Priest, and not to any lay man, be he never so deuoute or good, upon the necessity of salvation.

21 Item, whether he beleve, that in the cases before put, a Priest may absolve a sinner confessing himselfe, and being contrite, from all sinnes, and enioyne him penance for the same.

22 Item, whether he beleve, that an euill Priest, with due manner and forme, with the intention of doing, doth verily consecrate, doth verily absolve, doth verily baptize, and doth verily dispose all other Sacraments even as the Church doth.

23 Item, whether he beleve that S. Peter was the Vicar of Christ, having power to binde and to loose upon the earth.

24 Item, whether he beleve that the pope being canonically elect, which for the time shall be, by that name expresse be the successor of Peter or not, having supreme authority in the Church of God.

25 Item, whether he beleve that the authority or jurisdiction of the pope, an archbishop or a bishop, in binding or loosing, be more then the authority of a simple priest or not, although he have charge of soules.

26 Item, whether he beleve, that the pope may upon a iust and good cause give indulgences and remission of sins to all Christian men, being verily contrite and confessed, especially to those that goe on pilgrimage to holy places and good works.

27 Item, whether he beleve, that by such grant the pilgrims that visit those Churches, and give them any thing, may obtaine remission of sinnes or not.

28 Item, whether he beleve that all bishops may grant unto their subiects, according as the holy canons doe limite, such indulgences, or not.

29 Item, whether he beleve and affirme, that it is lawfull for faithfull Christians to worship images and the reliques of Saints, or not.

30 Item, whether he beleve that those religions, which the Church hath allowed, were lawfully and reasonably brought in of the holy Fathers, or not.

31 Item, whether he beleve that the pope, or any other prelate for the time being, or their vicars, may excommunicate their subiect ecclesiasticall or secular for disobedience or contumacie; so that such an one is to be holden and taken for excommunicate, or not.

32 Item, whether he beleve, that for the disobedience and contumacy of persons excommunicate, increasing, the prelates or their vicars in spirituall things have power to aggravate and to reagravate, to put upon men the interdiction to call for the secular arme; and that the same secular arme or power ought to be obedient to the censures, by their inferiours called for.

33 Item, whether he beleve that the pope and other prelates, or else their vicars, have power in spirituall things to excommunicate priests, and lay men that are subbozne and disobedient, from their office, benefice, or entrance into the Church, and from the administration of the sacraments of the Church, also to suspend them.

34 Item, whether he beleve that it is lawfull for ecclesiasticall persons, without committing sinne, to have any possessions and temporall goods; and whether he beleve that it is not lawfull for lay men to

take away the same from them by their authority; but rather that such takers away and incrochers upon ecclesiasticall goods are to be punished as committers of sacrilege, yea, although such ecclesiasticall persons like naughtily that have such goods.

35 Item, whether any such taking away or incroching upon any priest rashly or violently made, although the priest be an evil liver, be sacrilege, or not.

36 Item, whether he beleve that it is lawfull for lay men of whether sex soever, that is, men and women, to preach the Word of God, or not.

37 Item, whether he beleve that it is lawfull to all priests freely to preach the Word of God wheresoever, whensoever, and to whomsoever it shall please them, although they be not sent at all.

38 Item, whether he beleve that all mortall sins, and especially such as be manifest and publike, are to be corrected and to be extirpate, or not.

20 Furthermore, we will, command, and decree, that if any by secret information, by you or any other to be received, shall be found either infamed or suspected of any kinde of the pestiferous sect, heresie, and doctrine of the most pestilent men, John Wickliffe, John Hus, and Jerom of Prague, the arch-heretikes aforesaid, or of favouring, receiving, or defending the foresaid damned men whilst they lived on the earth, their false followers and disciples, or any that beleve their errors, or any that after their death pray for them or any of them, or that nominateth them to be amongst the number of catholike men, or that defendeth them to be placed amongst the number of the saints, either by their preaching, worshipping, or other wayes, wherein they deserve to be suspected; that then they by you or some of you may be cited personally to appeare before you or some of you, without either proctor or doctor to answer for them, an oath being openly taken by them as is aforesaid, to speake the plaine and mere verity of the articles above writtten, and every of them, or other opposite, as case and circumstance shall require, according to your discretion, as you or any of you shall see expedient to proceed against them, or any of them, according to these presents, or otherwise canonically, as you shall thinke good.

Also that you doe publish solemnely, and cause to be published these present letters, omitting the articles and interrogatories herein contained, in the cities and other places of your diocesse, where conveniently you may, under our authority, and there to denounce and cause to be denounced all and singular such heretikes, with their abettors and favourers of their heresies and errors, of what sex or kinde soever, that doe hold and defend the said errors, or doe participate any manner of way with heretikes, privately or apertly; of what state, dignity, or condition soever he or they be, Patriarke, Archbishop, King, Quene, Duke, or of what other dignitie either ecclesiasticall or secular he be; also with their advocats and procurators whosoever, which are beleivers, followers, favourers, defenders, or receivers of such heretikes, or suspected to be beleivers, followers, favourers, defenders, or receivers of them, to be excommunicate every Sunday and festiual day, in the presence of the people.

Furthermore, that you diligently cause to be enquired, by the said our authority, upon all and singular such persons both men and women, that maintain, approve, defend, and teach such errors, or that be favourers, receivers and defenders of them, whether exempt or not exempt, of what dignity, state, preeminence, degree, order, or condition soever. And such as you shall finde in the said your inquisition, either by their owne confession, or by any other meane to be defamed, or otherwise infected with the spot of such heresie or error, you through the sentence of excommunication, suspension, interdiction, and prohibition of their dignities, parsonages, offices, or other

{ KING }  
{ HEN. 5 }

Meale by twice  
kednelle maine  
tained.

The pope net-  
ther preacheth  
himselfe, nor  
yet will suffer  
other good  
priests to  
preach.

Heretic to deny  
the popes in-  
dulgences.

Heretic not to  
worship ima-  
ges.

These popes  
will be sure to  
kille nothing.

Papa privat mi-  
nus & cetera.



{ KING }  
{ HEN. 5. }

other benefices of the Church, and sees which they hold of any Church, Monastery, and other Ecclesiastical places, also of honors and secular dignities and degrees of sciences or other faculties, as also by other pannes and censures of the church, or by waives and means whatsoever else shall seeme to you expedient, by taking and imprisoning their bodies, and other corporall punishments wherewith heretikes are punished, or are wont, and are commanded by canonical sanctions to be used; and if they be clerkes, by degradation, doe correct and punish, and cause them to be corrected and punished with all diligence.

Furthermore, that you do rise up stoutly and courageously against such heretikes, and the goods as well of them, as of the lay men, according to the canonical sanction made against heretikes and their followers, under the which we will and command them and their partakers to be subject. And also such persons as shall be infamed of the heresies or errors aforesaid, or any of the premises, shall be bound to purge themselves at your arbitrement: but the other, which either by witnesses, or by their owne confessions, or other allegations or probations, shall be convicted of the foresaid heresies or articles, or of any of the premises, they shall be compelled to reboke and abjure publicly and solemnly the said articles and errors, and to suffer condigne penance and punishment, yea even to perpetuall imprisonment (if need be) for the same.

And to the intent that they shall not nourish any kinde of heresies hereafter, either in word, deed, or gesture, or shall induce other either in word or deed, privily or apercily, directly or indirectly to beleve the same, they shall be forced to put in sufficient surety. Who, if it be chance that they will not publicly and solemnly renounce and abjure their articles and errors, and take at your hands condigne penance, though it be to perpetuall or temporall punishment according to your discretion, neither will be contented to put in sufficient surety that they will not hereafter hold or nourish these errors and heresies, neither will induce other by word or deed, privily or apercily, directly or indirectly, or by any other manner of colour to beleve the same, that then you shall proceed against them, according to the qualitie of their errors and demerits; yea, and if you see it to expedient, as against heretikes, and as infected with heresie, by our authority, according to the canonical sanctions summarily, and simply and plainly, sine strepitu & figura iudicii, and of office, all appellation or appellations whatsoever ceasing, and that you punish the same, according to the sanctions and traditions canonical, yea if need be, in leaving and committing them to the secular power; and against such as be superiours or learned doctors, laying the censures of Ecclesiastical excommunication, all appellation set aside, also invoking, if need shall require, aid of the secular arme; The constitution as well of our predecessor Pope Boniface 8. of blessed memory, wherein is decreed that no man without his cite or diocesse (except in certaine cases) or in places being one dayes journey distant from thence where he dwelleth, shall be called into judgement, and that no man do presume to depute Judges from the see apostolike, without the cite and diocesse where they are deputed to proceed against any; and doe presume to commit their authority to any other person or persons, or to fetch and remove any man beyond one dayes journey from out his diocesse where he dwelleth, or at most two dayes journey, if it be in a generall Council: as also all other constitutions of any Bishop of Rome, touching as well Judges delegate, as persons not to be called to judgement beyond a certaine number; or else any other edit, indulgence, privilege, or exemption generall or speciall, granted from the apostolike see, for any person or persons not to be interdicted, suspended, or excommunicated, or tied up to judgement without the compasse of cer-

taine limits, or else whatsoever thing otherwise may hinder, stop, or impeach your jurisdiction, power, and free proceeding herein by any meanes to the contrary notwithstanding, Dat. Constant. the first yeere of our Popedom.

¶ This bloody and abominable commission of Pope Martin, which I have copied out of a certain old monument remaining in the hands of Master Hacklurt, Student in the Temple, seemeth to be directed and given out to the publicke destruction of all faithfull Christian men, about the latter end and breaking up of the council of Constance, An. 1418. By the which the prudent Reader hath this to note and consider, what labor, what policy, what counsell, and what laws have been set, what waives have been taken, what severity hath bene shewed, how mens power, wit, and authority of the whole world have conspired together from time to time, continually by all manner of meanes to subvert and supplant the Word an way of the Lord: and yet notwithstanding man hath not prevailed, but all his force and devised policies have been overthrowne, dispatched, and with the counsell of Achitophel and Ammon, have bene brought to nought, and contrary to the fury of the world the Gospel of Christ hath still increased. Neither yet for all this will the Pope cease to spurne and rebell still against the kingdome of Christ and of his Gospel, against which neither he, nor yet the gates of hell shall ever prevail. The Lord of hosts be mercifull to his poor persecuted flock, Amen.

Against this pestilent bull and inquisition of Pope Martin the great Antichrist, I thought good here to adorne and annex another contrary writing of the Bohemians, bearing the name and subscription of Procopius, Conradus, and other Captaines of the Bohemians; which seemeth not long after the death of Zisca to be written against the pestiferous See of Rome, the tenour whereof here followeth.

A fruitfull and Christian exhortation of the Bohemians to Kings and Princes, to stirre them up to the zeale of the Gospel.

The Almighty God the Father, by his welbeloved Son Iesus Christ, may in his holy Spirit open the understanding both of you and of all Christians, and lighten your hearts with the light of his doctrine of righteousness, and may make you to continue therein surely established to the end. This we desire of you for your salvation, all ye honorable, wise, and honest Noblemen, and all the communalty, yea rich and poore, heare and consider with diligent heed the words of this present letter, which is sent unto you from the countrey of the Bohemians. It is manifest and well knowne to you and many other cities, Kings, Princes, and Lords, that now a certain number of yeres there hath bene great discord betwixt us and you; and there have bene some which have moved you by letters, and provoked you to make warre against us, and to destroy us. And as well on your part as ours many men, as well noble as unnable, have foolishly lost their lives. Yet never hitherto have ye in any part understood our faith by our owne confession, neither whether we be able to prove the same out of the Scriptures, yea or no; and yet in the meane time Kings, Princes, Lords and Cities have sustained great damage. And hereof we greatly marvell that you doe so much trust and beleve the Pope and his priests, which give you drink full of poison, and such comfort as no man can understand, in that they say that they will give you forgiveness of all your sinnes, and great grace and pardon, to this end that you should warre upon us and destroy us, whereas their graces and pardons are none other than great lies; and a great seducing of the body and soule of all them that beleve

See here the dragon casting out whole floods to swallow up the saints.

Note how the rich & covetous and in a gainst Christ.

Mans power and counsell too we have gainst Christ.

Pope Martin contrary to Pope Boniface 8.

Pope Martin undoes by the acts and edicts of all other Popes.

An exhortation of the Bohemians.

The Pope and Prelates by their letters stirred them to fight.

False words do make foolish faine.



The Pope seduceth the world with vaine promises of things which he cannot give.

The devill and the Pope rich in promising, and poor in giving.

Galat. 6.

Falſe pretences of the papists. Hus and Hierome by honest violence put to death.

Christ heard the devill, but the Pope will not hear men confesse their fault.

2 Petras 3. John 14. John 8.

believe them, and put their trust in them. This we would prove unto them, and overcome them by the holy Scripture; and we would suffer, that whosoever is desirous to heare, the same should heare it. For the Pope and all his priests herein deale with you as the devill would have done with our Lord Jesus Christ. Of whom Luke writeth in his fourth chapter, that he brought him upon an high hill, and shewed unto him in the twinkling of an eye, all the kingdomes that are in the compasse of the earth, and said unto him, I will give thee, &c. So the devill deceiveth the Pope, and all the priests with the riches of the world, and worldly power; And they thinke they can give grace and pardon when they will; and they themselves shall never finde favor before Almighty God, except they repent and make amends, because of their great deceiving of Christendom. And how can they give that to others, which they themselves have not? So did the devill, who was rich in promising, and poor in giving. And like as the devill is not ashamed to tell a lie, so all they are not ashamed to speake that which shall never be found true, nor be proved by the holy Scriptures, because for no cause they stirre up kings, princes, lords, and citizens to make war against us, not to the end that the Christian faith should thereby be defended, but because they fear that their secret vices and heresies shall be disclosed and made manifest. For if they had a true cause, and a godly love to the Christian faith, they would then take the bookes of the holy Scripture, and would come unto us, and overcome us with the weapons of Gods Word, and that is our chiefe desire. For so did the Apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ, who came to the Pagans and Jewes, and brought them from their infidelitie to the true faith of our Lord Jesus Christ; and this they did in the Spirit of meeknesse, as the Apostle Paul writeth in the sixth chapter to the Galatians, Brethren if any man be grieved, &c. So ought they also to do, if they perceived that they were just and we unjust. And if we would not abide instruction, then they might take to them Kings, Princes, Lords, and imperiall cities, and resist us according to the commandments of the holy Scripture. But this is the subtill defence of all the Bishops and priests, that they say that Haster Hus and Hierome, which were burnt at Constance, were overcome of the holy father the Pope, and of the whole Council. For ye must understand that they were not overcome by the holy Ghost, but unjustly, with wrongfull violence, which God may yet hereafter grievously punish in all them that gave their counsell and aid thereto. And they say it ought not to be suffered, that we should be heard in confessing our fault. How may that be proved by the holy Scripture, since Christ heard the devill, as it is writen in the fourth chapter of Matthew? And they are not better than Christ, nor we worse then the devill. If they be just and have the truth with them (as they say they have) and we be unrighteous, why doe they feare, since the truth ought not to be afraid of falshood, as Erasmus writeth in his second booke, the third Chapter? Zorobabel declared that truth is of all things the most mighty, and overcometh all things. For Christ is the truth; John 14. I am the way, the truth, &c. And the devill is the father of lies; John 8. He is a liar from the beginning, and never abode in the truth, and there is no truth in him. Therefore, if the Pope and his priests have the truth, let them overcome us with the Word of God. But if they have lies, then they cannot long abide in all their presumption. Therefore, we exhort and beseech all the imperiall Cities, all Kings, Princes, Noble men, rich and poor, for Gods sake, and for his righteousness, that one of them write hereto to another, and that there may be some means made, how we may commune with you safely and friendly, at some such place as shall be fit

both for you and us, and bring with you your Bishops and teachers, and let them and our teachers fight together with the Word of God, and let us heare them, and let not the one overcome the other by violence or false subtilty, but onely by the Word of God. And if your bishops and teachers have better proofes of their faith out of the holy Scripture, than we, and our faith be found untrue, we will receive penance and satisfaction, according to the Gospel. But if your bishops and teachers be overcome of ours by the holy Scripture, then doe ye repent and hearken to us, and hold with us. And if your bishops and teachers will cease from their spiritual pride, and repent and make satisfaction, then we will help you according to our power, and will compell them, either to joyne with us, or else we will expell them out of Christendome. And if your bishops and teachers will say, that it is not lawfull for lay men to hear such reasoning, or to be present at it; that may you understand to tend to no other end, but that they feare they should be overcome and put to shame in the sight of you. For if they knew that they should overcome therein, out of doubt they would desire that every man should heare it, and thereby their glory should become the greater, and their fame and praises should be increased upon the earth. And if your bishops and teachers counsell you to come to no hearing with us, then doe it whether they will or no, and suffer not your selves at any time to be so foolishly seduced with their foolish pardons, but tarry at home in your houses with your wives and children. And let the Pope of Rome come to us with all his Cardinals and Bishops, and with all his priests, with his own person and power, to warre with us, and let themselves deserve the absolution of finnes, grace, and pardon, which they preach to you (for they have great need of forgiveness of finnes, grace, and pardon) and by the grace of God we will give them pardon enough as they shall need. But their subtill excuse is this: they say that it belongeth not to priests to fight with bodily weapons: and true it is that belongeth not to them; but it belongeth as little to them to stirre up, to counsell, and to fortifie others thereto. For Paul saith in the first to the Romanes, and in the fifth to the Galatians, That all that doe such things are worthy of everlasting death.

And if ye will not determine to doe any other thing then to fight against us, then will we take the Word to our helpe and his truth, and we will defend it to the death, and we will not be afraid for the excommunication or curse of the Pope, or his Cardinals, or of the bishops, because we know that the Pope is not God, as he maketh himself, that he can curse and excommunicate when hee will, or bless when he will; who hath now these many yeeres cursed and excommunicated us, and yet notwithstanding God and his gracious blessing hath bene our help. But peradventure ye will say, that though we see that bishops and priests be evill and wicked, yet we cannot lacke them; for who should baptise our children, who should hear confessions, and minister the holy Sacraments, and then also we should be within the excommunication of the Pope, and of his bishops. Wellbeloved, ye need to take no care for these matters. The excommunicating of the Pope hurteth you nothing. Feare ye the excommunicating of God, and the Lord will provide for those things well enough. If ye would banish evill Bishops and priests, ye should have good priests which should baptise your children, heare confessions, and minister the holy mysteries, because when the devill is banished, then place is made for the holy Ghost: So when ill bishops and priests shall be banished, then place shall be made for good priests and bishops. Also, your bishops and priests say, that we are miscreants and heretikes, and that we beleve not on Purgatory, upon the Virgin Mary, nor upon

KING HEN. 5.

A just and godly request of the Bohemians.

Therefore the Popes Clerge will abide no conference with the laity.

The Popes pretended excuse detected Rom. 1.

Experience of Gods blessing where the Pope hath cursed.

Objection.

Answer.

the



**{ KING }** the Saints wherein they say ill, for we will prove by  
**{ HEN. 5. }** the holy Scripture, that we know better by Gods  
 grace how we ought to beleve upon Purgatorie,  
 and upon Mary the mother of our Lord, and upon  
 his wellbelovéd saints, then they can tell us. Al'o they  
 say, that we will not be obedient unto the pope.  
 Truly when he shall become holy and iust, then we  
 know well that we ought to be obedient to him in  
 all things, and not before. They say al'o that we de-  
 stroy Gods holy service, in that we destroy mona-  
 steries, banishing thence the wicked monkes and  
 nunnnes. Truly we did it, thinking once that they  
 were holy, that they did the reverend service of God,  
 but after that we well perceived and considered their  
 life and workes, then we perceived that they were  
 false lowly hypocrites, and wicked builders on high,  
 and sellers of pardons and masses for the dead, and  
 such as deboured in themselves the sins of the peo-  
 ple. And whereas they said that they rise at mid-  
 night when other men sleep, and pray for the sinnes  
 of the people: for as much as their selling of their  
 prayers and masses for the dead for gifts, is no bet-  
 ter then hypocrisie and heresie, therefore if we doe  
 speake against them and destroy their monasteries,  
 we doe not therein destroy the service of God, but  
 rather the service of the devill, and the scholes of  
 heretikes. And if ye knew them as we know them,  
 ye would as diligently destroy them as we doe. For  
 Christ our Lord did not ordaine any such order, and  
 therefore it must needs come to passe that shortly it  
 shall be destroyed, as our Lord saith in the Gospel  
 of Saint Matthew, cha. 15. Every plant which my  
 Father hath not planted, shall be rooted up. We de-  
 sire you also that ye would diligently consider the  
 articles here written, wherein your bishops and  
 priests are guiltie.

The first Article is, that when your Bishops  
 will ordaine Priests, they doe it not except he that  
 is to be made Priest have sufficient living, either  
 inheritance left him of his parents or of benefi-  
 ces: whereas notwithstanding, Christ would that  
 Priests should be poore, for as much as it is enough  
 for the schollar to be as his master is, and for the ser-  
 vant to be as his lord is; and the Bishops will that  
 they should be rich upon earth, which is unjust be-  
 fore the Lord.

The second Article is, that Bishops take money  
 of such as are to be ordained; but Saint Peter did  
 therefore sharply rebuke Simon Magus, when he  
 would have given him money, as it is written in  
 the eight of the Acts.

The third Article is, that they that come to be  
 priests enter into their priesthood, not for Gods ser-  
 vice sake, because they meane to preach and in-  
 crease it among the Christian people, so as the peo-  
 ple may be edified and made better, but rather for  
 an idle life, and that they may eate well and drinke  
 well, and that they may be honoured and reveren-  
 ced upon earth. For every one watcheth upon his  
 priest as a thiefe and a robber, as John writeth in  
 his tenth chapter.

The fourth Article is of excommunication,  
 which the Pope and all his priests take to them-  
 selves, and therewith fetter and binde all Christian  
 people as they will, and they thinke that whoso-  
 ever they excommunicate or curse, he is accursed  
 and excommunicate before God. And we will  
 prove by the holy Scripture, that they themselves  
 are excommunicate and accursed before God, be-  
 cause they keepe not the Commandment of the  
 love of God, whereof the Apostle writeth in the  
 first to the Corinthians, the sixteenth chapter. If  
 any man loveth not our Lord Jesus Christ, he is  
 excommunicate in the day of the coming of the  
 Lord. For they cannot excommunicate you, who  
 are already bound and excommunicate before God  
 and his Saints; and therefore why feare ye their  
 excommunication?

The fifth Article is, that they take gifts to pray  
 for the dead, and to say masse for their soules. This  
 is a wickednesse and heresie before the Lord, and  
 all they that contribute to them to this end, doe  
 wickedly, for that hereby priests become merchants  
 of prayers and of masses, and hereunto is all the  
 Church of Rome poisoned and defiled. For if they  
 would pray for the dead, and say masse for their  
 soules, yet no man ought to hire them thereto, for-  
 so much as they ought to take no gifts, neither little  
 nor great. And every one that taketh rewards to  
 this end, to redeme soules out of Purgatory, doe  
 therewithall cast their owne soules downe into hell.  
 And they that give any thing to that end, doe  
 altogether loose that which they give: And with  
 such devilish subtiltie the Pope with all his priests  
 have deceived, spoiled, and disinherited Kings, Prin-  
 ces, Lords, and Knights, and good householders and  
 many other, of their lawfull inheritances, because  
 their Ancestours and Progenitours gave it to  
 Colleges, Monasteries, and Churches, that they  
 might make memorials of them, and to sing or say  
 prayers or masses for their soules, that they might  
 be redeemed out of Purgatory. And with such  
 goods, Bishops, Canons, and Monasteries have  
 made themselves so rich, that now they fall at vari-  
 ance with Cities and Princes: and whereas they  
 should procure peace betwixt Cities and Rulers,  
 there they are the first that begin warre: and as  
 long as they have such goods, they will never cease  
 to be at strife with Lords and Cities, neither will  
 they begin to teach you the true foundation of the  
 truth. For they doe as a dog, which as long as he  
 holdeth a bone in his mouth and gnaweth it, so long  
 he holdeth his peace and cannot barke: Even so, as  
 long as they have this bone of pleasant riches, it will  
 never be well in the world. Wherefore all Kings,  
 Princes, and imperiall Cities should doe a great  
 worke of godlinesse and mercy, if by them they were  
 compelled to doe this, as the dog is when the bone is  
 taken from him.

And therefore ye noble Men, Kings, Princes,  
 Lords, imperiall Cities, and all the communitie,  
 both rich and poore, if ye have bene asleep, yet now  
 awaken and open your eyes and behold the subtiltie  
 of the devill, how he hath blinded the Church of  
 Rome, and take againe that which is yours, and  
 not theirs. And if you will make a good memoriall  
 for your soules, then doe as the Witten saith, Ec-  
 clef. 19. Lay up almes, &c.

The sixth Article is, that they are full of pride  
 and of high minde, which is manifestly known by  
 their long, costly, and superfluous garments, where-  
 in they walke very unlike to Christ our Lord, who  
 had a garment without a seame, and to the welbe-  
 loved John Baptist, who had a garment of Camels  
 haire; and they will be honoured and worshipped,  
 and they preach and say that priest had ought to be  
 honoured, and so it ought indeed to be; but there are  
 none that doe so much slander and abuse it, as they  
 themselves, with their evil workes, gay apparell,  
 and with their evil words, wherein they passe all  
 other men. Saint Paul saith in the first to Timo-  
 thy, the third chapter, Let the Elders that governe  
 well be honoured with double honour, chiefly  
 they that labour in the Word and doctrine of the  
 Lord. Consider, that he saith, They that governe  
 well.

The seventh Article is, that they are covetous  
 from the highest to the lowest, and for covetous-  
 nesse they preach many foolish deeds and manifest  
 lies, and sell the holy Sacraments, which is a  
 great heresie; for God commanded that they should  
 give freely. Saint Paul writeth in the first to Ti-  
 mothy, covetousnesse is the roote of all mischief,  
 whereunto many have bene given, and therefore  
 they are separated from the faith, and have denied  
 the truth.

The Pope  
 Church poison-  
 ed with buy-  
 ing and selling  
 their prayers  
 and masses,  
 and so there-  
 by to make  
 men rich.

Fear of God  
 they have  
 cast aside  
 all the good  
 worke.

So long as  
 priests be rich,  
 they will never  
 be true teach-  
 ers.

The subtiltie of  
 the devill  
 making the  
 Church rich.

Eccl. 19.

Popish Priests  
 with their long  
 and sumptuous  
 gownes more  
 like to the  
 Pharisees then  
 Christ.

1 Tim. 6.

Honour in well  
 governing.

The Pope  
 Church poison-  
 ed with covet-  
 ousnesse.  
 1 Tim. 1.

The



The Popes Church payed much with whoredome.

The eighth Article is, that they commonly are called notorious whoremongers. This is manifestly seene in their concubines and children, which walke openly in all mens sight, and make many mens wives whores, or corrupt their daughters being virgins, and make them priests harlots and ribalds.

The Popes Church and monasteries commonly payed with devilish envy.

The ninth Article is, that they are full of devilish envy, and especially in all monasteries they have great envy and hatred amongst themselves, because when any thing is given or disposed to one Monastery or Colledge, then there are others that hate it, and envy at it, and would more gladly have it themselves; Like as among dogges, when any thing is given to the one and not to the other, which the other seeing envieth his fellow, and the other likewise will rather devoure all himself, then give any part to his fellow. Wherefore it were well that they were brought from that great sinne of envy, giving nothing into them; And it were better that their possessions were taken from them, and that they should doe that which the Lord spake to his Disciples, saying, Goe ye and preach the Gospel to all men.

The Popes Church payed with idleness and belly-cheere.

The tenth Article is, that they are idle, and chiefly the Bishops, Canons, and other Prelators, which will not labour diligently in the holy Scripture, wherewith they might cure the miseries of Christendome, wherto they have bound themselves, and they eate the bread thereof in idleness, because when other men watch and labour to maintaine themselves and their little ones, then are they with their Lemmings, or else they walke in some Citie, carrying Hawkes on their fists, or else they sit at the good wine with their Concubines, and there they sing and play the Lucians and eate of the best; and therefore all that willingly bring and give to them, shall be made partners of that curse which is given them of God, because they eate their bread unjustly, wherof Saint Paul writeth in the second to the Thessalonians, the third chapter, He that laboureth not, let him not eat.

The Popes Church infamous with notorious lies.

The eleventh Article, that they are notorious liers, because, to the end that they may please men, they tell many tales and lies which in the holy Scripture have no foundation nor proofe. Of such writeth John in the Apocal. 21.

The Popes Church erreth in diminishing one part of the Sacrament.

The twelfth Article is, that they doe not rightly give or minister to the people the body of our Lord Jesus Christ, and they give it not as God hath instituted it and commanded. This is a great and a devilish sinne and too great malapertnesse. Herein we would overcome them, with the testimonies of the Evangelists; I say, we would overcome the pope, and all his priests with the authorities of Marke, Luke, and Paul, Rom. 13. and we would suffer, that Kings, Princes, Lords, and all that are willing to heare, should heare it.

The Popes Church charged with partiality.

The thirteenth Article is, that they sit in spiritual judgement, and then many times they iudge according to favour, and not according to the righteousness of God, that they take bribes, giving sentence for him, which in Gods sight hath the wrongfull cause. Woe be to such sentences, as it is written in Mai. 5. Woe be to you that, &c.

The fourteenth Article is, that they sit hearing confessions, and when there come to them usurers, raveners, and thieves, they take bribes of them of their ill gotten goods, to spare them; and they willingly suffer them in Cities and Townes. And likewise of adulterers and other notorious whoremongers, and whores, and they neither let or stay them in their great sins, to the end that the Scripture may be fulfilled in them, which saith, Gifts and the love of money doe deale to hell, and doe blinde the eyes of Judges.

The fifteenth Article is, that they receive tithes of men, and will of right have them, and preach

and say that men are bound to give them tithes; and therein they say falsly. For they cannot prove by the new Testament, that our Lord Jesus Christ commanded it, and his Disciples learned no man to doe so, neither did themselves receive them. But although in the old Testament it were commanded to give tithes, yet it cannot thereby be proved, that Christian men are bound thereto; For this precept of the old Testament had an end in the first year of our Lord Jesus Christ, like as the precept of Circumcision. Wherefore, welbeloved, consider and see how your bishops seduce you and shut your eyes with things that have no proofe. Christ saith in the eleventh of Luke, Give almes of those things that remaine; but he said not, give the tenth of the goods which ye possesse, but give almes. But when they heare the Word, they may say as the Lawyer said to Christ, Master, when thou sayest so, thou givest offence, Luke 11.

SKING  
HEN. 5.  
The meane of claiming tithes by meer necessity of the old law, and not by the positive law of Divines.

The sixteenth Article is, that they in many places lend money or goods to have treasure or usury, and they have in Cities and Townes verely payments and perpetuall renewels, as great Princes and Lords. Wherein they doe against the Gospel, which saith, Doe not yet possesse gold nor silver. And whereas they lend for gain and usury, against that speaketh the Lord, Dentonomy the fourth and twentieth, Lend not to usury to thy brother, &c. Yea, honest, discreet, and welbeloved Lords, all the aforesaid articles we will prove against the pope, all his priests, with many testimonies of the holy Scripture, which for brevities sake we have not here mentioned. But note ye chiefly these four Articles, for which we strive, and desire to defend them to the death.

The Popes Church charged with usury.

The first Article is, that all publike and customeable mortall sinnes ought to be forbidden and prohibited to all priests and lay men, according to the commandement of the holy Scripture.

The second Article is, that riches ought to be taken from the pope and all his priests, from the highest to the lowest, and they ought to be made poor, as the Disciples of our Lord Jesus Christ were; who had nothing of their own, neither possessions in this world, neither worldly power.

He meaneth the immoderate riches and temporal possessions.

The third Article is, that the word of God ought to be free for every man appointed and ordained thereto, to preach and read in all places whither they shall come, without resistance of any man, or without any inhibition of either spiritual or earthly power, openly or manifestly.

When appointed to preach, may preach though the Pope forbid them.

The fourth Article is, that the body of our Lord Jesus Christ ought to be delivered to every Christian as our Lord hath ordained it, and as the holy Evangelists have written. We have also understood that there shall be a Councell in Basil, wherfore let no man be exalted, but let them diligently keepe their wives, their daughters, and their virgins from bishops, priests, and monks. And doe not think that there is made any holy assembly of bishops and priests for the common commodity and profit of Christendome, but only to this end, that they may hide their secret vices and heresies with the cloak of hypocrisie, and let and hinder the righteousness of God, which is much contrary to them; and for this cause consider ye diligently, that they will not make an holy assembly, but the congregation of Satan. And take ye heed that it be not done as some did at Constance, who took money of bishops and prelates, and suffered them to sleepe with their wives. Ye welbeloved and honest Lords, if ye finde any thing in these foresaid articles or wordes written somewhat sharply, we did it not to offend or contemne you, but to the end that ye should diligently consider and devise, how Christendome is so ill kept and led by the Priests of this present age. Our Lord Jesus Christ keepe you both in body and soule, Amen. In the yere of our Lord, 1430.

When the pope doleth his councell, let men looke to their wives and daughters, where the councell is kept.



{ KING }  
{ HEN. 5. }  
Ex vetustiffi no  
colice manu-  
scriptis.

Preropus, Smahors, Conradus, Samssimolich, Captains  
of Bohemia.

Now to prosecute the warres of the Bohemians  
again: After Zisca was dead, whereof we did en-  
treat before, there was great feare, sorrow, and la-  
mentation in the army, the souldiers accusing for-  
tune which gave ober such an invincible captaine to  
be overcome with death. Immediately there was a  
division in the hoste, the one part chosing Procopius  
Magnus to be their captaine, the other part saying,  
that there was none could be found worthy to succeed  
Zisca; wherupon they chosing out certain to serve  
the warres, named themselves Dyphans.

Thus the Thaborites being divided into two ar-  
mies, the one part retained their old and accus-  
tomed name, and the other, by meanes of the death  
of their captaine, named themselves Dyphans. And al-  
beit that oftentimes there was dissention betwene  
them, yet whensoever any forraign power came to-  
wards them, they joyned their powers together in  
one camp, and defended themselves. They seldome  
went unto any fenced townes, except it were to buy  
necessaries, but lived with their wives and children  
in their campe and tents. They had amongst them  
many carres, the which they used as a Bulwarke:  
For whensoever they went unto battell, they made  
two wings of them, which closed in the footmen.  
The wings of the bohemians were on the outside, and  
when as they saw their time to joyne battell, the wa-  
gon-men which led the wings going forth unto the  
Emperours standard, and compassing in such part  
of their enemies as they would, did close themselves  
in together, whereby the enemies being inclosed, so  
that they could not be rescued, they were partly by  
the foot-men, and partly by the men that were in the  
carres, with their darts slaine. The horsemen fought  
without the fortification; and if it happened that  
they were oppressed or put to flight, by and by the  
carres opening themselves received them as it were  
into a fenced city; and by this means they got many  
victories, sozomuch as their enemies were ignorant  
of their policies.

These two armies went forth, the one into Sle-  
sia, and the other into Moravia, and returned againe  
with great prey, before their enemies knew of their  
coming. After this they besieged the towne of  
Sweider in Austria, where the Thaborites and the  
Dyphans two nights continually assaulted the walls  
without ceasing; but Albert Duke of Austria com-  
ing with his host to aid the citizens, they fought by the  
spare almost of four hours, the valiaiest warriors be-  
ing slain on both parts. At the length the battell was  
broken off, and the Thaborites lost their carres, and  
Albert was put out of his camp and tents. Within a  
while after, Procopius Magnus came againe and in-  
closed the city of Kibetium in Austria with a no-  
table siege. They of Prague were in his army, and  
Wollaus Cypriens, of whom we spake before, was  
slaine there with a dart, and the citie of Kibeti-  
um was taken by force, sacked and burnt. The  
Burgade of Halberburge lord of the towne was  
also taken and carried unto Prague, where also he  
died in prison.

These things thus done, the Emperour sent for  
the nobles of Boheme, which went unto him unto a  
town of Hungary, called Bosonium in the borders  
of Austria, upon the bankes of the river of Danu-  
bius; but they would not enter into the towne, but  
remained without the towne in their tents; whither  
as the Emperour going out unto them communed  
much with them as touching his right and title, and  
the recovering of his fathers kingdom, promising  
if there were any cause, which did alienate the Bo-  
hemians mindes from him, that he would take  
away all the occasion thereof: They made answer,  
that he had made warre upon them without cause,  
and that he had suffered their countreymen, contra-

ry to his promise, to be burnt at Constance not be-  
ing heard, and the kingdom to be contumeliously  
interdicted, and the Nobles of Boheme to be con-  
demned by the church of Rome as heretikes; and  
that he should thinke the force and power of the Bo-  
hemians not to be so small, but that they would pro-  
vide for their owne honour. Whereunto the Empe-  
rour answered very gently, and offered them a ge-  
nerall counsell, wherein they might declare their in-  
nocency, if they would submit themselves to the  
judgement of the universall church: but the Bohe-  
mians which were now become valiant victors in  
armies, would not now be overcome with words;  
and so nothing being finally concluded, the Empe-  
rour returned home.

Then Pope Martin perceiving the Gospel to en-  
crease daily more and more, sent the Cardinall of  
Winchester an Englishman, born of a noble house,  
into Germany to move them unto warre against  
the Bohemians. Whereunto the Emperour also did  
assist him.

There was three armies provided. In the first ar-  
my were the Dukes of Saxony, and the lower cities.

The second armie, which was gathered of the  
Franconians, was under the conduct of the Har-  
queise of Brandenburg.

The third army was led by Otto the archbishop  
of Trevers, whom the Rhemenes, the Bavarians,  
and the Imperiall cities of Swabia followed. These  
armies entring into Boheme in three severall parts,  
after they were passed the wood, they joyned together  
and pitched before Pilsna. This towne a certaine  
learned and eloquent protestant, named Puchicho,  
the night before had wonne from the Papists;  
wherefore the army was determined first to reco-  
ver that city, before they would goe any further.  
But when as newes came unto the host, how the  
Protestants had gathered an army, and came with  
all speed towards them; they fled before they saw  
their enemies, and went unto Tacovia, leaving be-  
hinde them their warlike engines with a great prey.  
The Cardinall was not yet come into the campe,  
but meeting them in their flight at Tacovia, he  
marvelled at the cowardly flight of so many Noble  
and valiant men, desiring them that they would  
turne againe unto their enemies, which, he said, were  
farre weaker than they. Which thing when he had  
long travelled about in vaine, he was faine to be a  
companion with them in their flight. They were  
scarcely entered the wood, when as the Bohemians  
coming upon them set upon the rereward. Then  
was their flight much more disordered and fearful  
than before, neither did they leave flying before the  
Bohemians lest following. When all unpemitted  
or let being taken away, they vanquished Tacovia;  
and having obtained great store of warlike engines  
they destroyed Pilsna. And when they would have  
returned home by Franconia, they had great sums  
of money sent unto them that they should not  
waste or destroy the Countreies of Wamberge and  
Pozenberge; whereby the host of the Bohemians  
was greatly enriched.

Sigismundus the Emperour, having newes of  
these things, went straight unto Pozenberge, and  
gathered there new aid and helpe. Also Pope Har-  
tin sent Julian the Cardinall of Saint Angell into  
Germany with his ambassage, to make war against  
the Bohemians, and that he should in the Council  
of Basil, which doth now shortly draw on, be presi-  
dent in the Popes name. He entring into Germany  
went straight to Pozenberge to the Emperour,  
where many of the Nobles of Germany were as-  
sembled.

There was a new expedition decreed against  
the Bohemians, against the eight Kalends of July,  
and Fredericke Harqueise of Wandenburge ap-  
pointed Generall of that warre, which should fol-  
low the Cardinall. Hee entred into Bohemia by  
the

The death  
of Iohn Hus and  
Hierome re-  
venged.

The Cardinall  
of Winchester  
sent into Ger-  
many to move  
them to warre  
against the  
Bohemians.

These armies  
were gathered  
for against the  
Bohemians.

God refresh  
our people  
new con-  
verted.

The Bohemians  
armies they.

Like captaine  
in the field.

The order and  
policy that the  
armie of Zisca  
used in warre  
after his de-  
cease.

Procopius Mag-  
nus.

Sigismund the  
Emperour  
which burned  
Hus and Je-  
rome before,  
now is faine to  
entreat for his  
kingdom.

Anno }  
1421. }  
The Pope rais-  
ed warre the  
second time  
against the  
Bohemians.

A new way  
raised by the  
Pope against  
the Bohemi-  
ans.



the way that leadeth unto Thopa, and Albertus Prince of Austrich was appointed to bring his army thorow Moravia.

In this expedition was Albert and Christopher of Bavaria, and Frederick Dukes of Saxony, John and Albert Princes of Brandenburge, with their father which was generall of those warres. Also the Bishops of Hyperbolic, Bamberg and Epsien. Also the company of the Swedians, which they called the company of S. George, and the Magistrates of the imperiall cities, the bishop of Mentz, Trebers, and Colen sent their aids, and with them the chieftaines of their provinces. It is said that the number of their horsemen were above forty thousand, but their footmen were not full so many, for the Germans for the most part do use to fight their battels on horseback.

Also Rhenatus prince of Lorain promised to come to these warres; but being letted by his civill warres, so much as he went about to vanquish the Carle of Vandome, he could not keep his promise, and the Countie Palatine of Rheine, which did aid and succour the Carle of Vandome, could not goe against the Bohemians. The Cardinall staying for them deferred his journey untill the Calends of August. In the meane time Albert leading his army out of Austria, understanding that the Cardinall was not present at the day appointed, and seeing himselfe unable to encounter with the Bohemian power, he returned back againe. After this the Cardinall entered into Boheme with a huge army, and destroyed many of the protestants townes, killing men, women and children, sparing neither old nor young; notwithstanding this his tyrannie was exercised in the uttermost borders of Boheme, for his captaines feared to enter farre into the land. The Bohemians, as soon as they had heard tell that their enemy was come, made ready, and gathered their host with all speed, and laid siege to a towne called Stillsberge, and brought it under subjection.

In the meane season there fell such a marvellous sudden feare amongst all the papists thorowout the whole camp, that they began most shamefully to run away before any enemy came in sight. The cardinall Julianus marvelled at this most sudden feare, and what should move to great an army to flee, went about unto the captaines, exhorting them to put on armour, to order their battels, and courageously to abide their enemies, saying, they did not fight for the glory of their kingdom, or for the possession of lands, but for their lives, and honour, and religion of Christ, and for the salvation of soules. How ignominious a thing is it (saith he) for the Germans to flee in battell, whose courage and valiantnesse all the world doth extoll? It were much better to die, than to give place to any enemies before they were seen; for they can by no meanes live in safety within the wals, which give place unto their enemy in the field: for it is the weapon that defendeth a man and not the wals, and except they would even presently defend their liberty with the sword, they should shortly be in greater bondage, more miserable than any death. But this exhortation was all in vaine, for fear had put away all boldnesse: for the ensignes were snatched up, and as though there had been no captain in the host, every man ran headlong away. No man regarded any commandment, neither once took his leave of his captain, but casting away their armor with speed flight they ran away, as though their enemy had bene at their backs. The cardinall also, although it were against his will, was forced to doe the like.

Thus the protestants, by the fear of their enemies made the more bold and courageous, pursued them thorow the woods, and had a great prey and spoile of them. Notwithstanding, Albertus when he heard tell that the Cardinall was entered into Bohemia, with

all speed came again out of Austrich with his army, and besieged the strong towne of Pzozorabia: but when he understood how the Cardinall was fled, he left off his purpose, and returned thorow Moravia, which was not yet subject unto him and destroyed above fifty townes with fire and sword, took many of their cities by force, and spoiled them, committing great murder and slaughter, and so afflicted them that they took upon them his yoke, and promised to be subject and obedient to him under this condition, that as touching religion he would be bound to do that which the Councell of Basill should determine.

Then was there an ambassage sent out of Boheme unto Basill, where Sigismund held the Councell, who during the time of the warres had kept himself at Pzozinberge. When as he should take his journey unto Rome to be crowned Emperour, he wrote letters unto the Nobles of Boheme, wherein was contained, how that he was a Bohemian borne, and how he was not more affectioned to any nation than to his owne, and that he went to Rome for none other cause but to be crowned, the which his honour should also be a renowne to the Bohemians, whom to advance it hath bene alwayes his speciall care.

Also, how that through his endeavour the Councell was begun at Basill, exhorting all such as were desirous to be heard as touching religion, that they should come thither, and that they would not maintain any quarrell contrary to the holy mother the Church; that the Councell would lovingly and gently heare their reasons; that they should onely endeavour themselves to agree with the Synode as touching religion, and reserve and keep a quiet and peaceable kingdome for him, against his returne: Neither should the Bohemians thinke to refuse his regiment, whose brother, father, and uncle had reigned over them, and that he would reigne over them after no other meane except, than other Christian kings used to doe.

The Councell of Basill also wrote their letter to the Bohemians, that they should send their ambassadors which should shew a reason of their faith, promising safe conduct to goe and come, and free liberty to speake what they would. The Bohemians in this point were of two opinions; for the Protestants, and almost all the common people said, it was not good to go, alleading the examples of John Hus and Jerome of Prague, which going unto Constance, under the safe conduct of the Emperour, were there openly burned. But the nobilitie following the mind of Harnardus, Prince of the new house, said, that they ought to goe unto the Councell, and that they are not to be suffered which had invented those new and strange opinions of faith, and new kinde of religion, except they would render account of their doings and sayings before the universall church, and defend those things which they had openly taught before learned men. This opinion took place, and an ambassage of three hundred horse was sent unto Basill. The chief whereof were William Colca a valiant knight, and Procopius, surnamed Hag-nus, a man of worthy fame for his manifold victories, John Wohozerana preacher of Prague, Nicolas Calcius, Minister of the Habozites, and one Peter an Englishman, of excellent prompt and pregnant wit. The people came in great number out of the towne, and many out of the Synode and Councell, attending before the gates to see the coming of this valiant and famous people: other some gathered together in great number into the streets where they should passe thorow. The matrons, maides and children filled the windowes and houses to behold and see, and to marvel at their strange kinde of apparell, and stout courageous countenances, saying, that it was not untrue which was reported of them: notwithstanding all men beheld Procopius, saying, this is he which hath overthrowne the

{ KING }  
{ HEN. 5. }

Great slaughter in Boheme by Duke Albert.

The Councell of Basill.

A letter of the Emperour to the Bohemians.

The Bohemians sent for by the Councell. Safe conduct given to the Bohemians to come to the Councell.

Adoubt among the Bohemians whether to goe to the Councell of Basill or no. This Harnardus was after a great backe friend to the faithfull Bohemians.

Three hundred horsemen of the Bohemians sent an ambassage to the Councell.

This Englishman was Peter Palm. The receiving of the Bohemians at Basill.

Procopius famous among the Germans.

The number of the Popes army against the Bohemians.

Cardinal Julian with a maine host entred Boheme. The cruell slaughter done by the Cardinall.

God striketh a fear into the Popes army.

\* Rather for the religion of Antichrist. This Cardinall belike loved to preach rather in the camp than in the Church.

The Cardinalls army ran away for fear.



**KING** } the papists in so many battels, which hath subverted  
**HEN. 5.** } so many towne, and slaine so many men, whom both  
 his enemies, and also his owne souldiers doe feare  
 and reverence; also, that he was a bold, valiant and  
 invincible capitaine, which could not be overcome  
 with any terror, labour or travell.

The oration of  
 Cardinal Julian.

These Bohemian Ambassadors were gently re-  
 ceived. The next day after, Cardinal Julianus,  
 sending for them unto the councell house, made a  
 gentle, long, and eloquent Oration unto them, ex-  
 horting them to unity and peace, saying, that the  
 Church was the spouse of our Saviour Christ, and  
 the mother of all faithfull, that it hath the keyes of  
 binding and loosing, and also that it is white and faire  
 without spot or wrinkle, and cannot erre in those  
 points that are necessary to salvation, and that he  
 which doth contemne the same church is to be coun-  
 ted as a prophane Ethnicke, and Publican, neither  
 can this Church be represented better by any means  
 then in this councell. He exhorted them also to re-  
 ceive the decrees of the councell, and to give no lesse  
 credit unto the councell then unto the Gospell, by  
 whose authority the Scriptures themselves are re-  
 ceived and allowed. Also that the Bohemians,  
 which call themselves the children of the Church,  
 ought to heare the voyce of their mother, which is  
 never unmindfull of her children; how that now of  
 late they have lived apart from their mother; albeit  
 (said he) that is no new or strange thing, for there  
 have bene many times past which have forsaken  
 their mother, and yet lacking after salvation have  
 returned to her againe; That in the time of Noes  
 flood, as many as were without the Arke perished;  
 that the Lords passeover was to be eaten in one  
 house; that there is no salvation to be sought for out  
 of the Church, and that this is the Garden and fa-  
 mous fountaine of water, whereof whosoever shall  
 drinke, shall not thirst everlastingly; That the  
 Bohemians have done as they ought, in that they  
 have sought the fountaines of this water at the  
 councell, and have determined now at length to give  
 eare unto their mother. Now all hatred ought to  
 cease, all armour and weapon is to be laid apart, and  
 all occasion of warre utterly to be rejected. For the  
 fathers would lovingly and gently heare whatsoever  
 there they would say in their owne cause or quarrell,  
 requiring onely that they would willingly receive  
 and embrace the good counsels and determinations  
 of the sacred Synode; whereunto not onely the Bo-  
 hemians, but also all other faithfull Christians,  
 ought to consent and agree, if they will be partakers  
 of eternall life.

The Bohemians  
 answer to the  
 Cardinals  
 oration.

This Oration of the Cardinal was heard and  
 very well allowed of the Fathers. Whereunto the  
 Bohemians answered in few words, that they nei-  
 ther had contemned the Church nor the councell, that  
 the sentence given at Constance, against those which  
 were unheard, doth diminish nothing of the Christi-  
 an religion; that the authority of the fathers hath al-  
 wayes remained amongst them inviolate; and that  
 whatsoever thing the Bohemians have taught, was  
 confirmed by the Scriptures and Gospell; and that  
 they are now come to manifest their innocency be-  
 fore the whole Church, and to require open audience,  
 where the laity may also be present. Their request  
 was granted them; and being further demanded in  
 what points they did disagree from the Church of  
 Rome, they propounded foure articles.

The Articles  
 wherein the  
 Bohemians  
 dissent from  
 the Church of  
 Rome.

First, they affirmed, that all such as would be sa-  
 ved ought of necessity to receive the Communion of  
 the last Supper under both kindes of Bread and  
 Wine.

The second Article, they affirmed all civill rule  
 and dominion to be forbidden unto the clergy by the  
 Law of God.

The third Article, that the preaching of the  
 Word of God is free for all men, and in all places.

The fourth Article, as touching even crimes and  
 offences which are in no wise to be suffered for the  
 avoiding of greater evil.

These were the only propositions which they pro-  
 pounded before the councell in the name of the whole  
 Keabine. Then another Ambassador affirmed that  
 he had heard of the Bohemians orders and sundry  
 things offensive to Christian eares, amongst the  
 which this was one point, that they should preach  
 that the invention of the order of begging fryers  
 was diabolicall.

Then Procopius rising up, said, neither is it un-  
 true; for if neither Moses, neither before him the  
 Patriarches, neither after him the Prophets, neither  
 in the new law Christ and his Apostles did institute  
 the order of begging fryers, who doth doubt but that  
 it was an invention of the devill, and a worke of  
 darknesse.

This answer of Procopius was derided of them  
 all. And Cardinal Julianus went about to prove  
 that not onely the decrees of the Patriarches and  
 Prophets, and those things which Christ and his  
 Apostles had instituted, were of God, but also that  
 all such decrees as the Church should ordaine, being  
 guided through the holy Ghost, be the workes of  
 God. Albeit, as he said, the order of begging fryers  
 might seeme to be taken out of some part of the  
 Gospell. The Bohemians chose out foure Divines  
 which should declare their Articles to be taken out  
 of the Scriptures. Likewise on the contrary part  
 there were foure appointed by the councell. This  
 disputation continued fifty dayes, where many  
 things were alledged on either part, whereof, as  
 place shall serve, more hereafter (by the grace of  
 Christ) shall be said, when we come to the time of  
 that Councell.

Certaine ap-  
 pointed by the  
 Bohemians  
 and the coun-  
 cell to dispute.

In the meane season, while the Bohemians were  
 thus in long conflicts with Sigismund the Emperour  
 and the Pope, fighting for their religion, unto whom,  
 notwithstanding all the fulnesse of the Popes pow-  
 er was bent against them, God of his goodnesse had  
 given such noble victories, as is above expressed, and  
 ever did prosper them so long as they could agree  
 among themselves: as these things (I say) were do-  
 ing in Bohemie, King Henry the sixth, fighting  
 likewise in France, albeit for no like matters of  
 religion, fell sicke at Blois and dyed, after he had  
 reigned nine yeres, five monethes, three weekes  
 and odde dayes from his coronation. This King in  
 life and in all his doings was so devoute and service-  
 able to the Pope and his Chavlines, that he was  
 called of many the Prince of Idleness: who left be-  
 hinde him a sonne being yet an infant, nine months  
 and fiftene dayes of age, whom he had by Duene  
 Katherine, daughter to the French King, married  
 to him about two or three yeres before. The name  
 of which Prince, succeeding after his father, was  
 Henry the sixth, left under the government and pro-  
 tection of his Uncle named Humphrey Duke of  
 Gloucester.

The death of  
 King Henry the  
 sixth, called  
 Prince of  
 Idleness for his  
 favouring the  
 Pope.

The names of the Archbishops of Canterburie  
 in this fifth Booke contained.

54	Simon Islepe.	17
56	Simon Langham.	2
57	William Widesey.	5
58	Simon Sudbury.	6
59	William Courtney.	15
60	Thomas Arundell.	18
61	Henry Chichefly.	29

The end of the fifth Booke of Martyrs.

Cccc





## The sixth Part or Section, pertaining to the last three hundred yeeres.

### A Preface to the Reader.

According to the five sundry diversities and alterations of the Church, so have I divided hitherto the order of this present Church storie into five principall parts, every part containing 300. yeeres. So that now coming to the last 300. yeeres, that is, to the last times of the Church, counting from the time of Wickliffe: Forasmuch as in the compasse of the said last 300. yeeres are contained great troubles and perturbations of the Church, with the marvelous reformation of the same through the wondrous operation of the Almighty; all which things cannot be comprehended in one Booke: I have therefore disposed the said latter 300. yeeres into divers Bookes, beginning now with the sixth Book at the raigne of King Henry the sixth. In which Book beside the grievous and fundry persecutions raised up by Antichrist, to be noted, herein is also to be observed, that whereas it hath of long time beene received and thought of the common people, that this Religion now generally used hath sprung up and risen but of late, even by the space (as many doe think) of 20. or 30. yeeres, it may now manifestly appeare, not only by the Acts and Monuments heretofore passed, but also by the Histories hereafter following, how this profession of Christs Religion hath beene spread abroad in England of old and ancient time, not onely for the space of these 200. late yeeres, from the time of Wickliffe, but hath continually from time to time sparkled abroad, although the flames thereof have never so perfectly burst out, as they have done within these hundred yeeres and more; As by these Histories here collected and gathered out of Registers, especially of the diocese of Norwich, shall manifestly appeare: wherein may be seene what men, and how many both men and women within the said diocese of Norwich have beene, which have defended the same cause of doctrine which now is received by us in the Church. Which persons although then they were not so strongly armed in their cause and quarrell as of late yeeres they have beene, yet were they warriors in Christs Church, and fought to their power in the same cause. And although they gave backe through tyranny, yet judge thou the best good Reader, and referre the cause thereof to God, who revealeth all things according to his determinate will and appointed time.

King Henry  
the sixth.

Anno  
1422.

Ex Calamundi.  
Ex Regis. Can.

William Tailor the first time apprehended.  
William Tailor againe appeared before the Archbishop.  
Three Articles first objected to William Tailor.

**T**his young Prince being under the age of one yere, after the death of his father, succeeded in his raigne and Kingdome of England, An. 1422. and in the eight yere was crowned at Westminster: and the second yere after was crowned also at Paris, Henry Bishop of Winchester, Cardinall, being present at them both, and raigned 38. yeeres, and then was deposed by Edward the 4. as hereafter (Christ willing) shall be declared in his time. In the first yere of his raigne was burned the constant witness bearer and testis of Christs doctrine, William Tailor a Priest, under Henry Chicheley Archbishop of Canterbury. Of this William Tailor I reade, that in the dayes of Thomas Arundell he was first apprehended, and abjured. Afterward in the dayes of Henry Chicheley, about the yere of our Lord, 1421. which was a yere before his burning, the said William Tailor appeared againe in the convocation before the Archbishop, being brought by the Bishop of Worcester, being complained of to have taught at Brixow these Articles following.

First, that whosoever hangeth any Scripture about his necke, taketh away the honor due only to God, and giveth it to the devil.

Secondly, that no humane person is to be worshiped, but onely God is to be adored.

Thirdly, that the Saints are not to be worshiped nor invocated.

Upon these Articles the said William Tailor being examined, denied that he did preach or hold them in way of defending them, but onely did commune and talke upon the same, especially upon the second and third Articles, onely in way of reasoning, and for argument sake. And to justify his opinion to

be true in that which he did hold, he brought out of his bosome a paper or libell written, wherein were contained certaine Articles, with the testimonies of the Doctors alledged, and exhibited the same unto the Archbishop. Who then being bid to stand aside, the Archbishop consulting together with the Bishops and other prelates what was to be done in the matter, delivered the writings unto master John Castle, and John Rixinghale, the two Vice-chancellors of Oxford, and Cambridge, and to John Langdon Henke of Canterbury. Who advising with themselves, and with other Divines, about the Articles and allegations, on the Sunday following presented the said Articles of William Tailor to the Archbishop and prelates, as erroneous and hereticall. Whereupon William Tailor, being called before them, in conclusion was contented to revoke the same, and for his penance was by them condemned to perpetuall prison.

Notwithstanding, through favour they were contented that he should be released from his carceral indurance, in case he would put in sufficient surety in the Kings Chancery, and sweare that he shall never hold nor favour any such opinions hereafter. And thus the said William Tailor, appointed to appeare the next Wednesday at Lambeth before the Archbishop, to take his absolution from his long excommunication during the time from Thomas Arundell, appeared againe before him: where he laying aside his Arundell, that is, his cloake, his cap, and stripped unto his doublet, knelt at the feet of the Archbishop. Who then standing up, and having a rod in his hand, began the Psalmic Misere, &c. his Chaplaines answering the second verse. After that was said the collect, Deus cui proprium, &c. with certaine other prayers. And so taking an oath

The forme of  
Canonall absolution in the  
Church used against them  
that were excommunicated.



**KING** oath of him, the Archbishop committed him to the  
**HEN. 6.** custody of the bishop of Worcester, to whom power  
 and authority was permitted to release him, upon  
 the conditions aforesaid. And thus was William  
 Tailor for that time absolved, being enjoined not  
 withstanding to appeare at the next convocation,  
 whensoever it should be, before the said Archbishop  
 or his successor that should follow him.

In the meane time, while William Tailor was  
 thus in the custody of the bishop of Worcester, there  
 passed certaine writings betwene him and one  
 Thomas Smith Priest at Bristol, in the which  
 writings William Tailor replied against the said  
 Thomas, concerning the question of worshipping  
 of Saints. Upon the occasion of which reply, being  
 brought to the hands of the Bishop of Worcester,  
 William Tailor began anew to be troubled, and  
 was brought againe before the publike convocation  
 of the Clergie by the said Bishop of Worcester, to  
 answer unto his writings. This was Anno 1422.  
 the 11. day of February. Unto the which convoca-  
 tion the said William being presented, his writings  
 were read to him; which he would not, nor could not  
 deny to be of his owne hand writing.

The opinion of  
 William Tailor  
 concerning  
 worshipping of  
 Saints.

Cultus latrice,  
 that is, worship  
 which is only  
 due to God.

The tenour and effect of whose writing onely  
 tended to probe, that every petition and prayer for  
 any supernaturall gift ought to be directed to God  
 alone, and to no creature. Albeit in this his writing  
 he did not utterly deny that it was lawfull in any  
 respect to pray to Saints (and bringeth for the same  
 Thomas Aquine) but onely in respect of that wor-  
 ship, which is called Cultus latrice; And further so pro-  
 secuteth his minde herein, that he seemeth little or  
 nothing to differ from the superstition of the pa-  
 pists, as most plainly appeareth by his owne words,  
 saying, Nunquam tamen negavi, aut negare intendo,  
 merita aut sanctorum suffragia tam beatorum quam vian-  
 tium, tam vivis, quam mortuis ad hoc dispositis, quan-  
 tum possunt, suffragari, vel proficere; quia hoc est eli-  
 cible ex Scriptura, quæ non fallit, & ex consona ratione,  
 &c. And moreover he inferreth the example of  
 Moses, who prayed unto God, alledging the merits  
 of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, which were dead,  
 &c. And furthermore, passing from the testimony of  
 Jerome, and alledging the example of Stephen, saith,  
 Quod nunc magis exauditur pro venerabilibus suis,  
 quam tunc exauditus est pro lapidatoribus. And at  
 length he cometh to this conclusion, probing by  
 Saint Austin, in this manner, Ne igitur, cum impiis  
 & idololatriis in veteri testamento, in circuitu ambule-  
 mus, nunquam deveniendo ad centrum, sanum est quod  
 faciamus secundum consilium Apostoli sic dicentis, Ac-  
 cedamus cum fiducia ad thronum gratiæ ejus, ut miseri-  
 cordiam consequamur, & gratiam inveniamus in auxilio  
 opportuno, &c. That is, And therefore, lest we run  
 about in circles with the wicked, and with the idola-  
 ters of the old Testament, and never come to the  
 center, it is wholesome and good counsell, that we  
 follow the minde of the Apostle, saying, Let us re-  
 sort with boldnesse unto the throne of his grace, that  
 we may obtaine mercie, and finde grace in time of  
 opportune helpe, &c.

Thus much out of the foresaid writing of Will-  
 iam Tailor, I have excerpted, to the intent that the  
 indifferent Reader, using his judgement herein, may  
 see how little matter was in this, wherefore he should  
 be condemned by the papists. And yet notwithstan-  
 ding the same writing, being delivered by the Arch-  
 bishop to the four orders of fryers of London to be  
 examined, was found erroneous and hereticall in  
 these points:

First, that every prayer which is a petition of  
 some supernaturall gift or free gift, is to be directed  
 onely to God.

2. Item, that prayer is to be directed to God  
 alone.

3. Item, to pray to any creature is to commit  
 idolatry.

Four Articles  
 by the four or-  
 ders of fryers  
 laid against  
 William Tailor.

4. Also, another opinion there was much like to  
 the other, to make up the fourth. so that althoug  
 all these opinions agreed in one, yet to make up a  
 number, every order of the four sorts of fryers,  
 thought to finde out some matter to offer up to the  
 Archbishop against him, lest one order should seeme  
 more cunning or pregnant, in finding out more then  
 could another; or else perchance lest any of them  
 should seeme to favour the party, in bringing nothing  
 10 against him, as the rest had done.

### The burning of William Tailor Priest.



When the Saturday was come, which was the  
 20. day of February, upon the which day the four  
 orders were appointed to declare their censure upon  
 the Articles in the Chapter house of Pauls, first  
 appeareth fryer Wille, for the blacke fryers, then  
 fryer Winchelsey, then fryer Lowe, after fryer Al-  
 well, each fryer for his order severally bringing his  
 heresie, as is above specified.

Thus the verdict of these four orders being given  
 up to the Archbishop, and severally each order co-  
 ming in with his heresie, which was the 20. day of  
 February; hereupon cometh downe a writ from  
 the King, directed to the lord Mayor and Sherifffes of  
 London, De hæretico comburendo, dated the first  
 day of March, Anno the first of his raigne. The co-  
 pie whereof remaineth in the records of the Tower,  
 beginning thus, Rex Majori & Vicecomitibus.  
 Whereupon the said William Tailor, condemned  
 as a relapse, first was degraded, and after to be bur-  
 ned, & so was committed to the secular power. Who  
 then being had to Smithfield, the first day of March,  
 with Christian constancy after long imprisonment,  
 there did consummate his martyrdom, 1422.

The manner of his degrading was all one with  
 the degrading of John Hus before; for the papists  
 use but one forme for all men. First, degrading  
 them from Priesthood, by taking from them the cha-  
 lice and patine. From Deaconship, by taking from  
 them the Gospell Book and Tunicle. From subdea-  
 conship, by taking from them the Epistle Book and  
 Tunicle. From Acoluthship, by taking from them  
 the Cruet and Candlesticke. From an exorcist, by  
 taking away the Booke of Exorcismes or Exor-  
 dual: From the Sertonship, by taking away the  
 Cccc 2 the

William Tailor  
 degraded.  
 William Tailor  
 degraded.  
 William Tailor  
 degraded.

The proper  
 manner of de-  
 gradation.



the Church doore key and surplise. And likewise from Venet, in taking away the surplise, and first tonsure, &c. All which they orderly accomplished upon this godly martyre, before his burning.

### John Florence a Turner.

John Florence  
a Turner.

**I**ohn Florence a Turner, dwelling in Shelton, in the diocesse of Norwich, was attached for that he held and taught these heresies here under written (as they called them) contrary to the determination of the Church of Rome.

Inprimis, that the Pope and Cardinals have no power to make or constitute any lawes.

Item, that there is no day to be kept holy, but only the Sunday which God hath hallowed.

Item, that men ought to fast no other time, but of the Quatuor temporum.

Item, that images are not to be worshipped, neither that the people ought to set up any lights before them in the Churches, neither to go on pilgrimage, neither to offer for the dead, or with women that are purified.

He meaneth  
they should not  
claime such  
riches by any  
exaction.

Item, that Curates should not take the tithes of their Parishioners, but that such tithes should be divided amongst the poore Parishioners.

Item, that all such as swear by their life or power, shall be damned, except they repent.

### The displing of John Florence.



Upon Wednesday being the second day of August in the yere of our Lord, 1424. the said John Florence personally appeared before William Bernam, Chancellor to William Bishop of Norwich, where he proceeding against him, objected the first article touching the power of the Pope and Cardinals: to which Article the said John Florence answered in this manner: If the Pope lived uprightly as Peter lived, he hath power to make lawes; otherwise I believe he hath no power. But being afterward threatened by the iudge, he acknowledged that he had erred, and submitted himself to the correction of the Church and was abjured, taking an oath that from that time forward he should not hold, teach, preach, or willingly defend any error or heresie contrary to the determination of the Church of Rome,

neither maintaine, helpe, or ayde any that shall teach or hold any such errors or heresies, either privily or apertly; and for his offence in this behalfe done he was enjoined this penance following.

KING  
HEN. 6.

Thre Sundayes in a solemne procession, in the Cathedrall Church of Norwich, he should be displed before all the people. The like also should be done about his Parish Church of Shelton, thre other severall Sundayes, he being bare headed, bare footed, and bare necked, after the manner of a publike penitentiary, his body being covered with a Canvas shirt, and Canvas breeches, carrying in his hand a Laper of a pound weight; and that done he was dismissed.

The manner of  
this displing  
was with a  
white rod,  
thrice laid upon  
the head of the  
penitentiary.

Richard Belward of Erisam in the Diocesse of Norwich.

**R**. Belward of Erisam, in the diocesse of Norwich was accused for holding and teaching these errors and opinions here under written, contrary to the determination of the Church of Rome.

Inprimis, that Ecclesiastical Ministers and Ordinaries have no power to excommunicate, neither can excommunicate. And albeit that a Bishop doe excommunicate any man, God doth absolve him.

He meaneth  
the wicked bishops  
of that time,  
whose curses  
God did blesse.

Item, that he held the erroneous opinions and conclusions, that sir John Oldcastle held when he was in prison, and affirmed that sir John Oldcastle was a true Catholike man, and falsely condemned and put to death without any reasonable cause.

This proverb  
sir John Old-  
castle to be no  
traitor.

Item, that such as goe on pilgrimage, offering to images made of wood and stone, are excommunicate, because they ought to offer to the quicke, and not to the dead; and that the ecclesiastical Ministers, that is to say, the Curates doe sell God upon Easter day, when as they receive offerings of such as should communicate, before they doe minister the Sacrament unto them.

Item, that he counselled divers women, that they should not offer in the Church for the dead, neither with women that were purified.

Item, that he blamed divers of his neighbors that refused his doctrine, saying unto them; Cruely ye are foles that deny to learne the doctrine of my sect, for your neighbors which are of my sect are able to confound and banquish all other that are of your sect.

The words of  
the Register.

Item, that the Saints which are in heaven ought in no case to be prayed unto, but only God.

Item, that the said Richard kept scholes of Lollardy in the English tongue, in the Towne of Ditchingham, and a certaine Parchment-maker bringeth him all the bookes containing that doctrine from London.

The fifth day of July 1424. the said Richard Belward was brought before John Bishop of Norwich, sitting in place of iudgement, where the fore-said Articles were objected against the said Richard, which he there denied, whereupon the bishop appointed him another day to purge himselfe, the Sunday next after the feast of Saint Margaret: upon which day being the 24. of July, in the yere aforesaid, he appeared again before the Bishop and brought with him nine of his neighbors to purge him upon those Articles, and there did solemnly purge himself. And afterward, so much as the said Bishop suspected the said Richard Belward greatly of Lollardy, he commanded him there presently to sweare upon the Evangelists, that from that day forward he should not wittingly preach, teach, or defend any error or heresie, contrary to the Church of Rome, neither aid, assist, favour or maintaine, privily or apertly, any manner of person or persons, that should hold or maintaine the said errors or heresies. In the presence of master William Bernam, John Wad-den, Robert Serle, and J. Berne esquire, and other of his neighbours which came unto his purgation.

In

Anno  
1424.



KING  
HEN. 6.  
John Goddell  
of Ditching-  
ham.

In like manner John Goddell of Ditchingham parchmentmaker, was detected and accused upon the same Articles, and thereupon brought before the bishop where he denying them, purged himself by his neighbours, as Richard Belward before had done, being sworn also in like manner as he was, and so was dismissed and set at liberty, untill the yeere of our Lord 1428. when he was againe apprehended, accused and abiured, as shall be more at large declared in the history when we come to that yeere.

Sir Hugh Die  
Priest.

Sir Hugh Die also, Chaplaine of Ludney in the diocese of Norwich, was likewise accused and brought before the Bishop of Norwich the fifth day of July, Anno 1424. for holding of these opinions following; That the people ought not to goe on pilgrimage.

Item, that the people ought not to give almes, but onely unto such as beg at their doores.

Image of the  
Crosse not to be  
worshipped.

Item, that the image of the crosse and other images are not to be worshipped. And that the said Hugh had cast the crosse of Bomehold into the fire to be burned, which he took from one John Melgate of Ludney. Which articles, as is aforesaid, being objected against him, he utterly denied; whereupon he had a day appointed to purge himself by the witness of three Laymen, and three Priests. That so done, he was sworn as the other before, and so dismissed.

After this, in the yeere of our Lord 1428. King Henry the 6. sent downe most cruell letters of commission unto John Creter, and Iacole Germaine, keeper of the castle of Colchester, for the apprehending of sir William White Priest, and others suspected of heresies, the tenor whereof hereafter ensueth.

The copie of the Kings letters directed to John Exeter and Iacole Germaine, Keeper of the Castle of Colchester, for the apprehending of sir William White Priest, and other (as they called them) Lollards.

A letter of the  
King.

Henry by the grace of God King of England and of France, Lord of Ireland, to his welbelovied John Exeter, and Iacole Germaine, keeper of the castle of Colchester, health.

Ye shall understand that we fully trusting unto your fidelitie and circumspections, have appointed you joyntly and severally to take and arrest William White Priest, and Thomas, late Chaplaine of Seding, in the County of Norfolk, and William Northampton Priest, and all other whatsoever they be that are suspect of heresie or Lollardie, wherefoever they may be found within the liberties or without, and straightway being

¶ The names of them that were taken and examined upon suspicion of heresie.

A Catalogue  
of good men  
and women  
troubled for  
suspicion of  
heresie.

Robert Skirving of Harlstone.  
William Skirving.  
John Terry of Erham.  
John Abtre of Erham.

John Middleton of Halvergate.  
John Wayde of Erham.  
Richard Clarke of Sething.  
Thomas White of Bedingham.

Master Robert Beete of Berry.  
Richard Page of Clipsly.

The other were more cruelly handled, and some of them were put to death and burned, among whom we doe specially finde mention made of these three:

{ Father Abraham of Colchester. } { William White, Priest. } { John Waddon, Priest. }

¶ The residue, for a great number of good men and women were forced to abjure, sustaining such cruell penance as pleased then the said Bishop and his Chancellor to lay upon them. The names of which, both men and women, here follow together in this briefe Catalogue to be seene.

John Beverley.  
John Wardon.  
John Baker. John Middleton.  
John Kynget. Margery Backster.  
John Skilley. John Godhold.  
Thomas Albecke. John Pierce.  
Nicholas Canon of Eye.  
Thomas Pye. John Mendham.  
John Middleton. Thomas Chatris.

Thomas Wade. William Taylor.  
John Cuppet, Vicar of Tunstall.  
Sir Hugh Pye Priest.  
Bartholomew Tatcher.  
Thomas Iames.  
John Fouling.  
Bertram Cornmonger.  
Thomas Swerden. Alanus Andrew.  
William Wright. William Everden.

William Taylor.  
Avis the wife of Thomas Moone  
and her daughter.  
Richard Fletcher of Beckles.  
Nicholas Belward.  
Thomas Grenemere.  
John Clarke.  
William Bate.  
William Scherming.  
Cccc 3

William

so taken, to send them unto our next pale or prison, untill such time as we shall have taken other order for their delivery: And therefore we thoughtly command you, that ye diligently attend about the premises, and fulfill the same in forme aforesaid. Also we charge and command all and singular Iustices of Peace, Maiors, Sheriffes, Bailiffes, Constables, and all other our faithfull Officers, by the tenor of these presents, that they doe assist, ayde and counsell you and every of you, in the execution of the premises, as it shall be comely for them. In witnesse whereof we have caused these our letters patents to be made. Witnesse my selfe at Westminster, the sixth of Iuly, the sixth yeere of our Raigoe.

By vertue of which Commission we finde in old Monuments, that within short space after John Creter, which was appointed one of the commissioners, attached five persons in the towne of Bungay in the diocese of Norwich, and committed them to William Day, and William Roe, Constables of the towne of Bungay, to be sent within ten dayes following, under safe custody, unto the Castle of Norwich. Whose names though the antiquity of the Monument were so defaced, that we could not attaine to the perfect knowledge of them all: onely three names partly remained in the Booke to be read, which were these:

¶ John Waddon of Tenterdon, in the Countie of Kent, Bartholmew, Monke of Eriham, in the Countie of Norfolk, Corneleader, a married man. William Scuts.

These three were in the custody of the Duke of Norfolk, at his Castle of Fremingham.

Besides these, we also finde in the said old Monuments within the diocese of Norfolk and Suffolk, specially in the Townes of Beckles, Erham, and Ludney, a great number both of men and women to have bene dored and cast into prison, and after their abiuration brought to open shame in Churches and Markets, by the bishop of the said diocese called William, and his Chancellor William Bernham, John Creter being the Register therein: so that within the space of three or foure yeeres that is, from the year 1428. unto the yeere 1431. about the number of 120. men and women were examined, and sustained great vexation for the profession of the Christian faith: of whom some were only taken upon suspicion, for eating of meates prohibited upon vigile dayes. who, upon their purgation made, escaped more easily away, and with lesse punishment, whose names here follow subscribed.

William bishop  
of Norwich.  
William Bern-  
ham his Chan-  
celor.



William Scherming.  
William Osbourne.  
John Rene of Beckles.  
Baldwine Cooper of Beckles.  
John Pet. M. Moones servant.  
Rob. Briggs. John Finch.  
John Wrotham. Thomas Moone.  
Isabel Chaplaine of Martham.  
William Marth of Ersham.  
John Goodwin of Ersham.  
Henry Latchold of Ersham.  
Henry Broode of Ersham.  
Rich. Horne of Ersham.  
John Belward Senior of Ersham.  
John Belward junior of Ersham.  
John Spire of Bungay.  
Rob. Cole of Turming.  
The herd of Shepemedow.  
Isabel Davy of Cotes.

Sibyl wife of Iohn Godesel of Di-  
cham.  
John Pyry of Bartham.  
John Baker.  
Margery Wright.  
Thomas Burrell and his wife.  
John Pert. Edm. Archer.  
The Clarke of Ludney.  
Richard Clerke of Sething.  
Katherine the wife of William  
Wright, William Collin of  
Southereke.  
Rich. King of Windeham.  
Tho. Plowman. Iohn Fellis.  
Tho. Love of Rokeland.  
Richard Knobbing of Beckles.  
Rich. Grace of Beckles.  
John Eldon of Beckles.  
William Hardy.

William Bate.  
John Weston.  
Katherine Hobs.  
John Daw.  
Rob. Grigs of Martham.  
Wil. Calis Priest.  
Tho. Pert. Priest.  
Katherine Davy.  
Jacob Bodhome, and Margaret his  
wife.  
John Manning of Marton.  
John Culling of Beemster.  
Rich. Fletcher of Beckles and Ma-  
tild his wife.  
John Eldon of Beckles.  
Rob. Canel Priest.  
Nich. Drey.  
William Hardy of Mundham.  
John Poleyne.

{ KING }  
{ HEN. 6. }

These forenamed persons and souldiers of Christ, being much beaten with the cares and troubles of those dayes, although they were constrained to re-  
lent and abjure, that is, to profess otherwise with  
their tongues then their hearts did thinke, partly  
through correction, and partly through infirmity (be-  
ing as yet but new trained souldiers in Gods field)  
yet for their good will they bare unto the truth, al-  
though with their tongues they durst not expesse it,  
we have thought good that their names should not be  
suppressed, as well for other sundry causes, as spe-  
cially for this; either to stop the mouthes of malig-  
nant adversaries, or to answer to their ignorance,  
who following rather blinde affection, then the true  
knowledge of times and antiquities, for lacke of  
knowledge blame that they know not, accusing the  
true doctrine of the Word of God for novelty, and  
carping the teachers thereof for new broched be-  
hzen. Who, if they did as well forsee times passed,  
as they be unwilling to follow times now present,  
they should understand as well by these stories as  
other before, how this doctrine of the grace of God,  
lacking no antiquity, hath from time to time con-  
tinually fought to burst out, and in some places hath  
prevailed, although in most places, through tyranny  
and the malice of men, Christs proceedings have  
been suppressed and kept under from rising, so much  
as mens power and strength joined with craft and  
subtily could labour to keepe downe the same: as  
here by these good men of Northfolke and Suffolke  
may well appear. For if the knowledge and the  
good towardnesse of those good men had had the like  
liberty of time, with the helpe of like authority, as  
we have now, and had not bene restrained through  
the iniquity of time and tyranny of prelates, it had  
well appeared how old this doctrine would have  
bene, which now they condemne and reiect for the  
newnesse thereof: neither needed Woner to have as-  
ked of Thomas Hawkes, and such other, where their  
Church was for forty yeeres agoe, in as much as for  
forty yeeres agoe, and more, within the countrey of  
Northfolke and Suffolke, was their founde such  
plenty of the same profession and like doctrine which  
we now professe. And thus much for the number  
and names of these persons.

Now as touching their Articles which they did  
maintaine and defend; first, this is to be considered,  
as I finde it in the registers, such society and agree-  
ment of doctrine to be amongst them, that almost in  
their assertions and articles there was no difference.  
The doctrine of the one was the doctrine of all the  
other: What their articles were, partly it is shewed  
in the lease before; and partly here followeth to be  
declared more at large.

Although it is to be thought concerning these ar-  
ticles that many of them either were falsly objected  
against them, or not truly reported of the notaries,

according as the common manner is of these ad-  
versaries, where the matter is good there to make  
heresie, and of a little occasion to stirre up great  
matter of slander, as they did before by the articles  
of John Wickliffe and John Hus, and others moe:  
So in like manner it seemeth they did in the articles  
of these men, either mistaking that which they said,  
or misunderstanding that which they meant, especi-  
ally in these two articles concerning baptism and  
paying of tithes. For whereas they speaking against  
the ceremoniall and superfluous traditions then  
used in baptism, as salt, oyle, spittle, taper, light,  
christomes, exorcising of the water, with such other,  
accounted them as no materiall thing in the holy  
institution of baptism, the notaries slanderously de-  
praving this their assertion, to make it more odious  
to the eares of the people, so gave out the Article, as  
though they should hold, that the sacrament of bap-  
tisme used in the Church by water is but a light  
matter and of small effect.

Againe, in speaking against the Christening the  
Bible uses use in private houses, against the opinion  
of such as thinke such children to be damned which  
depart before they come to their baptism, they are  
falsly reported, as though they should say, that Chri-  
stian people be sufficiently baptised in the Blood of  
Christ, and need no water, and that infants be suffi-  
ciently baptised, if their parents be baptised before  
them. Which thing is so contrary to the manifest  
Word, that it is not to be thought any to be so igno-  
rant of the Gospel, that ever would so did affirme  
the same.

Moreover, they thought or said peradventure,  
that in certaine cases tithes might be withholden  
from wicked Priests sometime, and be conferred to  
better uses, to the behoofe of the poore: Wherefore  
they are falsly slandered, as saying and affirming that  
no tithes were to be given to the Ministers and Cu-  
rates of the Churches.

And likewise for matrimony, wherein they are re-  
ported to hold and affirme as though it consisted on-  
ly in the mutuall consent betwixt the man and the  
woman, needing no other solemnizing in the publike  
Church, and all because (as it is like) they denyed  
it to be a Sacrament. Other articles were objected  
against them, as these which hereafter follow.

That auricular confession is not to be made unto  
a Priest, but unto God onely; because no Priest  
hath any power to absolve a sinner from his sin.

Item, that no Priest hath power to make the  
Body of Christ in the Sacrament of the Altar, but  
that after the Sacramentall words, there remaineth  
pure materiall Bread as before.

Item, that every true Christian man is a Priest  
to God.

Item, that no man is bound under paine of dam-  
nation unto Lent, or any other dayes prohibited by  
the Church of Rome.

Item,

These men are  
falsly slandered  
about baptism.

Woner might  
see the Church  
here in this  
are more then  
forty yeeres be-  
fore he was  
borne.

The papists  
are but quarrell  
pickers.

Articles.



SKING  
HEN. 6.

In case of ne-  
cessity urgent  
they meant.

Item, that the Pope is Antichrist, and his Pre-  
lates the disciples of Antichrist, and the Pope hath  
no power to binde and loose upon earth.

Item, that it is lawfull for every Christian to doe  
any bodily work (sin only except) upon holy daies.

Item, that it is lawfull for priests to have wives.  
Item, that excommunications and Ecclesiasticall  
censures given out by the Prelates, are not to be re-  
garded.

Item, it is not lawfull to sweare in private cases. 10  
Item, that men ought not to go on pilgrimage.

Item, that there is no honour to be given to the  
Images of the crucifixe, of our Lady or any other  
saint.

Item, that the holy water, hallowed in the Church  
by the Priest, is not holier or of more vertue than  
other running or well water, because the Lord bles-  
sed all waters in their first creation.

Item, that the death of Thomas Becket was nei-  
ther holy nor meritorious.

Item, that the reliques, as dead mens bones, ought  
not to be worshipped or digged out of their graves,  
or set up in shynies.

Item, that prayers made in all places are accepta-  
ble unto God.

Item, that men ought not to pray to any saint, but  
onely to God.

Item, that the Bells and ringing in the Church  
was ordained for no other purpose, but to fill the  
priests purses.

Item, that it is no sin to withstand the Ecclesiasti-  
call precepts.

Item, that the Catholike Church is only the con-  
gregation of Elect.

These were the articles which were generally ob-  
jected against them all, wherein they did so agree in  
one uniforme faith, that whatsoever one did hold, all  
the other did maintaine and hold the same. By the  
which their consent and doctrine it appeareth, that  
they all received it of some one instructor, who was 40  
William White; which being a scholar and fel-  
low of John Wickliffe, resorted afterward into  
this countrey of Norfolk, there instructed these men  
in the light of the Gospell. And now, as we have de-  
clared the names and Articles of these good men, so  
it remaineth somewhat to speake of their troubles,  
how they were handled, beginning first with Wil-  
liam White.

William White, Priest.

50

William White  
Martyr.

Anno  
1428.  
Ex Waldens.  
a Eccles. 50.

This William White, being a follower of  
John Wickliffe, and a priest, not after the com-  
mon sort of Priests, but rather to be reputed amongst  
the number of them, of whom the wise man speak-  
eth, "He was as the morning star in the midst of  
a cloud." This man was well learned, upright and  
a well spoken Priest. He gave over his Priesthood  
and benefice, and took unto him a godly young woman 60  
to his wife, named Joane; notwithstanding he did  
not therefore cease to leave from his former office  
and duty, but continually laboured to the glory and  
praise of the Spouse of Christ, by reading, writing,  
preaching. The principal points of his doctrine were  
these, which he was forced to recant at Canterbury.

That men should seek for the forgiveness of their  
sins onely at the hands of God.

That the wicked living of the Pope, and his Ho-  
linesse, is nothing else but a devilish estate and hea-  
vy yoke of Antichrist, and therefore he is an enemy  
unto Christs truth.

That men ought not to worship images, or other  
idolatrous paintings.

That men ought not to worship the holy men  
which are dead.

That the Romish church is the fig-tree which the  
Lord Christ hath accursed, because it hath brought  
forth no fruit of the true beliefe.

The Romish  
Church aptly  
resembled to  
the curbed figge  
tree.

That such as wear Coates, or be armed or  
thorn, are the Linceknights and souldiers of Lucifer,  
and that they all, because their lamps are not burn-  
ing, shall be shut out, when as the Lord shall come.

Upon which Articles he being attached at Can-  
terbury under the Archbishop Henry Chichele, in  
the year of our Lord 1424. there for a certain space,  
 stoutly and manly witnessed the truth which he had  
preached: but like as there he lost his courage and  
strength, so afterward he became againe much more  
fouler and stronger in Jesus Christ, and confessed  
his owne error and offence. For after this, he going  
into Norfolk with his said wife Joane, and there oc-  
cupping himselfe busily in teaching and converting  
the people unto the true doctrine of Christ, at the  
last, by the meanes of the kings letters sent downe  
for that intent and purpose, he was apprehended  
and taken, and brought before William Bishop of  
Norwich, by whom he was convict, and condemned  
of thirty Articles, and there was burned in Nor-  
wich, in the month of September. An. 1424.

The burning of William White.



This William White and his wife had his most  
abode with one Thomas Hane of Luning. This  
man was of so devout and holy life, that all the peo-  
ple had him in great reverence, and desired him to  
pray for them in so much that one Margaret Wright  
confessed, that if any saints were to be prayed to, she  
would rather pray to him than any other. When he  
was come unto the stake, thinking to open his mouth  
to speake unto the people, to exhort and confirme  
them in the verity, one of the Bishops servants struk  
him on the mouth, thereby to force him to keepe si-  
lence. And thus this good man, receiving the crown  
of Martyrdome, ended this mortall life to the great  
dolor and grieve of all the good men of Norfolk.  
Whose said wife Joane, following her husbands  
footsteps according to her power, teaching and sow-  
ing abroad the same doctrine, confirmed many men  
in Gods truth; wherefore she suffered much trouble  
and punishment the same yeere at the hands of the  
said Bishop.

About the same time also was burned father A-  
braham of Colchester, and John Waddon Priest,  
for the like Articles.

Concerning them which abjured, how and by  
whom

The bishops  
man smiteth  
him on the  
mouth, exhort-  
ing the people.

Father Abra-  
ham, John  
Waddon, Priest,  
Martyr, and burned.



whom they were examined, what depositions came in against them, and what was the order and maner of the penance enjoined them, here it might be set out at large: but for avoiding of prolixity, it shall be sufficient briefly to touch certaine of the principals, whereby the better understanding may be given to the Reader, after what manner and order all the other were intreated.

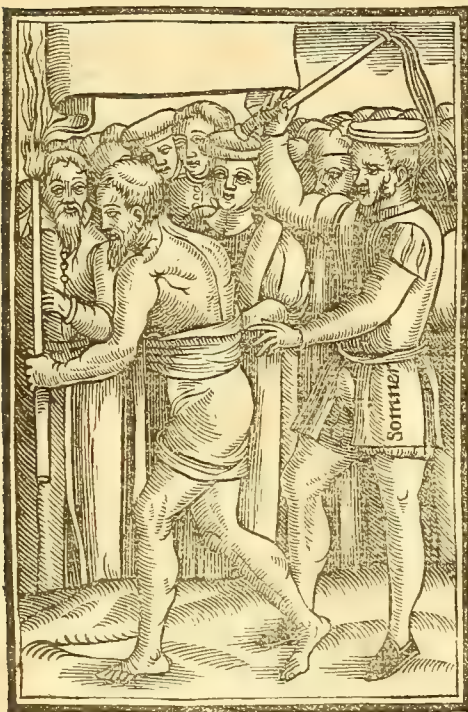
First, amongst them which were arrested and caused to abjure in this yeere aforesaid specified, 1428. was Thomas Pye, and John Mendham of Alborough, who, being convicted upon divers of the Articles before mentioned, were enjoined penance to be done in their owne parish Church, as by the Bishops letter directed to the Deane of Rhodenhall, and the parish Priest of Alborough, doth more at large appeare, the tenor whereof here ensueth.

### The Copie of the Bishop of Norwich his Letter.

A letter of the  
Bishop of Nor-  
wich.

William by the sufferance of God Bishop of Norwich, to our well-beloved sons in Christ, the Deane of Rhodenhall of our Diocese, and to the Parish Priest of the Parish Church of Alborough of the same our diocese, health, grace and benediction. Forasmuch as we, according to our Office, lawfully proceeding to the correction and amendment of the soules of Thomas Pye and John Mendham of Alborough of the diocese aforesaid, because they have holden, beleved and affirmed divers and many errors and heresies, contrary to the determination of the holy church of Rome, and the universall church and Catholike faith, have enjoined the said Thomas and Iohn, appearing before us personally, and confessing before us judicially that they have holden, beleved and affirmed divers and many errors and heresies, this penance hereunder written, for their offences to be done and fulfilled in manner, forme and time hereunder written, according as Iustice doth require, that is to say, fixe fustigations or displings about the parish Church of Alborough afore-

The description of the penance of Thomas Pye, and John Mendham.



said, before a solemne procession fixe severall sundays, and three displings about the market place of Herelstone of our said Diocese three principall Market dayes, bare necked, head, legs and feet, their bodies being covered onely with their shirts and breeches, either of them carrying a taper in his hand of a pound weight, as well round about the church, as about the market place, in every of the foresaid appointed dayes; which Tapers, the last sunday after the penance finished, we will that the said Iohn and Thomas doe humbly and devoutly offer unto the high Altar of the parish church of Alborough at the time of the Offertorie of the high Masse the same day, and that either of them, going about the market place aforesaid, shall make foure severall pauses and stayes, and at every of those same pauses humbly and devoutly receive at your hands three displings. Therefore we straitly charge and command you and either of you, joyntly and severally by vertue of your obedience, that every sunday and market day, after the receipt of our present commandment, you doe effectually admonish and bring forth the said Thomas Pye and Iohn Mendham to begin and accomplish their said penance, and so successively to finish the same in manner and forme afore appointed. But if they will not obey your monitions, or rather our commandments in this behalfe, and begin and finish their said penance effectually, you or one of you shall cite them peremptorily, that they or either of them appeare before us, or our Commissary, in the Chappell of our Palace at Norwich, the twelfth day after the citation so made, if it bee a court day, or else the next court day following, to declare if they or any of them have any cause why they should not be excommunicate for their manifest offence in this behalf committed, according to the forme and order of law, and further to receive such punishment, as justice shall provide in that behalfe. And what you have done in the premisses, whether the said Thomas and Iohn have obeyed your admonitions, and performed the same penance or no, we will that you or one of you, which have received our said commandment for the execution thereof, doe distinctly certifie us betwene this and the last day of November next coming. Dated at our palace of Norwich under our commissaries seale, the 8. day of October, An. 1428.

This (gentle Reader) was for the most part, the order of their whole penance: howbeit some were oftentimes more cruelly handled; and after their penance they were banished out of the diocese, and othersome more straitly used by longer imprisonment, whereof we will briefly rehearse one or two for example.

John Beverly alias Battild.

Iohn Beverly alias Battild, a labourer, was attached by the Vicar of Southereke, the parish priest of Waterden and a lawyer, and so delivered unto master Will. Barnham the bish. commissary, who sent him to the castle of Norwich there to be kept in irons: where after ward he being brought before the Commissary, and having nothing proved against him, he took an oath, that every yeere after ward he should confesse his sins once a yeere to his curate, and receive the Sacrament at Easter, as other Christians did; and for his offence was enjoined that the Friday and Saturday next after hee should fast bread and water, and upon the Saturday to be whipped from the palace of Norwich, going round about by Comelands, and by S. Michaels church, by Cottlerew, and about the market, having in his hand a wax candle of two pence, to offer to the image of the Trinity after he had done his penance. And so much as hee confessed that hee had eaten flesh upon Easter day, and was not shaven in all Lent, nor received upon Easter day, the Judge enjoined him that he should fast Tuesday, Wednesday and Friday in Whitsun week, having but one meale a day of fish & other white meates, and after this penance

\* Alias, fustigatus.



{KING} nance so done he should depart out of the diocese,  
{HEN. 6.} and never come there any more.

## John Skillee of Flixon, Miller.

John Skillee.  
The penance  
of J. Skillee.

**I**ohn Skillee of Flixon miller, being apprehend-  
ed and brought before the bishop of Norwich the  
14. day of March, 1428. for holding and maintain-  
ing in the articles above written, was thereupon con-  
vict and forced to abjure; and after this abjuration  
solemnly made (which here to avoid tediousness  
we omit) he had a most sharpe sentence of penance  
pronounced against him, the effect whereof being  
briely collected, was this: That forsomuch as the  
said Skillee was convict by his owne confession, for  
holding and maintaining the articles before writ-  
ten, and for receyving certayne good and godly men  
into his house, as sir William White priest, and  
John Wadden, whom they called famous, noto-  
rious, and damnable heretikes, and had now abju-  
red the same, being first absolved from the sen-  
tence of excommunication which he had incurred by  
meanes of his opinions, he was enjoined for pe-  
nance seven yeeres imprisonment in the monastery  
of Langley, in the diocese of Norwich. And for so  
much as in times past he used upon the fridays to  
eat flesh, he was enjoined to fast bread and water  
every friday by the space of that seven yers to come;  
and that by the space of two yeres next immedi-  
ately after the seven yeres expired, every wednes-  
day in the beginning of Lent, and every Maundy  
thursday, he should appeare before the Bishop or  
his secclesor, or commissary for the time being, in  
the cathedrall church of Norwich, together with  
the other penitentiaries, to doe open penance for  
his offences.

Besides these there were divers other of the same  
company, which the same yere were forced to like  
abjuration and penance. And so to proceed to the  
next yere following, which was 1429. there ensueth  
a great number in the same register, which were ex-  
amined, and did penance in like sort, to the number  
of 16. or 17. In the number of whom was John  
Baker, otherwife called Wiser Constaill, who for  
having a booke with the Pater-noster, the Ave and  
Credo in English, and for certayne other articles of  
fasting, confession, and invocation, contrary to the  
determination of the Romish Church, after much  
vehementation for the same, was caused to abjure and  
sustaine such penance; as the other before him had  
done.

## The story of Margery Backster.

**A**nother was Margery Backster, wife of Wil-  
liam Backster Wright in Wartham, the same  
yere accused; against whom one Joane wife of  
Cliffeland was brought in by the bishop, and com-  
pelled to depose, and was made to bring in, in forme  
following.

First, that the said Margery Backster did in  
forme this deponent, that she should in no case  
swear, saying to her in English, Dame beware of  
the Wee, for every Wee will King, and therefore take  
heed you swear not, neither by God, neither by our  
Lady, neither by any other saint; and if ye doe con-  
trary, the Wee will King your tongue and benoime  
your soule.

Item, this deponent being demanded by the said  
Margery, what she did every day at Church, she an-  
swered that she knelt downe and said five Pater-  
nosters, in worship of the crucifixe, and as many A-  
ve Maries in worship of our ladie. Whom Margery  
rebuked, saying, You doe evil to kneel or pray to such  
Images in the Churches, for God dwelleth not in  
such Churches, neither shall come downe out of  
heaven, and will give you no more reward for such  
prayer, then a candle lighted, and set under the cover

of the font, will give light by night to those which  
are in the Church; saying moreover in English,  
Knew Wrights of stocks here and some such crosses  
and images, and after that, knew painters glaze them  
with colours. And if you desire somuch to see the true  
crosse of Christ, I will shew it you at home in your  
owne house. Which this deponent being desirous to  
see, the said Margery, stretching out her armes  
abroad, said to this deponent, this is the true crosse of  
Christ, and this crosse thou oughtest and maist every  
day behold and worship in thine owne house, and  
therefore it is but vaine to run to the Church to wor-  
ship dead crosses and images.

Item, this deponent, being demanded by the said  
Margery how she believed touching the Sacrament  
of the altar, said, that she believed the Sacrament  
of the altar, after the consecration, to be the very bo-  
dy of Christ in forme of bread. To whom Mar-  
gery said, Your beleafe is nought. For if every such  
Sacrament were God, and the very body of Christ,  
there should be an infinite number of gods, because  
that a thousand priests and more doe every day make  
a thousand such gods, and afterwarde cate them, and  
best them out againe by their hinder parts, filthily  
stinking under the hedges, where you may finde a  
great many such gods if you will seeke for them.  
And therefore know for certaintie, that by the grace of  
God it shall never be my god, because it is falsly and  
deceitfully ordained by the priests in the church, to  
induce the simple people to idolatry; for it is only ma-  
teriall bread.

Moreover, the said Margery said to this depo-  
nent, that Thomas of Canterbury, whom the peo-  
ple called S. Thomas, was a false traitor, and dam-  
ned in hell, because he invidiously endowled the church-  
es with possessions, and raised up many heresies in  
the church, which seduce the simple people; and  
therefore if God be blessed, the said Thomas is ac-  
cursed, and those false priests that say that he suffered  
his death patiently before the altar, do lie; for as a  
cowardly traitor he was slaine in the church, as  
he was flying away.

Moreover, this deponent saith, that the said Mar-  
gery told her that the cursed Pope, Cardinals, Arch-  
bishops, and bishops, and specially the bishop of Norwich  
and others that support and maintaine heresies and  
idolatry, raigning and ruling over the people, shall  
shortly have the very same or worse mischiese fall  
upon them, than that cursed man Thomas of Can-  
terbury had. For they falsely and cursedly deceive  
the people with their false mannetries and lawes,  
to extort money of the simple folke to sustaine their  
pride, riot and idleness. And know assuredly that  
the vengeance of God will speedily come upon them,  
which have most cruelly slaine the children of God,  
Father Abraham, and W. White, a true preacher  
of the law of God, and John Wadden, with many  
other godly men; which vengeance had come upon  
the said Caiaphas, the bish. of Norwich and his mi-  
nisters, which are members of the devill, before this  
time, if the pope had not sent over these false pardons  
unto those parties, which the said Caiaphas had fals-  
ly obtained, to induce the people to make procession  
for the sake of them and of the Church. Which par-  
dons brought the simple people to cursed idolatry.

Item, the said Margery said to this deponent, that  
every faithfull man or woman is not bound to fast  
in Lent, or other dayes appointed for fasting by the  
Church, and that every man may lawfully eat flesh  
and all other meats upon the said dayes and times;  
and that it were better to eat the fragments left up-  
on thursday at night on the fasting dayes, then to goe  
to the market to bring themselves in debt to buy  
fish; and that Pope Silverster made the Lent.

Item, the said Margery said to this deponent, that  
William White was falsly condemned for an here-  
tike, and that he was a good and holy man, and that  
he willed her to follow him to the place of execution,  
where

The sacrament  
is not good.

Tho. Backster a  
traitor.

Tho. Backster  
slaine, not be-  
cause he altered  
but in his ap-  
pearances.

Farther Abrah-  
am, William  
White, John  
Wadden.

Against the  
Popes fasting  
dayes.

Margery  
Backster.

A woman  
brought in for  
swearing in the  
Popes court.  
The Wee will  
King.

Against ima-  
ges.



Edm. White  
willing to  
speak at the  
stake, was  
stricken on the  
mouth.

where she saw that when he would have opened his mouth to speake unto the people to instruct them, a devill, one of bishop Caiaphas servants struck him on the lips, and stopped his mouth, that he could in no case declare the will of God.

Item, this deponent saith, that the said Margery taught her that she should not goe on pilgrimage, neither to our lady of Walsingham, nor to any other saint or place.

Also this deponent saith, that the said Margery desired her that she and Joan her maid would come secretly in the night to her chamber, and there she should heare her husband read the Law of Christ unto them; which Law was written in a booke that her husband was wont to read to her by night, and that her husband is well learned in the Christian verity.

Also that the same Margery had talked with a woman named Joan West, and that the said woman is in a good way of salvation.

Also that the said Margery said to this deponent, Joan, It appeareth by your countenance, that you intend to disclose this that I have said unto you; and this deponent sware that she would never disclose it, without the said Margery gave her occasion. Then said Margery unto this deponent; If thou doe accuse me unto the bishop, I will doe unto thee as I did once unto a certaine frier a Carmelite of Barnoth, which was the best learned frier in all the countrey. When this deponent desired to know what she had done to the frier. Unto whom Margery answered, that she had talked with the said frier, rebuking him because he did begge, saying; that it was no almes to give him any good thing, except he would leaue his habit, and goe to the plough, and so he should please God more, then following the life of some of those friers. When the frier required of the said Margery, whether she could teach him or tell him any thing else. When the said Margery (as she affirmed to this deponent) declared to this frier the gospels in English, and then the frier departed from her. After this the same frier accused the said Margery of heresie; and the understanding that the frier had accused her, accused the frier againe, that he would have knowne her carnally; and because she would not consent unto him, the frier had accused her of heresie. And moreover she said, that her husband would have killed the frier therefore; and so the frier for feare held his peace, and went his way for shame.

Against auricular  
confeſſion.

This Margery also said, that she had oftentimes ben fainedly confessed to the Deane of the fields, because he should thinke her to be a woman of good life; and therefore he gave the said Margery oftentimes money. When this deponent asked her whether she had confessed her sins to a priest or not. And she answered, that she had never offended any priest, and therefore she would never confesse her selfe to any priest, neither obey him, because they have no power to absolve any man from their sins, for that they offend daily more grievously then other men; and therefore that men ought to confesse themselves onely unto God, and to no priest.

Against image  
worship.

Item, that the said Margery said to this deponent, that the people did worship devils which fell from heaben with Lucifer, which devils in their fall to the earth, entered into the images which stand in the churches, and have long lured and dwelled in them; so that the people, worshipping those images commit idolatry.

Item, she said more to this deponent, that holy bread and holy water were but trifies of no effect or force, and that the bells are to be cast out of the church, and that they are excommunicate which first ordained them.

Moreover, that she should not be burned, although she were convict of Lollardy, for that she had a char-  
ter of salvation in her body.

Also the said deponent saith, that Agnes Werthem her servant, being sent to the house of the said Margery the Saturday after Ashwednesday, the said Margery not being within, found a brasie pot standing over the fire, with a pace of Bacon and Datmeale seething in it, as the said Agnes reported to this deponent.

There were also, besides this deponent, divers other sworne and examined upon the said Margery, as John Cunley and Agnes Werthem, servants to William Clidand, which all together confirmed the former depositions.

Thus much we have thought good to note as concerning Margery Backler, which we have gathered out of the old Monuments and Registers. But what became of her after this her accusation, because we finde no mention made in the said Registers, we are not able to declare.

The same yere also were the like depositions made by one William Wright against divers good men, as here followeth.

First, this deponent saith, that William Tailor told John Bury of Ludney, in the house of John Wungay of Beighton, in the presence of John Wungay, Robert Giggles Wright of Wartham, and John Wther, that all the good men of Wartham, which were labourers and helpers to that good man William White, are evill troubled now adayes, and that the said William White was a good and holy doctor; and that the best doctor after him was William Eberden, which wrought with the said William Tailor of Ludney, by the space of one moneth, and that the first Sunday of the same moneth, the said William Eberden did sit all day upon the table at worke, saying to the said William Tailor, that he would not go to church to shew himself a Scribe or a Pharisee; and the second Sunday he put on gentleman's apparell, and went to Norwich to hearken how the Bishop and his Ministers used the poore Christians there in prison.

Also the said William Wright deposed, that William Tailor of Ludney was one of the sect, and went to London with sir Hugh Die, and had conversation oftentimes with sir William White, having often conference upon the Lollards doctrine.

Item, that Anne, wife of Thomas Spone, is of the same sect, and favoured them, and receiveth them often, and also the daughter of Thomas Spone is partly of the same sect, and can reade English.

Item, that Richard Fletcher of Beckles is a most perfect doctor in that sect, and can very well and perfectly expound the holy Scriptures, and hath a booke of the new law in English, which was sir Hugh Dies first.

Item, that Nicolas Belward, son of John Belward, dwelling in the parish of Southelam, is one of the same sect, and hath a new Testament which he bought at London for foure marks and forty pence, and taught the said William Wright and Margery his wife, and wrought with them continually by the space of one yere, and studied diligently upon the said new Testament.

Item, that Thomas Gremmer, Turner of Wychingame, is perfect in that sect and law.

John Clarke the younger of Bergh had the bedding and apparell of William Eberden in his custody, after the returne of William White from Bergh, and is of the same sect.

Item, William Wate, Tailor of Bething and his wife, and his son, which can read English very well, are of the same sect.

Item, William Skirving of Bething received Joane the wife of William White into his house, being brought thither by William Eberden, after their departure from Wartham.

Item, Will. Osborne of Bething, John Kebe Glover, and Baldwin Cooper of Beckles are of the same sect.

Item,

KING  
HEN. 6.

John Dery,  
John Wungay,  
John Wther.

W. Eberden.

Wm. Tailor of  
Ludney.

The wife and  
daughter of  
Tho. Spone.

Rich. Fletcher.

Nic. Belward.

A new testam-  
ent thert cost  
four marks and  
forty pence.

Th. Gremmer.

John Clarke.

W. Wate.

W. Skirving.

W. Osborne.  
John Kebe.  
Baldwin  
Cooper.



{KING}  
{HENRY 6.  
John Bert.

Item, John Bert, late servant of Thomas Hone, is of the same sect, and can read well, and did read in the presence of William White, and was the first that brought sir Hugh Die into the company of the Lollards, which assembled oftentimes together at the house of the said Thomas Hone, and there conferred upon their doctrine.

Sir Hugh Die  
priest.

Item, sir Hugh Die bequeathed to Alice, servant to William White, a new Testament, which they then called the Booke of the new law, and was in the custody of Oswald Godfrey of Colchester.

John Derker.

John Derker, mercer of a Village by Ipswich, is a famous doctor of that sect. Also he said, that father Abraham of Colchester is a good man.

A prophetic.

Item, the said William Wright deposeth, that it is read in the prophecies amongst the Lollards, that the sect of Lollards shall be in a manner destroyed; notwithstanding at the length the Lollards shall prevaile and have the victory against all their enemies.

Also he said, that Tucke knoweth all of that sect in Suffolke, Norfolke and Essex.

Besides these, there were many other the same yere troubled, whose names being before expressed in the table of Norfolke men, here for brevities sake we omit further to intreat of, passing over to the next yere following, which was 1430. Ex Regist. Norw.

Ex Regist.  
Norw.

John Burrell.

John Burrell, servant to Thomas Hone of Ludney, in the diocese of Norwich, was apprehended and arrested for heresie the 9. day of September, in this yere of our Lord 1430. and examined, by master William Bernham the bishops Commissary, upon the Articles before mentioned, and divers others hereafter following objected against him.

Inprimis, that the Catholike Church is the soule of every good Christian man.

Lent fast. 40  
dayes.

Item, that no man is bound to fast the Lent or other fasting dayes appointed by the Church, for they were not appointed by God, but ordained by the priests: and that every man may eat flesh or fish upon the same dayes indifferently, according to his own will, and every friday is a free day to eat both flesh and fish indifferently.

Pilgrimage to  
the poore.

Item, that Pilgrimage ought not to be made but onely unto the poore.

Item, that it is not lawfull to sweare, but in case of life and death.

Masses for the  
dead unprofit-  
table.

Item, that masses and prayers for the dead are but vaine; for the soules of the dead are either in heaven or hell: and there is none other place of purgatory but this world. Upon the which articles he being convicted, was forced to abjure, and suffered like penance as the other before had done.

Tho. Doone of  
Ludney.

Thomas Doone of Ludney was apprehended and attached for suspicion of heresie, against whom were objected by the bishop the articles before written, but specially this article, that he had familiaritie and communication with divers heretikes, and had received comforted, supported, and maintained divers of them, as sir William White, sir Hugh Die, Tho. Wet, and Will. Callis priests, with many more; upon the which articles he being convicted before the Bishop was forced to abjure, and receive the like penance, in like manner as before.

Will. White,  
Hugh Die,  
Tho. Wet,  
Will. Callis,  
priests persecu-  
red.

Rob. Giggas  
of Bartham.

In like manner, Robert Giggas of Bartham was brought before the bishop the 17. day of February, in the yere aforesaid, for holding and affirming the foresaid Articles, but specially these hereafter following.

Articles.

That the sacrament of confirmation, ministred by the Bishop, did availe nothing to salvation.

That it was no sin to withstand the ordinances of the Church of Rome.

That holy bread and holy water were but trifles, and that the bread and the water were the worse for

the confutations and characters which the Priests made over them.

Upon which articles he being convicted was forced to abjure, and received penance in manner and forme as the other had done before him.

He like also (albeit somewhat more sharp) happened into John Finch of Colchester, the 20. day of September, who albeit he was of the diocese of London, being suspect of heresie, was attached in Ipswich in the diocese of Norwich, and brought before the bishop there, before whom he being convicted of the like Articles, as all the other before him, was enjoined penance, three displings in solemne procession about the cathedrall church of Norwich three severall sundays, and three displings about the market place of Norwich three principall market dayes, his head and neck and feet being bare, and his body covered onely with a short shirt or vesture, having in his hands a taper of ware of a pound weight, which, the next Sunday after his penance, he should offer to the Trinitie; and that for the space of three yeres after, every Alwednesday and Paunday, Thursday, he should appear in the cathedrall church at Norwich, before the bishop or his vicegerent, to doe open penance amongst the other penitenciaries for his offences.

John Finch of  
Colchester.

Doyley pen-  
ance.

There were, besides these men which we have here rehearsed, divers and many other, who, both for the concordance of the matter, and also for that their articles and punishments were all one, we have thought good at this time to passe over, especially forsomuch as their names be before recited in the catalogue.

About the same time, even the same yere 1430 shortly after the solemne coronation of King Henry the sixth, a certaine man named Richard Hoveden a woll-winder, and a Citizen of London, received also the Crowne of Martyrdome.

Anno 1430.  
Rich. Hoveden  
Martyr.

### The burning of Richard Hoveden.



Which man when he could by no persuasions be withdrawn or plucked back from the opinions of Wickliffe, he was by the rulers of the Church condemned for heresie: and as Fabian writeth, burned hard by the Tower of London.

Nicolas



## Nicolas Canon of Eye.

Nicolas Canon of Eye.  
Anno 1431.

**N**ow to proceed in our story of Norfolk and Suffolk, in following the order of years, we finde that in the yeare of our Lord 1431. one Nicolas Canon of Eye was brought before the bishop of Norwich for suspicion of heresie, with certaine witnesses sworne to depose against him touching his manners and conversation, which witnesses appointing one William Christopher to speake in the name of them all, he deposed in manner and forme following,

First, that on Easter day, when all the parishioners went about the church of Eye solemnly in procession, as the manner was, the said Nicholas Canon, as it were mocking and deriding the other parishioners, went about the church the contrary way, and met the procession.

This Article he confessed, and affirmed that he thought he did well in so doing.

Item, the said Nicolas asked of master John Colman of Eye this question; master Colman, what thinke you of the sacrament of the altar? To whom the said Colman answered, Nicolas, I thinke that the sacrament of the altar is very God and very man, the very flesh and very blood of our Lord Jesus Christ under the forme of bread and wine. Unto whom Nicolas in derision said, Truly, if the sacrament of the altar be very God and very man, and the very body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ then may very God and very man be put in a small room; as when it is in the priests mouth, that receiveth it at masse. And why may not we simple men as well eat flesh upon fridays, and all other prohibited dayes, as the priest to eat the flesh, and drinke the blood of our Lord every day indifferently? The which Article the said Nicolas denied that he spake unto master Colman, but unto a Sonke of Hockeney, and furthermore he thought he had spoken well in that behalfe.

Item, that on Corpus Christi day, at the elevation of high masse, when all the parishioners and other strangers kneeled downe, holding up their hands, and doing reverence unto the sacrament, the said Nicolas went behinde a pillar of the church, and turning his face from the high Altar, mocked them that did reverence unto the sacrament.

This article he also acknowledging affirmed that he beleved himselfe to doe well in so doing.

Item, when his mother would have the said Nicolas to lift up his right hand, and to crosse himselfe from the crafts and assauls of the Devill, forsomuch as he deferred the doing thereof, his mother tooke up his right hand and crosed him, saying, In nomine patris, filii, & spiritus sancti. Amen. Which so ended, the said Nicolas, immediately deriding his mothers blessing, toke up his right hand of his owne accord, and blessed him otherwise, as his adverstaries report of him. This article the said Nicolas acknowledged to be true.

Item, that upon Allhallowes day, in the time elevation of high Masse, when as many of the parishioners of Eye lighted many torches, and carried them up to the high Altar, kneeling downe there in reverence and honour of the sacrament, the said Nicolas carrying a torch went up hard to the high altar, and standing behind the priests back saying masse, at the time of the elevation he stood upright upon his feet, turning his backe to the priest, and his face toward the people, and would doe no reverence unto the sacrament. This article he acknowledged, affirming that he thought he had done well in that behalfe. All which articles the bishops commissary caused to be copied out word for word, and to be sent unto master William Worsled, prior of the cathedrall church of Norwich, and to other doctors of divinity of the order of begging friers, that they might deliberate upon them, and shew their mindes between that

and thursday next following. Upon which thursday, being the last of November the yeare abovesaid, the said Nicolas was againe examined, before master Barnam and divers other, upon two other articles which he had confessed unto J. Erretor notary, and Thomas Grenten bachelor of divinity, and others. Whercof the first article was this, that the said Nicolas Canon being of perfect minde and remembrance, confessed that he doubted whether in the sacrament of the altar were the very body of Christ or no. This article he confessed before the commissary to be true.

Item, that he, being of perfect minde and remembrance, beleved that a man ought not to confesse his sins to a priest. This article he also confessed that he doubted upon.

Now remaineth to declare what these doctors aforesaid concluded upon the articles; whose answer unto the same was this.

First of all, as touching the first article, they said that the article, in the same termes as it was pronounced, is not simply an heresie, but an error.

Item, as touching the second article, the doctors agreed as in the first.

Item, as touching the third article, they affirmed that it is an heresie.

Unto the fourth article, they answered as unto the first and second.

Item, the doctors affirmed the fifth article to be an heresie.

Item, as touching the sixth article, the doctors concluded, that if the said Nicolas, being of perfect mind and remembrance, did doubt whether the sacrament of the altar were the very perfect body of Christ or no, then the article is simply an heresie.

Whereupon the said Commissary declared and pronounced the said Nicolas Canon, upon the demonstration of the said doctors, to be an heretike, and thereupon forced the said Nicolas to abjure all the said articles.

What done, he enjoined the said Nicolas penance for his offences, thre displyns about the cloister of the cathedrall church of Norwich, before a solemne procession, bare headed and barefoot, carrying a taper of halfe a pound in his hand, going after the manner aforesaid, like a niere penitentia; ry: the which his penance the judge commanded should be respite until the coming of the bishop into his diocesse, and that in the meane time he should be kept in prison, to the end that he should not infect the flocke with his venime and poison of errors and heresies.

Thus have we briefly discoursed unto you the great trouble and afflictions, which happened in Norfolk and Suffolk by the space of thre foure yeares before mentioned, having drawne out briefly for every yeare, certaine notable examples, sufficient for the declaration of all the rest, forsomuch as their opinions being nothing different there penance and punishment did also nothing differ, otherwise than by those particular examples may be plainly seene.

Thomas Bagley priest.

**A**d now to proceed as we have begun with our former stories, generally we finde in Fabians chronicles, that in the same yeare of our Lord 1431. Thomas Bagley a priest, vicar of Wondenbeide Malden, being a valiant disciple, and adherent of Wickliffe, was condemned by the Bishops of heresie at London about the middelt of Lent, and was degraded and burned in Smithfield.

Paul Craw a Bohemian.

**T**he same yeare also was Paul Craw a Bohemian taken at Saint Andrewes by the Bishop Henry, and delivered over to the secular power to be burnt,

KING HEN. 6.  
Another examination of Nicolas Canon.

Articles objected.

The judgement of the prior and doctors upon these articles.

An heresie to doubt whether the sacrament be the perfect body of Christ or no.

Nic. Canon declared an heretike.

Penance enjoined to Nicolas Canon.

Thomas Bagley priest, Martyr.

Paul Craw, Martyr.

Depositions

If the sacrament be very flesh, then the priests eat flesh on Friday.

Nicolas Canon turned his back to the sacrament.



**KING** burnt for holding contrary opinions unto the church  
**HEN. 6.** of Rome touching the sacrament of the Lords sup-  
 per, the worshipping of saints, auricular confession,  
 Ex Hector. with other of Wickliffes opinions.  
 Boetio.

The story of Thomas Rhedon, a French  
 man, and a Carmelite frier, burnt in Italy  
 for the profession of Christ.

Thomas Rhe-  
 donensis, 98 ar-  
 ty.  
 Ex Antonium.  
 3. part. hist.  
 fol. 168.

**W**E have declared before, how this cruel storm  
 of persecution which first began with us in  
 England, after it had long raged here against many  
 good and godly men, brake out and passed into Bo-  
 heime, and after within a short time, the fire of this  
 persecution increasing by little and little, invaded  
 Scotland, and from thence now with greater force  
 and violence this furious devouring flame hath en-  
 tered Italy, and suffereth not any part of the world  
 to be free from the murder and slaughter of most  
 good and godly men. It happened about this time,  
 that one Thomas Rhedon, a frier of that sect, which  
 taketh his name of the mount Carmelus, by chance  
 came with the Venetian ambassadors into Italy.  
 This man, although he was of that sort and sect,  
 which instead of Christians are called Carmelites,  
 yet was he of a farre other religion, and understood  
 the Word of God, judging, that God ought not to  
 be worshipped neither in that mount, nor at Jerusa-  
 lem onely, but in spirit and truth. This man being  
 a true Carmelite, and labouring with his whole  
 heart that new sweet muste of Jesus Christ, with  
 earnest study and desire seeking after a Christian in-  
 tegrity of life, prepared himselfe first to goe into It-  
 aly, trusting that he should finde there, or else in  
 no place, some, by whose good life and living he might  
 be edified and instructed. For where ought more  
 abundance of vertue and good living to be, than in  
 that place which is counted to be the Fort and Foun-  
 taine of all religion? And how could it otherwise be,  
 but that whereas so great holinesse is professed,  
 whereupon all mens eyes are bent as upon a stage,  
 whereas Saint Peters seat is, and is thought to  
 be the ruler and governour of all the church, all  
 things should flourish and abound with of so great  
 expectation in that place? This holy man having  
 these things before his eyes, and considering the  
 same with himself, forsooke his owne countrey and  
 cite, and went unto Rome, conceiving a firme and  
 sure hope, that by the example of so many notable  
 and worthy men, he should greatly profit in goodli-  
 nesse and learning: but the successe of the matter did  
 utterly frustrate his hope, for all things were cleane  
 contrary. Whatsoever he saw was nothing else but  
 meere dissimulation and hypocricie. In stead of  
 gold, he found nothing but coales; and to say the  
 truth, he found nothing else there but gold and silver.  
 In stead of heavenly gifts there reigned amongst  
 them the pomp and pride of the world: In place of  
 godlinesse, vice: In stead of learning and studie,  
 foolishnesse and superstition. Tyranny and haui-  
 nesse of mind had possessed the place of Apostolike  
 simplicitie: that now there remained no more any  
 place or liberty for a man to leaerne that which he  
 knew not, or to teach that which he perfectly under-  
 stood. Finally, all things were turned asieverse,  
 all things happened unto him contrary to his expecta-  
 tion whersoever he went. But nothing so much  
 offended this goodmans minde, as the intollerable  
 ambition and pompous pride in them, whom exam-  
 ple of humilitie should especially commend and praise  
 to the whole world. And albeit that he saw here  
 nothing which did accord and agree with the rule of  
 the Apostles; yet these things did so much passe all  
 measure and patience, that he could by no meanes  
 refrain his tongue in so great abuse and corruption  
 of the church, seeing such ambitious pride in their  
 buildings, apparell, in their pallaces, in their damny  
 face, in their great traines servants, in their hoyle

and armour, and finally in all things pertaining unto  
 them. Which things how much they did vary from  
 the prescrip. rule of the Gospell, so much the more  
 was this good man forced to speake; albeit he did  
 well understand how little he should prevaile by  
 speaking: for if admonition would profit any thing  
 at all, the books of Wickliffe and others other were  
 not wanting. The famous testimonies of John Hus,  
 and of Hierome of Prague, and their blood shed for  
 the same, was yet present before their eyes: at whose  
 most effectuell exhortations, they were so little cor-  
 rected and amended, that they seemed twice more cru-  
 ell than they were before. Yet all this could not fear  
 this good man, but that in so necessary and whole-  
 some an office he would spend his life if need should  
 be. So by this means, he which came to be a schollar  
 unto others, was now forced to be their teacher. And  
 he which determined to follow other mens lives and  
 manners, had now contrariwise set before them his  
 life to be marked and followed. For he lived so  
 amongst them, that his life might be a rule unto them  
 all, and so taught, as he might also be their schoole-  
 master. For even as Paul had forsworned unto such  
 as desired to live godly in Christ, that they should suf-  
 fer persecution, such like reward happened unto this  
 man. He gave unto them the fruit of godlines, which  
 they should follow: they againe set upon his head the  
 diademe of martyrdom. He shewed them the way  
 to salvation; and they for the benefit of life rewarded  
 him death: and whereas no rewards had bene wor-  
 thy for his great labours and travels, they with most  
 extreme ignominy persecuted him even unto the  
 fire. For when as by continuall preaching he had  
 gotten great envy and hatred, the rulers began to  
 consult together by what meanes they might cir-  
 cumbent this mans life. Here they had recourse to  
 their accustomed remedies: for it was a peculiar and  
 continuall custome amongst the Prelates of the  
 church, that if any man did displease them, or that  
 his talke be not according to their minde, or by any  
 meanes hurtfull, or a hindrance to their lucre and  
 gaine, by and by they frame out Articles of some he-  
 resie, which they charge him withall. And like as  
 every living thing hath his peculiar & proper weapon  
 to defend himselfe from harme, as nature hath arm-  
 ed the Boze with his tusks, the Wedghog with  
 his prickles, the Lion is feared for his claws, the  
 Dog for his biting, the Bul fighteth with his horns,  
 neither doth the Ase lack his hoofs to strike with:  
 all: even so this is the onely armour of the bishops,  
 to strangle a man with heresie, if he once goe about  
 to matter against their will and ambition: which  
 thing may be easily perceived and scene in this most  
 holy man, beside a great number of other. When  
 wher as now he began to waite grieuous unto them,  
 and could no longer bee suffered; what did they?  
 straightwaies sie unto their old policies, and as they  
 had done with Hus, and Hierome of Prague, even so  
 went they about to practise against this man. They  
 overwhelmed him with suspicion, they seke to intan-  
 gle him with questions, they examine him in judge-  
 ment, they compile articles against him, and lay he-  
 resie unto his charge, they condemn him as an here-  
 tike, and being so condemned, they destroy and kill  
 him. This was his godlinesse: this was the peace-  
 able order of those Carmelites. What religion was  
 to weare no sword nor shield, notwithstanding, they  
 did beare in their hearts malice, rancor, vengeance,  
 poison, craft, and deceit, sharper than any sword.  
 With how great care and policy is it provided by  
 law, that none of these clergy men should fight with  
 sword in the streets: when as in judgement and ac-  
 cusations (whereas it is not lawfull for a man to  
 oppresse his brother) there is no murderer which  
 hath more ready vengeance, or that doth more vilely  
 effeme his brothers soule than they. They shed no  
 blood themselves, they strike not, nor kill, but they  
 deliver them over unto others to be slain. What dif-

The corruption  
 of Rome will  
 admit no resto-  
 ration.

Heretic reward-  
 ed with perse-  
 cution.

Heretic made  
 where none is.

Popery armed  
 with policie,  
 and defended  
 with tyrannie.

The golden ci-  
 tie of Rome.

All things cor-  
 rupt at Rome.

The wicked-  
 nesse and pride  
 that reigneth  
 at Rome.



rence is there I pray you, but that they are the authors, and the other are but the ministers of the cruel fact: they kill no man as murderers doe. How then? Although not after the same sort, yet they doe it by another meane.

Dis articles.

The Articles which they falsly gathered against this man, are affirmed by some to be these:

That the Church lacketh reformation, and that it shall be punished and reformed.

That infidels, Jewes, Turkes, and Heresies shall be converted unto Christ in the latter dayes.

That abominations are used at Rome.

That the unjust excommunication of the Pope, is not to be feared: and those which doe not observe the same doe not sinne or offend.

Ex Antonin.  
3 part. hist. fol.  
165  
VV. Cardinalis  
Rhotomagensis  
his persecutor.  
Thomas Rhedonensis  
brought before  
Pope Eugenius.

But yet there lacked a minister for these articles, albeit hee could not long be wanting at Rome, where all things are to be sold, even mens soules, for this office and ministry there was no man thought more meet, than William of Rowne, cardinal of Saint Martins in the mount, Vicechancellor of the court of Rome. Eugenius at that time was Pope, who had a little before succeeded Pope Martin above mentioned. Before the which Eugenius this good Rhedonensis the Frenchman was brought, and from thence sent unto prison. And againe after his imprisonment, and divers and sundry grievous torments, he was brought before the Judges. The Masse late in judgement, the Lambe was accused. Why? because he had troubled the Spring: But here need not many words. This good Thomas not being able to resist the malice of these mighty potentates, had offended enough, and was easily convict and condemned to be burned, but in such sort, as first of all he should be deprived of all such degrees as he had taken of priesthood. For it is counted an unlawfull thing, that a priest should be punished with prophane punishment, when as notwithstanding it is lawfull enough for priests to put any lay man to death, be he never so guiltlesse.

How religiously and earnestly do they foresee, that the majesty of the priestly dignity should not in any case be hurt? But how little care have they, that there consciences be not hurt with false judgments, and oppressing the guiltlesse? Wherefore before

The burning of Thomas Rhedonensis.



that he should come unto punishment, this good man must be degraded. The order and manner of this Popish degrading is partly before touched in the story of William Taylor.

KING  
HEN. 6.  
Thomas de-  
graded.

After that it had pleased the bishops to degrade this man from the degrees wherewith before they had consecrated him, and thought not that sufficient, by and by after they deprived him of his life also, and burned him foure yeeres after that he came to Rome.

Thomas Rhe-  
donensis, a  
Frenchman,  
burned at  
Rome.

In the yeere of our Lord, 1436.

And thus through the cruelty of these most tyranous prelates, this blessed Martyr died. Albeit it is not to be thought that he died, but made a losse of this body, for a greater gaine of salvation before the just judgement of God. Neither is it to be doubted, but that he lieth eternally under the Altar with them whose blood the Lord will revenge, peradventure too soone for some of them, whom the earth hath here so long holden unpunished.

As this Thomas abovesaid suffered at Rome, so were divers others in other places about Germany executed neere about the same time, after the burning of John Hus; and Henry Gumbelster priest, of Ratibone, An. 1420. also Henry Radtegeber priest, in the same cite, An. 1423. John Daendoyse of noble birth, and a priest, was burned at Wormes, An. 1424. Peter Thorow, at Spire, Anno 1426. Matthew Wager also suffered at Werline in Germany, not long after. Ex Balci Centur. sept.

Henry Gumbelster priest,  
Henry Radtegeber priest,  
John Daendoyse priest,  
Peter Thorow  
Matthew Wager  
Doge Eugenius the fourth.

After the death of Pope Martin, who reigned foureene yeeres, succeeded Eugenius, the fourth of that name, about the yeere of our Lord 1431. Of whom Antonius thus writeth, that hee was much given to warres, as his conflicts and fighting with the Romans may declare: also the battles between the Venetians and the Florentines.

This pope began first to celebrate the councell of Basill, which councell, Martin his predecessor had before intended, according to the institution of the councell of Constance. Notwithstanding, the said Eugenius perceiving afterward this councell of Basill not to favor him and his doings, and fearing some detriment to come to him by the same, afterward labored by all subtill practise to dissolve and interrupt the said councell, and from Basill to translate it first to Ferraria: then to Florentia, more neere to his owne Sea of Rome. Concerning the which councell of Basill, so much as we have begun here to make mention, it shall bee no great digression out of the way, to discourse something thereof (the Lord so permitting) more at large, so much as for the most principall matters thereof shall seem sufficient or necessary to be knowne.

Here followeth the order and manner of the Councell of Basill, touching the principall matters concluded therein, briefly collected and abridged herein in this present Book: the rest whereof wee have referred unto our former Edition, wherein the full discourse of the whole disputation is to be seene more at large for such as have list and leasure to see more thereof.

In the thirtieth session of the councell of Constance (as is before mentioned) it was decreed and provided concerning the order and times of such generall councells as should hereafter follow: The first that should next ensue, to be kept the fifth yeere after the said councell of Constance: The second to be holden the seventh yeere after that, and so orderly all other to follow successively from ten yeere to ten yeere. Wherefore according to this decree, followed a generall councell five yeeres after the councell of Constance, celebrate and holden at Sene, under Pope Martin, Anno 1424. but it soon broke up. After the which councell, the terme of seven yeeres being

The Councell  
of Basill.  
Ex Aenea Silvio.  
Ex Cochleio in  
hist. Huffi.  
Et ex parali-  
pom. abbat. P.  
spore.



**KING** } being expired, another councell was holden at Bas-  
**HEN. 6.** } fill in the yeere of our Lord 1431. The which coun-  
 cell is noted to have bene the most troublesome,  
 and to have endured longer than any other councell  
 beforetime celebrat and holden in the church. This  
 councell continued almost the space of seventene  
 yeeres: wherein it was concluded, as before in the  
 councell of Constance, that the generall councells  
 were above the pope, and both of these two councells  
 did attribute the chiefe authority in decreeing and  
 determining unto the generall councell: which is  
 the cause that the contrary part doth derogate so  
 much from the authority of this present councell.

The death of  
 Pope Martin.  
 Pope Eugen-  
 us the fourth.

When as Pope Martine the fifth had appointed  
 Julian, cardinall and deacon of Saint Angel, his  
 legat, to celebrate and hold a generall councell at  
 Basill, for the reformation of the church, and rooting  
 out of heresies, within short space after pope Martin  
 died, in whose seat Eugenius the fourth succeeded,  
 who continued unto the said Cardinall Julian the  
 same authority which his predecessor before had gi-  
 ven him. Unto this councell of Basill being begun,  
 came the Emperour Sigismund, who during his life  
 time, with his presence and authority, did protect  
 and defend the said Synode. After the Emperours  
 death, Pope Eugenius, altering his former minde  
 and purpose, would transpore the councell unto Bo-  
 monie, and thereby hindered the successe of the coun-  
 cell of Basill. And first he held a contrary councell  
 at Ferrara, and afterward at Florence. For, after  
 the death of the Emperour Sigismund, there were  
 no princes nor noble men that had any care or re-  
 gard of the councell. Eugenius the Pope pretended  
 causes, as touching the Greeks which should come  
 unto the councell, and the uniting of the Church un-  
 to the West Church, the which Greeks would in no  
 wise passe the Alpes: also as touching his owne in-  
 commoditie, that hee could not come unto Basill,  
 being so long a journey, and that all his men might  
 have easie access unto Bononia, and that amongst  
 the Germanes (which in their owne countrey are so  
 intractable) nothing can be attempted for their re-  
 formation: whereupon he cited Cardinall Julian,  
 and the fathers of the councell unto Bononia, under  
 great penaltie. They again cited the Pope, that ei-  
 ther he should come himselfe unto the councell, or  
 send Ambassadors under the like penaltie. For this  
 cause the Ambassadors of Albert king of the Ro-  
 manes, and of the other princes of Germany, assem-  
 bled together first at Rozenberge; and when as they  
 could determine nothing there, they assembled  
 againe at Frankford to appeale the dissention be-  
 tween the councell and the pope: for it was thought  
 that the Electors of the Empire might best assen-  
 ble and meet in that place, in the meane time the  
 Emperours ambassadors, and the ambassadors of the  
 Electors went into Basill, and having conference  
 with the ambassadors of the other princes which  
 were there, they did earnestly exhort the fathers of  
 the councell, that they would embrace and receive  
 the unity which they would offer. The request of the  
 princes was, that the fathers would transpore the  
 councell, and go unto another place: the which on-  
 ly thing pope Eugenius seemed alwayes to seek and  
 desire, that thereby he might either divide the fa-  
 thers of the councell, or take away their liberty.

The prelates  
 of the councell  
 refused the  
 Popes request.

Notwithstanding, this sacred Synode thought  
 good neither to deny the princes request, nor to grant  
 that which pope Eugenius required. During this  
 doubt, the Emperours ambassadors, the Bishops of  
 Patavia and Augusta, (being much required and  
 stirred therunto) appointed a noble and valiant Ba-  
 ron called Conrade Reinperger, by the kings com-  
 mandment, to be protector and defender of the coun-  
 cell, and the fathers. Whereby as the enemies per-  
 ceived the Emperours minde to be alienate from the  
 Pope, so the fathers of the councell understood his  
 good will towards them, forasmuch as he would

not have sent them a Protectour, if hee had not  
 judged it a lawfull councell: neither againe would  
 hee have judged it a councell in Basill, if he had gi-  
 ven credit to Pope Eugenius. But by meanes of  
 a great pestilence which began to grow, the assem-  
 bly that should have bene holden at Frankford was  
 transpored unto Bantz. The Ambassadors of  
 the Princes also thought good to goe thither, if  
 they might finde any meanes of unitie, whereby  
 they might unite and knit the Pope againe unto  
 the councell.

The assembly was very famous; for there were  
 present the Archbishops of Bantz, Cullen, and Tre-  
 vours, Electors of the sacred Empire, and all the am-  
 bassadors of the other Electors. Notwithstanding,  
 the Archbishop of Cullen was the chiefe favourer of  
 the councell in this assembly, who with all his la-  
 bour and diligence went about to bring the matter  
 unto a good end. Habanus the Archbishop of Tre-  
 vours shewed himself somewhat more rough. The sa-  
 cred Synode also thought good to send thither their  
 Ambassadors, and appointed out the Patriark of A-  
 quileia, the Bishop of Vicene, and the Bishop of  
 Argen: Divines, John Serobius, and Thomas de  
 Corcellis, with divers others. There was no man  
 there present which would name himselfe the Am-  
 bassador of Eugenius: Albeit there were many of  
 his labourers and friends come thither, both from  
 the councell, and also out of Florence, the which al-  
 beit they had sworne to the contrary, yet favoured  
 they more Eugenius than the councell. But the  
 chief Hercules of all the Eugenians, was Nicolas  
 Cusanus, a man singularly well learned, and of  
 great experience. After divers consultations had, the  
 electors of the empire, and the ambassadors of the  
 other princes of Germany, thought good to give out  
 commandment thowout their whole nation and  
 countrey, that the Decrees of the councell of Basill  
 should be received and observed.

The princes  
 assembled at  
 Bantz, to  
 make unity be-  
 tweene the  
 councell and  
 the Pope.

Pope Eugenius  
 seeketh to  
 dissolve the  
 councell of  
 Basill.

Dissention be-  
 tween the  
 councell of Ba-  
 sill, and Pope  
 Eugenius.

Whilst these things were thus debated at Bantz,  
 there sprang a certaine very doubtfull question  
 amongst the Divines which remained at Basill,  
 whether Eugenius might be called an heretike,  
 which had so rebelliously contemned the command-  
 ments of the church. Whereupon they gathered them-  
 selves together, disputing long amongst themselves,  
 some affirming, and other some holding the negative  
 part. Upon this their disputation there arose three  
 severall opinions, some affirming that he was an he-  
 retike; other some, not onely an heretike, but also a  
 relapse: The third sort would neither grant him to  
 be an heretike nor a relapse. Amongst these divines,  
 the chiefe and principall both in learning and autho-  
 rity, was the Bishop of Eburn, ambassadeur of the  
 King of Castile, and a certaine Scottish Abbat:  
 which as two most valiant champions, subdued all  
 their enemies, so that all the rest did either consent  
 unto their arguments, or gave place unto them, and  
 so their determination tooke place, and Eugenius  
 was pronounced both an heretike and relapse. Eight  
 conclusions were there determined and allowed  
 amongst the Divines, which they called verities;  
 the copie whereof they did divulgate thowout all  
 Christendome.

Three opinions  
 touching the  
 Pope.

When the ambassadors of the councell were re-  
 turned from Bantz, and that certaine report was  
 made of the allowing of their decrees, the fathers of  
 the councell thought good to discuss the conclusions  
 of the Divines more at large. Whereupon, by the  
 commandment of the deputies, all the masters, and  
 doctors, and clergy were called together, with all the  
 residue of the prelates, into the Chapter house of the  
 great Church, there openly to dispute and discuss  
 Eugenius heretic. The which thing so grieved the  
 Bishop of Billaine, fearing lest this disputation  
 would worke the deprivation of Eugenius, the  
 which, as he said, he had alwayes left for feare of a  
 schisme. Wherefore he ceased not by all manner of

The ambassa-  
 dors returned  
 from Bantz.

The popes he-  
 retic discussed.

The bishop of  
 Billaine re-  
 fused Eugenius  
 part for feare of  
 a schisme.



wayes to labour, to stop and trouble the matter, exhorting them that were absent by his letters, and encouraging those that were present by his words, to the defence of Eugenius. But at the last there was a great assembly in the Chapter house, some coming thither to dispute, and other some to hear. This disputation continued six dayes, both forenoon and afternone, amongst whom cardinall Lodovicus archbishop Arelatenus was appointed as Judge and Arbitrator of the whole disputation; who, beside many other notable vertues, was both valiant and constant. Nicholas Amici, which was also a protector of the faith, a famous man amongst the Divines of Paris, demanded of every man what their opinion was. John Weinleiff, publike Notary, wrote every mans sentence and judgement. The conclusions of the Divines, which were the ground and foundation of their disputation, were these here following.

Conclusions of the disputation

1 It is a verity of the catholike faith, that the sacred generall councill hath power over the Pope, or any other prelate.

2 The Pope cannot, by his own authority, either dissolve, transport, or prologue the general councill being lawfully congregated, without the whole consent of the councill; and this is of like verity.

3 He which doth obstinately resist these verities, is to be counted an heretike.

4 Pope Eugenius the fourth hath resisted these verities, when as at the first, by the fulnesse of his Apostolike power, he attempted to dissolve or to transport the councill of Basill.

5 Eugenius, being admonished by the sacred councill, did recant the errors repugnant to these verities.

6 The dissolution or translation of the councill, attempted the second time by Eugenius, is against the aforesaid verities, and containeth an unexcusable error touching the faith.

7 Eugenius, in going about to dissolve and transport the councill againe, is fallen into his before revoked errors.

8 Eugenius, being warned by the Synode that he should revoke the dissolution or translation the second time attempted, after that his contumacy was declared, persevering in his rebellion, and erecting a councill at Ferraria, shewed himselfe thereby obstinate.

These were the conclusions which were read in the Chapterhouse before the fathers of the councill. Upon the which when they were desired to speake their mindes, they all in a manner confirmed and allowed them. Notwithstanding, Panozmitane archbishop disputed much against them. Likewise did the bishop of Wurgen the king of Arragons Almoner. Yet did they not gainsay the three first conclusions, but onely those wherein pope Eugenius was touched. This Panozmitane, as he was subtil, so did he subtilly dispute against the last conclusions, endeavouring himselfe to declare that Eugenius was not relapsed, and had great contention with the bishop of Argens, John Segobius, and Francis de Fuce Divines. He divided the Articles of the faith into three sorts: straitly, as in the Creed; largely, as in the declarations made by the church; most largely of all, as in those things which rise of the premisses: affirming that Eugenius did by no meanes violate his faith in his first dissolution that he made, because it is not contained in the Creed, neither yet in the determinations of the church, that the pope cannot dissolve the councils; and that it seemeth not unto him to rise of the determinations before made, but rather of the decrees of the councill of Constance. And further, that this, as a case omitted, is reserved for the pope to be discussed, so much as in the chapter beginning Frequens, it appeareth that the place where the councill should be kept ought to be

Panozmitane speaketh again for the pope.

Articles of faith divided into three sorts.

chosen by the Pope, the councill allowing the same, and nothing is thereof at all spoken. And if peradventure Eugenius had offended in the first dissolution, notwithstanding he ought to be holden excused, because he did it by the councill of the cardinals, representing the church of Rome; whose authority he said to be such, that the judgement thereof should be preferred before all the world. Neither had there bene any sacred councill found to have proceeded against Eugenius as an heretike; and that is an evident signe that the councill hath not thought him to have swarmed from the faith, neither to have any occasion that he should be called heretike for his errors revoked; and that he himselfe hath read the whole text, that the Pope did not revoke the dissolution as contrary unto the faith, but as breiding offence: Also that the last dissolution hath no such cause in it, so much as likewise he had done it by the councill of the Cardinals, and for the uniting of the Greeks, that he might not be compelled in a criminall cause to answer by his procurator, when as he, being letted by sickness, could not come personally. So much as in the first dissolution Eugenius hath fallen into no error of faith, he cannot be perswaded that he can be called a relapse, so much as he neither in the first, neither yet in the second dissolution did violate his faith.

SKING  
HEN. 6.

Panozmitane preferreth the judgement of the cardinals of Rome before all the world.

The Pope preferreth the uniting of the Greeks, when he is in another thing.

The Pope is relapse, but prolapse.

John Segobius answereth Panozmitane.

This oration of Panozmitane was more praised than allowed of men. Notwithstanding, this effect it wrought, that afterward this word relapse was taken out of the conclusions, and in stead thereof this word prolapse put in. Neither durst Panozmitane himselfe altogether excuse Eugenius of heresie, but defended more the first dissolution, than the second; yet departed he not without answer: for John Segobius an expert Divine, rising up, answered him reverently, as was comely for such a prelate. He said, He granted that which Panozmitane had spoken touching the division of the Articles of the faith into three points, because it made for this purpose. For if those things are to be holden for Articles of faith, said he, which may be gathered of the determinations of the church, it were manifest that the conclusions whereupon we now contend, rebound and come of the determinations of the Church, that is to say, of the councill of Constance: for if therein the Pope be made subject unto the generall councill, who is it that will say that the pope hath power over the councill which is above him; or that Eugenius ought to remaine pope, because he could not dissolve the councill which is above him, without the consent thereof? The which article undoubtedly he hath violated and broken. And if any man will say that in the first dissolution this article was not violated, because there was no declaration made thereof, let him which so thinketh thus, understand, that the bishop of Rome ought not onely to know the plaine and manifest, but also the secret and hidden things of the faith: for he being the vicar of Christ, and the head of all other, ought to instruct and teach all men. But if so be he will not, then he shall be convicted for being head, because he continued long in the dissolution after the declaration of the councill, neither did consent unto the determination of the Church; and therefore if peradventure he did not erre in the faith in dissolving of the councill, yet did he erre in persevering in the same, as it manifestly appeareth by the saying of Clement oftentimes alleged by Panozmitane, wherein it is said, That he which liveth rebelliously, and neglecteth to do good, is rather a member of the Devill than of Christ, and rather an infidell than a true believer; so that Eugenius by disobeying the Church may worthily be called an infidell. Neither is it true that the pope hath not offended in the faith, so much as, as well in that answer which beginneth Cogitanti, as also in the answer which beginneth Speranti, made unto the Popes Ambassadors, these

The pope neglecting to doe good, is a member not of the Church, but of the Devill.

words



SKING  
HEN.6.

words are manifest: this Article concerning faith, and we had rather die, than through cowardinesse to give place. By the which saying it is evident, the Synode to have sufficiently admonished the Pope that he did against the faith, and therefore it seemed that afterward, when as Eugenius revoked the dissolution, he also revoked the error of faith contained in the same. There are also divers offences sprung and risen through the error of faith: for some say that the Pope is under the Councell, other some deny it, and this diversity of doctrine bringeth offence. Also it is expressly against the authority of the Councell, that the Pope did revoke the assertions made in their name.

And albeit in such revocations the stile and order of judgements is not observed, notwithstanding, it doth suffice in such case when as the Councell doth proceed against the Pope, in which case onely the truth is to be observed; neither is the Councell subject unto any positive law, that it ought to observe any termes or iudiciall orders. Also he said that he utterly condemned that singular glosse, which did preferre the Pope before all the world, so that it might well be called singular, which decreed so foolishly and fond things, and unworthy to be followed of any man; and that he did much marvell at Panozmitane, and other doctors of those dayes, which whil实现 they went about to extoll the authority of the glosses, do abase the same by adding a singularity thereto; for that glosse is singular which is alone. But who would not more esteem a glosse constantly written and agreeable in all places, than that which in any one place teacheth any thing which may seem to be an error: and that as touching the verity and truth? S. Hierome a grave and ancient Doctor, is contrary to this glosse, who doubteth nothing at all, but that the world, as touching authority, is above the citie it selfe, that is to say, Rome.

Seogobius could scarcely finish this his Oration without interruption; for Panozmitane, oftentimes interrupting him, went about to confute now this and now that reason. Whereupon the bishop of Argen rising up, a man not onely eloquent, but also of a stout courage, troubled Panozmitane in his reasons and arguments, and put him from his purpose; yet they proceeded so farre, that they passed the manner of disputation, and did not abstain from opprobrious taunts.

When the bishop of Argen chanced to say that the Bishop of Rome ought to bee the Minister of the Church, Panozmitane could not suffer that: insomuch that he so forgot himselfe that day, and his knowledge (which otherwise was great) did so faile him, that he was not ashamed to say and affirme, that the Pope was lord over the church. Whom Seogobius answered, Barke (saith he) Panozmitane, what thou sayest; for this is the most honorable title of the bishop of Rome, wherein he calleth himselfe the servant of the servants of God. Which is gathered upon this point, when as Christ said unto his disciples, when they demanded of him which of them was the greatest, you know he answered them, The princes of the people have rule and dominion over them, but amongst you it is not so, &c. Wherein he doth utterly prohibite lordship and dominion; and Peter which was the first Vicar of Christ, saith, feed the flock of Christ which is committed unto you, prohibiting for them not by compulsion, but willingly: And immediately after hee said, not as lords over the Clergie. For if Christ the Sonne of God came not to be ministered unto, but to minister and to serve, how then can his Vicar have any dominion, or be called lord, as you Panozmitane will affirme: forso much as the disciple is not above his master, nor the servant above his lord. And the Lord himselfe saith, Be ye not called masters, forso much as your onely master is Christ, and he which is the greatest among you shall bee your

servant. Panozmitane being somewhat disquieted with this answer, the Councell brake up and departed.

The next day, there was a generall congregation, and they returned all againe unto the Chapter house after dinner, where the archbishop of Lyons, the Kings Oratour, being required to speake his minde, after he had by divers and sundry reasons proved Eugenius to be an heretike, he bitterly complained, detesting the negligence and ignominy of those that had preferred such a man unto the papacy, and so moved all their hearts which were present, that they all together with him did bewaile the calamities of the universall Church.

Then the bishop of Burgen, the Ambassadour of Spaine, divided the conclusions into two parts, some he called generall, and other some personall, disputing very excellently as touching the three first conclusions, affirming that he did in no point doubt of them, but onely that the addition, which made mention of the faith, seemed to be doubtfull unto him. But upon this point he stayed much, to prove that the Councell was above the Pope. The which, after he had sufficiently proved both by Gods law and mans law, he taught it also by physcally reason, alledging Aristotles for witness. He said, that in every well ordered kingdom it ought specially to be desired, that the whole realme should be of more authority than the King, which if it hapned contrary, it were not to be called a kingdom, but a tyranny: so likewise doth hee thinke of the Church, that it ought to be of more authority, then the prince thereof, that is to say, the Pope. The which his Oration he uttered so eloquently, learnedly, and truly, that all men depended upon him, and desired rather to have him continue his Oration, than to have an end thereof.

But when as he entred into the other conclusion, he seemed to have forgotten himself, and to be no more the same man that he was: for neither was there the same eloquence in his words, neither gravity in Oration, or cheerfulness of countenance: so that if he could have seen himselfe, he would peradventure greatly have marvelled at himselfe. Every man might well see and perceive then the power and force of the truth, which ministered copy of matter unto him, so long as he spake in the defence thereof. But when as hee began once to speake against her, hee took away even his naturall eloquence from him. Notwithstanding Panozmitane, and the bishop of Bergen, shewed this example of modesty, that albeit they would not confesse or grant the last conclusions to be verities of faith: yet they would not that any man should follow or leane unto their opinion, which were but mean Divines: but rather unto the opinions of the Divines. But the king of Arragons Almirer, being a subtil and crafty man, did not directly dispute upon the conclusions, but picking out here and there certaine arguments, sought to let and hinder the councell. Against whom an abbat of Scotland, a man of an excellent wit, disputed very much: and Thomas de Copcellis, a famous Divine, alledged much against him out of the decrees of the sacred councell, and with a certaine modest shamefastnesse, alwayes beholding the ground, did very largely dispute in the defence of the conclusions.

But now to avoid tediousnesse, I will onely proceed to declare arguments whereby the conclusions were ratified and confirmed, not minding to intreat of the five last conclusions, which concerne the person of Eugenius, but onely upon the three first, whereunto I will adjoine certaine probable arguments, gathered out of the disputation of the fathers. In the first conclusion is the greatest force, and first to be discussed; touching the which, two things are to be required, and examined. The one, whether the generall Councell have authority over

The French kings ambassadour.

The Bishop of Burgen.

The Councell above the Pope.

The force of truth which appeared also in Eugenius himselfe the writer hereof, although afterward when he was Pope, he denied the same.

Note what it is for a man to labour against his knowledge.

The conclusions of the disputation.

The first conclusion.

Councells  
bound to no  
positive law.

Panozmitane  
appointeth the  
Pope lord of  
the Church.

The Pope and  
the Clergy desire  
dominion  
contrary to the  
Scriptures.



the pope. The other, whether the catholike faith commandeth it to be beleved. As touching that the Pope is subject to the generall counsell, it is excellently well proved by the reason before alleadged by the bishop of Burgen. For the pope is in the church, as a king in his kingdome: and for a king to be of more authority than his kingdome, it were too absurd. Ergo, neither ought the Pope to be above the church. For like as oftentimes kings which doe wickedly governe the commonwealth, and exercise crueltie, are deprived of their kingdoms; even so it is not to be doubted, but that the bishops of Rome may be disposed by the Church, that is to say, by the generall Councils.

Neither do I herein allow them which attribute so ample and large authority unto kings, that they will not have them bound under any lawes: for such as so doe say, be but flatterers, which do talke otherwise than they thinke. For albeit that they doe say that the moderation of the law is alway in the princes power; that doe I thus understand, that when as reason shall perswade, he ought to digresse from the rigour of the law: for he is called a king, which careth and provideth for the commonwealth, taketh pleasure in the commoditie and profit of his subjects, and in all his doings hath respect to the commoditie of those, over whom he ruleth: which if he doe not, he is not to be counted a king, but a tyrant, whose property it is onely to sake his owne profit; for in this point a king differeth from a tyrant, that the one seeketh the commoditie and profit of those whom he ruleth, and the other onely his owne. The which to make more manifest, the cause is also to be alleadged wherefore kings were ordained.

At the beginning (as Cicero in his Offices saith) it is certaine, that there was a certaine time when as the people lived without kings. But afterward, when lands and possessions began to be divided according to the custome of every nation, then were kings ordained for no other cause but onely to exercise justice. For when as at the beginning the common people were oppressed by rich and mighty men, they came by and by to some good and vertuous man, which should defend the poor from injury, and ordaine lawes whereby the rich and poor might dwell together. But when as yet under the rule of kings the people were oftentimes oppressed, lawes were ordained and instituted, the which should judge neither for hatred nor favour, and give like ear unto the poor as unto the rich, whereby we doe understand and know not onely the people, but also the king to be subject to the lawes. For if we doe see a king to contemne and despise the lawes, violently rob and spoile his subjects, deflower virgins, dishonest maistresses, and doe all things licentious and temerariouly; doe not the nobles of the kingdome assemble together, deposing him from his kingdome, set up another in his place, which shall swear to rule and governe uprightly, and be obedient unto the lawes? Merely as reason doth perswade, even so doth the use thereof also teach us. It seemeth also agreeable unto reason, that the same should be done in the Church, that is to say in the counsell, which is done in any kingdome. And so is this sufficiently apparant, which we have before said, that the Pope is subject unto the counsell.

But now to passe unto the arguments of Divinity, the foundation of the matter which we doe intreate upon, are the words of our Saviour Jesus Christ in divers places, but specially where as he speaketh unto Peter, Tu es Petrus, & super hanc petram edificabo Ecclesiam meam, & porte inferni non pravelebunt adversus eam; that is, Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevaile against it. Upon which words it seemeth good to begin this dispute, for so much as some were wont to alleadged these words, to extoll the authority of the bishop of

Rome. But (as it shall by and by appear) the words of Christ had another sense and meaning than divers of them do think; for he saith, And the gates of hell shall not prevaile against it. Merely this is a great promise, and these words of the Lord are of great importance. For what greater word could there have bene spoken, than that the gates of hell should not prevaile against the Church? These gates of hell, as Saint Hierome saith, doe signifie sinnes. Therefore, if sinnes cannot prevaile against the Church, neither can any maligne spirits prevaile against the same, which have no power at all over mankind, but onely through sin. And for that cause, whereas it is said in Job, that there is no power upon the earth that may be compared unto the power of the maligne spirit, thereby it followeth that the power of the Church is above all other power.

We may also upon the same saying, reason after another sort: for much as the gates of hell, that is to say, sinnes cannot prevaile against the Church, the Church thereby is declared to be without sinne; the which cannot be spoken of the Pope which is a mortall man, forsomuch as it is written, Seven times in the day the just man doth offend. If the Church be without spot because it cannot be defiled with sinne, who is it that will preserve a finfull man before an undefiled Church? Neither let us give eare unto those which will not referre these words of Christ unto the Church, whereas he saith, Oravi pro te Petre, ut non deficiat Fides tua; that is to say, I have prayed for thee, that thy faith should not faile thee. For as S. Augustine saith in the expositions of the Psalmes, Certaine things are spoken as though they seemed properly to pertaine unto the Apostle Peter, notwithstanding, they have no evident sense, but when they are referred unto the church the person whereof he is understood figuratively to represent. Whereupon in another place in the questions of the new and old Testament, upon the words, Rogavi pro te Petre, I have prayed for thee Peter; What is debated? Did he pray for Peter, and did he not pray for James and John, beside the rest? It is manifest that under the name of Peter all other are contained. For in another place of S. John he saith, I pray for whom thou hast given me, and I will that where ever I am, they shall be also with me. Whereupon we doe oftentimes by the name of Peter understand the Church, which we doe nothing at all doubt to be done in this place: otherwise the truth could not consist, forsomuch as within a while after, the faith of Peter failed for a time by the deniall of Christ, but the faith of the church, whose person Peter did represent, did alwaies persevere inviolate.

As touching the bishops of Rome, if time would suffer us, we could rehearse many examples, how that they either have bene heretikes, or replenished with other vices. Neither are we ignorant how that Marcellinus at the Emperours commandment, did sacrifice unto Idols, and that another (which is more horrible) did attaine unto the papacy by devillish fraud and deceit. Notwithstanding, the testimony of Paul unto the Hebrewes shall suffice us at this time, who saith that every bishop is compassed in with infirmity; that is to say, with wickednesse and sinne. Also the testimonies of Christ himself do approue that the Church remaineth alwaies without sinne: for in Matthew he saith, I am with you even unto the end of the world. The which words were not onely spoken to the Apostles (for they continued not unto the end of the world) but also unto their successors: neither would Christ then signifie that he was God, dispersed throughout all the world, as he is also perceived to be amongst sinners, but would declare a certain gift of grace through his assistance, whereby he would preserve the holy church, consisting amongst his Apostles and their successors, alwaies immaculate and undefiled.

And againe in another place; I (saith he) will

{ KING }  
{ HEN. 6. }

Sinnes are the gates of hell.

Against the papists opinion, that the Pope cannot erre.

The interpretation of this place, Oravi pro te Petre, is meant of the church.

Bishops of Rome are heretikes. He meaneth Silvester the second.

The Church is without sinne, and the Pope is a sinner.

A king is not of more authority than is his kingdome.

These kinde of flatterers came now in our dayes.

What a king is.

The institution of kings.

The Pope ought to be subject unto the counsell.

This place, Tu es Petrus, &c. expounded.



{ KING }  
{ HEN. 6. }

pray, and he shall give you another comforter, that he may remaine with you for ever, even the Spirit of truth whom the world cannot receive, because the world seeth him not, neither knoweth him, but you shall know him, because he shall remaine with you. The which words being spoke unto the Disciples of Jesus, are also understood to be spoken unto their successors, and so consequently unto the Church. And if the spirit of truth be continually in the Church, no man can deny but that the Church ought to continue undefiled. By the same authority also that Christ is called the Spouse of the Church, who seeth not but that the Church is undefiled: For the husband and the wife (as the Apostle saith) are two in one flesh, and (as he doth also adde) no man hateth his owne flesh: thereby it cometh to passe, that Christ cannot hate the Church, for so much as she is his Spouse, and and one flesh with him, and no man can hate himself: Ergo, the Church doth not sin: for if it did sin, it should be hated, for sinners the Lord doth hate.

The Church one flesh with Christ.

The Church is without spot or sinne, is to be understood not by nature, but only by imputation.

The which authorities being gathered together, we ought with the Apostle to confesse that the Church of God hath neither spot nor wrinkle. Also he writing unto Timothy, affirmeth the Church to be the Pillar and foundation of the truth; whereupon in this song to the Spouse it is said, My friend thou art altogether faire and beautifull, neither is there any spot in thee. These words peradventure may abash some that I doe go about to prove the Church to be without sin. For when as the church doth contain all men which are called Christians, which also do agree and come together in one belief of faith, and participation of the Sacraments, I doe feare lest some men will thinke that I doe asseme all men to be without sinne; which is so farre from my meaning, that I doe verily thinke the contrary to be most true. For I suppose that there is no man in the Church, being clothed in this mortall flesh, without sinne. Neither doe these things vary or dissent among themselves: For the Church hath this gift, that albeit every part and member thereof may sin, yet the whole body cannot sinne. For there be alwayes good men in the Church, the which, albeit that they be subject unto humane fragility, notwithstanding they have so perfect a gift of sincere and pure vertue, that subduing all carnall desires and affections they keepe themselves a pleasant and acceptable sacrifice unto God. Neither doe I consent or agree unto the opinion of divers, which asseme that the Virgin Mary onely persevered in faith at the Lords passion. Whereupon divers have not bene ashamed to say, that the faith might be so debilitate and weakened, that it should returne to one onely old woman, whose opinion or rather madnesse Saint Paul seemeth openly to resect, writing thus unto the Romans; Doe ye not know (saith he) what the Scripture writeth of Helias, how incessantly he called upon God against the children of Israel, (saying) O Lord, they have slaine thy Prophets, and digged down thine Altars, and I alone am left, and they seeke after my soule? But what answer received he of God? I have left unto my selfe yet seven thousand men, which have not bowed their knees unto Baal. What other thing doth this answer of God declare then that it is a foolish opinion of them which thinke the Church of God to be brought unto so small a number? We ought to beleve the words of Christ which are altogether repugnant unto those men who asseme that the virgin only did persevere in faith. For Jesus aid unto his Father, Wholy Father save them in thy Name, whom thou hast given me, that they may be one as we are one. When I was with them, I kept them in thy Name: I have kept them that thou gavest unto me, and none of them perished, but onely the sonne of perdition. And I doe not desire that thou shouldest take them out of the world, but that thou shouldest preserve them from evil.

The Church without sinne, how to be understood.

The error of those which say that only the Virgin Mary did persevere constant at the time of Christs passion.

Behold, Christ prayeth that his Disciples should not fall, but should be preserved from evil, and he is praying, without doubt is heard: for he saith in another place, I know that thou hearest me. But how is he heard, if all those for whom he prayeth, swarved at the time of his passion? As for example: by what means did Christ hanging upon the crosse, commend his dearly beloved mother unto John, if so be he were either then swarved, or should by and by after have swarved from the faith? Moreover, did not the Centurion by and by cry out and say, truly this is the Son of God? The Jewes also which at that time were far distant from Jerusalem, might both be called faithfull, and also saved by their faith: seeing that (as the Apostle saith) men are bound unto the Gospel, after it is once known and revealed unto them. But let us leave these men, and speak of that which is more likely, and let us iudge that there hath bene and is a great number of good men in the Church, and by them as by the more worthy part, let us name the Church holy & immaculate, the which doth comprehend as well the evil as the good. For the church is compared unto a net, which is cast into the Sea, and gathered together all kinde of fishes.

10

20

30

40

50

60

70

And againe, it is compared unto a king, which made a marriage for his owne, and sent forth his servants to call those which were bidden unto the wedding, and they gathered together good and evil, as many as they could finde. Wherefore, their opinion is erroneous, which affirm, that only good men be comprehended in the church: the which if it were true, it would confound all things, neither could we understand or know where the Church were. But for so much as the Scripture saith, no man knoweth whether he be worthy of love or hatred, their opinion is more to be allowed and truer, which include all the faithfull in the Church: of whom, although a great part be given to voluptuousnesse and avarice, yet some notwithstanding are cleane from deadly sinne. The which part, as it is the most worthy, it giveth the name unto the Church, to be called most holy: which is so often done, that we are commanded to sing in our Creed, unam sanctam Catholicam & Apostolicam Ecclesiam, that is to say, one holy Catholike and Apostolike Church: the which article, the synod of Constantinople added unto the rest. Wherefore, if the Church be holy, it is also without sin. But to returne to our former purpose, this word Sanctum, which significth holy (as Macrobius alleading Trebatius, affirmeth) is sometimes taken for religious, and sometimes for cleane and uncorrupt. And after the same manner, we call the Church holy, as the Apostle Peter calleth it immaculate, as we read in the famous Epistle of Clement.

The Church comprehending both the evil and good.

This saying of Trebatius is not to be reanlate, and also stretch to another sense than is here meant.

To this end also tendeth that which is spoken by Saint Paul, that Christ is the head of the Church: for if the Church should wholly sinne, she should not agree with her head Christ, who is in no point defiled. This also Christ himselfe would signifie unto us in Matthew, when he commendeth the house which was builded upon the strong rocke, against the which, neither the windes, neither the stormes could prevaile. Is the house of God (saith the Apostle) which is the Church builded upon the rocke, which rock (as the said Apostle declareth) is Christ. Who then is so unly unefail, that he will affirme the Church, which is founded upon Christ, to be subject to sinne? And will not rather cry out with the Prophet and say, Domine, dilexi decoram domus tue: What is to say, O Lord, I have loved the beauty of thy house? Whereupon wrote John Chrysostome this golden sentence: The Church never ceaseth to be assaulted, never ceaseth to be laid in waite for: but in the name of Christ it hath alwayes the upper hand, and overcame. And albeit that other doe lay in waite for it, or that the floods doe beate against it, yet the foundation which is laid upon the rocke, is not shaken. Saint Hilarie also saith, that

Christ is the rocke whereupon the Church is builded.



it is the property of the church to vanquish when it is hurt, to understand when it is reproved, to be in safety when it is forsaken, and to obtaine victory when as it seemeth almost overcome. Thus by many reasons and testimonies it is proved that the Church doth not erre; which is not spoken or affirmed of the bishops of Rome, so that this reason doth make the Pope subject unto the Church; for it is convenient, that the lesse perfect be subject unto the more perfect. There be also many other testimonies and reasons, whereof we will now somewhat more intreate.

If authoritie be sought for, saith Saint Jerome. (for I willingly occupie my selfe in his sentences, as in a most fertile field) the world is greater then a Citie. What then I pray you Jerome? Is the pope mighty because he is head of the Church of Rome? His authoritie is great, notwithstanding the Universall Church is greater, which doth not only comprehend one Citie, but also the whole world. Hereupon it followeth, that if the Church be the mother of all faithfull, then he hath the bishop of Rome for her sonne; otherwise, as Saint Augustine saith, he can never have God for his father which will not acknowledge the church for his mother. The which thing Anacletus understanding, called the universall church his mother, as the writers of the canons doe know. And Calixtus saith, As a Sonne he came to doe the will of his father, so we doe the will of our mother, which is the Church. Whereby it appeareth, that how much the sonne is inferior to the mother, so much the church is superiour or above the bishop of Rome.

Also we have said before that the Church was the spouse of Christ, and the pope we know to be a vicar: but no man doth so ordaine a vicar, that he maketh his spouse subject unto him, but that the spouse is alwayes thought to be of more authority, then the vicar; forasmuch as she is one body with her husband, but the vicar is not so. Neither will I here passe over the words of S. Paul unto the Romans, Let every soul (saith he) be subject unto the higher powers. Neither doth he herein except the pope. For albeit that he be above all other men, yet it seemeth necessary that he should be subject to the Church. Neither let him think himself hereby exempt, because it was said unto Peter by Christ, Whatsoever thou bindest, &c. In this place, as we will hereafter declare, he represented the person of the church, for we finde it spoken afterward unto them, Quodcunque ligaveritis super terram, ligatum erit in coelis, that is, Whatsoever ye shall binde upon earth, shall be also bound in heaven. And furthermore, if all power be given of Christ, as the Apostle writeth unto the Corinthians, it is given for the edifying of the church, and not for the destruction thereof; why then may not the church correct the pope, if he abuse the keyes, and bring all things unto ruine?

Adde hereunto also another argument. A man in this life is lesse then the Angels; for we reade in Matthew of John Baptist, that he which is least in the Kingdome of Heaven is greater then he. Notwithstanding Christ saith in another place, that amongst the children of women there was not a greater then John Baptist. But to proceed; men are forced, by the example of Zacharias, to give credit unto Angels, lest through their misbelief they be stricken blinde as he was. What more? The bishop of Rome is a man: Ergo, he is lesse then the Angels, and is bound to give credit to the Angels. But the Angels learne of the Church, and doe reverently accord unto her doctrine, as the Apostle writeth unto the Ephesians: Ergo, the pope is bound to doe the same, who is lesse then the Angels, and lesse then the church, whose authoritie is such, that worthily it is compared by Saint Augustine unto the Sunne, that like as the Sunne by his light doth surmount all other lights, so the church is above all other authority and power. Whereupon Saint

Augustine writeth thus, I would not beleve the Gospell, saith he, if the authority of the church did not move me therunto: the which is not in any place found to be spoken of the bishop of Rome, who representing the church, and being minister thereof, is not to be thought greater or equal to his Lord and Master. Notwithstanding, the words of our Saviour Christ, doe specially prove the Bishop of Rome to be subject to the church, as we will hereafter declare. For he sending Peter to preach unto the church, said, Goe, and say unto the church. To the confirmation of whose authority these words do also pertaine: He that heareth you, heareth me. The which words are not onely spoken unto the Apostles, but also unto their successors and unto the whole church.

Whereupon it followeth, that if the pope do not hearken and give eare unto the church, he doth not give eare unto Christ, and consequently he is to be counted as an Ethnick and Publican. For as S. Augustine affirmeth, when as the church doth excommunicate, he which is so excommunicate is bound in Heaven, and when the church loatheth, he is loathed. Likewise if he be an heretike which taketh away the supremacy of the church of Rome, as the decrees of the Councell of Constance do determine, how much more is he to be counted an heretike which taketh away the authority from the universall church, wherein the church of Rome and all other are contained: Wherefore it is now evident, that it is the opinion of all men before our dayes (if it may be called an opinion, which is confirmed by grave authors) that the pope is subject unto the universall church. But this is called into question, whether he ought also to be judged of the generall councell. For there are some, which (whether it be for desire of vaine glory, or that through their flattery they looke for some great reward) have begun to teach new and strange doctrines, and to exempt the bishop of Rome from the jurisdiction of the generall councell.

Ambition hath blinded them, whereof not only this present schisme, but also all other schismes even unto this day have had their originall. For as in times past the greedy desire and ambition of the papacy, brought in that pestiferous beast, which through Arrius then first crept into the Church, even so they doe specially nourish and maintaine this present heresie which are not ashamed to beg. Of the which number some cry out and say, the wordes of the subjects ought to be judged by the Pope, but the Pope to be referred onely unto the judgement of God. Others said, that no man ought to judge the high and principall seat, and that it cannot be judged either by the Emperour, either by the Clergy, either by any King or people. Other affirme that the Lord hath reserved unto himselfe the depositions of the chief Bishop. Others are not ashamed to affirme, that the Bishop of Rome, although he carry soules in never so great number unto hell, yet he is not subject unto any correction or rebuke.

And because these their wordes are easily resolved, they run straightwayes unto the gospell, & interpret the wordes of Christ; not according to the sense and meaning of the holy Ghost, but according to their own will and disposition. They do greatly esteeme and regard this which was spoken unto Peter, Tu vocaberis Cephas; that is, Thou shalt be called Cephas: by the which word, they make him the head of the Church. Also I will give thee the keyes of the Kingdome of Heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt binde upon the earth, &c. I have prayed for thee Peter, that thy faith should not faile. And againe, Feed my sheepe. Cast the net into the deep: Be not afraid, for from henceforth thou shalt be a fisher of men: Also that Christ commanded Peter, as the Prince of the Apostles, to pay tithes for them both; and that Peter drew the net into the land full of great fishes: and that onely Peter drew out his sword for,

He proboeth by authority the Pope to be under the Councell.

If the Church be the mother, the Pope must be her sonne.

The Church being the Spouse, the Pope cannot be the head thereof, but he must also be the head of Christ, for so much as Christ and his Spouse be both one.

The exposition of this place, Quodcunque ligaveritis super terram, &c.

The Church may depose the Pope if he abuse the keyes.

The Church and not the Pope compared to the Sunne.

[KING] [HEN. 6.]

The Pope if he do not hearken to the Church, is an Ethnick and Publican.

It is to be feared lest the Church hath had many such Popes.

Whether the Pope is to be judged by the generall Councell, &c.

These are the Canons and the Schoole divines, and begging letters.

Diversity of judgements touching the Bishop of Rome.

How foolishly the Church of Rome doth wrest the Scriptures, neglecting the explications of the fathers.



**SKING** for the defence of Christ. All which places these  
**HEN.6.** men doe greatly extoll, altogether neglecting the ex-  
 positions of the fathers: the which if (as reason were)  
 they would consider, they should manifestly per-  
 ceive by the authorities aforesaid, that the Pope is  
 not above them, when they are gathered together in  
 council, but when they are separate and divided.

But these things being passed over, forsomuch as  
 answer shall appear by that which hereafter shall  
 follow, we will now declare what was reasoned of  
 by the learned men upon this question. But first we  
 would have it knowne, that all men, which are of  
 any name or estimation, doe agree, that the Pope is  
 subject to the council, and so: the proofe thereof they  
 repeate (in a manner) all those things which were  
 before spoken of the church; for they suppose all that  
 which is spoken of the Church, to serue for the gene-  
 rall council. And first of all they alledge this say-  
 ing of the gospel, Dic Ecclesia, tell it unto the church.  
 In the which place it is convenient to understand  
 that Christ spake unto Peter, instructing him what  
 he should doe as touching the correction of his bro-  
 ther. He saith, If thy brother offend or sinne against  
 thee, rebuke him betwene thee and him alone. If he  
 give ear unto thee, thou hast won thy brother; but  
 if he doe not give ear unto thee, take with thee one  
 or two, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses  
 all truth may stand: if then he will not give ear un-  
 to thee, Dic Ecclesia, tell it unto the Church.

What shall we understand by the Church in that  
 place? Shall we say that it is the multitude of the  
 faithfull dispersed throughout the whole world? By  
 yoke is pleasant, saith the Lord, and my burden is  
 light. But how is it light, if Christ command us to  
 do that which is impossible to be done? For how  
 could Peter speake unto the Church which was dis-  
 persed, or to seeke out every Christian scattered in  
 every Towne or Citty? But the meaning of these  
 words is farre otherwise, and they must be other-  
 wise interpreted: for which cause it is necessary that  
 we remember the double person which Peter repre-  
 sented, as the person of the high bishop, and a private  
 man. The sense and meaning of his words are evi-  
 dent and plain enough of themselves, that they need  
 no supplement or alteration. We must first marke  
 and see what this word Ecclesia signifieth, the which  
 we doe finde to be but onely twice spoken of by  
 Christ: once in this place, and againe when as he  
 said unto Peter; Tu es Petrus, & super hanc Petram  
 edificabo Ecclesiam meam; What is, Thou art Pe-  
 ter, and upon this rocke will I build my Church.  
 Wherefore the Church signifieth the conuocation  
 or congregation of the multitude. Dic Ecclesia, tell it  
 unto the Church; that is to say, Tell it unto the con-  
 gregation of the faithfull: the which, so: so much as  
 they are not accustomed to come together but in a  
 generall Council, this interpretation shall seeme  
 very good, Dic Ecclesia, tell it unto the Church, that  
 is to say; Dic generali Concilio, tell it unto the gene-  
 rall Council.

In this case I would gladly heare if there be any  
 man which doth think these words to be more pro-  
 perly expressed in any prelate, than in the Council,  
 when as they must put one man for the multitude;  
 which if it be admitted in the Scriptures wee shall  
 from henceforth finde no firme or stable thing there-  
 in: But if any man doe marvell at this interpreta-  
 tion, let him search the old writers, and hee shall  
 finde that this is no new or strange interpretation,  
 but the interpretation of the holy fathers and old  
 doctors, which have first given light unto the church  
 as pope Gregory witnesseth (a man worthy of re-  
 membrance, both for the holynesse of his life, and  
 his singular learning) whose words are these, writ-  
 ten in his Register unto the bishop of Constantino-  
 ple; And we (said he) against whom so great an of-  
 fence is committed through temerarious boldnesse,  
 do observe and keepe that which the truth doth com-

mand us, saying, Si peccaverit in te frater, that is, If  
 thy brother doe offend against thee, &c. And after-  
 ward he addeth more, If my rebukes and correcti-  
 ons be despised, it remaineth that I do seek helpe of  
 the Church. The which words do manifestly de-  
 clare the Church here to bee taken for the generall  
 council. Neither did Gregory say, that he would  
 seek helpe of the Church that is dispersed abroad in  
 every place, but of that which is gathered together,  
 that is to say, the generall council. For that which is  
 dispersed abroad cannot be had, except it be gather-  
 ed together. Also Pope Nicolas reproving Lotha-  
 rius the king for adultery, said; If thou dost not  
 amend the same, take heed that we tell it not unto  
 the holy Church.

In the which saying Pope Nicolas did not say,  
 that he would goe throughout the world to certifie  
 every one, man by man; but that he would call the  
 church together, that is to say, the generall council,  
 and there would publish and declare the offence  
 of Lotharius, that he which had condemned the  
 Popes commandements, should feare the reverence  
 of the generall council. I could recite an infinite  
 number of witnessses for that purpose, the which all  
 tend unto one end: but this one testimony of the  
 council of Constance shall suffice for them all;  
 wherein it is said, that not only the Pope in the cor-  
 rection of his brother is remitted unto the council  
 when as he cannot correct him of himselfe; but also  
 when as any thing is done as touching the correction  
 of the Pope himselfe, the matter ought to be refer-  
 red to the council. Whereby it appeareth our in-  
 terpretation to be most true, which doth expound the  
 Church to be in the generall council. Hereupon  
 in the Acts of the Apostles, the congregations which  
 were then holden were called the church. Also in the  
 Council of Nice, and in other Councils, when as  
 many should be excommunicated, alwayes in man-  
 ner, this sentence was adjoynd, Hunc excommuni-  
 cat Catholica & Apostolica Ecclesia, the Catholike  
 and Apostolike Church doth excommunicate this  
 man. And hereupon that title is given unto the  
 Councils whereby we doe say, that the generall  
 Council doth represent the universall Church.  
 Wherefore the laws and decrees of the council are  
 called the lawes of the Church, for that the Church  
 doth not set forth any lawes in any other place, but  
 in the generall council; except wee will call the  
 Popes constitutions the lawes of the church, which  
 cannot be properly said but of the council: whereas,  
 albeit all these which are of the Church doe not as-  
 semble and come together, yet the most part of them  
 are accustomed to be there present, and in those  
 which come, the whole power of the Church doth  
 consist. Whereupon we read in the Acts of the A-  
 postles, It pleased the Apostles and Elders with all  
 the Church. For albeit that all the faithfull were  
 not there present (because a great number of them  
 remained at Antioch) yet notwithstanding it was  
 called the whole Church, because the whole power  
 of the Church consisted in the Council. Thus for  
 this present it is sufficient that we understand by  
 the Church the generall Council.

And now to returne unto our purpose, let us heare  
 what our Saviour saith unto Peter, If thy brother do  
 offend against thee, unto this fert following, tell it  
 unto the church; and let us understand the council  
 by the church. Who is greater in this place, hee  
 which is sent unto the council, or the council wher-  
 unto Peter was sent? The verity doth remit the bi-  
 shop of Rome unto the generall council. And why  
 so? verily because the Bishop of Rome should not  
 disdain to acknowledge some power in earth to be  
 above them, the which they should consult withall in  
 matters of importance, and agree unto the determi-  
 nations thereof. Whereupon Peter is also called by  
 another name, Simon; the which, as Ihabanus in  
 his Homilies writeth, is interpreted in the Hebrew  
 tongue,

The Church  
 take for the  
 generall  
 Council.

The Council  
 of Constance  
 decreeth the  
 Pope to be  
 under the  
 Council.

The Acts of  
 Apostles.  
 The Council  
 of Nice.

The title of  
 the Councils.

The constitu-  
 tions of the bi-  
 shops of Rome  
 are not the  
 lawes of the  
 Church.

By the Church  
 the Council is  
 understood.

Simon's in-  
 terpretation  
 saith in the bi-  
 shops of Rome,  
 tongue,

Those things  
 which were  
 spoken of the  
 Church, serve  
 also for the ge-  
 nerall Coun-  
 cill.

Peter repre-  
 senteth a dou-  
 ble person.

Christ nameth  
 the Church  
 but twice in  
 the Gospel.

That the  
 Church is.

The interpre-  
 tation of this  
 place,  
 Dic Ecclesia,



tongue, obedience, that all men might understand obedience to be necessary even in the Bishop of Rome.

The authority of the councell of Constance might suffice us in this point; but we think it good to say a little upon this matter, and to leave no place open for our adversaries: which while they goe about to maintaine the insatiable wilfulness of one man, preferring a private wealth before a common commodity, it is incredible how great errors they doe stirre up. Against the which, besides many other, Zacharias bishop of Chalcedon, a man both famous and eloquent, did earnestly strive. Who in the great and sacred Synode of Chalcedon, when as the sentence of the bishop of Rome was objected unto him, that the canon of pope Nicolas and other patriarchs was above the councell, he replied against it. And Zosimus the pope saith thus, as touching the decrees of the generall councell, The authority of this seat cannot make or alter any thing contrary to the decrees of the fathers, which are dispersed abroad in cities or wilderness, for they doe not binde the pope; but of them which are made and published by the fathers in the generall councell. For the more manifest declaration wherof, the words of pope Leo the most eloquent of all the Bishops of Rome, are here to be annexed, who wrote unto Anatholius, that the decrees of the councell of Nice are in no part to be violate and broken; thereby (as it were) excluding himselfe and the high Patriarch.

The authority also of Damasus upon this sentence is more manifest, writing unto Arelus the Archbishop, as I sidorus declareth in the booke of counsels, whose worthy saying as touching the authority of the Synode is this, That they which are not compelled of necessitie, but of their owne will either frowardly doe any thing, either presume to doe any thing, or willingly consent unto those which would doe any thing contrary and against the sacred canons, they are unworthily thought and iudged to blaspheme the holy Ghost. Of the which blasphemy whether Gabriel, which calleth himselfe Eugenius, be presently partaker, let them iudge which have heard him say, That it is so farre from his office and duty to obey the generall counsels, that he saith, he doth then best merit and deserve, when as he contemne the decrees of the councell. Damasus addeth yet moreover: For this purpose, saith he, the rulers of the sacred canons, which are consecrated by the spirit of God, and the reverence of the whole world, are faithfully to be knowne and understood of us, and diligently looked upon, that by no means, without a necessity which cannot be eschewed (which God forbid) we do transgresse against any of decrees of the holy fathers. notwithstanding we daily see in all the popes bulls and letters, these words, Non obstante, that is to say, notwithstanding, which no other necessity hath brought in, than onely insatiable desire of gathering of money. But let them take heed to these things which be the authors thereof.

But now to return againe unto Damasus, mention is made in the Epistles of Ambrose bishop of Milaine of a certain Epistle, which is said to be written by Damasus, unto the iudges deputed by the councell of Capua, where he declareth that it is not his office to meddle with any matter which hath been before the Councell. By the which saying he doth manifestly reprove all those which affirme and say the bishop of Rome to bee above the Councell. The which, if it were true, Damasus might have taken into his hands the cause of Bonifacius the bishop to determine, which was before becom by the Councell; but forasmuch as the Councell is above the Pope, Damasus knew himselfe to be prohibited. Whereupon Hilarius also acknowledging the Synode to be above him, would have his decrees confirmed by the Councell. Also the famous

Doctor S. Augustine in his Epistle which hee did write unto Glorius and Eleusius, and Felix the Emilianian, declareth the case. Cecilianus the bishop was accused by Donatus, with others. Pelchides the pope with certaine other bishops absolved Cecilian, and confirmed him in his bishopricke. They being moved with those doings, made a schisme in the parts of Africa. S. Augustine reproveth them, which having another remedy against the sentence of the pope did raise a schisme, and doth invey against them in this manner: Behold, let us think those bishops which gave judgment at Rome, not to have been god iudges: there remained yet the judgment of the universall church, where the cause might have bin pleaded even with the iudges themselves, so that if they were comit not to have given just judgement, their sentence might be broken.

Whereby it appeareth, that not onely the sentence of the pope alone, but also the pope with his bishops ioynd with him, might be made frustrate by the Councell: for the full iudgement of the universall Church is not found elsewhere but in the generall Councell. Let not any man doubt, in that S. Augustine seemeth here onely to speake of bishops, for if the text of his epistle be read over, he shall finde the bishop of Rome to be comprehended amongst the other bishops. It was also prohibited by the counsels of Africa, that the bishops of Rome should not receive or hear the appeales of any which did appeale from the councell; which altogether declare the superiourity of the councell. And this appeareth more plainly in the Acts of the Apostles, where Peter is rebuked by the congregation of the Apostles, because he went in to Cornelius a heathen man, as if it had not bene lawfull for him to attempt any greater matter without the knowledge of the congregation; and yet it was said unto him, as well as others, Ite & baptizate, &c. Goe and baptise. But this seemeth to make more unto the purpose which Saint Paul writeth unto the Galathians, where he saith, he resisted Peter even unto his face, because he did not walk according to the verity of the Gospell. Which words, if they be well understood, signifie none other thing by the verity of the gospel, than the Canon of the Councell decreed amongst the Apostles, for the Disciples being gathered together had so determined it. Whereupon S. Paul doth shew, that Peter ought to have obeyed the generall Councell.

But now to finish this disputation, we will here adioyne the determination of the councell of Constance, the which councell aforesaid, willing to cut off all ambiguity and doubts, and to provide a certaine order of living, declared by a solemne decree, that all men, of what estate or condition soever they were, yea, although that they were popes themselves, be bound under the obedience and ordinances of the sacred generall counsels. And although there be a certaine restraint, where it is said, in such things as pertaine unto the faith, the extirpation of schisme, and the reformation of the Church, as well in the head, as in the members: notwithstanding this amplificative clause, which is adioyned, is to be noted, Et in pertinentibus ad ea, that is to say, with all the appurtenants. The which addition is so large, that it containeth all things in it which may be imagined or thought. For the Lord said thus unto his Apostles, Goe ye forth and teach all people. He did not say in three points onely, but teach them to observe and keep all things whatsoever I have commanded you. And in another place he saith, not this or that, but whatsoever ye shall binde, &c. which all together are alledged for the authority of the Church and generall Councels. For the preferment wherof these things also come in place: Bee that heareth you, heareth me. And againe, It is given unto you to know the mysteries of God. Also, Where two or three be gathered in my name, &c. Again, What

King of  
Hen. 6.

The full  
iudgement of  
the church is  
not to be found  
but in the ge-  
nerall councell.

No appeale to  
be made from  
the councell to  
the Pope.  
As 31.

Gal. 2.  
Peter com-  
manded to  
obey the gene-  
rall councell.

The decree of  
the councell of  
Constance.

The Pope  
bound under  
the obedience  
of the generall  
councell.

Divers places  
rehearsed out  
of the Gospels  
and Apostles,  
for authority of  
the Church  
and generall  
Councels a-  
bove the Pope.

The favourers  
and maintain-  
ers of the pope  
go about to  
maintain and  
preserve the  
privilege and  
profit of one be-  
fore a common  
commodity.

The Pope can  
abide no gene-  
rall counsels.

Non obstante,  
in the Popes  
bulls.

The Councell  
to be above  
the Pope.



{ KING }  
{ HEN. 6. }

Whatsoever ye shall aske, &c. O holy father, save them whom thou hast given me, &c. And I will be with them even unto the end of the world. Also out of Saint Paul these places are gathered, We are helpers of God, &c. Which hath made us apt Ministers of the New Testament, &c. And he appointed some Apostles and some Prophets, &c. In all which places both Christ and the Apostles spake of the authoritie of many, which all together are alledged for the authority of the Univer all Church.

But forsomuch as that Church, being dispersed and scattered abroad, cannot decre or ordaine any thing; therefore, of necessity it is to be said that the chiefe and principall authoritie of the Church doth consist in the generall councils, where they assemble together. And therefore it was observed in the primitive Church, that hard and weighty matters were not intreated upon, but onely in the generall councils and congregations. The same is also found to be observed afterward. For when as the Churches were divided, generall councils were holden. And in the councill of Nice we doe finde the heresie of Arius condemned. In the Councell of Constantinople the heresie of Macedonius. In the councill of Ephesus the heresie of Nestorius. In the councill of Chalcedon the heresies of Eutychius were also condemned; forsomuch as they thought the judgement of the bishop of Rome not to suffice to so great and weighty matters: and also they thought the sentence of the councill to be of greater force then the sentence of the pope, forsomuch as he might erre as a man: but the councill wherein so many men were gathered together, being guided with the holy Ghost, could not erre. Also it is a very excellent saying of Martianus the Emperour, which serveth for that purpose, whose words are these: Truly he is to be counted a wicked and sacrilegious person, which after the sentence of so many good and holy men will sticke to withdraw any part of his opinion. For it is a point of more madnesse, at the noone time and fair day light, to seek for a feined light: for he which having found the truth seeketh to disprove any thing further, seeketh out after vanities and lies.

Now I think it is evident enough unto all men, that the bishop of Rome is under the councill. Notwithstanding some doe yet still doubt, whether he may also be depozed by the councill or not: For albeit it be proved that he is under the councill, yet for all that will they not grant, that he may be also depozed by the councill. Wherefore, it shall be no digressing at all from our purpose, somewhat to say upon that matter: and first of all, to speak of these railers which are yet so earnest for the defence of the bishop of Rome, which being vanquished in one battle still renew another, and contend rather of obstinacy then of ignorance. They would have here recited againe that which we have before spoken, as touching the preeminence of the bishop of Rome, or the Patriarch. And as there are many of them more full of words then eloquent, they say much of this point, where Christ said unto Peter, Tibi dabo claves regni coelorum, I will give thee the keyes of the Kingdome of Heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt binde upon Earth shall be bound in Heaven: as though by those words he should be made head over the other. And againe, they doe amplify it by this, Pisce oves meas, Feede my sheepe; which they doe not finde to be spoken to any other of the Apostles. And because it is said that Peter was the chief and the mouth of the Apostles, therefore they iudge it well spoken, that no man shall iudge the chiefe and principall Sea; being all of this opinion with Boniface, which said that the pope ought to be judged for no cause, except he be perceived or knowne to swarve from the faith, although he doe carry innumerable people with him headlong into hell, there to be perpetually tormented: as though he could open the Kingdome of Heaven to others, if any other

could shut it against him: that he could feede other, if he himselfe lacked pasture.

But we count these as things of no force or difficulty. For Saint Augustine in the Sermon of the Nativite of Peter and Paul saith in this wise, Our Lord Jesus Christ, before his passion, chose his Disciples (as ye doe know) whom he called brethren. Amongst those Peter alone almost in every place represented the person of the Church, and therefore

it was said unto him, Tibi dabo claves regni coelorum, That is to say, Unto thee will I give the keyes of the Kingdome of Heaven. These keyes did he not receive as one man, but as one he received them for the Church. And in another place, where he writeth of the Christian agony, he saith, The keyes of the Kingdome of Heaven were given unto the Church, when as they were given unto Peter. And when as it was spoken unto him, Amas me? Pisce oves meas, That is to say, Lovest thou me? Feed my sheepe: it was spoken unto them all. And Saint Ambrose in the beginning of his Pastorall, saith, Which sheepe and which docke the blessed Apostle Saint Peter tooke no charge of alone, but together with us, and we all together with him. By which words the foundation and principall arguments of those flatterers are utterly subverted and overthrowne. For if Peter represented the person of the Church, we ought not to ascribe the force of these words unto Peter, but unto the Church. Neither doe I see how that can stand which Boniface doth affirme, for it is farre distant from the truth, except it be understood otherwise then it is spoken.

But if may peradventure seeme a great thing unto some, that it is said the bishop of Rome to be the head of the Militant Church. For as in the body of man Physicians doe never give counsell to cut off the head for any manner of sicknesse and disease, although it be never so full of ulcers, or infected: so in this mysticall body of the Church the head ought alwayes to be kept, and albeit it be never so wicked, yet is it to be suffered and borne withall. But now convert this argument: If it were possible in the body of man, when one head is taken away, to finde another to put in his place, as we see it may be done in the Church, should not heads then be oftentimes changed for divers diseases? Moreover, if we will thus reason, that the head of the Church should be, in respect of his body, as the head of man in respect of the body of man; then doth it necessarily follow, that the head being dead the body must also dye, as is manifest in the body of man. So should it grow into an absurditie to confesse that the pope being dead, the Church also should be dead: the which hold farre it distant from the truth, it is most manifest. Therefore whatsoever other men say, I am not of opinion with them, which affirme the bishop of Rome to be head of the Church, except peradventure they doe make him the ministeriall head: for we do read that Christ is the head of the Church, and not the Pope: and that he is the true head, immutable, perpetual, and everlasting, and the Church is his body, whereof the pope himselfe is also a member, and the Vicar of Christ, not to the destruction, but to the maintenance and encreasing of the same body of Christ. Wherefore if he be found a damnable destroyer of the Church, he may be depozed and cast out, because he doth not that he was ordained to do: and we ought, as pope Leo saith, to be mindfull of the Commendement given us in the Gospel: that if our eye, our foote, or our right hand doe offend us, it should be cut off from the body. For the Lord saith in another place every tree, which bringeth not forth fruit, shall be cut down & cast into the fire. And in an other place also it is said unto us, Take away all evil and wickednesse from among you. It is very just & true which is writte in the epistle of Clement, unto James & brother of our Lord, & he which will be saved ought to be separat from them which will not be saved.

The popes supremacy confuted.

Peter representeth the person of the Church, and not of the Pope.

Pope Boniface doth erre.

The Bishop of Rome improperly called the head of the Church.

Weighty matters intreated but onely in generall councils.

The pope not sufficient of himselfe to convince or judge heretikes. The pope may erre.

Whether the pope may be depozed by the Councell or not.

The places Tibi dabo claves regni coelorum, Pisce oves meas, make nothing for the popes supremacy.

They doe which say that the pope cannot be depozed for any other cause then for heresie.



But for the more manifeft declaration hereof, we muft have recourfe to that which is fpooken by the Lord in the Gofpell of Iohn, I am the true Vine, faith the Lord, and my Father is the husbandman, but ye are the branches: every branch therefore that bringeth not forth fruit in me, my Father will cut off. These words were spoken unto the Apostles, amongst whom also Peter was present, whom the Lord would have cut off, if he brought not forth his fruit. Also Saint Jerome upon these words of Matthew, Unfavoury salt is profitable for nothing, but to be cast forth and troden of swine. Whereupon in the person of Peter and Paul he saith thus, It is no easie matter to stand in the place of Peter and Paul, and to keep the chaire of them which raigne with Christ. This unfavoury salt, that is to say, a foolish prelate, unfavoury in preaching, and foolishly in offending, is good for nothing but to be cast forth, that is to say, depofed, and to be troden of swine, that is, of wicked spirits, which have dominion over the wicked and naughty prelates, as their owne flocke and herd. Behold this testimonie of Jerome is plaine and evident; Let him be cast out, saith he.

If the pope be unfavoury salt, he is to be cast away.

A note for all naughty prelates.

The words of Peter to Clement.

He expoundeth and speaketh it of the Prelate which usurpeth the place of Peter, and so consequently of the bishop of Rome, who being unfavoury in preaching, and foolish in offending, ought to be depofed (as Jerome affirmeth) from his degree and dignitie. Neither as some doe dreame, is he to be depofed for heresie onely. Iliborus in the Book of Councils, rehearseth a certain Epistle of Clement the successor of Peter, written unto James the Apostle, where the said Clement referring the words of Peter unto himself, saith thus, If thou be occupied with worldly cares, thou shalt both deceive thy selfe, and those which shall give care unto thee; for thou canst not fully distribute unto every man those things which pertain unto salvation: whereby it shall come to passe that thou, as a man for not teaching those things which pertain unto salvation, shalt be depofed, & thy disciples shall perish through ignorance. Notwithstanding in another place, in stead of this word depofed, it is found, thou shalt be punished: which two words, if they be well understood, doe not much differ, for depofition is oftentimes used in the place of punishment. But peradventure some will here object, that this epistle is not to be judged Clements, because it is said to be written unto James, who as the Ecclesiasticall History affirmeth, was dead before that Peter was put to death. But Clement might think that James was alive when as he wrote: which were farre distant aunder, and Defenders of the Christians came not often unto Rome. Moreover, there is mention made of this Epistle in divers places of the decretals, as most true, and therefore it shall be nothing from the purpose to rehearse other sayings out of the same epistle: where he saith, that he which liveth rebelliously, and refuseth both to learne and to doe good, is rather a member of the devil then of Christ, and doth shew himselfe rather to be an infidell then a faithfull Christian. Upon which words, the glosse which Panormitane calleth singular, and is much allowed, saith, that if the crime or offence of the bishop of Rome be notorious, whereby the Church is offended, if he be incorrigible, he may be accused thereof. If then he may be accused, Ergo, also he may be punished, and according to the exigent of the fault depofed; otherwise he should be accused in vain.

Now is there no more any place of defence left for our adversaries, but that the pope may be depofed. Notwithstanding it is not yet evident whether he may be depofed by the Council or no, which we now take in hand to discourse. And first of all the adversaries will grant this unto us; that the bishop of Rome may be depofed by the Church, forasmuch

The pope may be accused and punished for all doing.

Whether the pope may be depofed by the council or no.

as the Pope being the Vicar of the Church, no man doubteth but that a Lord may put out his vicar at his will and pleasure: neither is it to be doubted but that the pope is more truly called the vicar of the Church, then of Christ. But if the Church may depofe the pope, Ergo, the Council also may doe the same. Also the glosse, which Panormitane in his writing both so greatly commend, hath this sentence; that the generall council is iudge over the pope in all cases. Likewise the most sacred synod of Constantinople, which is allowed of all men, doth appoint the bishops of Rome to be under the judgment of the council; and the council to judge and determine of every doubtful matter or question that doth arise concerning the B. of Rome. Neither let any man doubt thereof, because this word depofition is not mentioned: for it is said of every doubtful matter or question; for if the synod do judge of every doubt; Ergo it shall also judge whether the pope shall be depofed or not: for that may also come in doubt. And because we will not seek examples farre off, Joh. 2. 3. whom all the world did reverence, was depofed of his papacy by the council of Constance. Neither yet was he condemned for any heresie; but because he did offend the Church by his manifold crimes, the sacred synod thought good to depofe him: and ever since continually the Church hath proceeded by like example, that their opinion might cease, which affirme that the pope cannot be depofed but onely for heresie.

KING HEN. 6. The pope is rather to be called the vicar of the Church, then of Christ.

Pope John is depofed, and yet for no heresie.

Whether councils may be congregated without the authority of the pope.

They erre that say the pope ought only to appoint the Councils. Marke wherefore the popes will have no generall council.

The 1. council of the Apostles.

The 2. council of the Apostles.

The 3. council of the Apostles.

But here is yet one thing not to be omitted, that certaine men doe affirme the generall Councils to be of no effect, except the pope doe call and appoint them, and his authority remaine with them. Whereupon they said that Dioscorus did rebuke Valerianus the Bishop of Cilic, and legate of pope Leo, because that he did enterprize, without the authority of the Apostolike See, to call a council at Ephesus. They also alledge another testimony of the synod of Chalcedon; where, when mention was made of the council of Ephesus, all the Bishops cryed out, saying, We ought not to call it a council, because it was neither gathered by the Apostolike authority, neither rightly kept. By the which authorities, they which say that the councils cannot be holden without the consent of the pope, doe thinke themselves marvellously armed. Whose sentence and opinion, if it take place and prevaile as they desire, it will bring with it the great ruine & decay of the Church. For that remedy shall we finde, if that a wicked pope doe disturbe the whole Church, destroy soules, seduce the people by his evil example, if finally he preach contrary unto the faith, and fill the people full of heresies, shall we provide no stay or stop for him? Shall we suffer all things to run to ruine and decay with him? Who would thinke that the Bishop of Rome would congregate a council for his owne correction or depofition? for as men are prone unto sinne, so would they also sinne, without punishment. But when as I doe peruse ancient histories, and the Acts of the Apostles, I doe not finde this order, that councils should be gathered onely at the will of the pope: for the first council of all, after that Matthias was substitute in the place of Judas was not congregate at the Commandement of Peter, but at the Commandement of Christ, who commanded the Apostles that they should not depart from Jerusalem, but looke for the promise of the father.

The second council, as touching the election of the Deacons, Peter alone did not congregate, but of the twelve Apostles; for it is written, The twelve Apostles calling together the multitude, &c.

The third council, which was holden as touching the taking away of circumcision and other ceremonies of the law, was gathered together by a generall inspiration: for it is written, The Apostles and Elders came together, &c.

The



**KING**  
**HENRY 6.**  
The fourth  
councell of the  
West.

General coun-  
cils in times  
past congrega-  
ted by Empe-  
rors, and not  
by Popes.

If the greater  
part of the  
Church do con-  
sent, a councell  
may be holden  
whether the  
Pope will or  
no.

How the Pope  
is a schisma-  
ticke.

The Pope can-  
not dissolve a  
general Coun-  
cill against the  
will of the  
same.

The saying of  
Macrobis.

Whether the  
Pope in cer-  
tain cases may  
dissolve the  
Councell.

The fourth Councell, where certaine things con-  
tained in the law are permitted, seemeth to be ga-  
thered by James, and so discomfiting throughout all,  
there can nothing be found in the primitive Church,  
whereby it should appeare that the authority of con-  
gregating of Councells should pertaine onely unto  
Bishops of Rome. Neither afterwards in the time  
of Constantinus Magnus, and other Emperors, was  
the consent of the bishops of Rome greatly required  
to the congregating of councells: and therefore it is  
written thus of the Synod of Chalcedon, The sacred  
and universall Synod gathered together at Chalce-  
don, the chiefe Citie of the province of Bethulia, ac-  
cording unto the grace of God, and the sanctions of  
the most goodly and Christian Emper. Valentinian  
and Martian, both not make any mention of the  
Bishop of Rome, although his consent were there.

Wherefore, if the Pope would resist, and would  
have no councell congregated, yet if the greater part  
of the Church doe judge it necessary to have a coun-  
cill, the Councell may be congregated whether the  
Pope will or no. The councell holden at Pisa was  
not congregated by the authority and consent of any  
Pope, when as Gregory did condemne it, and Benci-  
dict cursed it. The same also may be said of the coun-  
cill of Constance, which was assembled by the au-  
thority of Pope John, who in respect of the Spani-  
ards was no true Pope. And if the councill of Pisa  
were no true councill, pope John was no true pope:  
Whereupon his consent to the congregation of the  
councill of Constance was of no effect. Moreover,  
it is more then folly to affirme, that when the Pope  
hath once given his consent, if it should be called  
backe, the Councell should then cease, for then it is no  
more in his power to revoke his consent. And of ne-  
cessity he must be obedient unto the councill, where-  
of he is a member, and give place unto the greater  
part: and if he separate himself from the consent of  
the greater part, and depart from the Unitie of the  
Church, he maketh himselfe a schismaticke.

Now, to come unto the second conclusion: if it be  
true, as it is indeed, that the Pope is under the  
councill, how can the Pope then dissolve, alter and  
transport the councill, against the will of the same?  
For with what countenance can we say, that the in-  
feriour hath power over the superiour? How can the  
Synode correct the Pope, if the Pope may dissolve  
the Synode contrary to the will thereof? Admit  
that the Pope be libidinous, covetous, a solver of  
warre and discord, and a most mortall enemy unto  
the Church and the name of Christ, how can the  
councill reprove him, if he have authority to dissolve  
the Councill? For as one as ever that the bishop of  
Rome shall understand that in the councill they doe  
intreat or talke of his correction or punishment,  
straightwayes he will seeke remedy by dissolving  
the Councell. For as Macrobis saith, he that hath  
liberty to do more then is fit or necessary, will often-  
times doe more then is lawfull. If so be that the bi-  
shop of Rome may exempt himself from correction  
by dissolving or transporting the Councill, it follow-  
eth that the councill is not above him. Therefore we  
must either deny that which is aforesaid, that the  
Pope is under the Councell, or else deny that the  
Pope hath power to dissolve the Councell, contrary  
to the will and determination of the councill.

And as this first conclusion is most true, so are  
all other conclusions false, which seeme to impugn  
the same. Wherefore the second conclusion of the  
Divines is also manifest, albeit that some doe ad-  
mit it in certaine cases, and in other some exclude  
it againe. For if we doe admit, that for certaine  
cases the Pope may dissolve the councill contrary  
to the will and determination thereof, that is to say,  
to make the Pope judge of the Councill, it were  
cleane contrary unto the first conclusion.

Now it is proved that the Councell is above the  
Pope, and cannot be dissolved by the Pope without

consent thereof. Now we must further see, whether  
it be an Article of our faith to believe it: which  
matter hath respect unto the third conclusion. For  
there have been many, which albeit they did confesse  
these two conclusions to be true, yet they doubted  
whether it were a verity of the Catholike faith or  
no. Therefore this second part must be confirmed.  
And we must see whether it be an Article of faith  
that the Pope be under the Councell. Which being  
proved, it shall also appear to be an Article of faith,  
that the Pope cannot dissolve the Councell without  
the consent thereof. Which consequent none of the  
contrary part hath refuted. First of all therefore  
we must inquire what faith is, that we may thereby  
the better understand what pertaineth therunto.

Faith, as the divines doe define it, is a firme and  
steadfast cleaving unto things, belabored by the autho-  
rity of him that speaketh. If then we believe, as is  
aforesaid, that the Pope of Rome is under the coun-  
cill, some authority doth move us therunto: so is  
it the faith of him which believeth it. But the questi-  
on is not whether it be an Article of faith onely, but  
whether it be an Article of the Catholike faith.  
Wherefore we must againe enquire what the Catho-  
like faith is. This word Catholike is a Greeke  
word, and significth Universall. The Catholike  
faith, that is to say, the Universall faith, is not so  
called because that every man holdeth it, but because  
every man ought to believe it. For all men doe not  
believe that God is incarnate, but every man ought  
so to believe. And albeit that many be against this  
faith, yet doth it not cease to be Universall. For  
what writeth the Apostle unto the Romans? If  
some of them have not believed, both their misbe-  
leeve make the faith of God vaine? God forbid.  
Verily God is true, but every man is a liar. Where-  
fore to believe that the Pope is under the Councell,  
is a point of the Catholike faith, although some  
think the contrary: for we are bound to believe it,  
inasmuch as it is taken out of the Gospel. For we  
are not bound onely to believe those things which  
are noted to us in the Creede, but also all those things  
which are contained in the holy Scriptures, where-  
of we may not deny one iota. And those things which  
we alledge for the superiority of the generall coun-  
cill are gathered out of the sayings of our Saviour  
Jesus Christ, and the Epistles of Saint Paul:  
Ergo, we are all bound to believe it. And to prove  
that these things are taken out of the Gospel, the  
Councill of Constance doth witness, the which  
groundeth his authority upon these words, Dic Ecce-  
lia, that is to say, Tell it unto the Church. And  
where two or three are gathered together in my  
name, &c. And, Whatsoever ye shall binde, &c.  
with other such like texts.

Whereupon Pope Martin the fourth being yet  
at Constance, under the licence of the Councill, sent  
out his Bulls, which doe reckon up the Articles  
whereupon they ought to be examined which had  
saine into any heresie; amongst the which Articles  
he putteth this Article. Whether he doe believe the  
sacred generall Councill to have power immediat-  
ly from God, and that the ordinances thereof are to  
be received of all faithfull Christians; which if any  
man would deny, he should be counted an heretike.  
Wherefore, when as the sacred Synode of Con-  
stance doth set forth this veritie, as touching the  
superioritie of the generall Councill, what should  
let, but that we also should confesse the same to be  
a verity of the Catholike faith: For the Catholike  
Church being congregated at Constance receiveth  
that faith, that is to say, believed it by the autho-  
rity of him which spake it, that is, Christ and his  
Saints.

To this purpose also serve very well the words  
of the Synode of Chalcedon, written in this man-  
ner: It is not lawfull for him that is condemned  
by the whole Synode, to nominate any Bishop.

The definition  
of faith.

The definition  
of the Catho-  
like faith.

Rom. 2.  
Catholike  
what it is.

The Councill  
of Constance.  
Vide supra.

The words of  
the Councill  
of Chalcedon,  
whereby he is  
declared an he-  
reticke that  
holdeth any  
opinion con-  
trary to the  
Councill.



The determination pleaseth all men. This is the faith of the fathers. He that holdeth any opinion contrary unto this, is an heretike. And againe, it is a rule, that it is not lawfull to appeale from the elect and chosen Synode.

Marke the manifest witnessse of this most sacred Synode, which said, that he is an heretike, which holdeth any opinion contrary unto the Councell: But he is no heretike, except he refuse the Catholike faith: Ergo, it was the Catholike faith to beleve that it was not lawfull to appeale from the sacred Councell. But how was the same any point of the Catholike faith? Verily so much as the sacred Synode, perusing our holy Scriptures, hath received this conclusion out of the words of Christ and other holy Fathers. And like as the Synode of Chalcedon took their conclusions out of the holy Scriptures, so did the Councell of Constance, this we now reason upon. And like as the one is an Article of the Catholike Faith, so is the other also. And he which holdeth any opinion contrary to either of both, is an heretike.

Furthermore they seeme unto me to dreame and dote, which confessing them to be verities, will not confesse them to be verities of faith. For if they be verities, I pray you whereof are they verities? Truly not of Grammar, much lesse of Logike; and from Astronomie and Physicke they are farre distant. Neither is there any other man but a Divine, that will grant this verity, whom Scripture doth force unto it of necessity, if he doe beleve Christ, or his Apostles. Therefore this is a verity of the Catholike faith, which all men ought to embrace; and he which obstinately resisteth against the same, is to be judged an heretike, as the third conclusion doth asseverate. Neither let any man thinke it hard or cruel, that he should be called an heretike, which goeth about to derogate any thing from the power of the generall councell, which is confirmed by so many testimonies and authorities. Also Panormitane alledgeth Saint Jerome, saying, He which understandeth the Scripture otherwise then the content of the holy Ghost doth require, albeit he doe not depart from the Church, may be called an heretike.

Whereupon it followeth, that he which upon the words of Christ, saying unto Peter, Dic Ecclesie, i. Tell it unto the Church, doth not understand by the Church the generall councell, understandeth it otherwise then the sense of the holy Ghost doth require, and thereby may be noted as an heretike. And to prove that the sense of the holy Ghost is otherwise then he doth judge it, the Councell of Constance doth declare: The which interpreting those words, Dic Ecclesie, i. Tell it unto the Church, spoken by the holy Ghost, understandeth them to be spoken of the generall Councell. By these and many other weightier reasons the three aforesaid conclusions seemed true unto the Divines, and though them they also allowed the residue.

Now have we sufficiently said, as touching that which was before promised: neither doe I thinke any man now to be in doubt of these three first conclusions. Now to returne againe unto our story, it is our purpose to declare those things which hapned after the conclusions of the Divines; for there are many things worthy of remembrance, which also may happily be profitable unto the posterity.

When the disputation was ended, and a small conclusion of these matters even at hand, the Archbishop of Millaine and Panormitane with the residue of their fellow Ambassadors of the King of Arragon, and Duke of Millaine, armed themselves with all their power to let the matter, exhorting all men of their faction to withstand it with stout and valiant stomackes.

And first of all, as soon as the congregation was assembled together, the Bishop of Burgen exhorted them to deferre the conclusion, and to tarry for the

Ambassadors of other Provinces, which would returne from Henty.

After him Panormitane, with a grave and rhetoricall Oracion, spake (in a manner) as followeth.

I have (said he) had a commandement by the Prophet, to cry without ceasing. Which Prophet said; Cry out, cease not, lift up thy voice as a trumpet. If that in any matter at any time before he ought to have cryed, this matter specially which is now in hand lacketh crying and roaring out, when as the state of the Univerfall Church is intreated upon, either to be preserved, or utterly overthrowne: and that he hath cryed so much in this matter, that he doubted not but the saying of David was fulfilled in him, where he saith, Laboravi clamans, rauce sunt faucibus mea; I have laboured, crying out, that my jawes are become hoarse.

Notwithstanding that he would, both now, and as often as need should require, without ceasing still cry out, and specially now in this most difficult and weighty matter; wherein he required the sacred councell gently to heare both him, and the Ambassadors of other Princes: Adding moreover foure things to be considered in all requests made of any man. The which he allorequired the fathers now presently to marke and consider: Who it is that maketh the request. What is required. Why it should be required. And what effect would come by the request either granted or denied.

As touching the first point he said; The most noble Kings and excellent Princes with their Prelates to be of great power; and then he reckoned up the King of Castile, the King of Arragon, the Duke of Millaine, and the Bishops of the same Princes, rehearsing also the merits and good deeds of the said Kings, and also of the Duke of Millaine. But when as he came to make mention of the Prelates, he could not refrain himself, but began to waite somewhat hot, saying, that the greatest number of Prelates were on his part. For if the bishops and abbats were counted, it were not to be doubted but the greatest part of them would have this present matter deferred: and so much as the whole power of the councell doth consist in the Bishops, it is not to be suffered, that they being neglected and contemned, that should be concluded, which pleased the greater part of the inferior. For the keyes (said he) were given to the Apostles, and to their successors which are the Bishops: also that there are three kinds of Synods, Episcopall, provinciall, and generall, and none of all these without bishops. Wherefore the manner and order of the present councell seemed undecent, where as things were not weighed according as men excell in dignity, but by most voices: Notwithstanding, according to the most famous Epistle of Clement, the bishops were the pillars and keyes of heaven, and the inferiours had no determining voice, but onely a consultative voice with them: wherefore there would be a great offence in this behalfe, if a matter of faith should be determined without the Bishops; in which matter not onely the Bishops, but also the secular Princes ought to be admitted. And so much as they in the name of their princes, desired to be admitted to the examination of this present matter, and would examine the matter more fully, he complained greatly how unworthy a thing it was that they should be contemned or despised.

After many things spoken to this end and effect, he passed over to the second part of his Oracion, declaring what it was that he required; not gold, nor silver, neither precious stones, neither provinces nor kingdomes, neither a thing hard to be done; but that onely the delay of the sacred Councell was required, and that the fathers would stay in the proces against the Pope, and in the conclusion and determination of matters which are now in hand. Neither should the delay be long, but onely until the returne of

SKING  
HEN. 6.  
Panormitanes  
oration.

four things  
to be considered  
in every request.

Panormitane  
would have  
dignitie to be  
considered in  
Councell, and  
not voices.

Panormitane  
seemeth to  
lay the proces  
against the  
Pope.

Panormitane is  
noted, and very  
well nipped by  
his owne sup-  
position.

Tell the  
Church, that  
is to say, the  
generall Coun-  
cell.

The Bishop of  
Burgen.



**KING** of the Ambassadors from Mentz, whom he knew well would returne very shortly. That this was but a small matter, and needed but small intreaty, because there was no danger in it. And also it should seeme injurious, not to tarry for the ambassadors of the princes which were then at Mentz, when as they were not absent for their owne private commoditie, but about the affaires of the common-wealth, and the commoditie of peace; neither had he forgotten, that at their departure they had desired, that during their absence, there should be nothing renewed concerning the matters of Eugenius.

The third part of Panormitane's Diation.

Then immediately adjoining the third part of his Diation, wherefore this delay was required, he concluded, that it was not required for the private commoditie of any one man, but for a common-wealth; not to cause any trouble or inquietnesse, but for the better examination of the matter, that all things might passe with peace and quietnesse, that the matter might be so much the more firme and stable, by how much it is ratified and allowed by the consent of many. And so he proceeded to the last part of his argument, requiring the fathers that they would consider, and weigh in their minds the effect that would follow, if they should grant or deny this request. For (saith he) if ye shall deny this small petition of the Princes, they all will be agrieved therewith, and take this repulse in ill part. They will say, they are contemned of you, neither will they be obedient unto you, or receive your decrees. In vaine shall ye make lawes, except the Princes doe execute them, and all your decrees shall be but vaine: yet would I thinke this to be borne withall, if I did not feare greater matters to ensue. What if they should joyne themselves with Eugenius, who desireth to spoile you not onely of your livings, but also of your lives? Alas, what slaughter and murder doe the eyes of my minde behold and see? Would God my opinion were but vaine. But if you doe grant and consent unto their petitions, they will thinke themselves bound unto you; they will receive and embrace your decrees; and whatsoever you shall require of them shall be obtained. They will forsake your adversary, they will speake evill of him and abhorre him, but you they will commend and praise, you they will reverence; unto you they will wholly submit themselves; and then shall follow that most excellent fruit of reformation and tranquillitie of the Church. And thus he required the matter to be resped on all parts. At the last he said, that except the Ambassadors of the Princes were heard, he had a protestation written, which he would command to be read before them all.

The praise of Lodovicus the Protonotary.

When Panormitane had made an end of his Diation, Lodovicus the protonotary of Rome rose up, a man of such singular wit and memory, that he was thought not to be inferior unto any of the famous men aforesaid. Inasmuch that he had alwayes in memory whatsoever he had heard or read, and never forgot any thing that he had seene. This man, first commending Panormitane, said, that he came but the day before from the bathes, and that it seemed unto him a strange thing which was now brought in question; wherein he desired to heare other mens mindes, and also to be heard of others, and that those Prelates which were at Mentz should be tarried for, to be present at the discussing of this matter, in the name and behalfe of their Princes, which Prelates were men of great estimation, and the Orators of most mighty Princes.

Bishops only to have determining voice in Councils.

He allowed also the saying of Panormitane touching the voices of the inferiours, that it cometh not to be against the truth, that only Bishops should have a deciding or determining voice in Councils. And albeit that some in this disputation doe thinke that which is written in the 15. chap. of the Acts to be their force or defence; notwithstanding, he was nothing moved therewith, nor tooke it to be of any

effect, albeit it was said, it seemed good unto the holy Ghost and to us: whereas both the Apostles and the Elders were gathered together: wherein it appeared, that the others had a deciding voice with the Apostles. For he said, that there was no argument to be gathered of the Acts of the Apostles, whose examples were more to be marvelled at, then to be followed; and that it both not appeared there, that the Apostles called the elders of duty, but that it was only declared that they were there present, whereupon nothing could be inferred. And that it seemed unto him, that the inferiours in the councill of Basle were admitted to determine with the Bishops but of grace and favor only, because the Bishops may communicate their authoritie unto others. He allegeded for testimony the bishop of Concen, a man of great authoritie, who would not suffer any incorporation, or fellowship of the manner sort, and therefore neither any inferior, neither himself, which as yet was not made bishop, to have any deciding voice in the councill. Wherefore forsomuch as the matter was weighty which was now in hand, and that the Bishops spake against it, he required the councill that they would of necessity stay and tarry for the Ambassadors of the Princes coming from Mentz.

This Diation was somuch the more grievous, in that many were touched with his words, and specially in that point, that he said the Apostles were not to be followed; for that all men did impugn as a blasphemy. But here a man may marvel, that a man of such excellency alleged no more or better matter. But in this point the memory of the man is to be pardoned, which did not willingly speake in this matter, and desired nothing somuch, as not to obtaine that which he intreated for. A litle time many other spake their minds, but all to this end, that they might protract the time, and deterre the conclusion of these matters.

It is no marvel, that he should leaden no more or better matter, for of naughty leather no man can make a good shoe. And here hee holdeth a double balance, hee will not be content with men's words, and take the true truth.

Then Lodovicus the Cardinall Arelatenſis, a man of marvellous constancy, and borne for the governance of generall councils, gathering together the words of all the Orators, spake in this wise: Most reverend fathers, this is no new or strange business, nor began to day or yesterday. For it is now many weekes agoe since the conclusions were disputed upon amongst the Divines, and sent unto Mentz, and to all other parts of the world. After this they were disputed upon five dayes continually, and fully discussed; and after that not without great delay approved by the deputies; and as the truth seeketh no corners, so all things were done publicly and openly. Neither can any man pretend ignorance, neither are the Prelates or Princes contemned, for we called all that were present at Basle, and exhorted all the rest to be present. And forsomuch as mention is made of the most noble King of Castile who is it that is ignorant that the Kings Orators were there present? The bishop of Bingen and Eburn, men of singular learning and eloquence, and you also Panormitane your selfe, which here represent the person of the most famous King of Arragon, were twice present your selfe in the Chapterhouse, and disputed twice most subtilly, and twice declared your minde, what you thought in that matter. What doe you desire any more? Also out of the territory of the Duke of Millaine there was present the archbishop of Millaine who albeit he be no Ambassador, yet how famous a Prelate he is, you are not ignorant. When he had spoken these words, the archbishop being somewhat moved said unto him: O lord Cardinall, you supply the roome of a president no better then I doe the place of a Dukes Orator, and began to taunt him with many words. But the Cardinall, (as he was a man most patient, and would not be provoked to anger by any meanes) said; this is it that I even now desired. For if the Archbishop be an Ambassador, then hath the Duke

Truth seeketh no corners.

The patience and answer of Arelatenſis.



no cause to complaine, which had his Orator present at the discussing of those matters.

I passe over other Princes, because they doe not complaine. Notwithstanding, the most Christian King of France, had there the Bishop of Lions, a grave and sober man; his Ambassadors at the disposition. As for other Princes, I see no cause why they should be carried for, which knowing the Councell to be congregated for such matters as pertain unto faith, doe not thinke it absurd that the doubtful matters of faith should be declared in the Councell; Whereunto if they had bene willing to come, they would have bene present ere this.

Why this matter should need so much discussing as some will have, I doe not understand. For if I be well remembred, Panormitane and also Ludovicus have oftentimes affirmed in this place even the very same thing which the conclusions signifie. And if any of them now will goe about to gainsay it, it will happen unto them as it did unto Didimus. To whom, when as on a time he repugned against a certaine history as vaine and frivolous; his owne booke was delivered unto him, wherein the same was written: So likewise these two men (meaning Panormitane & Ludovicus the Protectors) although they be excellently learned, and eloquent, yet may they be confuted by their owne writings. Besides this, there are Synodall Epistles and decrees of this Councell, which are full of such conclusions. What is it then whereupon any difficultie can be raised? What is it that may be impugned? Shall we now bring that againe in doubt, which hath so often bene declared, affirmed, and decreed? But (say they) the Princes and Ambassadors are absent, which are bishops, by whose presence the decrees should be of more authoritie. Well, they are not onely absent which are gone to Henty, but almost an infinite number of others, dispersed throughout the whole world; whom if we should tarry to looke for, nothing at any time should be decreed. They are all called unto the Councell; they might have come if they would. To those that are present power is given, and they ought to debate these matters. If any man will say, that they which are absent are about the affairs of the common wealth; truly I wensent them not thither, but they went rather against the will of the Councell, then with the consent thereof.

And admit that they had bene sent by the Councell, yet were not our power so much restrained but that we might reforme the Church, for otherwise there should never any thing be done in the Councell: for so much as alwayes some are sent out by the Councell, and some are alwayes to be looked and carried for, and therefore we must either do nothing at all, or send out no Bishops from the Councell. Whereas he said that Bishops, and specially bishops are contemned, that is most farre from the truth, for they have the chiefe and first places. They speak first, and give their voices first of all unto all things; and if so be they doe speak learnedly and truly, all the inferiours without any gainsaying did some follow their minde.

Neither peradventure shall it be found untrue, that there was never any Synode, which did more amplify the power and authoritie of Bishops, then this. For what have the Bishops been in our dayes, but only shadows? Might they not well have bene called shepherds without the sheepe? What had they more then their mitre and their staffe, when as they could determine nothing over their Subjects? Merely in the primitive Church the Bishops had the greatest power and authoritie: but now was it come to that point that they exceeded the common sort of Priests only in their habite and rebenewes. But we have restored them againe to their old state: we have reduced the collation of benefices againe unto them; we have restored unto them the confirmation of elections; we have brought againe the

causes of the Subjects to be heard into their hands, and have made them Bishops which were none before. What cause is there then, that the Bishops should say they are contemned of the Councell? What injurious thing have we at any time done unto them? But Panormitane saith, that for so much as most Bishops are on his part, and few against him, the conclusion is not to be determined by the multitude of the inferiours: but let Panormitane remember himself, that this is no new kinde of proceeding.

This order of proceeding, the Councell ordained from the beginning, neither hath it bene changed at any time since. And this order, Panormitane, in times past hath pleased you well enough, when as the multitude did follow your minde. But now, because they doe not follow your minde, they doe displease you. But the decrees of the Councell are not so mutable, as the wills of men. Know ye moreover that the very same Bishops which doe consent with you in word, doe not consent with you in minde, neither speak the same secretly, which they now doe openly. They doe feare that which you told them at home in their Country, that except they would follow your minde they should displease the King. They feare the power of the Prince, and to be spoiled of their temporalities; neither have they free liberty to speak as is requisite in Councels. Albeit if they were true Bishops, and true Pastors of soules, they would not doubt to put their lives in venture for their sheepe, neither be afraid to shed their blood for their mother the Church.

But at this present (the more is the pittie) it is too rare to finde a Bishope in this world, which doth not prefer his temporalities before his spiritualities, with the love whereof they are so withstanding, that they study rather to please Princes then God; and confesse God in corners, but Princes they will openly confesse. Of whom the Lord speaketh in his Gospel, Every one, saith he, that confesseth me before men, I will confesse him before my father which is in heaven. And contrariwise, the Lord will not confesse him before his father, which is afraid to confesse the Lord before men. Neither is it true which Panormitane saith, most Bishops to be on his part; for here are many Bishops Doctors whom he doth not reckon, because they are not of his opinion. Neither is the dignity of the fathers to be respected in the Councell, as he saith, but onely reason: nor any thing more to be looked for then the truth: neither will I for my part preferre a lye of any Bishop, be he never so rich, before a veritie or truth of a poore Priest. Neither ought a Bishop to disdain, if he be rude or unlearned, that the multitude doth not follow him, or that the voyce of a poore learned and eloquent Priest should be preferred before his. For wisdom dwelleth oftner under a bare and ragged cloake, then in rich ornaments and Apparell.

Wherefore I pray you my lord Bishops, doe not so much contemne your inferiours: for the first which dyed for Christ, the which also opened unto all other the way of martyrdom, was no Bishop but only a Levite. As for that which Ludovicus and Panormitane doe alledge touching the voyces of Bishops, I know not where they have it. Wherefore I desire them that they would tell me where they have found it. But if we repeat the examples of old councels, we shall finde that the inferiours were alwayes present with the bishops. And albeit that Ludovicus doe forbid us the examples of the Apostles, I say my selfe most upon their doings. For what is more comely for us to follow, then the doctrine and customs of the primitive Church? It is said therefore in the 15. Chap. of the Acts of the Apostles, It seemed good unto the holy Ghost, and to us. The which word (to us) is referred unto them which are before named the Apostles and the Elders. Neither this word, (it seemed good) signifieth in this place consultation, but decision and determination; whereby it appeareth

{ KING }  
{ HEN. 6. }

This was a true Cardinal: out of whose mouth the verities did speak, which feared not the threatenings of Princes neither sought any worldly glory or dignity.

Parke what worldly pompe dignity and wealth had brought the Bishops to in those dayes. Therefore the great goodness and most Christian King of this good World.

Truth many times dwelleth under the ragged cloke.

Steven the first martyr.

State the simplicity of this good Bishop, which staves himself upon the examples of the primitive Church, and not upon customs and foppes.

Didimus reprehended that which was in his owne booke found.

He meaneth Panormitane and Ludovicus the Protectors.

Parke O ye Bishops, the Councell of Basill contendeth for you, and ye will not understand it.



**KING** } appeareth that other beside the Bishops had determining voices. In another place also of the said Acts, **HEN. 6.** } when as the Apostles should intreate upon a weighty matter, they durst not determine by themselves, but the xii. called together the multitude.

Here Ludovicus saith, that it doth not appeare that the Apostles called other of necessity: but I say unto him, how knowest thou that they did not call them of necessity? But forsomuch as both parts are uncertaine: nothing doth prohibite us to follow the Apostles. For seeing that all things are written for our learning, it appeareth that the Apostles would give us example, that in weighty matters we should admit our inferiours. And therefore in all Councils which were celebrate and holden afterwards, we finde that Priests were also present: as in the Councell of Nice, which of all other was most famous, Athanasius being then but onely a Priest, withstood the Arians, and infringed their arguments, albeit there were also other Priests. And albeit mention be made of three hundred twenty two Bishops, yet it is not denyed but that the inferiours were there, whom I thinke to be omitted for this cause, for that they were almost innumerable: for as you know well enough, the denomination for the most part is taken of the most worthy.

Athanasius being but a priest and no Bishop, vanquished an Archbishop.

The name of Priests or Clergers common both to Bishops and Priests.

Paul Bishop of Antioch.

Paul the heretic condemned.

Saint Augustine minde upon this sentence.

Tibi dabo claves regni caelorum.

Bishops are of greater power then Priests, rather by custome then by dispensation of law.

In the Synode of Chalcedon (which was counted one of the foure principall Synodes) it is said that there were there present 600. Priests; the which name is common both unto Bishops and Priests. In other Councils the name both of Bishops and Priests is omitted, and mention made onely of fathers, which hath the same signification that this word Elders hath in the Acts of the Apostles. We have also a testimony of the ecclesiasticall history, how that there was a Councell gathered at Rome of 12. Bishops, and as many Priests and Deacons against the Novatians, which called themselves Cathari. Also, when Paul the Bishop of Antioch, in the time of Caligula the Emperour, preached that Christ was a man of common nature, the Councell assembled against him in Antioch; whereunto there came Bishops out of Cesarea, Cappadocia, out of Pontus, Asia, and from Jerusalem, and many other Bishops, Priests and Deacons; and it is said, that for that cause the Councell was often holden.

And at the last in the same place, under Aurelius the Emperour, Paul was condemned of all Christian Churches which were under Heaven: neither was there any man which did more confound the said Paul, then Malchion a Priest of Antioch, which taught Heterozike in Antioch. But to make no long digression from the matter, we have most evident testimonies for the defence of inferiours. For the chief and principall amongst all the Divines, S. Austen upon the words of Matthew, where Christ saith to Peter, I will give thee the keyes of the Kingdome of Heaven, saith, that by those words the iudicial power was given not onely unto Peter, but also to the other Apostles, and to the whole Church, the Bishops and Priests. If then Priests have a iudicial power in the Church, what should let that they have not also a determining voyce in the Councils? The famous Doctor Saint Jerome doth also agree with Saint Austen, whose words are these upon the Cypelle of Paul unto Titus. Before that difference was made in religion by the instigation of the devil, or that it was spoken amongst the people, I hold of Paul, I of Apollo, and I of Cephas, the Churches were governed by the common consent and Councell of the Priests; for a Priest is the very same that a Bishop is. Wherefore all Bishops ought to understand, that they are of greater power then Priests, rather by custome then by the dispensation of the truth of God, and that they ought to rule the Church together. And this we doe also gather out of Paul unto Titus, which maketh so much concordance between Bishops and priests, that oftentimes

he calleth Priests Bishops, whereby it doth evidently appeare, that Priests are not to be excluded from the conventions of Bishops, and determinations of matters. Albeit, as Saint Jerome writeth that bishops only by custome are preferred before priests, it may be that a contrary custome may take away that custome. For if Priests ought to rule the Church together with the Bishops, it is evident that it also pertaineth unto them to decide and determine the doubtful matters of the Church.

Bishops and Priests ought to rule the Church together.

Wherefore the testimony of Saint Paul is evident; for (as he writeth unto the Ephesians saith,) If Christ instituted his Apostles, Prophets, Pastors, and teachers to the worke of the ministry, for the edifying of his Church until such time as we should see him, for this purpose that there should be no doubt in the diversitie of doctrine; who doubteth then, but that the governance of the Church is committed unto others together with the Apostles? Let these our champions now hold their peace, and seeme to be no wiser then they ought to be. The memoriall of the Councell of Constance is yet fresh in memory, where divers of us were present, and I my selfe also which was neither Cardinall nor Bishop, but onely a doctor, where I did see without any manner of doubt or difficultie, the inferiours to be admitted with the Bishops, to the deciding of hard and doubtful matters. Neither ought we to be ashamed to follow the example of that most sacred and great Councell, which also followed the examples of the Councell of Pisa, and the great Councell at Lateran, wherein it is not to be doubted, but that the Priests did joyntly judge together with the Bishops.

Austen Silester.

Moreover, if Abbats, as we doe see it observed in all Councils, having a determining voyce, which notwithstanding were not instituted by Christ: why should not Priests have the same, whose order Christ ordained by his Apostles? Hereupon also, if onely Bishops should have a determining voyce, nothing should be done but what pleased the Italian nation, the which alone doth exceed all other nations, or at the least is equall with them, in number of Bishops. And howsoever it be, I judge it in this behalfe to be a worke of God, that the inferiours should be admitted to the determinations; for God hath now revealed that unto little ones which he hath hidden from the wise.

Note that Abbats were not instituted by Christ.

Behold you doe see the zeale, constancy, uprightness, and magnanimite of these inferiours. Where should the Councell now be, if onely Bishops and Cardinals should have their voyce? Where should the authoritie of the Councils be? Where should the Catholike faith be? Where should the decrees and reformation be? For all things have now a long time bene under the will of Eugenius, and he had now obtained his wicked and naughty purpose, except these inferiours, whom ye now condemne, had withstood him. These are they which have condemned the privation made by Eugenius. These I say, are they which have not regarded his threatnings, spoile and persecution. These are they which being taken, imprisoned and tormented, have not feared to defend the truth of the Councell; yea, even these are they, who albeit they were by Eugenius delivered over for a prey, yet would they still continue in the sacred council, and feared not to suffer warre, famine, and most cruell pestilence: and finally, what thing is it, that these men have not willingly suffered for the right and equity of the council? you might have heard this inferiour sort, even in the midst of their tribulations, with a loud voyce cry out and say, Albeit that all men become obedient unto that subverter of the Church, Eugenius, and that every man doe depart from the verity of the faith and constitutions of the fathers, consenting unto the commandments of Eugenius, yet we and our brethren will be constant, and doubt not to die for the truth and tradition.

Italy Germany mounteth off at the nations in number of Bishops.

Note the terrible persecution of those days, and the great constancy of the godly, for the truth sake.



Zeale of  
faith, worthy  
the crowne of  
marrydome:

ons of the holy fathers, the which indeed they have done. Neither could they be feared with theauntings or discouraged with any spoiles, neither could any feare or hope turne them from their most blessed purpose. And (to speake somewhat of mine owne order) whether any Cardinals have done the like or no, that I judge you.

Eccles. 7.

The Bishops  
feare the earth  
is power, but  
no God.

As for the Bishops, whom Panozmifane alone would have to determine, you see how few of them are on our part, and even they which are here present are not able by vertue to overcome iniquitie, they feare the terrene power, and commit offence with their haile. Have ye not heard how they all saie, they would consent unto the Kings will and pleasure? But the inferiours are they which have had truth, righteousnesse, and God himselfe before their eyes, and they are greatly to be commended for shewing themselves such men unto the Church of God. But why doe I defend the cause of these inferiours? When as some will also exclude these bishops which are but bishops by name and title, and have no possession of the Church, from our company, not understanding that whilest they goe about to put backe those men, they doe condemne Peter, and the other Apostles, who (as it is evident) were long without any great flocke, neither was Rome unto Peter, nor Jerusalem unto James, at any time wholly obedient. For at that time no great number of people, but a small flocke beleved in Christ.

For I pray you, what is that we should require of these Bishops? They have no flocke; but that is not their fault. They have no rebewes: but money maketh not a Bishop, and as the Lord saith, Beati pauperes spiritu, that is, blessed are the poore in spirit. Neither was there any rich bishops in the primitive Church, neither did the ancient Church reject Dionysius Bishop of Millaine, Cusebius Bishop of Nicerelles, or Hilarie Bishop of Pitavia, although they were never so poore, and banished without a flocke. But if we will grant the truth, the poore are more apt to give judgement, then the rich: because that riches bring feare, and their poverty causeth liberty. For the poore men doe not feare tyrannys as our rich men doe, which being given over unto all kinde of banities, idlenesse and sloath, will rather deny Christ, then lacke their accustomed pleasures; whom not their flocke but their rebewes make Bishops, delighting so much in riches, that they judge all poore men unhappy. But as Cicero saith; Nothing can happen better unto a wise man, then mediocrity of substance. Whereupon it is written in the Gospell; It is easier for a Camell to passe thorow a needles eye, then for a rich man to enter into the Kingdome of Heaven.

But now to returne to a more full declaration of Panozmifanes words, I determine to passe over two points which he propounded in the beginning of his Oracion, that is, Qui petant, & cur petant, that is, who maketh the petition, and for what cause they make their petition. We grant that they are great men, and men of power, and (as he doth affirme) that they have deserved good of the Church; neither doe I doubt but that they are moved thereunto with a sincere affection. But whether it be a small matter that is required, or that the same effects would rise thereupon which he spake of; it is now to be enquired. A delay (saith he) is required; a delay for a few dayes. A small matter; a matter of no importance; a matter easie to be granted. Notwithstanding, let Panozmifan here marke well, that he requireth a delay in a matter of faith. The verities are already declared; they be already discussed and determined. If now there should be but a little delay, it would grow to a long delay: for oftentimes the delay of one moment, is the losse of a whole yeare; hereof we have many examples. Hannibal when he had obtained his victorie at Cannas, if he had gone straight unto Rome, by all mens judgements he

had taken the City. But forsomuch as he did deferre it untill the next day, the Romans having recovered their force againe, he was shut out, and deserved to here this opprobrie:

*Vincere scis Hannibal, uti victoria nescis.*

Hannibal thou knowest victorie to get,  
But how to use it thou know'st not yet.

Likewise the Frenchmen, after they had taken Rome and besieged the Capitoll, whilest that they greedily sought to have great summes of money, and delayed the time in making of their truce, Camillus coming upon them did most shamefully drive them out againe. But what need I to rehearse old stories, when as our owne examples are sufficient for us? We know your selves how often these delays have bene hurtfull unto you, and how often the delay of a few dayes hath growne to a long tract of time. For now this is the eighth yeare that you have spent in delays; and you have seene, that alwayes of one delay another hath sprung and risen. Wherefore I doe require that Panozmifane should consider, that the conclusion being this day disturbed, we know not whether it will be brought to passe hereafter againe or no; many impediments or lets may rise. Neither doth Panozmifane say, that this delay being obtained, he would afterward consent with his fellowes unto the conclusions; for he denpeth that he hath any commandment thereunto: and (which is moze to be considered) he saith that the Ambassadors at their returne from Wentz may bring such newes, whereby these conclusions may be omitted; as though any thing were more excellent then the truth.

The which thing doth manifestly declare, that they doe not seeke delays for the better examination of the matter, but for to impugn the conclusions the more strongly. Neither doe I agree with Panozmifane, as touching the effects which he said should rise either of the deniall, or granting of the requests; for I see no cause why the Princes should so greatly require and delay. There are no letters of any prince come unto us as touching such request, neither is there any man lately come from them, neither is it greatly materiall unto them, but that the matters of faith should be determined. But this is a most pernicious conclusion which Panozmifane hath made, and not to be looked for at the hands of those most goodly Princes; where he saith, if we doe please them, they will take our part. If contrariwise, they will decline unto Engenius, and wholly resist and rebell against us. This is a marvellous word, and a wonderfull conclusion, altogether unworthy to be spoken of such a man. The decrees of the Councell of Constance are, that all manner of men, of what state or condition soever they be, are bound to the ordinances and decrees of the generall councels. But Panozmifans words do not tend to that effect, for he would not have the Princes obedient unto the councell, but the councell to be obedient unto the Princes.

Alas, most reverend fathers, alas, what times and dayes, what manners and conditions are these? Into what misery are we now brought? How shall we at any time bring to passe, that the Pope being Christs Vicar, and (as they say) another Christ in earth, should be subject unto the councell of the Christians, if the councell it selfe ought to obey wooldly Princes? But I pray you looke for no such things at the Princes hands. Doe not beleve that they will forsake their mother the Church. Doe not thinke them so farre alienate from the truth, that they would have justice suppressed.

The conclusions, whereupon the controversie is, are most true, most holy, most allowable. If the Princes do refuse them, they do not resist against us, but against the Holy Scriptures, yea, and against Christ.

{ KING }  
{ HEN. 6. }

The eight peer  
of the councell  
of Basil.  
How subtilly  
they sought de-  
lays.

The Bishops of  
the primitive  
Church what  
they were.  
Poore men  
more apte to  
give judgement  
then rich: for  
riches, wealth,  
and dignity  
bring feare;  
but poverty  
causeth liber-  
ty.

\* The Bishops  
in this age of  
the Church,  
what they are.

In matters of  
faith and reli-  
gion, there  
ought to be no  
delays.

The decrees of  
the councell of  
Constance.

If these things  
seeme so uncof-  
ferable, what  
shall we say,  
when as they  
make the Pope  
a god?



THE KING  
HEN. 6.

Christ himselfe, which you ought neither to beloeve, neither was it comely for Panormitane so to say. Panormitane (by your licence, be it spoken) you have uttered most cruell words, neither doe you seem to go about any other matter than to inculcate terror and feare into the mindes of the fathers: for you have rehearsed great perils and dangers, except we submit our selves unto the princes.

But you most reverend fathers, shall not be afraid of them that kill the body, the soule they cannot kill; neither shall ye forsake the truth, although you should shed your blood for the same. Neither ought we to be any whit more slacke in the quarrell of our mother the church, and the Catholike faith, than those most holy martyrs, which have established the Church with their blood. For why should it be any grievous matter unto us to suffer for Christ, which for your sakes hath suffered so cruell and grievous death? who when he was an immortall God, void of all passions, took upon him the shape of a mortall man, and feared not for our redemption to suffer torments upon the crosse. Set before your eyes the Prince of the Apostles, Peter, Paul, Andrew, James, and Bartholomew, and (not to speake onely of bishops) marke what Stephen, Laurence, Sebastian and Fabian did. Some were hanged, some beheaded, some stoned to death, other some burned, and others tormented with most cruell and grievous tormentes suffered for Christs sake. I pray you for Gods sake let us follow the example of these men. If we will be bishops and succeed in honour, let us not feare martyrdom. Alas, what effeminate hearts have we? Alas, what faint hearted people are we? They in times past by the contempt of death converted the whole world, which was full of gentility and idolatry; and we through our sluggishnesse and desire of life, do bring the Christian religion out of the whole world into one corner; and I feare greatly, lest the little also which is left, we shall lose through our cowardlinesse, if that by following Panormitanes minde, we do commit the whole governance and defence of the church unto the princes. But now play the stout and valiant men in this time of tribulation, and feare not to suffer death for the church, which Curtius feared not to doe for the city of Rome: which Democritus for Thebes, and Cato for Athens, willing tooke upon them.

Not onely the Martyrs, but also the Gentiles might move and stirre us to cast off all the feare of death. What is to be said of Theronius the Athenian: with how joyfull heart and minde, and pleasant countenance, did he drinke the poison? What say you unto Socrates that most excellent Philosopher? did he either weep or sigh when he supped up the poison? They hoped for that which we are most certaine of: Not by dying to die, but to change this present life for a better.

Truly we ought to be ashamed, being admonished by so many examples, instructed with so great learning, yea and redeemed with the precious blood of Christ, so greatly to feare death.

Cato writeth not of one or two men, but of whole legions, which have cheerfully and courageously gone unto those places, from whence they knew they should not returne. With like courage did the Lacedemonians give themselves to death at Thermopylis, of whom Symonides writeth thus:

*Dic hospes, Spartanos te hic vidisse tacentes,  
Dum sanctis patria legibus obsequimur.*

Report thou stranger, the Spartans here to lie,  
Whiles that their countrey lawes they obeyed wil-  
(ingly).

Neither judge the contrary, but that the Lacedemonians went even of purpose unto death; unto whom their captaine Leonidas said, O ye Lacede-

monians, goe forward courageously, for this day we shall sup together with the infernall gods. But I, most reverend fathers, do not invite you unto the infernals, as he did his Lacedemonians, but unto the celestially and everlasting joyes of Paradise, if that you can suffer death for the truths sake, and patiently abide the threatnings of these princes, if there be any threatnings at all. I call you unto that eternall glory, where there is no alteration of state, nothing decayeth or fadeth; where all good and perpetuall things doe abound: where no man wanteth, no man envieth another, no man stealeth from another, no man violently taketh from another, no man burneth, no man murdereth, and finally no man dieth. Where all men are blessed and happy, all are of one minde and one accord, all are immortall, all are of like estate; and that all men have, every man hath, and that every man hath, all men have. Which things if we well consider, we shall truly answer Panormitan, as Theodorus Cyrenensis is said to have answered Lysimachus the king, when he threatened to hang him, who said, I pray you threaten these horrible things unto your Courtiers: as for Theodorus, it maketh no matter whether he rot above the ground or under the ground. So likewise let us answer unto the princes, if there be any that doe threaten us, and let us not feare their tormentes.

What doth a longer life prevaile to helpe us? No man hath lived too short a time, which hath obtained the perfect gift of vertue. And if the death which a man suffereth in the quarrell of his Countrey, seemeth not onely to be glorious amongst the Rhetoricians, but also happy and blessed: what shall we say for these deaths which are sustained for the Countrey of all countries, the Church? Truly most reverend fathers, it is too much that our adversaries doe persuade themselves of you, for they judge you feartull, sluggish and faint hearted; and therefore they doe obiect princes unto you, because they thinke that you will not suffer hunger, thirst, erile in the quarrell and defence of the Church. But I thinke you will esteem it no hard matter, for the obtaining of everlasting life, to doe the same which Hyppin doe for the obtaining of transitory riches, to put themselves in danger of the sea and winde, and suffer most cruell stormes.

The hunters lie abroad in the nights in the snow, in the hills and woods, and are tormented with cold; yet have they none other reward, but some wilde beast of no value or price. I pray you what ought you then to doe whose reward shall be Paradise? I am ashamed of your ignavie, when as I read that women, yea even young maidens have violently obtained Heaven through their Martyrdom, and we are made afraid onely with the name of death. This river of Rheine, which runneth along by the city, times past hath carried eleven thousand Virgins unto Martyrdom. In India (as Cicero writeth) when any man was dead, his wives (for there they had many wives) came into contention who should be buried with him; and the whom he loved best having vanquished the other (all the rest joyfully following her) was cast into the fire with the dead carcase of her husband, and burnt. The other which were overcome, departed full of heavinesse and sorrow, wishing rather to have died than live.

The which courage we now taking upon us for Christs sake, will answer Panormitan even as the Lacedemonians answered Philip, who when as by his letters he threatened them, that he would stop all that which they went about, they asked him whether he would also let them to die. Therefore, as you are excellent men, so use your vertue, which is alwayes free, and remaineth alwayes invincible. For you doe know that power is given of the Lord, and strength from the most Highest; who will take account of your works, and examine your thoughts, unto whom ye should be carefull to render a good

They which teach this doctrine, are hereticks and schismatics: but I called are those hereticks, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.

A Christian exhortation to constancy and Martyrdom.

This came so to passe twenty three yeeres after when Christendome lost Constantinople, and all the east parts unto the Turkes.

Examples of good men dying for their countrey.

The blessed state of the life to come.

The worthy answer of Theodorus the Cyrenensis.

No death to be feared for Christs church.

Example of Spartans and Hunters.

Example of eleven thousand virgins.

The noble Lacedemonians.



good account, iudging rightly and keeping the law of righteousness, and in all things walking according to the will of God, and not according to the will of men.

And whereas the ambassadoers of Eugenius doe openly preach and declare a new Doctrine, extolling the bishop of Rome above the universall church, to the end that ignorant soules be not shamed, ye shall not cease or leaue to publish the three first conclusions, following the example of the Apostle Paul, which would in no point give place unto Peter when he walked not according to the gospel. As for the other matters which do respect the only person of Eugenius (because Panozmitane and the other ambassadoers of the princes shall not say that we do passe our bounds) ye shall deferre them for this present.

When as Cardinall Arelatenis had made an end of this Oration, there was a great noise, crying out and bawling every where. The Presidents commandments were not regarded, neither was the accustomed order observed; for sometimes they shake unto Panozmitane sometime unto Ludovicus; no man was suffered to speake but in haste the bishops brawled with bishops, and the inferiours with their fellows. All was full of contention and debate; which even as Ludovicus the patriarch of Aquileia perceived, a man of no lesse courage and stomacke, than of nobility and birth, being also a Duke, for the zeale that he bare unto the universall Church, turning himself unto Panozmitane and Ludovicus the Prototofary, he said, Doe not thinke the matter shall passe, you know not yet the manners of the Germanes, for if you goe forward on this fashion it will not be lawfull for you to depart out of this countrey with whole heads. With which words Panozmitane, Ludovicus, and the Archibishop of Pilane being stricken (as if were with lightning from Heaven), rose up, and said, Is our liberty thus taken from us? What meaneth it that the Patriarch doth threaten us, that our heads should be broken? And turning themselves unto John Carle of Dierkeine, which then supplied the Prototofarys place, they demanded of him whether hee would defend the councill, and preserve all men in their liberty, or no?

The Citizens also and Senators were present to provide and foresee that no offence should rise, for the Citizens observed alwayes this order, that they would be present in all affaires, which they supposed would breed dissension, foreseeing specially that no tumults should rise, otherwise than with words. They used alwayes such a marvellous foresight and providence, that no man unto this day could have any cause against them, to complaine for violating their promise. Wherefore if at any time any Citizens have deserved well at the hands of the Church, surely this praise is to be given unto the Basilians. These men together with John Carle of Dierkeine, being present in the assembly of the fathers, gave a signe of preservation of their liberty. The Carle (albeit he was moved at the strangeness of the matter, for he would not have thought so great contentions could have risen amongst wise men) answered by his interpreter, that they all should be of good chere. For the Emperors safe conduct should be observed and kept even to the uttermost: neither should the Patriarch nor any other once violate the liberty, or take away the assurance granted by the Emperors. Notwithstanding he desired the patriarch that he would call back his words againe, and not to speake any more in such sort. But that famous father, being nothing at all moved or troubled, committed his whole minde unto John Bacheitkeine, Auditor of the chamber, a man both grave and eloquent to be declared. Who affirmed that the patriarches minde was not to threaten any man, or disturb the liberty of the councill, but to move the fathers unto constancy, that they should be mindfull of the reformation which they had promised unto

the whole world, and not to say one thing to day, and another to morrow; for if they would so doe, it were to be feared, lest the late seeing themselves deluded, and despairing of reformation, should rise against the Clergy.

Wherefore he monisheth the fathers to foresee and provide for the perill, that they should not depart from the Councell, nothing being determined or done; and finally he desired pardon, if in his words he had offended either against the Councell, Panozmitane, or any other man. Whereby he declared it to be true which is commonly said, that humility is the sister of nobility: both which did very excellently appeare in this man. Yet for all this could not the humility of the Patriarche stop or stay their noise or cries: for as often as mention was made of reading the Concordatum, great noise and rumours were still made to stop the same. Then Amodeus Archibishop of Lions, and primate of all France, a man of great reverence and authority, being touched with the zeale of faith, which he saw there to be stopt and suppressed, said, Most reverend fathers, I have now a great occasion to speake: for it is now seven yeers or more, that I have bene amongst you, yet have I never seene the matter at that point which it is now at, most like unto a miracle; for even presently I doe behold most wonderfull signes of miracles: for it is no small matter that the lame doe walke, the dumbe doe speake, and that worse men preach the gospel. Whereupon I pray you cometh this sudden change? How happeneth it that those which lie lurking at home, are now suddenly start up? Who hath given hearing to the deafe, and speech to the dumbe? Who hath taught the worse men to preach the Gospel? I doe see here a new sort of prelates come in, which unto this present have kept silence, and now begin to speake. Is not this like to a miracle? I would to God they came to defend the truth, and not to impugnne justice.

But this is more to be marvelled at than any miracle, that I doe see the best learned men of all impugnne our conclusions which are most certaine and true: And they which now reprove them, in times past allowed them. You are not ignorant how that Ludovicus the Prototofary preached these verities at Lovaine and at Colen, and brought them from thence confirmed with the authorities of the Universities. Wherefore albeit that he be now changed, yet is the truth in no point altered. And therefore I desire you and beseech you all, that ye will not give eare unto these men, which albeit they are most excellently learned, yet have they no constancy in them, which doth adorne all other vertues.

When he had ended his Oration, Ludovicus the Prototofary rising up, said, It is most true that I brought those verities, but you doe call them verities of faith, which addition seemeth very doubtfull unto me. When he had spoken these words, Cardinall Arelatenis required that the Concordatum of the twelve men should be read, and many whispered him in the eare, that he should goe forward, and not alter his purpose.

Then Panozmitane, as soone as the Concordatum began to be read, rising up with his companions and other Aragoys, cried out with a loud voice, saying; You fathers doe condemne our requests, you condemne Kings and Princes, and despise Prelates; but take heed lest whilst that ye despise all men, you be not despised of all men. You would conclude, but it is not your part for to conclude. We are the greatest part of Prelates, we make the Councell, and it is our part to conclude: and I in the name of all other Prelates doe conclude, that it is to be deferred and delayed. With this word there sprang such a noise and rumour in the Councell, as is accustomed to bee in Basell, with the sound of Trumpets, and noise of Horsemen when two Armies joyne: Some cursing that

{ KING }  
{ HEN. 6. }

Humility sister  
to nobility.

Amodeus  
Arch. of Lions  
Anno  
1438.

Bishops that  
lie at home,  
have tongues  
here to speake  
for the Pope.

Marke how  
they are turned  
back which  
sometime fa-  
voured the  
truth, and are  
now become  
liars and dis-  
serters.

Constancy  
lacked in die  
vers of this  
Councell.

Panozmitane  
speake like him-  
selfe.

Lewis Patri-  
arch of Aquileia  
Duke of Deck  
in Swedia.

The Earle of  
Dierkeine.

The praise of  
the citizens of  
Basill.



{ KING }  
{ HEN. 6. }

Nicholas Amici  
a Divine of  
Paris.

that which Panormitane went about, other some allowing the same : So that diversitie of minds made divers contentions.

Then Nicholas Amici, a Divine of Paris, according unto his office, said, Panormitane, I appeale from this your conclusion to the judgement of the Councell here present ; neither doe I affirme any thing to be ratified which you have done, as I am ready to prove, if it shall seeme good. The contrary part seemed now to be in the better place, for they had already concluded. The other part had neither concluded, neither was it seene, how they could conclude amongst so great cries and uproares. Notwithstanding, amongst all this troublous noise, John Segovius, a singular Divine of the Universitie of Salamantine, lacked not audience ; for the whole Councell was desirous to heare him : wherefore all men as soone as he rose up kept silence, and he perceiving that they were desirous to heare him speak, began in this sort.

The Oration  
of Segovius.

Most reverend fathers, the zeale and love of the house of God forceth me now to speak : and I would to God that I had bene either blinde this day, not to have seene those things which have happened, or that I had bene deafe, that I should not have heard those words which have been spoken. Who is it that is so stony or hard hearted, which can abstaine from feares, when as the authority of the Church is so spoiled, liberty taken away both from us and the Councell, and that there is no place given unto the verities. O sweet Jesus, why hast thou forsaken thy spouse ? Behold and loke upon thy people, and help us if our requests are just.

Woe come hither to provide for the necessity of the Church, we require nothing for our selves, and our desire is only that truth might appeare. We trusted now to have concluded upon the verities which were sometimes allowed in the sacred deputations, The Orators of the Princes are present, and require the conclusions to be deferred. But we be not unmindfull of those things which Ambrose wrote unto Valentinian the Emperour in this manner : If we shall intreate upon the order of the holy Scripture and ancient times past, who is it that will deny but that in case of Faith (I say in case of Faith) the bishops ought to judge upon Christian Emperors, and not Emperors upon Bishops ? Neither doe we admit their petition but upon most urgent causes. Notwithstanding we heard them patiently and willingly, whilst that they did speake even so long as they would.

But now if any of our part would speak, by and by he is interrupted, troubled and lested. What honesty is this ? What modesty or gravitie : is it lawful for so to doe in the councell : where is the decre of the councell of Chaloc now become ? (where are our decrees, which doe not onely prohibite tumults, but also all small babblings and talke ?) They say, it is because we condemne them ; but they are they, which not only condemne the councell, but also resist the same. The Patriarch spake but one small word against them, and that of no evil intent or purpose, and by and by they complained that their liberty was broken : but they, when as they doe enforce the councell, when as they forbid the President to speak, and will not suffer the Ordinances to be read, doe not judge that they doe any thing contrary to the liberty of the Councell. They say, they are the councell themselves, and yet they intreate the councell. These things doe not I understand ; for if they be the councell, why doe they intreate themselves ? If they be not the councell, why doe they not suffer the councell to speake ? Why doe they not looke for an answer of him to whom they make their petitions ?

Truly this is too much violence, and certes our patience is also too much, to suffer such exesse even in the face of the Church. But this doth most of all grieve me, and this doe I most marvell at, that

He exorceth the  
Patriarch.

Panormitane, a man of singular wit and doctrine, did conclude without any discussing or deciding of the deputies, and without the examination of the twelve men, or any rite or order. The which, except mine eyes had beheld and seene, I would scarcely beleve, if any other man should report it unto me of him. Neither doe I yet know whether I may sufficiently credit my selfe, the matter seemeth so horrible for I doe not see by what authority his conclusion both stand, except it be by the authority of his King, who he saith will have it so. But you, most reverend fathers, take heed that you bring in no such custome : for so it shall come to passe, that in all matters, a few froward Prelates shall have one to conclude for them.

He meaneth  
Panormitane:  
which did con-  
clude without  
the examination  
of twelve  
men.

And albeit Panormitane hath proved (as he thinketh) by strong reasons, that the verity ought to be deferred, yet notwithstanding, I doe require you most reverend fathers to follow the example of the Apostle, who (as Arelatenus hath very well declared) would not give one houres respite unto Peter, when he swarved from the truth of the Gospel. The faith is speedily to be received and holpen : neither doth any thing sustaine more danger by delays, then faith doth. For heretics except they be rooted out at the first, when they are once growne, are hardly taken away. Wherefore, I desire you speedily to helpe and ayde. Hoist up your sailes, and launch out your Ores. What should we tarry looking for either the Prelates or the Princes : You are now in conflict : I onely desire that you would haften unto the victory. Regard not the threatnings of those Princes, neither the opprobries of those contumelious persons : for you are blessed, saith the Lord, when as men curse you and persecute you, speaking all evil against you, making lies and slanders upon you for my sake ; rejoyce and be glad, for great is your reward in Heaven. What is it I pray you that the Princes doe so much object against us ? Is not our Lord God able to take us out of the furnace of hote burning fire, and deliver us out of the hands of those Princes ? I beseech you most reverend fathers and loving brethren, have no lesse hope in Jesus Christ, then Sadrach, Misach, and Abednago had, which feared not that old King Nabuchodonosor : and let the people know, that the most high ruleth over the kingdomes of men, and giveth them unto whom he pleaseth. God beholdeth all things from above ; he is (I say) in the midst of amongst us ; wherefore are ye then afraid ? Be of good courage, and shew your selves as a strong wall for the church of God ; suffer not the faith to perish under your hands. The Almighty God is present with you. He is present that will defend you. Feare not them which seek onely to kill the body. Do justice and equity, and be assured that he will not deliver you over into the hands of the backbiter and slanderer. Again I say unto you, shew your selves valiant and stout : defend your mother the church. And unto thee, O thou president, I say, that thou oughtest rather to please God than man ; for if thou depart thence without a final conclusion, know assuredly that thou shalt render account in the strait judgement of God. And thus without any more words he late downe in his place.

Paul would  
give to Peter  
no respite when  
he swarved  
away.

Marke the  
great confidence  
and Christian  
zeale of this  
man.

An exhortation  
to constancy.

In the meane time many grave and ancient men had exhorted Panormitane that he should give over his conclusion. The bishop of Bingen was very instant and earnest with him, that he should make unity and concord amongst the fathers, and went about to make an unity with all men. But neither the fathers of the councell were determined to depart without a conclusion ; neither was Panormitane minded to alier his intent and purpose. All things were disturbed, neither did the Prelates sit in their seats, as they were accustomed, but as every mans affection led him. Some went to the cardinall Arelatenus, some unto Panormitane, and exhorted them ;

The Bishop of  
Bingen seek-  
eth concord.



as if they had bene Princes or Rulers of armies. When Arelatensis knowing the matter to be in danger; and that there was no ready way to make a conclusion, thought to use some policie to appease the tumult.

How men be ready to heare newes.

Note the godly policy of the Cardinall.

Ghost reverend fathers, said he, we have received now letters out of France, which declare unto me marvellous things; that there are incredible news sprung up there, which if you will give me willing audience, I will declare unto you. By this meanes there was a sudden silence throughout the whole councell, and by this marvellous policie he made all men attentive to heare. When as he saw he had free liberty to speake, without either fable or history of any letters sent he opened the whole order of the matter, and as it is requisite in an Orator, came by little and little to the principall point, saying; that Eugenius his messengers filled all France, preaching a new doctrine, and extolling the authority of the bishop of Rome above the generall councell: against whom, except speedy remedy were found, it would come to passe that many would give credit unto them, and therefore the sacred Councell ought of necessity to provide remedy, and of necessity to conclude upon the verities which were examined, that thereby the temerity of the Eugenians might be repressed; which verities, albeit they were eight in number, yet was it not the fathers intent to conclude upon them all, but onely the three first: even as I also (saith he) here doe conclude, in the name of the Father, the Son, and the holy Ghost.

The conclusion of the Councell.

The holy Ghost working against the Pope.

The sorow of Manozimane for impugning the truth.

The Bishop of Lions and Burgen.

The just answer of the Councell.

When he had finished his Oration, with a cheerful and merry countenance rising up, he departed. Some of them kissed him, and some of them kissed the skirts of his garments. A great number followed him, and greatly commended his wisdom, that being a Frenchman borne had that day vanquished the Italians, which were men of great policy. Whombeit this was all mens opinion, that it was done rather by the operation of the holy Ghost, than by the Cardinals owne power. The other of the contrary faction, as men bereft of their mindes, hanging down their heads, departed every man to his lodging. They went not together, neither saluted one another; so that their countenances declared unto every man that they were overcome. Something more also is reported of Manozimane, that when he came to his lodging, and was gone unto his chamber, he complained with himselfe upon his sinne, which had compelled him to strive against the truth, and put both his soule and good name in danger of losing; and that in the midst of his teares and complaints he fell asleepe, and did eate no meate untill late in the evening, for very sorow for that he had neither ignorantly, neither unwillingly impugned the truth.

After this there was great consultation amongst the Eugenians, what were best to be done in this matter. Some thought good to depart and leave the Councell, other some thought it meet to tarry, and withall endeavour to resist that nothing should further be done against the Eugenians; and this opinion remained amongst them. The next day after, being the fifteenth day of April, the Archbishop of Lions and the Bishop of Burgen, calling together the Prelates in the Chapterhouse of the great church, began many things as touching peace. The Bishop of Burgen perswaded that there should be deputations appointed that day, unto whom the Archbishop of Lions should give power to make an agreement. Unto whom answer was made, as they thought very roughly, but as other judged, gently, but notwithstanding justly and truly: For they said there could be no unity of concord made before the adversaries confessed their fault, and asked pardon therefore.

The day following the said Bishop of Burgen,

with the other Lombards and Cathelans, went unto the Germanes, and from thence unto the Senate of the City, speaking much as touching the prohibiting of schismes. The Germanes referred themselves to those things which the deputation should determine. The Senate of the citie (as they were great men in wisdom, which would doe nothing without diligent advice and deliberation) answered, that the matter pertained not unto them, but unto the councell: the fathers whereof were most wise men, and were not ignorant what pertained unto the Christian faith; and if there were any danger toward, it should be declared unto the Councell, and not to the Senate. For they believed that the elders of the Councell, if they were premonished, would foresee that there should no hurt happen: as for the Senate of the citie, it was their duty onely to defend the fathers, and to preserve the promise of the citie.

With this answer the Bishop of Burgen departed. In the mean time the fathers of the Councell had drawne out a forme of a decree upon the former conclusions, and had approved the same in the sacred deputations. By this time the Princes Orators were returned from the assembly at Bantz, and holding a councell amongst themselves, they had determined to let the decree. The ninth day of May, there was a generall convocation holden, whereunto all men resorted, either part putting forth himselfe unto the confid.

The princes Ambassadors were called by the Bishop of Lubek and Conrade de Wimperge the professor into the Quier, and there kept where they intreated of a unity, and by what meanes it might be had, and there they tarried longer than some thought to do; the which matter gave occasion to bring things well to passe, beyond all expectation. The onely forme of the decree was appointed to be concluded that day; whereupon, as soone as Cardinall Arelatensis perceived the congregation to be full, and that the twelve men had agreed, and that there was a great expectation with silence, he thought good not to delay it for feare of tumult, but commanded by and by the publique concordances to be read, wherein this was also contained, that the Cardinall Arelatensis might appoint a Session whensoever hee would. Which being read, he being desired by the promoters, concluded according as the manner and custome is. The ambassadors of the princes being yet in the Quier, as soon as they understood how the matter passed, being very much troubled and vexed, they brake off their talke, imputing all things to the bishop of Lubek, which of purpose had kept them in the Quier, and protracted the time. Whereupon they entring into the congregation, filled the church full of complaints.

First of all, the Orator of Lubek complained both in his owne name and the name of the poster, as touching the conclusion, and required that the Councell would revoke the same. If that might be granted, he promised to intreat a peace, and to be a mediator betwene the Councell and the Ambassadors of the Princes. But the Archbishop of Turnon said, that it seemed unto him, every man to have free liberty to speake against that law which should be promulgate, untill the Session, when the Canons should be consecrated and receive their force: when as the Bishops in their pontificalibus, after the reading of the decree in the Session, should answer that it pleased them: otherwise the demand which was made by the promoters in the Session, to be but vain: and for that the conclusions were not yet allowed in the Session, therefore he said that he might without rebuke speake somewhat as touching the same; and that it was a great and hard matter, and not to be knit up in such a short time, and that he had the knowledge thereof but even now; notwithstanding that he being an Archbishop, ought to have knowne the matter, that at his returne home,

KING  
HEN. 6.  
The answer of them both.

The forme of the decree is written and approved.

The policy of the Cardinall Arelatensis.

The Bishop of Turnon.



{ KING }  
{ HEN. 6. }

home, he might informe the king, and also instruct those which were under him. And that he and his fellows, before any Session should be, would both heare and be heard of others. Neither doth it seeme good unto him that the Session should be holden, before report were made of those things which the ambassadores of the princes had done at Vientz, which would peradventure be such as might alter and change the mindes of the fathers. When the Bishop of Concen ambassadores of the king of Castile, which was also lately returned from Vientz, a man of great understanding, but lacking utterance, grievously complained that the prelates were contented. Neither had it bene (said he) any great matter if they had bene carried for, which not without great danger and expences went to Vientz, not for their pleasure, but of necessity. And afterward as it were smiling, he said, how mad am I, that would have the prelates to be carried for, untill they returne from Vientz, when as they are not carried for, whilst they came out of the quire of the church? Doe therefore as ye list. If there rise any offence or mischief hereupon, neither are we the ambassadores of Castile to be blamed, neither can any man of right impute any thing to our most noble king.

The Bishop of Concen speaks.

Marke what the truth must suffer.

A marvellous despite and continually in a Bishop for it Arelatenus had kept whores or concubines, he would have praised him: but to maintaine learned men was a great offence.

The fathers of the councell slandered by Panozmitan. Four signes to know the good from the bad.

Here were it long to repeate, with what rebukes and taunts they beieghed against the Cardinal Arelatenus: but especially the Bishop of Villains railed most cruelly upon him, saying, that he fostered and maintained a rabble of Sophisters and School-masters, and that he had concluded in matters of faith with them; calling him also another Castile, unto whom all desperate and naughty persons had refuge, that he was their Prince, and ruled the church with them; and that he would not give eare unto the Ambassadors of the most noble Princes, or to the most famous Prelates in this most weighty matter. Albiganensis a Bishop, and a man of great nobility, descended of the Emperors blood, albeit he had never alienate his minde before from the councell, yet lest he should seem to dissent from other ambassadores of the princes, he made the like complaint as touching the attempt of the Prelates. After this it came unto Panozmitane to speake, who as he had a greater vehemency in speaking, so also he did declare a more angry stomack and minde: for in the beginning of his Oration he seemeth not to goe about according to the precept of the Orators, to get the good will of the hearers, but rather their hatred. For he said that our Saviour shewed four signes in the Gospell, whereby we should know the good from the reprobate; for he which is of God (saith he) heareth the words of God, but ye hear not the words of God, because ye are not of God. And againe, he that doth evil hateth the light. And in another place also, by their fruits ye shall know them. And a good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit.

All which sayings he wrested against the fathers of the Councell, because they would not heare the words of God, that is to say, the words of peace which the Ambassadors had spoken: because they fled from the light in the absence of the ambassadores, privily concluding; and because in their deputation they had not holden and kept the holy day, but had concluded thereupon; also because they had the upper hand in the foresaid conclusion, not by reason, but by deceit. As touching the fruits, he said that the fathers themselves should meditate and consider how that, if their fruits were not good, they also themselves were not good; and that he did see another councell at hand, where he feared lest these conclusions should be revoked, as the fruit of an evil tree: and therefore they ought not so suddenly to proceed in so weighty matters: and that he would be yet more fully heard before the Session, as well in his owne name, because he was an Archbishop, as in the name of his Prince, which reigned not over one kingdome alone, but over many. Also he

said that he heretofore by his words, deeds and writings, hath crooked the authority of the Councell; and that he feared, lest by these means the authority thereof should be subverted. At the last he required pardon if he had offended the fathers of the councell, forasmuch as very sorrow and griefe forced him to speake so.

The Abbat Virgiliacensis would have made answer to those things which Panozmitane had touched, concerning his deputation: but Arelatenus thought good that all the contrary part should speake first, among whom, last of all Ludobicus the Protosnotary, the Hoaner of Lawyers, rose up. And albeit that he spake unskillfully, yet when he had begun, he could not refrain his words. And whilst he went about to seeme learned and eloquent, he utterly forgot to be good. He said that the councell ought to take heed, that they untreated no matter of faith against the Prelates, lest any offence should follow; for that some would say it were a matter of no force or effect. For albeit that Christ chose twelve Apostles and seventy Disciples, notwithstanding in the setting forth of the Creed onely the Apostles were present, thereby (as it were) giving example that the matters of faith did pertaine onely unto the Apostles, and so consequently unto Bishops. Neither that they ought hastily to proceed in matters of faith, which ought to be clearly distinct, forasmuch as Peter affirmeth the triall of faith to be much more precious than gold, which is tried by the fire. And if the Bishops be contented, which are called the pillars and kepes of heaven, the faith cannot seeme to be well proved or examined. But at length he confessed that the inferiours might determine with the bishops, but denied that the least part of the bishops with the most part of the inferiours might determine any thing, from thence he passing to the matter of faith, said, that those verities whereupon question was now had, are articles of faith, if they were verities of faith. And forasmuch as every man should be bound to believe those, therefore he would be better instructed and taught in that matter which he should believe as an article of faith. Neither should it be comely for the councell to deny him his request; which according to the rule of the Apostles, ought to be ready to give account unto every man which shall require it, touching the faith which it holdeth.

After every man had made an end of speaking, the Cardinal Arelatenus calling his spirits together, made an Oration, wherein he answered now the one, and now the other. And first of all he commended the desires of the imperiall Ambassadors, which offered to intreace a peace and unity; but neither necessity, nor honesty (he said) would suffer those things which are concluded to be revoked. He answered also, that the petition of the Ambassadors of France is most just, in that they required to be instructed touching the faith; and that the Councell would grant their request, and send unto them certain Divines, which should instruct them at home at their lodgings, but the matter was already concluded, and could no more be brought in question: that that the Session was onely holden, rather to beautifie the matter, than to confirme the same. And as touching that which the bishop of Concen so greatly complaineth of, he doth not much marvell: for he could not know the processes of the matter, when he was absent; who being better instructed, he supposed would speake no more any such words, forasmuch as a just man would require no unjust thing. Also that his protestation had no evil sense or meaning, in that he would not have it imputed either unto him, or unto his king, if any offence should rise upon the conclusions. Notwithstanding, it is not to be feared, that any evil should spring of good Wordes. But unto the Bishop of Villains, hee would answer nothing; because hee sawe him

Abbat Virgiliacensis.

Ludobicus the Protosnotary in labouring to seeme learned, forgot to be good.

The Apostles principally gathered the Church.

The oration of the Cardinall Arelatenus to the imperiall Ambassadors.

To the Ambassadors of France.

To the Bishop of Concen.

Look if it be not spoken of them in the Gospell, where mention is made of the beast which is fallen into the ditch.

What is it that ambition will not doe?



To Ludobicus  
the Protestan-  
tary.

him so moved and troubled, for feare of multiplying of more grievous and hainous words. As for Panozmitane he reserved unto the last. But unto Ludobicus the Protostotary, which desired to be instructed; he said, he willed him to be satisfied with the words which were spoken unto the Bishop of Turnon.

Notwithstanding, he left not this untouched which Ludobicus had spoken concerning the Apostles Creed. For albeit that in the setting forth of the Creed the Apostles be only named, yet it doth not follow (saith he) that they onely were present at the setting forth thereof. For it happeneth oftentimes, that

Nicolas Pic-  
cius an Ita-  
lian.

Articles of the  
Creed not all  
put in by the  
Apostles, but  
some by the  
Councells.

The article of  
the holy Ghost  
put in by the  
Councell of  
Lions.

Panozmitane  
doomed with  
his own dares.

princes are commended and praised as chiefe authors and doers of things, when as notwithstanding they have other helpers; as it appeareth in battels, which although they are fought with the force of all the souldiers, yet the victorie thereof is imputed but unto a few. As in the our dayes they doe ascribe all things which the army doth either fortunately or wisely, unto Nicolas Piccius, that most valiant captaine, which hath obtained so many famous victories; albeit that oftentimes other have bene the inventors of the policy, and workers of the feate. And therefore Ludobicus ought to know and understand, that they are not onely Articles of faith, which are contained in the Creed, but all other determinations made by the counells as touching the faith. Neither is he ignorant, that there be some Articles of the Creed which we now use in the church; that were not put to by the Apostles, but afterward by generall counells; as that part wherein mention is made of the holy Ghost, which the counsell of Lions did adde; in which counsell also it is not to be doubted, but that the inferiours did judge together with the bishops. But for so much as he had sufficiently declared that matter in the congregation before passed, he would stay no longer thereupon. But coming unto Panozmitane, he rehearsed his words, Qui ex Deo est, verba Dei audit. He that is of God, heareth Gods word; which is very well taken out of the Gospell, but not well applied unto the counsell (saith he;) for he firmly believed, that his predecessors have judged the holy Ghost to be in the midst of the counells, and therefore the words of the counells to be the words of the holy Ghost, which if any man doe reject, he denieth himselfe to be of God. Neither doth the counsell hate the light, which doth all things publickly and openly, whose congregations are evident unto all men, neither doth it, as the conventicles of the adversaries, admit some, and exclude other some. Moreover, the thing which is now in hand was begun to be increased of for two moneths agoe, and first the conclusions were largely disputed upon in the Divinitie schooles, and afterward sent unto Bentz and other places of the world.

After all this the Fathers were called into the Chapter-house of the great church, to the number of an hundred and twenty; amongst whom Panozmitane, which now complaineth, was also present, and according to his manner did learnedly and subtilly dispute, and had liberty to speake what he would. Likewise in the disputations every man spake his minde freely, and in the deputacion where Panozmitane was, the matter was three dayes discussed. After this the twelve men did agree upon it, and the generall congregation did conclude it. Neither hath there bene at any time any thing more ripely or exactly handled, both openly and also without any fraud or deceit. And whereas the deputacion did sit upon a holy day, there is no hurt in that; neither is it any new or strange thing, forasmuch as they have often holden their Session upon feirball dayes, when as the matter hath had haste, and specially for that the matter of faith hath no holy dayes. And further he said that he did not conclude craftily and deceitfully in the congregation, as Panozmitane hath reported, but publickly and openly at the request

Arelatenus  
concluded not,  
but at the re-  
quest of the  
Protestants.

of the Promoters. Neither hath any man any just cause to complaine upon him, for so much as when he was made president, he was twome that alwayes when three or foure of the deputacions did agree, he should conclude thereupon. And for so much as he had already concluded, in divers causes touching the Pope, he saw no cause why he should not conclude in the matter of faith, for that he was a Cardinall, and did weare his red hat for this purpose, that he should shed his blood in the defence of the faith. Neither hath he done any thing now against the Pope, for that omitting the five conclusions touching Eugenius, he had concluded but onely the generall conclusions: which except he had done, the fathers should have had just cause to complaine against him (in that they trusting in his fidelity and faithfulness, had chosen him President) if by him they should now be forsaken in this most necessary cause of faith. And turning himselfe unto the people, he desired the fathers to be of good comfort, for so much as he would never forsake them, yea although he should suffer death: for he had given his faith and fidelity unto the Councell, which he should observe and keepe: neither should any mans flattery or threatnings put him from his purpose: that hee would be alwayes ready to do whatsoever the Councell should command him, and never leave the commandments of the deputies by any meanes unperformed.

As touching that Panozmitane had retelled the authority of the counsell, he said that he was greatly to be thanked. But yet he ought to understand and know the authority of the counsell to be such as cannot be augmented or increased by any mans praise or commendation, or be diminished by any opprobrie or slander. These things thus premised, he commanded the forme of the decree to be read. Then Panozmitane and those which took his part, would needs have a certaine protestation to be first read. There was great contention on every side. Notwithstanding at the last Arelatenus prebailed, and the forme of the decree was read unto this word, Decernimus, that is to say, we decree. Then Panozmitane rising up would not suffer it to be heard any further: And the bishop of Catavia cried out saying, that it was unconcomely that Arelatenus, with a few other bishops by name, should conclude the matter. The like did also all those which favoured Panozmitane. The Cardinall of Terracota also (which until that time had holden his peace) did grievously rebuke his partakers, that as men being asleepe or in a dreame, they did not read the protestation, and commanded by and by one of his familiars to read it. But like as the adversaries before did perturb the reading of the concordances, so would not the fathers of the counsell now give place to the reading of the protestation. Which when Arelatenus did consider, he commanded the writing to be brought unto him, and as he began to speake, suddenly Arelatenus rose up, with a great number of the fathers to depart: Which thing pleased the Cardinall of Terracota and Panozmitane very well, for that they hoped that they alone with their adherents, should remaine in the church. They exhorted Arelatenus to reboke the conclusion and to make another.

There was in that congregation in his place George the Protostotary of Bardarina, sitting somewhat beneath his uncle, the Cardinall of Terracota, a man but young of age, but grave in wise, dome, and noble in humanity: who as soone as he saw the Cardinall Arelatenus rise, he determined also to depart, and when as his uncle called him, commanding him to tarry, he said; God forbid father that I should tarry in your congregation, or doe any thing contrary to the oath which I have taken. Whose words he declared his excellent vertue and nobility, and admonished our men which remained,

KING  
HEN. 6.  
These foure de-  
putacions were  
four sorts of  
chosen men,  
which did dis-  
cuss and de-  
termine those  
things which  
the fathers did  
conclude upon.  
Hereby this is  
no Babylonical  
Cardinall, but  
of the immacu-  
late Conste. Je-  
sus Christ.  
He speaketh to  
the whole  
Councell.

Every man  
may determine  
in matters of  
faith, having  
the Scripture  
on his part.

Contention in  
the Councell  
about reading of  
the protestation

How God  
worketh by  
occasion.



KING  
HEN. 6.

of those things which they had to doe. His voice was the voice of the holy Ghost, and words more necessary then could be thought. For if he had not spoken that word, the fathers of the councell had peradventure departed, and gone their way: and the other remaining in the Church had made another conclusion which they would have affirmed to have bene of force, because they would say the last conclusion was to be received. But many being warned by the words of the Notonary, and calling to remembrance the like chance of other Councells before, called backe againe the multitude which were departing, and cryed upon the Cardinall and the Patriarke to sit downe againe, and that they should not leaue the Church voice and quiet for their aduersaries. Whereupon suddenly all the whole multitude sat downe, and the gates were shut againe. In the meane time Balthus Albigenis a Bishop, read the protestation to none else but to himselfe alone, for it could not be heard for noise, which being ended the Lombards and the Catholanes confirmed the protestation. When the Cardinall of Terraconia said that he did agree to that diffention, they marvelled at that saying. And when some smiled and laughed at him: What said he, ye scoldes doe ye mocke me? doe not the Ambassadors of my King dissent from you? What doe you marvell then if I doe say I consent unto their diffention? And with these words he and almost all the Aragons, Lombards and Catholanes departed; all the other tarried still. And albeit it was somewhat late (for it was past two at afternone) Arelatenis seeing the congregation quiet, commanded the affaires of private persons to be read, as the manner is; which being ended, he commanded also the publike affaires to be read, and willed the conclusions and the forme of the decree to be read againe. There remained in the congregation, the Ambassadors of the Empire of France, talking together of their affaires. Notwithstanding the Bishop of Turnon heard mention made of the conclusions, and turning himselfe to the Bishop of Lubek, said, Doe the matters of Faith are now in hand againe, let us goe hence I pray you, that we be not an offence unto others, or that we be not said, to dissent from the other Ambassadors. To whom the Bishop of Lubek answered; Warry father, tarry here, are not the conclusions most true? Why are you afraid to be here for the truth? The words were not heard of many, for they spake them softly betwene themselves. Notwithstanding I heard it, for I sitting at their feete, did diligently observe what they said. Arelatenis, after all things were read, which he thought necessary, at the request of the deputies concluded, and so making an end, dismissed the congregation. Twice it is declared, with how great difficultie Arelatenis concluded, forso much as neither the matter, nor the forme could be concluded without diffention: and the conclusions were miraculous, and past all mens hope, but were obtained by the industry of Arelatenis, or rather by the speciall gift of the holy Ghost.

After this it was determined betwene the Lombards and Aragons to abstaine from the deputations for a certaine time, which they did not long observe, notwithstanding the deputations were holden very quietly for a certaine space, neither was there any thing done worthy of remembrance untill the fiftenth day of May, during which time, all meanes possible were sought to set a concord betwene the fathers, but would not be. When Nicholas Amici promoter of the faith, was called into the congregation, and briefly rehearsed those things which were done the dayes before, and declared how that Arelatenis might point a Session. Wherefore for so much as delay in matters of Faith was dangerous, he required that a Session should be appointed against the morrow after, requiring the Cardinall for his dignities sake, in that he was called the prin-

cipall of the Church, and the other Bishops, that (as they had promised in their consecration) they would not now shinke from the Church in the weightie affaires, and suffer the faith to be oppressed: but the other in-curious he required, upon their oath which they had taken, to hew them selves faithfull and constant herein. Then againe there fell a great contention upon these words, for Arelatenis, as he was required, did appoint a Session, and exhorted all men to be there present in their robes. The Bishop of Lubek rising up made a protestation in his own name, and also in the name of his Protector, that he would not consent that there should be any Session, if it should in any part derogate from the agreement had at Benty. Gregorius Giles also, his fellow Ambassador, consented to this protestation. When as the protector of the councell, appointed by the Emperour, understood himselfe to be named by the Bishop of Lubek, he marvelled a while what the matter should be. But being certified by an interpreter, he answered that he would in no case consent unto the protestation of the Bishop of Lubek, and that he did not know any thing of their doings at Benty: also that he was sent by the Emperour to the sacred councell, and hath his charge which he doth well remember, and would be obedient therunto. After whom the Bishop of Constance, according to his accustomed manner, made his protestation, and after him also followed Panormitan. Whose words before I will repeat, I desire that no man would marvell that I make mention so often of Panormitan; for it is necessary to declare the matter in order as it was done.

It hapned in these matters, even as it doth in warlike affaires: for as there, such as are most valiant and strong, and doe most worthy feats, obtaine most fame, as in the battell of Troy, Achilles and Hector: so in the spirituall wars and contentions, those which most excell in learning and eloquence, and doe more then other, should be most renowned and named: for on the one part Panormitan was Prince and Captaine; on the other, Arelatenis: but his owne will made not the one Captaine, but onely necessity, for it behoved him to obey his Prince. Notwithstanding he was not ignorant of the truth and verity, neither did he resist willingly against it: for I have bene hurt oftentimes in his Library complaint of his Prince, that he followed other mens counsell. When as his time came to speake, he said that he did not a little marvell why the protector of the faith should require the prelates to have a session, which was nothing pertaining to his office, and that he ought not to usurpe the presidents place. And againe, he complained touching the contempt of the Prelates, for the matter did presently touch the state of the Apostolike See, and for that cause the See ought to be heard before any Session be holden. Neither is it to be regarded (said he) that the councell of Constance seemeth to have decreed, that it should now be spoken of, for so much as Pope John was not heard at Constance, neither any man else, to speak for the See: by which words he seemed both to contemne and bring in doubt all the decrees of that most great and sacred synod of Constance: therefore there was a great tumult, and all men cried out with one voice, saying, that the Synode of Constance is holy, and the authority thereof ought to be inviolate. But he, being still instant, with a stout and haughty courage affirmed, that the matter could not be finished without the Ambassadors of the Princes, and that the Princes ought to be heard in a matter of Faith. And againe, that the Ambassadors themselves cannot consent, for so much as in the Colloquie holden at Benty they had promised, during the treatie of peace by them begun, they would receive and allow nothing that the Pope should either doe against the councell, or the councell against the Pope; and that he doubted not but that the three

The Bishop of Lubek.

Constance councell.

Panormitan the Achilles of the Emperours and Arch-bishop of the Councell.

The Papists crosse about which maketh for their purpose, but the contrary contentions were there it be Scripture or prophane.

Balthus Albigenis readeth the protestation, but none could heare him.

The affaires of the Councell are read.

Thomas Solus the being present collected this. Arelatenis concluded here, as he did also before, not without the consent of the deputies, according to the order of the Councell.

Thomas, you did not so make this Councell after you were Bishop your selfe.



first conclusions declared Eugenius an heretike, inſomuch that it was evident that Eugenius did vehemently reſiſt the two firſt. And therefore ſo much as the ſeſſion was not yet holden, and that it was lawfull for every man before that ſeſſion to ſpeake what he will, he deſired and required them moſt inſtantly that there might be no ſeſſion as yet holden. Unto whom Arelatenſis answered, that it was not to be doubted but that the Promoter of the Faith, by his office might call the Prelates to determine a matter of Faith, and ſpecially ſo much as the deputation of the Faith and the whole Councell had ſo given him in commandement.

As touching the Prelates he ſaith, that albeit without all doubt Biſhops have chiefe authoritie, yet notwithstanding it is accuſtomed in Councells not to make any concluſion in the name of the Biſhops, but in the name of the whole Councell: and the univerſall Church hath decreed certaine lawes in this Councell which ſhould remaine inviolate. Neither let the Biſhops thinke the preſence of the inferiours grievous unto them, when as oftentimes under a harte and toyne coate, wiſedome ſpeeth hid, and under rich beſtures and ornaments ſollly lurketh. Biſhops ought alſo to be mindfull of the ſaying of Domitius, which (as S. Jerome reporteth) ſaid: Why ſhould I eſteeme thee as a Prince, if thou doſt not regard me as a Senator? For the Biſhops ought to eſteeme Priests as Priests, if they will have reverence done unto them as Biſhops. Neither ought the Princes to be looked for to the deciding of this matter, ſo much as the Church is not congregated in the name of the Princes, but in the name of Chriſt, which hath not received his power from Princes, but immediately from God: to the defence whereof he ſhould perceibe the inferiours to be no leſſe encouraged than the Biſhops, for that he did well underſtand and know, that they would not only ſpend their temporal goods, but alſo their lives for the defence thereof. As for ſome Biſhops, rather than they will loſe any part of their temporalities, they will ſell the liberty of the Church unto the Princes, and make them Judges and Lords over the Councell. As touching the Aſs at Vient, he doth not regard them, ſo much (as it is ſaid) they counted without their hoſt: for he ſaith, he doth not underſtand how this can be, that they had decreed neither to obey the Pope, nor the Councell. The one or the other they muſt needs be obedient unto; for there is no third tribunall whereunto any obedience is due in theſe matters which concerne the faith and ſalvation of ſoules. And finally, that the Church would not ſuffer that their affaires and matters of faith ſhould be determined by the judgement of Princes: for the holy Ghoſt is not ſubject unto Princes, but Princes unto him: and upon this concluſion he would not feare either the loſſe of his goods, or any death or martyrdom. And whereas Panormitane doth now ſhew himſelfe ſo great a defender of Eugenius: he ſaith, that he doth not a little marvell at it, for that in times paſt no man hath more publiſhed Eugenius his errors, then he: by whole ſpeciall labour and councell, both a decree monitory, and alſo the ſuſpenſion was admitted and ſet out againſt Eugenius. And now, whereupon this ſudden change ſhould come, he ſaith, that he was utterly ignorant, ſo much as neither Eugenius had altered his life, neither could the Church continue in ſuch a ſchiſme. Therefore he deſired Panormitane diligently to conſider, whether he ſpoke according to his conſcience or not: for ſaith he) the conclusions which now ſhall be decreed, are moſt generall: neither is there any mention in them of the Pope: and moreover the verity of faith is contained in them: againſt the which if Eugenius did contend, it were more meete that the Pope ſhould be corrected, then the verity omitted. And thus he maketh an end, all were warned to come the next day unto the ſeſſion. The Proctors alſo

deſired the ſacred Councell, that none ſhould be ſuffered to bring any weapon to the ſeſſion; ſo much as he was ready to obſerve the ſafe conduct of the Emperour, and together with the Senate of the Citie, to prohibite all quarrels for doing of injury.

When the 16. day of May was come, all they whom the ſeſſion contented and pleaſed, aſſembled at the houre. The Ambaſſadors alſo of the Princes were come together into the Quire of the Church, to attempt further what they could doe; and ſending the Biſhop of Lubeck and Concenſe, and the beaue of Turnon, an excellent learned man, they offered themſelves to be preſent at the ſeſſion, if that the depoſition of Eugenius might yet be deferred ſome moneths. Who when they had received a gentle answer of Arelatenſis and the other principals, returning againe unto the Ambaſſadors, they would onely have the firſt concluſion decreed, and thereupon ſent againe unto Arelatenſis: unto whom answer was made, that the chiefe force did conſiſt in the two other conclusions, and that the Councell would ſpecially determine upon them. If the Ambaſſadors would not be preſent, they ſhould underſtand, that the concord was broken by them, which would not obſerve that which they had offered. With which answer they departed, and the ſeſſion began to be celebrate. There was no Prelate of Aragon preſent at it, neither out of Spaine, nor out of Italy, only the Biſhop of Caſſetane, and the Abbat of Dora, which for their conſtancy and ſtedfaſt good will toward the Timberſall Church, could not be changed from their purpoſe: but of doctors and other inferiours, there were a great number of Aragon, and almoſt all the inferiours of Spaine and Italy (for the inferiours feared not the Princes, as the Biſhops did) and then the worthy ſtoutneſſe of the Aragon and Cathelanes appeared in the ſervice of the Church. Of the two other nations there were onely preſent twenty Biſhops. The reſidue lurked in their lodgings, profeſſing the faith in their hearts, but not in their mouthes. Arelatenſis conſidering afore what would come to paſſe, cauſed prayers to be made, and after their prayers made unto Almighty God, with teares and lamentation, that he would ſend them his holy Spirit to ayde and aſſiſt them, they were greatly comforted and encouraged. This congregation was famous, and albeit that there were not many Biſhops preſent, yet all the ſeats were filled with the Biſhops, Proctors, Archdeacons, Priests, Biſhops, Priests and Doctors of both Lawes, which I judged to be about the number of 400 or more: amongſt whom there was no noiſe, no chiding, no opprobrious words or contention, but one exhorted another to the profeſſion of the faith, and there appeared a full and whole conſent of them all to defend the Church. The Biſhop of Baſilia a noble man, read the decree, which was attentively hearkened unto, and not one word interrupted. When it was ended, Te Deum laudamus was ſung with great joy and gladneſſe, and ſo the ſeſſion diſſolved, which was in number the xxxij. ſeſſion, and amongſt all the firſt the moſt quiet and peaceable.

The day following, being the xxij. of May, the Princes Ambaſſadors without all mens expectation came unto the generall congregation, by that their doing at the leaſt giving their aſſent unto the ſeſſion before paſſed. In celebrating whereof, if the fathers had erred, it had not bene lawfull for the Princes and Ambaſſadors to have holden the Councell with thoſe fathers. But it was thought that they were touched with remorſe of conſcience, and even now to deteſt and abhorre that which they had done; as it was not hidden to the Ambaſſadors of the Empire and France. For the Biſhop of Lubeck ſaid, that the cauſe of his abſence was, for that he was appointed

KING  
HEN. 6.

Arelatenſis answer to Panormitane.  
This deputation of faith, was the company of chosen men, which did determine matters of faith.

S. Jerome writes to Nepotianus de vita clericali.  
Sheweth how politicly and sincerely he doth confute his adverſaries.

In all Italy there were scarcely two Prelates found, which sought the commoditie of the Church, as Spain there was none.

Doctors and Priests wept.

Among 400 Doctors that were present, there was not one ill word.

No man hath more boldly more than Panormitane published the errors of Eugenius: whom he now so gently doth confute.

The Ambassadors consent to the former Session.



{ KING }  
{ HEN. 6. }

pointed by the Emperours commandment to intreat a peace: Wherefore it was not comely for him to be present at any business, whereby he should be vexed or troubled, with whom the peace should be intreated. Notwithstanding, he did much commend the Session before holden, and beloveth the decree therein promulgate to be most good and holy, and the verities therein contained to be undoubted; and said, that he would sticketh thereunto both now and ever, even to the death. But the Bishop of Tournon, a man both learned and eloquent, speaking for him and his fellows, said, that he heard how that they were evil spoken of amongst some, in that they had not honored their King in that most sacred Session, whom it becometh specially to exalt and defend the faith; which also for that cause above all other things was named most Christian: notwithstanding, he said that they had a lawfull excuse, in that it was convenient that they, which were sent to intreat peace, should do nothing whereby their Ambassage should be stopped or letted. Also there are two kinds of injustice (said he) whereby either things are done that should not be done, or things that should be done are not done. The first doth not alwayes binde, because it is convenient to have respect of time, place, and person. But the last doth alwayes binde, wherein he said they were not culpable. But as touching the first point, they might come unto some to have erred, because they were not present at the Session: but yet in this point they had sufficient to answer, forsomuch as if they had bene present at that Session, they should have bene unmete to have entreated any peace with Eugenius. And therefore albeit they were wanting at so holy a business, in that point they followed the example of Paul, which albeit he desired to be dissolved and to be with Christ, yet for the further profit and advancement of the Church, it was deferred. Solike wise he said, that they had now done; for that they were not absent because they doubted of the conclusions (which they judged to be most true and holy, and whereunto they would stick even unto the death) but because they would not be unmete for the treatie of peace for which they came: and yet that which they had not done in their owne persons, they had fulfilled (said he) by their servants and household, whom altogether they commanded to reverence that Session. I would that I had bene then in the place of some great Prelate; surely they should not have gone unpunished, which thought to have played bo-peep. For what doth the declaration of the truth hinder the treatie of peace? Or if it do hurt, why is he not accounted as great an offender, which consenteth to him that declareth the truth, as he which doth declare it? What shall we neede any further testimony? For now the Ambassadors of the Princes have declared Eugenius to be an enemy unto the truth. But to passe over these things, it is sufficient that Eugenius wrote afterward unto the King of France, that he did understand the Bishop of Tournon to become his enemy.

After that the bishop of Tournon had made an end, Cardinal Arelatensis gave thanks unto God, which had so defended his Church, and after great stormes and clouds had sent faire and cleare weather: and commending the good will of the Emperour and the King of France toward the Church, he also praised the B. of Lubek and Tournon, for that oftentimes in the Councell, and also of late at Bantz, they had defended the authority of the Councell. But specially he commended this their present doings, that they had openly confessed the truth, and had not sequestred themselves from the faith of the Church.

Afterward he, entering into the declaration of the matter, said, that he was at Wylis and at Constance, and never saw a more quiet or deboute Session then this; affirming that this decree was most necessary, to repress the ambition of the Bishops of

Rome, which exalting themselves above the universall Church, thought it lawfull for them to doe all things after their own pleasure; and that no one man from henceforth should transport the councell from one place to another, as Eugenius attempted to doe, now to Bononia, now to Florentia, then againe to Bononia, after to Ferraria, and after that againe to Florentia; and that hereafter the Bishops should withdraw their mundes from the care of temporall goods, which (as he himselfe did see) had no munde at all on spirituall matters: and therefore by how much this Session was most holy and necessary, by so much more the assent of the Ambassadors was most laudable and acceptable to all the Fathers. These words thus spoken, he rose up, and the congregation was dissolved.

Now after that Gabriel Condulmarus was deposited from the bishoprick of Rome, the principall fathers of the councell, being called together in the Chapter-house of the great Church, consulted together, whether it were expedient that a new Bishop should be created out of hand, or deferred for a time. Such as thought good that the election should be done with speed, shewed how dangerous a thing it was for such a congregation to be without a head; also what a pestiferous sickness was in all the City, which not onely consumed young men and children, but also men of middle age, and old men in like manner; and that this plague came first by strangers unto the poore of the Citie, and so infected the rich, and now was come unto the Fathers of the councell; amplifying moreover and encreasing the terror thereof, and making the thing worse then it was, as the manner is. Neither doth the decree (said they) any thing let or hinder, wherein it is provided that there should be delay of 60. dayes after the sex is voide; for that is to be understood when as the sex is voide, at such time as there is no councell holden; neither ought we to tarry or make any delay, lest the Princes being perswaded by Gabriel, should resist: unto whom the deposition of Gabriel, and the election of some other, is to be certified all under one message. The other, which thought good that there should be a delay, said, that the councell did lacke no head, forsomuch as Christ was the head thereof; neither did lacke a Ruler, forsomuch as it was governed by the presidents and other officers; and that no mention should be made of any pestilence in such case, seeing that, unto stout and strong men, death is not to be feared, neither can any thing daunt or feare them which contend for the Christian faith. As for that pestilence which both now increaseth and groweth in the Citie, forsomuch as judgement is now given, it is to be hoped that it will allwage, which was thought to have come for the neglecting of Justice. Also that in so doubtful a matter they ought rather to use the Princes against their will, then to neglect them; that it is not to be feared, but that in this case God will helpe those that are stout and valiant. The matter being thus discussed amongst them, (albeit that there were as many minds as there were men) yet it seemed unto them all, that it was most profitable to chuse the B. by & by, but most honestly to defer it.

Hereupon John Segobius, a man of excellent learning said, Most reverend fathers, I am diversly drawne by sundry reasons, to this side and that. But as I weigh the matter more deeply in my minde, this is my opinion, that to come to a speedy election if seemeth good, to speake after mans judgement; but to delay it for two moneths, to speake after Gods judgement, it seemeth much better. I doe judge that not onely the words, but also the meaning of our decree ought to be observed. Wherefore, if ye will give any credit unto me, follow rather dangerous honesty, then secure utility; albeit that indeed utility cannot be discerned from honesty. This opinion of delay toke place among the Fathers and they determined to stay for the space of two months.

¶ f f f 2

Rome, that they should not think they might doe all things according to their owne pleasure; and further to rebuke them from the care of temporall things, which now they regarded not.

The Councell doth deliberate upon the Popes election.

60 dayes must be delayed after the sex is voide.

Note the Christian zeale of these men, which would refuse no danger for Gods cause.

John Segobius.

Dangerous honesty preferred before secure utility.

Two kinds of injustice.

Aeneas, you should have used such severity when you were Pope. Behold, the Princes Ambassadors declare Eugenius an enemy unto the truth.

Arelatensis commendeth the Ambassadors.

This Councell was gathered to take away the ambition of the Bishops of



In the meane time meſſengers were ſent unto the Princes, to declare the depoſition of Eugenius by the Synode, and publiſh it abroad.

During this time, the corrupt aire was nothing at all purged, but the mortality daily increaſing many dyed and were ſicke. Whereupon a ſudden feare came upon the fathers. Neither were they ſufficiently adviſed what they might do, for they thought it not to be without danger either to depart or to tarry. Notwithſtanding, they thought it good to tarry, and alſo they cauſed others to tarry: that ſince they had overcome famine, and the aſſaults of their enemies on earth, they would not ſeeme to ſhynke for the perſecution of any plague or ſickneſſe. But ſo much as they could not all be kept there, it was poſſibly provided, that the councell ſhould not ſeeme to be diſſolved for any mans departure. And for the more eſtabliſhment of the matter, there were certaine ſtatutes read before the fathers, which they called De ſtabilitate, whoſe authority continued long time after. When as the dog-dayes were come, and that all herbes withered with heate, the peſtilence daily increaſed more and more, that it is incredible how many died. It was too horrible to ſee the corſes hourly carried through the ſtreets. When on every ſide there was weeping, wailing and ſighing. There was no houſe void of mourning: no mirth or laughter in any place, but matrons bewailing their husbands, and the husbands their wives. Men and women went through the ſtreets, and durſt not ſpeak one to another. Some carried at home, and other ſome, that went abroad, had perfumes to ſmell unto, to preſerbe them againſt the plague.

The common people died without number: and like as in the cold Autumne the leaves of the trees doe fall; even ſo did the youth of the Citie conſume and fall away. The violence of the diſeaſe was ſuch, that ye ſhould have met a man merry in the ſtreete now, and within ten houres heard that he had been buried. The number of the dead corſes was ſuch alſo, that they lacked place to bury them in; inſomuch that all the Church-yards were digged up, and filled with dead corſes, and great holes made in the pariſh Churches. Where a great number of corſes being thruſt in together, they covered them over with earth. For which cauſe the fathers were ſo afraid that there appeared no bloud in their faces; and ſpecially the ſudden death of Lodovicus the Protonotary did make all men afraid, who was a ſtrong man, and flouriſhing in age, and ſingularly learned in both lawes, whom the ſame envious and raging ſickneſſe tooke away in a few houres. By and by after dyed Lodovicus the Patriarcke of Aquileia, a man of great age, and brought up alwayes in troubles and adverſity, neither could he ſee the day of the Popes election which he had long wiſhed for. Notwithſtanding, he tooke partly a conſolation in that he had ſcene Gabriel depoſed before his death. This mans death was grievous unto all the fathers; for now they ſaid that two pillars of the councell were decayed and overthrowne, meaning the Protonotary and the Patriarcke: whereof the one by the law, and the other with his deeds, defended the verity of the councell.

About the ſame time alſo dyed the King of Arragons ammer in Switzerland, a man of excellent learning, being Biſhop of Ebron. The Abbat of Aergilia dyed at Syppe, and John the Biſhop of Lubecke, betwene Vienna and Wida.

Theſe two laſt rehearſed, even at the point of death, did this thing worthy of remembrance. When as they perceived the houre of their death approach, calling unto them certaine grave and wiſe men, ſaid, All you that be here preſent pray to God that he will convert ſuch as knowledg Gabriel for high biſhop, for in that ſtate they cannot be ſaved: and profeſſing themſelves that they would dye in the faith of the councell of Baſil, they departed in the

Lord. In Boheme alſo departed the biſhop of Conſtance, which was Ambaſſador for the Councell. There was great feare and trembling throughout all the councell. There had bene alſo in the Councell, by a long time, the Abbat of Dona, of the diocceſſe of Cumana, a man poore unto the world, but rich unto God, whom neither flattering nor threatenings could turne away from his good purpoſe and intent, chuſing rather to beg in the truth of the fathers, then to abound in riches with the falſe flattering adberſaries.

Whereupon, after the lords were departed which gave him his living, he remaining ſtill was ſtricken with the plague and dyed. Likewiſe a great number of the Regiſters and Doctors dyed: and ſuch as fell into that diſeaſe, few or none eſcaped. One amongſt all the reſt, Aeneas Sylvius, being ſtricken with this diſeaſe, by Gods helpe eſcaped. This man lay three dayes even at the point of death, all men being in deſpaire of him; notwithſtanding it pleaſed God to grant him longer life. When as the peſtilence was moſt ſerbert and hot, and that daily there dyed about one hundred, there was great intreaty made unto Cardinall Arelatenſis, that he would goe to ſome other towne or village nere hand: for theſe were the words of all his friends and houſhold: What doe you moſt reberend father? At the leaſt boide this waane of the Plague, and ſave your ſelfe: who being ſafe, all we ſhall alſo be ſafe: if you dye, we all periſh. If the plague oppreſſe you, unto whom ſhall we flye? Who ſhall rule us? Who ſhall be the guide of this moſt faithfull ſhorke? The infection hath already invaded your chamber. Your Secretary and Chamberlaine are already dead. Conſider the great danger, and ſave both your ſelfe and us. But neither the intreaty of his houſhold, neither the corſes of thoſe which were dead could move him. Willing rather to preſerbe the Councell with perill of his life, then to ſave his life with perill of the Councell: for he did know that if he ſhould depart, few would have carried behinde, and that deceit ſhould have been wrought in his abſence.

Wherefore, like as in wars the ſouldiers feare no danger, when as they ſee their captaine in the miſt of their enemies: ſo the fathers of the councell were aſhamed to flye from this peſtilence, ſeeing their preſident to remaine with them in the miſt of all dangers. Which their doings did utterly ſubvert the opinion of them, which babbled abroad, that the fathers carried in Baſil to ſeeke their owne profit and commoditie, and not the verity of the faith: for there is no commoditie upon earth which men would change for their lives: for that all ſuch as doe ſerve the world, do preſerbe it before all other things. But theſe our fathers ſhewing themſelves an invincible ſtrong wall for the houſe of God, vanquiſhing all the crafty deceits which Gabriel uſed, and overcoming all difficulties, which this moſt cruell and peſiferous yere brought upon them, at the length all deſire of life alſo being ſet apart, they have overcome all dangers, and have not doubted with moſt conſtant mindes to defend the verity of the Councell, even unto this preſent.

The time of the decrees being paſſed, after the depoſition of Gabriel, it ſeemed good unto the fathers, to proceed to the election of another biſhop. And firſt of all they nominated thoſe that together with the Cardinals, ſhould elect the Pope. The firſt and principall of the electors was the Cardinall Arelatenſis, a man of invincible conſtancy, and incomparable wiſedome: unto whoſe vertue I may juſtly aſcribe whatſoever was done in the Councell: for without him, the prelates had not perſepered in their purpoſe, neither could the ſhadow of any prince have ſo defended them. This man came not to the election by any favor or denomination, but by his own proper right. The reſt of the electors were choſen out of the Italian, French, Germane and Spaniſh nations, and their

KING  
HEN. 6.

The Abbat of Dona, a true Abbat.

Aeneas the author herof eſcaped death hardly.

The invincible conſtancy and ſturdy of the Cardinall Arelatenſis.

A great peſtilence in Baſil.

Lodovicus the Protonotary died of the Plague.

The exhortation of thoſe which dyed.

The Biſhop of Conſtance died.

The common election of Arelatenſis.



SKING  
HEN. 6.

their cells and chambers appointed to them by lots without respect of dignity or person, and as the lots fell, so were they placed: Whereby it chanced a Doctor to have the highest place, and a Bishop the last. Wherein the distribution of lots was very strange, or rather a divine dispensation, reprobing the devices of man, whereas the Prelates had determined to have the best chambers appointed for themselves, and had earnestly contended before to have their chambers appointed according to their dignity.

The counsellor of  
Barcus.

The next day after, there was a Session holden, wherein Marcus a famous Divine made an Oration unto the Electors, wherein he reckoned up the manifold crimes of Gabriel, which was deposed. He endeavored to persuade the Electors to chuse such a man, which should in all points be contrary unto Gabriel, and eschew all his vices; that as he, through his manifold reproaches, was hurtfull unto all men, so he which should be chosen should shew himself acceptable unto all men, through justice; and as Gabriel was covetous and full of rapine, so this man should shew himself continent.

There was so great a number of people gathered together to behold this matter, that neither in the Church, neither in the streets, any man could passe. There was present John Care of Dierstein, who supplied the place of the Emperors protector; also the Senators of the Citie, with many other noble men, to behold the same, whereof you shall heare (Christ willing) more largely hereafter. The Citizens were without in armour to take care, that there should be no uproare made. The Electors received the Communion together, and afterwards they received their oath; and the Cardinall Arelatenſis, opening the booke of decrees, read the forme of the oath in the audience of all men, and first of all, he taking the oath himself began in this manner.

The godly oath  
of Arelatenſis.

Holy reverend fathers, I promise, sweare and hold, before my Lord Jesus Christ (whose most blessed Body I unworthy sinner have received, unto whom in the last judgement I shall give account of all my deeds) that in this business of election, whereunto now by the will of the Counsell we are sent, I will seeke nothing else, but the onely salvation of the Christian people, and the profit of the Univerſall Church. This shall be my whole care and study, that the authority of the generall Councils be not condemned, that the Catholike faith be not impugned, and that the fathers which remaine in the Council be not oppressed. This will I seeke for; this shall be my care; unto this, with all my whole force and power, will I bend my selfe; neither will I respect anything in this point, either for mine owne cause, or for any friends, but onely God, and the profit of the Church. With this minde and intent, and with this heart will I take mine oath before the counsell.

The other electors  
take their  
oath.

His words were libely and fearefull. After him all the other Electors in their order, did sweare and take their oath. Then they went with great solemnity unto the Conclave; where they remained seven dayes. The manner of their election was in this sort. Before the Cardinals seat was set a deske, whereupon there stood a basin of silver, into the which basin all the Electors did cast their scheduls; which the Cardinall receiving, read one by one, and fours other of the Electors wrote as he read them.

The tenor of the Scheduls was in this manner; I George bishop of Ticene, doe chuse such a man, or such a man, for bishop of Rome, and peradventure named one or two: every one of the Electors subscribed his name unto the Schedule, that he might thereby know his owne, and say nay, if it were contrary to that which was spoken; whereby all deceit was utterly excluded. The first scrutiny thus ended, it was found that there were many named to the papacy; yet none had sufficient voices, for that day there were xviij. of divers nations nominated. Notwithstanding, Amedeus Duke of Savoy,

Amedeus duke  
of Savoy.

a man of singular vertue, surmounted them all for in the first scrutiny he had the voice of xvi. Electors, which judged him worthy to govern the Church.

A scrutiny for  
the election  
of popes.

After this, there was diligent inquisition had in the counsell touching those which were named of the Electors, and as every mans opinion served him, he did either praise or discommend those which were nominate. Notwithstanding, there was such report made of Amedeus, that in the next scrutiny, which was holden in the Mones of November, the said Amedeus had 21. voices, and likewise in the 2. and 4. scrutiny 21. voices. And forsomuch as there was none found in all the scrutiny to have 2. parts, all the other Schedules were burnt. And forsomuch as there lacked but only one voice to the election of the high bishop, they fell unto prayer, besiring God that he would vouchsafe to direct their minds to an unity and concord, worthily to elect and chuse him which should take the charge over the flock of God. Forso much as Amedeus seemed to be nearer unto the papacie then all other, there was great communication had amongst them touching his life and disposition. Some said that a lay man ought not so suddenly to be chosen: for it would seeme a strange thing for a secular prince to be called unto the bishopricke of Rome: which would also too much derogate from the Ecclesiasticall state, as though there were none therein meete or worthy for that dignity. Other some said, that a man which was married and had children, was unworthy for such a charge. Other some againe affirmed, that the bishop of Rome ought to be a Doctor of law, and an excellent learned man.

Prayer for unity  
and concord.

When these words were spoken, other some rising up spake farre otherwise; that albeit Amedeus was no Doctor, yet was he learned and wise, forsomuch as all his whole youth he had bestowed in learning and study, and had sought not the name, but even the ground of learning. Then said another, If ye be desirous to be instructed further of this Princes life, I pray you give eare unto me, which doe know him thoroughly. Truly this man from his youth upwards, and even from his young and tender yeeres, hath lived more religiously then secularly, being alwayes indued with the feare of God, never given to any vanitie or wantonnesse; neither hath there at any time bene any childe of the house of Savoy, in whom hath appeared greater wit or to wardnesse; whereby all those which did behold and know this man judged and forsomuch great matter in him; neither were they deceived. For if ye desire to know his rule and governance, what and how noble it hath bene: First know ye this, that this man hath reigned, since his fathers decease, about forty yeeres.

Let him be  
scanned he  
admired of  
this falls  
indeed a  
greatest  
Amedeus  
us.

During whose time, Justice, the Lady and Queen of all other vertues, hath alwayes flourished: For he, hearing his subjects himself, would never suffer the poore to be oppressed, or the weake to be deceived. He was the defender of the fatherlesse, the advocate of the widowes, and protector of the poore. There was no rapine or robbery in all his territory. The poore and rich lived all under one law, neither was he burthenous to his subjects, or importune against strangers throughout all his Countrey; there were no grievous exactions of money throughout all his dominion. He thought himselfe rich enough, if the inhabitants of his dominions did abound and were rich; knowing that it was the point of a good shepheard to sheare his sheepe, and not to devour them. In this also was his chiefe study and care, that his Subjects might live in peace, and such as bordered upon him might have no occasion of grudge.

By which policies he did not onely quietly govern his fathers dominion, but also augmented the same by others, which willingly submitted themselves unto him. He never made warre upon any, but resisting against such as made warre upon him, he



Commendation  
on Amedeus  
Pope elect.

To have a wife  
is no let for a  
good man to be  
elected Pope.  
Popes have  
bene married.  
Reade the fifth  
Epistle of Iu-  
natus, and you  
shall see that  
the Apostles  
had Wives;  
and Baptista  
Santuanus maketh  
mention  
how that Hil-  
arius Bishop of  
Poitiers had a  
wife.

Eccles. 4.

Schisme in the  
Church.

Studied rather to make peace, then to seek any re-  
venge, desiring rather to overcome his enemies  
with benefits, then with the sword. He married  
onely one wife, which was a noble Virgin, and of  
singular beauty and chastitie. He would have all his  
family to keepe their hands and eyes chaste, and  
continent, and throughout all his house, honesty and  
integrity of manners was observed. When as his  
wife had changed her life, and that he perceived his  
Dutchie to be established, and that it should come  
without any controverſie unto his posterity, he  
declared his minde, which was alwayes religious,  
and dedicate unto God, and shewed what will and  
affection he had long borne in his heart. For he con-  
fessing the pompe and state of this world, calling  
unto him his deare friends, departed and went into  
a wilderness, where building a goodly Abbey he ad-  
dited himself wholly to the service of God, and tak-  
ing his crosse upon him followed Christ. In which  
place he being constant by the space of many  
yeres, shewed forth great examples of holinesse,  
wearing no other garments but such as could with-  
stand the cold, neither using any kinde of daintie  
fare, but onely to resist hunger, watching and pray-  
ing the most part of the night. Wherefore this  
Prince is not newly come unto the Church (as some  
doe suppose) but being a Christian borne of pious  
parents, a thousand yeres and more being Christians,  
doth now serve God in a monastery.

But as touching that also which is spoken con-  
cerning a wife, I doe not regard it, when as not  
onely he which hath had a wife, but he also which  
hath a wife may be elect and chosen Pope. For why  
doe the doctors dispute, whether a married man cho-  
sen Pope ought to performe his duty towards his  
wife, but onely because a married man might be  
received and chosen? For as you know well enough  
there were many Popes that had wives; and Peter  
also was not without a wife. But what doe we stand  
about this? For peradventure it had bene better  
that more Priests had been married, for many should  
be saved through marriage, which are now damned  
through their single life. But hereof we will (saith  
he) speak in another place. But this seemeth unto  
me rather to be laughed at, then worthy any answer,  
which is objected touching his children: for what can  
children (specially being of great age) be unpedi-  
ment or let unto the father being a Bishop? Doth  
not the Scripture say, Doe be unto him that is  
alone; for if he fall, he hath none to helpe him up  
again: This cannot be imputed unto the Prince:  
for he hath two sonnes, both comely and wise. Where-  
of the one is Prince of Piemont, the other Earle of  
the Genevians: these men will rule the countrey  
of Savoy in the absence of their father, and will  
helpe him if he have need; for they have already  
learned to rule over that people. I pray you what  
hurt is it for a Bishop of Rome to have valiant chil-  
dren, which may helpe their father against tyrants?  
A most reverend fathers, the more I doe behold  
the forme of this most perverſe and froward time,  
the more I doe consider the vexations and troubles  
which the Church is now tormented withall: I doe  
so much the more thinke it profitable, yea and neces-  
sary, that this man should be chosen prince and head:  
I will thinke that God hath shewed his mercy upon  
us, If I may see him have the governance over  
this boat: I pray you consider into what straits we  
are now driven, with what perils we are now bered  
and tossed. What Prince is it that is obedient unto  
this councill? For some will not confesse that the  
councill is here, neither receive our decrees: other  
some confesse it in their words, but by their deeds  
they declare it to be at Florence. For albeit that  
by their words and letters they doe not deny that the  
Church is here, yet doe they procure promotions at  
the hands of Gabriel which is deposed. This is the  
state of the Church with these stormes and tempests

the ship is shaken and bruised: wicked children have  
risen up against their mother, which being unminde-  
full of their mothers labors and kindnesse towards  
them, despise her, contemne her, and beat her. What  
is to be done herein? Shall we chuse a bare man,  
which shall rather be derided of our Princes, then  
had in reverence? The dayes are not now, that men  
have respect onely unto vertue; for (as the Satyri-  
call Poet inviteth) vertue is praised, but is coldly  
followed. A poore man speaketh, and they aske what  
he is? Truly vertue is good; but for our purpose, it  
must be marked and looked upon, whether it be in a  
rich man, or a poore man; you must chuse a gover-  
nor which may rule the ship not onely by councill,  
but by power also. The winde is great; wherefore  
except the councill be good, and the power strong,  
the ship shall be broken, and all put in danger. The  
memoriall is yet fresh before our eyes, that the prin-  
ces doe neglect the authority which is of no force or  
power. Is there not great valiantnesse shewed in  
this point, in that you fearing no perill or danger,  
either of life or goods, have so long contended for the  
truth of Christ? But the most mighty and high God  
looketh down from on high, and will resist this their  
pride. I have often contented unto their opinion,  
which said it was expedient that the temporal do-  
minions should be divided from the Ecclesiasticall  
state: for I did thinke that the Priests should there-  
by be made more apt to the divine ministry, and  
secular Princes more obedient to the Clergy. But  
forasmuch as at this present the Churches of the  
world are possessed, partly by Eugenius, and partly  
by other tyrants, we must provide that we chuse such  
a one, which may recover againe the patrimony of  
the Church, and in whom the office of Christs Vicar  
may not be contemned: through the shield of whose  
power their contumacy may be suppressed, which  
contemne both verity and reason. Whereunto no  
man seemeth unto me more apt or meete, then A-  
medeus Duke of Savoy, which holdeth the one  
part of his possessions in Italy, and the other in  
France: unto whom all Christian Princes are allied  
either by consanguinity, or joyned by amitie and  
friendship, and whose vertue, how famous it is, I  
have already declared. Why doe we then stay or  
doubt to chuse him? then whom Gabriel feareth no  
man more. Let him therefore perſh with the sword  
wherewithall he hath stricken. There is no man  
which can more pacifie the Church then he. Doe you  
require devotion in a Bishop: there is no man more  
devoute then he. Doe you require prudence? How  
ye understand by his former life what manner of  
man he is. If ye seeke for iustice, his people are a  
witness thereof; so that whether you seeke for ver-  
tue or power, all are here present before you. Where-  
upon doe ye stay? Go to I pray you; chuse this man.  
He will augment the faith, he will reforme man-  
ners, and preserve the authority of the Church. Have  
ye not heard these troubles of the Church to have  
bene alsoe spoken of, and that the time now present  
should be an end of all troubles? Have ye not heard  
that about this time there should a Pope be chosen,  
which should comfort Zion, and set all things in  
peace? And who I pray you should be that could  
fulfill these things except we chuse this man? Be-  
leeve me, these sayings must be fulfilled, and I trust  
that God will move your mindes thereunto. Not-  
withstanding, doe whatſoever you shall thinke most  
good and holy.

When he had spoken these words, the greatest  
number of the Electors seemed to consent unto him,  
and his words took such effect, that in the next scru-  
tining the matter was finished and ended, and when  
the scrutiny was opened, it was found that Amedeus,  
the most devout Duke of Savoy, according to  
the decree of the councill, was chosen Pope. Where-  
fore suddenly there was great joy and gladnesse  
amongst them, and all men highly commended their  
doings.

Good it were  
that temporall  
dominions  
were divided  
from the  
Church.

Amedeus duke  
of Savoy cho-  
sen Pope.



**KING** } doings. When the Cardinall Arelatenſis publiſhed  
**H. N. 6.** } unto them the name of the elect biſhop. After this all  
 the prelates in their robes, pontificalibus, and miters,  
 and all the clergy of the city coming unto the con-  
 clave, the Electors being likewiſe adorned, they  
 brought him unto the great Church, where after  
 great thanks given unto God, and the Election  
 againe declared unto the people, a Hymne being  
 ſung for joy, the congregation was diſſolved.

This Amedeus aforeſaid, was a man of rebe-  
 rent age, of comely ſtature, of grave and diſcrete  
 behavioꝛ; alſo beſore married. Who thus being  
 elect for Pope about November, was called Felix  
 the fifth, and was crowned in the city of Baſil,  
 in the moneth of July. There was preſent at his  
 coronation, Lewis Duke of Saboy: Philip  
 Earle Gebenent. Lewis Marquell of Salutze:  
 The Marquell of Kotelen: Conrade of Win-  
 ſperge chamberlaine of the Empire: the Earle  
 of Dierſtein: The Ambaſſadours of the cities  
 of Straſburgh, Berne, Friburge, Solotozne, with  
 a great multitude of other beſide, to the view of  
 50000. perſons. At this coronation, the Popes two  
 ſonnes did ſerbe and miniſter to their father. Lewis  
 cardinall of Hoſtia did ſet on his head the pontifi-  
 call diadem, which was eſteemed at thirty thouſand  
 crownes. It was long here to recite the whole order  
 and ſolemnity of the proceſſion, or the Popes riding  
 about the citie. Firſt proceeded the Pope under his  
 Canopie of cloth of gold, having on his head a tri-  
 ple crowne, and bleſſing the people as he went. By  
 him went the Marquell of Kotelen, and Conrade  
 of Winſperge, leading his horſe by the bridle. The  
 proceſſion finiſhed, they went to dinner, which laſted  
 four full hours, being exceſſively ſumptuous: where  
 the Popes two ſonnes were butlers to his cup: The  
 Marquell of Salutze was the Steward, &c.

Of this Felix thus writeth Colaterrane in his  
 third booke, that he being deſired of certaine of the  
 Ambaſſadours, if he had any dogs or hounds to ſhew  
 them; he willed them the next day to repaire unto  
 him, and he would ſhew unto them ſuch as he had.  
 When the Ambaſſadours according to the appoint-  
 ment were come, he ſheweth unto them a great  
 number of paze people and beggars ſitting at  
 his tables at meat, declaring that thoſe were his  
 hounds, which he every day uſed to feed, hunting with  
 them (he truſted) for the glory of heaven to come.

And thus you have heard the ſtate of this coun-  
 cill hitherto, which counsell endured a long ſeaſon, the  
 ſpace of ſeventene yerres.

About the ſixty yere of the counsell; Sigismund  
 the Emperour died, leaving but one daughter to ſuc-  
 ceed him in his kingdome, whom he had married to  
 Albert the ſecond Duke of Auſtrich, which firſt ſuc-  
 ceeded in the kingdome of Hungary and Boheme,  
 being a foze adberſary to the Bohemians; and af-  
 terward was made Emperour, Anno 1438. and  
 raigned Emperour but two yerres, leaving his wife  
 which was Sigismund his daughter, great with  
 child. After which Albert ſucceeded his brother  
 Frederike, the third Duke of Auſtrich, in the Em-  
 pire, &c. whereof more (Chriſt willing) hereafter.

In the meane tyme Eugenius hearing of the  
 death of Sigismund aforeſaid, began to worke  
 the diſſolution of the counsell of Baſil, and to trans-  
 ferre it to Ferrara, pretending the coming of the  
 Grecians. Notwithſtanding the counsell of Baſil,  
 through the diſpoſition of God, and the worthineſſe  
 of Cardinall Arelatenſis, conſtantly endured. Al-  
 beit in the ſaid Counsell were many ſtops and pa-  
 rades to impeach the ſame, beſide the foze plague  
 of peſtilence which fell in the City, during the ſaid  
 counsell. In the which plague time, beſides the death  
 of many worthy men, Aeneas Sylvius alſo himſelfe,  
 the writer and compiler of the whole hiſtoꝛy of that  
 Counsell, ſitting at the feet of the biſhops of Tur-  
 non, and Lubeck, lay ſicke thre dayes of the ſame

foze, as is afore touched, and never thought to es-  
 cape. They that died, departed with this exhortati-  
 on, deſiring men to pray to God, that he would con-  
 vert the hearts of them that ſtucke to Eugenius as  
 Pope, againſt that Counsell, as partly is afore no-  
 ted, and now repeated again for the better marking.  
 Arelatenſis being moſt inſtantly exhorted by his  
 friends to ſie that danger, could by no means be in-  
 treated to aban- ſeeking more the danger of the  
 church, then of his owne life.

Beſide theſe ſo great difficulties and obſtacles to  
 ſtay and hinder this counsell, ſtrange it was to be-  
 hold the mutation of mens mindes. Of whom ſuch  
 as firſt ſeemed to ſavoꝛ the counsell after did impugn-  
 it; and ſuch as beſore were againſt it, in the end  
 ſhewed themſelves moſt friends unto the ſame. The  
 chief Cardinals and Prelates, the moze they had to  
 loſe, the ſoner they ſlpt away, or elſe lurked in  
 houſes or townes near, and abſented themſelves for  
 feare: ſo that the ſtay of the Counsell moſt reſted  
 upon their Proctors, Doctors, Archdeacons, Deanes,  
 Probos, Priors, and ſuch other of the inferior ſort.  
 Whereof Aeneas Sylvius, in his 183. Epistle, mak-  
 eth this relation, where one Caſpar Schickel the  
 Emperours Chancellor writeth to Cardinall Julian  
 in theſe words; Thoſe Cardinals (ſaith he) which  
 ſo long time magnifico ſo highly the au hority of the  
 Church, and of generall counells, ſeeming as though  
 they were ready to ſpend their lives for the ſame,  
 now at the ſight of one letter from their King  
 (wherein yet no death was threatned, but only loſſe  
 of their promotions) ſlpt away from Baſil. And in  
 the ſame Epistle deridingly commendeth them, as  
 wiſe men, that had rather loſe their faith, then their  
 flock. Albert (ſaith he) they departed not farre away,  
 but remained about Solotozne, waiting for other  
 commandements from their Prince. Whereby it  
 may appeare, how they did ſhynk away not willing-  
 ly; but the Ruſe (quoth he) bindeth faſter, then  
 true honour.

Quid enim ſalvis infamia nummis? That is to ſay,  
 What matter maketh the name of a man, ſo his  
 mony be ſafe? Hæc Aeneas.

Moreover, in one of the ſeſſions of the ſaid coun-  
 cell, the worthy Cardinall Arelatenſis ſaid thus to  
 have reported, that Chriſt was ſold for ſilvery pence:  
 but I (ſaid he) was ſold much moze deare. For  
 Gabriel otherwiſe called Eugenius Pope, offered  
 theſe foze thouſand crownes, who ſo would take me,  
 and preſent me unto him. And they that toke the  
 ſaid Cardinall, afterward excuſed their ſad by ano-  
 ther colour, pretending the cauſe, for that the Car-  
 dinals brother, what time the Armies waſted Al-  
 ſatia, had brought great damage to the inhabitants  
 there, and therefore they thought (ſaid they) that  
 they might lawfully lay hands upon a Frenchman,  
 whereſoever they might take him. At length by the  
 Biſhop of Straſburgh, Rupert, and the ſaid Erie,  
 the matter was taken up, and be reſcued. Wherein  
 no doubt appeared the hand of God, in defending his  
 life from the peſtilent danger of the Pope his adver-  
 ſary, Ex Paralip. Abbat. Viſper.

And thus ſare having proceeded in the matters  
 of this aforeſaid counsell, untill the election of Ame-  
 deus, called Pope Felix the fifth, beſore we proſecute  
 the reſt that remained thereof to be ſpoken, the  
 order and courſe of times requieth to intermixe  
 withall the reſidue pertaining to the matters con-  
 cluded betwixen this counsell and the Bohemians,  
 declaring the whole circumſtances of the ambage,  
 their Articles, diſputations and answers, which they  
 had firſt in the ſaid counsell, then in their owne coun-  
 try with the counells Ambaſſadours, alſo with their  
 petitions and answers unto the ſame.

Touthing the ſtoꝛy of the Bohemians, how they  
 being ſent for, came up to the Counsell of Baſil,  
 and how they appeared, and what was there con-  
 cluded and agreed, partly beſore hath been expreſſed.

The conſtant  
 ſeale of Arela-  
 tenſis to the  
 tenth.

Aeneas Sylvius,  
 Epil. 183.

The weakneſſe  
 of theſe ſort  
 away from the  
 counsell.  
 Greatly the  
 lateſt afraid of  
 death.  
 ræquiem ele-  
 he, cuncta ma-  
 luit.  
 Promotions  
 choke the elec-  
 tion.

60. Thouſand  
 crownes offer-  
 red by Pope  
 Eugenius, for  
 the betraying  
 of Arelatenſis.

Arelatenſis tak-  
 en and reſcu-  
 ed.  
 Gods defence  
 toward his ſer-  
 vants.  
 Ex paralip. Abbat.  
 Viſper.

The ſtoꝛy of the  
 Bohemians  
 proſecuted.

Roma

Pope Felix the  
 fifth.

The number  
 of people at the  
 coronation of  
 Pope Felix.  
 The Popes  
 two ſonnes ſer-  
 ving at the co-  
 ronation.  
 The waſhation  
 of the Popes  
 crowne.

The Popes  
 dinner and  
 ſervice.

Colat. lib. 3.

A note for our  
 gentlemen and  
 lords, to learne  
 how to hunt,  
 and what dogs  
 to keepe.

The death of  
 Sigismund the  
 Emperour.  
 Albert the ſe-  
 cond Emperour.

Anno  
 1438.  
 The death of  
 Albertus.

The plague at  
 Baſil in the  
 time of the  
 counsell.

Aeneas Sylvius,  
 ſicke of the  
 plague in Ba-  
 ſil.



How as leisure serbeth from other matters, to returne againe unto the same, it remaineth to prosecute the rest that lacketh, so farre as both brevity may be observed, and yet the Reader not defrauded of such things, principally worthy in the same to be noted and knowne.

The Bohemians then (as is before declared) having alwayes the upper hand, albeit they were accused by the new bishop Eugenius, yet it was thought good that they should be called unto Basill, where the Councell was appointed. Whereupon Cardinall Julian sent thither before John Pullumiar doctor of the law, and John de Ragusio, a Divine. Who coming unto Basill in the moneth of August, Anno, 1431. called by their letters unto the councell, John, Abbat of Hulbuzin, and John Gelhusius, Monk of the same cloister; which men for dexterity of their wit, and experience and knowledge of countries, were very meet and necessary for ambassages.

Within a few dayes after Julianus also came thither, as he had promised, and immediately sent out John Gelhusius, and Hammon Offenbourg, a Senator of Basill, first unto the Emperour Sigismund being at Feldkirch, and afterward unto Frederike Duke of Austria, for the appeasing of the wars between him and Philip, Duke of Burgonie. This was done, to the intent that peace being had, not only the Ecclesiasticall Prelates, but also the Merchants might have safe access unto Basill, and sojourn in all things necessary for sustentation.

They going in this Ambassage, received letters from the Synode to bee delivered unto the Emperour Sigismund, whereby the Bohemians and Moravians were called unto the Councell. These letters he by and by caused to be carried unto Boheme. But forsomuch as he himselfe went into Italy, to receive the imperiall crowne of the Bishop, he left William Duke of Bavaria, as his depute to be Protector unto the Councell. Furthermore, when as the Synode understood that our men would take a peace with the Bohemians, after their most shamefull flight, they sent John Piderus a Divine, and John Gelhusius, to comfort the people which joined upon Boheme, and earnestly to move the Moravians and Bohemians, which were before called, to come unto the Councell.

They departing from Basill about the end of October, took their journey toward Monacum, a towne of Bavaria; where, after they had saluted William Duke of Bavaria, and his brother Ernestus, and Albert the son of Ernestus, and had declared the commission of their ambassage, and had shewed unto Duke William, how that as soone as he should come unto Basill, the protection of the Councell should be committed unto him by the Emperour; they exhorted Frederike, Marques of Brandenburge, and John Duke of Bavaria, the Senate of Pomerberge, and other Princes and Lords, partly by the Letters of the Councell, and partly by words of mouth, that they should by no meanes take any truce with the Bohemians, for that it might be hurtfull unto the Church, and said they should have aide out of hand. They desired them also in the name of the Councell, that if the Bohemians would send their Ambassadors unto Basill, they would guide them, every man thorow his countrey in safety; which they promised to doe. It is incredible how all men rejoiced that the Bohemians were sent for.

After this, when as they councelled with the Senate of Pomerberge, touching the sending of the Councels letters unto Boheme, it seemed best first of all to inquire of the rulers of Egra, whether the Bohemians had made any answer to the former letters of the Councell which they had sent. The Rulers of Egra, being advertised by these letters, sent him which carried the councels letters into Boheme, unto Pomerberge. He reported how reverently the

Councell of the greater cite of Prague received the letters, and how he was rewarded.

Whereupon, they conceived great hope of the good successe of the ambassage. Therefore the Ambassadors using the councell of the Senate of Pomerberge, and divers others, sent the messenger back againe unto Egra, with their owne private letters, and with letters of the Councell: for there was no better meane to send the letters to Boheme. Such travell was taken by them of Egra, Frederike Marquesse of Brandenberge, and John Duke of Bavaria, in this matter; for that they were very desirous that peace might be had amongst Christians. The copie of those letters, where by the Synode did call the Bohemians unto the Councell, and other letters exhortatory of the Ambassadors and the Bohemians answered unto the same, for brevities cause we have here pretermitted. The Bohemians not in all points trusting unto the Ambassadors, required by their letters that the Councels Ambassadors, with the other Princes, should come unto Egra, where their Ambassadors should also be present, to intreat upon the safe-conduct and other matters.

The day was appointed for the meeting, the Sunday after Easter, which was the twenty seven day of April. Then came the Ambassadors of the Councell unto Egra, with the Noble Princes Frederike Marquesse of Brandenberge, and John Duke of Bavaria, with other Nobles, almost to the number of 252. horse. But none of the Bohemians were present, because the inhabitants of Pilsana, and the lord Swambergius had not sent their safe-conduct. When they understood this by their letters, they brought it to passe that the Ambassadors of the Bohemians, Nicolaus Humpelzius, Secretary of the greater city of Prague, and Mattheus Clumpezan, president of Pilsna, should be brought forth by them of Egra, and the Glenbogenses, and so they came unto Egra with nineteen horse, the eighth day of May. The next day after, Henry Lacys received the Bohemian Ambassadors before the Marquesse with an eloquent Oration, taking this part of the Gospel for his Theme, Pax vobis, i. Peace be with you. When they propounded what great injuries they had hitherto received at their hands, which was the cause of so many great slaughters on either party, and that they were glad that yet now at the length there was some hope that they should be heard.

After this they conferred as touching the safe-conduct. The Bohemians required pledges, and that not of the common sort, but Princes and Nobles. Which thing, forsomuch as it did not content the Ambassadors, and that the matter should be put off, the common people of Egra began to cry out, that it was long of the ecclesiasticall Princes, that a concord was not made with the Bohemians. When Frederike, Marquesse of Brandenburge, and John Duke of Bavaria, bound themselves of their owne good will. The like also did William Duke of Bavaria, at the request of the Councell. Likewise also did the Councell and the Emperour Sigismund. Furthermore, promise was made, that all the Princes and Cities should doe the like, though whose dominion they should come, and the Cite of Basill also. The copie of which safe-conduct was afterward sent unto Prague. This also was required by the Bohemians, that if it were possible, the Emperour should be present at the Councell.

This convention at Egra, continued vii. dayes. But the Bohemians, albeit they heard the councels Ambassadors make great promises, yet did they not fully give credit unto them. Whereupon they chose out two Ambassadors, Nicholas Humpelzius, and John Zaryzenes, which should goe to Basill, and diligently enquire out all things. These men, Conrad Bishop of Ratibone, and Conrad Seglar Deane of Ekein brought into Cattelburg, where

{ KING }  
{ HEN. 6. }

The Bohemians laboured to come to the Councell.

The Bohemians invited to come to the Councell.

The Ambassadors of the Bohemians, and of the councell meet together at Egra.

The Bohemians require pledges.

Princes bound to the Bohemians.

The Bohemians require the Emperour to be present at the Councell.

The Bohemians send two Ambassadors to the councell.



{ KING }  
{ HEN. 6. }

where the Marquesse dwelt, being sent out by the Synode a little before, to enquire whether the Bohemian Ambassadors would come or not. When they were come to Wiberacke, one being overcurious, inquired of one of the Bohemian Ambassadors, of what country he was. He answered that he was a Zazzen. There (said he) are most execrable hereticks and naughty men, &c. Who for that slanderous word, as a breaker of the truce, was straightway carried to prison, and there should have suffered more punishment, if the Bohemian Ambassadors, and the Abbat of Cbera, had not intreated for him. When they came unto Basill, they were honorably received with wine and fish. They tarried there five dayes and a halfe. The tenth day of October they came unto the Synode, which was assembled at the Friers Augustines.

Good justice upon a slanderous railor. The gentleness of the Bohemian Ambassadors.

The Ambassadors of the Bohemians returne home.

The Bohemians send up to the Councell other solemne Ambassadors.

The Oration of the Cardinall Julian to the Bohemians. Vide supra.

The first Article of the Bohemians by the first Ambassador.

The second Article of the Bohemians by the second Ambassador.

The third Article of the Bohemians by the third Ambassador.

The fourth Article of the Bohemians by the fourth Ambassador.

The Oration of the Abbat of Silestria offered to the Bohemians.

matter did not a little offend the Bohemians. John Magusinus a Divine, after scholars fashion, in his answer spake often of heretics and heretikes. Procopius could not suffer it, but rising up with an angry stomacke complained openly to the Councell of this injury. This our country man (saith he) doth us great injury, calling us oftentimes heretikes. Whereunto Magusinus answered so much as I am your country man both by tongue and nation, I doe the more desire to reduce you againe unto the Church. He was a Dalmatian borne, and it appeareth that the Dalmatians, going into Boheme, took their name by their country which they possessed. It came almost to this point, that though this offence the Bohemians would depart from Basill, and could scarcely be appeased. Certaine of the Bohemians would not heare Magusinus finish his disputation.

John Magusinus was reproved for calling the first hereticks.

The Bohemians and the papall doctor Magusinus.

Cardinalis Carolus de Silesia answered to the first and Article. Francis Cologronius answered to the third Article. John Dalmatius answered to the fourth Article.

After him a famous Divine, one Egidius Celerius, Deane of the Church of Cambay, answered unto the second Article, by the space of foure dayes. To the third Article answered one Henricus, first named Frigidum fegrum, thre dayes together. Last of all one Johannes Polomarius, master of the requests of the Palace, answered unto the fourth Article likewise by the space of thre dayes, so that the long time which they used in disputations seemed tedious unto the Bohemians. Notwithstanding, this answer the Bohemians still defended their Articles, and specially the first, in which as John Rochezanus did strongly impugn Magusinus answer by the space of five dayes. But so much as one disputation bred another, and it was not perceived how that by this means any concord could be made; the Prince William Duke of Bavaria, president of the Councell, attempted another remedy, that all disputations being set apart the matter should be friendly debated.

There were certaine appointed on either part to intreat upon the concord; who coming together the eleventh day of March, those which were appointed for the councell were demanded to say their intakes. It seemed good, said they, if these men would be united unto us, and be made one body with us, that this body might then accord, declare and determine all manner of difficulties of opinions and sects, what is to be believed or done in them.

Certain chosen on both sides to determine the matter.

The Bohemians, when they had a while paused, said; this way seemed not apt enough, except first of all the foure Articles were exactly discussed, so that either we should agree with them, or they with us; for otherwise it would be but a frivolous matter, if they being now united, againe disagree in the deciding of the Articles. Here answer was made to the Bohemians, that if they were rightly united, and the aide of the holy Ghost called for, they should not erre in the deciding of the matter, so much as every Christian ought to believe that determination; which if they would doe, it would breed a most firme and strong concord and amity on either part. But this answer satisfied them not. In such that the other thre rose up, and disputed against the answers which were given. At that time Cardinall Julian president of the Councell, made this Oration unto the Bohemian Ambassadors.

This sacred Synode, saith he, hath now by the space of ten dayes patiently heard the propositions of your foure Articles: and afterward he answered: You have propounded, saith he, foure Articles, but we understand that, beside these foure, you have many other strange doctrines, wherein ye dissent from us. Wherefore it is necessary, if that a perfect unity and fraternity shall follow betwix us, that all these things be declared in the Councell, to the end that by the grace of the holy Ghost, which is the author of peace and truth, one profession may be made therein. For we have not gathered these things of light conjectures, but have heard them of credible persons,

The Oration of Cardinall Julian.



persons, and partly here are some present which have seene them with their owne eyes in Boheme, and partly we doe gather it by your owne report. For master Nicholas, which was the second that did propound, amongst other things alleadged, that John Wickliffe was an Evangelicall Doctor. If ye beleeve him to be a true Doctor, it followeth that you must repute his works as authentike: If ye doe not so thinke, it is reason that it should be opened unto us.

Wherefore we desire you, that you will certifie us upon these and certaine other points, what you doe beleeve, or what credit you doe give unto them. But we doe not require that you should now declare your reasons, but if shall satisfie us, if you will answer unto every Article by this word, *Credimus aut non credimus*, that is, *We beleeve, or beleeve not*. Which if you will doe (as we trust you will) then we shall manifestly perceive that you desire that wee should conceive a good estimation of you. If there be any thing whereof you would be certified by us, aske it boldly, and we will give you an answer out of hand: For we are ready according to the doctrine of Saint Peter, to render account unto every man which shall require it, touching the faith which we hold. Hereunto the Bohemian Ambassadors answered in few words, that they came onely to propound those foure Articles, not in their owne name, but in the name of the whole kingdome of Boheme, and speake no more. Whereupon, William the noble Protector of the Councell, calling upon him foure men on either part, intreated touching the pacifying of the matter, by whose advice the Councell decreed to send a famous ambassage, with the Bohemian Ambassadors, unto Prague, where the people should assemble upon Sunday. But they would not receive these conditions of peace which were offered, but made haste to depart. Whereupon the fourteenth day of April, there were ten chosen out of the Councell, to goe with the Bohemian Ambassadors unto Prague.

It were too long here to declare what honour was done unto these Ambassadors all the way in their journey, and specially when they came unto Boheme, by the Citizens of Prague, when as a great number of Bohemians were assembled at Prague at the day appointed, both of the Clergy, Nobility and common people.

After the comming of those Ambassadors, much contention began to rise betwene the parties. First began John Rochezanus, who speaking in the publicke person of the commonalty, laboured to commend and preferre, the foure verities of the Bohemians before propounded; charging also the Prelates and Priests for their slanderous obtrudations, and undeserved confumelies wherewith they did infame the noble kingdome of Boheme, complaining also that they would not receive those Christian verities, left and allowed by their king Wenceslaus now departed. Wherefore he required them in the behalfe of the whole nation that they would leave off hereafter to oppresse them in such sort, that they would restore to them againe their Josephs vesture, that is, the ornament of their good fame and name, wherof their brethren, their enemies had spoiled them, &c.

So this Polomar maketh answer againe, with a long and curious Oracion, exhorting them to peace and unity of the church, which if they would embrace, all other obstacles and impediments (said he) should be soon removed, promising also that this their vesture of honour and fame should be amply restored againe; and afterward if there were any doubtfull matters, they might & should be the better discussed.

But all this pleased not the Bohemians, unless they might first have a declaration of their foure Articles, which if they might obtaine, they promised then to embrace peace and concord. Which peace

(said they) began first to be broken by themselves, in that the Councell of Constance, by their unjust condemnation, burned John Hus, and Hierome of Prague, and also by their cruell bulls and censures, raised up first excommunication, then warre against the whole kingdome of Boheme.

Hereunto Polomar, reclaiming againe, began to advance and magnifie the honour and dignity of generall Councels. To conclude, as much as the

10 said Polomar did extoll the authority of the Councels, so much did the answer of the Bohemians extenuate the same; saying, that the latter Councels which are not expresse in the Law of God, have erred, and might erre, not onely in faith, but also in manners. For that which hath chanced to the greivous word, may also chance unto the drie. But of other, the most strong pillars of the militant Church, the Apostles I meane, seeme all to have erred, and the Catholike faith to have remained three dayes sound and incorrupt onely in the Virgin Mary. For Christi-

20 tian man therefore ought to be compelled to stand to the determination of the Pope or the Councell, except it be in that which is plainly expresse in the Law of God. For it is evident that all the generall Councels which have bene of long time, have reformed very few things as touching the faith, peace, and manners of the Church, but have allwayes, both in their life and decrees, notoriously swarbed, and have not established themselves upon

30 the foundation, which is Christ. Wherefore the said Bohemians protested, that they would not simply and plainly (God being their good Lord) yeld themselves to their doctrine, nor to such rash and halty decrees; lest through that their halty and uncircumspect submission they should binde their faith and life contrary to the wholesome and sound doctrine of our Lord Christ Jesus. In summe, in no case they would enter into any agreement of peace, except their foure Articles which they counted for

40 Evangelicall verities, were first accepted and approved. Which being obtained (said they) if they would condescend with them in the verity of the Gospell, so would they joyne together, and bee made one with them in the Lord, &c. Ex Cochleo, Hist. Lib. 7.

When the Ambassadors saw the matter would not otherwise be brought to passe, they required to have those Articles delivered unto them in a certain forme, which they sent unto the Councell by three Bohemian Ambassadors.

Afterward the Councell sent a declaration into Boheme, to be published unto the people in the common assemblies of the kingdome, by the Ambassadors, which were commanded to report unto the Bohemians, in the name of the Councell, that if they would receive the declaration of those three Articles, and the unity of the Church, there should be a mean found whereby the matter touching the fourth Article, of the Communion under both kindes should be

60 passed with peace and quietnesse. They propounded in Prague, in an open assembly of the Nobles and Commons, the declarations of the three Articles in foure following.

Forasmuch as touching the doctrine of the verity we ought to proceed soberly and warily, that the truth may be declared with words being so orderly conceived and uttered, that there be no offence given to any man, whereby he should fall to take occasion of error and (to use the words of Mosese) that nothing by obscurity be left doubtful; whereas you have propounded touching the inhibition and correction of sinnes in these words; All mortall sinnes and specially open offences ought to be rooted out, punished, and inhibited, by them whose dutie it is so to doe, reasonably and according to the Law of God: here it is to be marked and understood, that this word (whose duty it is) is too generall, and may be an offence; and according to the meaning of the

{ KING }  
{ HEN. 6. }

Polomar extol-  
ler the Coun-  
cels.  
Generall coun-  
cels may erre  
and have erred.

Ex Cochleo, hist.  
lib 7.

The Ambassa-  
dors of the  
Councell and  
the Bohemians  
could not agree.

A declaration  
of three Arti-  
cles promised  
to the Bohemi-  
ans by the  
Councell.

A declaration  
of the Councell  
to the Bohemi-  
ans concerning  
the three  
Articles.

The 2. propo-  
sition propoun-  
ded by the Bo-  
hemians with  
the Declaration  
from the coun-  
cell.

Nicholas the  
second pro-  
pounder, char-  
ged by the car-  
dinal, for com-  
mending of  
John Wickliffe.

A prudent an-  
swer of the Bo-  
hemians to the  
Card. Julian.

The Ambassa-  
dors of the  
Bohemians re-  
turne without  
agreement.

The comming  
of the Legates  
to Prague.  
John Rochezanus  
speaketh.

Ex Cochleo, hist.  
lib. 7.

Polomar an-  
swereth to the  
Bohemians.

The Bohemi-  
ans replie  
againe to  
Polomar.



KING  
HENRY 6.

Smuggling of  
publick offend-  
ers how and  
by whom.  
More here the  
Popes addition

Scripture, we ought not to lay any stumbling block before the blinde, and the ditches are to be closed up, that our neighbours Bre doe not fall therein; all occasion of offence is to be taken away. Therefore we say that according to the meaning of the holy Scripture, and the doctrine of the holy Doctors it is thus universally to be holden; that all mortall sinnes, especially publick offences, are to be rooted out, corrected and inhibited, as reasonably as may be according to the Law of God, and the institutions of the fathers. The power to punish these offenders doth not pertain unto any private person, but onely unto them which have jurisdiction of the law over them, the distinction of law and justice being orderly observed.

The 3. Article  
of the Bohemi-  
ans with the  
declaration  
from the  
Councell.

As touching the preaching of the Word of God, which Article you have alleaged in this forme, that the Word of God should bee freely and faithfully preached by the fit and apt Ministers of the Lord; lest by this word (freely) occasion might be taken of disordered liberty (which as you have often said you doe not meane) the circumstance thereof is to be understood: and we say, that (according to the meaning of the holy Scripture, and doctrine of the holy fathers) it is thus universally to be belived: That the Word of God ought freely, but not every where, but faithfully and orderly to be preached by the priests and Levites of the Lord, being allowed and sent by their superiours unto whom that office appertaineth, the authority of the bishop alwayes referred, who is the provider of all things according to the institution of the holy fathers.

Liberty of  
preaching, how  
farre, and to  
whom it ex-  
tendeth.

The 4. Article  
of the Bohemi-  
ans with the  
declaration  
from the  
Councell.

As concerning the last Article expressed under these words: It is not lawfull for the Christian Clergy, in the time of the law of grace, to have dominion over temporall goods; we remember that in the famous disputation holden in the sacred Councell, he which was appointed by the Councell to dispute, propounded two conclusions in this sort.

Temporall pos-  
sessions in the  
Clergy means  
lands.

First, that such of the Clergy as were not religious, and had not bound themselves thereunto by a vow, might lawfully have and possesse any temporall goods; as the inheritance of his father or any other, if it be left unto him, or any other goods justly gotten by meanes of any gift, or other lawfull contract, or else some lawfull Art.

The Papists  
stand hard for  
their temporall  
Lordships.

The second conclusion, The Church may lawfully have and possesse temporall goods, moveable and unmoveable, houses, lands, townes, and villages, castles and cities, and in them a private and civill dominion. Your ambassadoz which disputed against him, granted those conclusions, saying that they did not impugn the sense of this Article being well understood, so much as he understood this Article of civill dominion formally meant. Whereby, and also by other things, it may be understood, that those words, to have secular dominion expressed in the foresaid Article, seemeth to be referred to some speciall manner or kinde of dominion. But so much as the doctrine of the Church is not to be interpreted upon by any ambiguous or doubtfull words, but fully and plainly: therefore we have thought good more plainly to expresse that, which according to the Law of God, and the doctrine of the holy Doctors, is universally to be belived, that is to say, the two aforesaid conclusions to be true. And also, that the Clergy ought faithfully to distribute the goods of the Church, whose administrators they are, according to the decrees of the holy fathers; and that the usurpation of the administration of the church goods, done by any other then by them, unto whom the administration is canonically committed, cannot be without guilt of sacrilege.

Thus the sacred Councell (said they) hath diligently gone about according to the verity of the Gospel, all ambiguity set apart, to expound the true sense of the three foresaid Articles. Wherefore, if there doe yet remaine any doubt; according to the

information which we have received in the sacred Councell, we are ready by Gods helpe (who is the principall verity) to declare the truth unto you. If ye doe receive and embrace the declaration of the said three Articles, which is grounded upon the verity of the holy Scripture, as you are bound, and will effectually have a pure, simple, and perfect unity touching the liberty of the communion under both kinds, which you desire and require, which also you cannot lawfully have without the licence of holy Church: we have authority from the generall Councell, by certaine meanes to intreate and conclude with you, trusting that you will shew your selves as you will continue.

These things thus declared, after the Bohemians had taken deliberation, they said that they would give no answer unto the premises, before they understood what should be offered them as touching the Communion. Wherefore, it shall be necessary to declare the matter, as it was written in forme following.

The Bohemians take a declaration of the fourth Article.

In the name of God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, upon the Sacrament of whole most blessed last Supper we shall intreate, that he which hath instituted this most blessed Sacrament of unity and peace, will vouchsafe to worke this effect in us, and to make us that we may be one in the said Lord Jesus our Head, and that he will subvert all the subtilties of the devill, which through his envious craftinesse hath made the Sacrament of peace and unity, an occasion of warre and discord; that whilest Christians doe contend touching the manner of communicating, they be not deprived of the fruit of the Communion. Whereupon S. Augustine in his sermon upon infants, in the decrees De Consecrat. distinct. 2. Quia pascus, saith thus; So the Lord Jesus Christ certified us, and willed that we should appertain unto him, and consecrate the mystrie of our peace & unity upon the Table. He that receiveth the mystrie of unity, and doth not keep the bond of peace, doth not receive a mystrie for himself, but a testimony against himself. This we thought good above all things to be premised, that the generall custome of the Church, which your fathers and you also in times past have observed, hath a long time had and still useth, that they which doe not consecrate, communicate crailly under the kinde of Bread. Which custome being lawfully brought in by the Church and holy fathers, and now a long time observed, it is not lawfull to reject, or to change at your will and pleasure, without the authority of the Church. Therefore to change the custome of the Church, and to take in hand to communicate unto the people under both kinds, without the authority of holy Church, is altogether unlawfull. For holy Church upon reasonable occasions, may grant liberty unto the people to communicate under both kinde. And every Communion, which, being attempted without the authority and licence of the Church, should be unlawfull, when it is done with the authority of holy Church, shall be lawfull, if other things let it not; because (as the Apostle saith) He that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh his owne damnation.

A declaration of the Councell, touching the fourth Article of the Communion.

Consecrat. distinct. 2.

It is to be noted above the Sacrament.

Whereupon Saint Idoze of the second Distinct. upon the consecration, writeth thus, They which live wickedly, and cease not daily to communicate in the Church, thinking thereby to be cleansed, let them learne that it doth nothing at all profit them to the cleansing of their sinnes. And S. Augustine in the same distinction saith, Holy things may hurt the evill, for unto the good they are salvation: but unto the evill damnation. There are besides this many other authorities. The Apostle Judas was amongst them which did first communicate. but so much as he received unworthily; having that sinne of treason in his heart, it did profit him nothing, but the devil by and by exercised the more power and authority

The holy Communion requireth amendment of life.

Holy things, nothing profit the wicked.



The reverent  
receiving of the  
Sacraments.

authority over him. This is declared by a great reason: Which of you is it, that if you should receive your Lord into your house, would not with all diligence and care study to make cleane and adorne his house, that he may receive the Lord honestly: much more he that shall receive the Lord and Sabour into the house of his soule, ought diligently to make cleane and decke his soule, to cleanse it by the sacrament of penance, with sorrow and contrition of heart, humbly, purely, and truly confessing his finnes, and receiving due satisfaction and penance, to adorne and decke the same with the purple or rich array of devotion, that the heart being so purged and adorned with fervent desire, hee may come to that most holy sacrament, whereby God reconcileth all the world unto him.

Wherefore the most sacred Synode admonisheth, exhorteth, and commandeth, that all priests should diligently exhort and admonish the people, and that they should use all their care and endeavour, that no man come to that most blessed Sacrament, except he be truly prepared with great reverence and devotion, lest that which is received for the salvation of the soule, redound to the condemnation, through the unworthy receiving thereof.

Receiving in  
one kinde,  
for avoiding  
two perils.

Moreover, Doctors doe say, that the custome of communicating unto the people, onely under the kinde of bread, was reasonably introduced by the Church and holy fathers for reasonable causes, specially for the avoiding of two perils; of error and irreverence. Of error, as to thinke that the one part of Christs body were in the bread, and the other part in the cup, which were a great error. Of irreverence, forasmuch as many things may happen, as well on the part of the Minister, as on the part of the receiver: As it is said that it happened when as a certaine priest, carried the Sacrament of the Cup unto a sick man, when he should have ministered, he found nothing in the Cup, being all spilt by the way, with many other such like chances. We have heard moreover, that it hath often hapned, that the Sacrament consecrate in the Cup, hath not bene sufficient for the number of communicants, where by a new consecration must be made, which is not agreeable to the doctrine of the holy Fathers, and also that oftentimes they doe minister wine unconsecrated for consecrate wine, which is a great perill. By this meanes then it shall be brought to passe, that if you will effectually receive the unity and peace of the Church in all other things besides the use of the Communion under both kindes, conforming your selves to the faith and order of the universall church, you that have that use and custome shall communicate still by the authority of the Church under both kindes, and this Article shall be discussed fully in the sacred councell, where you shall see what as touching this Article is to be holden as an universall verity, and is to be done for the profit and salvation of the Christian people, and all things being thus thoroughly handled, then if you persevere in your desire, and that your Ambassadors doe require it, the sacred Councell will grant licence in the Lord unto your Ministers, to communicate unto the people under both kindes, that is to say, to such as be of lawfull yeeres and discretion, and shall reverently and devoutly require the same; this alwayes observed, that the Ministers shall say unto those which shall communicate, that they ought firmly to beleve not the flesh onely to be contained under the foame of bread, and the blood onely under the wine, but under each kinde to be whole and perfect Christ.

Error ground  
ed upon error.

Causes why to  
minister under  
one kinde.

Receiving in  
both kindes  
permitted to  
the Bohemians

The condition  
annexed.

Doubts of the  
Bohemians.

Answer.

Thus hitherto we have declared the decree of the Councell. As touching the other doubts and questions which were afterward moved by the Masters and Prelates of Boheme, the Ambassadors of the Councell answered thus.

First they said, that it was not the meaning of the sacred Councell, to suffer the Communion un-

der both kindes by toleration, or as the libell of disbursement was permitted to the Jewes, forasmuch as the Councell, intending even to open the bowels of motherly charity and pity unto the Bohemians and Moravians, doth not meane to suffer it with such kinde of sufferance, which should not exclude sinne, but so to grant it, that by the authority of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of his true spouse the church, it may be lawfull, profitable and healthfull unto those which worthily receive the same. Also as touching that which was spoken by the said Bohemians of the punishing of offences, that it is in the Scriptures, how that God oftentimes directeth up the hearts of private persons to the correcting and punishing of finnes, and so it should seeme lawfull unto the inferiours to correct and punish their superiours; they answered, alleading the text of Saint Augustine in the thye and thirtieth decree. He that striketh wicked men in that they are wicked, and hath cause of death against them, is the Minister of God: but he which without any publike administration or office murdereth or maineth any wicked theefe, sacrilegious, adulterous or perjured person, or any other offender, shall be judged as an homicide, and so much the more sharply, in that he feared not to abuse and usurpe the power not granted him of God: and truly this city would take it much more grievously, if any private man should attempt to punish an offender, and set up a gallows in the street, and there hang him, than if one man should kill another in brawle or quarrell. They alledged also other texts of S. Ambrose and Saint Hierome agreeable to the same. They said that no man doubteth that the Law of God is duly and holily appointed, and therein is simply written, thou shalt not steal. And notwithstanding, by the Commandment of God the Children of Israel carried away the gods of the Egyptians, which they had borrowed of them. Also in the same law it is plainly written, Thou shalt doe no murder. Whereupon Saint Augustine in his first booke De Civitate Dei, propheth that it is not lawfull for any man to kill himselfe: and when as he maketh example of Sampson, he answereth with these words: when as God commandeth and doth affirme himselfe to command without any doubt, who is he that will call obedience sinne? or who will accuse the obedience to God?

Here in this proposition you have the words of Saint Augustine for answer. But let every man well foresee, if God doe command, or that he do intimate the commandment without any circumstances, and let him probe the spirits whether they be of God. But in such cases there are no lawes to be given, neither are they much to be talked of; for thereby there should easily occasion rise to make sedition, and for the inferiours to rise against the superiours. For when any man had killed any thing, or killed any man, he would say that he was moved thereunto by Spirit of God: but without manifest prove thereof, he should be punished.

Again, they said that there were certaine cases therein the laity had power over the clergy. It was answered, that there were certaine cases in the law, wherein the laity had power over the Clergy, and oftentimes over Cardinals. For if the Pope being dead, the cardinals would not enter the conclave to elect a new Pope, the king, prince, or other lord or secular power may compell them: but in these cases he is now no private person, but useth his jurisdiction by the authority of the law. The like is to be understood of all other cases expressed in the law.

They said further, that no common law hath any right or justice, except Gods law do allow the same. It was answered that no common law hath right or justice, if it be against the law of God; because the Law of God is the rule of all other lawes: But there is great cunning and knowledge in applying the rule to that which is made by the rule, for

KING  
HEN. 6.

Permission of  
both kindes  
granted to the  
Bohemians,  
not of suffer-  
ance, but by  
full authority.

Punishing of  
offences con-  
sidered.

How and by  
what offend-  
ers ought to be  
punished.

To doe that  
God command-  
eth, is obedien-  
ce, and no sin, though it be  
extraordinary.  
The Practices  
did steale from  
the Egyptians  
without sin.

Sampson kil-  
led himselfe  
without sin.

Extraordi-  
nary commands  
not to gene-  
rall lawes to be  
made.

Objection.  
Answer.  
How the laity  
hath power  
over the clergy,  
and wherein  
the Pope will  
be judged by  
his owne law.

Objection.

Answer.



**SKING** } for oftentimes it seemeth that there is diversitie in  
**HEN.6.** } the thing made by the rule, when there is none in  
 deed; but the default is in the applying, because the  
 rule is not duely applied to the thing made by it.

**Objection.** As touching the Article of preaching the Word  
 of God, it was moved, that oftentimes some Pre-  
 lates, though their owne envy and malice, without  
 any reasonable cause, doe inhibitte a good and merite  
 preacher that preacheth catholically and well.

**Answer.** Answer was made, how that they understood  
 well enough that the abuse of certaine Prelates,  
 which did inordinately behave themselves, gave a  
 great occasion of those troubles. Also that they ne-  
 ver heard of any such complaints in those parts, but  
 that the Prelates do labour god preachers, and stirre  
 them up to preach, by infreatic, labour, and promo-  
 tion. In all such cases there are remedies already  
 provided by the law; for when any man is so prohi-  
 bited to use his right, he hath remedy to appeale:  
 and if he doe trust his appeale to be just, he may use  
 his right, all violence both of the spirituall and se-  
 cular power set apart; for the end of the matter  
 shall declare if he had just cause to appeale. Then  
 shall it be declared that the superior hath done evill  
 in prohibiting, and the plaintiffe justly in doing,  
 and the superior for his unjust prohibition shall be  
 punished. But if he be justly prohibited, and that  
 through his temerity he doe contemne the just con-  
 demnment of his superior, he is worthy to be pu-  
 nished with condigne punishment.

**Objection.** Where it was moved concerning the third Arti-  
 cle, whether it were lawfull for the ecclesiasticall  
 Prelates to exercise, in their proper person, the Acts  
 of secular dominion: Whereunto it was answered,  
 that if by this word, Acts of secular dominion, are  
 understood Acts which a secular Lord may doe or  
 exercise, then it is to be said, that a Prelate may  
 lawfully exercise some such Acts in his proper per-  
 son, as to sell, pawn, or pledge, to infeoffe by man-  
 ner and forme ordained by law: but there are some  
 Acts, which it is not lawfull for them to exercise in  
 their proper person, but ought to have afterward a  
 Vicegerent or Proctor to doe same; whereupon  
 there is prohibition made in the law in the Rubrike,  
 Ne Clerus vel Monachus secularibus negotiis se immis-  
 ceat, &c in aliis rebus.

**Objection.** It was also moved, whether that coactive power,  
 which ought to be exercised by a Steward, &c. be in  
 the hands of an ecclesiasticall Prelate.

**Answer.** Whereupon John Polonair answered, that this  
 question presupposeth another; whereof there are  
 divers opinions amongst the Doctors, in whose  
 power the dominion of the Church should be: and  
 furthermore, whether the actions be in the person  
 of the tutor or Proctor, or if they be not in their person,  
 notwithstanding by the constitution of any actor or  
 proctor (whose exercising of those actions both give  
 authority unto the actor or proctor) they be; with o-  
 ther difficulties, whereof it is not needfull to speak  
 at this present. But forsomuch as he was urged to  
 say his opinion; he said, that as such as had either  
 ease or pleasure in disputation, and would argue  
 against him, he would be contented to give the  
 voice to take which part he would; but his opinion  
 was rather that the dominion of Church matters  
 should be in the power of Christ: and the Prelates,  
 with the other Clergy, are but canonically admini-  
 strators in manner of tutors; but they have more  
 power and administration then tutors, and by con-  
 stituting a steward or vicegerent, &c. their constitu-  
 tion being duly made, the steward or vicegerent hath  
 the same coactive power and exercise of jurisdiction.

Also as touching the fourth Article, for the decla-  
 ration of the first conclusion, it is agreed that these  
 words, Iuste requisita, i. justly gotten, alledged  
 therein, determine all things contained in the same.

Also as touching the second conclusion, whereas  
 the sacred Canons and holy Doctors speake thus,

The goods of the Church, the substance of the  
 Church, and the possessions of the Church, and di-  
 vers other opinions there be amongst the Doctors,  
 in whose power the rule thereof should be, as it is  
 noted in the Gloss. Cap. expensarum, quod. i. they do  
 not intend to constrain any man to any of those op-  
 inions; neither to exclude any of them, but that  
 every man should have liberty probably to maintain  
 which of them he thinketh best.

**IO** Moreover the Bohemians said, that they did be-  
 lieve that the Clergy are but administrators of the  
 temporalities of the Church, and not lords thereof,  
 according to the manner of speaking of the Scrip-  
 tures, holy Doctors and Canons. Also the Bohe-  
 mians said, that in all occasions, which shall hereaf-  
 ter rise, they would wholly stand to the determinati-  
 on of the Judge agreed upon in Sgra, with one con-  
 sent. In this manner did the Ambassadors make  
 answer unto the Bohemians. At the last, a term much  
 communication had to and fro, a concord and unities  
 was concluded and confirmed by setting to their  
 hands. The Bohemians promised to receive the  
 peace and unity of the Church, and the declaration  
 of the three Articles. This was done in the year of  
 our Lord 1438. About the feast of Saint Martin,  
 it was afterward agreed both by the Ambassadors of  
 that Councell, and of Boheme, that whatsoever re-  
 mained should be determined and agreed upon, first  
 at Katisbona, afterward at Bruna in the diocess of  
 Dymutes; then at Alba in Hungary, before the  
 Emperor Sigismund, but the matter could not be  
 ended in any place.

At the last the concord was confirmed by writing  
 with their seales at Ingolavia, a Citie of Moravia,  
 the fifth day of July, in the presence of the Empe-  
 rour.

¶ Certaine petitions, which the Bohemi-  
 ans put up last of all in the sacred Councell of  
 of Basil, Anno 1438. in the month  
 of November.

**V**nto the most reverend fathers in Christ, and  
 our most gracious lords, We the Ambassadors  
 of the Kingdome of Boheme doe most humbly and  
 heartily require you, that for the perpetuall preser-  
 vation of peace and concord, and for the firme pre-  
 servation of all things contained in the composition,  
 you will vouchsafe of your clemencie to give and  
 grant unto us all and singular our requests here un-  
 der written, with effectuall execution of the same.

First, and above all things, we desire and require  
 you, for the extirpation of divers dissensions and  
 controversies which will undoubtedly follow a-  
 mongst our people under the diversitie of the com-  
 munion, and for the abolishing of infinite evils which  
 we are not able to expresse as we have conceived  
 them, that you will gently vouchsafe of your good-  
 nesse and liberality to give grant and command, un-  
 to our Kingdome of Boheme, and Marquesdome of  
 Moravia, one uniforme order of the communion un-  
 to all men, under both kindes, that is to say, unto  
 the Archbishop of Prague, the Bishop of Luthonus,  
 Dymutes, and other Prelates of the Kingdome and  
 Marquesdome, having charge of soules, and to their  
 vicars, and also to their flockes and subiects, and that  
 according to those things which are contained in the  
 bull of the Ambassadors, and in the compositions  
 made in the name of the whole Councell, written  
 in the Chapter, Pro firmitate, where it is thus said,  
 And all other things shall be done, which shall be meet  
 and necessary for the preservation of the peace and  
 unity. For this done, by your benefit the whole King-  
 dome shall be comforted above measure, and esta-  
 blished in brotherly love; whereby an uniforme sub-  
 jection and obedience shall be perpetually attributed  
 unto the holy Church.

Item, we require and desire (as before) that for the  
 G g g adoring

1438. 1. cap. 1.

The Clergy  
 be administ-  
 rators, not  
 lords, of the  
 temporalities  
 of the Church.

The agree-  
 ment betweene  
 the Bohemi-  
 ans and the  
 Councell.

Anno 1438.

Certaine peti-  
 tions of the  
 Bohemians put  
 up to the Coun-  
 cill.

Anno 1438.

The Commu-  
 nion in both  
 kindes to be  
 generally gene-  
 rated.

The goods of  
 the Church in  
 whose posses-  
 sion they be pro-  
 perty.



aboiding of all false suspition and doubtfullnesse of many, which suppose that the sacred Councell hath granted the said communion under both kindes unto us but for a time, as neither profitable nor wholesome, but as the libell of divorcement: that you will vouchsafe, according to this Chapter alledged in the compositions; First they said, that it was not the intent of the sacred Councell, &c. wholesomely and speedily to provide for our safety, and with your grant in this behalfe, and with the bulls of your letters, to confirm that Chapter together with the other pertaining to the office of your Ambassadors.

Item, we beseech you (as aforesaid) that for the confirmation of obedience, and for the discipline of all the Clergie, and for the small defence and observation of all things determined and agreed upon, and for the good order in spiritualities, ye will vouchsafe effectually to provide for us a good and lawfull pastoz, Archbishops and Bishops, which shall seeme unto us most meete and acceptable for our Kingdome, to execute those offices and duties.

Item, we require you (as aforesaid) that your fatherly reverences will vouchsafe, for the defence of the worthy fame of the Kingdome and Harquellidome, to declare and shew our innocency, in that they have communicated, doe, and hereafter shall communicate under both kindes; to give out, ordaine, and direct the letters of the sacred Councell, in manner and forme most apt and meete for such declaration, unto all Princes, as well secular as spiritual, Cities and communalities, according to the compositions, and as the Lords the Ambassadors are bound unto us to doe.

Item, we desire you, that in the discussing of the matter for the communion under both kindes, and of the commandment thereof given unto all faithful, ye will not proceed otherwise then according to the concordatum agreed upon in Egra; that is to say, according to the Law of God, the order of Christ, and his Apostles, the generall Councils, and the mindes of the holy Doctors, truly grounded upon the Law of God.

Item, we desire that your fatherly reverences, considering the great affection of our people, will give us the desired liberty to communicate unto the younger for the Sacrament of the Supper. For if this use of communicating should be taken away, which our Kingdome being golly, moved by the writings of most great and holy Doctors, and brought in by examples, hath received as Catholic, like, and exercised now a long time; verily it should raise up an intolerable offence amongst the people, and their mindes would be grievously vexed and troubled.

Item, we require you (as before) that for like causes your fatherly reverences would vouchsafe to permit, at the least the Gospels, Epistles, and Creed to be sung and read in the Church in our Vulgar tongue, before the people, to move them unto devotion; for in our Slavon language it hath been used of old in the Church, and likewise in our Kingdome.

Item, we require you in the name of the said Kingdome, and of the famous University of Prague, that your fatherly reverences would vouchsafe to shew such diligence and care toward the desired reformation of that University, that according to the manner and forme of other Universities reformed by the Church, prebends and collations of certaine benefices of Cathedral and Parish Churches may be amended and incorporate unto the said University, that thereby it may be increased and preferred.

Item, we desire you (as before) as heartily as we may, and also (saving alwayes your fatherly reverences) require you, and by the former compositions we most instantly admonish you, that with your whole mindes and endeavours and with all care and studie, your reverences will watch and seeke for that long desired and most necessary reformation of

the Church and Christian religion, and effectually labour for the rooting out of all publique evils, as well in the head, as in the members, as you have often promised to doe in our Kingdome, in the compositions, and as our fourth Article, touching the abolishing of all publique evils, doth exact and require.

There were certaine answers provided by the councell, to these petitions of the Bohemians, which were not delivered unto them, but kept backe, for what purpose and intent we know not. Therefore, because we thought them not greatly necessary for this place, and also to avoid priority, we have judged it meet at this present to emit them. Thus have we heard compendiously the chiefe and principall matters intreated and done in this famous Councell of Basill. And here (to conclude withall) we have thought good to declare unto you, for the aid and help of the ignorant people (which judge many things to be of longer time and continuance, then indeed they be; and thereupon have established a great part of their opinions) how that, toward the latter end of this councell, that is to say, in the 37. Session of the same, holden the 17. September, in the year of our Lord 1439. the feast of the conception of our Lady was ordained to be holden and celebrated yearly. In like case also in the 44. Session of the same councell, holden the first day of July, An. 1441. it was ordained that the feast of the visitation of our Lady should be celebrate and holden yearly in the month of July. We have also thought it good, before we doe end this story, to annex hereunto certaine decrees, profitably and wholesomely ordained in the said councell, against the inordinate giving of the ecclesiasticall benefices and livings by the Pope, with certaine other constitutions also, fruitfull for the behalfe and edification of the Church.

During the time that the generall Councell at Basill was so diligent and carefull about the reformation of the Church, this one thing seemed good unto them to be prosecuted and followed with an earnest care and diligence, that thorow every church apt and meet Ministers might be appointed, which might shine in vertue and knowledge, to the glory of Christ, and the healthful edifying of the Christian people: whereunto the multitude of expectative graces hath been a great impediment and let, in that they have been found to have brought grievous troubles, divers disorders, and many dangers upon the ecclesiasticall state. For hereby oftentimes, scarcely apt or meet Ministers have been appointed for the Churches, which are neither known nor examined; and this expectation of voyde benefices (as the old lawes doe witness) both give occasion to desire another mans death, which is greatly prejudicial unto salvation; besides that, innumerable quarrells and contentions are moved amongst the servants of God; rancour and malice nourished; the ambition and greedy desire of pluralities of benefices maintained; and the riches and substance of Kingdoms and Provinces marvellously consumed. Worse men suffer innumerable vexations by running unto the court of Rome. They are oftentimes spoiled and robbed by the way, troubled and afflicted with divers plagues; and having spent their patrimony and substance left them by their parents, they are constrained to live in extreme poverty. Many doe challenge benefices, which without any just title (yet such indeed as ought not to have them) obtaine and get the same; such I say, as have most craft and subtiltie to deceive their neighbor, or have greatest substance to contend in the law. It happeneth oftentimes that under the intricacy of these prerogatives, antelations, and such other as doe associate these expectative graces, much craft and deceit is found. Also oftentimes the ministry is taken away from young men by their ordinary givers, whiles that by the troubles of those contentions, and divers discourses, running to and fro by meanes of those

{ KING }  
{ HEN. 6 }

The Conception of our Lady brought into the Church.

The Visitation of our Lady brought.

Howsons and gifts of benefices before they were voyde, were barred by the Councell; which howsons here are called expectative graces.

Inconveniences that rise by voids of benefices.

We have a good and lawfull pastoz, and bishop.

Free Communion under both kindes to be permitted to all Princes.

The Gospels and Epistles to be read in the vulgar tongue. The Scriptures read in the Slavon tongue of old time.

Incorporations to be granted to Universities, an unlawful request.

A request for necessary reformation and discipline.



SKING  
HEN. A.

graces, they are vexed and troubled; the ecclesiastical order is confounded, whiles that every mans authority and jurisdiction is not preferred; and the Bishops of Rome also, by challenging and taking upon them too much the office of the inferiours, are withstanding from more weighty and fruitfull matters, neither doe they diligently attend to the guiding and correction of the inferiours, as the publique utility doth require. All which things doe bring a great confusion unto the Clergie and ecclesiastical state, to the great prejudice and hinderance of Gods true worship, and publique salvation.

No controversies to be brought to Rome beyond foure dayes journey from thence.

In the same Councell also divers other constitutions were made, not unprofitable for reformation, and for removing of certaine abuses and disorders brought in, especially by the Bishop of Rome, as touching causes not to be brought up and translated to the court of Rome: Wherein it was decreed, that no actions nor controversies should be brought from other countries to be pleaded at Rome, which were beyond foure dayes journey distant from the said court of Rome, a few principall matters onely excepted. Also, that no frivolous appeals should be made to the Pope hereafter. It was moreover in the same Councell decreed, for the number, age, and condition of the Cardinals, that they should not exceed the number of foure and twenty, besides them that were already, and that they should be freely taken out of all countries; and that they should not be of kin to the Bishop of Rome, or to the Cardinals, nor yet blemished with any spot or crime. Also for Annates or first fruits, or halfe fruits, it was there provided that no such Annates or confirmation of elections, or collation of benefices, should be paid or referred any more to the Pope, for the first years voidance. All which things, there agreed and concluded by them, were afterward confirmed and ratified by the French King, Charles 7. with the full consent of all his Prelates, in his high court of Parliament in Britaine, and there called Pragmatica Sanctio, An. 1438. Whereupon great utility ensued afterward to the Kingdome of France. Albeit in proceesse of time divers Priests there were which wrote against the same. Exlib. Pragm. Sanctionis.

No frivolous appeals to be made to the Pope. Against the superfluous number of Cardinals.

Against the Popes first fruits.

Pragmatica Sanctio per Carolum 7.

Amongst many decrees of the said Councell of Basl, in the nineteenth Session there was also a decree made touching the converting of Jewes and young nobles in religion, unto the Christian faith.

Also that all Ordinaries should rarely at appointed times, provide certaine men well learned in the holy Scriptures, in such places where Jewes and other infidels did dwell, to declare to them the truth of the Catholike faith, that they acknowledging their error might forsake the same; unto the which preaching the said Ministers should compell them to resort, and to heare, under paine of excluding them from occupying any more in that place; provided that the said Diocesanes and Preachers should behave themselves towards them mercifully and with all charitie, whereby they might win them to Christ, not onely by the declaring of the verity, but also in exhibiting their offices of humanity.

And to the intent their preaching might be the more fruitfull, and that the Preachers might be the better instructed in the tongues, it was also in the same Councell provided and commanded, that the constitution made before in the Councell of Vienna for learning the Hebrew, Chaldey, Araby and Greek tongues, should by all meanes be observed and kept, and ordinary stipends provided for them that should teach the same tongues.

Another decree moreover in the twentieth Session was enacted, that whosoever was knowne or publicly noted to be a keeper of concubines, should be sequestered from all fruits of his benefices for the space of three moneths, which fruits should be converted by the Ordinary to the reparations, or some other utility of the Church; and if he did not so

attend, it was by the Synode decreed, that he should be clerely deposed from all his benefices.

Furthermore the said Synode did greatly unbright against them, which having the jurisdiction of the Church, did not shame to suffer such whomasters, for bribes and money, still to continue in their filthynesse, &c.

By these decrees of the Councell above specified, it is to be seene, what corruption had been then requented in the Church of God, through the Bishop and Court of Rome. For the more expresse declaration whereof, we thought it not much impertinent here to inferre the words of one Martin Meyre, writing to Aeneas Sylvius, touching and noting the said corruptions; the tenour of whose Epistle here ensueth.

Unto the reverend Father, the lord Aeneas Cardinall of Scene; Martin Meyre, Chancellor to the Bishop of Mentz, wisheth health.

I Have understood by certaine of my friends letters, that you are created Cardinall. I am glad for your part, that you have received so worthy rewards for your vertues. I rejoyce also for mine owne part, that my friend hath attained unto such a dignity wherein he may in time to come both help me and my friends: But this is a griefe unto me, that you have hapned upon those dayes, which seeme to be troublesome unto the Apostolike See. For there are many complaints made unto my Lord the Archbishop upon the Pope, that he will neither keep the decrees of the Councell of Constance, neither of Basl, neither yet thinketh himselfe bound to the covenants of his predecessors, and seemeth utterly to contemne our nation, and to seeke the utter ruine thereof. For it is evident that the election of Prelates is every where rejected; benefices and dignities, of what sort soever they be, are reserved for the Cardinals and chiefe notaries: and you your selfe have obtained the reservation of three Provinces of Germany, under such a forme as hath not bene accustomed or herd of. Vowsons or gifts of benefices are granted without number; yearly stipends and halfe the revenues are exacted without delay; and it is evident that there is more extorted then is due. The Regiments of Churches are not committed unto such a best deserve them, but unto such as offer most money for them, and new pardons are granted out daily to scrape and gather together money. Lites are commanded to be exacted without the consent of our Prelates, for the Turkish warre; and those matters which were accustomed to be debated and determined at home, are now carried unto the Apostolike See of Rome. A thousand wayes are invented and devised, how the See of Rome may, by subtiltie and craft, extort and get gold and treasure from us, even as it were of the Turkes or Barbarians; whereby our nation, which was sometime famous and valiant, which by their power and bloud conquered the Roman Empire, and was once the Ladie and Queene of all the world, now being brought unto povertie, is made a hand-maide, and become tributary, and, being now in extreame misery, hath of long time bewailed her cruell fortune and povertie. But now our nobles, being (as it were) wakened out of their sleepe, hath begun to consider and devise with themselves, by what meanes they might withstand this calamitie, and utterly shake off this yoke and bondage, and have determined with themselves to challenge again their former liberty. This will be no small losse unto the court of Rome, if the Princes of Germany bring to passe that which they have devised. Wherefore as much as I doe rejoyce of your late obtained dignity, so much also am I moved and grieved that these things happen in your dayes. But peradventure Gods determination is otherwise, and his will shall surely take place. You in the meane time be of good cheere, and devise according to your

An Epistle of Martin Meyre to Aeneas Sylvius, translated into English, the Latin words of it are in the former edition of this booke. Ex Urb. Oral.

The corruption of the Church of Rome described.

An act made for the conversion of the Jewes.

An act for learning the Hebrew, Latine, and Chaldey.

Against Priests that kept concubines.



wisdom, by what meanes the vehemency of these  
flouds may be stayed. Thus fare ye well.

From Hassthaffenberge the  
last day of August.

Concerning the authoritie of this generall coun-  
cell of Basill, what is to be esteemed of it, by the acts  
and fruits thereof may be understood of all good  
men. Neither was it of any man doubted in the  
first beginning, so long as the Pope agreed and con-  
sented unto it. But after the Pope began to draw  
backe, many other followed, especially of the richer  
sort of Prelates, which had any thing to lose; where-  
of sufficiently hath bene said by Arelatensis the  
Cardinall before. In the number of those uncon-  
stant Prelates, besides many other, was first Car-  
dinall Iulian, the first collector of this Councell,  
and Vicegerent of the Pope, as by his fervent and  
vehement letter, written to Pope Eugenius in de-  
fence of this councell, may well appeare. Wherein  
he most earnestly doth expostulate with the foresaid  
Pope Eugenius, for seeking to dissolve the councell,  
and declareth in the same many causes, why he  
should rather reioyce, and give God thanks for the  
godly proceedings and joyfull agreement betwene  
the Councell and the Bohemians, and so exhorteth  
him, with manifold persuasions, to resort to the  
Councell himselfe, and not to seek the dissolution  
of the same. The Copie and tenour of whose Epi-  
stle to the Pope, if any be disposed to peruse the  
same, we thought here good to set downe to be seene.

The Copie of an Epistle, which Iulian  
Cardinall of S. Angen, and the popes Ambassa-  
dor into Germany, wrote marvellous boldly  
and freely unto Eugenius Bishop of  
Rome, for that he went about to  
dissolve the Councell of  
Basill.

Most blessed Father, after the devout kisses of your  
blessed feet.

NOW shall the whole world understand and know,  
whether that your Holinesse have in you the bow-  
els of fatherly love and charity, and the zeale of the  
house of God, whether you be sent to make peace or  
discord, to congregate or disperse, or whether you be  
that good shepheard which giveth his life for his sheep.  
Behold the doore beginneth now to be opened, where-  
by the lost sheepe may returne againe unto their owne  
fold; now is there good hope even at hand of the re-  
conciliation of the Bohemians. If that your holinesse,  
as it is your dutie, doe helpe and further the same, you  
shall obtaine great glory both in heaven and earth. But  
if peradventure you goe about to let the same (which  
is not to be feared at your hands) all men will reprove  
you of impietie; heaven and earth will conspire against  
you, all men will forsake you. For how is he to be fol-  
lowed, which with one word may restore peace and  
quietnesse to the Church, and refuseth to doe it? But I  
conceive a better hope in you, how that your holinesse  
without any excuse, will, with your whole heart and  
minde, favour this most sacred Councell; and give  
thanks unto Almighty God for his great goodnesse, that  
this congregation hath not departed. Behold the Am-  
bassadours of this sacred Councell are returned with  
great joy and gladnesse from Egra; reporting how that,  
through the grace of the holy Ghost, they have firmly  
concluded with the Ambassadors of the Bohemians,  
that is to say, of the Prages, Orphans and Thaborites,  
amongst whom were also present the captaines of their  
enemies, and specially Procopius; That a solemne  
Ambassade of all the estates of the Realme should come

unto the Councell of Basill: After that a safe conduct is  
sent unto them by the said Councell in forme condi-  
tioned, which shall be done with speed, this sacred con-  
gregation is marvellously exultate and joyfull. For  
those our Ambassadors affirme, that all things were  
handled with such charity at Egra, and that they did see  
such things amongst the Bohemians, that, not without  
cause, they doe conceive great hope of their reconcilia-  
tion.

And at last gently embracing one another, even with  
teares of gladnesse, they departed from Egra; the  
Bohemians requiring our Ambassadors, that the matter  
might be ended with all expedition. They report also,  
that many things happened in that treaty, which if any  
man heard, and did not weepe for joy, he might well  
thinke himselfe to be but smally affectioned unto Christ.  
As for three of the foure Articles, they seeme not to  
make any great difficulty upon. As touching the fourth,  
that is, of the Communion under both kinds, there is  
good hope that they will follow the judgement of the  
Councell. Who is it then that dare counsell your holi-  
nesse to persevere any longer in the Purpose of dissolu-  
tion? for if the councell had not bene appointed at  
all, for so great hope and necessity; it ought to have  
bene appointed in this place. How worthy praise and  
commendation should your holinesse doe, if that you  
would leave Italy and all other affaires, and come hi-  
ther in your owne person; although you should need  
to be carried in a wagon or litter? The keeping and de-  
fence of the temporall patrimony of the Church may  
well be disposed and done by Legates and Vicars. This  
is the true patrimony of the Church, to winne soules.  
For the Church is not an heape of stones and walls.  
Christ hath not made you a keeper of Castles and Forts,  
but a pastor of soules. Therefore you should doe that  
in your owne person, which is most necessary and ac-  
ceptable unto Christ, and all other things by your sub-  
stitutes. For so did the Apostles, which, to the intent  
they might the more freely attend to the preaching of  
the Word of God, did institute seven to serve the tables,  
and for the ministration of other inferiour things. I  
heare that by the Grace of God your holinesse doth  
daily recover and amend; and if so be, as it is said, you  
doe visit some Churches on foote, ye may also come  
hither on horsebacke; for you cannot goe unto any  
thing more profitable or concordant to your office, then  
to goe unto the place, where innumerable benefits  
and goodnesse may spring. Let your holinesse under-  
stand and consider wherein Christ, whose Vicar you are,  
and S. Peter whose successor you are, and the Apo-  
stles and holy Bishops did exercise and occupie them-  
selves; and as you doe succeed them in office, so suc-  
ceed them in manners. But if peradventure your holi-  
nesse cannot come hither, I doe counsell you, that for  
so great a benefit you would send the more part of the  
reverend Lords, Cardinals of the Court of Rome, and  
command all other Prelates to come hither. Doe not  
let or hinder them that are willing to come, as it is re-  
ported you doe, but rather allure them to come hither.

Your holinesse may beleve me, that onely charity  
moveth me to counsell you in this sort; be ye not se-  
parate from your members, nourish your children as  
the hen doth her chickens under her wings. And if  
so be that you will doe nothing else, yet speake this  
onely word, *Placet*, that is to say, that it pleaseth you  
that the Councell of Basill should goe forward. For  
a few dayes past there came newes hither, for the  
which your holinesse ought altogether to cease from  
your dissolution. The reverend father the Archbishop  
of Lions hath written unto the Councell, and unto  
me also, how that the Prelates of France have assem-  
bled together in the Citie of Bituriz, and there after  
long and exact examination have concluded, that the  
Councell is lawfully congregate in this place. And  
that it is necessary that it should be holden and cele-  
brate here at this present; and how the Prelates of  
France should come unto it: he also directed hither  
the cause which moved them so to conclude, the copie

{ K I N G }  
{ H E N. 6. }

what the  
Church is.

The authority  
of the Councell  
of Basill ex-  
tended.

The Epistle of  
Cardinall Iu-  
lian to the pope,  
in the commen-  
tation of the  
Councell of  
Basill.

The Ambassa-  
dors of the  
Councell are  
returned from  
Egra.



{KING } pie whereof I suppose is sent unto your holinesse by  
{HEN.6.} some other. Whereupon then doth your holinesse  
stay? You have gone about as much as in you lay, by  
your Messengers, Letters and divers meanes to draw  
backe the Prelates, and have laboured with all your  
endeavour to dissolve the Councell; yet notwithstanding,  
as you doe see, it is increased day by day. And the more  
it is forbidden, the more are all mens mindes enflamed  
to the contrary. Is not this then to resist the Will of  
God? Why doe yee provoke the Church to anger? Why  
doe yee stirre up the Christian people? vouchsafe I pray  
you so to doe, that yee may get the love and favour of  
the people, and not the hatred; for all Nations are  
greatly offended when they heare these your doings.  
Suffer not your holinesse to be seduced by any man,  
which peradventure shall inculcate feare unto you,  
whereas there is nothing at all to be doubted; or that  
doe perswade you this to be no lawfull Councell. I know  
I should offend your holinesse if I should goe about to  
prove the contrary; but it is better that I doe offend  
you a little in words, and profit you in my deeds;  
for a Physicion layeth a burning corrosive unto the  
diseafe, and healeth the soare: For the medicine cannot  
profit except it be sharpe and bitter in taste. Under  
this hope and confidence I will not feare to declare  
the truth; that it being knowne, your holinesse may  
the better provide both for your selfe and the Church.  
It dependeth upon the Councell of Constance whether  
this Councell be lawfull or not. If that were a true  
Councell, so is this also. No man seemeth to doubt  
whether that Councell were lawfull, and likewise  
whatsoever was there decreed to be lawfull: for if any  
man will say, that the decrees of that Councell are  
not of force, he must needs grant, that the deprivation  
of Pope Iohn, which was done by the force of those  
decrees, was of no effect. If that deprivation were  
not of effect; neither was the election of Pope Martin  
of any force, which was done he being yet alive. If  
Martin were no true Pope, neither is your holinesse,  
which was chosen by the Cardinall that he made;  
wherefore it standeth no man more upon to defend  
the decrees of that Councell, then your holinesse;  
for if any decree of that Councell be called into  
doubt; by like meanes may all the rest of the  
decrees be revoked. And by like meanes shall the  
decrees of any other Councell be of no force and  
effect: for by like reason, as the faith of one  
Councell is weakned, all the rest shall also be  
weakned, according to Saint Augustines saying  
in the 2. Distinct. capit. *Si ad scripturas*. Then,  
saith he, both the faith and all other Sacraments  
shall be put in doubt, if that there be once any  
doubt made of the force and power of any  
Councell lawfully congregated. There was a  
decree made in the Councell of Constance,  
intituled *Frequens*. Whereby it was ordained,  
that the first Councell after that should be  
holden within five yeeres, and another within  
seven yeeres after that againe. The Councell  
of Constance being ended, and the five yeeres  
passed, the Councell of Papia or Scene was  
holden, after which seven yeeres being also  
runne over, this Councell is begun to be  
celebrate. To what end then is it expressed in  
the Bull of the dissolution, amongst other  
causes, that the seventh yeere is already  
past? When as of necessity it ought to be  
passed before the Councell can be celebrate.  
For these words, from seven yeere or five  
yeere, signifie according to the law, that all  
parts of time should be passed, and the last  
day looked for. Wherefore it behoved that  
seven yeeres to be fully compleat, before this  
Councell of Basil should begin. Like as five  
yeeres were fully expired, before that the  
Councell of Papia did begin. But peradventure  
some man will say, that it ought to have  
begun the first day after the seventh yeere  
was expired. For otherwise the terme of the  
Councell is passed. But hereunto we may  
answer, that it is not contained in the  
Chapter *Frequens*, that except it were  
holden the first day, it should not be  
holden at all, neither can it be gathered  
either by the words or meaning. For it  
is onely required that it should be holden  
after seven

Eugenius  
provoketh  
the Church.

A strong  
argument  
against  
Eugenius.

yeeres expired, but whether it be the second or third day,  
or the third or fourth moneth after the seventh yeere, it  
doth satisfie the Chapter *Frequens*. For when the first day  
is come, then becometh the power and libertie to cele-  
brate the Councell, but not afore; but it is not pro-  
hibited to celebrate it after; neither doth this word, *in  
quingentesimum*, that is to say, against five yeeres, next fol-  
lowing, which is alledged in the Chapter *Frequens*, and  
seemeth to be repeated also for the seven yeeres; for it  
is not understood that it is necessary to be holden the  
first day precisely after the seventh yeere, but because it  
should not be understood of other seven yeeres to come.  
For in speaking simply of seven yeeres, it is understood  
of seven yeeres next ensuing. And also that in the  
Chapter *Frequens*, any of these words had bene joined  
with immediately following, *as by and by*, out of hand,  
immediately, or straightwayes after, or such other  
words: yet ought they to be understood with a cer-  
taine moderation, and distance of time, that as much  
as might be convenient; as these words are expounded  
by the Lawyers and Doctors, for they are enlarged and  
restrained according to the Subject and divers circum-  
stances of the matters and affaires. For it is not by  
any meanes likely that it was the minde of those which  
made the decree, that considering the long journeyes  
and hard preparation of such affaires, and also the  
manifest impediments which may happen, that they  
would restraine so precise a time, even at the first day,  
that if it were not then celebrated, it should not be  
holden at all, for by such subtile meanes it should also  
be holden even in the first moment and very instant after  
the same yeere.

But forso much as words are civilly to be under-  
stood, this sense or understanding is too farre disa-  
greeable. For if any man will say, then it is com-  
manded to be prorogued, that is also forbidden in  
the Chapter *Frequens*. He that doth so argue, doth not  
understand himselfe, nor the force of the words. It is  
not prorogued if it be begun the second or third  
moneth, but it is rather a continuation or execution of  
that which is in their power. For if it were a proro-  
gation, then forso much as a prorogation doth fa-  
vour of the nature of the first delay, it could not be  
begun before the time prorogued; but this hapneth  
not in our case: for albeit it were not begun in the  
first moneth, but in the second or third, it is not there-  
by concluded that it could not be begun in the first:  
but if there had bene any prorogation made till the  
second moneth, then it could not have bene begun in  
the first, as for example, I promise to give an hundred  
pounds after Easter; afore Easter it cannot be requi-  
red, but by and by after Easter it may be required;  
and albeit that I be not urged for it, notwithstanding  
I doe not cease to be bound; and if so be I be demand-  
ed it in the second or third moneth after, it is not thereby  
understood that there is any prorogation made; Nei-  
ther doth it follow, but that it might have bene de-  
manded in the beginning, which could not have bene  
done if that there had bene any prorogation made.  
Also it is the nature of prorogation to be made be-  
fore the first terme or day be passed. For otherwise  
it is no prorogation, but a new appointment. And al-  
beit it may be said, that then it may be long delayed;  
it is answered, that in this point we must stand unto  
the judgement of the Church, which considering di-  
vers circumstances would thinke the time meete. For  
the liberty of celebrating of Councells was institute  
for the profit and favour of the Church. What if it  
should happen that when the time cometh, in the  
place where a Councell should be kept there be a  
great plague, or some siege, which should continue  
by the space of three or foure moneths, and the Pope  
in the meane time doth not change the place according  
to the forme of the Chapter *Frequens*, and that through  
such impediments the Prelates did not come the first  
day unto the place, or if any were coming and were  
taken by the way, which if they had not bene taken,  
had bene present at the first day in the place appoin-  
ted:



ted; is it therefore to be said that the power of the Councell is past? or that the impediment ceasing, and the Prelates coming thither, the Councell cannot be holden? That truly were greatly absurd and too much prejudicial to the Church of God: but in this our case, the cause is probable why that the Prelates did deferre to come at the beginning of the time appointed; for so much as when the time drew neere, Pope Martine dyed the twentieth of February. For which cause the Prelates might well doubt upon some impediment of the Councell. Also they tarried looking that some should come thither in the name of the Pope, because they would not tarry in that place in vaine without a President. As for the Legate which was appointed for the Councell, whose presence all men tarried for before he would prepare himselfe to that journey, he came not at the time appointed unto the Councell, but went unto Norenberge, to persecute the Bohemians, according to the commandement of Pope Martin, which had enjoyned him to goe first thither before he went to Basil.

And the same Legate being oftentimes required at Norenberge, that he should goe to Basil to hold the Councell, he answered, that he would not goe before he had the consent of the new Bishop. This was the cause of the Prelates delay, neither is it greatly to be imputed unto the Prelates, which suspected that Pope Martin would not have holden the Councell, and feared to bring themselves in trouble; and good cause had they so to feare, through those things which hapned in the Councell of Scene. For there were many things spoken which caused great suspicion. It was reported unto me that many had said, I came unto Germanie to disturbe the Councell.

Also this was Pope Martins minde and intent, that albeit the Councell was not begun at the beginning of March, notwithstanding the authoritie of holding the Councell should not bee voyd. For he, when as the time of the Councell approached, willed me that I should first goe unto Boheme, before I went unto the Councell; whereof also mention is made in the bull of the consistory dissolution.

But what neede we any other prooffe, then by your Holinesse Letters? in which your Letters dated the second Kalends of Iune, and delivered unto me long after the time, by the space of three months, you doe command me, that my businesse being done in Boheme, I should take my way to Basil to hold the Councell, and there to foresee unto all things as it was enjoyned me, and ordained in the Councell of Constance. The same also yee repeat in the bull of the dissolution brought unto me by the Lord Parentine, the words whereof are these; Vnto your circumspection. Since your going into Germany no Prelates have assembled in Basil for the celebrating of the Councell: we gave you in commandement that in the meane time you should be diligent about the expedition against the Bohemian heretikes, which is committed to your charge, and afterward you should come unto Basil, the place appointed for the Councell, and there rule in Our place in the name of the Church. What is more evident then this? If any thing were doubtfull, by the tenour of these Letters it were evidently taken away. If any man would say, that neither Pope Martin nor Eugenius could confirme the Councell by writing of such Letters, because there was a prorogation which is prohibited by the chapter *Frequent*, it is answered, that there is no prorogation, but execution of that which is in power, or a declaration that it is not necessary to hold the Councell precisely even at the beginning. Also it is no prorogation. For a prorogation is made before the terme is expired and not after; for after, it is rather called a new indiction or appointment. And if any man will

say that there can be no new indiction made, then may this be objected; How could the Councell of Bononia be newly appointed? If they will answer, that the appointment of the Councell of Bononia was of force, because the Councell of Basil was dissolved by your Holinesse, then I have my intent. For if it were dissolved; *Expo*, it was a Councell before, because it presupposeth the habite. If it were a Councell before, then, as hereafter shall be proved, it could not be dissolved without the consent of the Councell; what can be more answered hereunto? For the greater declaration and evidence of the matter, the Abbot of Virgilia, even upon the same day of the time appointed or afore, gathering together the Prelates of the great Church, and many other Prelates and Notable men, made a solemn protestation, how the time was come to celebrate and hold the Councell, and that he was come unto Basil for the same purpose, requiring them that they would conferre and intreate together upon matters touching the Councell, and hereupon there is a publike instrument of testimoniall.

Within a moneth after the Ambassadors of the Univerfitie of Paris came thither, and began to entreate of matters touching the Councell, writing also unto the Emperour, and to the other Princes of Germany, that they should send unto the Councell; which Letters I my selfe did see; neither doth the small number of men let; for where as authority is, a great number is not required, according to the saying of Christ, where as two or three are gathered together in my name, I am in the midst of them. Vpon the which authoritie the Councells are grounded. Now therefore your holinesse doth manifestly see the said objection to be but frivolous. For to what end should any dissolution be made, if it had not bene a Councell? Wherefore it is not to be doubted but that it was a lawfull Councell, and canonically congregate. And peradventure it is scarcely found where any Councell hath bene confirmed by so many authorities as this, that is to say, by the two Councels before passed, of Constance and of Scene, and confirmed by two Bishops of Rome.

Besides this, I have heard that some doe report at Rome, that I could not call the Prelates unto the Councell, because that clause was not added in the Bull of Pope Martin. I greatly marvle why this should be objected, specially seeing that not I alone have called them, but I together with the rest which are here assembled in the Councell. It is a marvellous matter; Pope Martin gave me authority by the advice of the Councell to roote out heresies, to pacifie Kingdomes, to reforme the manners of every state of Christendome, and yet they will say that I cannot cite them. Power is given me to judge and to condemne, and have I not also power to cite? The Law doth say; unto whom any power or jurisdiction is committed, all things seeme to be committed unto him, without the which he cannot exercise his jurisdiction; for how could all the premisses be done, if the Prelates or others should not come hither? Also why is it said in the Chapter, *Ego enim de iurejurando*, I will come unto the Synode if I be called, if he cannot be called? By whom then is it presupposed that he should be called, but onely by the Councell, or by him which ruleth the Councell? Also the whole eighteenth diffinition intreateth of no other matter, but that the Bishops being called unto the Councell, if they come not, they may be excommunicate and suspended. Let these men reade the Booke of Councells of Saint Isidore, and they shall finde how that in many Councells the Prelates have bene called by the Synod. Now it remaineth, that we should declare, whether the dissolution be of force or no. Wherein I doe againe feare to move your Holinesse unto anger. But charitie forceth me thereunto; for peradventure your Holinesse doth thinke the dissolution to be effectual, and therefore doe persevere in it; whereby

{ KING }  
{ HEN. 6. }

The cause of  
the long delay  
of the Prelates.

The Councell  
of Scene.

10

20

30

40

50

60

70

for-



{KING} forso much as many offences may rise, my conscience  
{HEN. 6.} doth move mee not to hold my peace. First of all  
the chapter, *Frequen*, declareth that it is of no force;  
for if prorogation bee forbidden and prohibited,  
which is a small matter, much more is dissolution,  
which is a greater matter: for it is a greater matter  
to take away than to deferre: for by proroging a  
thing is but deferred, and by dissolving it is utterly  
taken away. Also these men say, that the said con-  
stitution in the chapter, *Frequen*, may be made void, for-  
so much as soone as the councill is begun, it may be dis-  
solved without any thing done, as it is said that it was  
done at Senes; and now they say also that your holi-  
nesse hath bene perversly informed touching the disso-  
lution. They say also, that the said dissolution doth mani-  
festly tend to the subversion of faith, the ruine of the  
Church, and the trouble of the Christian people. There-  
fore it cannot be done, neither obeyed.

They say moreover, that the said dissolution could  
not be made by meanes of a certain decree of the coun-  
cell of Constance in that behalfe provided; That in such  
matters as appertaine unto faith, the extirpation of sin,  
and reformation of the church in the head and in the  
members, all men of what estate or condition soever  
they be, yea the Pope himselfe should be bound to obey  
the statutes, precepts and ordinances of every generall  
councell; and except they did obey, it had power  
to punish them. Marke how that these things, to have  
power to determine upon any man, to command him  
and punish him if he be not obedient, are signes of su-  
perioritie, in those matters which he doth decree, com-  
mand or punish; and to be bound to obedience, to be  
subject and obey the same, are signes of inferiority in  
the said cases. Ergo in the foresaid cases, seeing that the  
Pope, as they say, is under the councill, which also hath  
beene; in that for one of the said three cases the coun-  
cell did deprive Iohn, and for the other Benedict, nei-  
ther could the Pope dissolve the councill, in that he is  
inferiour unto the councill, he cannot binde or compell  
the superiour; As in the chapter *Cum inferior*, otherwise  
it should containe in it a contradiction, that hee is  
bound to obey, and is not bound to obey, be-  
cause hee may dissolve; for how should he be obe-  
dient unto the ordinance and decree of the councill,  
if he may annihilate and take away the same ordinance  
and decree? This councill is congregate for the root-  
ing out of heresies, for the making of peace, and re-  
formation of manners; and in the first session it did or-  
dain, that their whole intent and respect should be there-  
unto, and that he which should procure to let the coun-  
cell, to prorogue or alter it, should be punished, and have  
processe against him as against a common disturber of  
the peace, &c. If it may be dissolved, it is evident  
that they doe not obey the said ordinance; whereby  
this also must of necessity be granted, that if it may bee  
dissolved, the decree of the council of Constance is of  
no force.

This is also proved by another reason. No man doubt-  
eth but, if any controversie of heresie should be moved  
against any bishop of Rome, that he could not dissolve  
the councill: For if he might dissolve the councill, he  
could not be judged, which were contrary to the chap-  
ter *Si Papa. Dist. 40.* Ergo, like as it is in heresie, so is it  
in the two other cases. For these three were pacified by  
the councill of Constance: for thus speaketh the coun-  
cell, as it is in the chapter, *Si Papa in illo uno.* And as I  
have before said, the councill of Constance allowed this  
decree, through the which they deprived Peter de Luna,  
for making of a schisme, and Pope Iohn for the deformi-  
ty of his life.

And albeit there be certaine lawes that say, The  
principall seat cannot bee judged of any man; and  
again, no man judgeth the chiefe seate; and, no man  
saith unto himselfe, why dost thou so? There are  
to bee understood in the three cases; first, that  
there was proviso made for the faith in the chapter  
*Si Papa*; and in the other two points, by the decree  
of Constance. Otherwise it should be understood,

without any exception, that the first seat, &c. and then  
the chapter *Si Papa*, and the said decree of  
Constance should be false. If the chapter *Si Papa* had  
added causes of heresies, no man would have doubted  
upon these two cases, touching the said sentence. So  
likewise no man ought to doubt of the decree of the  
councell, that it was made by the authority of the  
Pope, and representeth the universall church. And if  
any man would say, that in all councells the authority  
of the Pope is excepted: I answer, that is true, when  
as the person of the Pope is not specially included. But  
if he be specially included, he cannot be excepted, be-  
cause it should favour of contradiction. Most blessed  
father, God is my witnesse that I have spoken these  
things with great anguish and sorrow of minde; but I  
am forced so to speake, that your holinesse may come  
from the said dissolution, lest there might happen in-  
finite evils in the church of God. If your holinesse did  
see my pure minde, my upright conscience, and entire af-  
fection towards you, whereby I am moved to wote  
those things, even for very love you would embrace and  
kisse me, and without doubt love me as your own son.  
I have often said, and now doe say and protest before  
God and man, that you will be the cause of schisme and  
infinite mischiefs, if you doe not alter and change your  
minde and purpose. Almighty God preserve your ho-  
linesse in the prosperity of a vertuous man. Unto whose  
feet I doe most humbly recommend me. From Ba-  
sil the 5. day of Iune.

Thus endeth the Epistle of Cardinall Julian,  
written unto Pope Eugenius. Wherein, so so-  
much as mention is made how that the Bohemians  
had promised to send their ambassadors  
unto the councill, and, as before is partly touched  
in the Bohemian story, of their coming into Ba-  
sil, and propounding of certaine articles, where-  
in they dissented from the Pope; we doe not  
thinke it any thing differing from our purpose, to  
annere a brieve epitome, declaring the whole cir-  
cumstance of their ambassage, their articles, dis-  
putations and answers which they had at the said  
councell of Basil, with their petitions and an-  
swers unto the same. Faithfully translated out of  
Latine by F.W.

In like manner Aeneas Sylvius also, with his  
owne hand and writing, not onely gave testimo-  
ny to the authority of this councill, but also bestow-  
ed his labour and travell in setting forth the whole  
story thereof. Notwithstanding the same Sylvi-  
us afterward being made Pope, with his new ho-  
nour, did alter and change his old sentence. The  
Epistle of which Aeneas touching the commend-  
ation of the said councill, because it is but short,  
and will occupy but little roome, I thought here-  
under, for the more satisfiying of the Readers minde,  
to insert.

#### 60 An epistle of Aeneas Sylvius to the Rector of the University of Colen.

To a Christian man which will be a true Christian  
indeed, nothing ought to be more desired, than  
that the sincerity and purenesse of faith, given to us of  
Christ by our forefathers, be kept of all men immacu-  
late: and if at any time any thing be wrought or at-  
tempted against the true doctrine of the Gospell, the  
people ought with one consent to provide lawfull reme-  
die, and every man to bring with him some water to  
quench the generall fire; neither must wee feare  
how wee bee hated or envied, so wee bring the truth.  
We must resist every man to his face, whether he be  
Paul or Peter, if he walke not directly to the truth of  
the Gospell. Which thing I am glad and so are we all,  
to heare that your Univeristy hath done in this councill  
of Basil. For a certaine treatise of yours is brought hi-  
ther

An Epistle of  
Aeneas Sylvi-  
us, in defence  
of the councill  
of Basil.



ther unto us, wherein you reprehend the rudenesse, or rather the rathnesse of such, which doe deny the bishop of Rome, and the consistory of his judgement, to be subject unto the generall council; and that the supreme tribunall seat of judgement standeth in the church, and in no one bishop. Such men as deny this you so confound with lively reasons and truth of the Scriptures, that they are neither able to slide away like slippery Eeles, neither to cavill or bring any objection against you. These be the words of Sylvius.

Furthermore, as touching the authoritie and approbation of the foresaid Council, this is to be noted that during the life of Sigismund the Emperour no man resisted this council. Also, continuing the time of Charles the seventh, the french King, the said council of Basil was fully and wholly received throughout all France. But after the death of Sigismund, when Eugenius was deposed, and Felix Duke of Savoy was elected Pope, great discords arose, and much practise was brought, but especially on Eugenius part; who being now recommunicate by the Council of Basil, to make his part more strong, made eightene new Cardinals. Then he sent his Pratores unto the Germanes, labouring by all persuasions to dissolve the council of Basil. The Germanes at that time were so divided, that some of them did hold with Felix and the council of Basil; othersome, with Eugenius and the council of Ferrara; and some were Neuters. After this, the french King being dead, which was Charles the seventh, about the yeare of our Lord 1444. the Pope beganeth anew practise, after the disguise of Rome, to excite (as is supposed) the Dolphin of France by force of armes to dissipate that Council collected against him. Who, leading an army of fiftene thousand men into Alsacia, did cruelly waste and spoyle the Countrey; after that, laid siege unto Basil, to expell and drive out the Prelates of the Council. But the Helvetians, most stoutly meeting their enemies, with a small power did vanquish the frenchmen, and put them to sword and flight; like as the Lacedemonians only with three hundred did suppress and scatter all the mighty army of Xerxes at Thermopyla.

Although Basil was by the valiantnesse of the Helvetians thus defended, yet notwithstanding the council, through these tumults, could not continue by reason of the Princes ambassadors, which shrank away and would not tarry. So that at length Eugenius brought to passe, partly through the help of Fredericke (being not yet Emperour, but labouring for the Empire) partly by his orators (in the number of whom was Cneus Sulpicius abode mentioned amongst the Germanes) that they were content to give over both the Council of Basil, and their neutralitie.

This Fredericke of Austria being not yet Emperour, but towards the Empire, brought also to passe, that Felix, which was chosen of the Council of Basil to be Pope, was contented to renounce and resigne his papacy to Nicholas the fifth, successor to Eugenius, of the which Nicholas the said Fredericke was confirmed at Rome to be Emperour, and there crowned, Anno 1451.

As these things were doing at Basil, in the mean season Pope Eugenius brought to passe in his convocation at Florence, that the Emperour and the Patriarke of Constantinople, with the rest of the Christians there present, were persuaded to receive the sentence of the Church of Rome, concerning the proceeding of the holy Ghost; also to receive the communion in unleavened bread, to admit purgatory, and to yield themselves to the authority of the Romish Bishop. Whereunto notwithstanding the other Churches of Grecia would in no wise assent at their coming home; inso much that with a publike execration they did condemn afterward all

those Legats which had consented to these Articles, that none of them should be buried in Christian buriall; which was, Anno 1439. Ex Cap. Peucer.

And thus endeth the story, both of the Council of Basil, and of the Council of Florence, also of the Emperour Sigismund, and of the schisme betwene Pope Eugenius and Pope Felix, and also of the Bohemians. The which Bohemians, notwithstanding all these troubles and tumults abovesaid, did right well, and were strong enough against all their enemies, till at length through discord, partly betwene the two preachers of the old and new citie of Prague, partly also through the discord of the messengers and captaines taking sides one against the other, they made their enemies strong, and emboldened themselves. Albeit afterward, in processe of time, they so defended the cause of their religion, not by sword, but by argument and disputation, that the Bishop of Rome could never yet to this day remove the Thaborites and Citie of Prague from the communion of both kindes, nor could ever cause them to keepe the conditions, which in the beginning of the Council was enjoined their Prelates to observe, as testifieth Cochleus, lib. 8. hist. Huss. With whom also recordeth Antoninus, who in 3. part. hist. saith; That the doctrine of the Bohemians, which he termeth by the name of Zizania, did take so deep root with them, and grew so fast, that afterward neither by fire nor sword it could be extinct. Anton. 3. part. hist. tit. 22. cap. 10.

Concerning the which Bohemians, briefly and in a generall sum to recapitulate their whole acts and doings, here is to be noted, that they in their own defence, and in the quarrell of John Hus, and Hierome of Prague, provoked by their catholike adheres to war, fighting under Zisca their captaine, had eleven battels with the Popes side, and ever went away victors. Ex Paral. Abb. Vrlp. in Epitaphio Ioan. Zisc. Bozoeber in the history of Peucer it is testified that Pope Martin the fifth, sending for the bishop of Winchester then Cardinal, had levied three maine armies, intending to overrun all the Bohemians; one army of the Saxons under the prince Elector; the second of the Francones, under the Marquess of Brandenburg; the third of the Hates, Bavarians and Swabers, under Otto Archbishop of Trevers. With these, Sigismund also the Emperour and Cardinal Julian the Popes Legate (who at last was slain in war, and being spoiled of all his attire, was left naked in the field) joyned all their force. Who joyned together five times (saith the story) with five hundred battels, assailed and invaded the Bohemians; at every which battell, five times the said adheres, stricken and danted with a sudden feare, ran away out of the field, leaving their tents with all their implements and furniture behinde them, before any stroke was given. Ex Cap. Peuc. lib. 5. whereby it may appere that the holy Angels of God doe fight for them which embrace the sincere doctrine of Christs Gospel.

Thus the Bohemians, through the mighty protection of Almighty God, continued a long time invincible, during all the life of Zisca, and also of Procopius, till at length, through discord growing betwene them and their captaines Procopius and Mainardus, they were subdued unto their enemies.

And here by the way is not to be omitted the wicked and cruell fact of Mainardus, who after the death of Procopius, thinking to purge the Realme of Boheme of those chiefe and principall soldiers, which had bene long expert and trained up in wars, found means for a Proclamation made, as though he would war against other countries of their enemies bordering about them, craftily to fraine all them which were disposed to take wages, into certaine barnes or hovels prepared for the same purpose, and so shutting the doores upon them, the wicked dissembler set fire upon them, and burnt of them divers

KING  
HEN. 6.  
The Greeke  
churches refuse  
the Popes  
doctrine.

The inconvenience  
of this  
council.

Ex Cochleus lib. 8.  
Hist. Huss.

Ex Antonin.  
3. part. hist. 22.  
cap. 10.

Ex hist. Cosmari  
Peucer lib. 5.

Particulous  
feare fallen  
upon the  
Popes army.

Gods holy  
Angels pitch  
their tents  
about them  
that feare him  
Psa. 34.

The cruell  
deceit and wicked  
fact of Mainardus  
against the soldiers of  
Bohemia.

The tribunall  
seat standeth  
not in one  
Bishop.

The authority  
of the Council  
of Basil maintained  
by the  
Emperour and  
the french  
King so long as  
they lived.

The practise of  
Pope Eugenius  
was to undermine  
the Council of  
Basil.

The Pope stirring  
up warre.

The Dolphin  
driven away by  
a few Helvetians.

The dissolution  
of the Council  
of Basil.

Fredericke of  
Austria, who  
was Emperour,  
gave the Bishop  
of Rome his  
command.

The Greekes  
condemned first  
the Popes  
law.



**KING**  
**HEN. 6.**  
Certain thousand of the  
Bohemian soldiers  
burnt.  
Ex Aeneas Sylv.  
Bohem. cap. 51.

divers thousands, and so brought the rest by that meanes under subjection to the Emperour during his life time; which after that continued not long, Ex Aeneas Sylv. The which soldiers, if they had fought so much for the catholike liberties of the Pope and his church, as they had fought against him, it is marvell if the Pope had not dignified them all for holy Martyrs. But they that kill with the sword (saith Christ) shall perish with the sword. Notwithstanding, the cruell deceit of Hainardus is worthy of all men to be detested.

During this businesse among the Bishops beyond the sea, in the meane time our Bishops here also in England were not unoccupied. Whether it be the nature of the countrey that so giveth, or whether the great livings and wealthy promotions of the Clergy doe draw with them a more inensible uncharitableness in Gods religion, hard it is to say: this is a manifest to all them which will read and marke our stories from time to time, that in England is more burning and slaying for religion and for all other matters; more bloodshed among us, than in any other land or nation in Christendome besides. After the burning of Richard Hoberden, of Nicolas Canon, and of Thomas Bagley priest, above recorded, whom the Bishops condemned to death, An. 1431. not long after about the yeare of our Lord, 1439. which was the eighteenth of the raigne of K. Henry the sixth, they had another worse man by the backe named Richard Wiche priest, mentioned both in Robert Fabian, and also in another old English Chronicle borrowed of one Berninger. What his opinions were they doe not expresse. This they record, that this Richard Wiche first was degraded, then burned at the tower hill for heresie. Some doe affirme, that he before his death revolted; but that seemeth by his burning not to be true.

It is also testified of him, that before his death he spake (as prophesying) that the posterne of the tower should sink; which also afterward came as he saith to passe, wherefore of many of the people he was counted for an holy man; insonmuch that (as it is affirmed) they came to the place where he was burnt, and there made their oblations and prayers, and areared a great heap of stones, and set up a crosse there by night: so that by this meanes a great clamor ran upon the Church-men, and especially upon such as put him to death. Then, to cease the rumor, the King gave commandment to punish such as went thither on pilgrimage. The copy whereof is here to be seene as followeth:

*Rex vice comitibus London. & Medd. salutem.*  
Albeit Richard Wiche late Clerke, who heretofore long sithence heretically did hold, teach, and publicly preach certaine heresies and erroneous opinions in many places within our Realme of England, and for the same many yeeres now past being judicially convicted, did before a Iudge in that behalfe sufficiently abjure all heresie generally, and afterward, as a dog returning to his vomit, did presume to maintaine, teach, and publicly preach his former errors and heresies, so that he was worthily adjudged a Relapse. And againe, being impeached, for the same before the reverend father in God Robert bishop of Lond. his lawfull Ordinary, was called forth to judgement, and being before him, did judicially confesse his errors and heresies: for the which cause the said Reverend Father, upon mature deliberation by him the said Reverend Father first had with the advice of the learned in the law, his assistants, lawfully proceeding against the said Richard, did by his sentence definitive pronounce and adjudge him to be a Relapse, and did degrade him from the order and dignity of priesthood, and tooke from him all priestly ornaments, and deprived him of all priestly function and priviledge (according to justice) and last of all turned him over to the secular power as the manner is; and afterwards you, by

our princely commandment and warrant, did according to the law of our Realme, for his last punishment, consume the body of the said Richard to ashes, being a Relapse convict, and degraded as a notorious traitor, not onely against God, but also against us, and our crowne and dignitie; All which notwithstanding, certaine our subjects (as we have been sundry times informed) being pricked forward with a diabolical spirit, practising of all likelihood not onely sedition, but also idolatry within our Realme, are not afraid publicly to affirme, that the said Richard was altogether innocent of hereticall pravity. Nay rather they doe most shamefully with their vaine devices, and wickedly conceived imaginations, blaze abroad, that he was, and died a good, just, and an holy man, and that he doth many miracles (whereas indeed no such miracles be done by him.) Which disorderly persons we may well, and upon probable causes, repute and deeme culpable not onely of hereticall pravity, but also of high treason, and as rebels to our person, Majestie, and violaters of the peace and dignity of our Realme, as withall breakers and trespassers against the sacred Canons of the Church, who dare so presumptuously adventure to worship the said Richard as a saint, whereas it is not lawfull to worship any manner of person, be he never so holy, before he be canonized by the authority of the Bishop of Rome: Wee therefore being very carefull for the good preservation of our peace, and desirous to abolish from our all the coats of the same all manner idolatry, doe charge and command you, that in certaine places within your liberties, where you shall thinke most convenient, you cause forthwith proclamations to be made on our behalfe, straitly charging that no person from henceforth presume to resort to the place where the said Richard was executed under colour of a Pilgrime, or for any other cause of devotion whatsoever, nor send any offering thither, nor worship him hereafter openly or secretly, or adjudge, esteeme, repute, name, or talke of him as otherwise justified or innocent, than such as the said Reverend Father by his definitive sentence hath pronounced him to be, upon pain and penalty to be taken and reputed for an heretike, or a favourer of heretikes, and to receive condigne punishment provided for heretikes. And that you arrest all and every person whom ye shall finde to doe any thing contrary to this our proclamation and the same so arrested commit to our prison, there to remaine untill wee shall thinke good to send countermand for their deliverance. Witnesse the King at his Manor of Estampsted, the fifteneenth day of July, in the eighteenth yeere of his raigne.

*Per ipsum Regem.*

Like writs and to the same effect were directed to all the Sheriffes throughout all the Realme, bearing all one and the same date. By the vertue of which letter, the Sheriffs and Sheriffes did use such diligence, that shortly after, that concourse and seeking of the people was left off.

After the burning of this man, which was about the moneth of June, in the same yeare about November, a convocation was called by Henry Arch-bishop of Canterbury, wherein was propounded among the Clergy, to consult with themselves what way were best to be taken for the removing away the law of Premuniri facias; for so were the hearts then of the temporality set against the Ecclesiasticall sort, that where any vantage might be given them by the law, they did nothing spare; by reason whereof the Churchmen at that time were greatly molested by the said law of Premuniri, and by the Kings writs, and other indictments, to their no small annoyance. By long consultation and good advisement, at last this way was taken, that a petition or supplication should be drawn and presented to the King, for the abolishing of the foresaid law of Premuniri facias, and also for the restraining of other brieves, writs, and

Ex Reg. Hen. 6. Chanc. fol.

The bishops consult to abolish the law of Premuniri facias.

England noted of cruelty.

Burning and slaying in England.

Anno 1459.  
Rich. Wiche priest, Martyr.  
Ex Fabian. par. 7.  
Ex antiqua alio Chronico.

Rich. Wiche at or his death taken for a saint.



and inditelements, which seemed then to be heavy upon the clergy. This bill of supplication being contrived and exhibited, by the Archbishop of Canterbury and of Beke, unto the King standing in need the same time of a subsidy to be collected of the Clergie: this answer was given to their supplication on the Kings behalfe: That sozomuch as the time of Christmas then drew nere, whereby he had as yet no sufficient leasure to advise upon the matter, he would take therein a farther pause. In the meane time, as one sending their quiet, he would send to all his officers and ministers within his Realme, that no such briefe of Premuniri should passe against them or any of them, from the said time of Christmas, till the next Parliament, Anno 1439. Ex Regist. Cant.

In my former edition of Acts and Monuments, so hastily rashed up at that present, in such shortnesse of time, as in the said Book thou mayest see (gentle Reader) declared and signified; among many other matters therein contained, there is a short note made of one Eleanor Cobham, Dutchesse of Gloucester, and of sir Roger Onley knight (Priest, it should have bene printed,) which two persons, about the yere of our Lord 1440. or the next yere following, were condemned, the one to death, the other to perpetuall prison. Of this little short matter M. Cope the Popes scout, lying in priby waight to spye faults in all mens workes wheresoever any may appeare, taketh pepper in the nose, and falleth againe unto this old barking against me, for placing these foresaid persons in my Book of Partys; but especially he thinketh to have great vantage against me, for that in the same story I do joyn with all one Margaret Iourdeman, the Witch of Eye, condemned also with them the same time, and burned for practising the kings death by an image of ware, &c. To answer herunto, first I say (as I before said) that I professe no such title to write of Partys, but in generall to write of acts and monuments passed in the Church and Realme of England. Wherein, why should I be restrained from the free walke of a story writer, more than other that have gone before me?

Secondly, touching my commendation of sir Roger Onley, and the lady Eleanor; if Master Alane be therewith offended; I answer, that I commended them for labouring and labouring of the truth of Christs doctrine: for the fact, if any such were in them, I doe not commend them. And although I did commend them, yet neither did I it with any long tarrying upon it, nor yet altogether upon mine owne head, without some sufficient warrant of authority. For why may not I as well beleve John Bale, as M. Alane beleve M. Fabian? Especially seeing I doe know, and was prime, that the said John in recognising his centuries followed altogether the history of Leland de Catalogo virorum illustrium; which booke being borrowed of M. Chiche, I my selfe did see in the hands of the foresaid John Bale, what time we were both together, dwelling in the house of the noble lady Dutchesse of Richmond. Wherefore if he thinke me to lewd to speak without mine authors, he is deceived. And if he thinke mine authors not to be beleved, then let this Nomothetes, or jolly Dictator, come forth and prescribe us a law, what authors hee would have us to take, and what to refuse. For else why is it not as free for me to credit John Bale, and Leland, as for him to credit Robert Fabian, and Edward Hall; especially seeing they had seene his books and workes left behinde him, whereupon they might better judge, and so did never these?

Thirdly, for the name of Roger Onley; if Cope deny that there was any such name in stories mentioned, but that there was one called Roger Bolinbroke, &c. hereby it may appeare, that either his prompter out of England deceived him, or else that

he, going no further but to Fabian and Hall, lacketh no good will in him, but onely a little matter to make a perfect hypocrant. And admit the said name of Onley could not be found in those writers, yet were it not impossible for a man to have two names, especially if he were a religious man, to beare the name of the towne where he was borne, beside his owne proper surname. But now what if I (Master Cope) can abouch and bring forth to you the name of Roger Onley out of sufficient record, which you seeme not to have yet read? Have ye not then done well and properly (thinke you) to bitterly to lie in my face, and to barke so eagerly all this while at moon shine in the water, having no more cause almost against me, than against the man in the moon? And now lest you should think me so unprovided of unjust authority for my defence, as I see you unprovided of modesty and patience; write you to your prompter or suborner (wheresoever he lurketh here in England) to send you over unto Lobans the booke of John Harding a Chronicler, more ancient than either Fabian or Hall, printed in the house of Richard Grafton, An. 1543. where turne to the fol. 223. fac. b. lin. 19. and there shall you finde and reade these words:

Again, the Church and the King cursedly,  
By helpe of one master Roger Onley, &c.

By the which words ye must necessarily confesse Roger Onley to be the name of the man, or else must ye needs deny the author. For other wise, that master Roger Bolinbroke was the onely helper to the Dutchesse in that fact, by no wise it can stand with the story of these authors, which say, that four other besides him were condemned for the same crime, &c. And moreover, though the said sir Roger Onley was no knight (as I have said in my former edition) yet this ye cannot deny, by the testimony of them that have seene his workes, but that he was a priest, which you will grant to be a knights fellow. And thus much for the name and condition of master Roger Onley.

Fourthly, as concerning Margaret Iourdeman, whom ye call the Witch of Eye, ye offer me herein great wrong, to say that I make here a Party, which was a witch; when as I here professe, confesse and ascertaine both you, and all English men, both present, and all posterity hereafter to come, that this Margaret Iourdeman I never spake of, never thought of, never dreamed of, nor did ever heare of, before you named her in your booke your selfe. So farre is it off, that I either with my will, or against my will, made any Party of her.

Furthermore, I professe and denounce in like manner, that neither have you any just or congrue occasion in my booke so to judge, much lesse to raile on me. For where in expresse words I doe speake of the mother of the lady Young, what occasion have you thereby to slander me and my booke with Margaret Iourdeman? Which Margaret whether she was a witch or not, I leave her to the Lord. As for me, neither did I know of her then, nor did I meane of her now. But because I couple her in the same story, you say. To this I say, because she was the mother of a lady, I thought to joyn her with another lady in the same story, as in one pew together, although in one cause I will not say. And yet notwithstanding I doe so couple the said mother with the Dutchesse, in such distinct difference of yeres, that you master Cope might easily have understood, or beside you, no man else would have thought the contrarie, but that Margaret Iourdeman was neither here in my booke, nor yet in my memento. For the words of my story are plaine, where the condemnation of the lady Eleanor, and of the mother of lady Young, being referred to the yere of our Lord, 1441. I doe also in the same story

KING  
HEN. 6.

The Kings answer to the bill of the Clergy, touching the law of Premuniri.

A brief answer to Cope, concerning lady Eleanor Cobham.

To the third objection.

Id. Cope, 8.  
Bal. 842. 4.

To the fourth objection.

Id. Cope railth without a cause.



KING }  
HEN. 6. }  
The former  
edition. p. 371.

Roze (through the occasion of that lady) infer mention of the mother of the lady Young, declaring in expresse wordes, that she followed certaine piores after, and in the end of that chapter doe name also the yere of her burning to be 1490. which was fiftie yeres after the death of Onley, and Margaret Bourdeman; by the computation of which yeres it is plaine, that no other woman could be noted in that place, but onely the Lady Youngs mother.

But M. Cope, continuing still in his wrangling mode, objecteth againe, for that in my Calendar the said Lady Youngs mother hath the next day in the Catalogue next after the death of Rog. Onley, which day pertaineth properly to Margaret Bourdeman, which was burned the same day in Smithfield, and not to the Ladies mother, &c.

What order was taken in placing the names and dayes, what is that to me? If he which had the disposing of the Catalogue, did place them so in moneths, as he saw them joyned in chapters, not perverting peradventure nor adding the chapters, that doth nothing prejudice the truth of my Roze, which sufficiently doth cleare it selfe in distinguishing them rightly in names and also in yeres, as is afoze declared.

Fiftithly and lastly, having thus sufficiently answered to your circumstances of persons, names, and times (Matter Cope) I will now enter to encounter with you concerning the fact and crime objected to the lady Dutchesse, and to the rest; with this profession before premised unto the Reader, that if the fact be true, and so done as is reported in the histories of Fabian, Hall, and Harding, I desire the Reader then so to take me, as though I did not deale here withall, nor speake of the matter, but utterly to have pretermitted, and dispended the same. But for so much as the deed and offence laid and given forth against these parties, may be a matter made, and of evil will compacted, rather than true indeed; therefore I doe but onely move a question by way of history, not as defending, nor commending, nor comminuating the thing, if it be true, but only moving the question, whether it is to be judged true, or suspected rather to be false and forged, and so having briefly propounded certaine conjecturall suspitions or suppositions concerning that matter, I will passe it over, neither meddling on the one side nor on the other.

The first conjecture, why it may be possible that this act of treason, laid to the charge of the Dutchesse and Roger Onley, against the King, may be untrue, is this; that the said Onley (otherwise named Wolingbrooke) took it upon his death, that they never intended any such thing as they were condemned for.

The second conjecture; for that the lady Eleanor, and Onley seemed then to favour and favor of that religion set forth by Wickliffe; and therefore it is like enough that they were hated of the Clergy. Furthermore, what hatred and practices of Papists can do, it is not unknowne.

The third conjecture, for that the said Matter Roger Onley, falsely noted and accused of Heronance, wrote a booke in purgation of himselfe, intituled, De Innocentia sua. Also another booke intituled, Contra vulgi superstitiones, recorded in Centur. 8. Bal. cap. 4. Whereupon it is not credible, that he which wrote professedly against the superstitions of the people, was overtaken with that filth of Heronance himselfe.

The fourth conjecture; because this accusation against the Dutchesse of Gloucester, Duke Humphries wife, began not before, but after the grudge kindled betwene the Cardinall of Winchester, and Duke Humphrey her husband.

Another conjecture may be hereof, for that if the Dutchesse had intended any such hainous treason against the Kings life, as by burning of a ware can be to condemne him, it is not like (neither was there

any such need) that she would have made so many priors to such a pernicious counsell, as the which of Eye, Matter Roger Wolingbrooke, Matter Thomas Southwell, and John Wenne.

Sixthly, it is not to be supposed, if any such high treason had been wrought or pretended against the Kings person by these, that either the Dutchesse should so escape with bearing a taper and banniment; or that John Wenne should be pardoned his life; the fact being so hainous, that neither any durst aske this pardon, nor if it had been asked, had it been like to be granted.

To these we may also adde another supposall, rising upon the wordes and forme of their accusation, as it standeth in Harding, Polydroucon, and other moe, wherein they were accused for working sorcery and incantments against the Church and the King. Now what sorcery can be wrought against the Church, that is, the whole multitude of Christians, let the Reader judge; and by the truth of this consider also the truth of the other, which was against the King. Furthermore, if by this Church is meant the Cardinall of Winchester, as like it is; then it may be conjectured, that all this matter rofe of that Cardinall, who was then a mortall enemy to the house of Gloucester, &c.

Eighthly, and that all this was done and wrought by the said Cardinall of Winchester, the which of Eye maketh the matter, the more suspicious, seeing that towne of Eye, as Fabian witnesseth, was nere beside Winchester, and See of that Bishop.

Moreover, for so much as Polydore Virgil, among other Roze authors, being a man as may be supposed, rather labouring the Cardinals part than the Dukes, made no mention at all touching this treason, his silence therefore may minister matter not onely to muse, but also to conjecture, that he had found something which made him to mistrust the matter. Otherwise it is unlike that he would have so moved up the matter, and passed it over without some mention.

Finally, and briefly, the frequent practices and examples of other times may make this also more doubtfull, considering how many subtill pretences after the like sort have bene sought; and wrongfull accusations brought against many innocent persons. For (not to repeat the like forgeries against the Lord Cobham, and Sir Roger Adon, &c.) why may not this accusation of the Dutchesse and Onley be as false, as that in the time of King Edward the fifth, which was laid to the charge of the Queen and Shozes wife by the Protector, for enchanting and bewitching of his withered arme? Which to bee false, all the world both know, and but a quarrell made, onely to oppress the life of the lord Hastings, and the lord Stanley, &c. And thus mapest thou see, gentle Reader, according to the Wise mans saying, Nihil novum esse sub sole; Nihilque dictum, quod non sit dictum prius, &c.

Although these with many more conjectures may be alledged in some part of defence of this Dutchesse, and of her chaplains and priests, yet because it may not be impossible againe the matter laid against them to be true, I leave it therefore at large as I finde it; saying as I said before, that if it be true which the Roze say in this matter, think I beseech the gentle Reader, that I have said nothing herof. Onely, because the matter may be disputable, and not impossible to be false, I have but moved thereof a question, and brought my conjectures, leaving the determination and judgement herof to thy indifferent and free arbitrement. And if M. Cope be so highly offended with me, because in my first edition of Acts and Monuments, I durst name the Lady Eleanor Cobham, and Roger Onley; let him take this for a short answer, because my pleasure serveth not to make long brawles with him, that if I had thought no imperfections to have passed in my former

The fifth objection.

The Roze of the Lady Eleanor and Roger Onley here pretermitted. A question whether Eleanor the Dutchesse was culpable of treason against the King.

Certain conjectures of the crime not to be true.

1. Conjecture.

2. Conjecture.

3. Conjecture.

4. Conjecture.

5. Conjecture.

Conjecture.

Conjecture.

Conjecture.

Conjecture.

Conjecture.



A brieve an-  
swer to master  
Cope's cavilla-  
tions, concern-  
ing Duke  
Humfries wife.

mer edition before, I would never have taken in hand the recognition thereof now the second time, whereby to sponge away such mores, as I thought would seme great stumbling blocks in such mens walkes, which walke with no charity to edifie, but with malice to carp and reppehend, neither admont-thing what they see amisse in others, neither tarrying while other men reforme themselves, and finally finding quarrels where no great cause is justly gi-ven. And here an end with Master Cope for this time.

The contenti-  
on between the  
Cardinall of  
Winchester  
and Duke  
Humfrey, Lord  
Protector.  
Anno  
1440.

Forasmuch as in the procelle before mention was touched concerning the grudge betwene the Cardinall, called the rich Cardinall of Winchester, and the good Duke Humfrey Duke of Glocester, the kings uncle and Protector of the Realme, order of flooy now requireth to open some part of that matter more at large. Wherein this first is to be understood, that long before great flames of grudge and discord did burst out betwene these two. For as the noble heart of the Duke could not abide the proud doings of the Cardinall, so much againe the Cardinall in like manner fore embred and disdained at the rule of the Duke of Glocester. Notwithstanding that, by the meanes of the Duke of Bedford, the basting out betwene them was before appeased and cured: yet not so, but that under imperfect amity, privy hatred, as sparkles under the umbers, did still remaine: so that the Cardinall, joyning with the Archbishop of Yorke, attempted many things of their owne presumption, contrary to the consent, not onely of the King (being then under age) but also of the protector and governer of the Realme. Where- with the Duke (like a true hearted prince) being not without just cause offended, declared in writing to the King certaine complaints contained in 21. articles, wherein the Cardinall and Archbishop had transgressed both against the King and his lawes. The tenor whereof more at large is in other flooyes exprested, the brieve abstract thereof followeth in a short summary here to be seene.

Certaine points or articles objected by Duke Humfrey against the Cardinall of Winchester.

**F**irst, complained to his Soberaine Prince his right redoubted lord Duke Humfrey, his uncle and Protector of the Realme, that the Bishop of Winchester, in the dayes of his father King Henry the fifth, took upon him the state of a Cardinall, being denyed by the King, saying, that he had as lief set his owne crowne beside him, as to see him weare a Cardinals hat; and that in Parliaments, he, not being contented with the place of a Bishop among the spirituall persons, presumed above his order, which the said Duke desired to be redressed.

2. Item, whereas he being made a Cardinall was voided of his Bishoprick of Winchester, he procured from Rome the Popes Bull, unknowing to the King, whereby he took againe his Bishoprick, contrary to the common law of this Realme, incurring thereby the case of provision, and forfeiting all his goods to the King, by the law of Præmunire facias.

3. Item, he complained that the said Cardinall, with the Archbishop of Yorke, intruded themselves to have the governance of the King, and the doing under the King of temporall matters, excluding the Kings Uncle, and other temporall Lords of the Kings kinne, from having knowledge of any great matter.

4. Item, whereas the King had borrowed of the Cardinall foure thousand pounds, upon certaine jewels, and afterward had his money ready at the day to quit his jewels: the Cardinall caused the Treasurer to convert that money to the payment of another army, to keepe the jewels still to his owne use and gaine.

5. Item, he being then Bishop of Winchester,

and Chancellor of England, delibered the King of Scots upon his owne authority, contrary to the act of Parliament, wedding his daughter afterward to the said king. Also, where the said king of Scots should have paid to the king forty thousand pounds, the Cardinall procured ten thousand marks thereof to be remitted, and yet the rest very slenderly paid.

6. Item, the said Cardinall, for lending notable summes to the king, had the profit of the port of Hampton, where he setting his servants to be the customers, wools and other merchandise was, under that cloke, exported, not so much to his singular benefite, being the chiefe merchant, as to the great prejudice of the king, and detriment to his subjects.

7. Item, the Cardinall in lending out great summes to the king, yet so deferred and delayed the loan thereof, that coming out of season the same did the king little pleasure, but rather hinderance.

8. Item, where jewels and plate were prized at eleven thousand pounds in waight of the said Cardinall forfeited to the king; the Cardinall for loan of a little peece, gave him a restowment thereof, to the kings great damage, who better might have spared the Commonweale, if the summe had remained to him cleare.

9. Item, where the kings father had given Elizabeth Beuchampe three hundred marks of libelode, with this condition, if she wedded within a yere; the Cardinall, notwithstanding she was married two or three yeres after, yet gave her the same, to the kings great hurt, and diminishing of his inheritance.

10. Item, the Cardinall, having no authority nor interest in the crowne, presumed notwithstanding to call before him, like a king, to the kings high derogation.

11. Item, that the Cardinall sued a pardon from Rome, to be freed from all di'mes, due to the king by the church of Winchester, giving thereby example to the Clergy, to withdraw their di'mes likewise, and lay all the charge only upon the temporality and poore Commons.

12. 13. Item, by the procuring of the said Cardinall and Archbishop of Yorke, great goods of the kings were lost and dispended upon needlesse Ambassades, first to Arras, then to Calice.

14. Item, it was laid to the charge of the said Cardinall and Archbishop, that by their meanes, going to Calice, the two enemies of the King, the Duke of Breance and Duke of Burgoyne, were deduced together in accord and alliance; who being at warre before betwene themselves, and now confederate together againe, joyned both together against the Kings Townes and Countries over the sea, to the great danger of Popmandy, and destruction of the Kings people.

15. Item, by the Archbishop of Yorke, and the Cardinall, persuasions were moved openly in the Kings presence, with allurement and inducements, that the King should leave his right, his title, and honor of his crowne, in nominating him King of France, during certaine yeres, and that he should utterly abstaine, and be content onely in writing with Rex Anglia, to the great note and infamy of the King, and all his progenitors.

16. 17. Item, through the sleight and subtiltie of the said Cardinall and his mate, a new convention was intended betwene the King, and certaine ambassaries of France; also the deliberance of the Duke of Breance was appointed in such sort, as thereby great dishonour and inconvenience was like to fall, rather of the Kings side, then of the other.

18. Item, that the Cardinall had purchased great lands and libelodes of the King, the Duke being on the other side the sea occupied in wars, which redounded little to the wealth and profit of the King; and moreover he had the King bound, to make him as sure estate of all those lands by Casser next, as could be

KING  
HEN. 6.

The Cardinall  
playeth the  
merchant.

The Cardinall  
a defrauder of  
the King.

The Cardinall  
taker upon  
him like a king.

The Cardinall  
traitor to the  
Crowne.

The Cardinall  
a purchaser of  
the kings lands

Ex Poly. br. n

Winchester  
presumeth to  
be Cardinall  
against the  
minde of the  
King.

Winchester in-  
curreth the  
law of  
præmunire.

Winchester  
intrudeth him-  
selfe to be the  
Kings govern-  
our.

The Cardinall  
defraudeth the  
King of his  
jewels.

The Cardinall  
defraudeth the  
King of Scots  
upon his owne  
authority.



{ KING }  
{ HEN. 6. }

be deſiſed by any learned counſell, or elſe the ſaid Cardinall to have, and enjoy to him and his heires for ever, the Lands of the Dutchie of Lancaſter in Northfolke to the value of ſeven or eight hundred markes by the yeare.

Perberſe coun-  
ſell of the Car-  
dinall.

19. Item, where the Duke the Kings Uncle had often offered his ſervice for the defence of the Realme of France, and the Dutchie of Normandie; the Cardinall ever laboured to the contrary, in preferring other, after his ſingular affection; whereby a great part of Normandie hath bene loſt.

The Cardinall  
a deceiver of  
the king, and a  
barber.

20. Item, ſeing the Cardinall was riſen to ſuch riches and treasure, which could grow to him, nei-ther by his Church, nor by inheritance (which he then had) it was of neceſſitie to be thought, that it came by his great deceits, in deceiving both the King and his Subjects, in ſelling offices, preferments, livelodes, captainſhips, both here, and in the Realme of France, and in Normandie; ſo that what hath bene there loſt, he hath bene the greateſt cauſer thereof.

The Cardinall  
purchaſeth a  
pardon againſt  
his  
premiſſis.

21. Furthermore, when the ſaid Cardinall had forfeited all his goods by the ſtatute of prohibition, he having the rule of the King, and of other matters of the Realme, purchaſed from the Pope a charter of pardon, not onely to the defeating of the lawes of the Realme, but alſo to the defrauding of the King, who otherwiſe might and ſhould have had where- with to iuſtaine his warres, without any tallage of his poore people, &c.

Bielars hold  
one wit. hano  
the.

When the King heard theſe accusations, he com-mitted the hearing thereof to his Councell, where- of the moſt part were ſpirituall perſons. So, what for feare, and what for favour, the matter was winked at, and dallied out, and nothing ſaid there- unto, and a faire countenance was made to the Duke, as though no diſpleaſure had bene taken, nor malice borne in theſe ſpirituall ſtomackes. But ſhortly after, the ſmoake hereof not able to keep in any longer within the ſpirituall breſts of theſe cha-ritable Churchmen, braſt out in flames of miſchief. For upon the necke of this matter, as witneſſeth Fabian, Polychronicon, and Hall which followeth Polychronicon, firſt enſued the condemnation of Lady Cleane; the Dutcheſſe and her Chaplaines, as ye have heard beſore. Whereby may appeare, the ſaid Dutcheſſe more of malice then of any juſt cauſe thus to have bene troubled. Alſo within ſix yerres after followed the lamentable deſtruction of the Duke himſelfe, as hereafter more is to be declared.

Malice burſt  
out.

About which time, or not long after, Anno 1443. the Steeple of Pauls was ſet on fire by lightning, and at laſt by diligent labour of helpers the fire was quenched.

Pauls ſteeple  
ſet on fire by  
lightning.

{ Anno }  
{ 1445. }

And after the condemnation of Lady Cleane; the Dutcheſſe aforeſaid, within ſew yerres, An. 1445. followed the death of Henry Chicheſley Archbiſhop of Canterbury, by whom ſhe was condemned in S. Stephens Chappell at Weſtmiſter, for penance to heare a taper through Cheapſide three ſundry times, and afterwarde outlawed to the Ile of Man, under the cuſtody of Sir John Standley Knight. This Henry Chicheſley builded in his time two Colled- ges in the Univerſity of Oxford, the one called Allſolne Colledge, the other named Barnard Col- ledge.

The death of  
Henry Chicheſ-  
ley Archbiſhop  
of Canterbury.  
The building  
of Allſolne Col-  
ledge and Bar-  
nard Colledge  
in Oxford.

{ Anno }  
{ 1447. }

Proceeding now to the yeere, wherein ſuffered Humfrey that good Duke of Gloceſter, which was the yeere of our Lord 1447. firſt we will begin in ſew words to intreate of his life and conſervation; then of the manner and cauſe of his death. As tou- ching the of ſpring and deſcent of this Duke, firſt, he was the ſonne of Henry the fourth, brother to King Henry the ſixth, and Uncle to King Henry the ſixth, aſſigned to be the governour and protector of his per- ſon. Of manners he ſeemed make and gentle, lo- ving the common-wealth, a ſupporter of the poore

The ſon and  
death of Hum-  
frey Duke of  
Gloceſter.

Commons, of wit and wiſedome diſcreet and ſtudi- ous, well affected to religion, and a friend to virtue, and no leſſe enemy to pride and ambition, eſpecially in haughty Prelats, which was his undoing in this preſent evil world. And which is ſeldom and rare in ſuch Princes of that calling, he was both learned himſelf, and no leſſe given to ſtudy and alſo a ſingular labourer and patron to them which were ſtudi- ous and learned. And that my commendation of him may have the more credit, I will produce the teſtimony of learned writers, who living in his time, not onely doe commend his famous knowledge, and ripeneſſe of learning in him, but alſo comit and ſubmit their workes to his iudgement to be exami- ned. Of which writers one is Petrus de Monte, writ- ting, De virtutum & vitiarum differentia; who in his Epiſtle dedicatory beginning with the ſingular com- mendation of this Duke, and afterward ſpeaking De optimarum artium, liberaliumque ſcientiarum po- ritia, ſaith thus, Cui tu quidem omni conatu, omni ingenio, atque ſtudio incumbis : adeo ut nihil tibi ſine librorum lectione jucundum, gratum aut certe delecta- bile videatur, &c. And in further proceſſe of his worke, thus he further declareth, ſaying, Delectatus autem non una tantum arte aut ſcientia, quanquam & id quidem eſſet ſatis; verum ſere omnibus, eamque codices magna quodam aviditate legiſti, &c. Beſides this Petrus de Monte, let us heare alſo the iudge- ment of another writer of the ſame age, named Ra- piſcallus, who likewiſe dedicating to the ſaid Duke Humfrey his booke intituled Comparatio ſuorum & reſimilitaris, Amongſt divers other words com- mendatory, hath theſe which follow, Ad te potissi- mum mitto, quod horum te optimum, & ſapientiſ- ſimum iudicem fore exiſtimo, qui ut ex integerrimo patre domino Zenone Bajoceni Episcopo, homine cuius laudis cupidissimo, accepi, ita in his humanitatis ſtudiis invigilares, ut nullus toto terrarum orbe prin- cepts nec doctrina, nec eloquentia, nec humanitate tecum comparandus ſit, &c. Many other arguments and places may be brought to declare what is to be eſteemed of the learning and ſtudious wit of this noble Prince.

Furthermore, as the learning of this Prince was rare and memorable, ſo was the diſcreet wiſedome and ſingular prudence in him no leſſe to be conſide- red, as for the more manifeſt prowe thereof I thought here good, amongſt many other his goodly doings, to recite one example reported as well by the pen of ſir Thomas More, as alſo by M. William Tindall, the true Apoſtle of theſe our latter dayes, to the in- tent to ſee and note, not onely the crafty working of falſe miracles in the clergie, but alſo that the prudent diſcretion of this high and mighty Prince, the fore- ſaid Duke Humfrey, may give us the better to un- derſtand what man he was. The ſtory ſpeaketh thus.

In the young dayes of this King Henry the ſixth, being yet under the governance of this Duke Hum- frey his protector, there came to S. Albons a certain begger with his wife, and there was walking about the towne begging, five or ſix dayes before the Kinges coming thither, ſaying that he was borne blinde, and never ſaw in his life, and was warned in his dreame, that he ſhould come out of Warwick, where he ſaid he had ever dwelled, to ſeeke ſaint Albons, and that he had bene at his ſhrine, and had not bene holpen, and therefore he would go and ſeeke him at ſome other place: for he had heard ſome ſay, ſince he came, that S. Albons body ſhould be at Co- len, and indeed ſuch a contention hath there bene. But of truth, as I am ſurely informed, he lieth here, at S. Albons, ſaving ſome reliques of him, which they there ſhew ſhewed. But to tell you forth my tale, when the King was come, and the towne full, ſudden- ly this blinde man at S. Albons ſhrine had his ſight againe, and a miracle ſolemnely rung, and Te Deum ſung, ſo that nothing was talked of in all the towne; but this miracle. So hapned it then, that Duke Hum- frey

Deſire of know-  
ledge.

Deſire of know-  
ledge.

Leif. deſire of  
knowledge.

A falſe miracle  
eſtopped.

H h h

frey



frey of Gloucester, a man also no lesse wise then well learned, having great joy to see such a miracle, called the poore man unto him; and first shewing himself joyous of Gods glory so shewed in the getting of his sight, and exhorting him to make himself, and to no ascribing of any part of the worship to himself, nor to be proude of the peoples praise, which would call him a good and godly man thereby; at last, he looked well upon his eyes, and asked whether he could see nothing at all in all his life before. And when as well his wife as himselfe affirmed falsely no, then he looked abissedly upon his eyes againe, and said: I beleve you very well, for me thinketh ye cannot see well yet. Pea sir, quoth he, I thanke God and his holy martyrs, I can see now as well as any man. Pea can (quoth the Duke) what colour is my gowne? Then anon the begger told him. What colour (quoth he) is this mans gowne? He told him also, and so forth, without any sticking he told him the names of all the colours that could be shewed him. And when the Duke saw that, he bad him walk trait for, and made him to be set openly in the stocks: for though he could have seene suddenly by miracle the difference betwene divers colours, yet could he not by the sight so suddenly tell the names of all the colours, except he had knowne them before, no more then the names of all the men that he should suddenly see.

By this may it be seene how Duke Humfrey had not onely an head to discern and discever truth from forged and fained hypocrisie, but study also and diligence likewise was in him to reforgine that which was amisse.

And thus much hitherto for the noble prowesse and vertues, joyned with the like ornaments of knowledge and literature, shining in this princely Duke. For the which as he was both loved of the poore commons, and well spoken off of all men, and no lesse deserving the same, being called the good Duke of Gloucester; so neither yet wanted he his enemies and pryve enbiers, whether it was through the fatall and unfortunate lucke of the name of that house, which is but a vaine and frivolis obserbation of Polydore, and shall which followeth him, bying in the examples of Hugh Spenser, of Thomas of Woodstocke, sonne of King Edward the 3, of this Duke Humfrey, and after of R. Richard the third, Duke like wife of Gloucester: or whether it was that the nature of true vertue commonly is such, that as the flame ever beareth his smoke, and the body his shadow, so the brightnesse of vertue never blaseth, but hath some disdaine or envy waiting upon it; or else whether it was rather for some disobedient from his wife, or for some other vice or trespass done (as saith most like truth) which God as well in Dukes houses correcteth, as in other inferior persons, especially where he loveth. But howsoever the cause is to us unknown, this good Duke of Gloucester, albeit being both the Kings sole Uncle, and having so many wellwillers thorow the whole Realme, yet lacked not his satan, lacked not his secret maligners.

Of whom specially was Henry Beauford Cardinall, B. of Winchester, and Chancelor of England; who, of long time disdaining and envying the rule and authority of this Duke, first had disposed and appointed himself to remove the Kings person from Eltham unto Windsor out of the Dukes hands, and there to put in such governours as him listed. After that, intending the Dukes death, he set men of armes and archers at the end of London-bridge, and fore-barring the highway with a draw chaine, set men in chambers, cellers and windowes with Bolles and Arrolles, and other weapons, to the purposed destruction both of the Duke and his retinue, if God had not so disposed to turne his journey another way. Beside other manifold injuries and molestations, the ambitious Cardinall, seeking by all meanes to be Pope, procured such trouble

against him, that great division was thereby in the whole Realme; insomuch that all the shops within the Citie of London were shut in, for feare of the faburers of these two great personages; for each part had assembled no small number of people. For the pacifying whereof, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Duke of Dunber, called the Prince of Portingale, rode seven times in one day betwene those two adversaries. Such were then the troubles of this tumultuous division within the Realme, and all by the excitation of this unquiet Cardinall.

Over and beside this Cardinall afore mentioned an other capitall enemy to the said Duke was William de la Pole, first Carle, then Marguesse, at last Duke of Suffolke, a man very ill reported of in stories, to be not onely the Digan and instrument of this good mans death, but also to be the annoyance of the commonwealth, and ruine of the Realme. For by him and his onely device was first concluded the profitable and unhonorable marriage between the King and Lady Margaret daughter of the Duke of Angew; whereas the King had concluded and contracted a marriage before with the daughter of the Carle of Arminik, upon conditions so much more profitable and honourable, as more convenient it is for a Prince to marry a wife with riches and friends, then to take a maide with nothing, and disinherit himselfe and his Realme of old rights, and ancient inheritance; which for came to passe. And all this the good Duke did well foresee, and declared no lesse, but his counsell would not be taken. Whereupon followed first the giving away the Dutchy of Angew, and the Citie of Haine, with the whole Countrey of Haine, to Keiner Duke of Angew and Father of the Damsell, called then King of Sicile, and of Jerusalem, having thereof no penny profit, but onely a vaine name to play withall.

Another fore enemy and mortall plague to this Duke was the Queen her selfe, lately before married to the King. Who being of haughty stomack, and all set upon glory, of wit and wilnesse, lacking nothing, and perceiving her husband to be simple of wit, and easie to be ruled, toke upon her to rule and governe both the King and Kingdome. And because the advice and counsell of Humfrey Duke of Gloucester was somewhat a stay that her authority and regiment could not so fully proceed, and partly because the said Duke before did disagree from that marriage, this manly Woman and couragious Queen ceased not by all imaginations and practises possible to set forward his destruction, having also for her helper herein the Duke of Buckingham, &c.

These being his principall enemies and mortall foes, fearing lest some commotion might arise, if such a Prince so near the Kings blood, and so deare to the people, and of all men so beloved, should be openly executed and put to death, they devised how to trap him, and circumvent him unknowing and unprovided. For the more speedy furtherance whereof a Parliament was summoned to be kept at Wury, Anno 1447. farre from the Citizens of London, as William Tindall in his Booke of practise writeth, where resorted all the Dares of the Realme, and amongst them the Duke of Gloucester, thinking no harme to any man, and lesse to himselfe. Who on the second day of the Session was by the Lord Beaumont, high Constable then of Eng. accompanied with the Duke of Buckingham and other, arrested, apprehended, and put inward, and upon the same all his servants discharged and put from him, of whom 32. of the principall, being also under arrest, were dispersed into divers prisons, to the great murmuring and grievance of the people. After this arrest thus done and the Duke put into ward, the night after (saith Hall) five nights after (saith Fabian and Polychron.) he was found dead in his bed the 24. of February, and his body shewed to the Lords and Commons,

KING  
HEN. 6.

William de la Pole, Duke of Suffolke, the cause of the Duke of Gloucesters death.

The unprofitable marriage between King Henry the fifth and Queen Margaret.

Queen Margaret enemy to the Duke of Gloucester.

The malice of a woman.

A share to catch the innocent.

Anno 1447. A Parliament at Wury.

The cruel death or martyrdom of the good Duke of Gloucester.

Disimulation well punished.

Commendation of Duke Humfrey.

The good Duke of Gloucester.

Polyd. Hist. lib. 23. Holl. in 25. Hen. 6.

The enemies of the Duke of Gloucester.

The malicious working of the Cardinall against the Duke of Gloucester.



{ KING }  
{ HEN. 6. }

commons, as though he had bene taken naturally with some sudden disease. And although no wound in his body could be sene, yet to all indifferent persons it might well be judged, that he dyed of no naturall pang, but of some violent hand. Some suspected him to be strangled, some that a whole spit was privily forced into his body; some affirme that he was strided betwene two setherbeds. After the death of this Duke, and his body being interred at Saint Albanes, after he had politickly by the space of 25. yeres governed this Realme, five of his household, to wit, one knight, three Esquires, and a Peoman, were arraigned, and conbitt to be hanged, drawne and quartered. Who being hanged and cut downe halfe alive, the Marquesse of Suffolke there present shewed the Charter of the Kings pardon, and so they were delivered. Notwithstanding, all this could not appease the grudge of the people, saying that the slaying of the servants was no amends for the murdering of the Master.

The judgement of God upon them which persecuted the Duke of Gloucester.

In this cruell fact of these persons, which did so conspire and consent to the death of this noble man, and which thought thereby to worke their owne safety, the marvellous worke of Gods judgement appeareth herein to be noted, who as in all other like cruell policies of man, so in this also turned all their policies cleane contrary. So that where the Quene thought most to preserve her husband in honor, and her selfe in state, thereby both she lost her husband, her husband lost his Realme, the Realme lost Angew, Normandy, the Duchy of Aquitaine, with all her parts beyond the Sea, Calice onely except, as in the sequell of the matter, who so will reade the stories, shall right well understand.

{ Anno }

{ 14:8 }

The death of the Cardinall and manner of the same.

The next yere following it folloved also that the Cardinall, who was the principall artificer and ring-leader of all this mischief, was suffered of God no longer to live. Of whose wicked conditions, being more largely set forth in Edward Hall, I omit here to speake. What he himselfe spake on his death bed for example to other, I thought not best to prefermit. Who hearing that he should dye, and that there was no remedy, murmured and grudget, wherefore he should dye having so much riches, saying, that if the whole Realme would save his life, he was able either by policy to get it, or by riches to buy it, adding and saying moreover, fye (quoth he) will not death be hired? will money doe nothing? when my nephew of Bedford dyed, I thought my selfe halfe up the wheele, but when I saw mine other nephew of Gloucester decayed, then I thought my selfe able to be equall with kings, and so thought to encrease my treasure, in hope to have worne the triple crowne, &c. Ex Edovar. Hallo. And thus is the rich Bishop of Winchester, with all his pompe and riches, gone; with the which riches he was able not onely to build Schooles, Colledges, and Universties, but also was able to sustaine the Kings armies in warre (as is specified in stories) without any taring of the Commons.

The words of the Cardinall of Winchester at his death.

Will. Wanslet Bishop of Winchester. Magdalen Colledge in Oxford builded.

In whose seate next succeeded William Wanslet, preferred to the Bishopricke of Winchester, who though he had lesse substance, yet having a minde more godly disposed, did found and erect the Colledge of Mary Magdalen in Oxford. For the which foundation as there have bene and be yet many Students bound to pavid gratefull thanks unto God, so I must needs confesse my selfe to be one, except I will be unkinde.

Gods punishment upon the Marquesse of Suffolke.

Among the other mischievous adversaries which sought and wrought the death of Humfrey Duke of Gloucester, next to the Cardinall of Winchester (who as is said, dyed the next yere following) was William de la Pole, Marquesse of Suffolke, who also lived not long after, nor long escaped unpunished. For although he was highly exalted by the means of the Quene, (whose marriage he onely procured) unto the favour of the King, and was made Duke of

Suffolke, and magnified of the people, and bare the whole swaine in the Realme, whose acts and sayes his vaine glorious head rauled also by the assent of the commons to be recorded, and subtilly to be registered in the rolles of the Parliament, for a perpetual remembrance to him and all his posterity for ever, yet notwithstanding, the hand of Gods judgement still hanging over him, he emored not long to his triumphant victory. For within three yeres after the death and ruine of the Cardinall, the verres of the whole Commons of England were utterly turned against him, accusing him in the Parliament at the Black-friers for delivery of the Duchy of Angew, and the Earldome of Maine, also for the death of the noble Prince Humfrey Duke of Gloucester. They injured moreover to him the losse of all Normandy, laying unto him that he was a swallower up and consumer of the Kings treasure, the expeller of all good and vertuous counsellors from the King, and advancer of vicious person, apparant adversaries to the public wealth; so that he was called in every mans mouth a traitor, a murderer, and a robber of the Kings treasure.

The Quene, albeit she tenderly loved the duke, yet to appease the exclamation of the commons, was forced to commit him to the Tower, where he, with as much pleasure and liberty as could be, remained for a month, which being expired he was delivered and restored againe unto his old place, and former favor with the King. Whereat the people more grudget then before. It hapned by the occasion of a commotion then beginning amongst the rude people, by one whom they called Blewbeard, that the Parliament was for that time adjourned to Leicester, the Quene thinking by force and rigour of law to repress there the malice and evil will conceived against the duke. But at that place few of the nobility would appeare. Wherefore it was againe resourced unto London, and kept at Westminster, where was a whole company, and a full appearance with the King and Quene, and with them the duke of Suffolke as chiefe counsellor. The commons, not forgetting the old grudge, renewed againe their former articles and accusations against the said Duke, against the Bishop of Salisbury, and sir James Jrienes, lord Say, and other. When the king perceived that nothing nor diminution would serve to appease the continuall clamour of the importunate commons, to make some quiet pacification, first he sequestred from him the lord Say, treasurer of England, and other the dukes adherents from their offices. Then he put in exile the Duke of Suffolke for the terme of five yeres, supposing by that space the furious rage of the people would asswage. But the hand of God would not suffer the guiltlesse blood of Humfrey duke of Gloucester to be unrevened, or the flagitious person further to continue. For when he was shipped in Suffolke, intending to be transported into France, he was encountred with a ship of war belonging to the Tower; whereby he was taken, and brought unto Dover roade, and there on the side of a ship boate, one strooke off his head; which was about the yere of our Lord 1450.

The Duke of Suffolke was taken and beheaded.

The Duke of Suffolke was taken and beheaded.

The Duke of Suffolke was taken and beheaded.

Example of Gods judgement and of blood revenged. The Duke of Suffolke beheaded.

And thus have ye heard the full story and discourse of Duke Humfrey, and of all his adversaries; also of Gods condigne punishment upon them for their bloody cruelty. But before I remove from the said story of the foresaid Duke, and of the proud Cardinall his enemy, I will here by the way annex a certaine instrument, by the King and advice of his Councell, made against the said Cardinall, taking upon him to enter into this Realme as Legate from the Pope, contrary to the old lawes and customes of this Realme, as by the words of the said instrument here in Latine may well appeare.



Publicum instru-  
mentum nomine  
Regis.

**I**N Dei nomine, Amen. Per præsens publicum instru-  
mentum cunctis appareat evidenter, quod Anno Dom.  
1428. Indictione septima pontificatus Sancti. in Christo  
Patri, & D. nostri D. Martini, &c.

Ego Richardus Candray, procurator & nomine pro-  
curatorio Christianissimi principis Domini Henrici,  
Dei gratia Regis Angliæ & Franciæ, & domini Hi-  
bernæ, domini mei supremi, de assensu pariter & ad-  
visamento Illustris & potentis principis Humfredi ducis  
Glocestriæ, Comitis Pembrochiæ, protectoris & defen-  
soris regni Angliæ & Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, & cæterorum  
dominorum meorum de consilio sue Regiæ celsitudinis,  
ac consilium ejusdem facientium & hac vice represen-  
tantium, dico, allego, & in his scriptis propono, quod  
dictus Christianissimus princeps, dominus meus supre-  
mus, sui que indivisibili progenitores dicti regni Angliæ  
reger, fuerunt & sunt, tam speciali privilegio, quam  
consuetudine laudabili legitimeque præscripta, necnon  
à tempore & per tempus (cujus contrarii memoria ho-  
minum non existit) pacificè & inconcusse observata,  
sufficienter dotati, legitimeque muniti, quod nullus  
Apostolicæ sedis Legatus venire debeat in regnum suum  
Angliæ, aut alias suas terras & domini, nisi ad Regis  
Angliæ pro tempore existentis vocationem, petitionem,  
requisitionem, invitationem, seu rogatum: Fueruntque  
& sunt dicti Christianissimus princeps dominus meus  
supremus ac sui inchoiti progenitores, hujusmodi Reges  
Angliæ, in possessione quasi iuris & facti privilegii, &  
consuetudinis prædictorum, absque interruptione qua-  
cunque, toto & omni tempore supradicto, pacificè &  
quietè Romanis pontificibus, per totum tempus supra-  
dictum, præmissa omnia & singula scientibus, toleran-  
tibus, & iisdem consentientibus tam tacitè quam ex-  
presse, ac extra omnem & omnimodam possessionem, quasi  
iuris & facti, Legatum hujusmodi (ut præfertur) in  
regnum Angliæ aut alias suas terras & domini, mit-  
tendi, nisi ad vocationem, petitionem, requisitionem,  
& rogatum Regis Angliæ pro tempore existentis. Et  
quia reverendi. in Christo Patri, & D. D. Henricus  
Dei gratia, &c. Sancti Eusebii presbyter, Cardinalis  
sanctæ sedis Romanæ, Legatum se affirmans, more legati,  
in signis Apostolicæ dignitatis utens, absque vocatione,  
petitione, requisitione, invitatione, aut rogatu Christi-  
anissimi domini nostri regis prædicti, inchoitum regnum  
Angliæ de facto est ingressus, protector igitur palam, &  
publico in his scriptis nomine & vice quibus supra, ac  
omnium ipsius Domini nostri regis subditorum, quod  
non fuit, aut est intentionis præfati Christianis. prin-  
cipis, domini mei supremi, ac dictorum dominorum  
meorum de consilio, in derogationem legum, jurium,  
consuetudinum, libertatum & privilegiorum dicti D.  
nostri regis ac regni, ingressum hujusmodi dicti reveren-  
dis. patris, ut legati in Angliam, auctoritate ratificare,  
vel approbare, seu ipsum ut Legatum sedis Apostolicæ in  
Angliam, contra leges, jura, consuetudines, libertates  
& privilegia prædicta quovismodo admittere seu re-  
cognoscere; aut exercitio legationis, seu hujusmodi, ali-  
quibusque per ipsum ut Legatum sedis Apost. actis, seu  
agendis, attentatis, seu attentandis adversus præmissa,  
leges, jura, consuetudines, libertates, & privilegia, in  
aliquo consentire, sed dissimulare; sicque dissentit dictus  
dominus noster rex, atque dissentiant dicti domini mei  
de consilio, per præsentem, &c.

Pauls-Wharfe, one Richard Candray Procurator, in the  
Kings name and behalfe, did protest and denounce by  
this publike instrument, that whereas the King and all  
his Progenitors, Kings before him of this Realme of  
England, have been heretofore possessed, time out of  
minde, with speciall priviledge and custome used and  
observed in this Realme from time to time, that no Legat  
from the Apostolike See should enter into this Land or  
any of the Kings dominions, without the calling, petiti-  
on, request, invitemet or desire of the King; and for-  
somuch as Henry Bishop of Wint. and Cardinall of S.  
Eusebius, hath presumed so to enter as Legate from the  
Pope, being neither called, sent for, required, or desired  
by the King; therefore the said Richard Candray in the  
Kings name doth protest by this instrument, that it stand-  
eth not with the Kings minde or intent, by the advice of  
his Councell, to admit, approve, or ratifie the coming of  
the said Legate in any wise, in derogation of the rights,  
customs and lawes of this his Realme; or to recognise,  
or assent to any exercise of this his authority legatine;  
or to any acts, attempts, or hereafter by him to be at-  
tempted in this respect, contrary to the foresaid Lawes,  
Rights, Customes and Liberties of this Realme, by these  
presentes, &c.

And thus much as an Appendir, annexed to the  
Booke of D. Humfrey, and the Cardinall of Win-  
chester, extract out of an old written Volume, re-  
mainning in the hands of master William Botwper.

### 30 The Benefit and Invention of Printing.

**I**n following the course and order of yeres, we  
fande this foresaid yere of our Lord 1450. to be  
famous and memorabile, for the divine and miracu-  
lous inventing of Printing. Paucerus, and Wym-  
selingus following him, refferre the invention there-  
of to the yere 1440. In paralip. Abbatis Vrip it is  
recozded this faculty to be found, An. 1446. Ahen-  
tinus and Zieglerus doe say. An. 1450. The first  
Inventoꝝ thereof (as most agree) is thought to be a  
Germane, dwelling first in Argentine, afterward  
Citizen of Mentz, named J. Faustus, a Goldsmith.  
The occasion of this invention first was by engra-  
ving the Letters of the Alphabet in metall; who  
then laying blacke Inke upon the metall gave the  
forme of letters in paper. The man being industri-  
ous and active, perceiving that, thought to proceede  
further, and to probe whether it would frame as well  
in words, and in whole sentences, as it did in letters.  
Which when he perceived to come well to passe, he  
made certaine other of his counsell, one J. Guttent-  
berge and W. Schafferd, binding them by their oath  
to keepe silence for a season. After ten yeres John  
Guttemberge, compartner with Faustus, began  
then first to broche the matter at Strausbourg. The  
Art, being yet but rude, in procelle of time was set  
forward by inventive wits, adding more and more to  
the perfection thereof. In the number of whom, J.  
Gentell, J. Wus, Adolphus Kuschius, were great  
helpers. Ulricus Han, in Latine called Gallus, first  
brought it to Rome. Whereof the Epigrame was  
made:

Anser Tarpeii custos, vigilando quod alis  
Constrepere, Gallus decidit, ultor adest  
Vlricus Gallos, ne quem poscantur in usum,  
Edocuit pennis nil opus esse tuis.

Cæmen Ant.  
Campari.

Notwithstanding, what man soever wasthe in-  
strument, without all doubt God himselfe was the  
ordainer and disposer thereof, no otherwise, then he  
was of the gift of tongues, and that for a singular  
purpose. And well may this gift of Printing be re-  
sembled to the gift of tongues: for like as God then  
spake with many tongues, and yet all that would not  
turn the Jews so now, when the holy Ghost speaketh  
to the aduersaries in innumerable sorts of books, yet  
they will not be converted, nor turn to the Gospell.  
Now to consider to what end and purpose the Lord  
hath given this gift of Printing to the earth, and to  
what

Anno  
1450  
The Art of  
Printing in-  
vented.  
Ex Typographia  
per Mattheum  
Ludicem.

Printing came  
of God.

Printing like-  
ned to the gift  
of tongues.

An instrument  
by the King a-  
gainst the ad-  
mitting the  
Popes Legate.

The summe and effect whereof in English is this, that  
in the yere of our Lord 1428. as the King with Duke  
Humfrey Lord Protector, and the rest of the Councell,  
were in the Dukes house in the Parish of S. Bennets by



**KING** } what great utility and necessity it serbeth, it is not  
**HEN. 6.** } hard to fudge, who so wisely perpendeth both the  
 time of the sending, and the sequell which thereof  
 ensueth.

The time con-  
 sidered when  
 Printing was  
 found.

And first, touching the time of this faculty giben  
 to the use of man, this is to be marked, that when as  
 the Bishop of Rome with all the whole and full con-  
 sent of the Cardinals, Patriarkes, Archbishops, Bi-  
 shops, Abbats, Priors, Lawyers, Doctors, Doctors,  
 Deanes, Archdeacons, assembled together in the  
 Countell of Constance, had condemned poore John  
 Hus, and Jerome of Prague to death for heresie, not  
 withstanding they were no heretikes, and after they  
 had subdued the Bohemians and all the whole world  
 under the supreme authority of the Romish Sea; and  
 had made all Christian people obedienciaries and  
 vassals unto the same, having (as one would say) all  
 the world at their will, so that the matter now was  
 past not onely the power of all men, but the hope al-  
 so of any man to be recovered: in this very time so  
 dangerous and desperate, where mans power could  
 doe no more, there the blessed wisdome and omni-  
 potent power of the Lord began to worke for his  
 Church, not with sword and target to subdue his ex-  
 alted adversary, but with Printing, writing, and read-  
 ing to conbine darknesse by light, error by truth, ig-  
 norance by learning. So that, by this meanes of  
 Printing, the secret operation of God hath heaped  
 upon that proud Kingdome a double confusion. For  
 whereas the B. of Rome had burned J. Hus before,  
 and Jerome of Prague, who neither denied his tran-  
 substantiation, nor his supremacy, nor yet his Popish  
 masse, but said masse, and heard masse themselves,  
 neither spake against his purgatory, nor any other  
 great matter of his Popish doctrine, but only excla-  
 med against his excessive and pompous pride, his un-  
 christian or rather antichristian abomination of life:  
 thus while he could not abide his wickednesse only of  
 life to be touched, but made it heresie, or at least mat-  
 ter of death, whatsoever was spoken against his de-  
 fectable conversation and manners, God of his secret  
 judgement, seeing time to helpe his Church, hath  
 found a way by this faculty of Printing, not onely to  
 confound his life and conversation, which before he  
 could not abide to be touched, but also to cast downe  
 the foundation of his standing, that is, to examine,  
 confute, and defect his doctrine, lawes and instituti-  
 ons most detestable in such sort, that though his life  
 were never so pure, yet his doctrine standing as it  
 doth, no man is so blinde but he may see, that either  
 the Pope is Antichrist, or else that Antichrist is neer  
 cousin to the Pope; And all this doth and will here-  
 after more and more appeare by Printing.

Double confu-  
 sion upon the  
 Pope by Prin-  
 ting.

The fruit and  
 profit of Prin-  
 ting.

The reason whereof is this: for that hereby  
 tongues are known, knowledge groweth, judgement  
 encreaseth, Bookes are dispersed, the Scripture is  
 scene, the Doctors be read, stories be opened, times  
 compared, truth discerned, falshood detected, and with  
 finger pointed, and all (as I said) through the benefit  
 of Printing. Wherefore I suppose, that either the  
 Pope must abolish Printing, or he must seeke a new  
 world to raigne over: for else, as this world standeth,  
 Printing doubtlesse will abolish him. But the pope,  
 and all his colledge of Cardinals, must this under-  
 stand, that through the light of Printing the world  
 becometh now to have eyes to see, and heads to  
 fudge: He cannot walke so invisible in a net, but he  
 will be spred. And although through might he stop-  
 ped the mouth of John Hus before, and of Jerome,  
 that they might not preach, thinking to make his  
 Kingdome sure: yet, in stead of J. Hus and others,  
 God hath opened the Presse to preach, whose voice  
 the Pope is never able to stop with all the puissance  
 of his Triple Crowne. By this Printing, as by the  
 gift of tongues, and as by the singular Organ of the  
 holy Ghost, the doctrine of the Gospel foundeth to  
 all Nations and Countreies under Heavens, and what  
 God revealeth to one man, is dispersed to many, and

what is knowne in one Nation, is opened to all.

The first and best were by the B. of Rome, by the  
 benefit of Printing, to learne and know the truth.  
 If he will not, let him well understand that Prin-  
 ting is not set up for nought. To strive against the  
 streame it availeth not. That the Pope hath lost,  
 since Printing and the Presse began to preach, let  
 him cast his counters. First, when Erasmus wrote,  
 and Frobenius printed, what a blow thereby was  
 given to all fryers and monkes in the world? And  
 who seeth not that the pen of Luther following after  
 Erasmus, and set forward by writing, hath let the  
 triple crowne so awry on the Popes head, that it is  
 like never to be set straight againe?

God himself  
 doth it.

Secondly, if there were no demonstration to leade-  
 yet by this one argument of Printing, the Bishop of  
 Rome might understand the countell and pu. pow. of  
 the Lord to worke against him, having provided for h  
 a way in Earth, that almost how many Printing  
 Presses there be in the world, so many blacke ou es  
 there be against the high Castle of Saint Angel, so  
 that either the Pope must abelish knowledge and  
 Printing, or Printing at length will wote him out.  
 For if a man wisely consider the hold and standing  
 of the Pope, thus he may repute with himselfe, that  
 as nothing made the Pope strong in time past, but  
 lack of knowledge and ignorance of simple Christi-  
 ans: so contrariwise, now nothing doth devitalize  
 and shake the high spire of his papacie so much, as  
 reading, preaching, knowledge and judgement;  
 that is to say, the fruit of Printing: Whereof some  
 experience we see already, and more is like (by the  
 Lords blessing) to follow. For although, through  
 outward force and violent cruelty, tongues dare not  
 speak, yet the hearts of men daily (no doubt) be in-  
 structed through the benefit of Printing. And though  
 the Pope both now by cruelty, and in times past by  
 ignorance, had all under his possession: yet neither  
 must he think, that violence will alwayes continue,  
 neither must he hope for that now which he had then;  
 for so much as in those former dayes bookes then were  
 scarce, and also of such excessive price, that few could  
 attaine to the buying, fewer to the reading and  
 studying thereof; which bookes now by the meanes  
 of this Art, are made easie unto all men. He heard  
 before pag. 872. how Nicholas Belward bought a  
 new Testament in those dayes for foure markes  
 and forty pence, whereas now the same price will  
 well serve forty persons with so many bookes.

So perished  
 the strength  
 of the Pope  
 by the power  
 of the Presse,  
 a double confu-  
 sion upon the  
 Pope by Prin-  
 ting, as the  
 Printing will  
 doe it out.

Moreover, it was before noted and declared by the  
 testimony of Arnachanus, how for defect of bookes  
 and good Authors, both Universities were decayed  
 and good wits kept in ignorance, while begging fry-  
 ers, scraping all the wealth from other Prelates, hea-  
 ped up all bookes that could be gotten, into their own  
 Libraries, where either they did not diligently apply  
 them, or else did not rightly use them, or at least kept  
 them from such as more fruitfully would have per-  
 used them. In this then so great rarity, and also  
 dearth of good bookes, when neither they which could  
 have bookes would well use them, nor they that would  
 could have them to use, what marvell if the greed-  
 nesse of a few Prelates did abuse the blindness of  
 those dayes, to the advancement of themselves?  
 Wherefore Almighty God of his mercifull provi-  
 dence, seeing both what lacked in the Church, and  
 how also to remedy the same, for the advancement  
 of his glory, gave the understanding of this excel-  
 lent Art or Science of Printing, whereby these sin-  
 gular commodities at one time came to the world.  
 First, the price of all bookes is diminished. Second-  
 ly, the speedy helpe of reading more furthered. And  
 thirdly, the plenty of all good Authors enlarged; ac-  
 cording as Apertinus, doth truly report:

Triple comme-  
 dity by Prin-  
 ting.

Imprimitt ille die, quantum non scribitur anno. i.

The Presse in one day will doe in Printing,  
 That none in one yeere can doe in writing.

¶ h h h

¶



When Gunnes  
were first in-  
vented.

By reason whereof, as Printing of bookes mini-  
fied matter of reading; so reading brought lear-  
ning, learning shewed light, by the brightnesse where-  
of blinde ignorance was suppressed, error detected,  
and finally Gods glory with truth of his word ad-  
vanced. This faculty of Printing was after the in-  
vention of Guns the space of 130. yeeres; which  
invention was also found in Germany, An. 1380.  
And thus much for the worthy commendation of  
Printing.

### The lamentable losing of Constantinople.

Anno  
1453.

The losing of  
Constantino-  
ple.

Anno 1453. Constantinus Paleologus, being  
Emperoz of Constantinople, the 29. day of  
May, the great Citie of Constantinople was taken  
by the Turke Mahometes, after the siege of 54.  
dayes, which siege began in the beginning of April.  
Within the Citie, beside the Citizens, were but on-  
ly 6000. rescuers of the Greeks. And 3000. of  
the Venetians and Genues. Against these, Maho-  
metes brought an army of 400. thousand, collected  
out of the Countries and places adjoining neere  
about, as out of Grecia, Illyrica, Wallachia, Dar-  
danis, Triballis, Bulgaries, out of Bithynia, Ga-  
latia, Lydia, Sicilia, and such other; which places  
had the name yet of Christians. Thus one neigh-  
bour for lucre sake helped to destroy another.

The Citie was compassed of the Turkes both by  
the Sea and Land. Mahometes the Turke divided  
his Army into three sundry parts, which in three  
parts of the Citie so beat the Walls and brake them  
downe, that they attempted by the breaches thereof  
to enter the Citie. But the valiantnesse of the Chri-  
stians therein won much commendation; whose  
Duke was called John Justinianus, of Genua. But  
forasmuch as the assaults were great, and the num-  
ber of the Christian souldiers daily decreased, fight-  
ing both at the Walls and at the Haven against such  
a multitude of the Turkes, they were not able long  
to hold out. Beside the armies which lay battering  
at the Walls, the Turke had upon the Sea his navy  
of 200. and 50. saile, lying upon the Haven of the  
Citie, reaching from the one side of the Havens  
Mouth unto the other, as if a bridge should be made  
from the one banke to the other. Which haven by  
the Citizens was barred with yron chaines, whereby  
the Turkes were kept out a certaine space. Against  
which navy 7. ships there were of Genua within the  
Haven, and 3. of Creta, and certain of Chio, which  
stood against them. Also the souldiers issuing out  
of the Citie, as occasion would serue, did manfully  
gainstand them, and with wilde fire set their ships  
on fire, that a certaine space they could serue to no  
use. At length the chaines being brast, and a way  
made, the Turkes navy entred the haven, and as-  
saulted the Citie, whereby the Turke began to con-  
ceive great hope, and was in forwardnesse to ob-  
taine the Citie. The assault and skirmish then war-  
ing more hot, Mahometes the tyrant stood by upon  
an hill, with his warriours about him, crying and  
howling out unto them to scale the Walls and en-  
ter the Towne; otherwise, if any reculed, he threat-  
ned to kill them, and so he did. Wherefore a great  
number of his souldiers, in their repulse and retire,  
were slaine by the Turkes men, being sent by his  
commandement to slay them, and so they were justly  
serued, and well payed their hire.

Although this was some comfort to the Christi-  
ans, to see and behold out of the Citie the Turkes  
retinue so consumed, yet that hope lasted not long.  
Shortly after by rage of warre, it hapned Justi-  
nian the Duke above named to be hurt: who not  
withstanding that he was earnestly desired by Pa-  
leologus the Emperoz, not to leave his tower which  
he had to keepe, seeing his wound was not deadly  
dangerous; yet could he not be entreated to farry,  
but left his standing, and his fort dis-furnished, lea-

ting none in his place to award the same. And so  
this doughtie Duke, hurt more with his false-heart  
then with force of weapon, gave ober and fled to  
Chius, where shortly after for sorow, rather then for  
sorenesse of his wound, he dyed. Many of his soul-  
diers, seeing their Captaine flee, followed after, lea-  
ving their fort utterly destitute without defence.  
The Turkes, understanding that bantage, sone  
brast into the Citie. The Emperoz Paleologus see-  
ing no other way but to dye, making toward the  
gate, either was slaine, or else troden downe with the  
multitude. In the which gate eight hundred dead  
mens bodies were found and taken up.

The Citie of Constantinople thus being got, the  
Turkes sacking and ranging about the streets,  
houles, and corners, did put to the sword most un-  
mercifully whomsoever they found, both aged and  
young, matrons, virgins, children and infants, spa-  
ring none; the noble matrons and Virgins were  
horribly ravished; the goods of the Citie, the treasu-  
ries in houles, the ornaments in Churches were all  
sackt and spoiled, the pictures of Christ opprobriously  
handled, in hatred of Christ. The spoyle and habock  
of the Citie lasted three dayes together, while the  
barbarous souldiers murdered and rifled what them  
liked.

These things thus being done, and the tumult  
ceased, after three dayes Mahometes the Turke en-  
treth into the Citie, and first calling for the heads  
and ancients of the Citie, such as he found to be left  
alibe, he commanded them to be mangled and cut in  
pieces. It is also (saith my Author) reported, that  
in the feasts of the Turkes, honest Matrons and  
Virgins, and such as were of the Kings stock, after  
other contumelies, were helone and cut in pieces  
for their disport.

And this was the end of that Princely and famous  
Citie of Constantinople, beginning first by Con-  
stantinus, and ending also with Constantinus, which  
for the Princely Royaltie thereof was named and  
ever honoured, from the time of the first Constan-  
tine, equally with the Citie of Rome, and called  
also by the name thereof new Rome, and so continu-  
ed the space of 1120. yeeres. I pray God that old  
Rome may learne of new Rome, to take heed and  
beware betime.

This terrible destruction of the Citie of Constani-  
tinople, the Queen of Cities, I thought here to de-  
scribe, not so much to set forth the barbarous cruelty  
of these filthy rake-hells and merciless murderers;  
as specially for this, that we being admonished by  
the dolefull ruine and miserie of these our eben  
Christened, may call to minde the plagues and mis-  
eries deserued, which seeme to hang no lesse oer our  
owne heads, and thereby may learne betime to in-  
vocate and call more earnestly upon the name of  
our terrible and mercifull God, that he for his sons  
sake will keepe us, and preserve his Church among  
us, and mitigate those plagues and sorowes, which  
we no lesse have deserued, then these above minded  
have done before us. Christ grant it, Amen. Ex Hist.  
Wittenbergica Peucer.

### The History of Reynold Pecock Bishop of Chichester, afflicted and imprisoned for the Gospel of Christ.

After the death of Henry Chicheley before  
mentioned, next succeeded John Stafford, An-  
no 1445. who continued eight yeeres. After him  
came John Kempe, Anno 1453. who late but three  
yeeres. Then succeeded Thomas Worschere. In the  
time of which Archbishop fell the trouble of Rey-  
nold Pecocke, Bishop of Chichester, afflicted by the  
Popes Zelates for his faith and profession of the  
Gospel. Of this Bishop, Hall also in his Chrono-  
logie toucheth a little mention, declaring that an  
overthwart judgement (as he termeth it) was gi-  
ven

KING  
HEN. 6.

The Emperoz  
of Constanti-  
nople slaine.  
Constantinople  
wonne of the  
Turkes.

The bloody be-  
crop of the  
Turkes.

The horrible  
tyranny of the  
Turkes.

Constantinople  
called new  
Rome.

A warning to  
all Christen-  
dom by Con-  
stantinople.

The tyranny of  
the Turke to-  
ward his owne  
men.

The coward-  
nesse of Duke  
Justinian.

The Roy of  
Reynold Pe-  
cocke.



**SKING** ben by the Fathers of the spirituality against him.  
**HEN.6.** This man (saith he) began to move questions not privately, but openly in the Universities, concerning the Annates, Peter-pence, and other jurisdictions, and authorities pertaining to the Sea of Rome; and not onely put forth the questions, but declared his minde and opinion in the same; wherefore he was for this cause abjured at Pauls Crosse. Thus much of him writeth Hall. Of whom also recordeth Polychronicon, but in few words. This Bishop, first of Saint Asaph, then of Chichester, so long as Duke Humfrey lived (by whom he was promoted and much made of) was quiet and safe, and also bold to dispute and to write his minde, and wrote (as England recordeth) divers bookes and treatises. But after that good Duke was thus (as ye have heard) made away, this good man lacking his back-stay, was open to his enemies, and matter soon found against him. Whereupon he being complained of, and accused by pious and malignant promoters unto the Archbishop, letters first were directed downe from the Archbishop, to cite all men to appeare that could say any thing against him. The forme of which citation here ensueth.

### The Copie of the Citation sent by the Archbishop.

The Citation of the Archbishop. Tho. Botcher, alias, Boner, abbe.

**T**homas by the permission of God, Archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and Legate of the Apostolike Sea, to all and singular, Parsons, Vicars, Chaplaines, Curates and not Curates, Clerks, and learned men, whatsoever they be, constitute and ordained in any place thorowout our Province of Canterbury, health, grace and benediction.

We have received a grievous complaint of our reverend fellow brother, Reynold Pecocke Bishop of Chichester, containing in it, that albeit our said Reverend fellow brother, the Bishop, delivered unto us, certaine bookes written by him in the English tongue, by us and our authority to be examined, corrected, reformed and allowed: notwithstanding many (the examination and reformation of the said bookes depending and remaining before us undiscussed) have openly preached and taught at Pauls Crosse in London, and in divers other places of our Province of Caterbury, that our said fellow brother the Bishop hath propounded, made and written, or caused to be written in the said bookes, certaine conclusions repugnant to the true faith, and that he doth obstinately hold and defend the same. By the presence of which preaching and teaching, the state and good name and fame of the Lord Reynold the Bishop, are grievously offended and hurt, and he and his opinion marvellously burned. Wherefore we charge you all together, and severally apart doe command you, firmly enjoying you, that openly and generally you do warne or cause to be warned, all and singular such persons, which will object any thing contrary and against the conclusions of our said Reverend fellow brother the Bishop, had or contained in his books or writings; that the twentieth day after such monition or warning had, they doe freely of their own accord appeare before us and our Commissaries in this behalfe appointed, wherefore we shall then be in our City, Diocese, or Province of Canterbury, to speake, propound or alleadge, and affirme fully and sufficiently in writing, whatsoever hereticall or erroneous matter they will speake, propound or object against the said conclusions contained in his said books; and both to listise and receive, whatsoever shall seeme meet and right in this behalfe by the holy institution and ordinances.

And forsomuch as this matter depending yet undetermined and undiscussed, nothing ought to be attempted or renewed; we charge you that by this our authority you inhibit and forbid all and every one so to preach and teach hereafter. Unto whom also we by the tenour of these presents doe likewise forbid, that during the ex-

amination of the conclusions and bookes aforesaid, depending before us and our Commissaries, until such time as they doe not presume by any means, without our advice and judgement, to preach, judge and say any thing to the prejudice or offence of the said Lord Reynold the Bishop; and if so be you do finde any man a false halfe gain saying or not obeying this our inhibition, that you do cite or cause them preceptually to be cited, to appeare before us or our Commissaries, on the tenth day appointed, the tenth day after their citation, if it bee a Court day, or else the next Court day following, whereforever we shall then be, in our City, Diocese, or Province of Canterbury, to make further declaration by forme of law of the cause of their disobedience, and to receive such punishment as justice and equity shall determine in their behalfe; and that by your letters you do duly certifie us or our Commissaries, what you have done in the premises at the day and place aforesaid; or that he which hath so executed our commandment, doe so certifie us by his letters. Dated at our Mannour of Lambeth the xxii. day of October, Anno 1457. and in the fourth yeere of our translation.

This citation being directed, the Bishop upon the summon thereof was brought, or rather came before the Judges and Bishops unto Lambeth, where the foresaid Thomas the Archbishop, with his Doctors and Lawyers, were gathered together in the Archbishops Court. In which convention also the Duke of Buckingham was present, accompanied with the Bishops of Rochester, and of Lincoln. What were the opinions and Articles against him objected after in his rebocation shall be specified. In his answering for himselfe, in such a company of the Popes friends, albeit he could not prebaile, notwithstanding he stoutly defending himselfe declared many things worthy great commendation of learning, if learning against power could have prebailed.

But they on the contrary part, with all labour and travell extened themselves, either to reduce him, or else to confound him. As here lacked no blustering words of terrour and threatening, so also many faire flattering words and gentle persuasions were admitt withall. Briefly, to make a short narration of a long and busie traverse, here was no stone left unturned, no wayes unpobed, either by faire meanes to intreate him, or by terrible menaces to terrifie his minde, till at length, he being vanquished and overcome by the Bishops, began to faint, and gave over. Whereupon, by and by a recantation was put unto him by the Bishops, which he should declare before the people. The copie of which his recantation here followeth.

### The forme and manner of the retractation of Reynold Pecocke.

**I**n the name of God, Amen. Before you the most Reverend father in Christ and Lord, the Lord Thomas by the grace of God, Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England and Legate of the Apostolike Sea, I Reynold Pecocke, unto the Bishop of Chichester, doe purely, willingly, simply, and absolutely confesse and acknowledge, that I in times past, that is to say, by the space of these twenty yeres last past and more, have otherwise conceived, holden, taught and written, as touching the Sacraments, and the Articles of the faith, than the holy Church of Rome, and universall church, and also that I have made, written, published and set forth many and divers pernicious doctrines, bookes, treatises, writings, heresies, contrary and against the true Catholike and Apostolike faith, containing in them errors contrary to the Catholike faith, and especially these errors and heresies here under written.

Pecocke says search or Lam. can be by the Arch-bishop.

Great labour to reduce Pecocke from his opinions.

The retractation of Bishop Pecocke.

Ex Regis.



His Articles.

1. First of all, that we are not bound, by the necessity of faith, to beleve that our Lord Iesus Christ after his death descended into hell.
2. Item, that it is not necessary to salvation to beleve in the holy Catholike Church.
3. Item, that it is not necessary to salvation to beleve the communion of Saints.
4. Item, that it is not necessary to salvation to ascribe the body materiall in the Sacrament.
5. Item, that the universall Church may erre in matters which pertain unto faith.
6. Item, that it is not necessary unto salvation to beleve that that which every generall comicell doth universally ordaine, approve, or determine, should necessarily for the helpe of our faith, and the salvation of soules, be approved and holden of all faithfull Christians.

Wherefore I Reynold Pecocke, wretched sinner, which have long walked in darknesse, and now by the mercifull disposition and ordinance of God, am reduced and brought again unto the light and way of truth, and restored unto the unity of our holy mother the Church, renounce and forsake all errors and heresies aforesaid.

Notwithstanding (goodly Reader) it is not to be believed that Pecocke did so give over these opinions, howsoever the words of the recantation pretend. For it is a policy and play of the Bishops, that when they doe subdue or overcome any man, they carry him whither they list, as it were a young tree by the no, and frame out his words for him before-hand, as it were for a Parrot, that he should speake unto the people; not according to his owne will, but after their lust and fantasie. Neither is it to be doubted but that this Bishop repented him afterward of his recantation; which may easily be judged hereby, because he was committed againe to prison, and detained captive, where it is uncertaine whether he was oppressed with privie and secret tyrannie, and there obtained the crowne of Martyrdom, or no.

The Dictionary of Thomas Galsaigne I have not in my hands present. But if credit be to be given to such as have to us alleaged the book, this we may finde in the eight Century of John Bale. Chapter ninetene, that the said Thomas Galsaigne in his third part of his Dictionary, writing of Reynold Pecocke, maketh declaration of his Articles containing in them matters of fore heresie. First (saith he) Reynold Pecocke at Pauls Crosse preached openly, that the office of a Christian Prelate, chiefly above all other things, is to preach the word of God. That mans reason is not to be preferred before the Scriptures of the old and new Testament. That the use of the Sacraments, as they be now handled, is worse than the use of the law of nature. That bishops which buy their admissions of the Bishop of Rome, doe sinne. That no man is bound to beleve and obey the determination of the Church of Rome. Also that the riches of Bishops by inheritance, are the goods of the poore. Item, that the Apostles themselves personally were not the makers of the Creed; and that in the same Creed once was not the Article, he went downe to hell. Item, that the seure senses of the Scripture none is to be taken, but the very first and proper sense. Also, that he gave little estimation, in some points, to the authority of the old Doctors. Item, that he condemned the wilfull begging of the friers, as a thing idle and needlesse. This out of Thomas Galsaigne. Leland also, adding this more over, saith, that he, not contented to follow the Catholike sentence of the church, in interpreting of the Scripture, did not thinke soundly (as he judged it) of the holy Eucharist.

At length, for these and such other articles, the said Reynold Pecocke was condemned for an heretike, by the Archbishops and Bishops of Koffe, Lincolne, and Winchester, with other Divines more. Whereupon he, being given to his recantation, was not

withstanding detained still in prison. Where some say, that he was privily made away by death. KING  
HEN. 6.

Wall addeth, that some say his opinions to be, that spirituall persons by Gods law ought to have no temporall possessions. Other write, that he said that personall riches were not due by Gods law. But whatsoever the cause was, he was caused at Pauls Crosse to abjure, and all his books burnt, and he himselfe kept in his owne house during his naturall life. I marvell that Polydore, of this error in the middle of the Bishops handling, and of his Articles, in his history maketh no memorizall. Welike it made but little for the honestie of his great master the Pope.

From persecution and burning in England now out of the way to digresse a little, to speake of foreign matters of the church of Rome; you remember before, in the latter end of the council of Basill, how Eugenius was deposed. Of whose conditions and martiall affaires, how he made warre against Sforzia a famous captain of Italie, and what other warres he raised beside, not onely in Italy, but also in Germany, against the city and comicell of Basill, I shall not need to make any long rehearse. After his deposition ye heard also how Felix Duke of Savoy was elected Pope. Whereupon another Great schisme followed in the Church during all the life of Eugenius.

After his death, his next successor was Pope Nicolas the first, who (as you before have heard) brought so to passe with the Emperour Frederike the thirde, that Felix was contented to renounce and resigne his Papacy to Nicolas, and was therefore of him afterward received to the come of Cardinall for his submission; and Frederike for his working was confirmed at Rome to be full Emperour, and there crowned, An. 1451. For Emperours, before they be confirmed and crowned by the Pope, are no Emperours, but onely called kings of Romanes.

This Pope Nicolas here mentioned, to get and gather great summes of money, appointed a Jubile in the yere of our Lord 1450. at which time there resorted a greater number of people unto Rome, than hath at any time before bene sene. At which time we read in the story of Platina that to have happened, which I thought here not unworthy to be noted for the example of the thing. As there was a great concourse of people resorting up to the mount Vaticane to behold the image of our Saviour, which there they had to shew to pilgrimes, the people being thicke going too and fro betwene the mount and the citie, by chance a certaine Pule of the Cardinals of Saint Marke, came by the way, by reason whereof the people not being able to avoide the way, one or two falling upon the Pule, there was such a preele and throng upon that occasion on the bidge, that to the number of two hundred bodies of men, and three horses were there strangled, and on each side of the bidge many besides fell over into the water, and were drowned.

By meanes of which occasion the Pope afterward caused the small houses to be plucked downe to make the way broader. And this is the fruit that cometh by idolatry. Ex Platin.

In the time of this Pope one Mat. Palmerius wrote a booke De Angelis, for defending whereof he was condemned by the Pope, and burned at Cozna, An. 1448. Ex Tritemio.

After him succeeded Calistus the third, who amongst divers other things ordained, both at home and at evening the Bell to toll the Aves, as it was used in the popish time, to helpe the souldiers that fought against the Turkes; for the which cause also he ordained the feast of the transfiguration of the Lord, solemnizing it with like pardons and indulgences, as was Corpus Christi day.

Also this Pope, proceeding contrary to the Councils of Constance and Basill, decreed that no man should

Eugenius  
warred against  
Sforzia and divers other.

Pope Felix.

P. Nicolas

Emperours are  
but kings of  
Romanes before  
they be crowned  
by the Pope.

Ex Platina de  
vitiis.

The example  
of Idolatry  
punished.

The fruit of  
Idolatry.

Mat. Palmerius  
is a Florentine  
Poet.

Tolling of Aves

S. Command of  
Canterbury  
canonized.

The Articles  
of Reynold  
Pecocke mentioned  
by Tho.  
Galsaigne.  
Ex Tho. Galsaigne.  
Lib. de Dictiona.  
Theolog. part. 3.

R. Pecocke de-  
tained in prison



{ KING }  
{ HEN. 6. }

should appeale from the Pope to any counsell. By whom also S. Edmund of Canterbury with others, other were made Saints.

Pope Pius 2.

Next after this Calixtus succeeded Pius Secundus, otherwise called Aeneas Sylvius, who wrote the two bookes of Commentaries upon the counsell of Basill before mentioned. This Aeneas, at the time of the writing of those his bookes, seemed to be a man of an indifferent and tolerable judgement and doctrine, from the which he afterward being Pope seemed to decline and swarve, seeking by all meanes possible how to deface and abolish the bookes which heretofore he had written.

Promotion  
chokech. religi-  
on.

Sentences attributed unto this Pius.

The proberbes  
of Pius.

The divine nature of God may rather be comprehended by faith, than by disputation.

Christian faith is to be considered, not by what reason it is proved, but from whom it proceedeth.

Neither can a covetous man be satisfied with money, nor a learned man with knowledge.

Learning ought to be to poore men in stead of silver, to Noblemen in stead of gold, and to princes in stead of precious stones.

An Artificiall oration moveth fooles, but not wise men.

Buters in the law be as birds; the court is the bait; the judges be the nets; and the lawyers be the fowlers.

Men are to be given to dignities, and not dignities to men.

The office of a bishop is heavy, but it is blessed to him that doth well beare it.

A Bishop without learning may be likened to an Ass.

An evil Physitian destroyeth bodies, but an unlearned priest destroyeth soules.

Marriage was taken from priests not without great reason; but with much greater reason it ought to be restored againe.

The like sentence to this he uttereth in his second book of the counsell of Basill before specified, saying peradventure it were not the worst, that the most part of priests had their wives; for many should be labled in priestly marriage which now in unmarried priesthood are damned. The same Pius also, as Celsus reporteth, dissolved certain orders of Nunnes, of the orders of Saint Bridget and Saint Clare, bidding them to depart out, that they should burne no more, nor cover a Harlot under the vesture of religion.

This Pius, if he had brought so much piety and godlinesse as he brought learning unto his Pope-dome, had excelled many Popes that went before him.

It shall not be impertinent here to touch, what the said Eneas, called Pius the Pope writeth touching the peace of the Church, unto Gaspar Schlick, the Emperors Chancelor, in his 54. Epistle.

All men do abhorre and detest Schisme. The way to remedy this evil Charles the French King hath shewed us both safe and briefe, which is, that Princes or their Orators should convent and assemble together in some common place, where they may conclude upon matters amongst themselves. To bring this to passe, it were needfull writings to be sent againe to all kings and Princes, to send their Orators to Strawesborow, or to Constance, with their full authority, there to intreat of matters appertaining to the peace of the Church. Neither would it require so great expences; Forasmuch as we see the yeere before 300. gilderns to be sufficient. Constantine the Emperour bestowed not much more in the congregation of the Councell of Nice. And this way could not be stopped; neither could the Pope or the Councell withstand it, or make excuse, as though this might not easily be done without them. For why?

Ex Epist. 54. Pii  
secund. ad Gas-  
parum Schlick.

The way to ex-  
clude schisme,  
is concord of  
princes.

the secular Princes may convent and assemble together, will they, will they, and yet notwithstanding may there be concluded. For he shall be an excommunicated Pope, whom all Princes would obey. Neither do I see any of the Clergy so constant to death, which will suffer martyrdom either for the one part or the other. All we lightly hold that faith which our Princes hold, which they would worship idols, we would also do the same, and deny not only the Pope, but God also, if the secular power straine us therunto, for charity is waxed cold, and all faith is gone. How ever it be, let us all desire and seeke for peace; the which peace, whether it come by a counsell, or by assembly of Princes, call it what you will, I care not, for we stand not upon the terme, but upon the matter. Call bread, if you will, a stone, so you give it me to assuage my hunger. Whether you call it a counsell or a conventicle, or an assembly, or a congregation or a synagogue, that is no matter, so that schisme may be excluded, and peace established.

The Popes  
Cere will  
not stand the  
bread that is  
prince & Pope.

20 Thus much out of the Epistle of Pius.

By this it may appeare, of what sentence and mind this Pius was in the time of the counsell of Basill, before he was made Pope. But as our common proverbe saith, honours change manners, so it happened with this Pius, who after he came once to be Pope, was much altered from what he was before. For when as before he preferred generall counsels before the Pope, now being Pope, he did decree, that no man should appeale from the high Bishop of Rome to any generall counsell.

The breath of  
his pe- tence  
seat converteth  
all that sit in it,  
whatsoever  
they were be-  
fore.

And likewise for priests marriage, whereas before he thought it best to have their wives restored, yet afterward he altered his minde otherwise, inasmuch that in his booke intreating of Germany, and there speaking of the noble city of Augst, by occasion he inbayed against a certaine Epistle of Huldericke once Bishop of the said city, written against the constitution of the single life of Priestes. Whereby it appeareth how the minde of this Pius was altered from that it was before. This Epistle of Hulderick is before expressed at large.

Eneas Silvius,  
now put up  
with words  
pomp and  
strep impudently  
the truth which  
he did before  
became now  
prophets.

Here also might I touch something concerning the discord betwixt this Aeneas Sylvius and Diotherus, Archbishop of Mentz, and what discord was stirred up in Germany upon the same betwixt Fredericke the Palatine, and the Duke of Saxe-tenberge, with others; by the occasion whereof, besides the slaughter of many, the Citie of Mentz, which was free before lost her freedom and became servile.

Discord be-  
tweene Pope  
Pius and the  
archbishop of  
Mentz.

The causes of the discord betwixt Pope Pius and Diotherus were these:

First, because that Diotherus would not consent unto him in the imposition of certaine tallages and tares within his countrey.

Secondly, for that Diotherus would not be bound unto him, requiring that the said Diotherus, being Prince Elector, should not call the other electors together without his licence, that is, without the licence of the Bishop of Rome.

And thirdly, because Diotherus would not permit to the Popes Legats, to convocate his Clergy together after their owne list. This Pope Pius began his Ree, about the yeere of our Lord 1458.

After this Pius secundus succeeded Paulus secundus, a Pope wholly set upon his belly and ambition, and not so much voyde of all learning, as the hater of all learned men. This Paulus had a daughter begotten in fornication, because he saw her to be had in reproach, for that she was gotten in fornication, began (as the stories report) to repent him of the law of the single life of Priestes, and went about to reforme the same, had not death prevented him. Ex Stanislao Rutheno.

After this Paulus came Sixtus the fourth, which builded up in Rome a steeves of both kindes, get- ting

Anno  
1458.  
D. Paulus  
Rutheno, vide  
cent. 8. Bal.



ting thereby no small rebewches and rents unto the Church of Rome. This Pope amongst his other acts, reduced the year of Inbible from the fifty unto the twenty five. He also instituted the feast of the conception, and the presentation of Mary and of Anna her mother, and Joseph. Also he canonized Bonaventure and Saint Francis for Saints.

By this Sixtus also Heads were brought in, and instituted to make our Ladies Psalter, through the occasion of one Alanus and his order, whom Baptista maketh mention of in this verse, *Hi filo inferis numerant sua murmura Baccis*. That is, These men putting their Heads upon a string, number their prayers. This Sixtus the Pope made two and thirty Cardinals in his time, of whom Petrus Ruerius was the first, who for that time that he was Cardinall, which was but two yeeres, spent in luxurious riot, wasted and consumed two hundred thousand florenes, and was left 60000. in debt. Wefellus Groningensis, in a certaine treatise of his *de indulgentiis papalibus*, writing of this Pope Sixtus, reporteth this, that at the request of the foresaid Peter Cardinall, and of Hierome his brother, the said Pope Sixtus permitted and granted unto the whole family of the Cardinall of Saint Lucie, in the three hot months of Summer, June, July, and August (a horrible thing to be spoken) free leave and liberty to use Sodomitry, with this clause *Fiat ut Petitur*, That is, Use it as it is asked.

Peter after this Sixtus came Innocentius the eighth, as rude, and as farr from all learning, as his predecessor was before him. Amongst the noble facts of this Pope this was one, that in the towne of Polus apud Equicolas, he caused eight men and five women, with the Lord of the place, to be apprehended and taken, and judged for heretikes, because they said that none of them was the Vicar of Christ which come after Peter, but they onely which followed the poverty of Christ. Also he condemned of heresie, George the King of Boheme, and deprived him of his dignity and also of his kingdom, and procured his whole stock to be utterly rejected and put downe, giving his kingdom to Matthis as king of Bannonia.

Now from the Popes to descend to other estates, it remaineth likewise somewhat to write of the Emperors incident to this time, which matters and grievances of the Germanes, and also of other princes, first beginning with our troubles and mutations here at home, pertaining to the overthrow of this King Henry and his last, now following to be shewed. And briefly to contract long processe of much tumult and businesse into a short narration, here is to be remembered, which partly before was signified, how after the death of the Duke of Gloucester, mischiefs came in by heapes upon the king and his Realme. For after the giving away of Angeolin and Paine, to the Frenchmen, by the unfortunate marriage of Queene Margaret above mentioned, the said Frenchmen, perceiving now by the death of the duke of Gloucester, the stay and pillar of this commonwealth to be decayed, and seeing moreover the hearts of the nobility among themselves to be divided, foreslacked no time, having such an open way into Poyntivy, and in short time they recovered the same, and also gat Gascoine, so that no more now remained to England of all the parts beyond the Sea, but onely Calis. Neither yet did all the calamities of the Realme onely rest in this: For the king now having lost his friendly Uncle, as the stay and staffe of his age, which had brought him up so faithfully from his youth, was now thereby the more open to his enemies, and they more emboldened to set upon him; as appeared first by Jacke Cade the Kentish Capitaine, who, encamping first on Blackheath, afterward aspired to London, and had the spoile thereof, the king being driven into Warwickshire. After the suppressing of Cade ensued not long after the Duke

of Porke, who, being accompanied with three Carls, set upon the king nere to Saint Albans, where the king was taken in the field captived, and the Duke of Porke was by Parliament declared protector, which was in the yeere of our Lord 1453. After this followed long division and mortall war betweene the two houses of Lancaster and Porke, continuing many yeeres. At length about the yeere of our Lord 1459 the Duke of Porke was slaine in battell by the Queen nere to the towne of Wakefield, and with him also his sonne Earle of Rutland. By the which Queen also shortly after, in the same yeere, were discomfited the Earle of Warwick, and duke of Northfolke, to whom the keeping of the king was committed by the Duke of Porke, and so the Queene againe delivered her husband.

After this victory obtained, the Northerne men, advanced not a little in pride and courage, began to take upon them great attempts, not only to spoyle the city of London, and to take the spoyle thereof; and no doubt (saith my history) would have proceeded in their conceived greedy intent, had not the opportune favour of God provided a speedy remedy. For as these mischiefs were in breeding, suddenly cometh the noble Prince Edward unto London with a mighty army, the seven and twentieth day of February, who was the sonne and heire to the duke of Porke above mentioned, accompanied with the Earle of Warwick, and divers more. King Henry in the meane time, with his victory, went up to Porke; when as Edward being at London, caused there to be proclaimed certaine articles concerning his title to the crowne of England, which was the second day of March.

Whereupon the next day following, the lords both temporall and spirittual being assembled together, the said articles were propounded, and also well approved. The fourth day of the said month of March, after a solemne generall procession (according to the blinde superstition of those dayes) the Bishop of Exeter made a sermon at Pauls crosse, where in he commended and proved by manifold evidences, the title of Prince Edward to be just and lawfull, answering the same to all objections which might be made to the contrary.

This matter being thus discussed, Prince Edward accompanied with the Lords spirittual and temporall, and with much concourse of people, rode the same day to Westminster hall, and there by the full consent, as well of the lords, as also by the voice of all the commons, took his possession of the crowne, and was called King Edward the fourth.

These things thus accomplished at London, as to such a matter appertained, and preparation of money sufficiently being ministered of the people and commons, with most ready and willing mindes, for the necessary furniture of his warres; he with the duke of Northfolke, and earle of Warwick, and lord Fauconbridge, in all speedy wise took his journey toward King Henry: who now being at Porke, and forsaken of the Londoners, had all his refuge only reposed in the Northerne men.

When King Edward with his army had passed over the river of Trent, and was come nere to Ffeerebridge, where also the host of King Henry was not farre off, upon Palme Sunday, betweene Ffeerebridge and Cadrafter, both the armies of the Southerne and Northerne men joined together in battell. And although at the first beginning divers horsemen of King Edwards side turned their backs, and spoiled the king of carriage and victuals; yet the couragious Prince with his captaines, little discouraged therewith, fiercely and manfully set on their adversaries. The which battell on both sides was so cruelly

KING  
HEN. 6.  
The Duke of  
Porke against  
King Henry.

Anno  
1459.

The Northerne  
men intended  
the subversion  
of London.  
Ex historia  
manuscripta,  
cuius  
tulus, Scala  
mundi.

London rescued  
by prince  
Edward.

Anno  
1461.  
The title of  
Edward to the  
crowne proved  
at Pauls crosse

King Edward  
takeeth posses-  
sion of the  
crowne.

The fierce and  
cruell battell  
betweene King  
Henry the fifth  
and King Ed-  
ward the  
fourth.

The feast of the  
conception and  
presentation of  
our Lady.  
Heads brought  
in.

Wefellus Gronin-  
genfis.  
The Pope li-  
censeth the  
whole family of  
a certaine Car-  
dinall to play  
the Sodomitres  
three moneths  
in the yeere.

Pope Inno-  
centius 8.  
Eight men and  
5 women con-  
demned of her-  
esie by Pope  
Innocentius 8.

George king of  
Boheme con-  
demned of he-  
resie.

Mischiefes to  
England after  
the death of the  
Duke of Glouce-  
ster.  
Angeolin.  
Paine. Nor-  
mandy, and  
Gascoine, reco-  
vered of the  
Frenchmen.

Jacke Cade.



**{ KING }**  
**{ EDW. 4. }**  
King Henry  
the fifth con-  
quered War-  
wicke given to  
the Scots by  
King Henry the  
fifth.

crucelly fought, that in the same conflict were slain to the number, as is reported, beside men of name, 30000. of the poore commons. Notwithstanding, the conquest fell on King Edwards part, so that King Henry having lost all, was forced to flee into Scotland, where also he gave up to the Scots the town of Warwick, after he had reigned eight and thirty yeeres and a halfe.

The claime and title of the Duke of Yorke, and after him of Edward his sonne, put up to the lords and commons, whereby they challenged the crowne to the house of Yorke, is thus in the story of Scala mundi, word for word, as hereunder is contained.

### The title of the house of Yorke to the Crowne of England.

The title of the  
house of Yorke.

**E**dward the third, right King of England, had Issue first Prince Edward, 2. William Hatfield, 3. Lionell, 4. Iohn of Gaunt, &c. Prince Edward had Richard the second, which died without Issue. W. Hatfield died without Issue. Lionell Duke of Clarence had Issue lawfully begot. Philip his onely daughter and heire; the which was lawfully coupled to Edmund Mortimer, Earle of March, and had Issue lawfully begot, Roger Mortimer Earle of March, and heire; Which Roger had Issue Edmund Earle of March, Roger, Anne, and Alienor; Edmund and Alienor died without Issue, and the said Anne by lawfull Matrimony was coupled unto Richard Earle of Cambridge, the son of Edmund of Langley, who had Issue and lawfully bare Richard Plantagenet now Duke of Yorke; Iohn of Gaunt gave Henry; which unrightfully intreated K. Richard, then being alive Edmund Mortimer Earle of March, son of the said Philip, daughter to Lionell. To the which Richard Duke of York and son to Anne, daughter to Roger Mortimer Earle of March, son and heire to the said Philip, daughter and heire to the said Lionell, the third son of King Edward the third, the right and dignity of the Crown appertained and belonged, afore any Issue of the said Iohn of Gaunt. Notwithstanding, the said title of dignity of the said Richard of Yorke, the said Richard desiring the wealth, rest and prosperity of England, agreeth and consenteth that King Henry the sixth should be had and taken for king of England during his naturall life, from this time without hurt of his title.

Wherefore the King understanding the said title of the said Duke to be just, lawfull, true, and sufficient, by the advice and assent of the Lords spirituall and temporall, and the Commons in the Parliament, and by the authority of the same Parliament declareth, approveth; ratifieth, confirmeth, accepteth the said title for just, good, lawfull and true, and thereto giveth his assent and agreement of his free will and liberty. And over that, by the said advice and authority declareth, calleth, stablisheth affirmeth, and reputeth the said Richard of Yorke very true and rightfull heire to the Crowne of England and France; and that all other Statutes and Acts made by any of the late Henries, contrary to this advice, be annulled, repelled, damned, cancelled, void, and of no force or effect. The King agreed and consented that the said Duke and his heires should after his naturall life enjoy the Crown, &c. Also, that all sayings and doings against the Duke of Yorke, shall be high treason, and all Acts of Parliaments contrary to this principall Act be void and of none effect, &c.

Ex Scala mundi.

And thus much for the reigne of King Henry the fifth. Whom now lacked his uncle and protector, Duke of Gloucester, about him. But commonly the lack of such friends is never felt before they be missed.

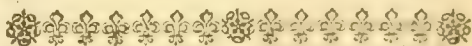
In the time of this King was builded the house in London called Leaden Hall, founded by one Simon Cyre, Mayor once of the said city of Lond. An. 1445. Also the standard in Cheap builded by John Wels An. 1442. the Conduit in Fleetstreet by William Castfield, Anno 1438. Item Newgate builded by the

Leaden hall  
builded.

grobs of Richard Whittington. Anno 1422. Moreover the said Henry the fifth founded the College of Eton, and another house, having then the title of S. Nicolas, in Cambridge, now called the Kings College. Ex Scala mundi.

In the rainge of this Henry the first, it is not to be passed over in silence which we finde noted in the Parliament Rolles, how that Lewis Archbishop of Aboan, after the death of the late Bishop of Ely had granted unto him by the Popes bulls, during his life, all the profits of the said Bishoprick, by the name of the administrator of the said Bishoprick. Lewis the aforesaid Archbishop sheweth his Bulls to the King, who utterly refused his Bulls. Notwithstanding for his service done in France, the King granted to him the administration aforesaid, the which to all intents, at the petition of the said Lewis, should be affirmed to be of as great force as though he were Bishop, touching profits, liberties and habilitie.

Neither againe is here to be overpast a certaine tragicall act done between E. after and Whithsonide of a false Bryon, An. 1427. which murdered a good widow in her bed (who had brought him up of almes, without Algate in the Suburbs of Lond.) and bare away all that she had, and afterward he took succour of holy Church at S. Georges in Southwarke but at the last he took the crosse and forswore the Kings land. And as he went his way, it hapned him to come by the same place where he had done that cruel deed; and women of the same parish came out with stones and chammell dung, and there made an end of him in the high street, so that he went no further, notwithstanding the Constables and other men also which had him under governance to conduct him forward; for there was a great company of them, so that they were not able to withstand them.



### King Edward the fourth.

**K**ing Edward, after his conquest and victory achieved against K. Henry, returned againe to London, where, upon the Vigil of Saint Peter and Paul, being on Sunday, he was crowned king of England, and reigned twenty two yeeres, albeit not without great disquietnesse, and much perturbation in his rainge.

Quene Margaret, hearing how her husband was fled into Scotland, was also faine to flee the land, and went to her father duke of Angoul. from whence the next year following she returned againe to renew war against K. Edward, with small success and lesse luck. For being encountered by the Earl of Warwick, about Novemb. she was driven to the seas againe, & by tempest of weather she was driven into Scotland.

In this yeere we reade that King Edward, in the cause of a certaine widow for rape, late in his owne person in Westminster Hall upon his own Bench, discussing her cause. Ex Scala mundi.

The year following, K. Henry, issuing out of Scotland with a sufficient power of Scots and Frenchmen, came into the North countrey to recover the Crowne, unto whom the Lord Radulph Percy, and Lord Radulph Grey flying from King Edward, did adjoyne themselves: but the Lord so disposing, King Henry with his power was repulsed in battell at Egham by the Lord Mountacute, having then the rule of the North; where the Duke of Somerset, Lord Hungerford, & K. Hesse, with certaine other were taken. The Lord Rad. Percy was slain, the residue fled, Albeit the history of Scala mundi, referreth this battell to the yeere 1464. the 15. day of May. In the which moneth of May were beheaded the Duke

King Henry  
the fifth  
conquered  
Warwicke  
given to the  
Scots by  
King Henry  
the fifth.

The history  
of the  
battell of  
Egham.

Ex Scala mundi.  
The history  
of the  
battell of  
Egham.

Temple of  
Gods end and  
judgement.

Anno 1461  
King Edward  
the fourth.

Quene Margaret  
fled the  
land.

Anno 1462  
King Edward  
discuss  
his own  
person in the  
kings bench  
judging.

Anno 1463  
King Henry  
the Arch  
repulsed in the  
battell of  
Egham.



of Somerset, lord Hungerford, lord Housse, lord Philip Wentworth, lord Thomas Husly, lord Tho. Firdern, beside twenty one other belonging to the retinue and household of King Henry the sixth. Quene Margaret, finding no resting place here in England, toke her progresse againe from whence she came, learning in her owne countrey to drinke that drinke, which she her self had brewed here in England.

And not long after, the next year, An. 1465. on the day of S. Peter and Paul, King Henry being found and knowne in a wood by one Cantlow (as they say) was arrested by the Earle of Warwicke, and at last, of a King made prisoner in the towre of London.

In this meane time, R. Edward (after the motion of marriage for him being made; and first the lady Margaret sister to James the fourth King of Scots thought upon, but that motion taking no effect, afterward the lady Elizabeth, sister to Henry king of Castile, being intended; but she being under age, the Earle of Warwicke turning then his legation and voyage to the French king Lewis the eleventh, to obtaine Lady Bona, daughter of the Duke of Savoy, and sister to Carlot the French Quene, and obtained the same) had cast labour unto one Elizabeth Grey, widow of Sir John Grey knight, saine before in the battell of S. Albons, daughter to the Dutches of Bedford, and Lord Rivers, and first went about to have her to his concubine. But she as being unworthy (as she said) to be the wife of such an high personage, so thinking her selfe to bee too good to be his concubine, in such sort won the kings heart, that incontinent before the returne of the Earle of Warwicke, he married her; at the which marriage were no mo then onely the Dutchesse of Bedford, two gentlewomen, the Priest and Clerke. Upon this so hasty and unlucky marriage ensued no little trouble to the King, much bloodshed to the Realme, undoing almost to all her kindred, and finally confusion to King Edwards two sons, which both were declared afterward to be bastards, and also deprived of their lives. For the Earle of Warwicke, who had bene the faithfull friend and chiefe maintainer before of the king, at the hearing of this marriage, was therewith so grievously moved and chafed in his minde, that he never after sought any thing more, than how to worke displeasure to the king, and to put him beside his cushion. And although for a time he dissembled his wrathfull mood, till he might spie a time convenient, and a world to set forward his purpose, at last finding occasion somewhat serving to his minde, hee breaketh his heart to his two brethren, to wit, the Marquesse Montacute, and the Archbishop of York, conspiring with them how to bring his purpose about. When thought he also to probe a farre off the minde of the Duke of Clarence, King Edwards brother, and likewise obtained him, giving also to him his daughter in marriage.

This matter being thus prepared against the king, the first flame of his conspiracie began to appeare in the North countrey. Where the Northerne men in short space gathering themselves in an open rebellion, and finding capitaines of their wicked purpose, came downe from Yorke toward London. Against whom was appointed by the king, W. lord Harbert Earle of Denbroke, with the lord Stafford, and certaine other capitaines to encounter. The Northshire men giving the overthrow first to the lord Stafford, then to the Earle of Denbroke and his company of Welchmen at Banbury field, at last joining together with the Army of the Earle of Warwicke, and the Duke of Clarence, in the dead of the night secretly scaling on the kings field at Molsney by Warwicke, killed the watch, and took the king prisoner, who first being in the castle of Warwicke, then was conveyed by night to Middleham Castle in Northshire, under the custody of the Archbishop of

Yorke, where he having loose keeping, and liberty to goe on hunting, meeting with sir William Standley, sir Thomas of Borrough, and other his friends, was too good for his keepers, and escaped the hands of his enemies, and so came to Yorke, where he was well received: from thence to Lancaster, where he met with the Lord Hastings his Chamberlain, well accompanied, by whose help he came safe to London.

After this tumult, when reconciliation could not come to perfect peace and unity, although much labour was made by the Nobility, the E. of Warwicke raiseth up a new warre in Lincolneshire, the Captaine whereof was sir Robert Wels knight, who shortly after being taken in battell with his father, and sir Thomas Dunocke, were beheaded, the residue casting away their coates, ran away and fled, giving the name of the field, called Losecoat field. The Earle of Warwicke after this, put out of comfort and hope to prebaile at home, fled out of England, Anno 1470. first to Calice, then to Lewis the French king, accompanied with the Duke of Clarence. The same of the Earle of Warwicke and of his famous acts was at that time in great admiration above measure, and so highly favoured, that both in England and France all men were glad to behold his personage. Wherefore the coming of this Earle, and of the Duke of Clarence, was not a little gratefull to the French king, and no lesse opportune to Quene Margaret, King Henries wife, and prince Edward her sonne, who also came to the French court to meet and conferre together touching their affaires; where a league betwene them was concluded, and moreover a marriage betwene Edward prince of Wales, and Anne the second daughter of the Earle of Warwicke was wrought. Thus all things falling luckily upon the Carles part, beside the large offers and great promises made by the French king, on the best manner to set forward their purpose, the Earle having also intelligence by letters, that the hearts almost of all men went with him, and longed sore for his presence, so that there lacked now but onely haste with all speed possible to returne: he with the Duke of Clarence, well fortified with the French navy, set forward toward England; for so was it betwene them before decreed, that they two should probe the first venture, and then Quene Margaret, with prince Edward her sonne, should follow after. The arrivall of the Earle was not so soon heard of at Dartmouth in Devonshire, but great concourse of people by thousands went to him from all quarters to receive and welcome him; who immediately made proclamation in the name of King Henry the sixth, charging all men, able to beare armour, to prepare themselves to fight against Edward Duke of Yorke, usurper of the crowne. Here lacked no friends, strength of men, furniture, nor policy convenient for such a matter.

When King Edward (who before not passing for the matter, nor seeking how either to have stopped his landing, or else straightwayes to have encountered with him, before the gathering of his friends, but passing forth the time in hunting, in hawking, in all pleasure and dalliance) had knowledge what great resort of multitudes incessantly more repaired and more daily about the Earle and the Duke, he began now to provide for remedy, when was it too late. Who, trusting too much to his friends, and fortune before, did now right well perceive what a variable and inconstant thing the people is, and especially here of England, whose nature is never to be content long with the present state, but alwaies delighting in newes, seeketh new variety of changes, either envying that which standeth, or else pitying that which is fallen. Which inconstant mutability of the light people, changing with the wind, and wavering with the reed, did well appeare in the course of this kings story. For he, through the favour of the people when he was downe, was exalted; now being exalted

{ KING }  
{ EDW. 4. }

The rebellion in Lincolnshire repelled.

The Earle of Warwicke and the Duke of Clarence flee into France.

The Earle of Warwicke and the Duke of Clarence returne into England.

The receiving of the Earle of Warwicke into England.

King Henry againe proclaimed King.

The inconstant levity of the people of England.

King Henry taken arrested, and committed to the tower.

Anno 1456

The Kings first marriage with Quene Elizabeth.

The first falling out betwene King Edward and the Earle of Warwicke.

Conspiracy against King Edward.

King Edward taken prisoner by the Earle of Warwicke.



{ KING } of the same was forsaken. Whereby this is to be  
{ EDW. 4. } noted of all Princes, that as there is nothing in this  
mutable world firme and stable, so there is no trust  
nor assurance to be made, but only in the favour of  
God, and in the promises of his word, only in Christ  
his son, whose only Kingdome shall never have end,  
nor is subject to any mutation.

The constant  
heart and trust  
of the Lord by  
kings.

These things thus passing on in England on the  
Charles side against king Edward, he accompanied  
with the Duke of Gloucester his brother, and the lord  
Hastings, who had married the Earl of Warwick's  
sister, and yet was never untrue to the king his ma-  
ster, and the lord Scales, brother to the Queen, sent  
abroad to all his trusty friends for furniture of able  
souldiers for defence of his person, to withstand his  
enemies. When little rescue and few in effect  
would come, the king himselfe to desistate, departed  
to Lincolneshire, where he perceiving his enemies  
daily to increase upon him, and all the countries a-  
bout to be in a roare, making fires, and singing songs,  
crying, King Henry, King Henry, a Warwickke, a  
Warwickke, and hearing moreover his enemies the  
Lancastrians to be within halfe a dayes journey of  
him, was advised by his friends to fflye over the Sea  
to the Duke of Burgoyne, which not long before  
had married king Edwards sister.

King Edward  
forsaken of his  
people in his  
need.

The weake  
state of king  
Edward.

Neither godly  
simplicity, or  
mans policy be  
stronger.

Here might be thought, by the common  
judgement and policy of man, peradventure that  
king Edward, as he had in his hands the life of  
king Henry, of his Quene and Prince, so if he  
had dispatched them out of the way, when as he  
might, he had not fallen into this misery: but be-  
cause he took not the vantage, which time rather  
than godly reason gave him, therefore that sp. ring  
pity of his, turned now to his confusion and ruine.  
And certes I suppose no lesse, but if the same case  
had falne in these our pitifull dayes, in which cha-  
rity now waxeth utterly cold, and humanity is al-  
most forgotten, the occasion of such a time should  
not be so neglected. But let us here note and learne,  
how godly simplicity alwayes in the end of things  
gaineth more than mans policy, forasmuch as man  
worketh with the one, but God worketh with the  
other.

And so farre is it off, that event and successe of  
things be governed by mans advised policy, or un-  
advised affection in this world, that that is judged to  
be weaker which flourisheth in man, than that which  
is cast downe in the Lord; as in the double case of  
both these kings may well appeare. And first let us  
consider the case of king Edward, who, being so be-  
set and compassed with evils and distresses on every  
side, first was compelled to take the Marshes be-  
tween Lincolneshire and Linne (which was no lesse  
dangerous to his life, than it was unseemly for his  
state.) Being come to Linne, in what perill was  
he there, through the doubtfull mutability of the  
towne-men, if he had been knowne to his enemies?  
And how could he be but knowne, if he had carried  
any spate? But though men and friends forsake  
him, yet the mercy of God, not forsaking the life of  
him which shewed mercy unto other, so provided, that  
at the same present there was an English ship, and  
two hulks of Holland ready to their journey. Thus  
king Edward without provision, without baggage or  
baggage, without cloathes, lacke or maile, without  
store of money, without raiment, save only apparell  
for warre, also without all friends, except only his  
brother Duke of Gloucester, the lord Scales, and lord  
Hastings, with a few other trusty friends, to the  
number of seven or eight hundred persons, took  
shipping toward Holland; at which time he was in  
no lesse jeopardy almost on the Sea, than he was on  
the land. For certayne Castlerlings having many  
ships of warre, which lay roving the same time on  
the sea, and had done much damage the yere before,  
as well to the English Merchants as to the French

The double  
case of these  
two kings  
considered.  
King Edward  
takeh the wa-  
ters.

God provided.

King Edward  
takeh ship-  
ping.

nation, spring the kings ship, with seven or eight  
gallant ships, made sail after the king and his com-  
pany. The kings ship was good of hulk, and of state  
some ground, albeit not much, of the Castlerlings,  
that she came to the coast of Welland before she was  
mare, and there cast Anchor for otherwise being in  
ebbing water, they could not enter the haven. The  
Castlerlings with their great ships approached as  
nere as they could possibly come for the low wa-  
ter, purposing at the first to obtaine their prey, and  
so were like to doe, if the Lord had not there also  
provided Mounieau de Gramont, gouverneur for  
Duke Charles in Holland, at that season to be perso-  
nally present in the towne of Antwerp, who hear-  
ing of the jeopardy of the king being there at An-  
ker, prohibited the Castlerlings, on paine of death, to  
meddle with any Englishmen, which were the  
Dukes friends and allies.

King Edward  
rested in the  
castle.

God send  
him.

Thus king Edward well chastised of God for his  
wantonneffe, both by Sea and Land, but not utterly  
given over from his protection, escaping so many  
hard chances, was set on land with his company,  
who there well refreshed, and newly apparelled,  
were conducted to Hague.

King Edward  
delivered from  
the danger  
ings.

Duke Charles, at the hearing of the unpros-  
perous case and condition of king Edward his bro-  
ther in law, was greatly amazed and perplexed in  
himselfe, much casting and doubting what he should  
do. For being then in war with the French king,  
he could not well provoke the English nation a-  
gainst him, without his manifest grievance and de-  
cap; neither yet could he, without great shame and  
obloquie, leave the king his brother in that necessity.  
Notwithstanding, so he demaend himselfe through  
faire speech, pretending to the English men to joine  
part with the house of Lancaster, being himselfe  
partly descended of the same family by his grandmo-  
thers side; that he both was his owne friend openly,  
and the kings friend covertly, pretending that he  
did not, and doing that he pretended not.

Charles Duke  
of Burgoyne  
King Edward's  
brother in law.

When tidings was spread in England of king  
Edwards flying, innumerable people of all hands  
resorted to the Earl of Warwickke to take his part  
against king Edward, a few only except of his  
constant friends which took Sanduay. Among  
whom was also Elizabeth his wife, who, desperate  
almost of all comfort, took also sanctuary at West-  
minster, where the in great penury forsaken was de-  
livered of a faire son called Edward, which without  
all pompe was baptized like another p.ore womans  
childe, the Godfathers being the Abbat and Prior of  
Westminster, the Godmother was Lady Scroppe.

Queene Eliza-  
beth takeh  
sanctuary.  
Prince Ed-  
ward borne in  
sanctuary.

To make the story short, the earle of Warwickke  
having now brought all things to his appetite, upon  
the twelfth day of October rode to the Tower, which  
was then delivered to him, and there took king  
Henry out of the ward, and placed him in the kings  
lodging. The five and twentieth day of the same  
moneth, the Duke of Clarence accompanied with  
the earles of Warwickke, Shrewsbury, and the lord  
Standley, with a great company, brought him in a  
long gowne of blew velvet, how the high streets  
of London, first to Pauls Church to offer, then to the  
Bishops Palace of London, and there he returned  
againc to the Crowne Royall, An. 1471. which he  
did not long enjoy.

King Henry's  
brought out of  
the tower.

After this followed a Parliament, in the which  
king Edward with all his partakers were judged  
traitors. Quene Margaret with her son Prince  
Edward, all this while was tarrying for a fair win-  
d, thinking long belike till she came to an evil bar-  
gaine, as it proved after. For king Edward within  
five months after his departure out of England unto  
the Duke of Burgoyne, whether by letters from his  
friends sollicitate, or whether by his adventurous  
courage incited, made instant suite to Duke Charles  
his brother, to rescue him with such power as he  
would bestow upon him; for he was fully resolved to  
reser

King Henry  
restored againe  
to his kingdom.



defer the matter, and to protract the time no longer.

The Duke camped in double feare in such a dangerous case, notwithstanding overcome by nature and affinity, secretly caused to be delivered to him 50000 £. of licence, and further caused four great ships to be appointed to him in a haven in Zealand, where it was free for all men to come. Also the same Duke had for him hired fouretene ships of the Castilians well appointed, taking hand of them to serve him truly till he were landed in England, and fiftene dayes after.

Thus king Edward being furnished but only with two thousand men of warre, with more lucke than hope to speed, sped his voyage into England, and landed at Rabenpur in the coast of Dorsetshire. Although there was no way for the king with such a small company of souldiers to do any good, yet, to use policy where strength did lacke, first he sent forth certaine light-horsmen to probe the countrey on every side, with persuasions, to see whether the uplandish people would be stirred to take king Edwards parts. Perceiving that it would not be, king Edward flieth to his shifts, dissembling his purpose to be, not to claime the crowne and kingdome, but only to claime the Duchy of Poike, which was his owne title, and caused the same to be published. This being notified to the people, that he desired no more but only his just patrimony and lineall inheritance, they began to be moved with mercy and compassion towards him, either to favour him or not to resist him; and so journeying toward Poike, he came to Woberly. The Marquesse Mountacute, brother to the earle of Warwick, was then at Pomfret, to whom the Earle had sent straight charge, with all expedition to set upon him, or else to stop his passage; and likewise to the citizens of Poike and all Dorsetshire, to shut their gates and take armour against him. King Edward being in these straits, proceeded notwithstanding nere to Poike without resistance, where he required of the citizens to be admitted into their city. But to stand the case then, that they durst not grant unto him, but on the contrary sent him word to approach no nearer, as he loved his own safeguard. The desolate king was here driven to a narrow strait, who neither could retire back, for the opinion of the countrey and losse of his cause; neither could go further, for the present danger of the city. Wherefore using the same policy as before, with lowly words and gentle speech he desired the messengers to declare unto the citizens, that his coming was not to demand the Realme of England, or the title of the same, but only the Duchy of Poike, his old inheritance; and therefore desired them to let forward, neither with arms nor weapon. The messengers were not so soone within the gates, but he was at the gates in a manner as soone as they.

The citizens hearing his courteous answer, and that he intended nothing to the prejudice of the king, nor of the realme, were somewhat mitigated toward him, and began to commune with him from the walls, willing him to withdraw his power to some other place, and they should be the more ready to ayde him, at least he should have no damage by them.

Notwithstanding he againe used such lowly language, and delivered to faire speech unto them, in treating them so courtously, and saluting the Aldermen by their names, requiring at their hands no more but only his owne towne whereof he had the name and title, that at length the citizens, after long talke and debating upon the matter, partly also enticed with faire and large promises, fell to this convention, that if he would sweare to be true to king Henry, and gentle in entertaining his citizens, they would receive him into the city.

This being concluded, the next morning at the entering of the gate, a Priest was ready to say Masse,

in the which after the receiving of the Sacrament the king received a solemne oath to observe the two articles afore agreed. By reason of which oath so rashly made, and as shortly broken, and not long after published (as it may well be thought) in his posterity, he obtained the city of Poike. Where he, in short time forgetting his oath, to make all sure, set in garisons of armed souldiers. Furthermoze, perceiving all things to be quiet, and no stir to be made

10 against him, he thought to forslacke no opportunity of time, and so made forward toward London, leaving by the way the Marquesse Mountacute, which lay then with his army at Pomfret, on the right hand, not fully foure miles distant from his Campe: and so returning to the high way againe, he went forward without any stirring to the towne of Nottingham; where came to him sir William Parre, sir Thomas of Borough, sir Thomas Mountgomery, and divers else of his assured friends, with their aides, which caused him by a proclamation to stand to

20 his owne title of king Edward the fourth, saying, that they would serve no man but a king: At the same hereof being blowne abroad as the citizens of Poike were not a little offended (and that worthily) so from other townes and cities lords and noble men began to fall unto him, thinking with themselves that the Marquesse Mountacute either favoured his cause, or was afraid to encounter with the man. Whosoever it was, king Edward, being now more

30 fully furnished at all points, came to the towne of Leicester, and there hearing that the earle of Warwick, accompanied with the earle of Arford were together at Warwick with a great power, minding to set on the earle, he removed from thence his army, hoping to give him battell. The Duke of Clarence in the meane time about London had leaved a great host coming toward the earle of Warwick, as he was by the earle appointed. But when the Earle saw the Duke to linger the time, he began to

40 suspect (as it fell out indeed) that he was altered to his brethrens part. The king advancing forward his host, came to Warwick, where he found all the people departed. From thence he moved toward Coventry, where the earle was: unto whom the next day after he boldly offered battell. But the earle, expecting the Duke of Clarence his coming, kept him within the walles. All this made for the king. For he hearing that his brother the Duke of Clarence was not farre off, coming toward him with

50 a great army, raised his Campe, and made toward him, either to entreat or else to encounter with his brother. When each host was in sight of the other, Richard Duke of Gloucester, brother to them both, as arbiter betwene them, first rode to the one, then to the other. Whether all this was for a face of a matter made, it is uncertaine. But hereby both the brethren, laying all army and weapon aside, first lovingly and familiarly communed; after that, brotherly and naturally joyned together. And that fraternall amity by proclamation also was ratified, and put out of all suspicion.

Then was it agreed betwene the three brethren to attempt the earle of Warwick, if he likewise would be reconciled; but he crying out shame upon the Duke of Clarence, stood at utter defiance. From thence king Edward so strongly furnished, and daily increasing, taketh his way to London. Where, after it was known that the Duke of Clarence was come to his brethren, much feare fell upon the Londoners, calling with themselves what was best to doe. The suddenesse of time permitted no long consultation. There was at London the same time the Archbishop of Poike, brother to the earle of Warwick and the Duke of Somerset, with other of king

70 Henries counsell, to whom the earle had sent in Commandement a litle before, knowing the weakenesse of the City, that they should keepe the city from their enemies two or three dayes, and

{ KING }  
{ EDW. 4. }

Victory got by perjury punished at length in poe city.

King Edward safely cometh to Nottingham. King Edwards friends resort unto him.

King Edward returneth the name of a king.

King Edward cometh to Leicester.

King Edward cometh to Warwick. The Earle of Warwick flyeth to Coventry.

The Duke of Clarence cometh with a great army.

Concord of brethren.

The Earle of Warwick refuseth to be reconciled.

King Edward cometh to London.

King Edward returneth againe into England.

King Edward only with 2000 souldiers cometh to Rabenpur, alias Rabenport.

The dissembling policy of king Edward.

King Edward cometh to Poike.

King Edward repelled by the citizens of Poike.

King Edward changeth his title.

The gentle and faire words of king Edward.

Two conditions put to king Edward.

King Edward put to his oath.



**KING** and he would follow with all possible speed with a  
**EDW. 4** puissant army, who, according to their commande-  
 ment, defended the city with all their power, but  
 Londoners take part with King Edward.  
 yet to little purpose. For the Citizens consulting  
 with themselves for their owne most indemnity,  
 having no walles to defend them, thought best to  
 take that way which seemed to them most sure and  
 safe, and therefore concluded to take part with king  
 Edward. This was not so soone knowne abroad,  
 but the commonalty ran out by heapes to meete  
 king Edward, and to salute him as their king.

King Henries  
 counsellors flee  
 away.

King Henry  
 againe taken  
 and committed  
 to prison.

Whereupon the Duke of Somerset, with other of  
 King Henries counsell, hearing thereof, and won-  
 dering at the sudden change of the world, to shift for  
 themselves, fled away and left there king Henry  
 alone. Who, the same day being caused by the Arch-  
 bishop of York to ride about London like a King,  
 was before night made captiue, and reduced againe  
 to the Tower.

The Earle of  
 Warwick com-  
 eth to Barnet.

It was not long after these things thus done at  
 London, but the coming of the Earle of War-  
 wicke was heard of; who, thinking to prevent mis-  
 chiefes with making speed, came a little too late and  
 missed of his purpose. In the Carles army were  
 John Duke of Exeter, Comund Earl of Somerset,  
 John Earle of Oxford, and Harquette Mountacute,  
 the Carls brother. The Earle had now passed a great  
 part of his journey, when he hearing newes of the  
 world so changed, and of the captivity of king Hen-  
 ry, was not a little thereat appalled in his minde;  
 wherefore he stayed with his army at S. Albons, to  
 see what way further to take. And forsomuch as there  
 was no other remedie, but either he must yield, or  
 one confidant must finish the matter, he removed to  
 Barnet ten miles from S. Albons.

The battell at  
 Barnet.

Against him set forth king Edward, well appoin-  
 ted with a strong army of picked and able persons,  
 with Artillery, engines and Instruments meet for  
 the purpose; bringing with him also king Henry.  
 On Easter euen he came to Barnet, and there he  
 embattelled himselfe. In the morning up on Easter  
 day the battell began, and fiercely continued a most  
 till noone, with murder on each side, much doubtfull  
 till both parts were almost weary with fighting and  
 murdering. King Edward then desirous to see an  
 end, off ozon, with a great crew of new fresh souldi-  
 ers set upon his wearied enemies. Where the Carls  
 men, encouraged with words of their Captaine,  
 stoutly fought, but they sore wounded and wearied  
 could not long hold out. The Earle, rushing into the  
 midst of his enemies, ventured so farre, that he  
 could not be rescued; where he was stricken  
 downe and slaine, and there lay he. Harquette  
 Mountacute thinking to succour his brother, whom  
 he saw to be in great jeopardy, was likewise over-  
 throwne and slaine. After that Richard Nevill, Earle  
 of Warwick, and his brother were gone, the rest  
 fled, and many were taken. The number of them  
 which were in this field slaine, are judged about ten  
 thousand, as Polydore Virgil reciteth. Fabian num-  
 bereth of them that were slaine but fiftene hundred.

The Earle of  
 Warwick and  
 his brother  
 slaine.

The Duke of Somerset and Earle of Oxford, think-  
 ing to flee to Scotland, returned to Jasper Earle of  
 Pembroke in Wales. The Duke of Exeter, hard-  
 ly escaped to Westminster, and there took sanctu-  
 ary. For the death of the Earle of Warwick, the  
 king was not so glad, as he was sorry for the Har-  
 quette Mountacute, whom he took to be his friend.  
 The Corps of these two were brought to the  
 Church of Pauls, where they lay open in two cof-  
 fins two dayes, and then were interred. Ex Po-  
 lyd. & alij.

Difference be-  
 twene Poly-  
 dore and Fa-  
 bian.

In the narration of this history Polydore  
 Virgil, whom Hall followeth word for word, doth  
 some deale differ from Robert Fabian. Neither  
 doe I doubt but both these had their authors by  
 whom they were directed. Notwithstanding this I

marvell, that Polydore, writing of so many things  
 which he never saw, both not verifiable to cite into  
 us those writers of whom he borrowed. And more doe  
 I marvell of rather lament, it it be true that I have  
 heard, that he not onely nameth no author into his  
 but also burned an heape of our English stories un-  
 knowne, after the finishing of his, in the dayes of  
 king Henry the 8. But now to our text againe.

Earle of  
 Somerset  
 and  
 Earle of  
 Oxford  
 fled  
 to  
 Wales.

The coming of  
 the Duke of  
 Exeter.

All this while yet Queene Margaret, with young  
 Prince Edward her sonne, was scarce come over,  
 being long let with contrary winde, who at  
 length in the month of April arrived at Calne in  
 Dorsetshire, and hearing the sorrowfull newes  
 of these things lately happened to her husband, and  
 to the Earle of Warwick and his brother, and of  
 the prosperous successe of king Edward, was so  
 dismayed, disquieted, and pierced with sorrow, see-  
 ing all things contrary to her expectation, so to  
 frame against her, that shee feared and tooke on  
 with her selfe, lamenting her husband, bewailing  
 her sonne, cursing her coming, and crying out of  
 fortune, as though blinde Fortune were she that  
 governeth times and tides (rewarding just puni-  
 shments to unjust deserving of men) and not the se-  
 cret power and terrible iustice of Almighty God.  
 Such was then the impatience of that Queene, be-  
 ing not able to beare the vehemency of her passion,  
 (who rather should have sorrowed the dolorous death  
 of Duke Humfrey, whom before she neglected, but  
 now she lacked) that her senses failed, her spirits  
 were taken, her speech decayed, and life almost gone,  
 she fell to the ground, as one that would rather  
 die than live. In this desolate case Queene Hara-  
 ret learning now to know her friends from her  
 foes, when it was too late, fraught full of heaviness,  
 without solace or hope of remedie, she with her  
 sonne and her company departed for the next re-  
 fuge, to a Monastery of Nones called Beaulieu  
 in Hampshire, there to take sanctuary and privilege  
 of the house.

Queene Mar-  
 garet her  
 sonne Edward

Ex Pol. l. lib. 14

Queene Mar-  
 garet her  
 sanctuary.

Queene Mar-  
 garet moved by  
 her friends to  
 renew warre  
 against king  
 Edward.

Yet all hearts were not found nor subdued in Eng-  
 land, especially Comund Duke of Somerset, with  
 Lord John his brother, Thomas Courtney Earle  
 of Devonshire, Jasper Earle of Pembroke Lord  
 Wenlocke, John Longstrother, being Prior of the  
 Knights of Rhodes in Saint Johns. These, hear-  
 ing of the Quenes returne, with speed resorted to  
 her; by whom she being somewhat quickened in her  
 spirits, and animated to warre, began to take some  
 heart, and to follow their counsell, which was, in all  
 the hot haste, to renew warre against king Edward,  
 being now unprovoked, by reason his army was  
 now dispersed, and chiefest of his souldiers wasted.  
 Here great hope of victory was shewed, great pro-  
 mises made. Although the Quenes minde was be-  
 ing more carefull for the young Prince than for her  
 selfe, to send him over into France, before some prof-  
 or trial made; yet following the contrary counsell of  
 them, and partly cut off by shortness of time which  
 required haste, she began with all expedition to ga-  
 ther their power. Likewise Jasper Earle of Pembroke  
 posted into Wales to do the same.

King Edward having intelligence of all these do-  
 ings, first sendeth out certaine light horsemen, to  
 espie abroad thorow the West parts what wayes  
 his enemies did take. In the meane time he, using  
 all celerity to meet them before they came to Lon-  
 don, gathered a power, such as he could make about  
 London, and first cometh to Abingdon, from  
 thence to Harlebridge, hearing that the Queen was  
 at Bathe, thinking to encounter with them, before  
 they departed into Wales to the Earle of Pembroke,  
 whither he thought (as they indeed intended) that  
 they would take. But the Quene, understanding  
 the King to be so nigh, removeth from Bathe to  
 Wiltow, sending word in the meane while to the  
 Citizens of Gloucester, that they would grant her  
 leave safely to passe by their citie. Which when

King Edward  
 marcheth against  
 the Quene.

Queen Margaret  
 debarr'd from  
 Gloucester.



it could not be obtained. with her army she departed from Wyntow to Tewkesbury; where the Duke of Somerset, knowing king Edward to be at hand at his very backe, willed the Quene there to stay, and in no wise to flie backward for certaine doubts that might be cast. Although this counsell was against the consent of many other capitaines, who thought it best rather to draw aside, while the Earle of Pembroke with his army were with them associate: yet the minde of the Duke prebailed, the place was prepared, the field pitched, the time of battell came, the king was looked for; who being within one mile of Tewkesbury, with like industry and policy, as his enemies had done, disposed his army likewise in their array. The celerity of the king, taking the time, was to him great advantage; who otherwise, if he had deferred till he had consorted with the Earle of Pembroke, had put the matter in great hazard. Such a matter it is to take a thing in time.

The battell of Tewkesbury.

A great matter to take a thing in time.

Of this battell Hall thus reporteth, adding more than Polydore, that the Duke of Somerset, although he was strongly intrenched, yet through the occasion or policy of the Duke of Gloucester, which had the foreward of the kings part, a little reculing backe, followed the chase, supposing that the Lord Wenlock, who had the middle ward, would have followed hard at his backe. The Duke of Gloucester, whether for shame rather than of policie, espying his advantage, suddenly turned face to his enemies. Whereupon the contrary part was easiesly discomfited, and so much the more, because they were separated from their company. The Duke of Somerset not a little aggrieved at this so unfortunate a case, returneth to the middle ward, where he seeing the Lord Wenlocke abiding still, revileth him, and calleth him traitor, and with his axe striketh the haines out of his head.

Thus much addeth Hall besides Polydore; but sheweth not his author where he had it. Polydore, writing of this conflict, writeth no more but this, that the Quenes Army being overfet with the number and multitude of their enemies, and the having no fresh soldiers to furnish the field, was at last overmatched, and for the most part slaine or taken. In which battell were named to be slaine, the Earle of Devonshire, the Lord Wenlock, Lord John Duke of Somerset his brother, besides other. Among them that were taken was Quene Margaret, found in her chariot almost dead for sorrow, Prince Edward, Edmund Duke of Somerset, John Prior of Saint Johns, with twenty other knights; all which were beheaded within two dayes after, the Quene onely and the young Prince excepted. Which Prince Edward being then brought to the kings presence, it was demanded of him how he durst be so bold to stand in battell against him. To this Edward Hall addeth more, and saith, that after the field was finished the king made Proclamation, that whosoever would bring Prince Edward to him, should have annuity of an hundred pound during his life, and the Princes life should be saved. Whereupon sir Richard Croftes, not mistrusting the kings promise, brought forth his prisoner, &c. And so the king demanding of the Prince (as is said) how he durst so presumptuously enter this Realme with his banner displayed against him, he answered, saying that he came to recover his fathers kingdome and inheritance, from his grandfather and father to him descending; whereat (said Polydore) the king with his hand disdainfully thrust him from him. Other say that the king stricke him on the face with his Camlet.

Prince Edward brought to the King.

The front answer of the Prince to the King.

Prince Edward son to king Henry, slaine.

At the speaking of these words was present George Duke of Clarence, Richard Duke of Gloucester, and the Earle Lord William Hastings. Who upon the same, unceruously falling upon the Prince, did slay him. Margaret, being brought prisoner to London, was afterward ransomed of

her father Duke of Anjou, for a great summe of money which he borrowed of the French king, and for the payment thereof was faine to yeld unto him the title of the kingdome of Sicile, and Naples, &c. King Edward for these prosperous wars rendered to God his hearty thanks, and caused publickly throughout his Realme sollemne processions to be kept three dayes together. And thus much, and too much touching the wars of king Edward the fourth, which was done,

10 An. 1471. Ex Polyd. & aliis.

The same yere, and about the same time, upon the Ascension even, king Henry, being prisoner in the tower, departed, after he had reigned in all 38. yeres, and 6. monethes. Polydore and Hall following him, affirme that he was slaine with a dagger by Richard duke of Gloucester, the kings brother, for the more quiet and safeguard of the king his brother. In the history intituled Scala mundi, I finde these words, Quod in turri, in vigilia ascensionis Domini, ca, ibidem feliciter moriens, per Thamesiam naviculam usque ad Abbatiam de Chertsey deductus, ibi sepultus est; That is, that king Henry being in the tower, upon the Ascension even, there happily or quietly departing, was brought by Thames in a boate to the abbey of Chertsey, and there buried.

20

Polydore, after he hath described the vertues of this king, recordeth that king Henry the seventh did afterward translate the corpes of him from Chertsey to Windsoze, and addeth moreover, that by him certaine miracles were wrought. For the which cause the said king Henry the seventh (saith he) labored with Pope Julius, to have him canonized for a saint, but the death of the king was the let why that matter proceeded not. Edward Hall, writing of this matter, addeth more, declaring the cause, why king Henries fainting went not forward, to be this; for that the fees of canonizing of a king were of so great a quantity at Rome (more than of another, Bishop or Prelate) that the said king thought it better to keepe the money in his chests, than with the impoverishing of the realme to buy so deare and pay so much for a new holy-day of St. Henry in the Kalender, &c. Ex Hallo. Which if it be true, it might be replied then to Pope Julius, that if Popes be higher than kings in the earth, and especially in heaven, why then is a Pope-Saint so cheape in the market place of Rome, and a King-Saint so deare? Again, if the valuation of things in all markets and burles be according to the price and dignity of the thing that is bought, what reason is it, seeing the fainting of a king beareth a bigger sale than the fainting of any Pope in heaven, but that kings should be above Popes also upon the earth? Sed extra jocum, as I do not doubt, but that king Henry was a good and a quiet Prince, if he had not otherwise bene abused by some, to touching the ruine of his house, I thinke not contrary, but it came not with out the just appointment of the Lord, either for that the Henries of Lancasters house were such enemies to Gods people, and for the burning of the Lord Cobham and many other; or else for the unjust displacing of king Richard 2. or else thirdly, for the cruell slaughter of Humfrey the good Duke of Gloucester his uncle; whereof sufficiently hath bene said before.

30

40

50

60

70

During the time of these doings, being about the yere of our Lord 1465. there was here in England a certain frier Carmelite, who about the terme of Michael the Archangel preached at Pauls in London, that our Lord Jesus Christ, being here in this present world, was in poverty, and did beg. To whose opinion and doctrine the provindall of that order seemed also to incline, defending the same both in his reading and preaching, with other Doctors more and brethren of the same order; unto whom also ascribed certaine of the Jacobites; and strictly did take their parts. On the contrary side, many doctors and also lawyers, both

KING  
EDW. 4.  
Queen Margaret ransomed for a great sum of money.

Publick processions for victory got.

Anno  
1471.  
The death of king Henry 6.

Ex Scala mundi.

King Henry buried at Chertsey.

Polydore's miracles.

A King saint, is deare wars in the market.

Ex Edw. Hall.

The cause examined of Lancaster house. Example of Gods just rod of correction.

A fore heretic preached at Pauls Church.

Contention in the Church whether Christ was a beggar or not.



**KING** } in their publique lectures and preaching, to the utter  
**EDW.4.** } most of their cunning did withstand their assertion,  
 as being a thing most pernicious in the church to be  
 heard. Such a bitter contention was among them,  
 that the defendant part was driven for a while to  
 keepe silence. Such like to those times I might well  
 resemble these our daies now present, with our tu-  
 multuous contention of fozmes and fashions of gar-  
 ments. But I put my selfe here in Pythagoras  
 schoule, and keepe silence with these sifiers. In the  
 story moreover it followeth, that this beggerly que-  
 stion of the begging sifiers. Whether Christ did  
 begge or no, went so farre, that at length it came to  
 the Popes ears Paulus 2. who was no begger ye may  
 be sure. After that the fame of this doctrine mount-  
 ing over the Alpes, came striding to the Court of  
 Rome, which was about the assumption of the Vir-  
 gin Mary, the year next following, Anno 1465. it  
 brought with it such an evil smell to the fine noses  
 there, that it was no need to bid them to stirre; for  
 begging to them was worse then he heretic. Where-  
 fore the holy father Pope Paulus the 2. to repress  
 the sparkles of this doctrine, which otherwise per-  
 haps might have set his whole kitchen on fire, tak-  
 eth the matter in hand, and with stones directeth  
 downe his Bull into England, insinuating to the  
 Prelates here, Hærcim illam pestiferæ asserentem  
 quod Christus publicè mendicavit, esse antiquitus à  
 Romanis pontificibus, cum suis conciliis damnatam, &  
 eam pro damnata undique declarandam & conculcan-  
 dam &c. That is, that this heretic, which pestife-  
 rously doth affirme that Christ did openly begge, was  
 condemned of old time by the Bishops of Rome, and  
 his Councils, and that the same ought to be declared  
 in all places for a damned doctrine, and worthy to be  
 troden downe under all mens feet, &c. This was  
 in the same year when prince Edward, king Ed-  
 wards sonne was bozne in the sanctuary at West-  
 minster, An. 1465.

Ex hist. Scale  
 mundi. fol. ul.

The popes de-  
 termined solu-  
 tion, that Christ  
 was no beggar.

King Edward  
 vanquished  
 nine battels,  
 being himselfe  
 present at them  
 all.

Charles Duke  
 of Burgoyne  
 failed his pro-  
 mise with the  
 king.

Peace between  
 the two kings  
 bought with  
 the French  
 kings money.

Marriage be-  
 tweene the  
 French kings  
 son and king  
 Edwards  
 daughter made  
 and broken.

King James of  
 Scotland, go-  
 eth from his  
 promise of  
 marriage.  
 Warwick re-  
 covered.

Anno  
 1473.  
 John Gooſe  
 marryed.  
 John Gooſe in  
 English is as  
 much as John  
 Hus in the Bo-  
 hemian tongue.

As touching the rest of the doings and affaires of  
 this king, (which had vanquished hitherto in nine  
 battels, himselfe being present) how afterward he,  
 through the unfaithfulness of Charles Duke of Bur-  
 goyne his brother in law, ventured into France  
 with a puissant army, and how the Duke failed him  
 in his promise; also how peace betweene these two  
 kings was at length concluded in a solemne mee-  
 ting of both the said kings together (which meeting  
 is notified in stories, by a white dove sitting the  
 same day of meeting upon the top of king Ed-  
 wards tent) also of the marriage promised betweene  
 the young Dolphin and Elizabeth king Edwards  
 eldest daughter, but afterward broken off on the  
 French kings part; moreover as touching the  
 death of the Duke of Burgoyne slain in warre,  
 and of his daughter Mary, peace to king Edward,  
 spoiled of her lands and possessions wrongfully by  
 Lewis the French king, and married after to Mari-  
 milian; Furthermore, as touching the expedition  
 of king Edward into Scotland, by reason of king  
 James breaking promise in marrying with Cice-  
 ly the second daughter of king Edward, and of driv-  
 ing on his brother, and how the matter was com-  
 posed there, and of the recovery againe of War-  
 wicke; of these (I say) and such other things more,  
 partly because they are described sufficiently in our  
 common English stories, partly also because they be  
 matters not greatly pertaining to the Church, I  
 omit to speake, making of them a superfluous. Two  
 things I finde here, among many other, specially to  
 be remembred.

The first is concerning a godly and constant ser-  
 vant of Christ, named John Gooſe, which in the time  
 of this king was unjustly condemned and burnt at  
 the tower hill, Anno 1473. in the month of August.  
 Thus had England also his John Hus as well as  
 Boheme. Wherein moreover this is to be noted,  
 that since the time of king Richard the 2. there is no

raigne of any king to be assigned hitherto, wherein  
 some godly man or other hath not suffered the paines  
 of fire for the Religion and true testimony of Christ  
 Jesus. Of this said John Gooſe, or John Hus, this  
 moreover I finde in another English monument re-  
 corded, that the said John being delivered to Ro-  
 bert Belkison, one of the Sheriffs, to see him burnt  
 the afternone; the Sheriffe, like a charitable man,  
 had him home to his house, and there exhorted him  
 to deny (saith the story) his errors. But the godly  
 man after long exhortation heard, desired the Sher-  
 iffe to be content; for he was satisfied in his consci-  
 ence. Notwithstanding this he desired of the Sher-  
 iffe, for Gods sake to give him some meat, saying  
 that he was very sore hungry. Then the Sheriffe  
 commanded him meat, whereof he took and did eat,  
 as if he had bene toward no manner of danger; and  
 said to such as stood about him, I eat now a good and  
 competent dinner, for I shall passe a little sharpe  
 shower ere I goe to supper. And when he had dined,  
 he gave thanks, and required that he might shortly  
 be led to the place where he should yield up his spirit  
 unto God. Ex Polychron.

The burning of John Gooſe.



The second thing herein to be noted, is the death  
 of George Duke of Clarence, the kings second bro-  
 ther; of whom relation was made before, how he  
 assisted king Edward his brother, against the Carle  
 of Warwick at Barnet field, and helped him to the  
 Crowne; and now after all these benefitts was at  
 length thus requited, that (for what cause it is un-  
 certaine) hee was apprehended and cast into the  
 tower, where he being adjudged for a traitor was  
 privily downed in a But of Malmeſey. That the  
 true cause was of his death it cannot certainly be af-  
 firmed. Divers conjectures and imaginations  
 there be diversly put forth. Some partly imputed it  
 to the Duques displeasure. Other suppose it came  
 for taking part in the cause of his servant, which  
 was accused and condemned for poisoning, sorcery,  
 or incantment. Another fame there is, which  
 surmiſeth the cause hereof to rise upon the vain  
 ſeare of a foolish prophetic, coming no doubt (if it  
 were true) by the crafty operation of Satan, as  
 it doth many times else happen among Infid-  
 els and Gentiles, where Christ is not knowne;  
 where among high princes and in noble houses

John Gooſe  
 how he dyed  
 before he went  
 to martyr  
 dome.

The unworthi-  
 nes of the  
 Duke of Cla-  
 rence.

The Duke of  
 Clarence  
 downed in a  
 butte of malme-  
 ſey.  
 The causes of  
 his death ex-  
 plained.

The mischief  
 that Satan work-  
 eth by false  
 prophecies.



much mischief groweth, first murder and parricide and thereby ruine of ancient families, and alteration of kingdoms. The effect of this prophetic (as the same goeth) was this, that after king Edward should one raigne whose name should begin with G. And because the name of the Duke of Clarence, being George, began with a G. therefore he began to be feared, and afterward privily (as is aforesaid) was made away.

By these experiments and mischievous ends of such prophecies, and also by the nature of them, it is soone to be seene from what fountaine or author they proceed, that is (no doubt) from Satan, the ancient enemy of mankind, and pynce of this world; against whose deceitfull delusions, Christian men must be well instructed, neither to marvell greatly at them though they seeme strange, nor yet to beleve them though they happen true. For Satan bringe the pynce of this world, in such worldly things can foresee what will follow, and can say truth for a mischievous end, and yet for all that is but a Satan. So the dreame of Atrages, seeing a time to grow out of his daughter, which should cover all Asia, and fearing thereby that by his nephew he should lose his kingdom, proved true in the sequell thereof; and yet notwithstanding of Satan it came, and caused cruell murder to follow, first of the shepherds childe, then of the son of Belpagus, whom he set before his owne father to eate. Ex. Inst. lib. 1. Likewise Cyrus was prophetically admonished by his dreame, to take him for his guide whom he first met the next morrow. In that also his dreame fell true, and yet was not of God. In the same number are to be put all the blinde Oracles of the Idolatrous Gentiles, which although they proceed of a lying spirit, yet sometime they hit the truth to a mischievous purpose. The like judgement also is to be given of Herlines prophecies. The sorceresse mentioned 1 Reg. 28. raising up Samuel, told Saul the truth, yet was it not of God. In the sixteenth chapter of the Acts, there was a damosell having the spirit of Pytho, who said truth of Paul and Silas, calling them the messengers of the high God, and yet it was a wrong spirit. The unclean spirits in giving testimony of Christ said the truth, yet because their testimony came not of God, Christ did not allow it.

Paulus Diaconus recordeth of Valence the Emperour that he also had a blinde prophetic, not much unlike to this of king Edward, which was, that one should succeed him in the empire whose name should begin with A. and J. Whereupon one Theodosius, trusting upon the prophetic, began rebelliously to hope for the Crowne, and for his labor felt the paines of a traitor. Notwithstanding the effect of the prophetic followed; for after Valence succeeded Theodosius. Wherefore Christian Princes and noble men, and all Christs faithfull people must beware and learne:

1. First, that no man be inquisitive or curious in searching to know what things be to come, or what shall happen, besides those things onely which are promised and expessed in the Word.
2. Secondly, to understand what difference there is, and how to discern the voice of God from the voice of Satan.
3. Thirdly, how to resist and avoid the danger of false and devillish prophecies.

Many there be, which being not contented with things present, curiously occupie their wits to search what is to come, and not giving thanks to God for their life which they have, will also know what shall bechance them, how and when their end will come, how long Princes shall raigne, and who after shall succeed them, and for the same get unto them Soothsayers, Astrologers, Sorcerers, Conjurers, or Familiars. And these are not so much inquisitive to search or aske, but the devill is as ready to answer them,

who either falsly doubleth with them to delude them, or else telleth them truth, to weake them perpetually care and grow. Thus was Pope Silvester the Sorcerer circumvented by the devill, who told him that he should be at Jerusalem before he died, and so it fell out. For as he was saying his Masse at a chapel in Rome, called Jerusalem, there he fell sicke, and within three daies after died: To king Henry the fourth also it seemeth it was prophesied, that he should not die before he went to Jerusalem, who being brought to the Abbats chamber of Westmister, and hearing the name of the chamber to be called Jerusalem, knew his time to be come, and died.

By such deceitfull prophecies it cannot be lamented enough to see what inconvenience both publicly and privately groweth to the life of men, either causing them falsly to trust where they should not, or else wickedly to perpetrate that they would not; as may appeare both by this king, and also divers more. So was Pompeius, Crassus, and Cesar (as writeth Cicero) deceived by the false Chaldeis, in declaring to them that they should not die but in their beds, and with worship, and in their old age. Of such a false trust rising upon false prophecies, St. Ambrose in his booke of Crameron writeth, speaking of raine, which being in those parts greatly desired, was promised and prophesied of one certainly to fall upon such a day, which was at the changing of the new Moone: but (saith St. Ambrose) there fell no such rain at all, till at the prayers of the Church the same was obtained; giving us to understand, that rain cometh not by the word of man, nor by the beginnings of the Moone, but by the providence and mercy of our Creator. Ex Ambros. in Examer.

Ioan. Picus Carle of Mirandola, in his excellent booke written against these vaine star-tellers and Astrologers, lib. 2. writeth of one Delapphas a Prince, to whom it was prognosticated by a famous cunning man in that science, called Hieronymus Manfredus, that he should enjoy long continuance of health, and prosperous life; who notwithstanding the selfesame yere, and in the first yere of his marriage, deceased: and after divers other examples added moreover upon the same, he inferreth also mention, and the name of a certaine rich Matron in Rome, named Constantia, who in like manner departed the same yere, in which she received great promises by these Soothsayers and Astrologers, of a long and happy life, saying to her husband these words, We hold (saith she) how true be the Prognostications of these Sooth-tellers? If it were not for nothing of them which now are gone, and whose names I would in no case to be blemished with any spot; I could recite the names of certain, especially one, which taking his journey in a certain place, after diligent calculation and forecasting of the successe and good speed of his journey, was notwithstanding in the same journey apprehended and brought where he would not, and after that never enjoying good day, in short time he departed. In Wallis this I myselfe heard of one which knew and was conversant with the party, who having a curious delight in these speculations of chances and events to come, by his calculation noted a certaine day which he mistrusted should be fatal unto him, by something which at that day should befall upon him. Whereupon he determined with himselfe all that day to keepe him sure and safe within his chamber; where he reaching up his hand to take downe a booke, the booke falling downe upon his head, gave him his deaith wound, and shortly after he died upon the same. Of these and such like examples the world is full, and yet the curiousnesse of mens heads will not restraime, till to plucke the apple of this unlucky and forbidden tree.

Beside all this, what murder and parricide cometh by the feare of these prophecies, in great bloods

KING  
EDW. 4

Vide supra

Vide supra

False trust by  
devillish prophecies.

Ambrosius  
in Crameron.

Ioan Pic. Mirandul. contra Astrolog. lib. 2. ca. 9. Experience of false prophecies

This man by false discerners was taken, betrayed, and brought into England.

A pernicious matter for a man to be curious of times and things to come.

The prophecy of G.

Prophecies not raiely to be beleved.

Satan can say truth for a wicked end.

Devillish prophecies, although they tell truth, yet are not to be followed.

Ex Inst. lib. 1.

Herlines prophecies. 1 Reg. 18. A. 16.

A spirit of divination which could shew and foretold things past, present and to come; which knowledge God many times permitteeth to the devill.

Ex Paulo Diacon.

Three things to be noted concerning false prophecies



{ KING }  
{ EDW 4. }

and noble houses, I referre it unto them which read and well aduise the ſtores, as well of our Kings here in England, as in other kingdomes more both Chriſtensed and Turkiſh, whereof another place ſhal ſerue as well (Chriſt willing) more largely to en- treate, and particularly to diſcoure. So this per- taineth alſo the great inconuenience and hinderance that groweth by the feare of ſuch prophecies in the vocation of men, forſomuch as many there be which fearing, ſome one danger, ſome another, leave their vocations undone, and follow unordinate waies. As if one having a blind prophecy, that his deſtruction ſhould be on the day, would wake and doe all his buſineſſe by night and candle light; and ſo forth in other ſeuerall caſes of men and women, as every one in his owne conſcience knoweth his owne caſe beſt.

The ſecond part how pro- phesies are to be diſcerned.

The ſecond thing to be conſidered in theſe prophe- cies, is rightly to diſcerne and underſtand, as nere as we can, the difference betwene the prophecies proceeding from God, and the falſe prophecies coun- terfeited by Satan. For Satan ſometime playeth Gods Apr, and transformeth himſelfe into an An- gell of light; bearing ſuch a reſemblance and colour of truth and Religion, that a wiſe man is ſcarcely able to diſcerne the one from the other, and the moſt part is beguiled. Concerning prophecies therefore, to know which be of God, which be not, theſe things are to be obſerved:

In the ſecond thing to be conſidered.

1. Firſt, whether they goe ſimply and plainly, or whether they be doubtfull and ambiguous: whereof the one ſeemeth to taſte of Gods Spirit, ſuch as be the prophecies of the Scripture; the other to come otherwiſe, having a double or doubtfull interpreta- tion. Although the time of Gods prophecies, as alſo of miracles is commonly and ordinarily expe- ried, yet if the Lord in theſe dayes now extraordinaryly doe theſe any prophecies, by the ſimpleneſſe and plainneſſe thereof it may partly be diſcerned.

The ſecond thing to be conſidered in prophecies.

2. Secondly, this is to be expended, whether they be private, tending to this family or that family, or publike. For as the Scriptures, ſo commonly the prophecies of God have no private interpretation, but generall; forſomuch as the care of Gods holy Spirit is not reſtrained partially to one perſon more then to another, but generally and indifferently re- ſpecteth the whole Church of his elect in Chriſt Jeſus his Sonne. Wherefore ſuch prophecies as pri- vately are touching the armes of houſes or names of men, riſing or falling of private and particular fa- milies, are worſhipfully to be ſuſpected.

The third thing to be con- sidered in pro- phesies.

3. The third note and ſpeciall argument to deſcry the true prophecies of God from the falſe prophecies of ſatan and his falſe prophets, is this, to conſider the matter and the end thereof, that is, whether they be worldly, or whether they be ſpirituall, or whether they tend to any glory or ſtate of this preſent world, or whether they tend to the ſpirituall inſtruction, ad- monition, or comfort of the publike Church.

The third part, how to avoide the danger of diuelliſh prophe- cies.

Now remaineth thirdly, after we know what prophecies be of God, and what not, that we be in- ſtricted next how to eſchew the feare and perill of all diuelliſh prophecies which make againſt us. Where- in two ſpeciall remedies are to be marked of every Chriſtian man, whereby he may be ſafe and ſure againſt all danger of the enemy. The firſt is, that we ſet the name of Chriſt Jeſus the Sonne of God againſt them, through a true faith in him, know- ing this, that the Sonne of God hath appeared to diſſolve the workes of the diuelliſh. And againe, this is the victory (ſaith the Scripture) that overcomeſh the world, even our faith. Whatſoever then ſatan worketh, or can worke againſt us, be it never ſo for- cible, faith in Chriſt will vanquiſh it. Such a mai- eſty is in our faith, beleeving in the name of the Son of God.

The ſecond re- medie againſt dangerous pro- phesies.

The other remedy is faithfull prayer, which ob- taineth in the ſpaine of Chriſt all things with the

Lord. So that wicked fiend which had killed before ſeven husbands of Tobiah wife, could not hurt him entering his matrimony with earneſt prayer. So no more ſhall any ſuſtainer propheticall prebute, where prayer out of a faithfull heart doth ſtrive againſt it. Yetther am I ignorant, that as until ſuch temporall evils and puniſhments to this life indures, a great remedy lyeth alſo in this, when Satan findeth no- thing wherein greatly to accuſe our conſcience. But becauſe ſuch a conſcience is hard to be found, the next reſuge is to flye to repentance, with amend- ment of life. For many times where ſinne ſinne doth raigne in our mortall bodies, there alſo the opera- tion of ſatan is ſtrong againſt us, to afflict our out- ward bodies here. but as touching our eternall ſal- vation, neither work nor merit hath any place, but onely our faith in Chriſt. And thus much briefly touching the two ſpeciall remedies, whereby the operation of all diuelliſh prophecies may be avoided and defeated.

20

Now many there be, which leauing theſe reme- dies aforeſaid, and the ſafe protection which the Lord hath ſet up in Chriſt, take other waies of their own, ſeeking by their owne policie how to withſtand and eſcape ſuch prophecies, either in eſchewing the place and time ſubtilly, or elſe cruelly by killing the party whom they feare; whereof cometh injury, murther, and parricide, with other miſchiefs in com- mon-wealths unſpeakable. To whom commonly it cometh ſo to paſſe, that whereby they thinke moſt to ſave themſelves, by the ſame meanes they fall moſt into the ſnare, being ſubverted and con- founded in their owne policie, for that they truſting to their owne device, and not unto the Lord, which onely can diſſolve the operation of Satan, the Lord ſo turneth their device into a trap, thereby to take them, whereby they thinke moſt ſurely to eſ- cape. Examples whereof we ſee not onely in Aſpa- ges, King of the Hebes aforeſaid, and Cyrus; but in infinite other like events, which the trade of the world doth daily offer to our eyes. So Quene Margaret thought her then eſcapeſure, when Duke Humfrey was made away; when nothing elſe was her conſolation ſo much as the loſſe and lacke of that man.

Many policie can be made, but only Chriſt, and our faith in him.

No power can withſtand ſatan, but only Chriſt, and our faith in him.

So if King Richard the ſecond had not exerciſed ſuch cruelty upon his Uncle Thomas, Duke of Glo- ceſter, he had not received ſuch wrong by King Henry the fourth as he did. Likewiſe this King Edward the fourth, if he had ſuffered his brother George Duke of Clarence to have lived, his houſe had not ſo gone to wracke by Richard his other bro- ther, as it did. What beſell upon the Student of Aſtology in the Univerſity of Waſſel ye heard be- fore; who, if he had not melowed himſelf in his cham- ber for feare of his diuination, had eſcaped the ſtrok that fell. Now in avoiding ſuch propheticall events which he ſhould not have ſearched, he fell unto that which he did feare. Theſe few examples for in- ſtruction ſake, I thought by occaſion to inferre, not as though theſe were alone; but by theſe few to ad- moniſh the Reader of infinite other, which daily come in practice of life, to the great danger and de- cay, as well in private houſes, as in weales pub- like.

70

Wherefore briefly to repeat what before ſimply hath bene ſaid touching this matter, ſeing that Satan through ſuch ſubtile prophecies hath and yet doth daily practice ſo manifold miſchiefs in the world, ſetting brother againſt brother, nephew a- gainſt the uncle, houſe againſt houſe, and realme a- gainſt realme, generating hatred where love was, and ſubverting privily the ſimplicity of our Chriſti- an faith, therefore the firſt and beſt thing is for goodly men not to buſie their braines about ſuch phanta- ſies, neither in delighting in them, nor in harkening to them, nor in ſearching for them, either by ſoothſay- er, or by conjuration, or by familiar, or by aſtologer knowing

A briefe rebear- fall of the mat- ter of prophe- cies before paſſed.



knowing and considering this, that whoeuer shall be desirous or ready to search for them, the devill is as ready to answer his curiositie therein. For as once, in the old time of Gentilitie, he gave his Oracle by Idols and Whistles of that time; so the same devill, although he worketh not now by Idols, yet he craftily can give now answer by Astrologers, and Chyrurgers in these our dayes, and in so doing, both o say truth, and yet to deceive men when he hath said. Wherefore, leaving off such curiositie, let every Christian man walke simply in his present vocation, referring his things not in the woordes pressed, unto him which saith in his word, Non est vestrum scire tempora & momenta temporum, &c. It is not for you to know the times, and seasons of times, which the Father hath kept in his owne power, &c.

Secondly, in this matter of Prophecies, requisite it is (as is said) for every Christian man to learne, how to discern and distinguish the true prophecies, which proceed of God, and the false prophecies which come of Satan. The difference whereof, as it is not hard to be discerned, so necessary it is that every good man doe rightly understand the same, to the intent that he, knowing and flying the danger of the one, may be the more certaine and constant in adhering to the other.

Thirdly, because it is not sufficient that the deceitfull prophecies of the devill be known, but also that they be resisted, I have also declared, by what means the operation of Satans workes and prophecies are to be overcome, that is, not with strength and policie of man, for that there is nothing in man able to counterbaile the power of that enemy. Under Heaven there is nothing else that can prevaile against his workes, but onely the Name of the Lord Jesus the Sonne of God, not outwardly pronounced onely with our lips, or figured in our foreheads with the outward crosse, but inwardly apprehended and dwelling in our hearts by a silent faith, firmly and earnestly trusting upon the promises of God, given and sealed unto us in his Name. For so it hath pleased his fatherly wisdom to let him up, to be both our righteousnesse before him, else, and also to be our fortitude against the enemy, accepting our faith in his Sonne in no lesse price, then he accepteth the workes and worthinesse of the same his Sonne in whom we doe beleve.

Such is the strength and effect of Faith both in heaven, in earth, and also in hell. In heaven to iustifie, in earth to preserve, in hell to conquer. And therefore when any such prophetic, or any other thing is to us objected, which seemeth to end against us, let us first consider whether it labour of Satan, or not. If it doe, then let us take our succour, not in our selves where it doth not dwell, neither let us kill, nor slay, nor change our vocation therefore, following unordinate wayes; but let us rume to our Castle of refuge, which is to the power of the Lord Jesus, remembering the true promise of the Psalm, Qui habitat in adiutorio altissimi, in protectione Dei coeli commorabitur, That is, Who so putteth his trust in the succour of the Lord, shall have the God of Heaven to his protector. And then shall it afterward follow in the same Psalm; Ipse liberabit te à laqueo venantium, & à verbo aspero, That is, And he shall deliver him from the snare of the hunter, and from all evil words, and prophecies, be they never so sharpe or bitter against him, &c. And thus much by the occasion of King Edwards, of prophecies.

Now having long tarried at home in describing the tumults and troubles within our owne land, we will let out our story more at large, to consider the afflictions and perturbations of other parties and places of Christs Church, as well here in Europe under the Pope, as in the East parts under the Turke, first deducing our story from the time of Sigismund, where before we left. Which Sigismund, as it is above recorded, was a great doer in

the Councell of Constance against John Hus, and Jerome of Prague. This Emperour had ever evil luck, fighting against the Turkes. Twice he warred against them, and in both the battailes was discomfited and put to flight; once about the Cite of Dyssia, fighting against Bajazetes the great Turk, Anno 1395. the second time fighting against Celebinus the sonne of Bajazetes, about the Towne called Columbacium. But specially after the Councell of Constance, wherein were condemned and burned these two goodly Martyrs, more unprosperous successe did then follow him, fighting against the Bohemians his owne subjects, Anno 1420. by whom he was repulled in so many battailes, to his great dishonour, during all the life of Zisca, and of Procopius, as is afoze more at large expressed; who was so beaten both of the Turkes, and at home of his own people, that he never did encounter with the Turkes after. Then followed the Councell of Basill, after the beginning whereof within few years, this Sigismundus, which was Emperour, King of Hungarie, and King of Boheme, dyed in Moravia, Anno 1437.

### ¶ Albertus Emperour.

This Sigismund left behinde him one onely daughter Elizabeth, who was married to Albert Duke of Austria, by reason whereof he was advanced to the Empire, and so was both Duke of Austria, Emperour, King of Hungarie, and King also of Boheme. But this Albert, (as is afoze declared) being an enemy and adiqueter to the Bohemians, and especially to the good men of Chaboz, as he was preparing and setting forth against the Turkes, in the meane time died, in the second yeere of his Empire, An. 1439. leaving his wife great with childe; who lying then in Hungarie, and thinking her selfe to be great with a daughter, called to her the Princes and the Chiefestanes of the Realme, declaring to them that he was but a woman, and insufficient to the governance of such a state; and moreover how she thought her selfe to be with childe of a daughter; and therefore required them to provide among them such a Prince and gobernour, (referring the right of the Kingdome to her selfe) as were fit and able, under her, to have the regiment of the land committed. The Turke in the meane while, being elevated and encouraged with his prosperous victories against Sigismundus afoze said, began then more fiercely to invade Hungarie and those parts of Christendome. Wherefore the Hungarians, making the more haste, consulted among themselves to make Duke Ladislaus, brother to Casimir King of Polonia, their King.

But while this was in working betwene the Hungarians and Ladislaus the Duke, in the meane space Elizabeth brought forth a sonne called Ladislaus, who being the lawfull heir of the Kingdome, the Queen called backe againe her former word, minding to reserve the Kingdome for her sonne, being the true heire thereof, and therefore refused marriage with the said Ladislaus, which she had before pretended. But Ladislaus joyning with a great part of the Hungarians, persisting still in the condition before granted, would not give over; by reason whereof great contention and division kindling among the people of Hungarie, Amurathes the great Turke, taking his advantage of their discord, and partly surprised with pride of his former successe against Sigismund afoze said, with his whole maine and force invaded the Realme of Hungarie; where Huniades surnamed Laiboda, Prince of Transilvania, joyning with the new king Ladislaus, did both together set against the Turke, Anno 1444. and there Ladislaus, the new king of Hungarie, the fourth yeere of his Kingdome was slaine. Elizabeth with

KING  
EDW. 4.  
Sigismundus  
Emperour.

Sigismundus  
unprosperous  
in his wars.

Sigismundus  
overcome of  
the Turkes.

Sigismundus  
overcome of  
the Bohemians.

Albert Duke of  
Austria, Em-  
perour, King of  
Hungarie, King  
of Boheme.

Albertus Em-  
perour but two  
yeeres.

Elizabeth -  
daughter to  
Sigismund,  
wife to Albert  
Emperour.

The Turke be-  
ginnech to in-  
vade Hungarie,  
Ladislaus,  
brother to Ca-  
simirus King of  
Polonia, made  
King of Hunga-  
ry.

Elizabeth D.  
of Hungarie  
brought to bed  
of a man child.

Ladislaus  
prince of Hun-  
gary borne.  
Division and  
discord in Hun-  
gary.

The Turke  
warreth a-  
gainst Hunga-  
ry.  
Huniades  
Laiboda.  
Ladislaus K.  
of Hungarie  
slaine in war.

The devill ready to an-  
swer the  
curiosities of  
divination.

Curiosity of  
prophecies to  
be avoided.

The strength  
of a Christian  
mans faith in  
Christ.

Only Christ  
able to with-  
stand the pow-  
er of Satan.  
Psal. 90.



**KING** with her sonne was slod in the meane while to Fre-  
**EDW.4.** dericke the Emperour. Of Huniades Gainoda the  
noble captaine, and of his acts, and also of Ladislaus  
(Christ willing) more shall be said hereafter, in his  
time and place.

### Fredericus the third Emperour.

Fredericus the  
third Empe-  
rour.

**A**fter the decease of Albert succeeded in the  
Empire Fredericus the third Duke of Au-  
stria, An. 1440. By whom it was procured (as we  
have before signified) that Pope Felix, elected by the  
Concell of Basil, did resigne his Popedom to  
Pope Nicholas the fifth; upon this condition, that  
the said Pope Nicholas should ratifie the acts decreed  
in the said Concell of Basil. In the daies of this  
Emperour much warre and dissention raged almost  
thorow all Christian Realmes, in Austria, Hunga-  
ria, Polonia, in France, in Burgoine, and also here  
in England, between King Henry the sixth, and K.  
Edward the fourth, as ye have already heard: where-  
by it had been easie for the Turke, with little mai-  
strie, to have over-runne all the Christian Realmes  
in Europe, had not the providence of our mercifull  
Lord otherwise provided to keepe Amurathes the  
Turke occupied in other civill warres at home in  
the meane while. Unto this Fredericke came Eli-  
zabeth (as is alsoe said) with Ladislaus her sonne;  
by whom he was nourished and entertained a cer-  
taine space, till at length, after the death of Ladis-  
laus alsoe said, King of Hungary (which was slaine  
in battaile by the Turkes) the men of Austria,  
through the instigation of Alricus Cizingerus and  
of Alricus Earle of Cilicia, rising up in armour,  
required of Fredericke the Emperour, either to give  
them their young King, or else to stand to his owne  
defence.

When Fredericke heard this, neither would he  
render to them a sudden answer, neither would  
they abide any longer delay; and so the matter  
growing to war, the new citie was besieged, where  
many were slaine, and much harme done. At length  
the Emperours part being the weaker, the Emperour,  
through the interbention of certaine nobles of Ger-  
many, restored Ladislaus unto their hands, who, be-  
ing yet under age, committed his three Kingdomes  
to three governours. Whereof John Huniades, the  
worthy Captaine above mentioned, had the ruling  
of Hungarie; George Pogiebracius had Boheme;  
and Alricus the Earle of Cilicia had Austria. Which  
Alricus, having the chiefe custodie of the King, bare  
the greatest authoritie above the rest; a man as  
full of ambition and tyranny, as he was hated al-  
most of all the Austrians, and shortly after, by the  
meanes of Cizingerus, was excluded also from the  
King and the Court, but afterward restored againe,  
and Cizingerus thrust out. Such is the unstable  
condition of them which be next in place about  
Princes. But this contention between them I as-  
her passe.

Not long after, Ladislaus the young King went to  
Boheme, there to be crowned, where George Po-  
giebracius (as is said) had the governance. But La-  
dislaus during all the time of his being there, though  
being much requested, yet would neither enter into  
the Churches, nor heare the service of them, which did  
draw after the doctrine of Hus. Insomuch that when  
a certaine Priest, in the high Tower of Prague, was  
appointed and addrested, after the manner of Priests,  
to say service before the King, being known to hold  
with John Hus and Rochazana, the K. disdain-  
ing at him commanded him to give place and depart, or  
else he would send him downe headlong from the  
rooke of the tower; and so the good minister, repul-  
sed by the King, departed. Also another time the said  
Ladislaus, seeing the sacrament carried by a mini-  
ster of that side, whom they called then Husites,  
would doe therunto no reverence, Ex Aene. Sylvio.

John Huniades  
governour of  
Hungarie un-  
der the King.  
George Pogie-  
bracius gove-  
nor of Boheme.  
Alricus gove-  
nor of Au-  
stria.

Ladislaus a  
young Popish  
King.  
Ladislaus could  
not abide the  
doctrine of  
Hus.

At length the long abode of the king, although it  
was not very long, yet seemed to the goodly disposed  
to be longer then they wished: and that was not to  
the king unknowne, which made him to make the  
more haste away, but before he departed, he thought  
first to visite the noble Citie Bratislava in Schle-  
sia. In the which Citie, the foresaid King Ladislaus  
being there in the high Church at service, many  
great Princes were about him. Among whom was  
also George Pogiebracius, who then stood nearest to  
the K. unto whom one Chilianus, playing the Para-  
site about the King (as the fashion is of such as faine  
themselves soles, to make other men as very soles  
as they) spake in this wise as followeth. With what  
countenance you doe behold this our service I see  
right well, but your heart I doe not see. Say then,  
doth not the order of this our Religion seeme unto  
you decent and comely? Doe you not see how many  
and how great Princes, yea the King himselfe, doe  
follow one order and uniformitie? And why doe  
you then follow rather your Preacher Rochazana  
then these? Doe you thinke a few Bohemians to  
be more wise then all the Church of Christ besides?  
Why then doe you not forsake that rude and rusticall  
people, and joine to these Nobles, as you are a noble  
man your selfe?

Chilianus a  
Parasite about  
King Ladislaus.

The words of  
a Popish Pa-  
rasite to Pog-  
iebracius.

An answer mo-  
ceeding of a  
heavenly wisde-  
dome.

Unto whom thus Pogiebracius sagely againe  
doth answer. If you speake these words of your  
selfe (saith he) you are not the man whom you faine  
your selfe to be; and so to you I answer, as not to a  
foole. But if you speake this by the suggestion of o-  
thers, then must I satisfie them. Heare therefore,  
As touching the Ceremonies of the Church, every  
man hath a conscience of his owne to follow. As for  
us, we use such ceremonies, as we trust please God;  
Neither is it in our arbitrement to beleeve what we  
will our selves. The minde of man, being perswaded  
with great reasons, is captivated, will he, nill he;  
and as nature is instructed and taught, so is the drawne,  
in some one way, and in some another. As for my  
selfe, I am fully perswaded in the religion of my Prea-  
chers. If I should follow thy Religion, I might per-  
chance deceive men, going contrary to mine owne  
conscience, but I cannot deceive God, who seeth the  
hearts of all; Neither shall it become me to frame  
my selfe to thy disposition. That which is meete for a  
jester, is not likewise convenient for a noble man.  
And these words either take to thy selfe, as spoken to  
thee, if thou be a wise man; or else I referre them to  
those which see thee on worke, Ex Aen. Syl. in Hist.  
Bohem.

After the King was returned from the Bohemi-  
ans againe to Austria, the Hungarians likewise  
made their petitions to the king, that he would also  
come unto them. The governour of Hungarie (as  
ye before have heard) was Johannes Huniades,  
whose victorious acts against the Turkes are famous.  
Against this Huniades, wicked Alricus Earle of  
Cilicia did all he could with the king to bring him  
to destruction, and therefore caused the king to send  
for him up to Vienna, and there publicly to worke his  
death. But Huniades, having thereof intelligence,  
offereth himselfe within Hungary to serve his  
Prince, to all affaires: Out of the land where he  
was, it was neither best (saith he) for the king nor  
safest for himselfe, to come. The Earle being so dis-  
appointed came downe with certaine Nobles of  
the Court, to the borders of Hungary, thinking ei-  
ther to apprehend him and bring him to Vienna, or  
there to dispatch him. Huniades without in the fields  
said he would commune with him, within the towne  
he would not be brought. After that another traine  
also was laid for him, that under pretence of the  
kings safe-conduct he should meete the king in the  
broad fields of Vienna. But Huniades, suspecting  
deceit, came indeed to the place appointed, where  
he neither seeing the king to come, nor the Earle  
to have any safe-conduct for him, was mooved (and  
nag

Alricus seeketh  
the death of  
Huniades.



Huniades spareth his enemy.

Alba besieged of the Turke. The power of God by the meanes of Huniades and Capistranus against the Turke. King Ladislaus cometh into Hungarie.

Ladislaus Huniades son.

Debate betweene Alricus and Ladislaus Huniades son.

Alricus Carle of Croacia name.

The cruell dissimulation of Ladislaus the king.

The two sonnes of Huniades Ladislaus and Bathias. Ladislaus Huniades sonne, innocently put to death.

A miraculous token at the death of Ladislaus.

A Peuser, Chron. lib. 5.

not without cause) against the Carle, declaring how it was in his power there to slay him; which went about to take his blood, but for the reverence of the King he would spare him and let him goe.

Not long after this, the Turke with a great power of fighting men, to the number of an hundred and fiftene thousand, arrived in Hungarie, where he laid siege to the Citie Alba. But through the mercifull hand of God, John Huniades, and Capistranus a certaine Pinorite, with a small garison of Christian souldiers gave him the repulse, and put him to flight with all his mighty host; whereof moze (Christ willing) hereafter. Ex hist. Bohemic. Aen. Sylvi. Huniades shortly after this victory deceased. Of whose death when the King and the Carle did understand, they came the moze boldly into Hungarie, where he being received by Ladislaus Huniades sonne, into the Towne of Alba, there viewed the places where the Turkes before had pitched their Tents. When this Ladislaus heard that the King was coming first toward the Towne, obediently he opened to him the gates. Foure thousand onely of armed souldiers he debarred from entering the Citie.

In the meane time while the King was there resident in the Citie, the Carle with other Nobles did sit in counsaile, requiring also Ladislaus to resort unto them; who, first doubting with himself what he might doe, at length putteth on a purple coate of maille, and cometh to them. Whether the Carle first began with him, or he with the Carle, it is not knowne. The opinion of some is, that Alricus first called him traitor, for shutting the gates against the Kings souldiers. Howsoever the occasion began, this is undoubted, that Alricus taking his sword from his Page let flye at his head. To brake the blow, some putting up their hands had their fingers cut off. The Hungarians hearing a noise and tumult within the chamber brake it open upon them, and there incontinent slew Alricus the Carle, wounding and cutting him almost all to peeces. The King hearing thereof, although he was not a little discontented thereat in his minde: yet seeing there was then no other remedy, dissimuled his griefe for a time.

From thence the King took his journey againe to Buda, accompanied with the foresaid Ladislaus; who, passing by the towne where the wife of Huniades was mourning for the death of her husband, seemed with many faire words to comfort her; and after he had there sufficiently repasted himselfe, with such pretence of dissimuled love, and fained labour, that they were without all suspicion and feare; from thence he set forward in his journey, taking with him the two sonnes of Huniades, Ladislaus and Bathias, who were right ready to wait upon him. The King being come to Buda (whether of his owne head, or by sinister counsell set on) when he had them at a bantage, caused both the sonnes of Huniades, to wit, Ladislaus and Bathias, to be apprehended. And first was brought forth Ladislaus the elder sonne, to the place of execution, there to be beheaded, where moxly he suffered, being charged with no other crime, but this, published by the voyce of the cryer, saying, Thus are they to be chastised, which are rebels against their Lord. Vencerus writing of his death adoth this moreover, that after the hangman had three blowes at his necke, yet notwithstanding the said Ladislaus, having his hands bound behinde him after the third stroke rose upright upon his feete, and looking up to heaven called upon the Lord, and protested his innocency in that behalfe; and so laying downe his neck againe, at the fourth blow was dispatched: Bathias the other brother was led captive with the King into Austria. The rest of the captives brake the prison and escaped.

It was not long after this cruelty was wrought upon Ladislaus, the King being about the age of twenty and two yeeres, that talke was made of the Kings marriage with Dagdalen daughter to the French King. The place of the marriage was appointed at Prague, where great preparation was for the matter. At the first entrance of the King into the Citie of Prague, Rochezana with a company of Ministers, such as were faburers of John Hus, and of sincere religion, came with all solemnitie to receive the King, making there his Oration to gratulate the Kings most joyfull and prosperous access into the same his owne Realme and Countrey of Boheme. Unto which Rochezana, after he had ended his Oration, scarce would the King open his mouth to give thanks to him, or any cherefull countenance unto his company, but fiercely seemed to frowne upon them. In the next Pageant after these came forth the Priests of the high Minister, after the most popull manner, meeting him with procession, and with the Sacrament of the Altar: For as Panacea among physicians serveth for all diseases, so the sacrament of the Popes altar serveth for all poms and pageants. First it must lye upon the altar, then it must be holden up with hands, then it must hang in the fire, it must serve for the quick, it must also helpe the dead, it must morcover visite the sick, it must walke about the Churchyard, it must goe about the streets, it must be carried about the fields to make the grasse to grow, it must be had to the battail, it must ride on horsebacke before the Pope: And finally it must welcome Kings into Cities. Wherein these Catholike fathers doe seeme somewhat to forget themselves. For if the Pope, being inferior to the sacrament of the altar, at the coming of Kings doe use to sit still while the Kings come and kisse his feete, what reason is it that the sacrament of the altar, which is (I frow) above the Pope, should meete Kings by the way, and welcome them to the Towne? But this by the way of parenthesis: Let us now continue the text.

When Ladislaus this Catholike King, who had shewed himselfe before so stout and sterne against Rochezana and his company, had sene these catholike priests with their procession, and especially with their blessed Sacrament, to come, with all reverence and much devotion he lighted down from his horse, he embraced the crosse and kisted it, and with chearefull countenance saluted the priests in order. All this while his young wife was not yet come out of France, but Legats were sent, after most sumptuous wise, to conduct her. Other Legats also were sent the same time to the Emperour Fredericke, for conclusion of peace. The third Legat was directed likewise to Pope Clirtus about Religion, how to reduce the Bohemians to the Church of Rome. The author of this story (which was pope Pius himselfe) declareth further the opinion of some to be, that King Ladislaus the same time had intended to make a small end and destruction of all that sect in Bohemia, which held with the doctrine of John Hus and Hierome, by the assembly and concourse of the catholike Princes, and Popish Prelates which were appointed there to meet together at that marriage in Prague. For there should be first the Emperour Fredericke, Elizabeth the Kings mother, and his sisters Elizabeth and Anna, the Princes of Saxony, Basozia, Slesia, Franconia, the Palatine, and other Princes of Rhene: many also of the lords of France, besides the Popes Cardinals, Legats, Prelates, and other potentates of the Popes Church; who if they had all together convened in Boheme, no doubt but some great mischief had bene wrought there against the Husites; against whom this Ladislaus, following the steps of Sigismundus his grandfather, and Albertus his father, was ever an utter enemy. But when man hath purposed, yet God disposeth as pleaseth him.

SKING  
EDW. 4.

Preparation to the Kings marriage.

Ladislaus the King received in Boheme. Ladislaus the King, an infel enemy against the Husians.

The Sacrament of the altar used to many purposes.

Ex Aenea Sylvio. in Hist. Bohem.

A great concourse of Catholike Princes intended against the Husites.

Man purposeth, and God disposeth.

And



**KING**  
EDW. 4.  
Ex Aeneas Syl-  
vio.

Governance of  
Empires and  
Kingdomes is  
not in mans  
power, much  
lesse the gover-  
nance of religi-  
on.  
The great  
worke of God  
in defending  
his poore ser-  
vants.

And therefore, truly it is written of Aeneas Syl-  
vius in the same place, saying, De regimine Civita-  
tum, de mutatione regnorum, de orbis imperio, mini-  
mum est quod homines possint (tum vero De religionis  
constitutione multo minus) magna magnus disponit  
Deus, That is, In regiment of Cities, in altera-  
tion of Kingdomes, in ruling and governing the  
world, it is lesse then nothing that man can doe: it  
is the high God that ruleth high things. Where-  
unto then I may well adde this moreoever, and say; 10  
that if the governance of worldly Kingdomes stand-  
eth not in mans power, but in the disposition of  
God, much lesse is it then that mans power can  
doe in the regiment and governing of religion. Ex-  
ample whereof in this purposed debite of Princes  
doth evidently appeare. For as this great prepara-  
tion and solemnitie of marriage was in doing,  
and the Princes ready to set it forth, with a little  
turne of Gods holy hand, all these great purposes  
were suddenly turned and dashed. For in the midst 20

of this businesse, about the one and twentieth day  
of November, Anno 1461. this great aduersarie of  
Christs people, King Ladislaus, King of Boheme,  
of Hungarie, and Prince of Austria, sickned, and  
within fire and thirtie houres dved, some say of a  
Pestilent soze in his grine, some say of poison. But  
howsoever it was, as it came not without the iust  
judgement of God, revenging the innocent blood  
of Ladislaus Huniades some, wrongfully put to death  
before; so by the opportune death of this King, the  
poore Churches of Boheme were grateously deliv-  
red. And this end made Ladislaus, one of the migh-  
tiest Princes at that time in all Europe: in whom  
three mightie Kingdomes were conformed and  
combined together, Austria, Hungaria, and Bohe-  
mia; which Countries doe lye South-East from  
England, in the farthest parts of all Germany, to-  
ward Constantinople, and the dominions of the  
Turkes, and containe these principall townes in  
them.

The death of  
King Ladislaus.

Bloud reveng-  
ed by God.

### The large Dominion of Ladislaus.

**A**ustria, called once Pan-  
nonia superior.  
Vienna, which was besieged  
of the Turke, An. 1533.

Meleek.  
Neufst. nova Civitas.  
Gretz.  
S. Hypolit.  
Lintz.  
Stein.  
Haynberg.  
Kremfz.  
Karolsburg.  
Toben.  
Rotzo.  
Raba.  
Lindenburg.

To Austria be adjoy-  
ning also certaine Pro-  
vinces and Carledomes,  
as:

Stiria. } Provinces.  
Carinthia.  
Croatia.

Cilicia. } Carledomes.  
Tyrolentz.

**H**ungaria, which was once  
called Pannonia inferior.

Buda. Ofen,  
Strigoniam.  
Kalachia.  
Varadinum.  
Nitria. } Nova.  
Nicopolis. } Vetus,  
Agria.  
Orszaw.  
Boffen.  
Sabaria.

This Hungaria, was first  
called Pannonia, or Poenia.  
After the coming of the  
Huns, it was called Hunga-  
ria. Of which came Attila,  
which destroyed Italy, about  
the yere of the Lord 440.  
Through Hungaria runneth  
Danubius, having on the  
West side, Austria, and Bo-  
hemia; on the East, Serbia;  
on the South side, Polonia,  
&c. The most of this Hun-  
gary is now under the Turk;  
which Turkes first came in  
to Europe, An. 1211.

**B**ohemia.  
Praga.

Pilzen.  
Thabor.  
Buduviz.  
Kolm, or Koelu.  
Egra.  
Kuttenberg.  
Leimiritz.  
Laun.  
Raconick.  
Glaraw.  
Bern. or Beraun.  
Bruck. Molt.  
Gretz. Hradetz.  
Ault.  
Maut. Myto.  
Hef.  
Iaromir.  
Dub. Bielz.  
Lantzhut.  
Gilowy.  
Krupka.  
Krumaw.  
Pardubitz.  
Chumitau.  
Loker. Tepliez.  
Hantzburg. Zbraslau.  
Labe. Vltawa.

George Pogie-  
bracius.

After the death of Ladislaus, the Kingdome of  
Boheme fell to George Pogiebracius aboves men-  
tioned, whom Pope Innocent the eight did excom-  
municate and depose for his religion, as is afoze  
declared.

Matthias Hun-  
niades.

Furthermore the Kingdome of Hungary, was  
given to Matthias some of Huniades, who was in  
captivitie (as is said) with King Ladislaus, and  
should have been put to death after his brother, had  
not the King before been prevented with death, as is  
aboves recorded. Moreover, here is to be noted that  
the said King Ladislaus, thus dying without wife  
and issue, left behinde him two sisters alive, to wit,  
Elizabeth, which was married to Casimirus King

of Polonia; and Anna, married to William, Duke  
of Saxonie; Elizabeth by her husband Casimirus,  
King of Polonia, had Vladislaus, who at length  
was King of both Boheme and Hungarie. This  
Casimirus first was married to Beatrice, wife be-  
fore to Matthias. When being divorced from her by  
the dispensation of Pope Alexander, he married a  
new wife a Countesse of France, by whom he had  
two children, Lewis, and Anna: Lewis, which  
was her of both kingdomes, of Boheme and Hun-  
garie, wasaine fighting against the Turkes,  
Anna was married to Ferdinandus, by whom he  
was Archduke of Austria, King of Boheme, &c.

Sigismundus  
left only  
one Daugh-  
ter,

Elizabeth, Wife  
to Albertus Em-  
peror: who  
had three Chil-  
dren.

Ladislaus, King of Hun-  
garie, Boheme, and  
Austria.

Elizabeth, Wife of Casi-  
mirus, King of Polo-  
nie: who had

Anna, Wife, to William  
Duke of Saxon.

Vladislaus, King of Bo-  
heme and Hungarie:  
Who by his second  
Wife, Countesse of  
France, had

Ludovicus, King  
of Boheme and  
Hungarie.

Anne, Wife to  
Ferdinandus,  
Father to this  
Maximilian  
now Empe-  
rour.



War between  
Matthias and  
Fredericke the  
Emperour.

We heard before, how after the decease of Ladislaus the Hungarians by their election preferred Matthias, Iungnamed Corbinus, which was sonne of Huniades, to the kingdome of Hungary. For which cause dissention fell betweene Fredericke the Emperour and him, for that the said Fredericke was both nominated himselfe by diuers unto that kingdome, and also because he had the crowne of Hungary then remaining in his hands, which Elizabeth mother to King Ladislaus had brought to the Emperour, as was before declared. But this warre betweene them was ceased by the intercession of the Princes of Germany, so that Matthias ransomed that crowne of Fredericke for eight thousand Florences.

George Pogiebracius by the Pope deposed from his kingdome, for favouring of John Hus.

Not long after, Pope Innocent, being displeased with George Pogiebracius (or Wojebzacius) King of Bohemia, for favouring of John Hus and his religion, that is to say, for playing the part of a godly Prince, did excommunicate and depose him, conferring his kingdome to Matthias. But so soon as Fredericke the Emperour would not thereto consent, and especially after the death of the aforesaid George, when the Emperour and the Bohemians, leaving out Matthias, did nominate Vladislavus son of Casimirus King of Polonie, and of Elizabeth, to be king of Boheme, therefore great warre and trouble kindled betweene him and Fredericke the Emperour. Wherein the Emperour had utterly gone to ruine, had not Albertus Duke of Saronie, rescued the Emperour, and repressed the vehemency of Matthias.

Albert Duke  
of Saronie.

The noble acts  
of John and  
Matthias Hur-  
mades against  
the Turkes.  
Sirmium and  
the borders of  
Illyrica, recov-  
ered from the  
Turkes.

The noble acts of John Huniades, and of this Matthias his sonne, were not only great stayes to Hungary, but almost to all Christendome, in repelling backe the Turke. For beside the other victories of John Huniades the father aforesmentioned, this Matthias also his sonne succeeding no lesse in valiantnesse, then in the name of his father, did so recover Sirmium, and the confines of Illyrica, from the hands of the Turkes, and so banquished their power, that both Mahometes and also Bajazetes his sonne were informed to take for truce.

Tatza recov-  
ered.  
The subtilie  
practise of Sa-  
tan to stop good  
proceedings.

Over and besides, the same Matthias conducting his army into Bozna (which lieth South from Hungary) recovered againe Tatza, the principall towne of that kingdome, from the Turkes possession. Although other Christian Princes had joyned their helpees withall, would have proceeded farther into Thracia. But behold here the malicious subtilty of Satan, working by the Pope. For while Matthias was thus occupied in this expedition against the Turkes, wherein he should have been set forward and ayded by Christian Princes, and Bishops; the Bishop of Rome wickedly and sinfully ministereth matter of still discord betweene him and Pogiebracius aforesaid, in removing him from the right of his kingdome, and transferring the same to Matthias. Whereupon not onely the course of victory against the Turkes was stopped, but also great warre and bloodshed followed in Christian Realmes, as well betweene this Matthias, and Pogiebracius, with his two sons Vidorius and Henricus, as also betweene Casimirus, Vladislavus, and Matthias warring about Bratislava, till at length the matter was taken up by the Princes of Germany.

The Popes ex-  
communication  
not obeyed of  
divers in Bo-  
hemia.  
Matthias ad-  
joyned Bo-  
hemia and part  
of Slesia unto  
Hungarie.

Albeit, for all the execrable excommunication of the Pope against Pogiebracius, a great part of Boheme would not be removed from the obedience of their king, whom the Pope had cursed and deposed; yet Matthias took from him Moravia, and a great portion of Slesia, and adjoyned it to his kingdome of Hungary, An. 1474.

Anno  
1474.

Where this by the way is to be noted, that the religion in Bohemia, planted by John Hus, could not be extinguished or suppressed with all the power of foure mighty Princes, Innocentius, Sigismundus, Albertus and Vladislavus, notwithstanding they

with the Popes did therein what they possibly could; but still the Lord maintained the same, asperce by this Pogiebracius king of Boheme, whom the Pope could not utterly remove out of the kingdome of Bohemia.

This forementioned Matthias, beside his other memorable acts of Chivalry, is no lesse also commended for his singular knowledge and love of learning and of learned men, whom he with great expences procured into Pannonia; where by the meanes of good letters, and furniture of learned men, he reduced in short space the barbarous rudenesse of that Countrey into a flourishing common-wealth. Moreover such a Library he did there erect, and replenish with all kinde of Authoys, Sciences and Histories, which he caused to be translated out of Greeke into Latin, as the like is not thought to be found, next to Italy, in all Europe beside. Out of which Library we have received divers fragments of writers, as of Polybius, and Diodorus Siculus, which were not extant before, Ex Peucer.

The constant fortitude also of Georgius Pogiebracius, king of Boheme, is not unworthy of commendation; of whom also Pope Pius himselfe, in Descriptione Europe, doth honestly report (as a Pope may speake of a Protestant) in these words writing, Magnus vir alioqui, et rebus bellicis clarus, &c. Who although Pope Innocent did excommunicate with his children, yet he left not off the profession of the veritie and knowledge which he had received. Moreover, the Lord so prospered his armes, Vidorius and Henricus, that they subdued their enemies and kept their estate: In so much, that when Fredericke the Emperour at Vienna was in custody enclosed by the Citizens, Vidorius did restore and deliver him out of their hands. Wherefore the Emperour afterward advanced them to be Dukes. Also God gave them sometimes prosperous victory against Matthias, as at the Citie of Ologobia, &c.

After the decease of Georgius Pogiebracius king of Boheme, Fredericke the Emperour assigned that kingdome, not to Matthias upon whom the Pope had bestowed it before, but upon Vladislavus sonne of Casimirus king of Polonie, and of Elizabeth, daughter of the Emperour Albert, and sister to Ladislaus. For the which Matthias being discontented, and for that the Emperour had denied him his daughter Kunegunda, went about to exclude Vladislavus out of Boheme, and also proclaimed warre against Fredericke. But before he accomplished his purpose preparation, death prevented him, who without issue departed, Anno 1490.

After the death of Matthias departing without issue, Vladislavus sonne of Casimirus king of Polonie, and of Elizabeth daughter to Albert Emperour, and sister to King Ladislavus, married his wife Beatrix, whom Matthias left a widow, and with her was elected king of Hungary, with this condition made betweene him and Fredericke the Emperour, that if he dyed without lawfull issue, then the kingdomes of Hungary and of Boheme should returne to Marimilian sonne to Fredericus. But Vladislavus not long after did repudiate his wife Beatrix, and depriving her of her kingdome caused the said Beatrix to sweare and to consent to his marrying of another woman, which was the daughter of the French king, named Anne, procuring from Pope Alexander a dispensation for the same, as is before signified. By this Anne Vladislavus had Lewis, and Anne, which Anne afterward was married to Ferdinandus.

Lewis, succeeding after his father, had both the said kingdomes of Boheme and Hungary, Anno 1492. and married Mary, sister to Charles the fifth Emperour. Anne, as is said, was coupled to Ferdinandus, &c.

Of Charles Duke of Burgoine somewhat was before touched, who had married King Edwards

KING  
EDW. 4.  
The religion of  
the Bohemians  
defended by  
God against  
the foure great  
Princes in  
Europe.

Matthias a  
great lover of  
learning and of  
learned men.

The noble Li-  
brary of Ma-  
thias king of  
Hungarie.  
Ex s. h. Peu.

Commendati-  
on of George  
Pogiebracius.  
Ex p. h. Peu.  
Descriptione  
Europe  
Gods favour to  
the sonnes of  
Pogiebracius.

The death of  
Pogiebracius.

Vladislavus,  
Casimirus sonne,  
made king of  
Hungarie.

Vladislavus for  
takeh his first  
wife.  
Dispensation  
from Pope A-  
lexander so far  
like his first  
wife, and to  
marry another.  
Ludobicus  
Vladislavus sonne,  
king of Hunga-  
rie and Bo-  
heme.



**KING**  
**EDW. 4.**  
Between Charles  
Duke of Bur-  
goyne and Fre-  
dericke the  
Emperour.

After; and what troubles by him were stirred up in France, partly was before notified. This Charles after he had besieged the city, Pavia, or Robasium, the space of a whole yeere, went about to alienate the territory of Colon, from the Empire to his owne Dominion: wherefore war began to be moved betwene him and Fredericke the Emperour. At length through communication had, peace was concluded, and a marriage appointed betwene Mary the only daughter of Charles, and Maximilian the Emperours son, Anno 1475. Then from Robasium, Charles leadeth his army toward Helvetia, against the Henatus or Reinhardus Duke of Lotharing: then against the Helvetians, where he being thrice overcome, first at Granfon, then at Horatum or Murta, in the higher part of Helvetia, at last at the towne of Pansie, was overthrowne and slaine, An. 1477. The procurer of which warres was chiefly Lewis the eleventh, the French King, to the intent he might compass the Dominion of Burgundy under his subjection, which afterward by open wrong and privy fraud he brought about, defrauding Mary the daughter of Charles, of her rightfull inheritance; for the which cause the Burgundians were the more willing to joyne her marriage with Maximilian, son of Fredericke the Emperour: by reason whereof the title of Burgundy was first joynd to the house of Austria.

**Anno**  
**1475.**  
Charles Duke  
of Burgoyne  
slaine in war.

**Anno**  
**1477.**

Very dang-  
er of Charles  
of Burgoyne  
married to  
Maximilian.

War and dis-  
sention among  
Christian  
Princes.

The discord of  
Christians  
scourged by the  
Turkes.

Discord and  
dissention in  
the Church  
noted.

Ambition and  
avarice of the  
Church of  
Rome.

And thus have you the miserable verations and contentions among our Christian Princes here in Europe described, under the raigne of this Fredericke the third Emperour, so that almost no angle or portion of all Christendome (whether we consider the State of the Church, or civill government) was free from discord, tumults, and dissensions. This cankered worme of ambition so mightily creepeth, and every where prevaileth in these latter ends of the world, that it suffereth neither rest in Commonweales, nor peace in the Church, nor any sparkle of charity almost to remaine in the life of men. And what marvell then, if the Lord seeing us so far to degenerate, not only from his precepts and counsels, but almost from the sense and bond of nature, that brother with brother, uncle with nephew, blood with blood cannot agree, in striving, killing, and fighting for worldly Dominions, do send therefore these cruell Turkes upon us, so to scourge and devour us? Of whose bloody tyranny and daily spilling of Christian blood hereafter (by the grace of Christ) we will discourse more at large, when we come to the peculiar consideration of the Turkish stories. In the meane time this shall be for us to note and observe not so much the scourge how grievous it is; but rather to behold the causes which bring the whip upon us, which is our owne miserable ambition and wretched wars among our selves.

And yet if this Christian peace and love, left and commended to heartily unto us by the mouth of the Sonne of God, being now banished out of Christian Realmes and civill government, might at least finde some refuge in the Church, or take Sanctuary among men professing nothing but Religion, lesse cause we had to mourne. Now so it is, that as we see little peace and amity among civill Potentates, so lesse we finde in the spiritual foot of them, which chiefly take upon them the administration of Christs Church. So that it may well be doubted whether the scourge of the Turke, or the civill sword of Princes have slaine more in the fields, or the Popes Keyes have burnt more in towncs and cities. And albeit such as be possessed to the Church do not fight with sword and Target for Dominions and rebewels, as Warlike Princes do; yet this ambition, pride and avarice, appeareth in them nothing inferior; unto other worldly potentates; especially if we behold and advise the doings and insatiable desires of the Court of Rome. Great argument and proofe hereof neither is hard to be found, nor farre to be sought,

What Realme almost through all Christendome hath not onely fixe with their eyes, but have felt in their purses the ambition intolerable, and avarice insatiable of that devouring Church; and also have complained upon the grievance thereof, but never could be redressed? What cractions and extortions have bene here in England out of Bishopricks, Monasteries, Benefices, Deanries, Archdeacons, and all other offices of the Church, to fill the Popes coffers? and when they had all done, yet every yeere brought almost some new invention from Rome to fetch in our English money and if all the floods in England (yea in all Europe) did run into the Sea of Rome, yet were that Ocean never able to be satisfied.

In France likewise what floods of money were swallowed up into this Sea of Rome? It was openly complained of in the Councell of Basil, as is testified by Henry Token, Canon and Ambassadour of the Archbishop of Spardenburge, written in his booke intituled *Kapulari*, where he writteth that in the Councell of Basil, Anno, 1436, the Archbishop of Lions did declare, that in the time of Pope Martine there came out of France to the Court of Rome, nine millions of gold, which was gathered of the Bishops and Prelates, besides those which could not be counted of the poore Clergy, which daily without number ran unto the Court of Rome, carrying with them all their whole substance. The Archbishop of Turonne said also at Basil, in the yeare of our Lord 1439, that three millions of gold came into Rome in his time, within the space of 14 yeeres, from the Prelates and Prelacies, whereof no account could be made, beside the poore Clergy which daily run to that court. Let the man which feareth God judge what a devouring gulf this is. A million containeth x. C. M.

And what made Pope Pius the second to labour so earnestly to Helves the eleventh, the French King (who as is aforesaid was a great enemy to the house of Burgoyne) that he would (according to his former promise) abolish and utterly ertinguish the constitution established before at the Councell of Vistures, by King Charles the seventh his predecessor, called *Pragmatica Sanctio*; but only the ambition of that Sea, which had no measure, and their avarice which had no end? The story is this: King Charles the seventh the French King, willing to obey and follow the Councell of Basil, did summon a Parliament at Vistures; where by the full consent of all the States in France, both spirituall and Temporall, a certaine constitution was decreed and published, called *Pragmatica Sanctio*; wherein was comprehended briefly the pith and effect of all the canons and decrees concluded in the Councell of Basil. The which constitution the said King Charles willed and commanded through all his Realme inviolably to be observed and ratified, for the Honour and increase of Christian religion for ever. This was Anno 1438.

It followed that after the decease of the foresaid Charles the seventh, succeeded King Lewis the eleventh, who had promised before, being Dolphin, Pope Pius, that if he ever came to the Crowne, the foresaid *Sanctio Pragmatica* should be abolished. Whereupon Pius hearing him to be crowned, did send unto him John Balbens a Cardinall, with his great letters patent, willing him to be mindfull of his promise made. The King either willing, or else pretending a will to performe, and accomplish that he had promised, directed the Popes letters patent, with the said Cardinall, to the Councell of Paris, requiring them to consult upon the cause.

Thus the matter being brought and proposed in the Parliament House, the Kings attorney named Joannes Romanus, a man well spoken, singularly witted and well reasoned, stepping forth, with great eloquence and no lesse boldnesse, proved

The Sea of  
Rome is turned  
into an Ocean,  
that hath no  
bottom.

The Sea of  
Rome is turned  
into an Ocean,  
that hath no  
bottom.

A million  
containeth  
x. C. M.

*Pragmatica  
Sanctio.*

En Ioan. Maria  
Bolognese  
Mat. C. Const.  
lib. 1. cap. 24.

Pope Pius  
promised  
that  
*Pragmatica  
Sanctio*  
should be  
abolished.



the said sanction to be profitable, holy and necessary for the wealth of the Realme, and in no case to be abolished. Unto whose sentence the Universitie of Paris adjoining their consent did appeale from the attempts of the Pope to the next generall Councell. The Cardinal understanding this, tooke no little indignation hereat, setting and fanning, and threatening many terrible things against them; but all his minatorie words notwithstanding, he returned againe to the King, his purpose not obtained. Anno 1438. Ex Ioan Mario.

Thus the Popes purpose in France was disappointed, which also in Germany had come to the like effect, if Fredericke the Emperour had there done his part likewise toward the Germanes; who at the same time, bewailing their miserable estate, went about with humble suite to perswade the Emperour that he should no longer be under the subjection of the Popes of Rome, except they had first obtained certaine things of them as touching the charter of appeales; declaring their estate to be far worse (although undescribed) then the Frenchmen or Italians; whose servants (and especially of the Italians) they are worthy to be called, except that their estate were altered. The nobles and communalitie of Germany did instantly intreate with most weighty reasons and examples, both for the utility and profit of the Empire, to have the Emperours ayde and helpe therein, for that which he was bound unto them by an oath: alledging also the great dishonour and ignominie in that they alone had not the use of their owne lawes, declaring how the French nation had not made their suite unto their King in vaine against the exactions of Popes; by whom they were defended: which also provided decrees and ordinances for the liberty of his people, and caused the same to be observed; the which thing the Emperour ought to foresee within his Empire, and to provide for his people and states of his Empire, as well as other things doe: for what shall come to passe there, by, if that foraigne nations having recourse unto their Kings, being relieved and defended by them from the said exactions, and the Germanes, and States of the Empire flying unto their Emperour, be by him forsaken or rather betrayed and deprived of their owne lawes and decrees? The Emperour being moved, and partly overcome by their persuasions, promised that he would provide no lesse for them, then the King of France had done for the Frenchmen, and to make decrees in that behalfe. But the grave authority of Aeneas Sylvius, as Platina writeth in the History of Pius the second, brake off the matter; who by his subtle and pestiferous persuasions did so bewitch the Emperour, that he condemning the equall, just, and necessary requests of his subjects, chose the said Aeneas to be his Ambassador unto Calixtus then newly chosen Pope, to sweare unto him in his name, and to promise the absolute obedience of all Germany, as the onely country (as they call it) of obedience, neglecting the ordinances and decrees of their country, as before he had done unto Eugenius the 4. being Ambassador for the said Fredericke, promising that he and all the Germanes would be obedient unto him from hence forth in all matters, as well spirituall as temporall.

Thus twice Fredericke of Austrich contented and deceived the Germanes, and frustrating them of their native decrees and ordinances brought them under subjection and bondage of the Pope; which partly was the cause that seven yeres before his death, he caused his sonne Maximilian, not onely to be chosen, but also crowned King of Romanes, and did associate him to the ministration of the Empire, lest after his death (as it came to passe) the Empire should be transported into another family, suspecting the Germanes, whom he had twice contrary to his lawes made subject and in bondage unto the Popes exactions; first before he was crowned in the

time of Eugenius the fourth, and againe the second time after his coronation, and death of Pope Nicolas the fifth, denying their requests. Whereupon Germany being in this miserable poverty and grievous subjection under the Popes tyranny and polling, with teares and sighes lamenting their estate, continued so almost unto Luthers time: as the histories here, after following do testifie.

And here ceasing with the story of Fredericke, we will now proceed to the raigne of Maximilian his son, omitting divers things else incident in the time of this Emperour; as first touching the unbrotherly contention and conflicts betwene this Fredericke and Albertus his brother, and Sigismundus his uncle, for the Dukedome of Austria, after the death of Matthias afore mentioned. Omitting also to speake of the long and cruell warre betwene the Hungarians and Polonians, with the religious sect of them, which were called Tentones fratres sancte Marie, in the time of Vladislavus: Omitting also the strife and variance for the Dukedome of Millatie, betwene Fredericke the Emperour, Alfonso, Carlos Duke of Dileance, and Francisus Sforzia: And how the said Dukedome being after given to Sforzia, great wars were kindled and long continued betwene Sforzia and the Milenens, then betwene the Milenens and Venetians, and after betwene the Frenchmen and the Milenens. All which tumults and commotions, as not pertinent greatly to the purpose of this story, I refer to other writers, where they are to be found more amply discoursed.

This as more properly belonging to the story of the Church, I thought good not to passe over, touching such as were condemned, and suffered the paines of fire for testimony of Christ and his truth. Of whom one was John a Pastor or a Sheppard, which was a keeper of cattell: The other was Ioannes de Alsalia, although not burned, yet persecuted near to death, under the raign of this Emper. Fredericus 3. And first touching this John the Sheppard, thus writeth Sebast. Munsterus, That the Bishop of Heribolis condemned and burned for an heretike one John, which was a keeper of cattell at a towne called Nicolas Hausen in Franconia, because he taught and held that the life of the clergy was ignominious and abominable before God, Ex Munster.

The other was Doctor Ioannes Alsalia, who was complained upon unto Dietherus, the Archbishop of Mentz, by the Thomists, upon certaine articles and opinions gathered out of his books. Wherefore the said Dietherus, fearing else to be deposed againe from his Bishopricke, directeth forth commission to the Universities of Heidelberge and Colen, to have the matter in examination; who convening together the yere above mentioned, called this Doctor de Alsalia before them, making him to sweare that he should present and give up all his treatises, workes and writings, whatsoever he had made or preached; that being done, they divided his books amongst themselves, secretly every man to finde out what here lies and errors they could. His Articles and opinions are these:

That all men be saved freely, and through meere grace by faith in Christ. Free will to be nothing. That we should only beleieve the word of God, and not the glosse of any man, or fathers. That the word of God is to be expounded with the collation of one place with another. That Prelates have no authority to make lawes, nor to expound the Scriptures by any peculiar right given them more than to another. That mens traditions, as fastings, pardons, feasts, long prayers, peregrinations and such like, are to be rejected. Extreame unclean and confirmation to be reproved; confession and satisfaction to be reprehended. The Primacy of the Pope also he affirmed to be nothing.

Certaine other articles also were gathered out of him by his adversaries, but in such sort that they may seeme rather to follow their owne malicious gath-

KING }  
E.D.W.4 }

Feid. Albertus his brother, and Sigismundus strike for the Dukedome of Austria. War between Francisus Sforzia and the Venetians about Millaine. War between the French King, and the Duke of Millaine.

John Meate head of Franciscans martyred.

Anno }  
1476 }

John de Alsalia persecuted. Anno }  
1479 }

The articles and opinions of John de Alsalia. Free will no thing. Prelates have no more power over scriptures than other men. Extreame unclean reproved. Against the primacy of the Pope.

The council of Paris appeareth from the Pope to the generall council. vide supra.

The complaint of the Germanes to the Emperour, for helpe and ayde against the oppression of the Pope.

Fredericke made the Germanes twice subject unto the Pope.



**SKING** } gathering, than any true intelligence of his minde;  
**EDW.4** } whereof more is to be understood in this proceſſe  
 hereafter.

Thus when Wefeliamus was commanded to appear, there convened together firſt the Archbiſhop, the Inquiſitor, the Doctors of Coſen, and the Doctors of Heidelburge, with the maſters of the ſame, and the Rector of the Univerſity of Hentz, the Deane of Faculties, Bachelors of Divinity, and many other maſters of the ſame Univerſity, Canons, Doctors, with the Biſhops Chancelloz, and his Counſelloz, beſides many religious Prelates, Scholars, with a Doctor of Franckfort, the Sumner and Bedles which all met together in the great hall of the Spina-rites for the examination of this Io. de Wefelia.

The Inquiſitor  
 ſpeakes.

Frier Elton the Inquiſitor firſt ſitteth in the high-  
 eſt place, then after him others according to their  
 degree. In the beginning of the examination, firſt  
 the Inquiſitor beginneth with theſe words: Moſt re-  
 verend father and honorable Doctors, &c. Our reve-  
 rend father and Prince Cleoz hath cauſed this pre-  
 ſent convocation to be called, to heare the examina-  
 tion of Maſter Io. de Wefelia, in certaine ſuſpe-  
 cted Articles concerning the Catholike faith. But  
 ſomething I will ſay before, that may do him good,  
 and deſire that two or three of them that favor him, or  
 ſome other will riſe up and give him counſell to for-  
 ſake and leave his errors, to recognize himſelfe, and  
 to aſke pardon; which if he will doe, he ſhall have  
 pardon; if he will not, we will proceed againſt him  
 without pardon. And thus Wefeliamus being cited  
 and brought in the miſt betwixt two Spinorites,  
 being very aged, and having a ſtaffe in his hand,  
 was ſet before the Inquiſitor. Who beginning to  
 answer for himſelfe with a long profeſſation, could  
 not be ſuffered to proſecute his Oration, but was  
 cut off, and required briefly to make an end, and to  
 tell them in few words whether he would ſtand to  
 his opinions, or to the determination of the Church.  
 To this he answered, that he never ſpoke any thing  
 againſt the determination of the Church, but ſaid,  
 that he had written divers and ſundry treatiſes,  
 in the which if he had erred, or were found to ſay  
 otherwiſe than well, he was contented to reboke and  
 call backe the ſame, and do all things that were re-  
 quiſite. When ſaid the Inquiſitor, do you aſke then  
 pardon: the other answered, why ſhould I aſke  
 pardon, when I know no crime or error committed?  
 The Inquiſitor ſaid, well, we will call you to the  
 remembrance thereof, and proceed to the exami-  
 nation.

The cruel pro-  
 ceeding of the  
 Inquiſitor.

In the meane time others called upon him in-  
 ſtantly to aſke pardon. When ſaid Wefeliamus, I  
 aſke pardon. Notwithſtanding the Inquiſitor pro-  
 ceeded to the examination, reading there two inſtru-  
 ments, declaring that he had authority from the Ap-  
 poſtolike ſea: after this he cited the ſaid Io. to  
 appeare to his examination. Thirdly, he comman-  
 ded him under paine of diſobedience, in the vertue  
 of the holy Ghost, and under paine of excommuni-  
 cation of the greater curſe, (from the which no man  
 could obſolve him, but only the Pope, or the Inqui-  
 ſitor, except only at the point of death) to tell plain-  
 ly the truth upon ſuch things as ſhould be demanded  
 of him concerning his faith, without ambages and  
 ſophiſtication of words. And ſo being demanded firſt  
 whether he did beleve upon his oath taken, that he  
 was bound to tell the truth, although it were againe  
 himſelfe or any other, to this he answered, Scio, that  
 is, I know. When the Inquiſitor biddeth him ſay  
 Credo, that is, I beleve. To which he answered  
 againe, what need I ſay that I beleve that thing  
 which I know? Here the Inquiſitor ſomething ſtir-  
 red with the maſter, as hot aſa tolle (as they ſay)  
 cryed with a loud voyce, maſter Ioannes, maſter  
 Ioannes, maſter Ioannes, ſay Credo, ſay Credo.  
 Then he answered, Credo.

After this, being demanded whether he had writ-

ten any treatiſe, concerning the binding of humane  
 lawes, to one Nicolas of Bohemie and whether he  
 had written any treatiſe of the Eccleſiaſtical power  
 of indulgences and pardons, and of ſuch and o-  
 ther treatiſes: he answered, that he believed that he  
 had ſo written, and had conferred with divers learned  
 men: alſo that he had ſent to the Biſhop of Moynes  
 a certaine treatiſe of ſalving.

Many other interrogatories were miniſtered unto  
 him, whereof ſome were vaine, ſome falſe. Such as  
 were more principall here we will briefly touch, lea-  
 ving out ſuperfluities.

Being demanded whether he was a ſautoz of the  
 Bohemians: he ſaid he was not. Alſo being deman-  
 ded concerning the Sacrament of the holy body and  
 blood of our Lord, whether he thought Chriſt there to  
 be contained really, or only divinely, and whether he  
 did beleve in the ſaid Sacrament the ſubſtance of  
 bread there to remaine, or only the forme thereof:  
 to this he answered, not denying but the body of  
 Chriſt was there really contained, and alſo that with  
 the body of Chriſt the ſubſtance of bread did re-  
 maine.

After this he was demanded his opinion concer-  
 ning religious men, as Monkes, Nuns, or Beg-  
 gines, whether he thought them to be bound to the  
 vow of chaſtity, or to the keeping of any other vow,  
 and whether he ſaid to the friers Spinorites any ſuch  
 word in effect: I cannot ſave you in this your ſtate  
 and order. This he confeſſed that he had ſaid, holy  
 that not your religion ſaveth you, but the grace of  
 God, &c. not ſaving but they might be ſaved.

Item, being required whether he beleved or had  
 written that there is no mortall ſinne, but which is  
 expreſſ to be mortall in the canon of the holy Bible  
 to this he answered, that he did ſo beleve as he hath  
 written, till he was better informed. Likewiſe be-  
 ing required what he thought of the Vicar of Chriſt  
 in earth, he answered, that he beleved that Chriſt  
 left no Vicar in earth; For the confirmation where-  
 of he alledged and ſaid, that Chriſt ascending up to  
 heaven, ſaid, Ecce ego vobiſcum ſum, &c. Behold I  
 am with you, &c. In the which words he plainly de-  
 clared, that he would ſubſtitute under him no Vicar  
 here in earth; and ſaid moreover, if a vicar ſignified  
 any man which in the abſence of the principall hath  
 to doe the workes of the principall, then Chriſt hath  
 no Vicar here in earth.

In like manner, concerning indulgences and  
 pardons, ſuch as the Church doth uſe to give, they  
 demanded of him, whether they had any efficacy,  
 and what he thought thereof: who answered againe,  
 that he had written a certain treatiſe of that matter,  
 and what he had written in that treatiſe, he would  
 perſiſt therein; which was this; that he beleved  
 that the treaſure bore of the merits of Saints could  
 not be diſtributed of the Pope to others, becauſe  
 that treaſure is not left here in earth, for ſo it is writ-  
 ten in the Apocalypſ, Opera enim illorum ſequuntur  
 illos, &c. that is, their workes follow them.

Item, that their merits could not be applied to  
 other men, for the ſatiſfaction of their paine due unto  
 them; and therefore that the Pope and other Pre-  
 lates cannot diſtribute that treaſure to men.

It was objected to him moreover, that in the ſaid  
 his treatiſe he called pardons, and indulgences: Pias  
 fraudes fidelium, that is, holy fraudes and deceits of  
 the faithfull.

Alſo being demanded what he thought of the hal-  
 lowing and bleſſing of altars, chalices, veſtiments,  
 ware candles, palines, herbes, holy water, and other  
 divine things, &c. He answered, that they had no  
 ſpirituall vertue and power in them to drive away  
 devils, and that holy water hath no more efficacy  
 then other water not hallowed, as concerning re-  
 miſſion of veniall finnes, and driving away devils  
 and other effects, which the ſcholar doctors doe attri-  
 bute to it.

His opinion of  
 the Sacrament  
 of the body  
 and blood.

His opinion of  
 Monkes and  
 Nuns.  
 The vow of  
 chaſtity.

What all An-  
 gels by the  
 Pope, beſide  
 the which is  
 expreſſed to be  
 mortall in the  
 Scripture.

What is this  
 article, but to  
 make the pope  
 a god?  
 Chriſt left no  
 vicar in earth.

Pardons and  
 indulgences be  
 of no effect.

The treaſure of  
 Saints merits  
 is not in earth.

This ſaying  
 was taken out  
 of one Cantor  
 Barentius,  
 which was  
 wont to ſay,  
 that pardons  
 were holy de-  
 vils, becauſe  
 that lay men  
 were were pre-  
 ſented, by  
 naughty de-  
 ceits, to give  
 good almes.

Item,

Item,

Scio.

Credo.



Degrees in  
Scripture for  
bidden to mar-  
ry.

Nothing to be  
believed, but  
which is in  
Scripture con-  
tained.

The church gi-  
veth witness  
who were the  
writers of the  
Scriptures, but  
hath no autho-  
rity above that  
which is writ-  
ten.

By this inqui-  
sition, Christ  
himself might  
be condemned.

Ex Orth. Grat.  
Ex Paralip.  
Ab. V. 1. 1. 1.

It seem be-  
lieved Reals  
and Nominales.

Ex Orth. Grat.

Item, for degrees of marriage forbidden in the Scriptures, he belæveth that all Christian men un-  
der deadly sin are bound unto the same.

Item, that he belæveth that God may give grace to a man, having the use of reason, without all motion of freewill. Also he thinketh that Saint Paul in his conversion did nothing of his owne free will for his conversion. He belæveth moreover, that God may give such grace to a man having the use of reason, not doing that which in him is.

Item, he affirmed that nothing is to be believed which is not contained in the canon of the Bible.

Also, that the elect are saved only by the grace of God.

Besides all these, moreover he was charged with the old opinion of the Sectarians, which they did hold contrary to the Romane Church, unto the time of the Council of Ferraria above mentioned, concerning the proceeding of the holy Ghost.

The Wednesday next following, three Doctors, the Suffragane, Herwicus and Jacobus Sprenger, were sent unto him with persuasions to eras him; and when he would not stand to their Canons, whereby they went about to refute his doctrine, he was then demanded of Herwicus, why he would be-  
leæve rather the four Evangelists, than the Gospell of Hierodamus. To whom he answered, because he would. Being asked againe why he belæved the four Evangelists, he said, because he so received of his parents. Then being demanded, why he would not belæve the Doctors; because (said he) their doctrine is not canonically Scripture. Again, it was to him objected, why he would be credited himselfe when he preached; seeing he would not be-  
leæve the holy Doctors? To whom he answered in this wise, saying, that he did preach as his duty was; but whether they gave credit to his words, he did not care.

This examination being ended, after these arti-  
cles were condemned by the Inquisitor and his assistants, then said he after this manner: As you do with me, if Christ himselfe were here, he might be condemned as an heretike. After this they sent di-  
vers to him to have communication with him, and to persuade him, sending also to him with his Articles a forme of asking pardon: at length, within three or four days after, he was content to con-  
descend unto them, and to submit himselfe to their holy mother Church, and the information of the Do-  
ctors. In the Booke of Orthuinus Gratius, and in Paralipomena, adjoined to Abbas Vrspergensis, we reade these words written of this Ioannes de Wefalia, Dempto solo articulo de processione spiritus sancti in aliis videtur non ita gravi censura, &c. That is, except only the Article of the proceeding of the holy Ghost, in other Articles it seemeth that he was not to be chastened with so sharpe censure, if respite and space had bene given him, if god coun-  
sellors had bene about him, if all they which did ac-  
cuse and molest him had not bene de via realium, as Thomists, that is, of the sect of Thomists; which Thomists were set at that time against the other sect of the seculars, which were called Nominales, and therefore, they so spited this Doctor, because he did not hold with their Thomists, against whom other-  
wise (had it not bene for that cause) they would ne-  
ver have bene so fierce and malicious in proceeding against him. I take God to witness, which knoweth all things, that this processe which was made against him, for his revoking and burning of his books, did greatly displease master Engeline of Buns-  
sweike a great Divine, and also master John Ket-  
tersburge, being both learned and famous men; but namely master Engeline thought, that too much malice and rashnesse was shewed in handling of that same man, and did not feare to say, that many of his articles, and the greater part thereof might be holden well enough, and greatly blamed the mad

and phantastickall dissension of the Thomists, seeking by all manner of waies how to get the triumph over the secular Divines, &c. Hæc ille.

Although this aged and feeble old man by weak-  
nesse was constrained to give over unto the Romish clergy by outward profession of his mouth, yet not withstanding, his opinions and doctrine declared his inward heart, of what judgement he was, if feare of death present had not enforced him to say  
10 otherwise than he did thinke. Again, although he had revoked after their mindes, yet we read no such forme of recantation to be prescribed to him to read openly unto the people, as the use is here in Eng-  
land. The story of this man is more fully to be found in the books of Orth. Gratius, &c.

As touching the raigne of this Fredericke Empe-  
rour, seeing we have comprehended hitherto suffi-  
ciently the most principall matters in his time in-  
current, we will now passe forward (the Lord gui-  
ding us) to Maximilian, after I have first given a  
brieffe memorandum of three valiant Princes and cap-  
taines, flourishing in the same time of this Freder-  
ricke in Germany: Of the which, one was Albert  
Duke of Saxony; who for his renowned and fa-  
mous acts, was called by publike voyce, Dextera  
manus Imperij, The right hand of the Empire. The  
other was Albert, Marquess of Brandenburg, to  
whom also the name was attribute, named of Pope  
Pius to be Achilles Germanicus. The third, was  
30 Fredericke Earle Palatine, surnamed Victori-  
sus, who manfully defended the freedom and mase-  
sty of the Empire, from the fraudulent oppressions  
of the Popes tyranny.

In the yeere of our Lord 1484, in this Emperours  
time died Pope Sixtus the fourth, a little before ten-  
ched, a monster rather of nature, than a prelate of  
the Church. Of him writeth Platina, that unjustly  
he vexed all Italy with war and dissension. Agrip-  
pa writing of him, saith, that among all the badges  
of these other latter dayes, which were builders of  
brother houles, this Pope Sixtus the fourth sur-  
mounted all other; who at Rome erected a steeles  
of double abomination, not only of women, but  
also, &c. whereupon no small gaine redounded to his  
coffers. For every such common harlot in Rome  
paid him a July piece, the summe whereof grew  
in the yeere, some while to 2000, at length to forty  
thousand Duckets. Whereunto accordingly right well  
the Epitaph of John Sapidus, which in the end here-  
of we will annex.

John Carion also, speaking of this Bishop, in-  
neseth him to be a man rather bozne to warre than  
to religion. For he warred against Vitellius. Tip-  
hernates, against the Florentines, the Venetians,  
whom he excommunicated, and did not absolve till  
he died: also against Columeniss, against Ferdi-  
nandus king of Apulia, and Duke of Calabria; also  
against other nations and Princes moe. Ex Ioan.  
Laziardo.

Of the said Pope it is recorded, that he was a spe-  
ciall patron and tutor to all begging friers, gran-  
ting them to have and enjoy revenues in this world,  
and in the world to come everlasting life. Among the  
which friers there was one named Alanus de rupe,  
a blache frier, which made the Rosary of our Ladies  
Walster (so they terme it) and erected a certaine new  
fraternity upon the same, called Fraternitas Co-  
ronariorum, pertaining to the order of the Domi-  
nicks, of the which order Iacobus Sprenger, one of  
the condemners of Ioannes de Wefalia above men-  
tioned, was a great advancer, and especially this  
Pope Sixtus the fourth, who gave to the said frater-  
ni- ties large graces and privileges.

Concerning the institution of this Rosary,  
there was a booke set forth about the yeere of our  
Lord 1480. In the beginning whereof is declared,  
that the blessed Virgin entered into the Cell of  
this Alanus, and was so familiar with him, that  
not

KING  
EDW. 4.

Doctor John  
de Wefalia re-  
voketh his  
opinions.

Albert Duke of  
Saxony, called  
Dextera manus  
Imperij.  
Albert Mar-  
quess of Brand-  
enburg, called  
Achilles Ger-  
manicus.

Anno  
1484  
The abomi-  
nation of Pope  
Sixtus.  
Ex declamations  
Agrippe ad La-  
vianensis.

The wars of  
Pope Sixtus.

Ex Ioan. Lazi-  
ardo, lib. 1. 1. 1.  
A large gift of  
the Pope to the  
begging friers.  
Alanus, author  
of our Ladies  
Rosary.

Then had the  
blessed virgin  
bare two hundred  
bands.



{ KING }  
{ EDW. 5. }

An old knave  
to luche his  
wives best.

not only she did espouse him to her husband, but also  
kissed him with her heavenly mouth, and also for  
more familiarity opened to him her paps, and pour-  
red great plenty of her owne milke into his mouth.  
For the confirmation whereof the said Alanus, this  
holy babe (saith the story) did sweare deeply, curs-  
ing himselfe, if it were not thus as he had made  
relation.

This fabulous fgment when I read in the cen-  
turics of John Bale, I began with my selfe to mis-  
trust the credit thereof, and had thought not to trou-  
ble the Reader with such incredible forgeries. But  
as the providence of God worketh in all things, so  
also it appeared in this, that the very same booke  
came to my hands at the writing hereof, wherein  
this selfe same narration is contained, wherein I  
found not only this to be true, which in John Bale is  
expressed, but also found in like manner another  
wonder as prodigious as this; where in another  
place not farre off it is storied in the same booke, how  
that about the time of Saint Dominicke, there was  
a certaine matron in Spaine, named Lucia, which  
being taken captive by the Saracens, having her  
husband killed, was carried great with childe into the  
Turkish land.

When the time of her labour came, she being left  
desolate among beasts and hogs, and remembering  
this twice holy Mary, (first instituted, saith the  
booke, by Saint Dominicke, and afterward renewed  
by Alanus) esteemes the holy virgin was ready and  
stood by her, and received the childe at her travell,  
supplying all the partes of a diligent Midwife; and  
moreover causing a priest suddenly to appeare, she  
gave the childe to be Christened, calling it after her  
owne name, Marianus; and so was she wife to  
Alanus, Midwife to Lucia, and godmother to Ma-  
rianus. Which story if it be true, then is the Popes  
Canon by this example to be controlled, which per-  
mittech midwives in time of necessity to baptize, see-  
ing the blessed virgin, playing the part her selfe of a  
midwife, durst not baptize this childe without a priest.

It followeth more in the story, that by the helpe  
of the said blessed virgin, this Lucia our Ladies gos-  
sip, after her purification, was restored with her  
childe safe to her countrey againe. This booke, being  
in Latine and printed, beareth this title, Rolacea  
Augustissimæ Christiferae Mariæ corona; and in the  
front it sheweth the name of Iodocus Bisselajus, a  
noble man of Aquine. And this by the occasion of  
Pope Sixtus. Which Sixtus, what a maintainer of  
blind superstition he was, partly by that aspe spee-  
ken, partly by the end following it may be seene.  
For we reade in certaine Writers, that after this  
Pope had understanding that Hercules Estensis,  
Duke of Ferrara, had joyined peace with the We-  
netians against his will, he was so grieved there-  
with, that for rancor of minde, within five dayes af-  
ter, he died; wherunto his Epitaph following gi-  
veth sufficient record. About whose time also died  
Platina, a man not unlearned, but yet a shamefull  
flatterer and bearer with the wicked lives of the  
Popes.

### The Epitaph of Pope Sixtus is this.

Non potuit fœvum vis ulla extinguere Sixtum,  
Audito tandem nomine pacis obit.

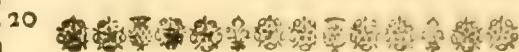
### Another Epitaph of the same Pope.

Sixte jaces tandem, nostri discordia fecit,  
Savisti in superos, nunc Acheronta move.  
Sixte jaces tandem, desent tua busta cinidi,  
Scortaque, lenones, alea, vina, venus.

### Another.

Gaude price Nero, vincit te crimine Sixtus,  
Hic scelus omne simul claudiscit, & vitium.

But leaving here Pope Sixtus with his barres  
and bices, let us now proceed as we before promised,  
to enter the story of Maximilian, keeping notwith-  
standing the order of our kings here in England.  
For a little before the raunge of Maximilian, King  
Edward the fourth ceased his life, An. 1483. after  
he had reigned twenty and two years. In the time of  
which King Edward this also is not to be forgotten,  
that one Burdet, a Merchant dwelling in Cheape-  
side, at the signe of the Crowne, which is now the  
signe of the flower-de-luce, merrily speaking to his  
sonne, said that he would make him inheritor of the  
Crowne, meaning indeed his owne house. For the  
which words King Edward causing them to be mis-  
construed, and interpreted as though he had meant  
the Crowne of the Realme, within lesse space than  
four hours he was apprehended, judged, beheaded,  
and quartered in Cheape-side.



## King Edward the fifth.



This King Edward left behinde King Edward  
him by his wife Elizabeth two the fifth.

sons, Edward and Richard, and  
two daughters, Elizabeth and Ci-  
cile. Which two sons Edward and  
Richard, so young as they were  
under age, and not ripe to go-  
verne a consultation, was called among the Peeres,  
to debate whether the foresaid young Prince  
and king should be under the government of his mother,  
or else that Richard Duke of Gloucester, brother  
to King Edward the fourth, and uncle to the childe,  
should be governour of the king, and protector of the  
Realme, there hath bene and is an old adage, the  
words whereof, rather then the true meaning, were  
rest out of Solomon, Vx regno ejus Rex est puer,  
&c. i. Woe to the kingdome, the king whereof is a  
childe, &c. But if I may finde leave herein to thrust  
in a glosse, I would adde this, and say, Vx illi puero,  
qui sui regni Rex non est. i. Woe to that childe, which  
is a R. in a kingdome unruly and ambitious. There  
was the same reason, among other noble peeres of the  
Realme, the Duke of Buckingham, a man of great  
authoritie, who had married King Edwards wives  
sister. Because the Duke being so near allied to the  
king, had bene unkindely (as he thought) of the R.  
entreated, having by him no advancement nor any  
great friendship shewed, according to his expectati-  
on, he took part therefore with Richard Duke of  
Gloucester, both against the Queen and her children,  
to make the foresaid Duke the chiefe governour and  
protector. The which thing being brought to passe by  
the aid, assistance, and working of the Duke of Buc-  
kingham, the Queen took sanctuary with her youn-  
ger son, the elder brother, which was the king, remain-  
ed in the custody of the Duke of Gloucester his un-  
cle. Who, being now in a good forwardnesse to obtain  
that which he long looked for, sought all the means,  
and some compassed the matter by false colour of dis-  
sembled words, by perjurie, and labour of friends,  
namely of the Duke of Buckingham, and the Car-  
dinall Archbishop of Canterbury, that the other  
brother also should be committed to his credit. Thus  
the ambitious protector and unnatural Uncle, ha-  
ving the possession of his two nephewes, and im-  
mortal Babes, thought himselfe almost up the wheele  
where he would climbe; although he could not walk  
in such mists and clouds, but his debbled purposes  
began to be espied: which caused him more covertly  
to goe about to remove from him all suspicion, and  
to blinde the peoples eyes. But before he could ac-  
complish his execrable enterprise, some there were,

Richard Duke  
of Gloucester  
made protec-  
tor.  
The young king  
committed to  
the Duke of  
Gloucester.

The Duke of  
Buckingham a  
great doer for  
the protector.  
Both king Ed-  
wards children  
in the possession  
of the protector.

Richard Duke  
of Gloucester  
made protec-  
tor.  
The young king  
committed to  
the Duke of  
Gloucester.

The Duke of  
Buckingham  
made protec-  
tor.

Reclamo.

The detestable  
impety and  
blasphemy of  
the popish lying  
religion.

Academem me-  
moria esse oportet.

Ex Latino Co-  
dice impresso, cui  
titulus, Rolacea  
Mariæ Coronæ.

The death of  
Pope Sixtus  
the fourth.  
Here endeth  
Dintina.

70  
cent Babes, thought himselfe almost up the wheele  
where he would climbe; although he could not walk  
in such mists and clouds, but his debbled purposes  
began to be espied: which caused him more covertly  
to goe about to remove from him all suspicion, and  
to blinde the peoples eyes. But before he could ac-  
complish his execrable enterprise, some there were,  
Whom



whom he thought first must be rid out of the way, as namely, the lord Hastings, and the lord Stanley; who as they were sitting together in counsell within the Tower, the Protector (the matter being so appointed before) suddenly rushed in among them, and after a few words there communed, he suddenly hastened out againe; his minde belike being full of mischief and fury, was not quiet. Who within the space of an houre returned againe into the chamber with a sterne countenance and a frowning looke, and so there set him downe in his place. When the Lords were in great marbell and mule at the meaning hereof, then he out of a cankered heart thus began to brag, asking them, What are they worthy to have, which go about to imagine the destruction of him being so nere to the kings blood, and protector of the realme? At the which question as the other Lords late musing, the Lord Hastings, because he had been more familiar with him, thus answered, that they were worthy of punishment, whatsoever they were. Which when the other Lords also had affirmed, that is (quoth the Protector) ponder forceresse, my brothers wife meaning the Quene and other with her; adding moreover, and saying, that forceresse and other of her counsell, as Shores wife with her affinity, have by their witchcraft thus wasted my body, and therewith shewed forth his left arme a wearith withered thing, as it was never otherwise, as was well knowne.

This Shores wife had borne before a concubine to king Edward, and afterward was kept by the same Lord Hastings. Moreover here is to be noted, that by the consent of the said Lord Hastings, the cruell Protector had devised about the same time, the kindred of the Quene innocently to be beheaded at Pontrefret, of mere despite and hatred. Wherefore, this punishment not undeservedly, by the just hand of God, fell upon the Lord Hastings.

It followeth then more in the story, that when the Lord Hastings had heard of these false accusations of the tyrant, which he knew to be untrue; certainly (my Lord) said he, if they have so done, they be worthy of heinous punishment. Why, quoth the Protector, dost thou serbe me with if and with and? I tell thee they have so done, and that I will make good on thy body, traitor; and therewith giving a great rap on the browd (for a token or watchword) one cried treason without, and forthwith the chamber was full of harnessed men. The Protector then approaching to the Lord Hastings, arrested him as a traitor. Another let fly at the Lord Stanley; who to avoide the blow, shynke under the table, or else his head had been clef asunder: notwithstanding he received such a wound, that the blood ran about his eares. There were in that counsell the same time the Archbishop of Porke, and Doctor Boxton Bishop of Ely, (by whose procurement afterward king Henry the seventh was sent for into England, and he made Archbishop after that of Canterbury) these with the lord Stanley diversly were beset in divers chambers. The lord Hastings was commanded to speed and shibe him apace, for before dinner the Protector sware by Saint Paul that he should die; and so incessantly, without further judgement, his head was stricken off, by whose counsell the Quenes kindred were at the same time and day beheaded at Pontrefret.

After this tyrannous murder accomplished, the mischievous Protector aspiring still to the Crowne, to set his devices forward, first through gifts and faire promises did suborne Doctor Shaws a famous preacher then in London, at Pauls Crosse to insinuate to the people, that neither king Edward with his sons, nor the Duke of Clarence were lawfully begotten, nor the very children of the Duke of Porke, but begotten unlawfully by other persons in adultery on the Dutchesse their mother, and that he alone was the true and only lawfull heire of the

Duke of Porke. Moreover, to declare and to signifie to the audience, that king Edward was never lawfully married to the Quene, but his wife before was Dame Elizabeth Lucy, and so the two children of king Edward to be base and bastards, and therefore the title of the Crowne most rightly to pertaine to the lord protector. Thus this false flatterer and loud lying preacher, to serve the protectors humour, shamed not most impudently to abuse that holy place, that reverend auditoz, the sacred Word of God, taking for his theame, Adultera plantaciones non dabant radices altas, &c. which he most impudently did apply against the innocent children and right heires of the realme. Whereupon such grudge and disdain of the people with wondrous wonder followed him, that, for shame of the people crying out of him, in few daies after he pined away.

When this sermon would take no effect with the people, the protector, unmercifully drowned in ambition, rested not thus, but within few daies after excited the Duke of Buckingham, first to breake the matter in covert talke to the Major and certaine of the heads of the city picked out for the purpose; that done, to come to the Guildhall, to move the people by all flattering and lying persuasions to the same, which shamelesse shaw before had preached at Pauls Crosse. Which the Duke with all diligence and helpe of eloquence, being a man both learned and well spoken, endeavoured to accomplish, making to the people a long and artificiall oration, supposing no lesse but that the people allured by his crafty insinuations would cry, king Richard, king Richard. But there was no king Richard in their mouthes, lesse in their hearts. Whereupon the Duke looking to the lord Major, and asking what this silence meant, contrary to the promise of the one, and the expectation of the other; it was then answered of the Major, that the people peradventure well understood him not: wherefore the Duke, reiterating his narration in other words, declared againe that he had done before. Likewise the third time he repeated his oration againe and againe. When the commons which before stood mute, being now in amaze, seeing this importunity, began to mutter softly among themselves, but yet no king Richard could sound in their lips, save only that in the nether end of the hall certaine of the Dukes servants with one Passfield, and other belonging to the protector, suddenly at mens backs to cry king Richard, king Richard, throwing up their caps; whereat the citizens turning backe their heads, marvelled not a little, but said nothing.

The Duke and the Lord Major with that side, taking this for sufficient testimony, incontinent came blowing for haste to the Protector, then lying at Baynards Castle. Where the matter being made before was now so contrived, that forthwith humble petition was made in the name of the whole commons, and that with these sundry lutes, to the humble and simple Protector, that he, although it was utterly against his will to take it, yet would of his humilitie stoop so low, as to receive the heavy kings dome of England upon his shoulders. At this their tender request and sute of the lords and commons made (ye must know how) the milde Duke, seeing no other remedy, was contented at length to yield, although sore against his will (ye must so imagine) and to submit himselfe so low, as of a protector to be made king; not much herein unlike to our Prelates in the popish Church, who when they have before well compounded for the Popes bulls, yet must they for manner sake make courtesie, and thence deny that for which they so long before have gaped, and so sweetly have payed for.

{ KING }  
{ EDW. 5 }

Sapi. 4.  
Example for  
all flattering  
preachers to  
beware.

The Duke of  
Buckingham  
another mini-  
ster for the pro-  
tectors fury.

The Duke of  
Buckingham  
preacher for the  
protector in the  
Guildhall.

An hard thing  
to make the  
tongue speake  
against the  
heart.

A stolne con-  
sent in the  
Guildhall.

Fit of hypo-  
crite.

The hypocrite  
of the protector  
denying the  
crown's choice  
before he would  
take it.

King

The devilish  
Protector pic-  
keth quarrels.

The Quene  
and Shores  
wife falsly ac-  
cused of the  
protector to be-  
witch his arme.

Adultery puni-  
shed of God.

Murder justly  
punished of  
God.

Lord Hastings  
arrested for a  
traitor.  
Lord Stanley  
wounded.

Bishop Wor-  
ton.

The tyranny of  
the protector.

The lord Ha-  
stings behead-  
ed.

The heaillie  
protector accus-  
eth his owne  
mother.  
Doctor  
Shawes impu-  
dent sermon at  
Pauls crosse.



KING  
RIC. 3.

## King Richard 3. Usurper.

King Richard  
Usurper.

And thus Richard Duke of Glocester took upon him to be made and proclaimed King of England, the yeere aforesaid, An. 1583. in the moneth of June. Who then coming to the Tower by water, first made his sonne, a childe of ten yeer old, Prince of Wales, and John Haward (a man of great industry and service) he advanced to be Duke of Northfolke, and sir Thomas Haward his sonne he ordained Earle of Surrey. Also William Lord Barkley was appointed Earle of Nottingham. Francis Lord Lovell was made Viscount Lovell. A. Stanley for feare of his sonne was delibered out of the Tower, and made Steward of the Kings household. Likewise the Archbishop of York was set free: but Dorset Bishop of Ely was committed to the Duke of Buckingham, by whom was wrought the first device to bring in Henry Earle of Richmond into England, and to conjoyne marriage betwene Elizabeth King Edwards daughter and him, whereby the two Houses of York and Lancaster were united together.

King Richard  
crowned.

After the Kingdome of England was thus allotted to R. Richard the Usurper, as in manner above remembered, he tarried not long for his coronation, which was solemnized the moneth next ensuing, the sixth day of July.

The triumph and solemnity of his usurped coronation being finished, and all things to the same appertaining, this unquiet tyrant yet could not thinke himselfe safe, so long as young Edward the right King, and his brother, were alive; wherefore the next enterprize which he did set upon was this, how to rid those innocent Babes out of the way, that he might raigne King alone.

In the meane time while all this ruffling was in hand, what dread and sorrow the tender hearts of these fatherlesse and friendlesse children were in, what little joy of themselves, what small joy of life they had, it is not so hard as dolorous for tender hearts to understand. As the younger brother lingered in thought and heavinesse; so the Prince, which was eleven yeeres old, was so out of heart and so fraught with feare, that he never eyed his points, nor japed good day, till the traitterous impiety of their cruell Uncle had delibered them of their wretchednesse, which was not long in dispatching. For after King Richard their Uncle had first attempted to compassse his devillish device by Robert Brakenbury Constable of the Tower, and could not win him to such a cruell fact (so dye therefore) then he got one James Tyrill, joining with him J. Dighton, and Miles Forrest, to perpetrate this hainous murder. Which Dighton and Forrest, about midnight entring into their Chamber, so bewrapped and infangled them amongst the clothes, keeping down the featherbed and pillows hard unto their mouthes, that within a while they smothered and stifled them piously in their bed.

And thus ended these two young Princes their lives, through the wretched crueltie of these forenamed tormentors, who, for their detestable and bloody murder committed, escaped not long unpunished by the just hand of God. For first Miles Forrest, at S. Martins le grand, by peremiale miserably rotted away; John Dighton lived at Calis long after, so disdaind and hated, that he was pointed at of all men, and there dyed in great misery. Sir James Tyrill was beheaded at Tower-hill for treason. Also King Richard himselfe, within a yeere and a halfe after, was slaine in the field, hacked and helped of his

enemies hands, torne and turned like a cinne dor. Furthermore, the just iustice of Gods hand let not the Duke of Buckingham escape free, which was a great maintainer and setter up of this butcherly Usurper. for lesse then within a yeere after, he was wrought, that he was himselfe beheaded for treason by the said King, whom he so untruly before had advanced and set up.

In the same Catalogue and order of these wicked doers afoze recited, we have also to comprehend two other, as well worthy of memoriall, as the best, or rather as the worst. The name of the one was D. Shau above rehearsed. The other D. Pinkie, Provinciall of the Austen Friers, both famous Preachers, and both Doctors in Divinity, both of more learning then vertue (saith the story) of more fame then learning, and yet of more learning then truth. Shau made a Sermon in praise of the Protector, before his coronation. Pinkie preached at his coronation. Both were so full of tedious flattery, that no good eares could abide them. Pinkie in his Sermon so lost his voyce, that he was faine to loade off and came downe in the midst. D. Shau by his Sermon lost his honesty, and soon after his life, for very shame of the world, so that he never durst after that shew his face againe. But as for the frier, he was so farre past shame, that the losse thereof did lettle touch him. Mention was made a litle before of Doctor Dexton B. of Ely, by whose meanes the device was first broached, for the conspiring of the two houses of York and Lancaster together. This device was first brooken to the D. of Buckingham, which soon after cost him his life. But that Bishop, more crafty to save himselfe, incontinent fled into Brittain. Notwithstanding, the device once being broached was so plausible, and took such effect, that messinge was sent over the sea to Henry Earle of Richmond, by his mother and by the Queen, mother to the Lady Elizabeth, that if he would make his return, and promise to marry with the said Lady Elizabeth King Edwards daughter, he should be received. To make a longer discourse of this matter, which is sufficiently set forth by sir T. H. More so ornately, it neede h not.

Briefly (to contract that in a small compasse of words, which was not so small a thing in being) after that the Earle Henry, with such other banished men as fled out of England at the taking of the D. of Buckingham, had perfect intelligence by his mother, and by the Queen, and other friends more out of England, how the case of the Realme stood, and how it was here purposed by his friends, that is, that he should with all contentment speed haste his return over into England, promising to marry with Lady Elizabeth; he with all diligence, as time and preparation would serve, advanced forward his journey, being well helped and furnished by Francis Duke of Brittain, and so shipped his men. Albeit his first voyage sped not; for that, the winds turning contrary, by force of weather his ships were dispersed, and he repulsed back into France again. His second voyage was more prosperous. Who taking the seas at Harflet, in the moneth of August, An. 1485, accompanied onely with two thousand men, and a small number of ships, arrived at Bilsford Haven in Wales, and first came to Dale, then to Harfords well, where he was joyfully received, and also by the coming in of Arnold Luther and then Pembroke men was in power encreased. From thence he removing by Cardigan to Shrewesbury, and then to Newporth, and so to Stafford, from thence to Lichfield, his army still more and more augmented. Like as a great flood, by coming in of many small rivers, gathereth more abundance of water; so to this Earle divers noble Captaines and men of power adjoined themselves, as Richard Giffith, John Morgan, Sir ap Thomas, then Sir George Talbot, with the young Earle of Shrewesbury his ward, Sir Aill Stanley, Sir Thomas Murchier, and Sir Walter Hungerford,

The truth of  
Robert Brakenbury to his  
Prince.  
James Tyrill,  
John Dighton,  
Miles Forrest,  
cruell traitors,  
and murderers  
of their Prince.  
Young Princes  
the two children  
of King  
Edward murdered.  
The just punishment  
of God upon the  
murderers of  
them two.

The punishment  
of God  
upon King  
Richard.

Doctor Shau  
and Doctor  
Pinkie, two  
famous  
Preachers.

Gods iudgement  
upon  
these  
traitors.

The first motion  
of bringing  
the two houses  
together  
for the  
conspiracy.

Earle Henry  
making preparation  
toward  
his journey.

The arriving  
of Henry Earle  
of Richmond  
in Wales.



Hungerford, Knights. At the last the said Earle, hearing of the Kings coming, conducted his whole army to Tamworth.

King Richard first hearing of the arrivall of the Carle Henry in the parts of Wales after such a slender sort, did give little or no regard unto it. But after understanding that he was come to Leichfield without resistance or incumbrance, he was sore moved, and exceedingly toke on, cursing and crying out against them which had so deceived him, and in all post speed sent for John Duke of Northfolke, Henry Carle of Northumberland, Thomas Carle of Surrey, with other his friends of special trust. Robert Brakenbury, also Lieutenant of the Tower was sent for, with Sir Tho. Burchier, and Sir Walter Hungerford, with certain other knights and Esquiers, of whom he partly misdoubted, or had some suspicious jealousie. Thus K. Richard after most forcible manner well fortified and accompanied, leaving nothing undone that diligence could require, set forward toward his enemies. The Carle by this time was come to Tamworth, to whom secretly in the evening resorted Sir John Savage, Sir Bryan Sanford, Sir Simon Digby, and many other, forsaking the part of K. Richard whom all good men hated, as he no otherwise deserved. The King, having perfect knowledge the Carle to be encamped at Tamworth, embattelled himselfe in a place near to a village called Wolworth, not farre from Leicester, appointing there to encounter with his adherentes. Where the matter lay in great doubt and suspence concerning the Lord Stanley (which was the Carles father in law and had married his mother) to what part he would incline. For although his heart went (no doubt) with the Carle, and had secret conference with him the night before, yet because of his sonne and heire George Lord Strange, being then in the hands of K. Richard, lest the K. should attempt any prejudiciall thing against him, he durst not be scene openly to goe that way where in heart he favored, and therefore closely kept himself between both, till the last came that his helpe might serve at a pinch.

The number of the Earle's part exceeded not to the one halfe of the side of **K. Richard**. When the time and the place was appointed, where the two battels should encounter and joyne together, **Joze** stripes and great blowes were giben on both sides, and many slaine. If number and multitude might governe the successe of battell, **K. Richard** had double to the Earle. But God is he, not man, that giveth victoꝝ, by what meanes it seemeth to his divine providence best. In what order and by what occasion this field was won and lost, the certaine intelligence we have not certainly exprest, but only by the histoꝝ of **Polydore Virgil**, whom **Sir Tho. Spore** doth follow word for word. In the which stoꝝ it doth appeare, that as these two armies were coupling together, **K. Richard** understanding by his espials where the Earle of **Richmond** was, and how he was but slenderly accompanied, and seeing him to approach more nere unto him, rather carried with courage, then ruled with reason, set spurs to the horse, and ranging out of the compasse of his rankes pressed toward the Earle, setting upon him so sharply, that first he killed **Sir Will. Bandon** the Earles Standardbearer, then **Sir Tho. Lord Charles Brandon** of **Suffolk**, then after oerthrew **Sir John Cheine**, thinking likewise to oppresse the Earle. But as the Lord by his secret providence disposeth the event of all things, as the Earle with his men about him, being oerwatched, began to despaire of victoꝝ, suddenly and opportunely came **Sir William Stanley** with three thousand well appointed able men, where by **King Richards** men were driven back, and he himselfe, cruelly fighting in the thicke of his enemies, was here slaine, and brought to his confusion and death, which he worthily deserved.

In the meane time the Earle of Orford, who had

the guiding of the foreward, discerned the forefront of King Richards host, and put them to flight, in which chase many were slain, of noble men especially above other, John Duke of Spothfolk, Lord Ferrers, Sir Richard Radcliffe, and Robert Blankenbury Lieutenant of the Tower, &c. Lord Thomas Howard Earle of Surrey there submitted himself, and although he was not receivd at first to grace, but long remained in the Tower, yet at length for his fidelitie he was deliverd and advanced to his recovered honour and dignitie againe.

This King Richard had but one son, who, shortly after the cruell murther of King Edwards sonnes, was taken with sicknesse and dyed. The wife of the said R. Richard (whether by poison or by sicknesse) dyed also a little before the field of Bosworth; after whose decease, the story of Polydore and of Sir Thomas More affirmeth, that he intended himself to marry the Lady Elizabeth his owne brothers daughter, and so to prevent the Earle of Richmond.

Moreover, as touching the Lord Stanley, thus reporteth the story, that King Richard being in Bosworth field sent for the Lord Stanley by a Purcell-bant, to advance forward with his company, and come to his presence; otherwise he Awaire by Christs passion, that he would strike off his sonnes head before dinner. The Lord Stanley sent word againe, that if he did, he had more sonnes left. Whereupon the K. immediately commanded the Lord Strange to be beheaded, which was the very time when both the armies were within sight, and were ready to joyne together. Wherefore the Kings Councellores, pondering the time and the case, perswaded the King that it was now time to fight, and not to doe execution, advising him to delay the matter till the battell were ended. And so (as God would) K. Rich. breaking his oath, or rather keeping his oath, for he himself was slain before dinner, the Lord Strange was committed to be kept prisoner within the K. Tent; who then, after the victory gotten was fought out and brought to his joyfull ffather. And thus have ye the tragickall life and end of this wretched King Richard.

Henry the Earl of Richmond, after hearty thanks  
given to Almighty God for his glorious victory ob-  
tained, proceeded to the Towne of Leicester, where  
was brought to him, by the Lord Strange, the  
Crowne, and put on the Earles head.

In the meane time the dead corps of R. Richard was shamefully carryed to the Towne of Leicester, being naked and despoiled to the skin; and being trussed behinde a Purfurbant of armes, was carryed like a hog or a dog, having his head and armes hanging on the one side of the hoxe, and the legs on the other side, all spinkled with mire and blood. And thus ended the usurped raigne of King Richard, who reigned two yeers, and two moneths, Ex Polyd.  
& Th. Moro.

{ KING }  
 { HEN. 7. }  
 D. of North-  
 folke haire.  
 Lord Thomas  
 Howard Earle  
 of Surrey ad-  
 vanced by King  
 Henry the se-  
 venth.

King Richard  
lonne punished  
for the wicked-  
nesse of his fa-  
ther.  
King Richard  
purposed to  
marry Eliza-  
beth his bro-  
thers daughter.

Lord Stanley  
husband to  
King Henries  
mother, forsook  
King Richard.

The Lord  
Strange inat-  
tentionally pre-  
served.

The Mannerfull  
tolling of King  
Richards dead  
corps.

Anno  
1485.

King Henry the seventh.



**W**hen King Henry, by the providence of God, had obtained this triumphant victory and Diademe of the Realme, first sending for Edward Plantaginet Earle of Warwick, sonne to George Duke of

Clarence, and committing him to safe custody with  
in the Tower, from whence he removed to London  
and not long after, according to his oath and promise  
made before, espoused to him the young Lady Eliza-  
beth, heire of the House of Yorke; whereby both the  
Houses of Yorke and Lancaster were consigned to-  
gether, to the no little joycing of all English  
hearts, and no lesse quiet unto the Realme, which  
was, Anno 1485. This King reigned 23. yeeres.  
and

King Henry  
the seventh.

King Henry  
married with  
Elizabeth.  
The two Hou-  
ses of Dorke  
and Lancaster  
joined toget-  
her.



**KING** } and eight monethes, and being a Prince of great  
**HEN. 7.** } pollicie, iustice and temperance, kept his Realme in  
 good tolerable rule and order. And here interrupting  
 a little the course of our English matters, we will  
 now (the Lord willing) enter the story above promi-  
 sed, of Maximilian the Emperour, and matters of the  
 Empire, especially such as pertain to the Church.

### ¶ Maximilian the Emperour.

**Anno** } **I**n the yeere of our Lord 1486. Fredericus war-  
**1486.** } ring aged and partly also mistrusting the hearts of  
 the Germans, who had complained before of their  
 grievances, and could not be heard; and therefore  
 misdoubting that his house, after his decease, should  
 have the lesse favour among them, for that cause in  
 his life time did associate his sonne Maximilian to  
 be joynt Emperour with him: with whom he rais-  
 ed the space of seven yeeres till the death of the said  
 Fredericke his father, who departed An. 1494. after  
 he had reigned over the Empire 53. yeeres, lacking  
 onely but thre yeeres of the reigne of Augustus  
 Cesar, under whom was the birth of our Lord and  
 Saviour Christ.

This Maximilian, as he was a valiant Emperour,  
 prudent and singularly learned, so was his reigne  
 intangled in many unquiet and difficult warres;  
 first in the lower Countreies of Flanders and Bra-  
 bant, where the said Maximilian was taken captive,  
 but shortly after rescued and delivered againe by his  
 father, An. 1487. It was signified before how this  
 Maximilian, by the advice of the Burgundians, had  
 to wife Mary the onely daughter of Charles Duke  
 of Burgundy afore mentioned, by whom he had two  
 children, Philip and Margaret, An. 1477. Which  
 Mary not long after, about the yeere of our Lord  
 1481. by a fall from her horse fell into an ague, and  
 departed. After warres many moze the same Maxi-  
 milian also achieved, both in France, in Italy, in  
 Hungarie, and divers besides.

So happy was the education of this Emperour  
 in good letters, so expert he was in tongues and  
 sciences, but especially such was his dexterity and  
 promptnesse in the Latin stile, that he, imitating  
 the example of Iulius Cesar, did write and com-  
 pend in Latine histories his owne acts and feats  
 done, and that in such sort, that when he had given a  
 certaine taste of his history to one Piramierus a  
 learned man, asking his judgement how his warlike  
 stile of Latine did like him, the said Piramierus  
 did affirme and report of him to John Carion (the  
 witnesse and writer of this story) that he did never see  
 nor read in any Germane story, a thing moze exactly  
 (and that in such haste) done, as this was of Maxi-  
 milian. Moreover, as he was learned himselfe, so was  
 he a singular patron and advancer of learned stu-  
 dents as may well appear by the erecting and setting  
 up the Universitie of Wittenberge. By this Em-  
 perour many in those dayes were excited to the em-  
 bracing as well of other liberrall arts, as also name-  
 ly to the searching out of old antiquities of histories,  
 whereby divers were then by him first occasioned in  
 Germanie to set their mindes and to exercise their  
 diligence in collecting and explicating matters per-  
 taining to the knowledge of historie, as well of an-  
 cient as also of later times, as namely Cuspinianus,  
 Nanclerus, Conradus Peutingerus, Manlius, and other.

Here now it began right well to appeare, what  
 great benefit was broached to the world, by the Art  
 and facultie of Printing, as is before mentioned.  
 Through the means of which Printing the Church  
 and commonwealth of Christ began now to be re-  
 plenished with learned men, as both may appeare  
 by this Emperour, being so indued himselfe with such  
 excellent knowledge of good letters, and also by di-  
 vers other famous and worthy wits, which began  
 now in this age exceedingly to increase and multiply;

as Baptista Mantuanus, Ang. Politianus, Hieronimus  
 Barbarus, Picus Mirandula, and Francis his Cousin,  
 Rodol. Agricola, Pontanus, Philippus, Rescius, Ma-  
 silius Ficinus, Volateranus, Georgius Valla, with in-  
 finite other.

Among whom is also to be numbred Wesselus  
 Groningensis, otherwise named Barlaam, who was  
 not long after Ioan. de Wessela above recited, both  
 much about one time, and both great friends toge-  
 ther. This Wesselus dyed in the yeere of our Lord  
 1490. After that Ioannes Dodoz de Wessela afore-  
 said was condemned, this Wesselus being familiar  
 with him thought that the Inquisitor would come  
 and examine him also, as he himselfe in a certaine  
 Epistle doth write. He was so notable and worthy a  
 man, that of the people he was called Lux mundi,  
 That is, the light of the world.

Concerning his doctrine, first he reprehended the  
 opinion of the Papists, as touching repentance,  
 which they divided into thre parts, of the which thre  
 parts, satisfaction and confession he did disallow.  
 Likewise Purgatorie and supererogation of workes  
 and pardons he did disprove, both at Rome and at  
 Paris. He spake against the Popes indulgences, by  
 the occasion whereof divers of the Popes court per-  
 swaded by him, began to speake more freely against  
 the same matter, then he himselfe had done.

The abuses of masses and praying for the dead  
 he disallowed; and likewise the supremacie of the  
 Pope he utterly rejected (as appeareth in a booke of  
 his, De sacramento poenitentiae) denying utterly  
 that any supream head or governour ought to be in  
 the world over all other; affirming also and saying  
 many times, that the Pope had no authoritie to doe  
 any thing by commandement but by truth, that is,  
 so farre as truth goeth with him, so far his sentence  
 to stand; neither that he ought to prebaile by com-  
 manding, but onely by teaching, so as every true  
 Christian Bishop may prevaile over another. Also  
 in some place in his writings he denieth not, but  
 that Popes and their spirituall Prelates, proceeding  
 against Christs doctrine, be plaine Antichrists.  
 Such as were infirme and not able to performe the  
 bond of chastitie taken upon them, he said they  
 might well breake their vow.

Also the said Wesselus witnesseth that the fore-  
 saies which were before Albert and Thomas, did  
 resist and withstand the Popes indulgences, calling  
 them in their writings plaine Idolatrie, more frauds  
 and error; adding moreover, that unlesse the reve-  
 ritie of some good Divines had withstood these par-  
 dons and indulgences of the Pope, innumerable  
 errors had overslowne the Church.

Amongst these workes of Wesselus, there is a cer-  
 taine Epistle of one written to him, in which the au-  
 thor of the Epistle confesseth, that in his time there  
 was a certaine learned man at Paris, called Th.  
 Thomas de Curleis a Deane; who being in the  
 Council of Basle, where as divers began to ad-  
 vance the power of the Pope too farre, declared and  
 affirmed, to be said to him of Christ, quicquid ligo-  
 veris super terram erit ligatum & in coelo, &c. Et non  
 quicquid dixeris esse ligatum; That is, Whatsoever  
 thou shalt binde upon earth shall be bound in hea-  
 ven, but not, Whatsoever thou sayest to be bound.  
 As who should say the Pope cannot moze doth not  
 binde therefore, because he so saith, except truth and  
 righteousnesse goe also with him; then he doth so  
 binde indeed. There is a certaine booke of this man  
 amongst divers others, which he intituled, De sub-  
 ditis & superioribus, in the which he disputeth great-  
 ly against the Pope and his Prelates; affirming that  
 the Pope, unless his faith and doctrine be sound, ought  
 not to be obeyed. He affirmeth also that the Pope  
 may erre, and when he erreth, men ought by all  
 manner of means to resist him. Item, that great  
 and superfluous riches in the clergy doe not profit,  
 but hurt the Church: That the Pope doth wickedly  
 distribute

Barlaam  
Groningensis.

Wesselus called  
Lux mundi.

The doctrine  
of Wesselus  
Groningensis.

Ex lib. D. de  
De sacramento  
poenitentiae.

The Popes su-  
premacie  
written against.

Ex epist. curleis.  
in specie Christi.

Christus autem  
est Thomas de  
Curleis re-  
spondens  
Christo.

For what he  
is said to be  
looked on earth,  
is looked in hea-  
ven: but what  
he is looked  
in very deed in  
earth, that is  
also looked in-  
deed in heaven.

Anno  
1486.  
Maximilian  
Emperour.

The reigne and  
death of Frede-  
ricus Emperour.

Anno  
1494.

Maximilian  
married the  
Daughter of  
Burgome.  
This Mary  
was neere to  
King Edward  
the fourth.

The learning of  
Maximilian  
commended.

Maximilian  
writer of his  
owne histories.

Ex Ioan. Carione

Maximilian  
first governor  
of the University  
of Wittenberge.

Learned men  
begin to grow  
in Christen-  
dom.



Against riches  
in the Church.  
The precepts  
of the Pope  
and Prelates  
how they bind.

The Popes  
keyes.  
Howes.  
Doctrines not  
to be received  
without exa-  
mination.

Excommuni-  
cation.

Ex Noviomago  
A prophetic of  
Wesselus.  
This Othen-  
dorp was a  
man well lear-  
ned and Canon  
of the minster  
of Lubek.

Here it appea-  
reth that this  
Rodolphus A-  
gricola was of  
good judgment  
though the  
Pricers after-  
ward buried  
him in a Priests  
weed.  
Rodolphus A-  
gricola, Wesse-  
lus lamenteth  
the darknesse of  
the Church.

distribute the rents of the Church, and the Church it selfe, to unworthy ministers by Simony, for his owne profit and gaine, whereby it may appeare that he neither careth for God, nor the health of the Church. Item, that the precepts and commandments of the Pope and Prelates be no otherwise but as the counsels and precepts of Physicians, binding no further then they are found to be wholesome and standing with the truth of the word. Item, that the Pope can command no man under paine of deadly sinne, except God command him before. He saith, that the Keyes of the Pope and of the Prelates be not such wherewith they open the Kingdom of Heaven, but rather shut it, as the Pharisees did. Concerning howes, he disputeth that such as be foolish and impossible ought to be broken; that the hearers ought to discern and sudge of the doctrine of their Prelates, and not to receive every thing that they say, without due examination.

He sheweth moreover that the sentence of excommunication is of more force, proceeding from a true godly, honest, simple and learned man, than from the pope; as in the counsell of Constance, Bernard was more esteemed then Eugenius. Also if the pope with his prelates governe and rule naughtily, that the inferior, be they never so base, ought to resist him.

Writing moreover of two Popes, Pius the second, and Sixtus the fourth, he saith, that Pius the second did usurpe unto himselfe all the Kingdomes of the whole world, and that Sixtus the Pope did dispense with all manner of oaths in causes temporal, not onely with such oaths, as have been already, but also with all such as shall be made hereafter; which was nothing else but to give liberty and licence for men to forswear themselves and deceive one another.

This Wesselus being a Physician borne, and now aged in yeeres, upon a certaine time when a young man, called P. Joannes Othendorpius, came to him, said these words; Well my childe, thou shalt live to that day, when thou shalt see that the doctrine of these new and contentious divines, as Thomas and Bonaventure, with others of the same sort, shall be utterly rejected and expelled from all true Christian Divines. And this which Othendorpius then being young heard Wesselus to speake, he reported himselfe to Jobionagus, which wrote this story, Anno 1520. and heard it of the mouth of the said Wesselus, An. 1490. Partij 18.

Philippus Melancthon writing of the life of Rodolphus Agricola, saith, that Isclminus Croningenfis, an ancient and a godly man, reported that when as he was young, he was oftentimes present at the sermons of Rodolphus and Wesselus, where in they many times lamented the darknesse of the Church, and reprehended the abuses of the masse, and of the single life of Priests. Item, that they disputed oftentimes of the righteousness of faith, why Saint Paul so oftentimes did inculcate, that men be justified by faith and not workes. The same Joquine also reported, that they did openly reject and disprove the opinion of Henkes, which say that men be justified by their workes. Item, concerning mens traditions their opinion was, that all such were deceived, whatsoever attributed unto those traditions any opinion of Gods worship, or that they might not be broken. And thus much for the story of doctor Wesselianus and Wesselus.

By this it may be seen and noted, how, by the grace of God and gift of Printing, first came forth learning; by learning came light to judge and discern the errors of the pope from the truth of Gods Word; as partly by these abovesaid may appeare, partly by other that follow after (by the grace of Christ) shall better be seen.

About the very same time and season, when as the Gospell began thus to branch and spring in Germanie, the host of Christs Church began also to

muster and to multiplie likewise here in England, as by these histories here consequent may appeare. For not long after the death of this Wesselus, in the yeere of our Lord 1494. and in the ninth yeere of the raigne of Henry the 7. the 28. of Aprill, was burned a very old woman named Ioane Boughton widow, and mother to the Lady Perce, which Lady was also suspected to be of that opinion which her mother was. Her mother was of foure score yeeres of age or more, and held eight of Wickliffs opinions (which opinions my Author doth not shew) for the which she was burnt in Smithfield the day abovesaid. My Author saith, she was a disciple of Wickliffe, whom she accounted for a Saint, and held so fast and firmly eight of his tenne opinions, that all the doctors of London could not turne her from one of them: and when it was told her that she should be burnt for her obstinacie and false beleefe, she set nothing by their menacing wordes, but desired the n: for she said she was so beloved of God, and his holy Angels, that she passed not for the fire, and in the midst thereof she cryed to God to take her soule into his holy hands. The night following that she was burnt, the most part of her ashes were had away of such as had a love unto the doctrine that she dyed for.

Shortly after the Martyrdom of this godly aged mother, in the yeere of our Lord, 1497. and the 17. of January, being Sunday, two men, the one called Richard Hilberale, and the other Janes Sturdie bare faggots before the procession of Pauls and after stood before the preacher in the time of his Sermon. And upon the Sunday following stood other two men at Pauls Crosse all the Sermon time; the one garnished with painted and written papers, the other having a faggot on his neck. After that in Lent season upon passion Sunday one Hugh Glover bare a faggot before the procession of Pauls, and after with the faggot stood before the preacher all the Sermon while at Pauls Crosse. And on the Sunday next following fure men stood, and did their open penance at Pauls, as is abovesaid, in the Sermon time, and many of their bookes were burnt before them at the Crosse.

Furthermore the next yeere following, which was the yeere of our Lord 1498. in the beginning of May, the King then being at Canterbury, was a priest burnt, which was so strong in his opinion that all the clerkes and doctors then there being could not remove him from his faith: whereof the King being informed, he caused the said Priest to be brought before his presence, who by his perswasion caused him to reboke, and so he was burnt immediately.

In the same year abovesaid mentioned which was the yeere of our Lord 1498. after the beheading of Edward Plantaginet Earle of Warwick, and son to the Duke of Clarence, the King and Queen being removed to Calis, a certaine godly man and a constant Party of Christ, named Wabram, in Northfolke, was burnt in the moneth of July, as is in Fabian recorded, after the copie which I have written. Albeit in the Booke of Fabian Printed, his burning is referred to the next yeere following, which is, Anno 1500. Ex Fabiano, & alio scripto codice.

About which yeere likewise in the yeere next following, the twenty day of July, was an old man burnt in Smithfield.

In the same year also, which was of the Lord, one thousand foure hundred ninetie and nine, fell the Martyrdom and burning of Hieronymus Sabanarola, a man no lesse godly in heart, then constant in his profession. Who being a Monk in Italy, and singularly well learned, preached soze against the evil life and living of the spirituality and specially of his owne Order, complaining soze upon them

KING  
HEN. 7.

Anno  
1494  
Ioane Boughton mother to the lady Perce martyr.

Anno  
1497.  
Richard Hilberale.  
James Sturdie.

Hugh Glover.  
Four other bare faggots.

Anno  
1498.  
A Priest burnt

The Queene was removed to Calis at the beheading of her Cousin Edward Plantaginet. Wabram burnt in Northfolke, martyr.

An old man burnt.

Anno  
1499.  
Hieronymus Sabanarola, with two friends martyr.



{ KING }  
{ HEN. 7. }

The burning of Babram.



them as the springs and authors of all mischiefs and wickednesse. Whereupon by the helpe of certaine learned men he began to make reformation in his owne order. Which thing the Pope perceiving and fearing that the said Jerome, which was now in great reputation amongst all men, should diminish or overthrow his authoritie, he ordained his Vicar or provinciall to see reformation of these matters; to which vicar with great superstition began to reform things: but the said Jerome did alwayes withstand him, whereupon he was complained of to the Pope, and because that contrary unto the Popes commandement he did withstand his Vicar, he was accursed. But for all that Jeronimus left not off preaching, but threatened Italy with the wrath and indignation of God, and prophesied before unto them, that the land should be overthrowen for the pride and wickednesse of the people, and for the untruth, hypocrisie and falshood of the clergy, which God would not leave unrevenge, as afterward it came to passe, when as R. Charles came into Italy and to Rome, and so straightly beset the Pope Alexander, that he was forced to make composition with the King.

Now forsomuch as the said Jerome would not leave off preaching, he was commanded to appeare before the Pope, to give account of his new learning (for so then they called the truth of the Gospel) but by meanes of the manifold perils, he made his excuse that he could not come. Then was he againe forbidden by the pope to preach, and his learning pronounced and condemned as pernicious, false and seditious.

This Jeronimus, as a man wooldly wise, foreseeing the great perils and dangers that might come unto him, for feare left off preaching. But when as the people, which were hungred and longed for Gods Word, were instant upon him that he would preach againe, he began againe to preach in the year of our Lord, 1496. in the Citie of Florence, and albeit that many commended him that he should not so doe without the Popes commandement, yet did he not regard it, but went forward freely of his owne good will. When as the Pope and his shabelings heard newes of this, they were grievously incensed and inflamed against him, and now againe cursed him, as an obstinate and stiffnecked heretike. But for all that,

Jeronimus proceeded in teaching and instructing the people, saying that men ought not to receive such curses, which are against the true doctrine and the common profit whereof the people should be learned and amended, Christs Kingdome enlarged, and the Kingdome of the devill utterly overthrowen.

In all his preaching he desired to teach no other thing then the only pure and simple Word of God, making often protestation that all men should certify him if they had heard him teach or preach any thing contrary thereunto, for upon his owne conscience he knew not that he had taught any thing but the pure Word of God. What his doctrine was all men may easily judge by his Bookes that he hath written.

After this, in the year of our Lord, 1498. he was taken and brought out of Saint Markes Church, and two other Fryers with him, named Dominick and Silvester, which favoured his learning, and was carried into prison, where he wrote a godly meditation upon that most comfortable thirtieth and one Psalmine; In te Domine speravi, non confundar in aeternum, sed in iustitia tua libera me. Wherein he doth excellently describe and set forth the continuall strife betwene the flesh and the spirit.

After this the Popes Legates came to Florence and called forth the three good men, threatening them marvellously: but they continued still constant. Then came the chief Counsellors of the Citie, with the Popes Commissioners, which had gathered out certain Articles against the three men, whereupon they were condemned to death; the tenor of which Articles hereafter ensue.

- 1 The first Article was as touching our free justification through faith in Christ.
- 2 That the Communion ought to be ministered under both kinds.
- 3 That the indulgences and pardons of the Pope were of no effect.
- 4 For preaching against the filth and wicked living of the Cardinals and spiritualitie.
- 5 For denying the Popes supremacye.
- 6 Also that he had affirmed that the keyes were not given unto Peter alone, but unto the Universal Church.
- 7 Also, that the Pope did neither follow the life nor doctrine of Christ, for that he did attribute more to his owne pardons and traditions, then to Christs merits; and therefore he was Antichrist.
- 8 Also that the Popes excommunications are not to be feared, and that he which doth feare or flye them is excommunicate of God.
- 9 Item, that auricular confession is not necessary.
- 10 Item, that he had moved the Citizens to uproare and sedition.
- 11 Item, that he had neglected and contemned the Popes Citation.
- 12 Item, that he had shamefully spoken against, and slandered the Pope.
- 13 Item, that he had taken Christ to witness of his naughtinesse and heresie.
- 14 Also, that Italy must be cleansed through Gods scourge, for the manifold wickednesse of the Princes and Clergie.

These and such other like Articles were laid unto them and read before them. When they demurred of the said Jerome and his companions, whether they would recant and give over their opinions. Whereunto they answered, that through Gods helpe they would steadfastly continue in the manifest truth, and not depart from the same. Then were they degraded one after another by the Bishop of Assis, and so delivered over to the secular Rulers of Florence, with straight commandement to carry them forth, and handle them as obstinate and stiffnecked heretikes.

Thus was the worthy witness of Christ, with the other two aforesaid, first hanged up openly in the market

Prophecie of  
Jer. Sabanarola  
against  
Italy.

Pope Alexander  
besieged by  
Charles the  
French King.

Sabanarola  
died to appeare  
before the  
Pope.  
The doctrine  
of Sabanarola  
condemned be-  
cause he would  
not come before  
the Pope.

Sabanarola  
preacheth con-  
trary to the  
Popes com-  
mandement.

Articles ob-  
jected against  
Jerome and  
the two Fryers.

Jerome with  
his two compa-  
nions hanged  
and burnt for  
the Gospel.



market place, and afterward burnt to ashes, and the ashes gathered up, and cast into the river of Arum, the 24. of May, in the yeere of our Lord, 1499. Ex Catal. testium Illyrici.

### The Martyrdome of Jerome and his two companions.



The prophecies of Ieronymus Savanarola.

Ex Ioan. Francis. Mirandula. Ex Marfilio Ficino.

Ex Phi. Comine.

This man foresawed many things to come, as the destruction of Florence and Rome, and the renewing of the Church, which three things have hapned in these times within our remembrance. Also he foresawed that the Turkes and Popes in the latter dayes should be converted unto Christ. He also declared that one should passe the Alpes into Italy, like unto Cyrus, which should subvert and destroy all Italy. Whereupon Iohannes Franciscus Picus, Earle of Mirandula, called him a holy Prophet, and defended him by his writings against the Pope. Many other learned men also defended the innocencie of the said Savanarola. Masilius Ficinus also in a certain Epistle, both attribute unto him the spirit of Prophecie, greatly commending and praising him. In like manner Philippus Comineus a French Historiographer, which had conference with him, witnesseth that he was a holy man, and full of the spirit of prophecie, so much as he had foresawed unto him so many things which in event had proved true.

Anton. Flaminus an Italian, and for pietie and learning famous, in that age wrote this Epigram upon the death of Ierom. Savanarola.

*Dum feris flamma tidus, Hieronyme, pascitur artus,  
Religio, sanctas dilaniata comas,  
Flevit, & o, dixit, crudeles parcite flammæ,  
Parcite, sunt isto viscera nostra rogo.*

Which may be thus in English.

Whilest flames unjust (blest Saint) thy body burnes,  
Weeping Religion with dishevel'd haire,  
Cries out, and sayes, Oh spare his sacred urnes,  
Spare cruell flames; that fire our soule impaires.

There were besides these, many other, not to be passed over or forgotten: as Philip Porice an Irishman, professor at Oxford, who albeit he was not burned, yet (as it is said) he was long time vexed

and troubled by the religious rout. But would to God, that such as have occupied themselves in writing of histories, and have so diligently committed unto memory all other things done in foreign Common-wealths, had bestowed the like diligence and labour in noting and writing those things which pertain unto the Affairs of the Church: whereby the posterity might have had fuller and more perfect understanding and knowledge of them.

- 10 This Savanarola above mentioned, suffered under pope Alexander the six. of which Pope more leisure and opportunity shall be hereafter (Christ willing) to entreat, after that we shall first make a little digression, to entreat of certain cases and complaints of the Germanes, incident in the mean time, which as they are not to be overpast in silence, so can they have no place nor time more convenient to be inserted. What complaints of the Germanes were made and moved unto the Emperour Frederick against the Popes suppressions and exactions, mention was made before: where also was declared, how the said Germanes at that time were twice put back and forsaken of the Emperour, whereby they continued in the same yoke and bondage untill the time of Luther. Wherefore it cometh now to hand, and we think it also good here briefly to declare, how the said Germanes, in the time of Maximilian the Emperour, renuing their complaints again, delibered unto the Emperour ten principall Grievances, whereby the Germanes have been long time oppressed; shewing also the remedies against the same, with certain advices unto the Emperours majesty, how he might withstand and resist the Popes subtilties and crafts: The order and tenor whereof here ensueth.

The complaint of the Germanes against the Popes grievances as ensueth.

### The ten Grievances of the Germanes.

- 1 That the Bishops of Rome, successors one unto another, do not think themselves bound to observe and keep the Bulls, covenants, privileges and letters, granted by their predecessors, without all derogation; but by often dispensation, suspension and revocation, even at the instance of every vile person, they do gain say and withstand the same.

Ten Grievances complained of by the Germanes.

- 2 That the elections of Prelates are oftentimes put back.
- 3 That the elections of Presidentships are withheld, which the Chapter houses of many Churches have obtained with great cost and expence, as the Church of Spire and Basell do well know; whose Bull, touching the election of their President, is made frustrate, he being yet alive which granted the same.

- 4 That Benefices, and the greatest Ecclesiasticall dignities are reserved for Cardinals and head Potestates.

- 5 That expectative graces, called bolsons, are granted without number, and many oftentimes unto one man, whereupon continuall contentions do arise, and much money is spent, both that which is laid out for the Bulls of those bolsons, which never take effect, and also that which is consumed in going to law. Whereupon this proverb is risen, Whosoever will get a bolson from Rome, must have C. or C. C. pieces of gold laid up in his chest, for the obtaining of the same, which he shall have need of, to prosecute the law withall.

- 6 That Annates, or yearly revenewes are exacted without delay or mercie, even of the Bishops lately dead, and oftentimes more extorted than ought to be, through the new offices and new servants, as by the examples of the Churches of Bantz and Strausburgh, may be seen.

- 7 That the rule of the Churches is given at Rome unto those that are not worthy, which were more fit to feed and keep mules, than to have the rule and governance of men.

8 That



**KING** 8 What new Indulgences and pardons, with the  
**HEN. 7.** suspension and revocation of the old, are granted to  
gather and scrape money together.

9 What Tenths are exacted, under pretence of making  
war against the Turk; when as no expedition  
doth follow thereupon.

10 That the causes which might be determined in  
Germany, where there are both learned and just  
Judges, are indistinctly carried unto the Court of  
Rome; which thing S. Bernard writing to Pope  
Eugenius, seemeth wonderfully to reprove.

Here ensueth the remedy against the  
said Grievances.

Remedies against the  
said Grievances.

**I**f it shall seem good unto the Emperors Majestie,  
let it be declared unto the Bishop of Rome, how  
grievous and intolerable a thing it is unto the Ger-  
mans, to suffer continually so great charges and  
grievances, to pay so great Annates for the confir-  
mation of the Bishops and Archbishops, and especi-  
ally in such Bishopricks, whereas the Annates by  
successes of time are enhanced, and in many (as it is  
said) doubled. For the Archbishops See of Mentz (as  
it is said) sometime paid only ten thousand florens;  
which sum, when as one which was chosen there, re-  
fused to give, and so continued even unto his death,  
he which was afterward elected, being desirous of con-  
firmation, fearing to withstand the Apostolike See,  
offered the old sum of 10000 florens: but with-  
standing, he could not get his confirmation, except he  
would pay the other 10000. which his predecessor be-  
fore him had not paid.

The Archbishops  
Balle of Mentz, what it  
colleth.

By this means he was compelled to pay 20000.  
florens. Which being enrolled in the register of  
the chamber, as much hath been exacted of every  
Archbishop since, untill the 2 our daies, and not only  
20000. but also 25000. for their new offices, and new  
servants. At last, the sum grew to 27000. florens,  
which James the Archbishop of Mentz was com-  
pelled to pay, as his Commissary did report. So by this  
means, in a little time there was seven times 25000  
florens paid out of the Archbishoprick of Mentz  
unto Rome, for the confirmation of the Archbishop.  
And when this archbishop James had kept the Arch-  
bishoprick scarce four years, the Lord Ariel was  
elected after him, who was compelled to pay at the least  
24000. or 25000. florens. Whereof a part he bor-  
rowed of Merchants: but to satisfie and pay them  
again, he was forced to exact a Subsidy of his poor  
subjects and husbandmen, wherof some have not yet  
satisfied and paid the tribute for the Bishops palle, so  
that by this means our people are not only torment-  
ed and brought to extreme poverty, but also are mo-  
ved unto rebellion, to seek their liberty by what  
means soever they may, grievously murmuring a-  
gainst the cruelty of the Clergy.

The Pope also should be admonished, how that,  
through divers and sundry wars and battells, the  
lands of Germany lye desolate and waste, & through  
many mortalities, the number of men is diminish-  
ed, so that for the scarcenesse of husbandmen, the  
fields for the most part lye untill, the Tolls are by  
divers means diminished, the Mines consumed, and  
the profits daily decay, whereby the Archbishops and  
Bishops should pay their Annates unto the Aposto-  
like See, besides their other necessary and honest  
charges; in such sort, that not without iust cause,  
James the Archbishop of Mentz, being even at the  
point of death, said, That he did not so much sorrow  
for his own death, as for that his poor subjects should  
be again forced to pay a grievous exaction for the  
Balle. Wherefore let the high Bishop, as a goodly  
father, and lover of his children, and a faithfull and  
pudent Pastor, deal more favourably with his chil-  
dren the Germans, lest that persecution happen to  
rise against the Priestes of Christ, and that men fol-  
lowing the example of the Bohemians, do swerve  
from the Church of Rome.

The Popes  
Balle deeply  
bought.

The people  
pilled for the  
Popes Balle.

At the least let him be more favourable, as often  
as any Archbishop or Bishop hapned to rule his  
Church but a few years, as it hapned to the Bi-  
shops of Wunberg, wherof there were but a few  
years. The like also might happen to other Bishop-  
ricks, wherof as many as witnesseth, there  
are in Germany to the number of six, besides  
Abbots, wherof a great number are confined at  
Rome.

10 And admit that in Germany there were greater  
profits and revenues rising of the Ground, Mines  
and Tolls, notwithstanding the Emperors and  
the other Princes should lack treasure and munition  
of war against their enemies, and specially the  
Infidels, and to preserve Germany in peace and  
quietnesse, and to minister justice unto every man:  
for which purpose the Councell of the chamber, be-  
ing most holily instructed and furnished with  
great cost and charges, doth chiefly serve. Besides  
that, the Emperour hath need of treasure, to sup-  
presse the rebels in the Empire, to banish and  
drive away theeves and murderers, wherof a  
great number are not ashamed to spoil Churches  
only, and to rob them of their goods, but also to as-  
sail the Clergy themselves. Finally, our Nation  
and Country of Germany hath need of great  
riches and treasure, not onely for the repairing of  
Churches and Monasteries, but also for the palls  
for children that are laid out in the streets, for wid-  
ows, for women with child, for orphans, for the  
marriage of the daughters of poor men, that they  
be not deflowred, for such as have need and necessity,  
for the old and weak, for the sick and the poor, w-  
er of (the more is the sorrow) Germany is fully reple-  
nished and filled.

Advertisements unto the Em-  
perours Majestie.

**L**et the Emperors Majestie foresee and prohibe,  
that the begging friers do not preach against  
his Majestie, which are wont to complain gladly  
unto the Apostolike See, fearing to lose their privi-  
leges, which I would to God were as well grounded  
upon Christ, as they are upon profit. Let the Em-  
perors Majestie also beware, that the Pope do  
not give commandment unto the Clergy, to  
proceed to the election of a new King of Romans,  
as he did against Frederick the second, when as  
the Landgrave of Thuring, and William Earl of  
Holland, were elected by the commandment of the  
Pope. Let the Emperors Majestie also fear and  
take heed of all the Prelates of the Churches, and  
especially of the Bishops, which by their oath are  
bound to obvertise the Pope. Let the Emperors  
Majestie also fear and beware, that the Pope do  
not take away from his subjects their obedience, and  
provoke the people bordering upon him, to make in-  
vasion into the Emperours dominions and Arch-  
duchy of Austria; which those men, under colour  
showing obedience unto the Popes commandment,  
be ready to do.

Let the Emperours Majestie also take heed of the  
Apostolike censures, from which the Pope will in  
no case refrain. Finally, let the Emperours Ma-  
jesty diligently foresee and take heed, that the Pope  
do not persuade the people with most subtil argu-  
ments, contrary to the Pragmaticall sanction, excu-  
sing himself, and getting the good will of the simple,  
alleging that with great costs and charges, he will  
repair the Church of Saint Peter in Rome, and  
build in certain places against the Turks, and reco-  
ver again the lands and patrimony pertaining unto  
the Church of Saint Peter, as he is bound by his  
office. Wherefore let your Majestie diligently foresee  
and deliberate, how through your most wise and dis-  
creet counsell, if need shall require, you will answer  
to those subtilties of the Pope.

The Popes  
presence of  
building Saint  
Peters Church  
in Rome.



### A certain godly Exhortation unto the Emperours Majesty.

A Supplication  
or Exhortation  
to Maximilian  
Emperour, for  
redresse of the  
Church.

**Y**our Majesty can do nothing better, nothing more acceptable, or more worthy eternall remembrance, than to moderate the great exactions and oppressions of the Germans; to take away all occasion from the laity, to persecute the clergy; also to take away the Benefices out of the hands of courtians, which can neither, preach, comfort, nor counsel any man (of which Benefices, as Aenas Sylvius writeth, some are equal to the Bishopricks of Italy) to encrease Gods honour and worship; and so to broider the avarice and ungodlinesse of those courtians, whereby your Majesty may the better provide for the children of many noble and famous men and citizens in Germany; which being brought up from their youth in the Universities, learning both the Scriptures, and other humane letters, may without unquiet verations, and most sumptuous charges and contentions, aspire to the Ecclesiasticall promotions, who by their counsell and prayers may be helps unto the whole Church: for there is no small occasion, why the Realme of France should flourish, having so many notable learned men in it. If the Emperour would abolish this impiety, and restore Germany unto their ancient liberty, which is now oppressed with grievous tributes, and would make way for learned and honest men unto Ecclesiasticall promotions; then might he truly and perpetually be called of all men, and in all places, the restorer of Germany to his ancient liberty, and the father of his country, and should obtain no lesse glory thereby unto himself, and profit unto Germany, than if he had by force of arms subdued any Province unto them. And so shall Germany render no lesse thanks unto the said Maximilian, than unto all the rest, which having translated the Empire from the Grecians unto Germany, have reigned many yeeres before.

Whereafter ensueth the copy of a certain Letter of the Emperour Maximilian, given out in manner of a Decree or commandment against certain abuses of the clergy. Wherunto we have also annexed the answer of Jacobus Selestadienfis unto the Emperours Letters, wherein he seemeth also to have sought advice for the remedy of the like abuses, which we thought good here not to be omitted.

### An Ediſt of Maximilian the Emperour.

**W**E, according to the example of our dearly beloved Father, Frederick Emperour of Rome, reverencing the chief Pastour of the Church, and all the Clergy, have suffered no small revenues of the Ecclesiasticall dignities to be carried out of our dominion by the Prelates and Clergy that are absent, whose faults committed by humane frailty, with Constantine our predecessor, we have not disdained to hide and cover. But forsomuch as through our liberality, the decay of Gods honour is risen, it is our part to fore-see (which are elect unto the Empire, without any desert) that among all other affairs of peace and war, the Churches do not decay, Religion quail not, or Gods true worship be not diminished; which we have manifestly experimented, and daily do perceive by the insatiable covetousnesse of some, which are never satisfied in getting of Benefices, through whose absence (being resident but one, ly upon one) GODS honour and worship is diminished, houses decay, Churches decrease, the Ecclesiasticall liberty is hurt, Learning and Monuments are lost and destroyed, Hospitality and Alms diminished, and by their unsatiable greedinesse, such of the Clergy, as for their Learning and Vertue were worthy of Benefices, and their Wisdom profitable in Common-wealths, are hindered and put back. Wherefore according to the office and duty of our estate, for

the love of the encrease of GODS honour, we exhort and require, that no man from henceforth, having any Canonship or Vicarage in one City of our Empire, shall occupy or possesse a Prebend in another Church of the same City, except he give over the first within a yeers space unto some person fit and profitable for the Church; neither that he do by unjust quarrels, vex or trouble any man in getting of Benefices, neither that any man do falsly feign himself to have been of the Emperours household, which hath not been comprehended within the league and agreement made by the Princes, neither that any man attempt to take away the Patronages from any Lay-man, or aggravate the small Prebends of Curates, or Churches with Pensions, neither that they do use in getting of Benefices and Bulls, any fraud, deceit, false instruments, corrupt witnessses, and cloaked Simony; neither that any man presume to obtain any regresse, or other thing contrary to the sacred Canons, right, honesty, equity and reason, upon pain of the most grievous offence of treason: the which we will, that not onely they going so contrary to God and all honesty; but also all their favourers, which do help, counsell, harbour or give them any thing, all their Messengers, and Writers, Proctors, Sureties, and other their friends, shall incur, and receive condign punishment for so great offence and contempt of our commandment. From Oenopont, &c.

Here ensueth the copy of a Letter written unto the Emperour Maximilian.

To our most victorious Lord,  
**Maximilian the Emperour,**  
Jacobus Selestadienfis most humble commendations.

**M**ost victorious Emperour, when I had read your Majesties Epistle, and received instructions of your Secretary, I prepared my self with all my whole endeavour to satisfie your Majesties desire. For even from my youth hitherto, I have applied all my care and study, first for the honour of your Majesty, and consequently for the amplifying of the German nation, and sacred Roman Empire. Albeit I know my self far unable to satisfie your desire and purpose, and there are many which can fulfill this matter much better, which have greater learning and experience of these common matters. There be also with other Princes, and in the Senats of Common-wealths, many excellent learned men, which can exornate and beautifie Germany, and perswade to reduce all the Clergy unto a Christian Discipline, and to an unity and peace of the universall Church. Wherein, not onely your Majesty, but also your predecessors, as Charles the great, and his sonne Ludovicus Pius, the Othoes, Conrades, Fredericks, and Hearicks, and last of all, Sigismundus, have with all labour and diligence travelled, being stirred thereunto undoubtedly through the zeal and charity which they bear unto Almighty God, and thankfulness to Christ for his benefites which he hath bestowed upon mankind, and specially for the benefit of his most bitter passion. For Christ became not poor for us, that we should live in all riot and wantonnesse upon his patrimony, and shew forth our ambition and covetousnesse; neither did he suffer hunger, that we should glut up our selves; nor suffered labours, chastity, and grievous torments, that we should live in idlenesse, wantonnesse, and all kinde of voluptuousnesse. Neither they which were contributors, and Benefactors to Churches, induing the Ministers thereof with their temporall riches, had any such respect herein, that the Clergy should live onely in idlenesse, having all things at their will, without labour. Surely there was another cause, why that they in times past did impoverish themselves and theirs, to endow the Church; verily, that they might the better attend unto Divine Service, without care of want

{ KING }  
{ HEN. 7. }

No man to have two Canonships or Benefices at once.



{ KING }  
{ HEN. 7. }

want of living (which they might easily get and gather out of the fields, woods, meadows and waters) and to the intent that they should liberally give alms unto the poor Christians, Widows, Orphans, aged and sick persons. For in the Institutions of the Canonick profession, which we suppose was written by the commandement of Ludovicus Pius the Emperour, and allowed by the Councell of the Bishops, thus it is read; The goods of the Church (as it is alleged by the Fathers, and contained in the Chapters before) are the vows of the faithfull, and patrimony of the poor. For the faithfull, through the ferventesse of their faith and love of Christ, being inflamed, having an earnest desire of that heavenly kingdom, have enriched the holy Church with their own goods, that thereby the souldiers of Christ might be nourished, the Church adorned, the poor refreshed, and captives according to the opportunity of time redeemed. Wherefore, such as have the administration of those goods, ought diligently to be looked upon, that they do not convert them unto their own proper use, but rather, according to their substance and possibility they do not neglect them, in whom Christ is fed and clothed. *Propter* is also of the same minde, affirming that holy men did not challenge the Church goods to their own use, as their own proper goods, but as things commended unto the poor, to be divided amongst them. For that is to condemn that which a man possesseth, not to possess a thing for himself, but for others, neither to covet the Church goods with covetousnesse to have them to himself, but to take them with a godly zeal to help other. That which the Church hath, is common to all them which have nothing, neither ought they to give any thing of that unto them (saith he) which have of their own; for to give unto them which have enough, is but to cast things away. *Ex Illyrico*.

Pope Alexander  
des 6.

To return now to the order of Popes, where we left before, speaking of Innocentius the eight. After the said Innocentius, next succeeded Pope Alexander the sixth. In which Alexander, among other horrible things, this is one to be noted, that when Gemes (Pecuccius named him Gemes) brother to Baitazetes the great Turk, was committed by the Rhodians to the safe custody, first of Pope Innocent, then of Alexander the sixth, for whose keeping, the Pope received every yer 40000. Crowns; yet notwithstanding, when Pope Alexander afterward was compelled to send the said Gemes to Charles the eighth, the French king, for a pledge, because the French king should not procure the great Turke's favour, by sending his brother Gemes to him to be slain, he being hired by the Turk, caused the said Gemes to be poisoned, who, in his journey going toward the French king, died at Terracina. *Ex Hieronymo Mario*.

The Pope poisoned Gemes the Turke's brother, being committed to his custody.  
*Ex Paulo Iovio lib. 2.*  
*Ex Pecuccio lib. 5.*  
*Ex Hieronymo Mario.*  
The Pope letteth the great Turk against the French king.  
*Ex Sch. Munsterio lib. 4.*  
*Cosmograph.*

Moreover, in the said Hieronymus Marius, it appeareth that this Alexander taking displeasure with the foresaid Charles the French king, about the winning of Naples, sent to Baitazetes the Turk, to fight against the foresaid Charles. *Ex eodem*.

Munsterus lib. 4. Cosmog. declaring the foresaid history of Gemes something otherwise, first calleth him Zithmus, and saith that he was first committed by the Rhodians to the French king. And when as Joannes Huniades aforementioned did labour to the French king to have him, thinking by that means to obtain a noble victory against the Turk, as it was not unlike: this Alexander the Pope, through his fraudulent flattery, got him of the French king into his own hands, by whose means the said Gemes afterward was poisoned, as is in manner before expressed.

Unto these poisoned acts of the Pope, let us also adjoyn his malicious wickednesse, with like fury exercised upon Antonius Pancinellus, which Pancinellus being a man of excellent learning, because

he wrote an eloquent Oration against his wicked manners and filthy life, witho her vices, he thereto commanded both his hands and his tongue to be cut off, playing much like with him, as Antonius the tyrant once did with M. Cicero, for writing against his horrible life, at length, as one poisoner requirerth another, this poisoned Pope, as he was sitting with his Cardinals, and other rich Senators of Rome at dinner, his servants unawares brought to him a wrong Botle, where with he was poisoned, and his Cardinals about him.

In the time of this Pope Alexander also it hapned (which is not to be pretermitted) how that the Angel, which stood in the high top of the Popes Church, was beaten down with a terrible thunder, which thing seemed then to declare the ruine and fall of the Popedom. After this Pope, next succeeded Pius the third, about the year of our Lord, 1503. After whom came next Julius the second, a man so far passing all other in iniquity, that Nicellus, and such other of his own friends writing of him, are compelled to say of him, *Marti illum quam Christo deditorem fuisse*; that is, that he was more given to war and battell, than to Christ. Concerning the madnesse of this man; this is most certainly known, that at what time he was going to war, he cast the keys of Saint Peter into the river Tiberis, saying, that sozafmuch as the keys of Peter would not serve him to his purpose, he would take himself to the sword of Paul. Whereupon Philip Melancthon, amongst many other writing upon the same, maketh this Epigram.

*Cum contra Gallor bellum papa Iulius esset  
Gesturus, fecit summa venusta docet:  
Iugentes Martis turmas contraxit, & urbem  
Egressus sacras edidit ore mihas.  
Iratique sacras claves in flumina jecit  
Tibridis, bich urbi pons ubi junget aquas.  
Inde in unum strictionem vagina diripit esum,  
Exclamansque truci talia voce refert:  
Hic gladius Pauli nos nunc defendat ab hoste,  
Quandoquidem clavis nil juvat ista Periri.*

Whereupon also Gilbert Ducherius maketh this Epigram.

*In Gallum, ut fama est, bellum gesturus acerbum,  
Armatus educit Julius urbe minum.  
Accinctus gladio, claves in Tibridis amnem  
Projicit, & serus talia verba facit:  
Quam Petri nihil efficiant ad prelia claves,  
Auxilio Pauli forsitan ensis erit.*

The sense of these Epigrams in English, is this.

When Julius Pope against the French determined to make war:  
As fame reports, he gathered up great troops of men from far:  
And to the bridge of Tibur then, marching as he were wood;  
His holy Keys he took and cast them down into the flood.  
And afterward into his hand he took a naked sword:  
And shaking it, broke forth into this fierce and warlike word:  
This sword of Paul (quoth he) shall now defend us from our foe;  
Since that this key of Peter doth nothing avail thereto.

Of this Julius it is certainly reported, that partly with his wars, partly with his curings, with



The Popes law giveth leave to kill all that he accurseth of him.

The wars and bloodshed of Pope Julius.

A Council called to depose Pope Julius. The Pope persecuted.

in the space of seven yeeres, as good as 200000. Christians were destroyed. First he besieged Ravenna against the Venetians, then Serbia, Anola, Fabentia, Forolivium, Bononia, and other cities, which he gate out of Princes hands, not without much bloodshed. The Chronicles of John Sleydan make mention; that when this Julius was made Pope, he took an oath, promising to have a Councell within two yeeres: but when he had no leasure thereunto, being occupied with his wars in Italy among the Venetians, and with the French king, and in Ferrara, and in other countries; nine of his Cardinals, departing from him, came into Pillain, and there appointed a Councell at the city of Pise; amongst whom, the chief were Bernardus, Truceus, Guilielmus Pnenestinus, Franciscus Constantinus, with divers others; unto whom also were adjoynd the Procurators of Maximilian the Emperour, and of Charles the French king. So the Councell was appointed the year of our Lord, 1511. to begin in the Kalends of September. The cause why they did so call this Councell, was thus alleaged, because the Pope had so broken his oath, and all this while he gave no hope to have any Councell; and also because there were divers other crimes, whereupon they had to accuse him. Their purpose was to remove him out of his seat, the which he had procured through bribes and ambition. Julius hearing this, giveth out contrary commandement, under great pain, that no man should obey them, and calleth himself another Councell against the next year, to be begun the 10. day of Aprill. The French king understanding Pope Julius to joyn with the Venetians, and so to take their part against him, convented a Councell at Thurin, in the month of September; in which Councell these Questions were proposed.

Whether it was lawfull for the Pope to move war against any Prince without cause.

Whether any Prince in defending himself, might invade his adversary, and deny his obedience.

Unto the which Questions it was answered, That neither the Bishop ought to invade, and also that it was lawfull for the King to defend himself. Moreover, that the Pragmaticall sanction was to be observed throughout the Realm of France: Neither that any unjust Excommunications ought to be feared, if they were found to be unjust. After this the King sent to Julius the answer of his Councell, requiring him either to agree to peace, or to appoint a generall Councell some other where, where this matter might be more fully decided. Julius would neither of both these, but forthwith accused Charles the French king, with all his kingdom. At the length at Ravenna, in a great war he was overcome by the French king, and at last, after much slaughter and great bloodshed, and mortall war, this Pope died in the year of our Lord, 1513. the 21. day of February.

The Pragmaticall Sanction established, mentioned before, pag. 665. No unjust excommunications to be feared.

The Turks things requisite to be known of Christians.

If it were not that I fear to overlay this our Volume with heaps of foreign histories, which have possessed chiefly to treat of Acts and Monuments here done at home; I would adjoyne after these Popes above rehearsed, some discourse also of the Turks story; of their rising and cruell persecution of the Saints of God, to the great annoyance and perill of Christendom: yet notwithstanding, certain causes there be, which necessarily require the knowledge of their order and doings, and of their wicked proceedings, their cruell tyranny, and bloody victories, the ruine and subversion of so many Christian Churches, with the horrible murders and captivity of infinite Christians, to be made plain and manifest, as well to this our country of England, as also to other nations.

First, for the better explaining of the prophecies of the new Testament, as in Saint Pauls Epistle to the Thessalonians, and also in the Revelation of Saint John. Which Scriptures otherwise, without the opening of these histories, cannot so perfectly be understood. Of the which Scriptures, we mind hereafter (Christ granting) orderly, as the course of matter shall leade us, to make rehearfall.

Another cause is, that we may learn thereby, either with the publike Church to lament with our brethren, such a great defection and decay of Christian faith, through these wicked Turks; or else may fear thereby our own danger.

The third cause, that we may ponder more deeply with our selves the scourge of God for our sins, and corrupt doctrine; which in the sequels hereof, more evidently may appear to our eyes, for our better admonition.

Fourthly, the consideration of this horrible persecution of the Turks, rising chiefly by our discord and dissention among our selves, may reduce us again from our domesticall wars, in killing and burning one of another, to joyn together in Christian patience and concord.

Fifthly, but chiefly, these great victories of the Turks, and unprosperous speed of our men fighting against them, may admonish and teach us, following the example of the old Israelites, how to seek for greater strength to encounter with these enemies of Christ, than hitherto we have done.

First we must consider that the whole power of Satan, the Prince of this world, goeth with the Turks. Which to resist, no strength of mans army is sufficient, but onely the name, spirit, and power of our Lord Jesus the Son of God, going with us in our battels; as among the old Israelites the Ark of Gods covenant and promise went with them also fighting against the enemies of God.

For so are we taught in the Scripture, that we Christian men have no strength but in Christ onely. Whether we war against the devill, or against the Turk, it is true that the Scripture saith, Sine me nihil potestis facere, i. without me you can do nothing.

Whether we war against the devill, or against the Turk, it is true that the Scripture saith, Sine me nihil potestis facere, i. without me you can do nothing.

Whether we war against the devill, or against the Turk, it is true that the Scripture saith, Sine me nihil potestis facere, i. without me you can do nothing.

Whether we war against the devill, or against the Turk, it is true that the Scripture saith, Sine me nihil potestis facere, i. without me you can do nothing.

Whether we war against the devill, or against the Turk, it is true that the Scripture saith, Sine me nihil potestis facere, i. without me you can do nothing.

Whether we war against the devill, or against the Turk, it is true that the Scripture saith, Sine me nihil potestis facere, i. without me you can do nothing.

Whether we war against the devill, or against the Turk, it is true that the Scripture saith, Sine me nihil potestis facere, i. without me you can do nothing.

Whether we war against the devill, or against the Turk, it is true that the Scripture saith, Sine me nihil potestis facere, i. without me you can do nothing.

Whether we war against the devill, or against the Turk, it is true that the Scripture saith, Sine me nihil potestis facere, i. without me you can do nothing.

Whether we war against the devill, or against the Turk, it is true that the Scripture saith, Sine me nihil potestis facere, i. without me you can do nothing.

Whether we war against the devill, or against the Turk, it is true that the Scripture saith, Sine me nihil potestis facere, i. without me you can do nothing.

Whether we war against the devill, or against the Turk, it is true that the Scripture saith, Sine me nihil potestis facere, i. without me you can do nothing.

Whether we war against the devill, or against the Turk, it is true that the Scripture saith, Sine me nihil potestis facere, i. without me you can do nothing.

Whether we war against the devill, or against the Turk, it is true that the Scripture saith, Sine me nihil potestis facere, i. without me you can do nothing.

Whether we war against the devill, or against the Turk, it is true that the Scripture saith, Sine me nihil potestis facere, i. without me you can do nothing.

Whether we war against the devill, or against the Turk, it is true that the Scripture saith, Sine me nihil potestis facere, i. without me you can do nothing.

Whether we war against the devill, or against the Turk, it is true that the Scripture saith, Sine me nihil potestis facere, i. without me you can do nothing.

KING  
HEN. 7.  
The first cause.

The second cause.

The third cause.

The fourth cause.

The fifth cause.

Ammonition to fight against the Turk.

Christian faith necessary to be joyned with outward force against the Turk.

Gratia venundati estis, gratia redimimini. Eley 52.

Omnes gentes venite ad aquas, emite absque ratione. Eley 55.



**KING** } We offering the works of the Law, seeketh his  
**HEN. 7.** } justice by the same, the like a Jewe. But neither  
 he nor we seek our justification as we should, that is,  
 by faith only in the Son of God.

And how I marvel then, our doctrine being as  
 corrupt almost as his, and our conversation worse,  
 if Christ fight not with us, fighting against the  
 Turk? The Turk hath prevailed so mightily, not  
 because Christ is weak, but because that Christians  
 be weakened, and their doctrine impure. Our temples  
 with Images, our hearts with Idolatry are polluted:  
 our Wichests sink before God for adultery,  
 being restrained from lawful matrimony. The  
 name of God is in our mouths, but his fear is not in  
 our hearts. We war against the Turk with our  
 works, Offices, Traditions and Ceremonies; but  
 we fight not against him with Christ, and with the  
 power of his glory, which if we did, the field were  
 won.

Wherefore briefly to conclude, saving my judge-  
 ment in this behalf, what I suppose: this hope I  
 have, and do beleve, that when the Church of Christ  
 with the Sacraments thereof shall be so reformed,  
 that Christ alone shall be received to be our Justifier,  
 all other religions, merits, traditions, images,  
 patrons and advocates set apart, the sword of the  
 Christians, with the strength of Christ, shall soon  
 vanquish the Turks pride and fury. But of this  
 more largely in the proesse of this story.

The first and last cause, why I think the know-  
 ledge of the Turks history requisite to be con-  
 sidered, is this: because that many there be, which for  
 that they see further from the Turks, and think  
 therefore themselves to be out of danger, take little  
 care and study what hapneth to their other Brethren.  
 Wherefore, to the intent to excite their zeal and  
 prayer to almighty God, in this so lamentable ruine  
 of Christ's Church, I thought it requisite, to order of  
 history, to give this our nation also something to  
 understand, what hath been done in other nations  
 by these cruel Turks, and what detriment hath  
 been, and is like more to happen by them to the  
 Church of Christ, except we make our earnest in-  
 vocation to almighty God, in the name of his Son, to  
 stop the course of the devill by these Turks; and to  
 stay this defection of Christians falling daily into  
 them, and to reduce them again to his faith which are  
 fallen from him. Which the Lord Jesus of his grace  
 grant with speed. Amen.

Where we enter into this story of the Turks  
 and Saracens, first let us call to remembrance the  
 prophetic and forewarning of Saint Paul writing  
 to the Thessalonians, in his second Epistle, in these  
 words: Be not moved or troubled in your mindes,  
 either by preaching or writing, or by letter from us,  
 as though the day of the Lord were at hand; for the  
 Lord will not come, except there come a defection  
 first, and the wicked person be revealed, &c. Of this  
 defection, sundry mindes there be of sundry expo-  
 sitions: some thinking this defection to mean a fal-  
 ling away from the Empire of Rome: some from  
 the obedience of the Pope. But as Saint Paul little  
 passed upon the continued glory of the Roman Em-  
 pire: so little he passed upon the proud obedience of  
 the Pope. Whither Saint Paul meant by this defection,  
 the reading of these Turkish stories, and the mi-  
 serable falling away of these Churches by him before  
 planted, will soon declare.

Another mystery there is in the Revelation, A-  
 pocal. 13. where the number of the Beast is count-  
 ed 666. Whereby may seem, by all evidences, to  
 be signified the first Whore and springing of these  
 heathen Saracens, as by sequels hereof may ap-  
 pear, by the first rising of this devilish sect of Ma-  
 homet.

Moreover, another place there is, apocal.  
 where we read, that by poisoning out of the Viall  
 of Gods wrath, of the first Angel, the great And

Cuphrates was dried up, to let in the Sunne of the  
 East the opening of which propheticall manner  
 evidently appear, in confounding the error and  
 manner of the coming of the Turks into  
 Europe.

Some also apply to the Turke certain prophe-  
 cies of Daniel, Ezekiel, and other places of the Old  
 Testament more, which here I omit, because I as-  
 sume the prophecies of the old Testament, till they be  
 in their proper and native place, after no manner  
 do extend no further than to the death of our Saviour  
 our, and to the end of the Jews Kingdom. Albeit  
 herein I do not premeditate to a very mans opin-  
 ion, but that every man may abound in his own  
 sense.

As touching the year and time when this pesti-  
 ferous sect of Mahomet first began, historians do not  
 fully consent, some affirming that it began, Anno  
 621. and in the tenth year of Heraclius the Empe-  
 rour of Constantinople: in which number do Jo-  
 nnes Lucius. As Gualterus counteth, it was in the  
 year of our Lord, 622. Martin Luther and John  
 Carion refer it to the 18. year of the reign of Hera-  
 clus, which is the year of our Lord, 630. And of  
 which number, the computation of the Beast signi-  
 fied in the Apocalypse, both not far off, which  
 number the name of the Beast, with three Greek  
 letters, 666 which Greek letters, after the appu-  
 sation of the Grecians, make the number of six hun-  
 dred sixty and six.

In this all writers agree, that this damnable Ma-  
 homet was born in the country of Arabia, border-  
 ing on the East part of Iudaea. His father was a  
 Syrian, or a Persian, his mother was an Imae-  
 lite, which Imaelites being a people of Arabia,  
 were called then Agarans; which term Ma-  
 homet afterward turned to the name of Saracens. Of  
 this wretched Mahomet, mention was made be-  
 fore, where we shewed, how he making him self the  
 highest prophet, of all other, yet denieth not Christ to  
 be an holy prophet, and next to him, and saith also  
 to be another. Moreover, he denieth not Mary the mo-  
 ther of Christ to be a Virgin, and to have conceived  
 Christ by the holy Ghost: affirming further, that  
 Christ in his own person was not crucified, but an-  
 other called Judas for him. He greatly command-  
 eth also John the son of Zachary for a virgin: when  
 he himself permitteeth a man to have four wives, and  
 as many Concubines as he is able to finde: and saith  
 that whereas Christ and other Prophets had the gift  
 given them to work miracles, he was sent by force of  
 sword, to compel men to his religion.

The prodigious vanities, lies and blasphemies  
 contained in his Law called Alchoran, are rather to  
 be laugh at, than recited.

It is thought that Sergius a Persian was a  
 great doer with Mahomet, in contributing of this  
 lying Alchoran, and so it doth well appear by the  
 scope and pretence thereof, which especially tendeth  
 to this end, to take the divinity from the person of  
 Christ, whom he granteth notwithstanding to be a most  
 holy man, and also that he is received  
 up to God, and shall come again to kill Anti-  
 christ, &c.

Moreover, this ridiculous Alchoran is so blan-  
 ked and powdered with so divers manners of the  
 Christians, Jews, and the Gentiles laws, giving  
 such liberty to all wantonness of flesh, setting up  
 Circumcision, abstaining from swines flesh, and Ju-  
 daicall notions, and so much standeth upon Father  
 Abraham, that it is supposed of some, this filthy Al-  
 choran not to be set out in the dayes of Mahomet, but  
 that certain Jews had some handling also in this  
 matter, and put it out after his death, and so someth  
 first to take his force about the number of years li-  
 veth in the Apocalypse, as is aforesaid, where thus  
 it is written: He that hath intelligence, let him count  
 the number of the Beast: for it is the number of a

Reformation  
 of religion re-  
 quireth a battle  
 we fight with  
 the Turks.

Faith getteth  
 victory.

The first cause.

Earnest in-  
 vocation neces-  
 sary in the  
 Church of  
 Christ.

Thess. 2.

The place of  
 Saint Paul  
 expounded.  
 Thess. 2.  
 speaking of the  
 defection to  
 come.

The number of  
 the Apocalypse  
 expounded.

Another place  
 Apoc. 16.

The time of  
 Mahomet first  
 began.

The number of  
 the Beast in  
 the Apoc. 666.

Mahomet of  
 Arabia, the  
 father of the  
 Turks.

The prodigi-  
 ous vanities  
 and blasphemies  
 contained in  
 the Alchoran.

Summe  
 Alchoran min-  
 ged with Je-  
 wels laws.

The number of  
 the Beast  
 cal. 666.



man, and his number is six hundred sixty and six.

After this devillish Mahumet had thus seduced the people, teaching them that he came not by miracles, but by force of sword to give his law, and that they which will not obey it, must either be put to death, or else pay tribute (for so be the words of the Alchoran;) and after that he had gathered strength about him of the Arabians, which Arabians had then occasion to rebell against the Emperour, because their stipends were not paid them of Heraclius the Emperours officers, he began to range with force and violence in the parts of Syria, bordering next unto him, and first subdued Pechia, then Damascus; and further increasing in power, he entered into Egypt, and subdued the same. From thence he turned his power against the Persians, with whom Col-roes the King of Persia encountering with a puissant army, overthrow the Saracens, and put Mahumet to flight. Of these Persians came the Turks, which afterward joining with the Saracens, maintained them against the Christians. Ex Munster.

After the death of this heath, which as some say, was poisoned in his house, succeeded Eborara, or Chubecor his father in law, or as Siblander affirmeth, his son in law, who took upon him the government of the Christians, and got the city Gaza, and besieged also Jerusalem two years. He reigned two years, having for his chief city Damascus.

After him followed Omar, or Ahumar, who conquered a great part of Syria, and got Egypt.

The fourth King of the Saracens, after Mahumet, was Othman, then followed Haly, and after him Subanias: which after the siege of 7. years, obtained and got the Christian city of Cesarea; also overcame the Persians, with their King Ormalaba, and subdued that country to his law.

Thus the wicked Saracens, in the space of thirty years, subdued Arabia, got Palestina, Phenicia, Syria, Egypt, and Persia, which came directly to the 666. years, prophesied of in the Revelation of Saint John, as is aforesaid. And not long after they proceeded further, and got Africke, and then Asia, as in the procelle of their story shall appear, the Lord willing.

Not long after Heraclius Emperour of Constantinople, succeeded Constance his Nephew, who in the 13. year of his Empire, fighting unluckily against the Saracens in Lycia, was overthrowen of Subanias aforesaid, in the year of our Lord 655. Which Constance, if he were not prospered by the Lord in his wars, it was no great marvell, considering that he had slain his brother Theodosius before at home; moreover, lived in incestuous matrimony: also, being inclined to certain new sects, could not abide the contrary teachers, but slew them which admonished him thereof. The said Constance going afterward to Italy, was also overcome of the Lombards, &c. The Saracens after this victory, spoiled all Rhodes.

Although these cursed Saracens in these their great victories and conquests, were not without domesticall sedition and divisions among themselves, yet the Princes of the Saracens, being called then Sultans, had in their possession the government of Syria, Egypt, Africke, and of a great part of Asia, about the term of 400. years, till at length the Saracen king which ruled in Persia, fighting against the Saracen of Babylon, sought aid of the Turks, to fight with him against the Sultan of Babylon. The which Turks by little and little surprised upon the Sultan of Persia, and not long after putting him out of place, usurped the kingdom of Persia: which afterward went further, as we shall hear, the Lord willing. And this is the first beginning of the Turks dominion.

These Turks, after they had thus overcome great Countries and Provinces, and made their power large and mighty both in Asia, and Europa,

began to divide their Kingdoms and countries among themselves. But when they could not agree, but with deadly war contended for the bounds of those Kingdoms and dominions, in the mean time four of the principall families, conquering and subduing all the rest, parted the whole Empire amongst themselves. And yet they also not so contented, fell to such cruell hatred, contention, war and slaughter, (no doubt by the just judgment of God against his blasphemous enemies) that there was no end thereof, untill the remnant of the ancient Turks was utterly rooted out.

For it is evident that there are few now remaining, which are Turks indeed by birth and blood, and that the state of that great Empire is not upholden, but by the strength and power of Souldiers, which have been Christians, and now are turned to Mahumets religion; so that even their own naturall language is now out of use amongst them, saving in certain families of their Nobility and Gentlemen.

These four families above mentioned, with their Captains and Armies, about the year of our Lord 1330. went raging throughout all Asia and Europe, and every one of them conquered some part of the countries where they passed.

The causes of these great invasions and victories, were the dissention and discord, falsehood, idleness, unconscience, greedy avarice, lack of truth and fidelity among Christian men of all states and degrees, both high and low. For by the wilfull defection and back-sliding of the Christians, the Turkish power did exceedingly increase, in that many desiring the licentious life and liberty of war, and allured with the prosperous successe of things, forsook the Church of God, and made themselves bondslaves to Mahumet and his devillish sect; both because that fleshly liberty is delightfull to all men, and partly also because as fortune favoureth, so commonly the wills of men incline. And again, such as be prophane and without the fear of God, (whereof there is an infinite number in the Church) in all ages are wont commonly to judge of religion, according to the successe of realms and Kingdoms. For many, not onely for the variety of opinions, but also for the diversity of events and fortune amongst men, have enquired and do enquire, whether there be any Church of God distinct from other nations: what it is, and where it is: especially, so much as the greatest part of men, both in the old time, when as the four Monarchies flourished in order, was ignorant of this doctrine, which is peculiar to the Church alone, and now also the barbarity of Mahumet prevaileth and reigneth in the most part of the world. And how standeth this with mans reason, that a small number, both miserable and also feeble and broken with many battels, should be regarded and loved of God, and the other flourishing in all wealth, prosperities, victories, authority and power, should be rejected and despised of God, seeing there is no power and authority, but by the ordinance of God? Albeit therefore the power of the Turks hath been, for these two hundred years, of greater force than any other Monarchie of the world beides, yet is there no Imperiall dignity to be esteemed in that Turkish tyranny, but amongst those nations onely, where the heavenly doctrine of the Gospel is preached, and other disciplines necessary for the Church of God, and the common life of man maintained and regarded; where the laws of God, and other honest and civill ordinances agreeable to the same, do flourish and reign: where lawfull judgment is exercised; where vertue is honoured and rewarded; where sin and wickednesse is punished; where honest families are maintained and defended.

These things are not regarded amongst the Turks the enemies of the Son of God, and all lawfull Emperors: because they dissolve and reject all godly societies.

The Turks dominions parted into four families.

The dissention of the Christians do make the Turks so strong.

No Imperiall country in all the Turkish dominions.

Damascus subdued of the Saracens.

Mahumet put to flight by Col-roes, King of the Persians.

Jerusalem besieged.

Cesarea got of the Saracens. The Kingdom of the Persians subdued to the Saracens.

Arabia, Palestina, Phenicia, Syria, Egypt, and Persia, subdued of the Saracens. Constance the Emperour overcome by the Saracens. Murder commonly prospereth not with the Lord.

Rhodes spoyled of the Saracens.

Sultans first called.

The first rising of the Turks.



**SKING**  
**HEN. 7.**  
The description  
of the Turkes  
inordinate  
Empire.

riceties, honest discipline, good lawes, policies, righteous judgement, the ordinance of matrimonie, and goodly families. For what hath the Empire of the Turkes been hitherto, but most deadly, cruell, and perpetuall warre, to work all mischief, destruction and desolation? To subvert good lawes, Cities, Kingdomes, policies, and to enlarge their cruell power and dominion? The stay and strength whereof is not love and labour proceeding of vertue and justice, as in lawfull and well governed Empires; but feare, violence, oppression, swarmes and infinite thousands of barbarous and most wicked people, ministers of Satans malice and fury. Which kinde of dominion and tyrannie hath bene condemned by the voyce of God many yeres agoe; the testimonies whereof the Lord would have to remaine in the Church, lest the goodly, being moved with the power and successe thereof, should fall away and forsake the Sonne of God.

Wherefore, let us not seeke for any Imperiall state in that barbarity: but let us be thankfull, and acknowledge the great benefit of God, for that he hath reserved to us certaine remnants of the Roman Empire: And let us call upon him daily with hearty petitions and groines, and with zeale and love to the house of God, that this Turkish power joyned with the malice of Satan against the Sonne of God, prebaile not against the pure congregations and little remnant of his Church, as if hath hitherto done against those strong and noble Christian Kingdomes and Churches, where now we see the Turkish tyranny to raigne, and Satan to have taken full possession. This state was once farre better then ours is now, and more like to continue without such horrible overthowles and desolation. Wh that we might see a little the great danger that hangeth over our heads. For though the Turke seemeth to be farre off, yet doe we nourish within our breasts at home, that which may some time use to feele his cruell hand and worse, if worse may be, to overrunne us, to lay our land waste, to scatter us amongst the infidels, the Enemies and Blasphemers of the Sonne of God.

Now, although these foure families abode mentioned long continued together in bloudy warres, deadly hatred, yet one of them passed the rest in all crueltie and tyrannie, and subduing the other three families, tooke upon him the government alone, and so became the first Monarch, or Emperour, that raigned amongst them, called Ottomannus, of whom all that raigned after him were called Ottomanni. Who succeeding orderly of his line, have occupied the same dominion and seat of the Turkes, from the year of our Lord, 1300. unto this present time, which have been to the number of 12. of the which 12. in such order as they lived and raigned, I intend (Christ so permitting) feberally and compendiously something to intreate, briefly abstracting, out of pollice and tedious writers, such specialties, as for us Christians shall be briefly requisite to be known.

Ottomannus the first great Emperour,  
or Tyrant of the Turkes.

This Ottomannus was at the first of pure estate, and obscure amongst the common sort of men, coming of a base progeny, and of rusticall parents; but through his valiantnesse and activitie in warre, he got him a great name amongst the Turkes. For he being a man of fierce courage, refusing no labour, and delighting in warre, and gathering together by great subtilty a multitude of common Souldiers, began to make warre, and by conquest and victories to advance himselfe and his family. First, he began to robbe and spoile with a great band of robbers, and afterward he attempted to set upon all mores. Neither did he here and destroy the Christians onely, but set upon his owne nation also,

and sought all occasion to subdue them wholly unto him. For now the Princes and Captaines of the Turkes inflamed with ambition and desire of rule, began to fall out and contend among themselves, insomuch that they fell to domesticall and inward warre, with all the power they could.

Ottomannus having this occasion very fit and meete to accomplish that which he long had sought for, gathering unto him all such as he thought to be given to robbing and spoiling, and set all upon mischief, in short time began to grow in authoritie, and first set upon certaine townes, as he saw opportunitie to serve him. Of which Townes some he tooke by force, some by yielding, other some he spoiled and overthrow to terrifie the rest, thus laying the first foundation of his rising. In the mean time, the discord which was amongst the Christians was no small advantage to this Ottomannus, by occasion whereof, he within terme yeres space subdued Bithinia, and all the Provinces about Pontus; Also Patolia, which comprehendeth all the dominion of the Greeks within Asia: Ancyra a Citie in Phrygia: Synope a Citie in Galatia; and Sabasta a Citie in Cappadocia: and thus still prebailing, he increased in short time to a mightie power, either through the secret judgement of God against that nation, or else because God would have them so farre and so cruelly to prebaile, for the punishment of the sinnes of other nations, like as it was prophesied before, that such a Kingdome there should be, of

40  
This Ottomannus, after he had raigned 28. yeres, in the year of our Lord, 1327. died, and departed to his Charnell, leaving behinde him three sonnes, of whom Orchanes, being the youngest, killed his two brethren, whilst they were at variance between themselves.

Orchanes the second Emperour after  
Ottomannus.

Orchanes, the youngest of the sonnes of Ottomannus, after he had slaine his two brethren, tooke the regiment of the Turkes after his father. Who after he had drawne to him the hearts of the multitude, such as had their dispositions set upon the licentious life of war, converted his power further to enlarge his fathers dominion, winning and subduing Phrya, Lydia, Lycaonia, Phrygia and Caria: All which Countreyes, being within the compass of Asia, unto the Sea side of Hellespontus; and the Sea Corinus, he added to the Turkish Empire. Also he waime Phrya, which was the Metropolitane Citie of Bithynia, which then he made the chiefe seat of the Turkes Empire. Besides these mozeover, he conquered Picea, and got Bicomedia: all which were before Christian Cities and Regions. And yet all this could not make the Christian Princes in Grecia to cease their civill warres, and to joyne and accord among themselves;

60  
Such debate and variance, was then betwene Cantacuzenus on the Greeks part, and Paleologus the Emperour of Constantinople. By reason whereof, the Turkes ayde was sent for out of Asia to helpe our Christians one to kill another, and at length to get all those parts of Europe from them both. Who if they had, according to their profession, so well joyned in brotherly unitie, as they did in cruell hostilitie dissent, neither had Orchanes so prebailed in getting Phrya from the Grecians, neither had the Turkes so soon presumed into Europe as afterward they did. Orchanes after these victories, when he had raigned two and twentie yeres, was stricken, some say, with a dart in the shoulder, at the Siege of Phrya. The opinion of other is, that he fighting against the Tartarians, where he lost a great part of his Army, was there also slaine himselfe, Anno 1349.

Amurathes

Further warre  
amongst the  
Turkes.

The coming up  
of Ottomannus.

Bithynia, Asia,  
Patolia, Ancyra,  
Synope, Sabasta,  
Phrya subdued.

Ezech 38.

Orchanes the  
second Emperour  
of the  
Turkes after  
Ottomannus.

Phrya, Lydia,  
Lycaonia,  
Phrygia, Caria,  
Phrya, Phrya,  
Picea, Bicomedia,  
Christian Cities  
subdued of  
the Turkes.

Civill warre  
amongst the  
Grecians.

By the dissent  
of Christians  
the Turkes  
increase.

The Christian  
Kingdomes and  
Churches de-  
stroyed by the  
Turkes, are a  
warning for us,  
whom God  
hath yet spared.

Foure princ-  
ipall families  
of the Turkes.

The family of  
Ottomannus.

Ottomannus  
the first Emperour  
of the  
Turkes.



## Amurathes the 3. after Ottomannus.

Amurathes the third after Ottomannus. Amurathes seeks occasion to invade Europe.

**T**he Greek writers doe hold that Dichanes had two sonnes, Solimannus and Amurathes. Of which two, first Solimannus reigned, albeit not long. After him followed Amurathes, who after that Asia now was subdued by his predecessors, sought by all means and wayes how to proceed further, and to invade Europe. To whose ambitious purpose the domesticall warres of the Christians gave unprosperous occasion, which occasion is thus declared. Certaine discord fell between the Princes of Greece (whose Captaine was Cantaguzenus) and Paleologus Empeur of Constantinople. Whereupon Paleologus, for that he was not able to make his partie good with the Grecians, most unwisely sent for Amurathes to help him. Who being glad to have such an occasion offered, which he so long had sought, sent to ayde him 12000. Turkes into Thracia: but first he used all delays he could of craftie policie, to the intent that the Greeks first should waste their strength, and power upon themselves, whereby he might be more able afterward to set upon them, and to accomplish his conceived desire.

The first coming of the Turkes into Europe.

The covenant made of the Christians bought over the Turkes.

The Turkes thus being called into Europe, by the Christians, whether they taking the sweetnesse of the soil, incited Amurathes their Emperour to make invasion, or whether Amurathes of his own head thought good to use the time, in the year of our Lord 1363. he came himselfe over into Europe with 60000. Turkes, falling upon the Grecians, being wasted and spent with their long wars and battels before. The presence of the devillish Turk was, to aid and to assist the Emperour Paleologus, whether he would or no, and to subdue such as had fallen from him. The Christian ships of the Ligurians, for many were hired to conduct them over, taking for every souldier a peece of gold. Ex Peuce et alius.

Callipolis.

Thracia gotten of the Turkes. Philippopolis, Adrianopolis.

The Turkes enter into Syria, and Bulgaria, and Serbia. Lazarus Despota overcome of the Turkes.

Example of a faithfull servant. The death of Amurathes.

Thus the Turkes army being conveyed over by the Serian Sea called Hellespontus, first got Callipolis, with other Towns and Cities bordering about the Sea, and there planting themselves, and preparing ships of their own for transporting their munitions out of Asia, advanced their power further into Thracia, and there won Philippopolis, then got Adrianopolis, which was not far from Constantinople, and there Amurathes made his chief seat. Then began Paleologus the Emperour at length to bewail his offer and covenant made with Amurathes. When the Turkes had espugned thus a great part of Thracia, they extended forth their army unto Sylla, which they soon subdued: from thence proceeding and conquering the Bessas and Triballus, they entered into Surbia and Bulgaria, where they joining battell with Lazarus Despota, Prince of Serbia, and with other Dukes of Dalmatia and Cyprus, wan of them the field, and put them to the worse; where Lazarus Despota being taken, and committed to prison, ended his life. This Lazarus had a certain faithfull client or servant, who to revenge his masters death, with a bold courage, although seeing death before his eyes, yet ventured his life so far, that he came to the tyrant and thrust him through with his dagger. This Amurathes reigned 23. years, and was slain in the year of our Lord, 1372.

## Baiazetes the 4. after Ottomannus.

Baiazetes the 4. after Ottomannus.

**T**he power of the Turkes began to increase in Europe, what time Baiazetes, the first of that name, after the death of his father, entered the possession of the Turkes kingdom. This Baiazetes had two brethren, Solimannus, and Sautes: which Sautes had his eyes put out by his father, for striving for the kingdom. Solimannus was slain of his brother. Thus Baiazetes, beginning his kingdom with the murder of his brother, reduced his

Imperiall seat from Bussia a city of Withymia, unto Adrianople, intending with himself to subdue both Asia and Europe to his own power. First he set upon the Serbians and Bulgarians, thinking to revenge his fathers death, where he gave the over-blow to Marcus Despota, with all the nobility of the Serbians and Bulgarians, and put all those parts under his subjection, unto the fines and borders of the Illyrians. All Thracia moreover he brought likewise under his yoke, onely Constantinople and Pera excepted. That done, he invaded the residue of Grecia, prevailing against the countries of Thessalia, Macedonia, Phocides and Attica, spoiling and burning as he passed without any resistance; and so, returning with innumerable spoil of the Christians unto Adrianople, laid siege to Constantinople the space of eight years, and had espugned the same, but that Paleologus, being brought to extremity, was driven to crave aid of the Frenchmen, and of Sigismund the Emperour. Who, being accompanied with a sufficient power of Frenchmen and Germans, came down to Hungaria, and toward Serbia, against the Turk. Baiazetes hearing of their coming, raised his siege from Constantinople, and with 60000. horsemen came to Nicopolis, where he encountering with them, overthrow all the Christian army, took John the Captain of the french power prisoner: Sigismund, which before in the Council of Constance had burned John Hus and Jerome of Prague, hardly escaped by flying. Baiazetes, after the victory got, carried away Duke John, with five other in bands, into Bussia, where before his face he carried all the other Christian prisoners to be cut in peeces. Afterward the said John, being ransomed with 200000. crowns, was delivered. Some Authors refer this story to the tune of Calpinus, as followeth hereafter to be seen.

{ KING }  
{ HEN. 7. }

Marcus Despota slain of the Turk. Serbia, Macedonia, Bulgaria, Phocides, Thracia, Attica, Thessalia: with other christian countries, conquered of the Turkes.

Constantinople besieged eight years by the Turkes.

The Christians overthrow of the Turkes. Sigismund the Emperour put to flight.

The barbarous cruelty of the Turk against the Christians.

Baiazetes the cruell tyrant after this victory won, and tyranny shewed upon the Christians, returned again to the siege of Constantinople, fully bending himself to conquer and subdue the same; which thing no doubt he had accomplished, but that the providence of God had found such a means, that Tamerlanes king of Partbia, with an hundred thousand horsemen, and swarms of footmen, like a violent flood over-running Asia, and pressing upon Syria and Sebestia, had taken Dithobules, the son of Baiazetes, prisoner, and afterward slew him, executing the like cruelty upon his prisoners, as Baiazetes had done before upon the Christians, insomuch that he spared neither sex nor age of the Turkish multitude: of whom he caused 15. thousand at one time to be over-riden and trodden down under his horses feet. By reason whereof, Baiazetes the tyrant was enforced to raise his siege from Constantinople, and to return his power into Asia; where he, near the hill called Stella, pitched his tents there to encounter with Tamerlanes.

Tamerlanes a Partbian, stirred up of God, to revenge the Christians. Baiazetes son taken & slain. Cruelty justly revenged with cruelty. Baiazetes slain by his siege from Constantinople.

The fight between these two, was long and great on both sides, which was in the year of our Lord 1397. and the second year after the slaughter of our Christians at Nicopolis in Pannonia; but the victory of this battell fell to Tamerlanes at length. In the which battell, as Sumterus writeth, were slain 100000. Turkes. Among whom Baiazetes the tyrant, having his horse slain under him, was taken prisoner: and to make a spectacle of his wretched fortune, he was bound in golden fetters, and so being inclosed in an iron grate (whom before all Grecia could not hold) was led about and shewed through all Asia, to be scorned and laught at: and moreover, was tied in stead of a footstool to Tamerlanes, or a block, as often as he mounted upon his horse. Some adde also, that he was made like a dog to feed under Tamerlanes table. The tyrannie of which Baiazetes against the Christians, as it was not much unlike to the cruelty of Tamerlanus

Baiazetes overcome of Tamerlanes king of Partbians.

The just hand of God upon a cruell persecutor. Baiazetes made for a block for Tamerlanes to get upon his horse.



SKING  
HEN. 7.

anus the Romane Emperour aboue mentioned, so neither was the example of his punishment much discrepant; for as Saporas King of the Persians did then with Valerianus in time of the eighth persecution of the Primitive Church, so likewise was Bajazetes this persecutor worthily handled by Tamerlanes King of the Parthians, as in manner abovesaid.

The great victories of Tamerlanes in Asia.

Tamerlanes after this conquest passed with his army into Mesopotamia, to Egypt, and all Syria, where he victoriously subduing the Cities and municipalities of the Turkes, at length also conquered Damascus. In his sieges his manner was, the first day to goe all in white attire, the second day in red, the third day in blacke, signifying thereby mercie the first day, to them that yielded; the second day the sword; the third day fire and ashes. At last, after great victozies, and spoiles gotten of the Turkes, he returned into his countrey againe, and there died Anno 1402.

Ex Seb. Munster lib. 4. Cosmograph.

Seb. Munsterus, writing of this Tamerlanes, recordeth that he had in his army 20000. men: and that he overcame the Parthians, Scythians, Hiberians, Albans, Persians, Medes, and conquered all Mesopotamia: and after he had also subdued Armenia, passing over the River Euphrates with fire hundred thousand footmen, and 400000. of horsemen, he invaded all Asia Minor, conquering and subduing from the fflow Tanais unto Nilus in Egypt, and was called terror orbis, the terrour of the world. He left behinde him two sonnes, who, falling in discord for their possessions, lost all againe that their father got.

Tanais is the uttermost fflow in the North side, and Nilus the uttermost fflow in the South side of Asia. A generation of vipers.

In the meane time Bajazetes, in the second year of his captivitie, died, leaving behinde him divers sonnes, Iesus or Joshua the eldest, Gulsumanes, Hoses, Celebinus, or Calepinus, Iesus the younger, Gustaphas and Bali, of whom first Iesus the eldest was overcome and slain of Gulsumanes, which Gulsumanes afterward was delivered to Hoses his brother, and by him was slain likewise; which Hoses had also the like end by his brother Calepinus, having his neck broken with a bowstring, which was then the usuall manner among the Turkes in killing their brethren. The same Calepinus sparing onely the life of Gustaphas his other brother, condemned him to perpetuall prison. Iesus the younger was baptised, and shortly after departed at Constantinople. In these such discords and divisions among the Turkes, what occasions were given to the Christians to have recovered againe of the Turkes that they had lost, if they had not been either negligent, or in their own private warres otherwise occupied with themselves?

### Calepinus the 5. after Ottomannus.

Calepinus the fifth, after Ottomannus.

Calepinus, or Celebinus was the sonne of Bajazetes, and of foure brethren the eldest; who being all taken captives of the Parthians, he onely escaped and obtained his fathers Kingdome. This Calepinus encouraged by the sloth and negligence of the Princes of Europe, and by the discord of the Grecians amongst themselves and other nations near about them, long troubled and bereed the Bulgarians, Serbians, and Macedonians, even to the time of Sigismundus. Which Sigismundus seeing now Bajazetes to be overcome and taken of Tamerlanes, and the power of the Turkes weakened in Europe, and having such occasion offered him, as it were from Heaven, to destroy and utterly to roote out, not onely out of Asia, but also all Europe, that barbarous nation, and cruell enemies to the name and religion of Christ: and also to revenge the great slaughter and discomfiture of his Army fighting before with Bajazetes at Nicopolis a Cite in Thracia; with great power made warre against Calepinus at Colimbatiun a Towne in Serbia, as is

also before mentioned, but as unluckily and with as little successe as he did before against Bajazetes his father. For in that battell were slain of the Christians to the number of twentie thousand, and the rest utterly discomfited, the King himselfe escaping so hardly, that he entred not againe into his Kingdome for the space of eighteen moneths after. Some say that this was done under Bajazetes, other some referre this battell to Amurathes, but howsoever it was, most pernicious was it to the Christians. He reigned but five yeeres and died very young, Anno 1404.

The overthrow of Bajazetes, and the escape of the King himselfe, was so hard, that he entred not againe into his Kingdome for the space of eighteen moneths after. Some say that this was done under Bajazetes, other some referre this battell to Amurathes, but howsoever it was, most pernicious was it to the Christians.

### Orchanes and Moses his Uncle, the sixth after Ottomannus.

After the captivitie of Bajazetes aboue mentioned, histories diversly doe dissent. The Greek writers, making no mention at all of Calepinus, onely make mention of the sonnes of Bajazetes, and of the contention among them, untill the time of Gahumetes. The Latine stories writing of the children of Bajazetes and of their succession, doe not therein agree, some affirming that Bajazetes had two sonnes, Orchanes surnamed Calepinus, and Gahumetes his brother, which within two yeeres slew the said Calepinus, and entred his dominion. Other attribute to Bajazetes more sons, as is aboue rehearsed. Some againe doe give to Bajazetes onely these two sonnes, Celebinus and Gustaphas; and hold that Calepinus or Celebinus had two sonnes, to wit, Orchanes and Gahumetes; and adde more over that the said Orchanes, being somewhat young, was slain of his Uncle Moses, who governed but two yeeres. For Gahumetes to revenge his brothers death slew Moses, and invaded his dominion. The Greek stories make no mention at all of Orchanes.

Orchanes and Gahumetes, the sixth after Ottomannus.

Orchanes being somewhat young, was slain of his Uncle Moses, who governed but two yeeres. For Gahumetes to revenge his brothers death slew Moses, and invaded his dominion.

### Mahumetes the 7. after Ottomannus.

This Gahumetes, whether he was the sonne of Bajazetes, or else of Calepinus, converted to himselfe alone the Kingdome, or byzannie rather of the murdering Turkes. Who afflicted the Christians with sore wars within Europe, especially the countrey called Wallachia, lying not farr from the fflow Danubius, between Hungarie and Thracia. From thence he removed into Asia, where he recovered divers parts in Galatia; Pontus, Cappadocia, Cilicia, which before Tamerlanes had alienated from the Turkes. This Gahumetes planted his chiefe Imperiall seate in Adrianople not farr from Constantinople, within the countrey of Thracia. In some writers the conflict between Sigismund and the great Turke, wherein the Christians were so discomfited, is referred rather to this Gahumetes, then to Calepinus; of which conflict mention is aboue made in the storie of Sigismundus. This Gahumetes reigned, as some say, 14. yeeres, and died in the year of our Lord, 1419. Other affirme 17. yeeres.

Gahumetes, the seventh after Ottomannus. Wallachia is situated by Gahumetes.

The Turkes seate at Adrianopolis.

### Amurathes the second, 8. after Ottomannus.

Amurathes, as Philadelphus saith, was the sonne of Celebinus as Leonicus Chalcondiles testifieth, of Gahumetes: whose sonne soever he was, a wretched tyrant he was, and permitted as a scourge of God, to correct the sins of the Christians. In the storie of Bajazetes mention was made before of Gustaphas his sonne, who was condemned to perpetuall prison by Calepinus his brother. This Gustaphas escaping out of his brothers prison, was conveyed to the Grecians, where he remained long in custodie, till at length they understanding the purpose of Amurathes, set him up with sufficient habilements and furniture of warre, to fight against the said Amurathes his nephew. But in conclusion, he

Amurathes the 8. after Ottomannus.

Gustaphas murdered by Amurathes his nephew.



he being not able to make his party good, came into the hands of his enemy, and had his neck broke with a bow string, after the manner of the Turkish execution.

The Grecians then terrified with this sinister advertisement, required truce of the Turke, but when that would not be granted, they procured into them Pustaphas, the other brother to Amurathes, being of the age of xij. years; who, likewise being armed of the Grecians, got the citie of Nice in Bithynia, from Amurathes his brother. Albeit it was not long but he was circumvented in the same Citie, and brought to Amurathes; who caused him likewise to taste of the same whip, as the other Pustaphas had done before. Amurathes, being now out of all feare and doubt of brethren and kinsfolke to rise against him, converted all his power against the Grecians: and first ranging throughout Thracia, where divers Cities yielded unto them, which before belonged to the Emperors of Constantinople, from thence he set forthward to the noble and famous Citie Thessalonica, being then under the league and protection of the Venetians. This Thessalonica is a Citie in Greece, bordering upon Macedonia, to the Citizens whereof Saint Paul writeth, foregoing unto them, in his second Epistle, of a defection to come before the coming of the day of the Lord, 2 Thel. 2. By the which Apostles of defection what the holy Apostle doth meane, this storie of the Turkes may easily declare. After Thessalonica was subdued, Phocis, with all the countie about Athens, Scotia likewise, Aetolia, Aetarnania, with all the region beyond Peloponnus, unto the coast of Corinth, to whom Saint Paul also wrote other two Epistles, were brought in bondage and slavery unto the Turke.

In Epyrus, and in that quarter that adjoyneth to Macedonia named Albania, reigned then one Joannes Castriotus; who, perceiving himselfe too weak to match with the Turkes power, made with the Turke this convention, that he should have Croia, a famous Citie in Grecia, and also gave to him his three sonnes for hostages, to wit, Constantinus, Repossus, and Georgius.

In this George such forwardnesse of noble courage, such vigor of minde, and strength of body singularly did appeare, that the Turke caused him more freely to be instructed after the Turkish religion and manner in his owne court: where he being trained up, did so shew up as well in feates of activitie, as in strength of body, that he excelled all his equals; in so much that he was named Scanderbeus, which soundeth as much as Alexander Magnus.

After this Alexander was growne up to mature ripenesse of age, and was well trained up in feates of warre, he was sent out by the Turke, to warre against Caramanus of Cilicia the Turkes enemy. In which expedition he sped himself most manfully, fighting hand to hand, first with a footman of Scythia, then with an horseman of Persia, being challenged by them both to encounter, first with the one, after with the other, whom he so valiantly overthrowed that he won great renown with the Turke: In so much that he trusting to the Turkes favour, when he heard of the decease of his father, durst aske of the Turke the grant of his fathers dominion to be given unto him. Which request although Amurathes the Turke did not deny him; yet notwithstanding, he perceiving the matter to be dallied out with faire words, by subtle meanes and policie slipt out of the Turkes court, and came to Epyrus his owne inheritance, where first by forged letters he recovered Croia. The other Cities of their voluntary minde yielded themselves unto him; who then gathering unto him the people of Epyrus and Macedonia (which were not so many in number, as with good willing minds they flock unto him) so manfully and valiantly behaved himself, that against all the puissance both of Amurathes, and also of Pustaphas,

he maintained his owne, repulsed their violence, and put to flight their armies many yeeres together. But to return againe to the course of Amurathes victories, after he had thus prevailed (as is before signified) against the East parts of Europa and Grecia, and had converted thus for the dominion of Epyrus, he invaded Illyricum, (otherwise called now Sclavonia) containing in it Dalmatia, Croatia, Istria, and Liburnia: which Countie after he had spoiled and wasted, he continued his course to Albania and Bosnia. In which regions, when he had subdued a great part, and had led away an innumerable multitude of captives, he moved further to Malachia and Serbia, upon hope to conquer all Dalmatia.

There reigned at the same time in Serbia a certaine Prince named Georgius Despota, who made great sute to the Turke for truce and peace, promising to give his daughter to marriage; for by the Turkes law they marry as many wives as they lust. It was not long after Amurathes had married the daughter of Despota, but he contrary to his league and promise, made warre upon Despota his father in law, and expelled him out of his Kingdom, taking from him divers Cities, as Scopia, Jibomonte, Sophia, and all Dyssia. Georgius himselfe fled into Hungarie, leaving behinde him his sonne to defend the towne of Sinderonia. Amurathes understanding of the flight of Despota his father in law, compassed the Citie of Sinderonia with a strong siege, which when he in few dayes had espugned, he toke his wives brother, the sonne of Despota, and without all regard of mercie and affinity, after the barbarous tyrannie of the Turkes, put out his eyes, with a balon red hot set before his eyes, and after that led him about with him in derision in despite of his cowardly father. Ex Cristoph. Richerio Gallo, & Gasp. Peuc. & alius.

Serbia being thus won and gotten, Amurathes, thinking to goe further into Hungarie, besieged the Citie called Belgradum, and no doubt had also suppressed the same, had not the providence of God found meanes, that partly through laughter of his men, partly for lack of victuall and other forrage, he was compelled to raise his siege and retire.

In the meane time Joannes Huniades (of whom mention was made before) had got great victories against the Turkish power, and had recovered part of Serbia, and all Bulbavia; against whom Amurathes the Turke, with a mightie armie, moved into Dalmatia. But Huniades with the power and ayde of Ladislaus King of Polonia (but specially by the power of the Lord) did soone infringe the puissance of the Turke, and gave him the overthrow, recovering unto the Christians the greatest part of Serbia and Bulgaria.

In this battell Huniades had five sundry conflicts with the Turkes upon one day, and with five victories put them to the worse, and toward night did so discomfit and overthrow the great captaine of Amurathes, called Bassa, the Duke of Anatolia (which is otherwise named Asia Minor) that he slew of the Turkes that day to the number of thirtie thousand. Amurathes, although he was not a little thereat discouraged, yet dissembling his feare, with stout countenance sent for Carambeus his principall stay and captaine, with a new power brought out of Asia to assist him in his warres. This Carambeus, in the Downes of Transylvania, Ladislaus the foresaid King of Polonia (the Lord so working) through the industrie of Joannes Huniades, so received and with such celerity oppressed him unprovided that all his stout and sturdy Army either was slaine downe right, or else put to flight and sparkled, Carambeus the Captaine being himselfe taken prisoner in the same field.

These victories of Huniades strooke no little terror to Amurathes, in so much that for distresse of minde

{ KING }  
{ HEN. 7. }

The valiant acts of Georgius Scanderbeus against the Turkes. Illyricum, or Sclavonia, Dalmatia, Croatia, Istria, Liburnia, Albania, Bosnia spoiled and wasted by the Turke.

Georgius Despota Prince of Serbia. An ingodly grant of a Christian father to marry her to marry to the Turke. Scopia, Jibomonte, Dyssia, subdued of the Turke. Georgius Despota fled into Hungarie. The cruelty of the Turke upon his wives brother.

Belgradum besieged of the Turke.

Belgradum besieged of the Turke.

Joannes Huniades Calvoa.

Five victories of Iohn Huniades, against the Turke gotten in one day. The great Bassa or Duke of the Turkes overthrowen by Huniades.

The victory of Huniades against Carambeus the great captaine of the Turkes.

The great Turke brought to a great distress of minde

The Turke murdereth his brother.

Amurathes set against the Grecians.

Thracia subdued to the Turke.

Thessalonica subdued.

The defection spoken of S. Paul declared, 2 Thel. 2.

Joannes Castriotus. Croia, given to the Turke. The 3. sonnes of Castriotus hostages with the Turke. Georgius Scanderbeus, Alexander the great.

The valiant acts of Georgius Scanderbeus.

Georgius Scanderbeus fleeth away from the Turke to his country. Croia recovered. Epyrus and Macedonia recovered from the Turke.



{ KING  
{ HEN. 7.

Amurathes  
seeketh truce of  
the Christians.

The conditions  
between Ladislaus  
King of  
Polonia, and  
Amurathes.

Truce between  
the Christians  
and the Turks  
for ten years.  
Amurathes re-  
turned into  
Asia.  
The Popes  
dispensation  
and absolution  
abused.

The Popes  
rather com-  
mends to  
Christendom,  
nothing pro-  
phecy that is  
taken in hand  
by the Popes  
feeling on.  
The Pope  
breaketh truce  
made between  
the Christians  
and the Turks.

The Pope mo-  
ved Ladislaus  
to break truce.

The false dea-  
ling of the Ita-  
lian Navy.  
The battell of  
Uarna, be-  
tween Ladislaus  
King of  
Polonia, and  
Amurathes.

The popish  
priests were  
the cause of  
loosing the  
field.

minde he was ready to destroy himselfe (as some doe write) but being confirmed by Delibeus Bassa his counsellor, he kept himselfe within the straits of the mount Athopoe. Who then hearing that Cathman invaded the same time the countrie of Bithynia and Pontus in Asia, was glad to take truce with Ladislaus and Huniades upon such conditions as they listed to make themselves: which conditions were these, that Amurathes should depart clearely from all the region of Serbia, and should remove from thence all his garrisons, which were placed in the Castles and Forts of the same; also he should restore George Despotas (which is to say) Prince of Serbia unto his possession, and let his children free, whom he had in captivity, and restore them to their inheritance. Item, that he should make no more claime nor title to the Countrie of Moldonia above mentioned, nor to that part of Bulgarbia which he had lost; and that he should desist hereafter from all wrongs and injuries against the Christians. Upon these conditions the Turke being agreed, so was truce concluded on both parts for tenne years, and with sollemne oath between them confirmed.

This done, Amurathes the tyrant addresseth himselfe toward Asia, to resist the invasion of Caramanus aforesaid. At what time Pope Eugenius so soon as he heard the Turke to be returned into Asia, sendeth Julianus Casarianus his Cardinall (whose storie is before touched) unto Ladislaus the foresaid King, with full dispensation and absolution to breake his oath and league with the Turke, promising moreover great hope and ayde, if he would goe in armes stoutely against the tyrant.

Where by the way is to be noted, that as there is no truth of promise in that pestilent sea of Rome, neither wasthere ever any warre prospered, which was taken in hand by the Popes counsell: so was there never any counsell of the Pope that brought with it more detriment to Christianity, then this. But the Pope belike thought, that as he might lawfully breake promise with John Hus, and with other Christians, so also he needed not to observe any league or truce taken with the Turke: but it turned much otherwise then the Popes blinde braines imagined, as by the sequell is to be seene. For Ladislaus being thus excited by the unadvised and sinister instigation of Pope Eugenius, contrary to the truce established a litle before, set out with his army from Seledinus, and so proceeding to Malachia and Burgaria, came to Uarna, a Towne of Bulgary, where he fell sicke.

It was not long, but the Turke, having thereof intelligence, left his warres begun with Caramanus in Asia, and with great journeyes made haste into Europe, passing over by the Straits nere to Callipolis, where all the Italian Navie still looking on, and whether of purpose, or whether for cowardliness, would not stir one oare to stop the passage of the Turkish army. When Amurathes was come to Adrianopolis in Thracia using such celeritie as no man looked for, within eight dayes he was in Burgaria, and there encamped himselfe against Ladislaus. The day of battell being set, the armies joined on both sides. Huniades was himselfe there present, but all the matter was ruled by Julianus the Cardinall, and the Popes clergy. The fight continued three dayes and three nights together, with great courage and much bloodshed on each side; in so much that the field did stand with lakes of blood. It seemed at the first to incline to the Christians, by breaking the first ranks of the Turkes. But the Priests and Prelates which were at the field (which had bene more fit to have bene in the Church) seeing the Turkes to begin to spee, unskilfully left their array to pursue the enemy, so that they leaving the other standings of the Christians naked, gave great advantage to the Turkes with their darts and shot to disturbe the Christian ranks. By the which occasion

Amurathes inclosing the Christians with his army round about, obtained the victory. In the which battell, Ladislaus the young King of Polonia, having his horse first killed under him, was stricken down and slaine. The Popes Bishops striving to save themselves, fell into the marishes, and there were smothered, sustaining a brutie death conigne to their filthy falshood and untruth. Julianus the Cardinall, which with the Pope was the chiefe doer in breaking the league, in the way was found dead, being full of wounds, and spoiled to his naked skin. Of the rest of the army that escaped by flying, part was smothered in the marishes, some perished miserably for hunger, some for cold, watching and wandering in the woods. Huniades hardly escaped the danger, by the mercifull providence of God, being reserved to the further profit and commoditie of Christendome.

This John Huniades the worthy warrior was borne in Malachia, being Earle of Bistice, of all 20 Captaines that ever went against the Turkes most famous and singular, prudent in wit, discret in counsell, expert and politike in warre, prompt of hand, circumspect before he attempted, quicke in expedition: in whom wanted almost no good property requisite in a warlike Captaine. Against two most mighty and fierce tyrants, Amurathes and Mahometes, through the Lords might, he defended all Damonia, and therefore was called the thunderbolt and terror of the Turkes. Like as 30 Achilles was unto the Grecians, so was he set up of God to be as a wall or bulwarke of all Europe against the cruell Turks and enemies of Christ and of his Christians. Neither was there any King or Prince that ever achieved such noble victories, either so many in number, or so profitable for the publicke utilitie of all Europe, as did he, and that not onely in the dayes of this Amurathes, but also of Mahometes his successor, as hereafter remaineth further to be seene. This battell of Amurathes against the Christians at Uarna in Bulgaria, was fought in the year of our Lord, 1404.

Amurathes by reason of this victorious overthrow against the Christians, surpised with no small pride, directed his journey incontinent toward the Grecians, where Castriotus was, otherwise called Scanderbeius. And first coming to Peloponnesus, and breaking downe the wall about the straits of Corinth, encountered with the brother of the Emperour of Constantinople, whom with his sudden coming he oppressed, with all the Greeces army, ere they were provided. Paleologus the Emperour after that, did build up the wall againe, but at the Turkes bidding he was compelled to undo it againe: which wall afterwards the Venetians did repaire. After the demolition of the wall, Amurathes entring into \* Peloponnesus took divers Townes and Cities, as \* Peloponnesus

The next yeare after this battell of Amurathes sought against the Christians at Uarna, the Turke being now about the parts of Grecia, purposed to bend all his force and maine against the countrey of Cyprus belonging to Georgius Castriotus Scanderbeius. Of this Scanderbeius mention was made before, how he was brought up in the Turkes Court, from whence he declared also how subtilly he conveyed himselfe, and came to the possession of his owne patrimony of Cyprus. \* Which Cyprus this noble and victorious Scanderbeius (whom the Lord is a comerey in Grecia, boy- dering nere to the parts of Macedonia. Seven Cap- taines of the Turkes over- come by Ca- striotus Scanderbeius.

John Huniades the worthy warrior, who was stricken down and slaine.

John Huniades the worthy warrior, who was stricken down and slaine.

Huniades escaped.

The worthy commendation of Iohn Huniades.

Amurathes rather his voyage against the Grecians.

\* Peloponnesus, Scione, Patris, with all the parts of Thessalia and Achata tributaries unto him.

\* This Cyprus is a comerey in Grecia, boy- dering nere to the parts of Macedonia. Seven Cap- taines of the Turkes over- come by Ca- striotus Scanderbeius.



himselfe with his whole puissance had invironed about the Citie of Croja, with cruell siege and ordinance out of measure, yet notwithstanding the said Scanderbeius (through the power and blessing of the Lord) beate him out of the field, and repulsed him from the siege.

Amurathes renounced his Dominion, and made himself a Turkish Monk.

After this discomfiture, the saying is, that Amurathes, to keep his vow made before, after his victory at Tarna, gave himself unto a religious order, living a contemplative life with certain other priests joined unto him, in the Forrest of Bithynia, renouncing the government of his Realme to the hands of Haly one of his Princes (for thou must understand, good Reader, that the Turkes also be not without their sundry sects of religion, no more then we Christians are without our friers and Monkes.)

Two Christian warriors in Europe stirred up of God to vanquish the Turkes.

In the meane time while Amurathes this Turkish tyrant was cloystered up in his monkish religion, Ioannes Huniades in the Kingdome of Hungary, and Castriotus Scanderbeius in Grecia, kept great stirre against the Turkes. By reason whereof Amurathes was taken againe from his monkish vow and profession, and brought againe into the field: for first Huniades had rescued the whole countrey of Hungary, and had propulsed moreover all the might of the Turkes far from Serbia. And although the perith practice of Georgius Prince of Serbia had oftentimes disclosed his counsell unto the Turkes, whereby twice he was brought in danger, yet notwithstanding (through the Lords gracious protection) he was preserved and delivered by the said George unto the Hungarians againe, and after that manfully vanquished the Turkes, so that they had no resting place about those parts of Serbia and Bulgaria, so long as he lived.

This John Huniades is reported to have vanquished the Turk, to lose but two.

Cyprus and Macedonia, defended by Scanderbeius.

On the other side in Grecia, Castriotus Scanderbeius so foiled the Turke in defence of his countrey Cyprus and Macedonia, and kept Amurathes so short, that not onely he was not able to winne any great towne in all Cyprus, but also coming from Cyprus into the straits, he was so intangled by Castriotus, that he was forced to give battell: In the which battell he was so vanquished, and most part of his army slaine, that, for griefe and sorrow conceived, he falling into a raving sicknesse was transported out of his pavilion unto Adrianople, and there in fury and madnesse died, after he had reigned 34. yeres, which was about the yer of our Lord 1450.

Amurathes overcome by Scanderbeius.

This Amurathes first ordained the order of the Janizaries. Which were the men children of such Christians as he conquered and took captibe; whom he forced to renounce the faith of Christ, wherein they were baptized, and brought them up in Mahumetes law, and exercised them in the same feats of warre as he did his owne people, and after that they came to mens estate, he named them Janizari (that is to say) souldiers of a strange countrey, and made them to guard his person. They weare on their head, in stead of an helmet, a white attire made of the grossest sort of wall, and in so many folds about their head that it cannot be pierced with a sword. It hangeth down on the back with a tayle, and betwixt on the forehead it is garnished with gold and silver. They were wont to use bowes and lances in the field, but now they use dages as our horsemen doe.

Janizari among the Turkes.

At the first institution there were but eight thousand in their garrison, but now there be twice so many. This of all bondage and servitude that the Christians suffer under the Turke is most intolerable, and greatly to be of all true Christians lamented. For what can goodly minde behold more to their griefe, then to see their children pulled from the faith of Christ wherein they were baptized, and by whose blood they should eternally be saved, and to be instructed and nourished with the blasphemous doctrine of Mahumet, and so be professed enemies of Christ and his Church, to make warre against heaven, and to perish everlastingly? And finally, what

a lamentable thing is it, to see and behold our owne children borne of our owne bodies, to become our mortall and cruell enemies, and to cut our throats with their owne hands? This servitude of minde is farre greater then death it selfe: which if our Princes would well consider, it would cause them the rather to agree, and bend their whole force and power against this cruell enemy.

SKING  
HEN. 7.  
A lamentable slavery of Christian mens children under the Turke.

## Mahumetes second, the ninth after Oetomannus.

Amurathes left behinde him three sonnes, Mahumetes borne of the daughter of Despota Prince of Serbia, being twenty yeres of age, the second son called Turcines, the third named Calcpinus. This Turcines being an infant, and but 18. moneths old, was strangled at the commandement of the Turke by his servant Holes, himselfe being there present and beholding the horrible murder. And when Holes the executioner of the murder had desired him not to pollute his hands with the blood of his brother, he answered, that it was the manner of all the Ottoman Turkes, that all the other brethren being destroyed, none should be left alive but one to governe the Empire. Wherefore Holes was commanded by the tyrant, there presently, and in his sight, to kill the infant. This horrible fact when the mother of the childe understood, she cried out, and almost mad for sorrow, cursed the tyrant to his face. But he to mitigate the rage of his mother, at her request, being desirous to be revenged upon the executioner of her sonnes death, delivered the said Holes bound into her hands, who then in the presence of the tyrant thrust him to the heart with a knife, and opening his side took out his liver, and threw it to the dogs to be devoured.

Mahumetes the ninth Turke after Oetomannus.

The tyranny of Mahumetes in murdering his brethren.

The third son called Calcpinus, which was but six moneths old, the foresaid Amurathes his father commended to the custody of Halibassa one of his nobles, who, to gratifie and please the tyrant, betrayed the infant, and brought him unto him, and thereupon he at the tyrants commandement was strangled. Some affirme, that in stead of Calcpinus another childe was offered unto the tyrant, and that Calcpinus was conveyed to Constantinople, and after the taking of Constantinople was carried to Venice, and then to Rome to Pope Calixt where he was baptized, and afterward came into Germany to Frederick the Emperour, and there was honorably entertained, and kept in Austria during his life. Where note how the mercifull providence of God, whom he list to save, can fetch out of the devils mouth whom he list to save. Note here Gods punishment upon the betrayer of innocent blood.

Halibassa a traitor to his Master. Horrible particide of the abominable Turk. Gods providence can fetch out of the devils mouth whom he list to save. Note here Gods punishment upon the betrayer of innocent blood.

Although this Mahumet, notwithstanding that he came of a Christian mother, being the daughter of Despota Prince of Serbia, and by her was brought up and instructed from his childhood in the precepts of Christian religion and manners, yet he soon forgetting all, gave himself to Mahumetes religion, and yet so, that he being addicted to neither religion became an Atheist, belabbing and worshipping no God at all, but onely the goddess of good fortune, irriding and mocking the minds and judgments of men, which belaeve that God by his providence governeth and regardeth the state of humane things on earth.

After that this Mahumet heard of the victories and conquests of other his predecessors, and had understanding how Bajazetes lay eight yeres about



KING  
HEN. 7.

Mahumet first  
seteth upon  
Athens.

The fury of  
Mahumet the  
Turk against  
the city and  
school of A-  
thens.

Athens de-  
stroyed.

The siege and  
taking of Con-  
stantinople.

Three causes  
specially noted  
in the winning  
of Constanti-  
nople.

Ex Ioanne Ra-  
mo, lib. 2. rerum  
Turcicarum.

Ex Ramo.

An Image of  
the Crucifix in  
Constantino-  
ple.

about Constantinople, and could not win it: he  
disprizing Biazetes, and disdaining that so long  
time should be spent about the siege thereof, and  
yet no victorie gotten, bent all his study and de-  
vice how to subdue the same. But first having a  
private hatred against the city of Athens, and ha-  
ving his hands lately imbued with the blood of  
his brethren, this murdering Mahumet first of all  
taketh his voyage to subvert and destroy the city  
aforesaid, being a famous School of all good learn-  
ing and discipline. Against the which city he did  
so furiously rage for the hatred of good letters, that  
he thought he ought not to suffer the foundation  
thereof to stand, because that city was a good nurse  
and fosterer of good Arts and Sciences; wherefore  
he commanded the city to be rased and utterly sub-  
verted; and wheresoever any monuments or houses  
could be found, he caused them to be cast into dur-  
ty sinks, and the filthiest places of the city, or put  
to the most vile uses that could be devised, for ex-  
tirping and abolishing of all good literature; and  
if he understood any to lament the case, and ruine of  
that noble place, those he grievously punished and  
put to death.

Thus the famous and ancient School of Athens  
being destroyed and overthrowen, he returned his  
army and power into Thracia, where in all haste  
he, gathering up his power together both by sea and  
land, with a mighty multitude compassed the city  
of Constantinople about, and began to lay his  
siege against it, in the year of our Lord, 1453.  
and in the four and fiftieth day of the said siege it  
was taken, sacked, and the Emperour Constanti-  
nus slain. As touching the cruelty and fierce-  
ness of the Turks in getting of this city, and  
what slaughter there was of men, and women, and  
children, what calamity and misery was there to be  
seen, forsomuch as sufficient relation, with a full  
description thereof, hath been made before, it shall  
be superfluous now to repeat the same. This  
onely is not to be omitted touching three principall  
causes of the overthrow of this city; whereof the  
first was the filthy avarice of those Citizens, which  
hiding their treasures in the ground, would not im-  
ploy the same to the necessary defence of their city.  
For so I finde it in story expressed, that when the  
Turk, after the taking of the city, had found not  
so much treasure as he looked for, suspecting with  
himself (as the truth was) the treasures and ri-  
ches to be hidden under the ground, commanded  
the earth to be digged up, and the foundations of  
the houses to be searched: where when he had found  
treasures incredible, What (quoth he) how could  
it be that this place could ever lack munition  
and fortification, which did flow and abound with  
such great riches as here is, and plenty of all things?  
The second cause was the absence of the nabie  
of the Venetians, which, if they had been ready in  
time, might have been a safeguard against the in-  
vasion of the enemies. A third cause also may be  
gathered upon occasion incident in stories, either  
for that the city of Constantinople fiftien yeers  
before did yield to the Bishop of Rome, as is be-  
fore to be seen, or else because (as in some Writ-  
ters it is evident) that Images were there received  
and maintained in their Churches, and by the Turks  
the same time destroyed.

Ioannes Ramus, writing of the destruction of  
this city, amongst other matters maketh relation  
of the Image of the Crucifix, being there in the  
high Temple of Sophia; which Image the Turk  
took, and writing this superscription upon the head  
of it, Hic est Christianorum Deus, i. This is the  
God of the Christians, gave it to his soldiers to  
be scorned, and commanding the said Image with  
a Trumpet to be carried thowall all his army,  
made every man to spit at it most contumeliously.  
Wherein thou hast (good Reader) by the way to

note, what occasion of Rinder and offence the  
Christians give unto the barbarous Infidels by  
this our ungodly superstition, in having Images  
in our Temples, contrary to the expresse comma-  
ment of God in his Word. For it Saint Paul,  
writing to the Corinthians, saith, We know  
Christ now no more after the flesh: how much lesse  
then is Christ to be known of us in blade, stocks  
and Images set up in our Temples, serving for  
none other purpose, but for the Infidels to laugh  
both us and our God to scorn, and to provoke Gods  
vengeance: which by the like example (I fear)  
may also fall upon other cities, where such Images  
and Idolatrous superstition is maintained, where-  
of God grant Vienna to take heed betime, which  
hath been so long, and yet is in such great danger  
of the Turk, and polluted with so many Images, and  
plain Idolatry.

In summa, to make the story short, such was the  
cruelty of these Turks in winning the City, that  
when Mahumet had given licence to the soldiers  
three dayes together, to spoil, to kill, and to do  
whatsoever they listed, there was no corner in all  
Constantinople, which did not either flow with  
Christian blood, or else was polluted with abomi-  
nable abusing of Hairs, Whives and Patrons,  
without all reverence of nature. Of the which Ci-  
tizens, some they murdered, some they rolled up-  
on spits, of some they flayed off their skin, hang-  
ing them up to consume with famine, or other-  
wise they put salt into their wounds, the more ter-  
rible to torment them, inasmuch that one of them  
contended with another, who could devise most  
strange kindes of new torments and punishments,  
exercising such cruelty upon them, that the place  
where the city was before, seemed now to be no ci-  
tie, but a slaughter-house or shambles of Christian  
mens bodies. Among the dead bodies, the body also  
of Constantine the Emperour was found: whose  
head being brought to Mahumet, he commanded it  
to be carried upon a spear thowall the whole city for  
a publike spectacle and derision to all the Turkish  
army. And because he would diminish the number  
of the captives, which seemed to him to be very  
great, he never rose from his Table, but he put eve-  
ry day some of the Nobles to death, no lesse to all  
his cruell minde with blood, than his body was fil-  
led with wine; which he used so long to do as any  
of the Nobles of that city was left alive. And of  
the other sort also, as the stories do credibly report,  
there passed no day in the which he did not orderly  
slay more than three hundred persons, the residue he  
gave to his rascall soldiers to kill, and to do with  
them what they would. Where is to be noted,  
that as Constantinus the son of Helena was the  
first Emperour of Constantinople, so Constanti-  
nus the son also of Helena was the last Emperour  
thereof.

Not far from the said city of Constantinople  
there was another little city called Pera, and once  
called Gallatia, situated by the sea side; who hear-  
ing of the miserable destruction of Constantino-  
ple, and seeing the city flaming with fire, sent cer-  
tain of the chief men with speed to Mahumet, de-  
claring unto him, that they neither had sent any  
help to the city of Constantinople, neither yet  
wrought any detriment to any of his army: where-  
fore they desired and prayed him, that as they would  
gladly yield unto him, so he would be favourable un-  
to them and spare them, and not to punish the guilt-  
lesse with the guilty. Mahumet, although he was  
not ignorant that for fear, rather than of any good  
will, they submitted themselves, and that they would  
rather resist him if they had been able, yet he recei-  
ved for that time the submission of the messengers:  
but sending with them his Ambassadors into the  
city, he commanded also his army to follow with-  
all, and to enter with him into the city, which  
M m m although

These officers  
were sent to the  
Turks by the  
Christians to  
surrender the  
city.

Vienna admo-  
nished.

The cruel  
murder by the  
Turks in the  
city of Con-  
stantinople.

A lamentable  
destruction of  
the City of  
Constantino-  
ple.

The bloody  
cruelty of the  
Turks against  
the Christian  
captives.

The city of  
Pera (where-  
in fell the  
Turk).



The City of  
Buda spoiled.

Drunken  
Hun-  
nides  
fall of  
promise.

The mercifull  
providence of  
God in saving  
his people.

Constantinople  
made the Im-  
periall feat  
of the Turk.  
The siege of  
Belgradum in  
Hungary.  
John Huni-  
ades.

Forty thousand  
Turks slain at  
the siege of  
Belgradum.

Ex Hier. Zieglerus,  
in lib. de illu-  
stris. viris Ger-  
ma. cap. 98.

The noble act  
of a Bohemian  
in defence of  
his country.

although it was greatly suspected and disliked of the Citizens, yet they durst not otherwise do but suffer them to enter: which being done, the Ambassadors gave a sign to the souldiers, every man to do whatsoeuer he was bidden; of whom, some ran to the walls, some to the Temples and Churches, some to the streets and houses of the City, plucking all things down to the ground, sackings and ransacking with no lesse fury and abominable filthynesse, than they had done at Constantinople before, saving only that they abstained from murdher: but the same day letters came from Mahomet to the Ambassadors, that he should spare none, but destroy and murder all that ever were in the City; which message, because it seemed to the Ambassadors to be too cruel, sozomuch as they had yielded themselves, he stayed his hand a little untill night came. In the mean time, drunken Mahomet coming something to himself (whom drunkenness had before overcome) sent his second letters to rebuke the first. Where again is to be noted the mercifull providence of God towards his people in their deserved plagues, by staying the hands, and bridling the fury many times of their enemies, when otherwise the case seemeth to be past all remedy.

Mahomet thus being in himself not a little advanced and elevated by the winning of Constantinople, where he had now made the Imperiall feat of the Turkish dominion, the third year next following, to adventure more matters, he set out to the siege of Belgradum, a city of Hungary, lying near to the banks of Danubius, thinking to have the like successe there, as he had in the winning of Constantinople, albeit, through the Lords disposing, it fell out much otherwise. Within the City of Belgradum, the same time of the siege thereof, was Ioannes Huniades, the valiant Captain, of whom in divers places mention hath been made before; who with a sufficient strength of picked souldiers, albeit in number nothing equall to the Turks army, valiantly defended the City with great courage, and no lesse successe. In the which siege great diligence was bestowed, and many of the Turks slain. Among whom also Mahomet himself, being stricken with a pellet under the left arm, was faine to be carried out of the field for half dead, and the rest so put to flight, that of the Turks the same time were destroyed to the number, or not much under the number of forty thousand, besides the losse of all their Ordnance, which the Turks in haste of their flight, were forced to leave behinde them.

Hieronymus Zieglerus, writing of the siege of this Belgradum, addeth moreover, that when Mahomet was at the siege thereof, seeing the Town to be so small and weak of it self, that it could not be won with all his great multitude, he starting and faring like a mad man, commanded all his brazen peeces to be laid, to batter down the walls and towers of the Town: So that the Christians within the walls were vehemently distressed; for the siege continued both night and day without intermission. Among the rest of the Christians which defended the town, Hieronymus Zieglerus maketh mention of a certain Bohemian, much worthy of his condign commendation; Who being upon the walls, and seeing a Turk with a Banner or Ensign of the Turks to be gotten up, by the sight whereof, the whole Town was in danger to be conquered and taken, runneth unto the Turk, and clasping him about the middle, speaking to John Capistranus standing below, asking him, whether it were any danger of damnation to him, if he of his voluntary minde did cast himself with that dog (so he termed him) down headlong from the wall to be slain with him; what should become of his soul, and whether he might be saved or not? To whom when the other had answered, that

he should be saved without doubt, he exclaims triumphing himself with the Turk down off the wall. Where by his death he saved the same time the life of all the City. Mahomet being wounded, and in despair of winning the City, was carried (as we heard) out of the field. Who at length coming again to himself, partly for fear, and partly for shame, was ready to kill himself. And thus was the Town of Belgradum at that time rescued through Gods providence, by the means of Ioannes Huniades and this good Bohemian.

This siege of Belgradum began in the year of our Lord, 1456. and endured six and forty dayes. At which siege were numbered of the Turks two hundred thousand. Of whom more than forty thousand (as is aforesaid) were slain, where the victory fell to the Christians through the prosperous successe given of God to Ioannes Huniades, and Capistranus. Which Huniades not long after the said victory, through the impoziune labour and travell in defending of the said town, was taken with a sore sickness, and therof departed; to whose valiant prowesse and singular courage, stories do give great laud and commendation.

Mahometes the Turk, after this done in Europe, returned into Asia to war with Alimcassanes a Persian, one of the Turks stock, with whom he had three battels. The first was about the River Euphrates, where the Turk lost ten thousand men, and was put to the worse. In the second field likewise he was discomfited. The third battell was at Arsenaga, where through the terrible noise of the brazen peeces, the Persian hostes disturbed the Camp, and so was Alimcassanes overcome.

From thence the Turk reduced again his power against the Christians, and first subdued unto him Synope and all Paphlagonia: Also the kingdom of Trapezunce, which he besieging both by land and water, won from the Christians, and sent David the king of the same with his two sons, and Calus his uncle, unto Constantinople, where they were miserably and cruelly put to death, and all the stock of the Comeni, which were of the Kings stock, by the Turk were destroyed. Which was about the year of our Lord, 1459. at which time this mischievous Mahomet was first saluted Emperour.

Not long after, he got from the Grecians, Corinthus and Mytylene, not without great slaughter of Christian men; insomuch that the whole city of Mytylene was utterly to the ground almost destroyed. The Isles also of Lemnus and Lesbos he won from the Venetians; in the which Island of Lesbos is the city of Mytylene aforesaid.

Not far from this Isle of Lesbos and Mytylene, there is a country in Asia toward the sea side bordering next to Europe, called Myssa, or of some called Mesia, wherein stood the city of Troy. This country Mahomet coveting to win rather by policie and falshood, than by doubtful danger of war, secretly sent for the Prince thereof to come to speak with him for certain causes (as he pretended) which should concern the profit and commodity of them both. Which when the King of Myssa either for shame would not, or for fear durst not deny, he came to him as to confer upon necessary affairs in common to them appertaining. Mahomet, when he had brought that to passe which he would, he caused the King to be apprehended, and cruelly to be slain, or rather torn in peeces; and so invading the land of Myssa, he exercised the like tyrannic upon his kindred and affinity.

This Myssa by fraud being taken and lost, Mahomet breth again toward Europe, where he assailed the Island Cubioa otherwise called Pyroponte, making a bridge of a marvellous frame over the sea Euripus,

SKING  
HEN. 7.

The town of  
Belgradum va-  
liantly defend-  
ed from the  
Turk.

Two hundred  
thousand  
Turks at the  
siege of Bel-  
gradum.  
The decease of  
Ioannes Huniades.

The Turks  
war against  
Alimcassanes.

The Turk again returned  
against the  
Christians.  
Synope, Paphlagonia,  
Trapezunce  
gotten of the  
Turks.  
David Emperour of Trapezunce with his two sons, and uncle cruelly killed of the Turk.

Corinthus, Mytylene, Lesbos, Lemnus subdued of the Turk.

The falshood of the wretched Turk against the Prince of Myssa.  
The cruelty of the Turk against the king of Myssa.

The siege of Chalcis in Euboea.



SKING }  
HEN. 7. }

The cruel ty-  
ranny of the  
Turk against  
the city of  
Chalcis.  
A. x. Ioanne Ra-  
mo de rebis  
Turcicis.

The noble  
stratagem of  
women in de-  
fending that  
city.

Peloponnesus,  
Achaia, Aef-  
senia, Laconia,  
Argolica, Ar-  
chadia, Thisti-  
an Provinces  
in Grecia, sub-  
dued of the  
Turk.

Capha taken  
of the Turk.

The comell  
of Scander-  
beius how to  
fight against  
the Turk.

Curipus, to convey over his army out of Grecia, and there laid his siege to the city Chalcis, which at length in thirty dayes he overcame, nor without a great slaughter of his army; who in the siege thereof, is said to have lost forty thousand of the Turks. But the slaughter of the Christians was greater: for when the City was won, the tyrant commanded most cruelly, none to be spared within the whole city, but to be put to the sword, who ever was above the age of twenty years. This cruelty was shewed of the barbarous tyrant for anger and fury, because such a number of his Turks were slain at the siege thereof, being reckoned (as is said) to forty thousand. In the fierce siege of this city it is memorable that is in stories recorded, how that the women of that city, seeing the men begin to faint, and the city to lye in present danger, took the matter themselves in hand, and playing the men, went to the walls, and there defended the city with no lesse trouble to the enemy, than the men had before done, and so for a space continued, so long as any mans strength and diligence could do any good. A great cause of the losse of this city and Island, is imputed to the cowardly timidity of the Venetians nable; who being there present, and having prosperous winde, yet durst not, or would not adventure upon the Turks bridge, which if they had done, the Island of Cuboia and Chalcis had not so soon been overmatch- ed of the Turks.

Thus all the East parts of Grecia being subdued to the Turkish tyrant, with all Achaia, Attica, A- 30 carnania and Cuboia, shortly after followed also Pe- loponnesus, brought in like subjection to the Turk. Within Peloponnesus were these Provinces con- tained, Achaia, Messenia, Laconia, Argolica and Archadia, &c. The Venetians in this Peloponnesus had great possessions, and had made up the wall again toward the sea side, near to the Straits of Co- rinth before mentioned, where for the more speed of the work, they had thirty thousand workmen to the building thereof: which, when it came to the knowledge of the Turk, he brast into the country of Peloponnesus with an army of eighty thousand and first wasted the regions of the Cozonians, and Methoneans, and making a great slaughter of the Venetians, in short time he brought the whole Dominion of Peloponnesus under his yoke and tribu- e.

Long it is, and more lamentable to recite all the victories of this Mahomet, gotten against the Chris- tians both by land and sea: who, after he had over- come the Isle Lesbos above mentioned, and had cru- elly slain Nicolaus Catalanius the Duke thereof, turning his army toward the sea of Pontus Cur- nus, got the country of Capha from the Genuans. Before was declared how truce was taken between Georgius Scanderbeius, and the Turk for ten years: which truce being expired Mahomet leaveth no time unspent, no diligence unsought, but maketh all his power to Cyprus and Albania, which he, after long fatigation of siege, at length overcame and subdued. In the which Tract also he wan from the Venetians, Scodra, Ulfon and Dinastrium. Not- withstanding, when Scanderbeius the valiant cap- tain had done against the Turk, what in mans strength did lye, yet being overmatched with power and multitude, seeking no possibility to make his par- ty good, he was forced to depart his country as an exile, and went to Italy, and there being sent for by the Popes letters, openly declared that it was not possible otherwise to resist the furious rage of the barbarous Turks by the strength of any one King or Prince, unless all Europe with one consent should join their power and force together. And thus Geo- rgius Scanderbeius, a man of puissant courage, be- ing driven out of his country, continued his age in exile. Whose courage and vehemency is reported to have been such, that in fighting against the barba-

rous enemy, for very eagernesse of spirit, his blood was seen to burst out of his lips. It is testified also of him, that being provoked, he neither denied to fight, and in his fighting, never turned his back, neither yet was ever wounded but onely once with a light shaft in his foot, neither ever set against the Turk with more than six thousand horsemen, and three thousand footmen; who is said with his own hand to have slain above 2000. Turks, whom with such violence he did strike, that many of them he did cleave asunder from the head to the middle.

Neither yet was the unsatiable greedynesse of this Turkish hell-hound with all this satisfied, but still he conceived greater things in his minde, think- ing to conquer the whole world; and so passing for- ward towards Europe, he subdued all Albania, slay- ing Stephanus the king of Bosnia, about the year of our Lord 1463. But afterward Mathias Cor- 20 binus, the son of Huniades afore mentioned, re- covered again the said kingdom of Bosnia, with many other Cities near unto Croatia and Palma- tia, and moreover repulsed Mahomet the Turk in his second siege of Jaitza, taking his tents and mu- nitions left behinde him.

Whereover, the said Mahomet passing unto Ma- lachia, set upon Dracula the Duke thereof, which Dracula, although he had no great power of soldi- ers, yet he so enclosed and environed the Turk, that he had almost lost his whole army, of whom a great part notwithstanding was destroyed, and many of his 30 Ensigns taken. Into Dalmatia were sent two cap- tains of the Turk, who, fighting against the pro- vincies of the Venetians, made great spoil and waste about the regions of Stiria and Carinthia; where also the Venetian power was discomfited, and Hieronymus Novell their captain slain. At length truce was taken between the Turk and the Venetians, upon this condition, that Scodra, Tenarus and Lemnos should be yielded unto him, and that they should pay to him yearly, eight thousand Duckets, for the free passage of their Merchants.

After this peace concluded with the Venetians, Mahomet himself saileth over into Asia, sending two of his great captains abroad to sundry places; of whom, Hellsthes was sent against the Rhodes with a mighty nable. The other called Acomates 40 Bassa was sent into Italy to take Rome, and all the West Empire. Concerning the boiage of which two captains, this was the event, that Hellsthes, af- ter his great travell, and bloody siege against the Rhodians, was faine to retire at length with great shame and losse. The other captain Acomates (as is said) was sent into Italy with a nable of a hand- dred ships, and fifteen thousand men, who by the way in his sailing, got Leucadia (which now they call S. Maure) Cephalenia and Zacynthus, and sail- ing by Fabelona, arrived in Apulia, and so passing 60 along by the sea side, spoiled and wasted divers parts by the coast, till at length he came to Hyduntium a city in Calabria in Italy, which after long siege he overcame and subdued, and brought such a terrour into all Italy, that the Pope forgetting all other things, yet mindfull of himself, with all haste fled out of Rome. After the city of Hyduntium was taken, and the Turks placed in the same, which was the year of our Lord 1481. Mathias Corbinus, Huniades son, was sent for by the Italians, to set upon the said City, upon the rescue whereof, when Acomates was about to make his retreat with five and twenty thousand Turks, in the mean time news came, that Mahomet the great Turk was dead; by reason whereof, the siege brake up, and the city was delivered to the Italians again, and so was Italy delivered at that time out of that present pe- rill and danger. This Mahomet wan from the Chi- 70 tians 200. cities, and twelve kingdoms, and two

A notable ex-  
ample of the  
courage of a  
captain.  
The recovery  
of Bosnia, af-  
terwards de-  
scribed against  
the Turks.

Mathias the  
son of Hunia-  
des.

Stiria and  
Carinthia ca-  
ken of the  
Turk.

Rhodes belie-  
ged.

Leucadia, Ce-  
phalonia, Za-  
cynthus, Fa-  
belona taken of  
the Turk.

Hyduntium  
taken.

The Pope fly-  
eth for fear of  
the Turk.

These two  
Empires were  
Constantino-  
ple and Cray-  
sande.



Empires, which he joyned both together. He dyed in the year abovesaid, An. 1481.

Bajazetes the second, the tenth after Ottomannus.

**M**ahumetes aforesaid had three sons; of the which, Mustapha the eldest, though voluptuousness and carnal lust, died before his father. The other two were Bajazetes and Demes, otherwise called Zizimus. About whom, great controvercie arose amongst the Turks, which of them should succeed in their fathers kingdom. For neither of them was present at Constantinople when Mahumetes dyed; Bajazetes being in Cappadocia, and Demes in Lycania, wherefore, when great dissension was among the Nobles for the succession, and great strife and bloodshed for the matter, the Janizaries, which were the Turks guard, did proclaim Bajazetes Emperour; others, in the absence of Bajazetes the father, did choose Cozchuthus his son. Bajazetes the father coming at length from Cappadocia, partly through yielding, partly by corrupting with money, got the wils of the Janizaries, and was made Emperour. Demes the other brother being in Lycania more near, although he made no lesse speed in his coming, yet was prevented of Bajazetes, and excluded out of Constantinople. Wherefore he being put back from all hope of his kingdom, incited by some of his friends, moved war against his brother; who being overcome in three battels by Acomates, Bajazetes captain, who had got Hypuntum before, did fly to the great Master of the Rhodes, leaving in a place called Carra, his mother and two young children, whom Bajazetes slew.

This Demes being with the Master of the Rhodes, was desired first of Pope Innocent the 4. then of Ludovicus the 2. French king, but especially of Matthias Cozbinus, King of Hungary, intending by him to obtain great victorie against Bajazetes. But in conclusion, the Knights of the Rhodes sent him to the Bishop of Rome, where he being kept, and afterwards sent to Charles the 8. French king, for an hostage of Pope Alexander the first, was payed by the way of Terracina, by the said Pope Alexander, as is before declared. After whose death, Bajazetes, to requite the foresaid Acomates for his good service, put him to the halter, partly misdoubting his power, partly for lucre sake to have his treasure: whose death rebounded to the great profit of the Christians, so much as he was ever an utter enemy to the religion and name of Christ.

Bajazetes thus being confirmed in his tyranny, made his expedition against Wallachia, where he subdued two great Forcs, one called Lithofomus, the other called Poncastum. From thence he removed his power, taking his boiage into Asia, thinking to be revenged of the Sultan of Egypt, which had succoured and entertained before his brother Demes against him; where he lost two great battels, the one fought at Adena, the other at Tarsus; but especially at the field at Tarsus, the army of the Turk took such a wound, that of an hundred thousand brought into the field, scarce the third part remained unslain. But as touching the Rhodians, although they were succourers of Demes aforesaid, yet Bajazetes (whether for fear, or for subtilty) abstained to provoke them with war, but rather entering with them the league of peace; requiring the Master of the Rhodes to keep his brother safe under his custody, promising for his yearly salary, to be payed unto him every year in the month of August, 45000. Duckets.

Thus Bajazetes being overthroned and terrified with evil luck, fighting against the Sultan of Egypt, removed from Asia, and directed his army into Europe, where he got Dyrrachium near unto Helona, and had a great victorie over the Christian

army in the country of Croatia, where the Illyrians, Dalmatians and Croatsians, joining their powers together, encountered with the Turk, and lost the field, about the year of our Lord, 1493.

From thence the Turk leading his army against the Venetians, had with them others and doubtfull conflicts, where the Turk sometimes was put to the worse, and sometimes again prevailed, out of Adria and divers other cities about Dalmatia, carried away great multitudes of Christians into captivity, which was about the year of our Lord, 1498.

Two years after this, which was the year of our Lord 1500. Bajazetes with 150. M. armed men, entered into Deloponnesus; which although Mahumet had espugned before, yet the Venetians had defended Methone, otherwise called Modon, all this while against the Turks. Which Methone the Turk besieged with three armies, having about the walls five hundred great brazen Canons, whereof twenty two were most violent and hurtfull, wherewith he battered the city both day and night: but the Citizens, which were within the city, committing themselves to God, defended their city as well as they could, rather chusing to dye than to yield unto the Turks tyranny. But the Turk prevailing, and they not able to withstand the siege, the Christians contented together into a certain house prepared for the purpose, both men, women and children; where they setting the house on fire, gave themselves rather to be burned, than to come into the tyrants hands. Certain women also, with their children, cast themselves headlong into the sea, by that means to avoid the Turkish captivity. Some writers there be, which affirm that the Methonians, seeing five great ships of the Venetians coming with men and victuals toward them, issued down from the walls to the sea side to receive them; which were all taken captives, being above the number of a thousand: which all being tyed with long ropes, were brought before the tyrant, and in his sight were cruelly slain, except certain Nobles, whom Therseogles, son in law to Bajazetes, got to be pardoned, amongst whom was Andreas Gritto. The city of Coroz, and also Pilus, cities in Græce, being terrified with the example of the Methonians, yielded themselves to the power of the Turks. Critium, otherwise called Caput Sancti Galli, was espugned by Therseogles, by force of guns.

These things thus achieved, although Bajazetes went away victour unto Constantinople, yet notwithstanding the Venetians, through the help of the Kings of France and Spain, had won from the Turk, Chephalania an Island very commodious for their traffick. Also they had gotten other two Islands, Leucas and Pericus, otherwise called Sancta Maura, slaying all the Garrison of the Turks. But afterwards peace being taken between the Venetians and the Turks, by the counsel of Andreas Gritto, aforesaid, the Turks so agreed, that Leucas and Pericus, the Islands abovesaid, should be rendred unto the Turks, and the Venetians should keep still the possession of Chephalania.

Unto this league the Turk did the rather condescend, for that he had to maintain war against Ismael Sophus in Asia, King of Persia. Which Sophus was stirred up by Gods providence to war with this Bajazetes, whereby the Christian Church, as in Europe might have some breathing time, and freedom from the Turks cruel tyranny and bloodshed. This Sophus was a valiant Turk, who with great power and victories had overrun a great compasse of the East parts of Asia; then passing from Assyria into Media, and returning again into Armenia, he made war against the Albanians, Sibozians, and Scythians, and from thence coming into Asia Minor, encountered with Cozchuthus Bajazetes son, and afterward coming to Bithenia, fought with Caraginus Bassa

SKING  
HEN. 7.

The Turk against the Venetians.

The Christians carried away captives.

Deloponnesus again invaded by the Turk.

Methone taken of the Turks, and miserably destroyed.

Coroz, Pilus, Critium yielded to the Turks.

Chephalania, Leucas, Pericus, Islands recovered of the Turks by the Venetians.

Treaty between the Venetians and the Turk.

War between Sophus and Bajazetes.

Of these Janizaries, read before.

Bajazetes slayeth his brother, and his two nephews.

Read before.

False treason worthily recompensed.

Lithofomus, Poncastum, Christian fort subdued of the Turk.

The Turk overthrown at Tarsus.

Dyrrachium taken of the Turk.



**KING**  
**HEN. 7.**  
Caragius the  
Turks captain  
taken prisoner  
and slain of  
Sophus.

Halibassa the  
Turks captain  
slain.

Rest given to  
the Christians  
by the discords  
of the Turks.

Zelymus made  
Emperour a-  
gainst his fa-  
thers will.

What these  
Janizarites  
were, reade  
before.

The counsell of  
Baiazetes to  
his son Zely-  
mus.

Baia, Baiazetes captain, whom he overcame and put to flight, and afterward took him alive, and his wife, prisoners. Afterward he was encountered by Halibassa another Captain of the Turks, whom Tebellles one of the said Sophus captains, meeting in the plain of Calafia, did withstand, and so by the way slew Caragius the captain, and hanged him up on a pole in the sight of Halibassa: which Halibassa shortly after was slain in war, and his army scattered and put to flight.

Thus through the admirable example of Gods justice and providence, were these Turks kept occupied, and so came it to passe, that these Barbarians, being blasphemous against the Son of God, should thus horribly run on to the destruction one of another, being worthily punished with mutuall slaughter and bloodshed, for their impiety & blasphemy against Christ and his religion, whereby in the mean time some rest was given to the Christians.

Baiazetes partly by these victories discouraged, partly diseased & languishing of the gout, and partly also broken with age, finding himself unwelthy to the regiment of that tumultuous kingdom, began to have talks with his Nobles, about the chusing of one to succeed him. The occasion whereof mingled much matter of inward wars amongst the Turks. This Baiazetes had in all six sons, whereof three died before him, and thre yet were left alive, to wit, Acomates, Corchutus and Zelymus. Baiazetes himself had most munde to Acomates, but the chiefest of his Nobles did favour rather Zelymus; who through their traiterous incitation, provoked him to stir war against his father: and notwithstanding that he was overcome in war, yet through intercession, he was reconciled again to his father, and afterward proclaimed again Emperour against his fathers will, through the help and favour of the soldiers, entering the first beginning of his kingdom, with the murdering of his own father. The story whereof in some Authors is thus declared.

After that the Janizarites had perswaded with Baiazetes, for that he himself was unwelthy, therefore he should do well to constitute some successor, and that he had assigned Acomates to succeed him; the Janizarites being offended with the said Acomates, because he would not enlarge their stipends, and bribe them, compassing about the Kings palace with their privie swords which they had under their garments, with a mighty cry, required Zelymus to be appointed for their Emperour. Unto whom when Baiazetes had answered, that he had assigned Acomates, they refused him, because he was fat, grosse, and unable thereunto; but needs would have Zelymus, which was stout and warlike, to be made Emperour: and withall they drew out their swords, crying Zelymus, Zelymus. Then Baiazetes giving place to their fury, shewed himself content to give them Zelymus; whom the Janizarites receiving, brought him into the palace: unto whom Baiazetes his father giving place, willed him not to be so hasty and furious in his doings, but to be modest and take heed what he did, and not to follow his fury, but to give place unto fume, which revealeth all things, and think himself to be a man subject to dangers and jeopardies as other men are: and thus speaking, he resigned his Imperiall Throne and seat unto him, and went away all heave, entering into a certain order of their religion. Whereupon followed great exclamations of the people, saluting Zelymus as Emperour. Who then taking the rule upon him, began with great cruelty to govern, destroying many of his Nobles, such as had stood against him, some with poison, some by other cruell means, and advancing his own side, with great honours and promotions.

Not long after that Zelymus was thus seiled in his kingdom, Baiazetes his father, intending to see and probe how he behaved himself in his govern-

ment, first entered into his treasure-house, where he found all his riches to be scattered and gone. Afterward he came into his armour, where all the spoils gotten by war were likewise wasted: then he entered into the Jewell-house, where all his plate and gifts sent from Kings and Princes were laid, which likewise were dispersed and given away. At length he came into the stable, where also he seeing his principall horses to be lacking, sighing with him self, and crying vengeance upon him, he prepared himself, with the residue of the treasure which was remaining, to sail over into Natolia unto his eldest son, and passing by an Orchard near to the sea side, where he had appointed to take ship, in the mean time whilst the ships were in sailing, he sat down under a tree, and began to curse his son, and to ask vengeance upon him, for that he had so despised his father, and was become so impious a wretch.

Zelymus understanding of his fathers departure came into the orchard where his father was seeming to be very heave, and much lamenting that his father would so privily depart and go away, leaving that he desired not the government of the Empire, but was contented onely with the title thereof. His father (said he) do not thus privily depart away, do not procure this shame to your son, who so tenderly loveth you. Let me have but the name onely, and let you the Emperour indeed. The end of your naturall life most patiently I shall expect, which I pray God may long continue. And thus using many fair and flattering words to his father, he commanded a banquet with many dainty junkets to be brought unto him, but tempered and infused with poison. Which as soon as Baiazetes had begun to taste of, and felt the strength of the poison working in his body, he took his last farewell of his son, and going out of the city accompanied with a great retinue of men, pelling and crying out in the streets, in the middle of his journey fell down and miserably died, in the year of our Lord, 1512. Were marvellous, good Reader, a cursed breed of this Turkish generation, where the father dieth in cursing the son, and the son rageth by poisoning his father.

Zelymus the eleventh after Ottomannus.

After that this wretched Zelymus had exercised his barbarous cruelty upon his father, with like impiety he seeketh the destruction of his brethren and their children, first beginning his murder with the five children his Nephewes, which were the sons of his three brethren before departed. Which done, then remained his other two brethren yet alive Acomates and Corchutus with their children, likewise to be destroyed. Of whom the one had 3. sons, whom the father sent to Zelymus his brother, and their uncle, with fair and gentle words, to intreat him to be good unto their father, offering to him their duty and service in all things, honouring him also as Emperour. But cruell Zelymus commanded forth with his said nephewes to be strangled. The father hearing of the cruell murder of his sons, leaving house and home, went and hid himself in mountains, where he lived for a space with herbs and wilde honey, but being bewared by one of his men, he was brought to Zelymus, and so was strangled.

Christopherus Richerus, writing of these matters, seemeth something to differ from other stories, and saith that Zelymus, after the death of his brother Corchutus, came to Burfia, where he under the colour of making a great triumph, ordained a feast for his friends and kinsfolke, whereunto were called especially his nephewes, who then at the end of the feast calling his nephewes aside (as under the pretence of conferring with them secretly about his necessary affairs) committed them to his servants to be strangled and put to death. All this while Acomates his other brother, through the help and intercession of his mother, was kept out of the tyrants

Am m m 3 bands;

The story of  
Zelymus the  
eleventh after  
Ottomannus.

The manner  
wherein  
Zelymus the  
eleventh after  
Ottomannus  
died.

Zelymus the  
eleventh after  
Ottomannus  
his father.

Zelymus the  
eleventh after  
Ottomannus.

The cruelty of  
Zelymus a-  
gainst his fa-  
ther and his  
brethren.

The cruelty of  
Zelymus a-  
gainst his co-  
sins.

Ex Obis, Rich.



hands, till at length, after great labour and search made how to get him, certain forged letters were cast abroad, wherein was contained, that Acomates, to revenge the great impiety, and subdue the tyrannie of Zelymus his brother, should shew himself abroad. Which if he would do, he shall finde friends now to take his part. Acomates circumbended with these subtill trains, partly for hope of revenge, partly for desire of the Empire, shewed himself abroad with such power and strength as he had : who, being set upon incontinent by Zelymus his brother, was overcome in battell, and falling from his horse, being a man corpulent and grosse, and his horse falling upon him, was so overpressed and slain.

Touchoing the death of this Acomates, Minstres somewhat differing from this narration, addeth moreover, and saith, that he was not killed with the fall from his horse, but sitting all dismayed upon a stone, and seeing no other remedy but death, desired the Captain, taking his rings from his fingers, to deliver the same to his brother, desiring him that he might not be put to any extreme cruelty of death, but that he gently would suffer him to be let blood in the bath, and so to dye. But Zelymus, being not ignorant of this, suborneth privie tormentors, who binding his hands behinde him, with their feet, cast him down upon the ground, and so twirling his neck with a cord, did strangle him. This Acomates had two sons, who hearing of the death of their father, did flye for succour, the one to Sophus in Persia, and the other to the Sultan in Egypt.

By the means whereof, new occasion of war grew unto Zelymus, whereby he was kept in Asia, at home, to fight against the Persians and Egyptians : so that through the Lords Providence, Christendom by that means was delivered from great danger and perill of the Turks tyranny. For otherwise the Turk was wholly minded, with all his force and puissance, to invade the Christians, being in doubt whether first to begin with Rhodes, or whether to assault Dannonia, or else to set upon Italy, being then at great discord within it self : but this cause occupied the Turks minde otherwise, and kept him at home. Such was then the providence of the Lord for the safeguard of his people.

Wherefore, so much as the affairs and doings of this Turk were spent for the most part in the Turkish and Heathenish countries ; it shall not be greatly necessary to trouble our Christian stories therewith, but onely shall suffice to contract them in a brief sum, declaring superficially what unquietnesse was amongst them there, which could never be quieted, but ever working some mischief either abroad or at home. Amurathes the Turks nephew aforesaid, after he had obtained aid of Sophus the King of the Persians, first invaded Capadocia ; not long after whom followed Ismael Sophus the Persian King. By reason whereof, a great battell was fought betwixt the Persians and Zelymus, in the fields of Armenia major. In the which battell, Ismael Sophus the Persian king was hurt on the shoulder with a pellet, and so being carried out of the field, left the victory to Zelymus : who, albeit he had an army of 150 M. men, yet he in the same field lost about 30000. of his Turks. Which field was fought in the year of our Lord, 1514. Zelymus after this victory, went to Taurica the Imperiall city of the Persians, which he, by yielding, subdued.

In this mean time it hapned that one Aladulus, a King of Armenia the greater, was also a helper to Ismael against the Turk, whereupon Zelymus the Turk taking great indignation, the next year following, leaving the Persians, fought against the said Aladulus, and in the end overcame him : and afterward being found in a cave in a wood, he was taken out and brought to Zelymus, and so beheaded : whose head, being first carried about Asia for a tri-

umph, was afterward sent to the Senate of Venice for a terrour unto them. The eldest son of Aladulus, escaping the hands of his pursuers, fled into Egypt. This ba tell thus fought and ended, Zelymus after he had divided the kingdom of Aladulus into three provinces, went to Lyconia, and from thence to Europe, there to defend the city of Samandria, against the Christians in Hungary, but the Hungarians being soon repelled by Juno bassa the Turks captain, great preparation began to be made by the Turks against the confines of Serbia bordering upon Hungary. The terrour wherof stirred up Martinian the Emperour, and Ladislaus king of Hungary, and Sigismundus king of Poland, to consult together, and conjoin their power for defence of Christendom. But through new incumbrances incident, the Turk leaving Europe, made haste again into Asia, to renew again his wars against the Persians, who had made a vow not to give over that war before Ismael was overthrown.

But before he entred that war, first he sent his messengers to the Sultan of Egypt, requiring him not to intermeddle in that war : for this Sultan before had promised to assist the Persians against the Turk. The name of the Sultan which reigned then in Egypt, was Campion, set up by the Hamaluci. These Hamaluci were a certain order amongst the Egyptians, much like to the Janizaries about the Turk, who being the children of Christian men, and after denying Christ, were the chiefest doers in the Sultans Court, and being grown into a great multitude, did degenerate into a Turkish barbarity, or rather became worse than Turks. This Campion unto the messengers of the Turk, gave this answer again, that unless he would leave off this war against Ismael, and restore the son of Aladulus, he would not lay down his armour.

Zelymus being incensed not a little with this insolent answer of the Sultan, leaving all other wars aside, with great celerity advanced his power against the Sultan. Which Sultan, partly through the falshood of his captain Cajerbeus, partly by the suddenesse of the Turks coming, not far from the city of Damascus, encountered with the Turk, and there overthrown from his horse, being a fat and grosse body, and falling under his horse, and his horse also falling upon him, was quashed in peeces, and so died, which was the year of our Lord, 1516.

The Hamaluci of whom more than a thousand in this battell were slain, flying from thence to Memphis, set up Comumbeus in sted of Campion : whose captain Gazelles was overcome at the city of Gaza, and he afterward himself driven out of Memphis, where a great part of the Hamaluci were destroyed. Then Comumbeus, flying over the flood Nilus, renewed his army again : but in the end was discomfited and chased into a marsh, where he was found standing in the water up to the chin, and so being brought to Zelymus, was put to the rack and great torments, to make him confesse where Campions treasures were : but when he would not declare, he was carried about the town with an halter about his neck, and hanged up upon an high Gibbet for a spectacle to all Egypt : which was the year of our Lord, 1517. And thus were the two Sultans of Egypt destroyed with the Hamaluci, which there had born the rule in Egypt, the space of 243. years. The progeny of the which Hamaluci remaining of the wars, the Turk commanded in the prison gates of Alexandria to be cut in peeces. Zelymus from thence triumphing, departed to Constantinople, intending to spend the rest of his time in persecuting the Christians. But in that mean space he was stricken with a cankered soze rotting inward, and died after he had reigned seven years like a beast, in the year of our Lord, 1520.

The reign of this Turk was but short in number of years ; but in number of his murders and cruell

SKING }  
HEN. 7. }

Preparation of war between Zelymus and the Christians.

The Turk called away from the Christians.

A Turkish vow.

Campion the Sultan or ruler of the Egyptians. Hamaluci.

Cajerbeus false to his master.

Campion slain

Comumbeus made Sultan of Egypt.

Comumbeus executed.

A worthy destruction of the Hamaluci for taking their faith and religion. Note again the providence of God. The death of Zelymus.

Zelymus the Turk warreth against his brother.

The cruelty of Zelymus against his brother. The two sons of Acomates fly away from the tyranny of Zelymus the Turk.

The providence of God, in stirring up occasions for his people.

War between Zelymus and Sophus the Persian king.

War between Zelymus and Aladulus the Turk.



**KING**  
**HEN. 7.**  
The hea-  
tily  
cruelty of Zely-  
mus against  
his kindred.

The cruelty of  
Zelymus a-  
gainst his son  
Solyman.

A note of Gods  
providence for  
the reformati-  
on of religion.

Solymanus  
the twelfth af-  
ter Ottomannus.

Belgradum a-  
gainst besieged  
of the Turke.  
Reade before.

Discord a-  
mongst Chri-  
stian Princes,  
what mischiefe  
it bringeth.

cruell bloudshed it might seeme exceeding long, which  
libed more like a beast then a man. for he never spa-  
red any of his friends or kindred. His father first he  
poysoned, his brethern and all his cousins he quelled,  
leaving none of all his kindred alive. Moreover, his  
chiefe and principall captaines for small occasions  
he put to death, as Mustapha, Calogere, Chendeme,  
Wostang his sonne in law, and Juno Bassa.

It is said moreover that he intended the porso-  
ning of his owne son Solyman, sending unto him  
a shirt infected with popson, because he learned some-  
thing freely to speake against the cruell demeanour  
of his father: but by the meanes of his mother, the  
gift being suspected, was given to another which  
was his chamberlaine, who putting on the shirt  
was stricken with the popson thereof, and there-  
withall died.

As touching this Turke Zelymus, by the way  
here may be noted how the secret providence of the  
Lord kept him occupied with his Turkish wars at  
home, while that the reformation of Christian reli-  
gion here in Europe, the same time begun by Martin  
Luther, might the more quietly take some rooting  
without disturbance or interruption. For so it ap-  
peareth by the computation of time, that in the  
dayes of this Zelymus, Martin Luther first began  
to write against the Popes indulgences, which was  
in the year of our Lord, 1516.

Solymanus the twelfth after Ottomannus.

Solymanus the only son of Zelymus succeeded  
after his fathers death, who in the first beginning  
seemed to come to be simple and heapish, and not  
meet for the Turkish government. Wherefore cer-  
taine of his nobles, consulting how to depose him,  
intended to set up another Emperour. In which con-  
spiracie especially are named Cajerbeius and Ga-  
zelles. This Cajerbeius was he that betrayed before  
Campanio the Sultan of Egypt to Zelymus, as is  
aforesaid; who, now also being in consultation with  
Gazelles and other about this matter, detected them  
also unto Solyman. Wherefore the said Gazelles  
and his fellows being thus detected, were put to  
death by Solyman, declaring thereby that he was  
not so heapish as he was thought of them to be, and  
as also by his acts afterward did more appeare.

Solymanus, after this execution done upon the  
conspirators, taking his voyage into Europe, first  
besieged Belgradum: which being a Citie in Hun-  
gary was the strongest Fort of all the Roman Em-  
pire, and the chiefe defence at that time of all Chri-  
stendome; which also being assaulted before time  
by Amurathes the second, was valiantly defended  
by Ioannes Huniades as is abovespecified. But  
here now lacked such an one as Huniades was. For  
the Kingdome of Hungary at that time was under  
the government of Leobovicus a young King, unex-  
pert and of a simple wit. Whom other Princes,  
and specially the covetous Churchmen did so pill and  
poll, that they left him nothing but onely the bare  
name and title of his Kingdome; whereby, he be-  
ing unfurnished both of men and money, was un-  
able to match with such an enemy.

Another vantage also the Turks had in besieging  
Belgrade: For the Christian Princes at that time  
were in civill dissention and variance amongst them-  
selves; and the Pope with his Churchmen also were  
so busie in suppressing of Luther, and of the Gospel  
then newly springing, that they minded nothing  
else, ercept it were to maintaine the wealth of their  
owne bellies. Which Pope if he had set his care (as  
his duty was) so much in stirring up princes against  
the common enemy, as he was bent to deface the  
Gospell, and to persecute the true professors there-  
of; soone might he have brought to passe, not onely  
that Belgrade might have bene defended against  
the Turke, but also that to be recovered againe

which was lost before, and moreover he might have  
stoppe the great dangers and perils which now are  
like to fall upon the religion church of Christ which  
the Lord of his great mercy abert and turne about.

Certes whatsoever the Pope then did, thus had bin  
his duty, setting all other things apart, to have had  
an earnest compassion of so many miserable and lost  
captives, which were taken from their faith and reli-  
gion, unto the misery and slavery of the Turke, and  
chaldom of the devill, and to have sought all meanes  
possible to have reduced them, as lost sheepe, into the  
fold again. Which then might have bene done,  
if Prelates and Princes, joining together in Chri-  
stian concord, had loved so well the publike glory of  
Christ, and soules of Christians, as they tendered  
their own private, worldly, and irreligious quarrells.  
And admit that the Pope had conceived never so  
much malice against Luther, his quarrell also being  
good; yet the publike Church standing in such dan-  
ger, as it then did by the invasion of the Turke, rea-  
son would, nature led, religion taught, time required,  
that a good prelate, forgetting lighter matters, should  
rather have laid his shoulder to the excluding of so  
great a danger, as then was imminent both to him-  
self, and the Universal Church of Christ: But now  
his quarrell being unjust, and the cause of Luther  
being most just and goodly, what is to be laid or thought  
of such a prelate, who forbearing the Turke, whom  
in a time so dangerous he ought chiefly to have resist-  
ed, persecuted the truth which he should specially  
have maintained: But Christ for his mercy stands  
for his Church, and stirre up zealous Princes and  
prelates, if not to recover that that is lost, yet at  
least to retaine that little which is left.

Solyman therefore taking this occasion, and  
using the commoditie of time, while our princes were  
thus at variance betwixt themselves, without any  
resistance or interruption bought his arme unto  
Belgrade, in the year of our Lord, 1521. Which  
Citie being but slenderly defended, the Turke through  
his underminers, guns and other engines of warre,  
without great difficultie, and with little losse of his  
souldiers, soone subdued and overcame.

After this victory, Solyman telling himselfe a  
whole year, and caking in his minde how to make  
all sure behinde him, for feare of enemies to come  
upon his backe, thought it expedient for his purpose  
if he might obtaine the Island of Rhodes; for that  
only remained yet Christian betwixt him and Asia:  
wherefore the next year following, he brought his  
armie of 450. ships, and 300. M. men, to the besie-  
ging thereof. This Rhodes was a mighty and strong  
Island, within the sea called Mare mediterraneum.  
The inhabitants whereof at the first did manfully  
resist the Turke, sparing no labour nor paines for  
the defence of themselves and of all Christendome.  
But afterward being brought to extremity, and pun-  
ched with penury, seeing also no aid to come from the  
Christians, somewhat began to languish in them-  
selves. The Turks in the mean time casting up two  
great mountaines with strength of hand, two miles  
off from the City, like rolling trenches carried them  
before them neer unto the Citie, in the tops whereof  
they planted their ordnance and artillery, to batter  
the Citie. The master of the Knights of the Rhodes  
was then one Philipppus Galladanius a French-  
man, in whom no diligence was lacking that apper-  
tained to the defence of the city. The Rhodians like-  
wise so valiantly behaved themselves upon the walls,  
that with their shot all the ditches about the city were  
filled with the carcasses of dead Turks. Besides this,  
such a disease of the bloody air reigned in the Turks  
camps, that 30. M. of them died thereof, and yet for  
all this Solyman would not cease from his siege be-  
gun: who, at length by underminers casting down  
the banieres and uttermost parts of the Citie, won  
ground still more and more upon the Rhodians, and  
with mortary peeces so battered the houses, that  
there

The Turke  
understand  
that he had  
won the  
Island of Chri-  
stendome

The conquest  
of Belgrade  
the Turke.

The Turke  
of Belgrade  
won the Turke.

Rhodes be-  
sieged.



there was no free place almost standing in all the City. And thus continued the siege for the space of five or six moneths, and yet all this while came no help unto them from the Christians. Wherefore they being out of all hope, through the advice of Willadamus, yielded themselves unto the Turke, upon condition that he would spare them with life & goods, which convention the Turke kept with them faithfully & truly.

Thus Solymán with his great glory, and after name to all Christian Princes, and also ruine of all Christendome, got the noble Ile of Rhodes, although not without great losse and detriment of his army, in so much that at one assault twenty thousand Turks about the wals were slain with fire, sword, stones, and other engines. Whereby it may be conjectured what these Rhodians might or would have done, if succour had come to them from other Christian Princes as they looked for. This Citie was wonne upon Christmas day, An. 1522.

This conquest of Rhodes obtained, Solymán the fourth year after bringeth back his army again into Hungary, where he found none to resist him but onely Ludobick the young King, who being accompanied with a small army, and nothing able to match with the Turke, yet of a hasty rashnesse and vaine hope of victory, would needs set upon him; who if he had staied but a little, had prospered the better. For Joannes Vaidoda, being a capitaine well exercised in Turkish wars before, was not far off, coming with a sufficient powder of able souldiers. But Paulus the Archbishop of Coloss. a Franciscan frier, a man more bold then wise, with his temeritie and rashnesse troubled all their doings. For the whole sum of the armie of the Hungarians, contained in all but onely four and twenty thousand horsemen and footmen, who at length coming unto the battell, and being compassed about with a great multitude of the Turkes army, were brought into great distresse. The Turkes twice shot off their peeces against the Christian army; yet scarce was any Christian touched with the stroke thereof: which was thought to be done of purpose, because they were Christians which had the ordering of the Guns, for then the speciall Gunners of the Turkes were Christians, whom for the same cause they spared. When the Turkes horsemen, coming upon the back of the Christian armie, compassed them about, and by reason of their multitude overcharged their horsemen. Amongst whom was slain the same time the Archbishop frier abovesaid, with the Bishops of Strigone and Clradine, and many other nobles beside. Also the King himself, being destitute of his necessary aide and succour, was compelled to die into a marsh, where he falling from his horse, being heavily laden with the harness, was not able to rise againe, but there miserably perished.

Solymán the Turke marvelled at the foolishnesse of Ludobick the King, who with so small an army would presume to encounter with such a great host of two hundred thousand. This battell in Hungary was fought, An. 1526.

After the decease of Ludobick, Ferdinandus succeeded in the Kingdome, being Duke of Austria and King of Hungary. Then Solymán, setting contention betwixt Joannes Vaidoda and Ferdinandus for the Kingdome of Hungary, sped his voyage to the Citie of Buda, which also in short time he made to be yielded unto him, upon condition that they should escape with their lives and goods; which condition some say he kept, and some say he did not. Besides Buda divers places and munitions the said Turke, contrary to his league made before, did spoile and waste, as Varadinum, Quinque Ecclesias, and other forts and munitions more, bordering about the coasts of Hungary.

In the year of our Lord 1529. Ferdinandus King of Hungary aforesaid recovered divers holds gotten of the Turke before, and also warring against

Joannes Vaidoda his enemy, with whom he had variance (as ye heard before) expelled him out of his Kingdome. Whereupon Vaidoda, flying to the Turke, desired his aide. The Turke, glad to take that occasion, with great preparation addrested himselfe to return into Hungary, where he recovering againe the Citie of Buda which Ferdinandus had gotten from him a little before, removed his armie into Austria, spoiling and destroying by the way all that came to his hands, shewing many examples of great cruelty and tyranny most lamentable to heare and understand.

For of some he put out their eyes, of some he cut off their hands, of some their eares and noses, and of their children he cut off their privie members. The maidens he corrupted, the matrons had their breasts cut off, and such as were with child were ript and their children cast into the fire. And these examples of horrible and barbarous tyranny this wretched Turke perpetrated by the way coming toward Vienna a noble Citie in Austria, besides the captivities which he took by the way and led into servitude most miserable, mounting to the number of 30000.

Among other holds by the way as the Turkes came, there was a castle called Altenburch, strongly by nature situated, and by art defended; which castle the Turke intending not to overpasse, because he would make all things sure behind him, began to make his assault, and lay his ordinance against it. The warders and keepers of the castle, so soon as the Turke began to lay siege against them, making no resistance, of a womanly cowardlinesse sent their messengers to the Turke, to yield themselves ready to doe his commandement, and further him with their victuall. Amongst whom were three hundred Bohemians, who were commanded to follow the host, that the Turke by them might learne what strength was in the Citie of Vienna; also where the way was, and what was to be done for the winning thereof.

Of whom when the Turke had understanding how all things stood, and how that there were but twenty thousand men in Vienna able to beare armour, and that other Cities of Austria would soon yield if that were gotten, and that Vienna was victualled but for two moneths, and that the King was of late in Bohemie; thus the Turke of all things being certified, having no doubt in his minde of victory, made speed toward Vienna, and first coming to Neapolis, a Citie but eight miles distant from Vienna, he required them to yield themselves; who notwithstanding withstood them, and repulsed them valiantly.

Then the Turkes assigned a place for the pitching of their tents; which because it seemed something too little for such a great multitude, they took in more ground to the compass of seven miles circuit. The multitude of his army, which he there planted, is accounted of some to extend to 250 thousand souldiers. The Turke thus being planted made daily incursions over all the Countrey of Austria, specially about the Citie of Vienna, wasting and spoiling with great cruelty and murder amongst the poore Christians.

Moreover, to make all things more sure toward the preparation of the siege, scouts were sent abroad, and ambushments were laid about the River side of Danubius, to prohibe that no aide nor victuall should be brought to Vienna. So it pleased the providence of the Lord (who disposeth all things) that three dayes before the coming of the Turke, Frederick the Earl Palatine, which was then assigned by the Empire to take the charge of Vienna, was come done by the River of Danubius with 14. D. and with a certaine troop of horsemen well appointed and picked for the purpose. After the coming of this Frederick, provision also of victuall was appointed to follow shortly after by the said river of Danubius.

In the mean time, they which had the carriage and transporting thereof, hearing how the wayes were laid, and all the passages ten miles about Vienna stopped by the Turkes, although they knew the Citie

SKING  
HEN. 7.  
Danubia fleeth  
to the Turke.

Horrible examples  
of the  
Turke's cruelty.

The effeminate  
cowardlinesse  
of the souldiers  
in Altenburch.

The Castle of  
Altenburch  
yielded to the  
Turke.

Neapolis besieged  
of the  
Turke.

The Turkes  
army of two  
hundred and  
fifty thousand  
souldiers.

Vienna besieged  
of the  
Turke.

Frederick  
Earle Palatine  
appointed  
in Vienna.

Christian princes  
negligent  
in helping their  
fellows.

Rhodes won of  
the Turke.

Christian wars  
against the  
Turke never  
sped well under  
the guiding  
of popish prelates.

Christians  
were the speciall  
Gunners of  
the Turke.

The rash Archbishop  
slaine.

King Ludobick  
perished in  
warre.

Ferdinandus  
of Hungary.

Buda, Clradine,  
and the Citie called  
Quinque Ecclesias  
taken of the  
Turke.

Contention betweene  
Ferdinandus,  
and  
Vaidoda.



**KING** to stand in great need of victuall, yet seeing there was no other remedy, rather then it should come to the enemies hand, thought it best to sinke their boats with their carriage, and so they did. Whereby albeit the Christians wanted their reliefe, yet were the Turkes disappointed of their prey and purpose. The captaines which had the keeping of the City, which were chiefly Fredericus the Earle Palatine, Gulielmus Rogendorffius, and Nicolaus Earle of Salme, seeing themselves to be straitned contrary to their expectation, although they had great causes to be discouraged, yet calling their courage unto them, they consulted together for the best way to be taken: and seeing that the little Citie Peapolis (aboue mentioned) being eight miles distant from them, so valiantly withstood the Turkes, that in one day they sustained seven grievous assaults against all the main force of the Turkish army; by their example and manfull standing being the more animated and encouraged, thought to abide the uttermost before they would give over; and first plucking down all the suburbs and buildings without the walls, whereby the enemy might have any succour, they willed all the farmers and inhabitants about the citie to save themselves, and to bring in their goods within the walls. Such places as were weake within the wals, they made strong. About the towers and munition of the walles they provided rampiers and bulwarks distant eighty foot one from another, to keepe off the shot; and every man had his place and standing awarded to him upon the wall, and his office appointed what to doe: but especially that side of the Citie which lieth to the river of Danubius they fortified after the best wise; for that way onely now remained for victuall to be transported from the Bohemians unto them. Wherefore eight ensignes were assigned to the keeping of the bridge, and in the plaine, which was like an Island inclosed within the river, a sufficient garrison of horsemen were placed, lying within the gunshot of the Citie, to the intent that if any graine or victuall were sent from the Bohemians, they might provide the same safely to be brought into the Citie.

These things thus being disposed and set in order, L. William Rogendorff, to assay the strength of the Turkes, made divers robes out with his horsemen, albeit much against the mindes of the Austrians; who, knowing the manner of the Turkes, thought it better to suffer them, while either with time they might be overweared, or for lacke of victuall consumed. Among many and sundry skirmishes which the Christians had with the Turkes, one especially was to our men unprosperous: in which certaine of the horsemen, espying a small troope of the Turkes scattering abroad from their company, made out after them, who suddenly and guilefully were inclosed and circumvented by the Turkes, before they could recover the gates of the Citie, and so were all taken alive: Of whom three were sent from the Turkes into the Citie, to declare to the Viennians what strength they had scene in the camp of their adversaries, and to sollicite them to yeld their city for feare of punishment which would follow. The residue they reserbed to torments and punishment, whom in the sight of the whole army, and of the Christians (which should tell the same to the Citizens) they caused every man to be drawn with foure horses apeces, and so to be dismembred and pluckt a sunder.

After this done, the barbarous Turk immediately sent his Herald to talke with the captaines of the city, whether they would yeld the city upon honest conditions, or else would abide the arbitrement of war. If they would gently submit themselves, they should have all gentleness to them shewed. If they would be stubborn, and stand to their defence, he would also stand to his siege begun, so that he neither would spare man, woman, or child. To this the captaines answered again, that they were contented that Solymán should stand to his siege begun, and doe his

uttermoſt, what he would, or what he could. As for them, they were at a point to defend themselves and their city so long as they might the event and fall of victory to be doubtfull, and many times so to happen, that they which begin the war, are wearied sooner then they which be provoked: neither againe that they were so unmindfull either of themselves, or of their country, but that they did remember well what they are, and what they be called, named to be Germans: who use alwayes first to assay the adversary, what he is able to doe, and not rashly to commit themselves into their enemies hands.

Solymán not a little disdainning at this answer, first burning and consuming all the villages, houses and places round about the City, infecting also the springs and fountains which gave water into the city, and so stopping all passages that no reliefe should have way unto them, began with angry mood to approach more neer to the city, with three great camps, sending them word in scoone and continually by one of his captaines, that if they stood in need of helpe of souldiers, he would send unto them the three hundred Bohemians (mentioned a little before) to aide them in their defence. To whom the Palatine directed answer again, that they had more souldiers in the Citie then they needed. As for the Bohemians which had yielded themselves, he might do with them what he would, for Vienna stood in no great need of them.

In the meane time a messenger coming from Ferdinandus was privily let in by night into the city, which brought word that they should play the men in keeping out the enemy a while, for it would not be long, but both Ferdinandus and Carolus his brother, with the strength of all Germany, would be ready to rescue them. At which message the hearts of the souldiers began somewhat to be cheared, and to commend the huge multitude of the adversaries, being so great as they never did behold, nor did ever almost heare of before. The largeness of whose army extended no lesse in compasse (as is aboue said) then of seven miles round about the city walls.

Long it were to recite the whole order of this terrible siege, with all the parts and circumstances thereof. Briefly to touch so much as shall suffice for this history, with fewer words then were stripes given at the siege thereof; this is to be judged and confessed, whosoever beholdeth the number and fierceness of the Turkes, the absence of King Ferdinandus, the lacke of provision and victuall within the Citie, the noise of the guns, the violence of the shot, the terror of the fight, and yet no succour sent unto them; that the custody of that Citie was no mans doing, but the arme onely of the Lord God of hosts, according to the true saying of the Psalm, Unless the Lord do keep the Citie, the watchmen watch in vaine which watch to save it: Unless the Lord doe build the house, the builder travaileth in vaine which taketh upon him to build it. Experience whereof in keeping this Citie may well appeare.

First, Solymán bending his shot and ordnance against the Citie, beat down to the ground the battures with all the uttermost suburbs of the city, and that in such a short moment of time, that the hearts of the Viennians, a little before refreshed, were now as much appalled again with feare, miscounting with themselves, lest the Turke with the same celebrity and violence would have prevailed against the inward walles, as he did in beating down the outward battures. And no doubt the same time the Turke had put the Citie in great hazard, had not night coming on broken off the siege for that day.

In the meane time the Citizens laboured all night in repairing and refreshing the walls, to make all things sure against the next assault. The next day early in the morning the Turkes approaching the Citie again with a new assault, thinking to scale the walls, were so repulsed and manfully resisted by the Germanes, that untimely any ditches about the walls could

Bohemians now approacheth Vienna with three great armies.

A messenger sent from Ferdinandus to Vienna.

The siege of Vienna begun.

The Lords power and providence in keeping the Citie of Vienna.

The slaughter of the Turkes about the wayes of Vienna.

Fredericus Earle Palatine, William Rogendorffius, Nicolaus Earle of Salme, captaines of Vienna.

Preparation within the Citie of Vienna, against the Turke.

Provision made for victualling the Citie.

Good counsell and experience refused.

Rash hardnesse of the Christians in skirmishing with the Turke. The wretched crueltie of the Turkes against the Christian captives.

The message of the Turke to the Viennians.

The answer of the Viennians to the Turke.



could be saene for the bodies of the dead Turks, wherewith they were replenished so that the Turks were faine to fight standing upon the bodies of them which were slaine. By the which calamitie the force of the enemye was not a little abated.

It happened the same time, that a company of the Turks being spyed out of the city wandering out of order, the capitaine Rogendorffius with two legions of horsemen issuing out of the City gate called Salmaria, & so passing closely under the hills side, did so set upon them, that they slew a great number of them; the rest being driven to take the Riber, whom with stones and shot likewise they destroyed, and so retired back into the city again. By this victorie the capitaine Rogendorffius began to be terrible to the Turks. For in the same skirmish (as after was known) were slain of them so many, that of 5000. and 300. horsemen and footemen scarce 140. escaped alive.

Solyman disdainning at this repulse thought to probe another way, and so bringing his power toward the gate called the Kings gate, there making his trenches and bulwarks, planted his ordnance, with the violence whereof the wals were so battered and shaken, that no man was able there to stand. Wherefore the Turke, seeing two great breaches made in the wall, commanded his souldiers covertly in the dark smoke of the gunpowder to preece into the city. The like also was done at the Scotish tower, whereby the city was invaded in two sundry places at one time. The Viennians at the first freshly began to with stand them, new souldiers still coming in the place of them that were slaine and hurt; and so this assault continuing more then five houres together, our men began at length to languish and faint, not only in strength but also in courage, where by the Citie had been in great danger of losing, had not the two aforesaid capitaines Rogendorffius in the one place, and the Earl of Salme in the other place, manfully encouraged the souldiers to abide the brunt, and to beare out a while the violence of the Turks, promising that immediately they should have ayde from Ferdinandus.

In the mean time the Turkes came so thicke for the greedinesse of the victorie, scaling, climbing, and fighting upon the wals, that had it not been for that preece and throng of the great multitude of the Turkes, coming so thicke that one of them could not fight for another, Vienna that same day had been taken and utterly lost. But by the policie of the capitaines giving a signe within the city, as though new souldiers were called for, our men began to be encouraged, and the Turkes hearts to be discomfited.

When Solyman saw his army the second time repulsed, he began to attempt a new way, purposing by undermining to overthrow the city; in the which work specially he used the help of the Illyrians, of whom he had a great number in his campe, expert in that kinde of feat. These Illyrians beginning to break the earth at the gate Carinthia, and coming neer to the foundations of the tower, which they by strength of hand attempted to break, could not work so closely under the ground, but they were perceived by certain men above, which were skillfull and expert in that kinde of matter; who contrariwise undermining against them, and filling their trenches as they went with Gun-powder, so conveyed their traine, that when fire should be set unto it, the violence thereof should burst out by the trenches of the enemies: which done, suddenly the ground beneath made a great shaking, so that the Tower did cleave asunder, and all the underminers of the Turkes, working in their trenches, were smothered and destroyed, which came to the number (as it was supposed afterward) of eight thousand persons; inso much that yet till this day a great number of dead mens skulls are found in the ground.

When Solyman saw that this way also would not serbe, and had priuy intelligence that the wals a-

bout the gates of Suburium were negligently kept, and that he might have there more easie entrance; secretly he conveyeth about ten garrisons of fresh souldiers, in such sort as the townesmen should not perceive them: who came so suddenly upon them, that they had filled their ditches, and were upon the top of the fortresses and munitions, before that our men were aware of them, or could make themselves ready to resist them. For although there was no lacke of souldiers within the city, yet forsomuch as the whole brunt of the siege did lie, especially at the two gates aforesaid, from whence the souldiers which were there warding could not be well removed, for a shift the rescuers (which within the city were ready for all sudden adventures) were sent to the wals; by whose coming, those few which kept the enemies off before, being sore hurt & wounded, were succoured and sent to surgery; and thus the said assault continued terrible and doubtfull untill (the darke night coming upon them) they could not well know the one from the other. In this bickering were counted of the Turkes to be slaine more then 5000.

Then the Capitaine Rogendorffius commending the valiant standing of his souldiers, minding with himselfe (as it hapned indeed) that the Turkes would not so give over, but would set upon him the next day with a fresh assault, providing with all diligence for the purpose, made up the breaches of the wals, and prepared all things necessary for resistance. The next morning following, which was something darke and misty, the Turkes thinking to prevent our men with their sudden coming, began again busily to bicker upon the top of the wals.

It would require a long tractation here to describe the great distresse and danger that the City those three dayes following was in. During all the which time there was no rest, no intermission, nor diligence lacking, either in the enemies, fighting against the city, either in our men in defending the same. For the Turkes, besides the multitude of the great ordnance, wherewith (as with a great tempest of Gun-shot) they never ceased, still battering the wals, and beating the munitions of the city, sent also such heaps and multitudes of the Turkes, to the scaling and climbing of the wals, that unnethe with all the ordnance and shot of the city, either the violence of them could be broken, or the number of them diminished; till at the last the souldiers of the Turkes, perceiving themselves able by no means to prebaile, but only to run in danger of life, and to do no good, began to wrangle among themselves, grudging and repining against their Dukes and Captains, imputing the whole cause only to them, that the City was yet untaken, seeing there was in them neither diligence nor good will lacking; and so ceased the siege for that time.

After this, when Solyman had purposed in himselfe with his last and strongest siege to trie against the City the uttermost that he was able to doe, and had encouraged his souldiers to prepare themselves in most forcible wise thereunto: the souldiers shewed themselves much unwilling to retorne againe from whence they were so often repulsed before; by reason whereof great commotion began to rise in the Turkes Campe. The rumour whereof when it came to Solymans ears, he sendeth his grand captain to keepe all the souldiers in order and obedience; or if they would be stubborn, to compell them, whether they would or not, to accomplish his commandment. Who coming to the souldiers, shewed to them the great Turkes message; and to animate and encourage them, declared that the opportunity of the time present was not to be neglected; neither could they now without great shame give over, after so many assaults attempted; who, if they would sustain but one brunt more, the victorie were in their own hands. The Souldiers, he said, were wasted, and their victuals spent; and the more

SKING 7.  
HEN-7.  
Another assault of the Turkes against Vienna.

The Turkes againe repulsed.

Another assault of the Turkes repulsed.

The Turkes at variance among themselves.

The Turkes and his souldiers could not agree.

The Turkes created his souldiers.

The manliness of capitaine Rogendorffius against the Turkes.

Another assault of the Turkes against Vienna.

Another repulse of the Turkes.

Vienna undermined by the Turkes.



**KING** } to enflame their minds, he promised them not one  
**HEN. 7.** } by great thanks and reward of their Emperour, but  
 also the whole spoile of the Citie, in recompence of  
 their trauell.

Compulsion of  
 men whereby  
 the Lord defended.

But when all this could not stir up the stardie stomacks of the tired Turkes, using compulsion where persuasion would not serbe, he appointed a number of horsemen to be set at their backs: whereby to enforce them either to goe forward, or if they denied, with guns and speares to destroy them. The Turkes seeing themselves in such a strait, that whether they went or tarried it was to them like perill, yet would they not set forward except the captaine would take the venture before them. Who warding forward in his array thus spake unto his fellowes, saying, Doe you forsake your faith and allegiance, and betray the Emperour of Constantinople unto the Christians if you will; but I will discharge my dutie towards the Common-wealth and my Emperour, and with that word advanced his ensigne, making forward the Citie wals. Whom when other followed, and still more and more pressed after, so it came to passe that whole routs of them were overthrowen and slain of our men upon the wals, before it was known what they meant. Other terrified by their example gave back and left their array, and winding themselves by by-ways and under covert of hills, returned againe into their tents, and so came it to passe, that the strength of the enemies daily more and more decreasing, they had lesse hope every day more then other of obtaining the Citie. For besides the innumerable slaughter of Turkes upon the walles, the Molonesmen also watching the foragers and purveyors of the Turkes, as they ranged about for victuall for the campe, eber as occasion serbed them did compass them about, and so encountered with them by that way, that of a whole Legion scarcely the tenth part returned again to their fellowes alive, by meanes whereof the courage of the enemies began greatly to faint. Whereby such a marvellous alteration hapned, that as our men began to receive more hope and courage, so the Turkes began still more to drop and to languish with despaire: so that at length scarce durst they appeare without the bounds where they were intrenched, but onely in light skirmishes, when they were provoked by our men to come out and to shew themselves.

The slaughter  
 of men whereby  
 at Vienna.

The Turkes  
 flaine.

The Turk  
 beginneth to  
 retire.

Solyman perceiuing his souldiers thus daily to goe to wrack, of whom he had lost already more then eighty thousand, and that with long tarrying he could doe no good, being also in lack of forage, for that the countrey about him was waisted, beginneth to consult with his captains and counsellers, what remained best to be done. Of whom the most part aduised him to raise his siege, and betime to provide for himself. Which to do many causes there were that mooved him. First the losse of his men, which daily were cut from him by great numbers, besides them which lay in his campe wounded, or sick, or famished. Secondly, lack of purbeance. Thirdly, the approaching neere of winter. But the chiefest cause was, for that he heard Frederick Palatine aboue mentioned, coming with a great army at Ratissbone towards Vienna, and there had done great molestation to a great number of the Turkes foragers, whom by the way he prevented, and so enclosed in the woods that he slew them. Whereof when Solyman had intelligence, thinking it not best to abide the coming of the Palatine, made haste with bag and baggage to remove his campe and to retire; and first sending away his carriage before him, he made speed himself with his army to follow shortly after.

Solyman re-  
 moveth and  
 raiseth his  
 siege from  
 Vienna.

The Viennians, when they heard of the removing away of the Turkes, although at the first they scarcely beleaved it to be true, being afterward certified out of doubt, both of their removing, and also of the order thereof, how it was in a manner of a flight or chase, were greatly desirous to make out of the

Citie after them. Wherein, albeit the presence of the Palatine with his army, if he had been there present, might have stood them in great stead, yet notwithstanding they took the opportunity of the time present, and issuing out of the Citie, in most orderly wise set after them with their horsemen, and first overpassing the tents (where the Turkes had pitched their stations or pavillions) for haste of the way, they made such pursue after them, that within little time they overtake the reerward or later end of the armie, whereof they made such haback and destruction, that (as the author reporteth) there was never a shot of the pursuers, nor weapons drawing, nor stroke stricken, which light in waite (which was no hard thing for our men to doe. For as the Turkes in their flight went scattered out of order and array, neither would they in the fore-ranke (being so farre off from jeopardy) returne backe to helpe their fellowes, if was easie for our men, without resistance, to come upon their backs as they would. Yet notwithstanding in long pursuite, when our men could not see the carriage of the Turkes, which was wont in armies to come alway behinde after the host, and suspecting (as truth was) some ambush to be left in privacy waight behinde them, to come betwixt them and home: they called themselves to retreat, and consulted upon the matter, thinking god, first to send out certain scoutes, to espye and bring them word where the enemies lay, and what was the number of them. Whereof when intelligence was given them that the remnant of the Turkes army was remaining in the tents behinde, word was sent to their fellowes in Vienna to issue out, and to some also with them against the taile of the Turkes, which had entrenched themselves within the campe. Other were appointed to follow the chase, lest peradventure the Turkes seeing our men to recule backe might return againe upon them and help their fellowes. Which things being thus ordered and appointed, in the meane time, while part of the Viennians were hovering after the maine army, the rest encountered with them that were left in the campe. Who seeing themselves overmarched, first defended their campe with a deepe ditch and bulwarks, to delay the time untill some help might come to them from the army. Secondly, they directed messengers to the Christians, to intreat for peace. Thirdly, they conveyed their priue letters unto Solyman for speedy aide and rescue. But all the waies and passages being stopped by the Christians, their letters were intercepted, and so the miserable Turkes being destitute of all hope and succor, seeing no other remedy made out of their campe, to hazard and probe the uttermost for their defence: but in conclusion, in their desperate venture they were enclosed about by our men on every side, and there put to the sword and flaine, a few onely excepted, who escaping out very hardly by secret passages, shifted after the rest of their fellowes, as well as they could. Their carriage and other furniture left behind them in their tents was distributed amongst the souldiers, onely such things referred as might serbe for their publike use and commoditie of the Citie.

The Turkes  
 campe pursued  
 in their flight.

The prince  
 receiveth of the  
 Turkes a great  
 spoyle.

The rest of the  
 Turkes flaine  
 in the campe.

Thus through the mercifull protection and benefit of Almighty God, Austria was delivered from the fierce and barbarous hostilitie of the cruell Turkes. Notwithstanding, that neither Ferdinandus the King, nor the Emperour his brother were there present, but only the power of God, through the valiantnesse of the worthy Germanes, defended that Citie: in defence whereof consisted the safety and deliberance (no doubt) of all these West parts of Christendome. For the which unmatchable praise and thanks be unto our immortal God in Christ our Lord, according as he hath of us most graciously and worthily deserved. Wherein by the way take this for a note (gentle Reader) how and after what manner Gods blessing goeth with the true reformers

The mercifull  
 protection of  
 God over  
 Christendome

Gods blessing  
 goeth with the  
 maine ankers of  
 his true wor-  
 ship and reli-  
 gion.



formers of his religion; and so much the more is it to be noted, for that the Turkes in so many battels and sieges heretofore were never so repulled and foiled, as at this present time in incountring with the Protestants and defenders of sincere religion. This Citie of Vienna was besieged and delibered the year of our Lord 1529. The assaults of the Turke against the Citie are numbred to be twenty, and his repulses as many. The number of his army which he first brought, was 250000. whereof were reckoned to be thine eighty thousand and above. During the time of his siege he led away out of the countrey about, many captives, Virgins and matrons he quelled, and cast them out naked, the children he stuck upon stakes.

Solyman thus put from the hope of victory of Vienna, after he had breathed himselfe a while at home, the second year after, which was An. 1531. repairing his host, returned again into Hungary, with no lesse multitude then before; where first he got the towne called Gunza, being but slenderly kept with a small Garrison. By reason whereof the townesmen and souldiers, yielding themselves unto the Turkes, were constrained to agree upon unreasonable conditions. Ex Ioanne Ramo.

Helchior Scoterus in his second Booke writing De bello Pannonico, touching the foresaid towne of Gunza, or Gunzum, differeth herein something from Hannus, declaring how this Gunza, being a small towne in Hungary, and having in it but only an hundred souldiers (as Wolfgangus Drechlerus in his Chronicle reporteth, at the most but two hundred souldiers) under the valiant captaine Nicolaus Jurelschitz, defended themselves so manfully and wonderfully, through the notable power of God, against the whole puissance of two hundred thousand Turkes, that they being notwithstanding distressed with lacke and penury of purveyance, and suddenly of the Turkes invaded, yet with pure courage and promptnesse of heart sustained the uttermost force of them for the space of twenty five dayes together.

Although the narration of the Author may seeme to some incredible, yet thus he writeth, that what time the great ordnance and battering peeces of the Turkes were planted upon two mountaines much higher then the towne, whereby they within the towne were oppressed both before and behinde, inasmuch that eight Ensignes of the Turkes were already within the towne, yet by the reason of women and children, and other impotent persons who in the middle of the towne were congregate in an house together, such a noise and clamour went up to heaven, praying and crying to God for help, that the Turkes within the walles, supposing a new army of fresh souldiers to be sent into the towne, for sudden feare voided the towne, and leaped downe from the wals againe, (which before they had got) whom no man either pursued or resisted; for never a souldier almost was left on the wals, which was not either slaine or else wounded with the Turkes Ordnance. At what time through the Lords providence it so hapned, that one Abrahamus Walla near about the Turk, seeing both the towne to be small, and the great destruction of the Turkes in the siege thereof, and that the captain in no case would yield, perswaded so the Turk, declaring how the towne being so little was not worth the losse of so many men, in the winning whereof there was no glory, and if he were repulled, great dishonour might follow: whereby the Turk being perswaded did follow his counsell, which was this; that Nicolaus the Christian Captaine being called unto him, under pledges and safe conduct, should receive the towne as of his hand and gift, with condition that he should doe no violence to his souldiers left behinde and wounded, but should procure such means as he could for the recovering of them; and so he raising his siege departed. Another cause might

be also, which moved him so suddenly to raise his siege, for that he heard the Palatine not to be far off in pursuing after him; and therefore taking his flight by the mountaines of the Papians, he returned with much spoile of Christian mens goods unto Constantinople. Ex Melchior Soit. li. 2. de bello Pannonico.

For so it was provided the same time in Germany, after the councill of August and Ratibon (at what time the controvercie of Religion betwene the Protestants and the Papists was deferred and set off to the next generall Cuncell) that Charles the fifth and Ferdinandus his brother, having understanding of the Turk thus ranging in Hungary, should collect of the Germans, Hungarians, and Spaniards, and others, an able army of eighty thousand footmen, and thirty thousand horsemen to repulse the invasions of the Turke. But Solyman having intelligence of this preparation of the Christian power coming toward him, whether for feare, or whether to espye further opportunity of time for his more advantage and our detriment, refused at that time to carry their coming, and so, speeding his returne unto Constantinople, retired with much spoile and prey sent before him, as is above premised: which was in the year of our Lord, 1532.

Not long after, being the year of our salvation, 1534. Solyman intending two wars at once, first sent Conradinus Barbarossa the Admirall of his Flottes into Africk, to war against the King of Tunis: whom the Barbarossa also dispossessed and deprived of his Kingdome: but Charles the Emperour, the next year following, An. 1535. restored the said King againe into his Kingdome, and delivered in the same voyage twenty thousand captives out of servitude.

The same time the Turke also sent another captaine into Hungary, to war against Matboda, while he himself taking his course to Persia, planted his siege against the Citie Taurus, which he in short space subdued and expugned. Albeit he long enjoyed not the same; for Labanes King of the Persians, suddenly coming upon the Turkes unprepared, slew of them twenty thousand, and took his concubines, to the great toile and reproach of the Turk.

Two years after this, which was the year of our Lord, 1537. Solyman, who could not be quiet at home, nor rest in peace, returning againe out of Asia into Europe with 270. ships, great and little, set upon Corcyra, another Island belonging to the Venetians, which he besieged ten dayes, wasting and burning the townes and fields as he went, beside the destruction of much people therein, whom partly he slew, partly led away captives. From thence he sailed to Zacynthus and Cephera, another Island not farre off from Corcyra, bordering near to the coasts of Cyprus and Grecia. Where he suddenly by night invading the husbandmen in villages and fields, sleeping and mistrusting no harme, drew them out of their houses and possessions, men and women, besides children, to the number of nine hundred, whom he made his bondslaves; burning moreover their houses, and carrying away all the goods and cattell being without the said Citie of Zacynthus and Cephera. Ex Ioan. Crispo.

From thence these helhounds turned their course to the siege and spoile of Egina, a rich and populous Island, lying between Grecia and Asia. Where first the Eginitians did manfully in battell resist them, and were like to have prevailed: but being wearied at length, and oppressed with innumerable thousands of fresh Turkes, which still were sent in, to rescue the other which were overcome before, were compelled to flye into the Citie of Egina. Which Citie the cruell Turkes (or rather devils on earth) with much labour, and violence of their great ordnance set out of their ships, subdued and cast downe to the ground; the Citizens and inhabitants whereof the Turk after he had burned their houses, and ransacked

{ KING }  
{ HEN. 7. }

The Emperour Charles and Ferdinandus begin at length to stir against the Turk.

The Turk refused to carry the Christian army.

The Turk warreth against the King of Tunis. Tunis was won of the Turkes. Tunis recovered againe by Charles the Emperour.

Taurus a City of Persia taken of the Turkes. Twenty thousand Turkes slaine of the Persian King.

Corcyra the Island wasted and spoiled by the Turkes.

The Ile of Zacynthus and Cephera spoiled by the Turkes.

Captives of the Christians. War between the Eginitians and the Turkes. Egina taken of the Turk.

The Citizens of Egina slaine of the Turkes.

Ex Melc. Soit. lib. 2. de bello Pannonico.

Nicolaus Jurelschitz a valiant captaine.

A miraculous example of the Lords protection and providence.

The Turk raised his siege from Gunza.



KING } facted their goods, commanded to be slain and killed  
 HEN. 7. } every one. The women both noble & un noble, with  
 The women of } their infants, were given to the mariners to be abu-  
 Malta miserably } sed, and from thence being shipped unto Constanti-  
 nople were led away to perpetuall misery and slave-  
 ry, which was in the year of our Lord, 1537.  
 The Turks

In the same journey Soliman also took the Ile in the said sea of Eugenni, called Parun; also the Ile adjoining to the same named Parus, and made them to him tributaries. The Duke whereof he which wrote the story both of these Ilands aforesaid, and also of the other Ilands, called Cyclades, and other Dukes. Ex Ioanne Crispo, Duce Naxi, &c.

Note what  
hurt cometh by  
the dissention of  
Christian Princes

Stiria is a  
country or  
province next  
adjoining to  
Austria.

The fallhood of  
the Turk with  
the Venetians.

Novum Castellum  
in Dalmatia  
overthrown by  
the Turks, and  
the people  
slaine.

The contention  
in Hungary be-  
tween Ferdi-  
nandus and  
Matthoda and  
his successors.

The communi-  
cation between  
Bonachus and  
Ferdinandus.

In the same journey Solymán also took the *Íle* in the said sea of *Eugenn*, called *Parum*; also the *Íle* adjoining to the same named *Parus*, and made them to him tributaries. The Duke whereof he which wrote the story both of these *Ílands* aforesaid, and also of the other *Ílands*, called *Cyclades*, and other *Dukes*. *Ex Ioanne Clispo, Duce Navæ, &c.*

This done, Holymannus directed his Rabie unto Apulia, where he set on land ten thousand footmen, and 2000. horsemen, which spoiled likewise and wasted those parts, while the Emperour, the Pope, and the Venetians were together in war and discention. Furthermore, the next year following, An. 1538. great attempts began in Siria, but by the resistance of the inhabitants, the force of the barbarous Turks was repulsed, notwithstanding great spoils of men and cattell were carried from thence, and the country miserably spoiled. In the which year also the Turke turning into Hungary, gave battell unto the Christians in Sabia, where through fraudulent falshood of the captain Cassianerus (Wolfgangus nameth him Calciaurus) being (as they say) corrupted with money, our men were put to the worse, Anno 1538.

After that the Turks had invaded the Island of Corcyra abovesaid, the Venetians with Solyman the Turk had joined truce for a certain time, for the which they gave the Turk 300. thousand crowns, with the city Neapolis, and Paluasia, in the borders of Macedonia. But within four or five years, the Turk to get a new stipend of the Venetians, brake his league, and invaded their dominions; whereby they were enforced to enter new conditions again with him.

In the year of our Lord, 1540. the restlesse Turk making his return toward Hungary, by the way passing by Dalmatia, lay against the town called Newcastle, being defended by the Spaniards. In the which town, because they refused to yield themselves, all the inhabitants and souldiers were put to the sword and slain every one. This Novum Castellum, or Newcastle, was a strong fort of the Christians, which being now in the Turks power, he had great advantage over all those quarters of Dalmatia, Sticia, Carinthia, and Hungaria. From thence he proceeded further, keeping his course into Hungary, where he planted his power against the city of Buda.

This Buda was a principall city in Hungary, about which great contention had been (as ye have heard before) betwixt Joannes Uaboda, and Ferdinandus. By reason whereof the Turk occasioned by Uaboda, came unto Hungary, and delibred the city of Uaboda. This Uaboda living not long after, left behinde him a son, whom being an infant he committed to the government of one Georgius Donachuz, who, being left Tutor unto the infant, reduced all Transylvania, Buda, Pesth, with other parts of Hungary, which belonged to Uaboda before, to the subjection of the childe. Ferdinandus hearing thereof, in a great haste and anger, levied an army to recover his lands in Hungary, and so laid siege to Buda. Donachuz seeing his part weak, first sent his Legate to Ferdinandus, desiring him to talk and confer with him upon matters, as he preferred, pertaining to the behalf of them both. Whereupon both the parties being agreed, the place and manner of their convention was appointed, and also the day and time assigned. Thus the parties (according to the agreement) convening together with their armies, withdrawing a little aside, as they were entred in communication, suddenly among

10
20

 Ferdinandus men hapned a dia to be heard, which  
 by the heat of the day (as is thought) by force of his  
 own accord, gave a crack. The he found himself com-  
 ing to the ears of Bonachus, he supposing the same  
 to have been discharged against him, in great rage  
 drew cut his sword, bidding Ferdinandus stand  
 with his doubling dissimulation, saying, that he  
 would never any more trust the promises of Chaba-  
 rans, and immediately upon the same sent to Soly-  
 manmus the Turk for aid against the Chabarians,  
 promising that he would surrender to him the pos-  
 session of Hungary, if he would come and vanquish  
 the army of Ferdinandus living about the city of  
 Buda. The Turk maketh no long tarrying, but tak-  
 eth the occasion, and with a mighty power flieth  
 into Hungary, and effrons dishonouring the host of  
 Ferdinandus, and putting them off from the siege  
 of Buda, setteth the city into his own hand, com-  
 manding the son of Chaboda with his mother, to fol-  
 low after his camp.

In the history of Joannes Hannus it followeth, that when Solymán the Turk had thus prevailed against the city of Buda above said, and against other parts more of Hungary, by the assent of the Empire, one Joachimus Duke of Brandenburg, Prince Elector, was assigned with a puissant army of chosen souldiers of all nations collected to recover the City of Buda from the Turk, and to deliver the other parts of Christendom from the fear

Distance: 2000  
 2000 the



Ex Ioan Ramo  
de rebus Turci-  
cis, lib. 2.

the cruell Turks done, Anno 1542. witnessed by Ioannes Ramus, which not onely writeth the story, but by the testimony also of his own eyes recordeth the same to be true, beholding with his eyes one of the same number in the city of Vienna, who having wife and children in Bruxelles, either for shame or sorrow, had no minde to return home to his own house. Ex Ioan. Ramo.

The fallshood  
of the Turks  
in keeping no  
promise with  
the Christians.

But to return again to the city of Buda, from whence we have digressed, here is not to be pretermitted, what fallshood and what cruelty the Turks used toward the Christians there after their victory. For after that Solymán the Turk, upon yielding and submission of the men of Buda, had given to them his promise of safety and life, within short time the said Turk picking a quarrell with them for selling Ven into the Christians, and for bargaining with them, slew all the Magistrates of the said city of Buda; like as in all other cities, wheresoever the Christians yielded unto him, he never, or very rarely kept his promise with them, neither did ever any Christians speed better with the Turk, than they which most constantly did resist him.

An horrible ex-  
ample of the  
heavily cruelty  
of the false  
Turks.

And as his promise with the Magistrates of Buda was false and wretched; so his cruelty with the souldiers thereof, was much more notorious and abominable. For in the expugnation of Buda, amongst the rest which were slain, two Cohorts or bands of Christian souldiers came alive to his hands. To whom, when he seemed at the first to grant pardon of life, he commanded to put on their armour again, and to dispose themselves in order and battell array, after the warlike manner of the Christians. Which when they had accomplished readily, according to his commandment, and he riding about the ranks of them, had diligently viewed and beholden them a certain space, at length he commanded them to put off their armour again. Which done, certain of the tallest and strongest of them he picked out, the residue he commanded by his souldiers coming behinde them with swords to be cut in peeces and slain. Of the other, whom he had elected and chosen, some he let for marks and Buts to be shot at, some he appointed to his two sons, for them to slay with their swords, and try their strength, which of them could give the deeper wound, and (as they termed it) the fairer blow, whereby the most blood might follow out of their Christian bodies. Ex Epist. Mart. Stellæ. de successibus Turcarum.

Ex Epist. Mart.  
Stellæ. de suc-  
cessibus Turcarum,  
&c.

After the winning of Buda, the Turk purposing not so to cease, before he had subdued and brought under his obedience all Hungary, proceeding further with his army, first brought under a strong hold of the Christians, named Pestum or Pest, where a great number of Christian souldiers partly were slain, partly were led away to more cruell affliction.

The castle of  
Ualpo won of  
the Turks.

When he came to another castle called Ualpo situate in the confines of Bosnia, Croatia and Hungary. Which fort or castle he besieged three months, while no rescue or aid was sent unto them, neither from Ferdinandus king of Hungary, nor from any other Christian prince or princes. Whereupon at length the fort was given up to the Turk; but more through the false treachery, or cowardly heart of the souldiers than of the captain. Wherein is to be noted an example not unworthy of memory. For when the cowardly souldiers, either for fear or flattery, would needs surrender themselves and the peere unto the Turk, contrary to the minde of the captain, which in no case would agree to their yielding: they thinking to finde favour with the Turk, apprehended their captain, and gave him to Solymán. But see how the justice of God, sometimes by the hands of the enemy, disposeth the end of things to the rewarding of vertue, and punishing of vice. For where they thought to save themselves by the

A notable ex-  
ample of Gods  
judgments  
lighting upon  
themselves,  
which mean  
fallshood to-  
ward the inno-  
cent.

danger of the faithfull captain, the event turned clean contrary, so that the Turk was to the captain bountifull and very liberal; and the souldiers, notwithstanding that they had all yielded themselves, yet were all put to death, and commanded pitifully to be slain. Ex Ioan. Martino Stella de Turcarum in Hungaria successibus, &c.

SKING  
HEN. 7.

There is in Hungary another town bearing the name of Five-churches, called Quinqueecclesiensis, which being partly spoiled before, as is above mentioned, which now through the losse of Ualpo, and by the hugeness of the Turks army (containing in it two hundred and twenty thousand fighting men) so discouraged, and put out of hope and heart, that the Bishop and chief Nobles of the town led before the jeopardy: the rest of the commons, which were partly prevented by the sudden coming of the Turks, partly for poverty could not avoid, sent their messengers to the Turk, to yield and surrender the town, upon promise of life, unto his hands. Whose promise how firm it stood, the story leaveth it uncertain. This is affirmed, that three dayes after the yielding of this Quinqueecclesiensis, never a Turk durst enter the city. Anno 1543. Ex Ioan. Mart. Stellæ, & alii.

The city of five  
Churches yel-  
ded to the  
Turks.

The bishop lea-  
ved his flock  
in the byers.

The next fort or hold gotten by the Turks in Hungary, was Soclosia. The town at the first invasion of the Turks was won, sacked, and fired. The castle within the town did something hold out for a time, and first requiring truce for fourteen dayes, to see what aid should be sent unto them, to be liberate upon the conditions that should be proposed unto them, after the 14. dayes expired, they trusting to the situation and munition of the place, which was very strong) began for a certain space stoutly to put back the enemy. But afterward seeing their walls to be battered, their foundations to shake (for the Turk had let twelve thousand underminers under the ditches of the castle) and their strength to diminish, and misdoubting themselves not to be able long to hold out, agreed in like manner to yield themselves, upon condition to escape with life and goods. Which condition of saving their goods was the losing of their lives, especially of the richer sort. For the Turks perceiving by that condition, that they were of wealth and substance, omitting the inferior or baser sort, fell upon the wealthy men for their riches, and slew them every one, An. 1543. Ibid.

Soclosia a  
town in Hun-  
gary subdued  
of the Turk.

Cobetouffell  
of worldly  
goods is the  
destruction of  
many a man.

The Turk  
keepeth no  
promise.

In the which his history, this is also to be noted, that during the time while the castle of Soclosia was besieged, the villages and pages round about the same, came of their own accord, submitting and yielding themselves unto the Turk, bringing in (as they were commanded) all kinde of victuall and forrage into the Turks camp. Which done, Solymán the Turk commanded all the head men of the pages to appear before him; which humbly obeyed and came. When the Turk warned them to return again the next day after, every one bringing with him his inferior retinue, and household servants. Which when they had with like diligence also according to his commandment accomplished, the Turk immediately commanded them every one, in the face of his whole army, to be slain, and so was this their reward. Which reward, the more that it declareth the bloody cruelty of the Turk, the more courage it may minister to our men, the more constantly to withstand him. Ex Martino Stella.

Example what  
cometh by chris-  
tian mens  
yielding to the  
Turks.

Another strong town there is in Hungary, named Strigonium, distant from Buda aboute said, the space of five dutch miles, against the which the Turks made great preparation of Ordnance, and all other instruments of Artillery necessary for the siege thereof. Which city in like manner began also to be compassed and inclosed by the Turks, before it could be sufficiently prepared and garnished of our men, but that the Archbishop only of Strigonium privately conveyed unto them two hundred oren. Such was then

Strigonium a  
city in Hunga-  
ry besieged of  
the Turk.

the



KING }  
HEN. 7. }  
negligence of  
Christian prin-  
ces in publike  
defence.

the negligence of Ferdinandus king of Hungary, which so slenderly looked unto the necessary defence of his towns and cities. Moreover, such was the discord then of Christian kings and princes, which in their civill dissention and wars were so occupied and hot in needlesse quarrels, that they had neither leisure nor remembrance to help in time there, where true need required. Which slender care, and cold zeal of the Christian rulers, not in tending the publike cause, while they contended in private ir-  
ries, hath caused the Turke to come so far as he hath, and yet farther is like, unless the mercie of the Lord do help more than our diligence. One of the chief captains within the city, was Martinus Lasca-  
nus, a Spaniard.

The Turke in the beginning of the siege, began first to attempt the Citizens with fair words, and accustomed promises, to yield and gently to submit themselves. But they not ignorant of the Turkes promises, wisely refused, and manfully stood so long as they could to the defence of their city; now and then skirmishing with them in out corners, and kil-  
ling certain numbers of them; sometime with their shot disturbing their munitions, and breaking the wheels of their guns, &c.

Three speciall means the Turke use in winning great forts and cities; great multitude of souldiers; great ordnance and mortary peeces; the third is by undermining. All which here in the siege of this city lacked not. This siege continued vehement a cer-  
tain space; in which the Strigonians had born out four strong assaults, and slue many thousands of the Turke, till at length the Turke either departing away, or else seeming to depart unto Buda, the peo-  
ple at last being so perswaded and made to beleve of some chief rulers of the city (peradventure not the truest men) the Citizens being erected with hope and comfort, and singing Te Deum, as though the city had been free from all danger, suddenly (by whose counsell it is unknown) conveyed themselves all out  
of the city, 300. horsemen also passed over the river and departed. The Italians which were under Francisus Salamanca a Spaniard captain, hardly could be perswaded by him to abide, which were in  
all scarce 600.

Within three dayes after, 300. German souldiers, with three ships laden with shot, powder and ar-  
tillery, were privily let into the town, so that of our men in all there were scarce 1300. souldiers. Who seeing the small quantity of their number, burning and casting down the town and suburbs, took  
them to the castle; from whence they beat off the Turke valiantly with their ordnance a good space, and with wilde fire destroyed great companies of  
them, till at last they seeing their walls to fail them, and the whole castle to shake by undermining, but especially by the working of a certain Italian  
furnamed Presbyter, they gave over. This Italian whether for fear or falsehood, secretly unknown to the rest of the souldiers, accompanied with two other  
conveyed himself down from the walls, and being brought into the tents of the next captain or Vassa  
of the Turke, there in the name of all his fellows consented with the Turke, to give up to them the  
Castle; whereupon the Turke were bid to cease the shooting. This Italian shortly after with two other  
Turke was sent back to Salamanca his captain, with the Turke message. The going out of this  
Italian being privie to the residue of his fellows, contrary to the laws and discipline of war, although  
it seemed to come of his own head: yet so much as the other souldiers were not so sure, but rather sus-  
pected lest the other Italians his countrymen had been in some part of consent therein, and would  
take his part; they neither durst offer him any harm for that his doing, nor yet could well advise  
with themselves what was best to do, for fear of  
private confederacie within themselves.

Thus while Lascanus the chief captain of the  
Christians afore said, with his fellow souldiers, were  
in a maze what to do, or not to do: in the mean  
time came one running, who giving a sign both to  
the Christians and to the Turke to hold their hands  
and weapons, for that it was against all law of war  
to fight after peace and truce taken: our men, as  
they were commanded, went into the inward tower.  
The Turke in the mean time had got into the  
Castle, and occupied all the inner parts. Then was  
10 Salamanca, by the consent of the rest, sent out to the  
Turke, who there being staid that night, the next  
morrow the Turke bull or warrant was sent into  
the castle, permitting free liberty to the Chri-  
stians to depart with bag and baggage. Also now  
being ready to depart, first were commanded by the  
Turke, compassing them round about, to cast from  
them their Dags, Lances and Batellars, into the  
trench. Then coming to the gate to go out, their  
swords were taken from them, looking then for, no  
20 thing but present death.

At last when they were come a little further, other  
were sent to them to discharge them of their hel-  
mets, their targets, cures, and whatsoever piece of  
harnesse was about them. Whereupon great fear  
came upon them, lest some great cruelty should be  
shewed upon them. Soliman, after he had long de-  
liberated with himself, whether to kill them or not,  
at last contrary to all expectation, granted them  
lives: but before they should be dismissed, he first  
30 caused them, in derision of Christianity, to be bat-  
ted with scorns and mocks throughout all the Turkish  
army, and so the next day commanded them being  
stript out of their coats and apparell, to be reduced  
again into the castle by companies, setting over  
them certain Turke with cudgels and bats to lay  
upon their backs and sides, causing them to bury  
the dead carcases, and to gather up the rubbish bro-  
ken down from the castle walls, and to scour the  
ditches. Which done, the next day following he de-  
40 manded of them, by an Interpreter, whether they  
would enter wages with him, and take horse and  
armour to serve him in his wars; which condition  
divers for fear were contented to take, seeing no  
other remedy to avoid present death. Some neither  
by menacing words, nor for any fear of death,  
could be compelled therunto: of whom certain  
which stood stoutly in refusing thereof were presently  
slain, whom I may worthily recite in the number  
and catalogue of holy Martyrs.

Of the foresaid Christians, part were carried over  
the river of Danubius, not without great villany,  
and consumely most despicfull. For some had their  
wives taken from them, and carried away, some had  
their wives ravished before their face; and such as  
made or shewed any resistance thereof, had their  
wives before them cast into the river and drowned,  
also their infants and young children, being appoint-  
ed by the Turke to the abominable order of the Ja-  
nizaries, mentioned before, their parents not con-  
senting therunto, were precipitate and thrown in-  
to the river and drowned. All which things are testi-  
fied by Iohn Martinus Stella, in his Epistle in print  
extant, written to his two brethren, William and  
Michael, &c. Which Martin Stella moreover addeth  
and affirmeth this, That he himself, being the same  
time at Vienna, did see one of the foresaid wives,  
who being holden fast by the hair of the head, yet  
notwithstanding having her hair pluckt off, cast  
her self into the river Danubius for the singular  
love to her husband, and so swam to the ship where  
he was. And thus this miserable company of Ger-  
mans, Spaniards and Italians met together, ma-  
cerate with labours, with hunger pined, with watch-  
ings, dolours and sorrow consumed, came at length  
to Schinda.

When the tidings thereof was noised at Vienna,  
partly with fear and dread, partly with indigna-  
tion

A Turkish  
castle, which  
the Christians  
had taken, they  
were now  
about to  
destroy.

The castle  
Turke's order,  
and impromis-  
ed.

The miserable  
condition of our  
Christian sol-  
diers, who were  
taken at  
Strigonium.

Only souldiers  
and mortary  
peeces  
were of the  
Turks for their  
cathedral reli-  
gion.

Ex Iohn. Mart.  
Villan. Epist.  
ad Mart.

Three speciall  
helps of the  
Turke in win-  
ning towns  
and cities.

The Citizens  
of Strigonium  
fly the city.

The town of  
Strigonium  
destroyed after  
the flying of the  
Citizens, and  
the Castle de-  
fended.

An Italian  
sent in yielding  
the Castle of  
Strigonium to  
the Turke.



Divers opinions of the Christians touching these miserable afflicted souldiers.

on all mens hearts were moved and vexed diversly. Some thought them not worthy to be receivd into their city, shewing themselves so dastardly and cowardly. Others thought again that mercie was to be shewed unto them, and commended their fact, for that they being so few, and unfurnished of aid, neither able to match by any means with such an innumerable multitude of the Turks, kept themselves till better time might serve them. But howsoever the matter was to be thought of, the captains brought the poor remnant of that rufull company unto Possidonium, where the said captains were laid fast, and there kept in durance, to render account of the whole matter how it was wrought and handled. And thus have ye the lamentable story of Strigonium.

Tath subdued of the Turks.

Victory hath never succelle under a wicked captain and sweaver.

The Turk proceeding in his victories conducted his army next unto Tath, and to the parts lying near about Comaron. This Tath was also a strong hold in Hungary, wherein were placed certain garrisons, partly of the Germans, partly of the Italians. The chieftain of the Italians was one Annibal Tasso, constitute by Philippus Cornelius. This Tasso was a man well expert in promesse of war; but of a filthy corrupt life, and also a foul sweaver, and horrible blasphemer of God and his saints. To make the story short, this fort of Tath, before any siege was laid unto it, was yielded and given up to the Turks; upon what conditions, or by whose means, the author sheweth not. Thus much he sheweth, that the said Annibal shortly upon the same, returning into Italy, was commanded by Cornelius aforesaid, to be apprehended and beheaded.

Alba Regalis besieged of the Turk.

After the Turks had subverted and destroyed the fort of Tath, they turned their power against Alba, surnamed Regalis, for that the kings of Hungary have been alwayes wont there to be crowned and buried. This Alba is a little well compacted city in Hungary, having on the one side a marish somewhat foggyly or fenny, which made the town lesse assailable. But near to the same was a wood, from the which the Turks every day with six hundred carts brought such matter of wood, and trees felled for the same purpose, in the marish, that within lesse than twelve dayes they made it apt and hard to their feet, which the Townsmen thought never could be gone upon, but onely in the hard frosts of winter. At the first beginning of the siege there stood, a little without the munitions in the front of the city, a certain Church or Monastery, which the Citizens pretending to maintain and keep against the Turks, had privily conveyed light matter easily to take flame, with powder, in secret places thereof, and had hid also fire withall. Which done, they (as against their wils being driven back) withdrew themselves within the munitions, waiting the occasions, when this fire would take. Thus the Turks having the possession of the Church, suddenly the fire coming to the powder, raised up the Church, and made a great scatter and slaughter among the barbarous Turks. This was not so soon espied of them within the town, but they issued out upon them in this disturbance, and slew of them a great number. Among whom divers of their nobles also the same time were slain, and one Bassa an Eunuch, which was of great estimation with the Turks. Moreover, in the same skirmish was taken one of those Gunners which the French king is said to have sent to the Turk a little before. Which if it be true, let the christian Reader judge what is to be thought of those christian Princes, which not only forsaking the common cause of Christs Church joined league with the Turk, but also sent him Gunners to set forward his wars to the destruction of Christs people, and to the shedding of their blood, for whom they know the blood of Christ to be shed. If this be not true, I shew mine author, if it be, then let the Pope see and mark

A note touching the French king that then was.

Ex epist. Iern. Marti. Stelle ad fratres De Turcar. in Hungaria. succellib.

well how this title of Christianissimus can well agree with such doings. } KING }  
HEN. 7. }

But to let this matter sleep, although the Turks (as ye heard) had won the fen with their policie and industry, against the city of Alba, yet all this while the Albanes were nothing inferior to their enemies, through the valiant help and couragious indeavour of Diabianus Scruzatus, a captain of Villain. By whose prudent counsell and constant standing, the busie enterprises of the Turks did little prebail a long time, till at length suddenly arose a thick fog or mist upon the city, whereas round about besides the Sun did shine bright. Some said it came by Art Magicall, but rather it may appear to rise out of the fenne or marish, being so pressed down with mens feet and other matter laid upon it.

The Turks using the occasion of this misty darkness, in secret wise approaching the walls, had got up to a certain fortress where the Germans were, before our men could well perceive them: where they pressed in so thick, and in such number, that albeit the Christian souldiers, standing strongly to the defence of their lives, did what valiant men in cases of such extremity were able to do, yet being overmatched by the multitude of the Turks, and the suddenness of their coming, gave back seeking to retire into the inward walls. Which when their other fellows did see to refuse, then was there dying of all hands, every man striving to get into the city. There was between the outward walls or banieres, and inward gate of the city, a strait or narrow passage, cast up in the manner of a bank or causey, ditched on both sides, which passage or ingresse hapned the same time to be barred and stopped. By reason whereof the poor souldiers were forced to cast themselves into the ditch, thinking to swim as well as they could into the city; where many of them sticking in the mud were drowned, one pressing upon another; many were slain of their enemies coming behind them, they having neither heart nor power to resist. A few which could swim out, were received into the city, but the chief captains and warders of the town were there slain.

The outward walls got by the Turks.

A miserable slaughter of Christian souldiers.

The Citizens, being destitute of their principal captains and warriors, were in great perplexity and doubt among themselves what to do, some thinking good to yield, some counselling the contrary. Thus while the munes of the citizens were distracted in divers and doubtful sentences, the Magistrates minding to stand to the Turks gentleness, sent out one of their heads unto the Turk, who in the name of them all should surrender to him the city, and become unto him tributaries, upon condition they might enjoy liberty of life and goods, which being to them granted, after the Turkish faith and assurance, first the souldiers which were left within the city, putting off their armour, were discharged and sent away. Who being but only 300. left of 4. Ensigns of Italians, and of 1000. Germans, by the way were laid for by the Tartarians for hope of their spoil, so that they scattering asunder one one way, another another to save themselves as well as they could, fled every one what way he thought best. Of whom, some wandring in woods and marishes fainted for famine; some were taken and slain by the Hungarians; a few with bare and empty and withered bodies, moze like ghosts than men, escaped and came to Vienna. And this befell upon the souldiers.

Let never good Christians stand to the Turks gentleness.

Now understand what hapned to the yielding Citizens. So in the story it followeth, that when the Turk had entered the town, and had visited the Sepulchre of the Kings, for three or four dayes he pretended much clemencie toward the Citizens, as though he came not to oppress them, but to be revenged of Ferdinandus their King, and to deliver them from the servitude of the Germans. On



**KING** On the fourth day all the chief and head men of the city were commanded to appear before the Turk in a plain not far from the city, where the condemned persons before were wont to be executed, as though they should come to swear unto the Turk. At this commandment of the Turk, when the Citizens in great number and in their best attire were assembled; the Turk contrary to his faith and promise, committed suddenly a generall slaughter to be made of them all. And this was the end of the citizens of Alba.

In the mean time, during the siege of Alba, the Hungarians meeting sometimes with the horsemen of the Tartarians, which were sent out to stop their victuals from the city, one of them at one bickering, three thousand Turks. In which story is also reported and mentioned of mine author, an horrible fight and example of misery, concerning a certain captain (a Christian belike) who coming unto Vienna, was found to have in his scrip or satchell the half of a young child of two years old, which remained yet uneaten, the other half being eaten before, Anno 1543. *Ibid.*

But after this was expugned the castle of Pappa by the Turks. Let the castle now of Pappa take heed lest one day it follow after.

The like fidelity the Turks also kept with the Fort of Wизigradum, and the souldiers thereof. This Wизigradum is situate in the mid way between Buda and Strigomum. Of the which Fort or Castle, the highest Tower is mountech upon the hill, that wisse it be for famine and lack of water, they have not to dread any enemy. Notwithstanding so it hapned, that the lower pace being won, they in the higher tower abiding four dayes without drink, were compelled, with liberty granted of life and goods, to yield themselves. But the devilish Turks keeping no faith nor promise, slew them every one: onely Petrus Amadous the captain of the peace, excepted: who privily was conveyed by the captain of the Turks out of the slaughter, Anno 1544.

To these moreover, may be added the winning of Novum Castellum in Dalmatia, where he slew all that were within, both souldiers and other, for that they did not yield themselves in time. Thus the Turk, whether they yielded to him or not, never spared the people and flock of Christ.

As the false and cruell Turk was thus raging in Hungary, and intended further to rage without all mercie and pity of the Christians, and easily might then have prebated and gone whither he would, for that Charles the Emperour, and Francis the French king, were the same time in war and hostility, and also other Christian Princes, as Henry duke of Burgundy against John Frederick duke of Saxony, also Princes and rulers were contending among themselves: Behold the gracious providence of our Lord and God toward us, who, seeing the misery, and having pity of his poor Christians, suddenly as with a staffe reined this raging beast, and brought him out of Europe into his own country again, by occasion of the Persians, who, were then in great preparation of war against the Turks, and had invaded his dominion. By reason whereof the Turks were kept there occupied, fighting with the Persians a long continuance. Which wars at length being achieved and finished (where in the said Turk lost great victories, with slaughter of many thousands of his Turks) he was not only provoked by the instigation of certain evil disposed Hungarians, but also occasioned by the discord of Christian princes, to return again into Europe, in hope to subdue all the parts thereof unto his dominion. Whereunto when he had levied an army incredible of such a multitude of Turks, as the like hath not lightly been heard of, he again the merciful providence and protection of our God toward

his people. As the Turk was thus intending to set forward with his innumerable multitude against the Christians, the hand of the Lord sent such a pestilence through all the Turks army and dominions, reaching from Bithynia, and from Thracia to Macedonia and also to Hungary, that all the Turks perished, almost nothing else but as an heap of dead carcases, whereby his voyage for that time was stoped, and he almost compelled to seek a new army.

Besides this plague of the Turks aforesaid, which was worse to them than any war, other lets also and domesticall calamities through Gods providence hapned unto Solymannus, the great rover and robber of the world, which staped him at home from bering the Christians, especially touching his eldest son Gustapha.

This Gustapha being hated, and partly feared of Rustanus the chief Councillor about the Turk, and of Rofa the Turks concubine and after his wife, was divers times complained of to his father, accused, and at length so brought into suspicion and displeasure of the Turks by them aforesaid; that in conclusion, his father caused him to be sent for to his pavilion, where 6. Turks with visors were appointed to put him to death: who coming upon him, put (after their manner) a small cord or bow-string full of knots about his neck, and so throwing him down upon the ground, not suffering him to speak one word to his father, with the twitch thereof throttled and strangled him to death, his father standing in a secret corner by, and beholding the same. Which fact being perpetrate, afterward when the Turk would have given to another son of his and of Rofa, called Ganger, the treasures, horse, armor, ornaments, and the province of Gustapha his brother: Ganger crying out for sorrow of his brothers death, fpe of the, said he to his father, thou impious and wicked dog, traitor, murderer, I cannot call thee father, take the treasures, the horse and armor of Gustapha to thy self: and with that, taking out his dagger, thrust it thorow his own body. And thus was Solymannus murderer and parricide of his own sons: which was the year of our Lord, 1552.

Wherein notwithstanding, is to be noted the singular providence and love of the Lord toward his afflicted Christians. For this Gustapha, as he was courageous and greatly expert and exercised in all practice of war, so had he a cruell heart, maliciously set to shed the blood of Christians. Wherefore great cause have we to congratulate, and to give thanks to God, for the happy taking away of this Gustapha. And no lesse hope also and good comfort: we may conceive of our loving Lord hereby ministered unto us, to think that our mercifull God, after these sore afflictions of his Christians under these 12. Turks aforesaid, now after this Solymannus intendeth some gracious good work to Christendom, to reduce and release us out of this so long and miserable Turkish captivity, as may be hoped now by taking away these yong imps of this impious generation, before they should come to work their conceived malice against us: the Lord therefore be glorified and praised, Amen.

Moreover, as I was in writing hereof, opposed to my hands a certain writing out of Germany, certifying us of such news and victorie of late achieved against the Turk, as may not a little increase our hope and comfort us, touching the decay and ruine of the Turks power and tyrannie against us. Which news are these: That after the Turkish tyrant had besieged, with an army of 30000. men, the famous and strong town and castle of Jula in Hungary, lying 40. Dutch miles beyond the river Danubius, which city had by the space of six weeks sustained many grievous assaults: God through his great mercie and goodnesse so comforted the said town of Jula and the poor Christians therein, at their earnest prayers, that the Turks

And after coming  
out of the  
providence for  
him.

Solymannus the  
Turk murdered  
Gustapha  
his own son.

The loving  
providence of  
our Lord for his  
Christians.

Good hope at  
Gods hand to  
be conceived of  
the Christians.

Good news of  
the Turks lately  
repulsed by  
the Christians.



with all his host was driven back by the hands of the Generall called Karethim Ladaw and his valiant company: who not onely defended the said Town, but also constrained the Turks to retire to their great shame and confusion, with a great slaughter of the Turkish rabble; for the which the everlasting God be praised for ever.

The manner of the overthrow was this. As the foresaid Generall did see his advantage with captain George and other horsemen of the Silestians and Hungarians, they set on the reerward of the Turks and killed about 8000. of them, and took also some of their Artillery, and followed them so fast, that the Turks were constrained to flye into a marish ground, and to break the wheels of the rest of their Artillery to save themselves, and therewith they got a very rich booty, rescuing besides and taking from the Turks a great number of Christian prisoners. Like thanks are also to be given to God for the prosperous successe given to Bagotichy the valiant captain of Cris; who making toward the Turks, and encountering with the Tartarians, slew of them about eight hundred.

Not long after this it hapned, through the like providence of our God, a Turkish captain called Wogen, accompanied with a thousand fresh horsemen, came newly out of Turkey, to go forward the city named Quinque Ecclesie, or Finckenspychen, with whom the Earl of Serin by the way did encounter, and in the night setting upon him, killed the captain, and took eight Camels, and eight Horses laden with treasure, and also got two red Girdons, with a whole great peece of rich cloath of gold, and with another fair and strange Jewell. The horse of this foresaid Turkish captain was betrapped and decked most richly. The saddle whereof had the pommel and back part covered over with plate of fine Arabick gold, and the rest of the saddle, beside the sitting place, was plated with silver very fair gilded. The seat of the saddle was covered with purple velvet; the trappers and bridle beset with little Turkeyes and Rubies; which horse was sent to Thenn into the Emperour Maximilian for a present.

Although the Earl would very faine have saved the captain, not knowing what he was, yet the Hungarines, labouring to carry away their captain so stiffely defended themselves, that the Earl with his company, was constrained to kill both them and their captaine. From whom the said Earl of Serin the same time got 15. thousand Turkish and Hungarish Ducates; which money was brought for the payment of the Turkish souldiers in the town aforesaid of Finckenspychen, &c. All which be good beginnings of greater goodnesse to be hoped for hereafter, through the grace of Christ our Lord, especially if our Christian rulers and potentates, first the Churchmen and Prelates for their parts, then the civil powers and Princes for their parts, withholding their affections a little, will turn their bratwils and variance into brotherly concord and agreement; which the Lord of peace put in their mindes to do, Amen. Or otherwise, if it will so please the Lord that the Turk come further upon us, so as he hath begun, for our punishment and castigation, his grace then give to the flock of his poor Christians constancie of faith, patience in suffering, and amendment of life. For so I understand by publique fame, although uncertainly remoured by the voice of some, that the Turks power of late, this present year of our Lord, 1566. hath pierced the parts of Apulia within Italy, wasting and burning the space of an hundred miles toward Naples. Which if it be certain, it is to be feared, that the Turk having thus set in his foot, and feeling the sweetnesse of Italy, will not so cease before he get in both head and shoulders also so far into Italy, that he will display his banners within the walls of Rome, and do with

old Rome the like, as Mahomet his great grandfather did with new Rome, the city of Constantinople, and as the Persians did with Babylon.

The causes why we have so to judge, be divers; first, that the Sea of Rome hath been defended hitherto and maintained with much blood; and therefore it may seem not incredible, but that it will not long continue, but be lost with blood again, according to the verdict of the Gospel; He that striketh with the sword, shall perish with the sword, &c.

Another cause is, the fulfilling of the eighteenth chapter of the Apocalypse, where it is written, That great Babylon shall fall and be made an habitation of devils, and a den of unclean spirits, and a cage of filthy and unclean birds: the fall whereof shall be like a millstone in the sea, that is, which shall not rise again. And this to come before the day of Judgement, the text of the said chapter doth apertly declare; where the words do follow, Shewing that the kings of the earth, and the merchants which had

to do with the whorish City, standing afar off for fear of the heat, and beholding the smoke of the said city flaming and burning with fire, shall bewail and rue her destruction and desolation, &c. What city this is, called great Babylon, which like a millstone shall fall and burn, and be made an habitation of unclean spirits and beasts; let the Reader construe. This is certain and plain by these her kings and merchants standing afar off for fear, and beholding her burning, that the destruction of this city (what city soever it be) shall be seen here in earth before the coming of the Lords judgement, as may easily be gathered by these three circumstances, that is, by the standing, the beholding, and bewailing of her merchants.

By the which merchants and kings of the earth, peradventure may be signified the Pope, the rich Cardinals, the great Prelates and fat Doctors, and other obedienciaries of the Romish Sea, who at the coming of the Turks, will not adventure their lives for their Church, but will flee the city (no doubt) and stand afar off from danger; and when they shall see with their eyes, and hear with their ears the city of Rome to be set on fire and consumed by the cruell Turks, the sight whereof shall seem to them pitious and lamentable, to behold the great and fair city of Rome, the tall castle of Saint Angell, the Popes mighty Sea, (where they were wont to fish out such riches, dignities, treasures and pleasure) so to burn before their eyes, and to come to such utter desolation, which shall never be reedified again, but shall be made an habitation of devils and unclean spirits, that is, of Turks, and Heathen Sultans, and barbarous Saracens, &c.

This I say peradventure may be the meaning of that propheticall place of the Apocalypse; not that I have here any thing to pronounce, but onely give my ghesse what may probably be conjectured. But the end at length will make this and all other things more plain and manifest. For mysticall prophecies lightly are never so well understood, as when the event of them is past and accomplished.

Another cause, concurring with the causes aforesaid, may be collected out of Paulus Iovius, who writing of the subversion of Rhodes, which was as ye heard, Anno 1522. upon Christmas day, saith, That it chanced suddenly the same day in Rome, that as Pope Hadrian the sixth, was entering into the Church to his Service, suddenly over his head the upper frontier or top of the Chappell door, which was of Marble, immediately as the Pope was entering, fell down, and flew certain of his guard waiting upon him. Whereby peradventure may be meant, that the ruine of Rome was not long after to follow the losse of Rhodes.

The fourth cause I borrow out of Ioannes Aventinus, who in his third book alleaging the names, but not the words of Hildegardis, Brigit, and other

SKING  
HEN. 7.

Conjectures  
why it is to be  
feared that the  
Turk shall get  
Rome.

The prophecie  
of the 18. chap-  
ter of Apoca-  
lypse expound-  
ed.

The third  
cause.  
Ex Pauls Iovio.

The fourth  
cause.

8000. Turks  
slain.

Christian cap-  
tives rescued  
and taken from  
the Turks.  
800. Turks  
slain.

A great cap-  
tain of the  
Turks slain,  
and his trea-  
sure taken.

The Turks  
piercing into  
Italy.



SHING  
KEN. 7.  
Ex loan. Aven  
tino Anal. lib.  
3. fol 30  
A prophetic.

prophetical men hath these words; Si vera sint carmina & vaticinia D. Hildegarda, & Brigitta, Sibyllarum Germanie, & Bardorum faticidiorum, quia quæ nostro ævo completa vidimus longo ante tempore nobis ceciderunt; Agrippinensis Colonia, nolimus velimus, Turcarum caput erit, &c. That is, if the sayings and prophecies of Hildegard, of Brigit, and of other prophetical persons be true, which being foretold long before, we have seene now in these our dayes accomplished; the towne of Colen, will we. will we, must needs be the head Citie of the Turks, &c.

And this I writ not as one pronouncing against the Citie of Rome what will happen, but as one fearing what may fall. Which if it come to passe (as I pray God it doe not) then shall the Pope well understand, whether his wrong understanding of the Scriptures, and his false flattering glosses upon the same, have brought him.

A caveat to the  
Bishop of  
Rome, if he be  
wile.

Wherefore my counsell is to the Pope, and all his Popish maintainers and upholders, to humble themselves, and to agree with their brethren betime, letting all contention fall; lest that while the bishop of Rome shall strive to be the highest of all other Bishops, it so fall out shortly, that the Bishop of Rome shall be found the lowest of all other Bishops, or peradventure no Bishop at all.

Ex Paulo Iorio.

Whereunto also another cause may be added, taken out of Jeronimus Sabanarola, who prophesieth, that one shall come over the Alpes like unto Gog, and destroy Italy. Whereof see more before.

This Solymannus, if he be yet alive, hath now reigned 46. yeeres, who began the same year in which the Emperour Charles the fifth was crowned, which was Anno 1520. and so hath continued by Gods permission, for a course to the Christians, unto this year now present, 1556. This Solymannus by one of his concubines had his eldest sonne called Huseph. By another concubine called Kola, he had four sonnes, Mahomet, Bajazetes, Zelymus, and Gianger. Of the which sons Huseph, and Gianger were slaine (as ye heard before) by the means of their own father. And thus much concerning the wretched tyranny of the Turkes out of the Authors hereunder written.

Authors of the  
Turks stories,

### The Authors of the Turkes Stories.

Laconicus Chalcondyla.	Isidorus Rutherus.
Nicolaus Eboicus Episc.	Marinus Barlerus.
Saguntinus.	Henricus Penia de bello
Ioannes Ramus.	Rhodio.
Andreas a Lucana.	Melchior Soiterus.
Wolfgangus Drechslerus.	Paulus Iovius.
Ioan. Crispus.	Ioan. Martinus Stella.
Ioan. Faber.	Gaspar Peucerus, &c.
Ludovicus Vives.	Nicolaus a Mofsen Burgundus.
Bernardus de Breydenbach.	Sebast. Munsterus.
Mityleneus Archiepisc.	Baptista Egnatius.
Sabellicus.	Barthol. Peregrinus.

### A notice touching the miserable persecution, slaughter, and captivity of the Christians under the Turkes.

Persecution  
under the  
Turks.

Hitherto thou hast heard (Christian Reader) the lamentable persecutions of these latter dayes, wrought by the Turkes against the people and servants of Christ. In the reading whereof such as sit quietly at home, and be farre from jeopardy, may see what misery there is abroad; the knowledge and reading whereof shall not be unprofitable for all Christians earnestly to weigh and consider, for that many there be, which falsely deceiving themselves, imagine that Christianitie is a quiet and restfull state of life, full of pleasure and solace in this present world, when indeed it is nothing lesse, testified by

the mouth of our Saviour himselfe, who rightly defining his Kingdome, teacheth us that his Kingdome is not of this world, premising us also before, that in this world we must take for affliction, but in him we shall have peace. Examples hercof in all parts of this history through all ages are plenteous and evident to be seene. Whether we turne our eyes to the first ten persecutions in the Primitive Church, during the first three hundred yeeres after Christ: or whether we consider the latter three hundred yeeres in this last age of the Church, wherein the poore flock of Christ hath been so afflicted, oppressed and deboured, that it is hard to say whether have been more cruell against the Christians, the insidell Emperours of Rome in the Primitive age of the Church, or else these barbarous Turkes in these our latter times of the Church now present.

Thus from time to time the Church of Christ almost hath had little or no rest in this earth, what for the heathen Emperours on the one side, what for the proud Pope on the other side, on the third side, what for the barbarous Turke: for these are and have been from the beginning the three principall and capitall enemies of the Church of Christ, signified in the Apocalypse by the beast, the false lambe, and the false prophet, from whom went out three foule spirits like frogs, to gather together all the kings of the earth to the battell of the day of the Lord God Almighty, Apoc. 16. The cruelty and malice of these enemies against Christs people hath been such, that to judge which of them did most exceed in cruelty of persecution it is hard to say; but that it may be thought that the bloody and deadly tyranny of the Turkes especially above the rest incomparably surmounteth all the afflictions and cruell slaughters that ever were seene in any age or read of in any story. In somuch that there is neither historie so perfect, nor writer so diligent, who writing of the miserable tyranny of the Turkes, is able to expresse or comprehend the horrible examples of their unspeakable cruelty and slaughter, exercised by these twelve Turkish tyrants upon poore Christian mens bodies, within the compasse of these latter three hundred yeeres. Whereof although no sufficient relation can be made, nor number expresse: yet to give to the Reader some generall glimpse or view thereof: let us first perpend and consider what Dominions and Empires, how many Countries, Kingdomes, Provinces, Cities, Townes, strong holds and Forts, these Turkes have surprised and won from the Christians. In all which victories, being so many, this is secondly to be noted, that there is almost no place which the Turkes ever came to and subdued, where they did not either slay all the inhabitants thereof, or else away the most part thereof into such captivity and slavery, that they continued not long after alive, or else so lived, that death almost had been to them more tollerable.

Like as in the time of the first persecutions of the Roman Emperours, the saying was, that no man could step with his foete in all Rome, but should tread upon a Martyr: so here may be said, that almost there is not a Towne, Citie or Village in all Asia, Grecia, also in a great part of Europa, and Africa, whose straits have not flowed with the blood of the Christians, whom the cruell Turkes have murdered. Of whom are to be seene in Histories, heapes of Souldiers slaine, of men and women cut in pieces, of Children stricken upon poles and stakes, whom these detestable Turkes most spitefully (and that in the sight of their Parents) use to gore to death: some they drag at their horse tailed, and finally to death; some they teare in pieces, tying their armes and legs to foure horses; other some they make marks to shoot at; upon some they try their swords how deep they can cut and slash, as before ye have read.

The



The aged and feeble they tread under their horses: women with child they spare not, but rip their bodies, and cast the infants into the fire, or otherwise destroy them. Whether the Christians yield to them, or yield not, all is a matter. As in their promises there is no truth, so in their victories there is no sense of manhood or mercy in them, but they make havoc of all.

So the Citizens of Croja, after they had yielded and were all promised their lives, were all destroyed and that horribly. In Hestia, after the King had given himself to the Turks hand, having promise of life, Mahomet the Turk slew him with his own hands. The Princes of Asia had both their eyes put out with basens red hot set before them. Theodosia, otherwise called Capha, was also surrendered to the Turk, having the like assurance of life and safety: and yet contrary to the league the Citizens were put to the sword and flaine. At the winning and yielding of Lesbos, what a number of young men and children were put upon sharp stakes and poles, and so thrust thorow: At the winning of the Citie of Buda, what tyranny was shewed and exercised against the poore Christians, which had yielded themselves, and against the two Dukes, Christopher Willerer and Joannes Tannbinger, contrary to the promise and hand writing of the Turk, is to be seene in the story of Helchior Souterus, De bello Pannonico.

The like also is to be read in the story of Bernardus de Breydenbach, who writing of the taking of Hydruntum, a Citie in Apulia, testifieth of the miserable slaughter of the young men there slaine, of old men troden under the horse's feet, of matrons and Virgins ravished, of women with child cut and rent in peeces, of the Priests in the Churches slaine, and of the Archbishop of that Citie, who being an aged man and holding the crosse in his hands, was cut asunder with a wooden saw, &c. The same Bernardus also writing of the overthrow of Sigropontus, otherwise called Chalcedes, Anno 1471. describeth the like terrible slaughter which there was exercised; where the Turk after his promise given before to the contrary, most cruelly caused all the youth of Italy to be picked upon sharpe stakes; some to be dashed against the hard stones, otherfome to be cut in sunder in the midst, and other moze with other kinds of torments to be put to death: insomuch that all the streets and wayes of Chalcedes did flow with the blood of them which were there slain. In which history the foresaid writer recordeth one memorable example of maidenly chastity, worthy of all Christians to be noted and commended. The story is told of the Princess daughter of that Citie, who being the only daughter of her father, and noted to be of an exceeding singular beauty, was saved out of the slaughter, and brought to Mahomet the Turk, to be his concubine. But the denying to consent to his Turkish appetite and filchinesse, was commanded therewith to be slaine and murdered, and so dyed she a Martyr, keeping both her faith and her body undefiled unto Christ her spouse. Ibid.

The like crueltie also was shewed upon them which kept the castle, and afterward yielding themselves upon hope of the Turkes promise, were slain every one. What should I speak of the miserable slaughter of Methone, and the Citizens thereof dwelling in Peloponnesus? who, seeing no other remedy but needs to come into the Turkes hands, set the barne on fire where they were gathered together, men, women, and children; some women also with child voluntarily cast themselves into the sea, rather then they would sustaine the Turkes captivity.

Miserable it is to behold, long to recite, incredible to believe all the cruell parts and horrible slaughters wrought by these miscreants against the Christians through all places almost of the world, both in Asia, in Africa, but especially in Europe. Who is able to recite the innumerable societies and companies of

the Grecians martyred by the Turkes sword in Achaia, Attica, Thessalia, Macedonia, Cyprus, and all Peloponnesus: besides the Island of Rhodes and other Islands and Cyclades adjacent in the Sea about, numbered to two and fiftie: of the which also Bathmos was one, where Saint John being banished wrote his Revelations. Where did ever the Turkes set any foote, but the blood of Christians there, without pittie or measure, went to wracke?

and what place or province is there almost through the world, where the Turkes either have not pierced, or are not likely shortly to enter? In Thracia, and through all the Coasts of Danubius, in Bulgaria, Dalmatia, in Serbia, Transilvania, Bosnia, in Hungaria, also in Austria, what havocke hath been made by them of Christian mens bodies, it will rue any Christian heart to remember. At the siege of Moldavia, at the winning of Buda, of Pest, of Alba, of Matpo, Strigonium, Socolia, Pathe, Wизigradum, Robum Castellum in Dalmatia, Belgradum, Waradinum, Quinque Ecclesia: also at the battell of Aerna, where Ladislaus King of Polony with all his army almost, through the rashnesse of the Popes Cardinall were slaine: At the winning moreover of Eubacchus, Lysus, Dynastrum: At the siege of Cimsa, and of the faithfull Towne Scrozad, where the number of the shot against their walles, at the siege thereof, were reckoned to 2539. Likewise at the siege of Vienna, where all the Christian Captives were brought before the whole Army and slain, and divers drabine in peeces with horses: but especially at the winning of Constantinople, above mentioned, also at Croja and Methone, what beastly cruelty was shewed, it is unpeackable. For as in Constantinople Mahomet the drunken Turk never rose from dinner, but he caused every day, for his disposal, three hundredeth Christian captives of the Nobles of that Citie to be slaine before his face: so in Methone, after that his captaine Dmares had sent unto him at Constantinople five hundred prisoners of the Christians, the cruell Tyrant commanded them all to be cut and divided in sunder by the middle, and so being slaine, to be thytowne out into the fields.

Leonicus Chalcondyla, writing of the same story, addeth moreover a prodigious narration (if it be true) of a brute Dre, which being in the fields, and seeing the carcases of the dead bodies so cut in two, made there a loud noise after the lowering of his kind and nature: and afterwards coming to the quarters of one of the dead bodies lying in the field, first toke up the one halfe, and then coming againe, toke up likewise the other halfe, and so (as he could) joynd them both together. Which being espied of them which saw the doing of the brute Dre, and marveling thereat, and word being brought thereof to Mahomet, he commanded the quarters again to be brought where they were before, to probe whether the beast will come again; who failed not (as the author recordeth) but in like sort as before, taking the fragments of the dead corpe, laid them again together. It followeth more in the author, how that Mahomet, being astonished at the strange wonder of the Dre, commanded the quarters of the Christian mans body to be interred, and the Dre to be brought to his house, and much made of. Some said it to be the body of a Venetian; some affirmed, that he was an Illyrian: but whatsoever he was, certain it is, that the Turk himself was much more bestiall, than was the brute Dre; which being a beast, shewed more sense of humanity to a dead man, than one man did to another. Ex Leonico Chalcondyla.

To this cruelty adde moreover, that beside these 500. Pelonians thus destroyed at Constantinople, in the said city of Methone, all the townsmen also were slain by the foresaid captain Dmares, the Turk.

KING  
HEN. 7.

A brief recital  
of Christian  
towns and  
forts won of  
the Turk in  
Europe.

The cruelty of  
the Turk against  
the citizens of Constantinople.  
Vide supra.

The cruelty of  
the Turks against  
the prisoners of  
Methone.  
Ex Leonico  
Chalcondyla de  
rebus Turcicis.  
lib. 10.

A strange and  
prodigious  
wonder of a  
brute beast toward  
a dead  
Christian body.

The Bishop  
with the Citizens  
of Methone  
slaine of  
the Turk.

and

Ex Marino Bar-  
delin de Scod.  
expugnata, lib. 2.

Ex Michael.  
Sait ro lib 1.  
de bello Panno-  
nico, fol. 515.

Ex Bernardo de  
Breydenbach.  
De can. Eccl.  
Magnus.

The superstiti-  
ous use of the  
materiall  
crosse.

Vide supra.  
Ex Bernard.  
Breydenb.

A notable ex-  
ample of mai-  
denly chastity.

Vide supra.  
The miserable  
filling of  
Christians mens  
blood by the  
wretched  
Turks.



KING  
HEN. 7.  
Ex Adicia de  
Lacuna, & alia.  
Ex Ioanne F.  
bro, in oratione  
ad regem Hen. 3.

and among them their Bishop likewise was put to death. Ex Andr. de Lacuna, & ex Wolfig. & alia.

John Faber in his oration made before King Henry the eighth, at the appointment of King Ferdinandus, and declaring therein the miserable cruelty of the Turkes toward all Christians, as also toward the Bishops and Ministers of the Church, testifieth how that in Bitylene, in Constantinople, and Trapezunda, what Bishops and Archbishops or other Ecclesiasticall and religious persons the Turkes could finde, they brought them out of the Citie into the fields, there to be slaine like Dren and Calves. The same Faber also writing of the battell of Solymann in Hungary, where Ludovicus the King of Hungary was overthrowen, declareth that eight Bishops in the same field were slaine. And moreover, when the Archbishop of Strigon, and Paulus the Archbishop of Colossensis were found dead, Solymann caused them to be taken up, and to be beheaded and chopt in small peeces. An. 1526.

The cruelty of  
the Turk in  
Cubioia.

What Christian heart will not pity the incredible slaughter done by the Turkes in Cubioia, where the said Faber testifieth that innumerable people were sticke and gozed upon stakes, divers were thrust thorow with a hot iron, children and infants not yet weaned from the mother were dashed against the stones, and many cut asunder in the midst? Ex Iohan. Fabro & alia.

The Prince of  
Serbia slaine,  
and slaine of  
the Turk.

But never did Countrey taste and feele moze the bitter and deadly tyranny of the Turkes, then did Rasia, called Hysia inferior, and now Serbia. Where (as writeth Wolfgangus Drechslerus) the Prince of the same Countrey being sent for, under faire pretence of words and promises, to come and speak with the Turk, after he was come of his own gentleness, thinking no harme, was apprehended and wretchedly and fallow put to death, and his skinn flaine off, his brother and sister brought to Constantinople for a triumph, and all the nobles of his countrey (as Faber addeth) had their eyes put out, &c.

Let never  
Christian  
Prince trust  
the Turk.

Briefly to conclude, by the vehement and furious rage of those cursed caities it may seeme that satan the old dragon, for the great hatred he beareth to Christ, hath stirred them up to be the butchers of all Christian people, inslaining their heastly hearts with such malice and cruelty against the name and religion of Christ, that they degenerating from the nature of men to devils, neither by reason will be ruled, nor by any bloud or slaughter satisfied. Like as in the primitive age of the Church, and in the time of Dioclesian and Maximilian, when the devill saw that he could not prevaile against the person of Christ which was risen again, he turned all his fury upon his silly servants, thinking by the Roman Emperors utterly to extinguish the name and profession of Christ out from the earth: So in this latter age of the world satan being let loose againe by the Turkes, thinking to make no end of murdering and killing, till he have brought (as he intendeth) the whole Church of Christ, with all the professors thereof, under foot. But the Lord (I trust) will once send a Constantinus to banquish proud Harentius; Moses to drowne indurat Pharaos; Cyrus to subdue the stout Babylonian.

The miserable  
state of the  
Christian cap-  
tives under the  
Turk.

And thus much hitherto touching our Christian brethren which were slaine and destroyed by these blasphemous Turkes. Now for so much as besides these aforesaid, many other were plucked away violently from their countrey, from their wives and children, from liberty, and from all their possessions, into wretched captivity and extreme penury, it remaineth likewise to intreat somewhat also concerning the cruell manner of the Turkes handling of the said Christian captives. And first here is to be noted that the Turk never commeth into Europe to warre against the Christians, but there followeth after his army a great number of brokers or merchants, such as buy men and children to sell againe, bringing with them

The buying  
and selling of  
Christian cap-  
tives under the  
Turks.

long chaines in hope of great cheats. In the which chaines they linke them by fiftie and sixty together, such as remaine undestroyed with the sword, whom they buy of the spoiles of them that rob and spoile the Christian countreys, which is lawfull for any of the Turkes army to doe, so that the tenth of their spoile or prey (whatsoever it be) be reserved to the head Turk, that is, to the great master thief.

Of such as remaine for tithe, if they be aged or whom very few be reserved alive, because little profit cometh of that age, they be sold to the use of husbandry or keeping of beasts. If they be young men or women, they be sent to certaine places, there to be instructed in their language and arts, as shall be most profitable for their advantage, and such are called in their tongue Sarai: and the first care of the Turkes is this, to make them deny the Christian religion, and to be circumcised, and after that they are appointed, every one as he seemeth most apt, either to the learning of their lawes, or else to learne the feats of war. Their first rudiment of war is to handle the bow, first beginning with a weak bow, and so as they grow in strength coming to a stronger bow, and if they misse the mark, they are sharply beaten; and their allowance is two pence of that pence a day till they come and take wages to serve in warre. Some are brought up for the purpose to be placed in the number of the wicked Janizaries, that is, the order of the Turkes champions, which is the most abominable condition of all other. Of these Janizaries, see before. And if any of the foresaid young men or children shall appeare to excell in any beauty, him they so cut, that no part of that which Nature giveth to man remaineth to be seene in all his body, whereby while the freshnesse of age continueth he is compelled to serve their abominable abomination; and when age cometh, then they serve in stead of Eunuches to wait upon matrones, or to keep horses and mules, or else to be scallians and

Christian cap-  
tives under  
the Turk.

Wickednesse  
putting all mi-  
series

Miserie  
above all mis-  
eries

duddges in their kitchens. Such as be young maidens and beautifull are devoted for concubines. They which be of mean beauty serve for matrones to their dudgery work in their houses and chambers, or else are put to spinning and such other labours; but so that it is not lawfull for them either to profess their Christian religion, or ever to hope for any liberty. And thus much of them which fall to the Turk by tithe.

The servitude  
of young wo-  
men captives.

The other which are bought and sold amongst private subjects, first are allured with faire words and promises to take circumcision. Which if they will do, they are moze favourably entreated; but all hope is taken from them of returning againe into their country, which if they attempt the paine thereof is burning. And if such coming at length to liberty will marry, they may; but then their children remain bound to the Lord, for him to sell at his pleasure: and therefore such as are wise amongst them will not marry. They which refuse to be circumcised are miserably handled; for example whereof, the Author (which giveth testimony hereof) doth infer his own experience. Such captives as be expert in any maner all art or occupation, can better thurst for themselves; but contrariwise, they which have no handicraft to live upon are in worse case. And therefore such as have been brought up in learning, or be priests or noble men, and such other whose tender education can abide no hardnesse, are the least reputed, and most of all other neglected of him that hath the sale or keeping of them, for that he seeth lesse profit to rise of them, then of the other; and therefore no cost of rayment is bestowed upon them, but they are carried about barehead, and barefoot, both Summer and Winter in frost and snow. And if any faint and be sicke in the way, there is no resting for him in any Inn, but first he is beaten forward with whips, and if that will not serve, he is set peradventure upon some horse; or if his weaknesse be such that he cannot

Ex Bartholom.  
Georgioriz. Pe-  
regrinatio. de  
iust. Ethnibus  
Turkicorum  
sub Turca.

cannot



cannot sit, then is he laid overthwart the horse upon his belly like a calfe; and if he chance to dye, they take off his garment such as he hath, and throw him in a ditch.

In the way moreover, beside the common chaine which both enclose them all, the hands also of every one are manacled, which is because they should not harme their leaders: for many times it hapned that ten persons had the leading of fifty captives: and when night came their feet also were fettered so that they lodged in no house, but lay upon the ground all night.

The young women had a little more gentleness shewed, being carried in paniers in the day time. But when night came, pitie it was to heare the miserable crying out of such as were inclosed within, by reason of the filthy injuries which they suffered by their carriers, insonmuch that the young tender age of seven or eight years, as well of the one sex as of the other, could not save them from the most filthy villanie of the bestiall Turks.

When the morning cometh, they are brought forth to the market, to sale, where the buyer, if he be disposed, plucking off their garments betwixt all the bones and joints of their body; and if he like them he giveth his price, and carrieth them away into miserable servitude, either to tilling of their ground, or to pasture their cattell, or some other strange kinde of misery incredible to speak of: Insonmuch that the Author reporteth, that he hath seene himselfe, certaine of such Christian Captives yoked together like hoxe and oren, and to draw the plough. The maide servants likewise are kept in perpetuall toile and work in close places, where neither they come in sight of any man, neither be they permitted to have any talke with their fellow servants, &c. Such as are committed to keep beasts live abroad day and night in the wilde fields, without house and harbour, and so changing their pasture go from mountain to mountain; of whom also, beside the office of keeping the beasts, other handy labour is exacted at spare houres, such as pleaseth their masters to put unto them.

Out of this misery there is no way for them to flye, especially for them that are carried into Asia beyond the seas: For if any doe attempt so to doe, he taketh his time chiefly about harvest, when he may hide himselfe all the day-time in the coyne, or in woods, or marishes, and finde food; and in the night onely he flyeth, and had rather be devoured of wolves and other wilde beasts, then to returne againe to his master. In their flying they use to take with them an hatchet and coards, that when they come to the sea side they may cut downe trees, and binde together the ends of them, and so where the Sea of Hellespontus is narrowest, about the Sestos and Abidos, they take the Sea, sitting upon Trees, where, if the winde and tide doe serve luckily, they may cut over in foure or five houres. But the most part either perish in the floods, or are driven back again upon the coasts of Asia, or else be devoured of wilde beasts in woods, or perish with hunger and famine. If any escape over the sea alive into Europe, by the way they enter into no Towne, but wander upon the mountaines, following onely the Poverty starre for their guide.

As touching such towncs and provinces which are won by the Turk, and wherein the Christians are suffered to live under tribute; first all the nobilitie there they kill and make away, the Churchmen and Clergy hardly they spare. The Churches with the Bels and all the furniture thereof either they cast down, or else they convert to the use of their owne blasphemous religion, leaving to the Christians certaine old and blinde chapels, which when they decay, it is permitted to our men to repaire them again for a great sum of money given to the Turk. Neither be they permitted to use any open preaching or mini-

stration, but onely in silence and by stealth to frequent together. Neither is it lawfull for any Christian to beare office within the city or Province, nor to beare weapon, nor to weare any garment like to the Turks. And if any contumely or blasphemie, be it never so great, be spoken against them, or against Christ, yet must then beare it, and hold the peace. For if thou speake one word against their religion, thou shalt be compelled (whether thou wilt or no) to be circumcised: And then if thou speake one word against Mahomet, thy punishment is fire and burning. And if it chance a Christian being on horseback to meete or passe by a Musulman, that is, a Turkish Priest, he must light from his horse, and with a lowly looke devoutely reverence and adore the Musulman; or if he doe not, he is beaten downe from his horse with clubs and staves.

Furthermore, for their tribute they pay the fourth part of their substance and gaine to the Turk; beside the ordinary tribute of the Christians, which is to pay for every poll within his family a duckett unto the Turk; which if the parents cannot do, they are compelled to sell their children into bondage. Other being not able to pay, goe chained in fetters from doore to doore begging, to make up their payment, or else must live in perpetuall prison.

And yet notwithstanding, when the Christians have discharged all duties, it remaineth free for the Turks to take up among the Christians children whom they best like, and them to circumcise, and to take them away being young from the sight of their parents to farre places, to be brought up for the Turks wars, so that they may not returne to them againe; but first are taught to forget Christ, and then their parents; so that if they come againe amongst them, yet are they not able to know their kinsfolkes and parents.

This misery passing all other miseries, no man is able with tongue to utter, or with words to expresse. What weeping and teares, with sorrow and lamentation, what grening, sighes, and deep dolour, doth feare and rent asunder the woefull hearts of the silly parents at the plucking away of their babes and children: To see their sons and their own children, whom they have bozned and byed up to the service of Christ Jesus the Son of God, now to be drawn away violently from them to the warfare of Satan, and to fight against Christ: to see their babes bozned of Christian blood, of Christians to be made Turks, and so to be plucked out of their armes and out of their sight, without hope ever to returne to them againe: to live perpetually with aliens, barbarous and blasphemous Turks, and so to become of the number of them which are called fatherlesse, and motherlesse?

Albeit the same children afterward do greatly degenerate from the faith of Christ, yet very many of them have privily about them the Gospel written of Saint John, In principio erat verbum, &c. Which for a token or remembrance of their Christian faith they carry under their arme-hole, written in Greeke and Arabick. Who greatly desire, and long looke for the revenging sword of the Christians to come, and deliver them out of their dolorous thraldome and captivity, according as the Turks themselves have a prophete, and greatly stand in feare of the same. Whereof more shall be said (Christ willing) in the Chapter following.

And thus have ye heard the lamentable afflictions of our Christian brethren under the cruell tyranny and captivity of the Turks, passing all other captivities that ever have bene to Gods people, either under Pharaos in Egypt, or under Baluchodnos in Babylon, or under Antiochus in the time of the Machabees. Under the which captivity, if it so please the Lord to have his Spone the Church to be nurtured, his good will be done and obeyed. But if this misery come by the negligence and discord of

THE KING  
HEN. 7.  
If Christians may not go like Turks, why should our Captives goe like Papists? The Turks have their fire and sagges, as well as our Papists. The Christians must light from their hoxes, meeting a Turkish Priest, and adore him.

Another misery most lamentable in taking away Christian mens children from their parents, is to see the Turk.

misery.

This is with teares rather then with words to be expresse.

Why Gospel is in Turkie.

An old prophete of the Turks touching the sword of the Christians.

The miserable calamitie of Christian women being in captivity under the Turks.

The manner of Christian captives how they are brought to markets and sold.

Christians in their captivity put to draw in the plough like hoxes.

The great danger of Christian captives which they are out of Turkie.

The manner and sort of our men in getting over the Sea.

The manifold dangers by the way in flying.

The misery of Christian Cities and Provinces which live under the Turks tribute.



**KING** our Christian guides and leaders, then have we to  
**HEN. 7.** pray and cry to our Lord God, either to give better  
 hearts to our guides and rulers, or else better guides  
 and rulers to his flock.

And these troubles and afflictions of our Christian  
 brethren suffered by the Turks, I thought good and  
 profitable for our countrey people here of England  
 to know, for so much as by the ignorance of these,  
 and such like histories worthy of consideration, I see  
 much inconvenience doth follow. Whereby it com-  
 eth to passe, that because we Englishmen being  
 farre off from these countreies, and little knowing  
 what misery is abroad, are the lesse moved with zeale  
 and compassion to tender their grievances, and to  
 pray for them whose troubles we know not. Where-  
 upon also it followeth, that we not considering the  
 miserable state of other, are the lesse gratefull to  
 God, when any tranquillity by him to us is gran-  
 ted. And if any little cloud of perturbation arise up-  
 on us, be it never so little, as poverty, losse of living,  
 or a little banishment out of our Countrey for the  
 Lords cause, we make a great matter thereof, and  
 all because we goe no further then our own Coun-  
 trey, and onely feeling our own crosse, doe not com-  
 pare that which we feele with the great crosses,  
 wherunto the Churches of Christ commonly in o-  
 ther places abroad are subject. Which if we did  
 rightly understand, and earnestly consider, and pon-  
 der in our mindes, neither would we so excessively  
 forget our selves in time of our prosperity given us of  
 God, nor yet so impatiently be troubled, as we are  
 in time of our adversity, and all because either we  
 heare not, or else we ponder not the terrible crosses  
 which the Lord layeth upon our other brethren a-  
 broad in other Nations, as by this present story here  
 prefired may appeare.

Necessary for  
 many causes  
 that the trou-  
 bles of the  
 Church be  
 known.

Now consequently remaineth, as I have shewed  
 hitherto what tyranny hath been used of the  
 Turks against Christs people, so to declare likewise  
 how farre this tyranny of the Turkes hath extended  
 and spread it selfe, describing as in a table, to the  
 Christian Reader, what Landes, Countreies and  
 Kingdomes the Turkes have wonne, and got from  
 Christendome, to the intent, that when Christian  
 Princes shall behold the greatnesse of the Turkes  
 dominions spread almost thorow all the world, and  
 how little a part of Christianity remaineth behinde,  
 they may thereby understand the better how it is  
 time now for them to bestir them, if ever they think  
 to doe any good in Gods Church. And theretoze to  
 make a compendious draught, as in a breife table, of  
 such Countreies, Kingdomes, and Dominions, got  
 from us by the Turkes, we will first begin with Asia,  
 describing what Tracts, Countreies, Cities and  
 Churches the Turk hath surprized, and violently  
 pluckt away from the society of Christian Domini-  
 ons, taking onely such as be most principall, and  
 chiefly them that be in Scripture contained, for that  
 it were too long to discourse all and singular such pla-  
 ces by name, as the Turk hath under his subjection.

The largest part  
 of the Turkes  
 Dominion was  
 taken.

The World being divided commonly into three  
 parts, Asia, Africa, and Europa, Asia is counted to  
 be the greatest in compasse, containing as much  
 as both the other, and is divided into two portions,  
 the one called Asia Major; the other called Asia  
 Minor. And although the Empire of the Turk  
 extendeth unto them both; yet especially his Do-  
 minion standeth in the other Asia, which is called  
 Asia Minor, which reacheth from the coasts of Eu-  
 ropa unto Armenia Major, beyond the River Eu-  
 phrates, and comprehendeth these Regions and Ci-  
 ties following.

## The division of Asia Minor, called Cheronefus, with the particular Countreies and Cities belonging to the same.

Countreies.	Cities.	Countreies.	Cities.
Pontus. Act. 2.	Nicea. Chalcedon. Heraclea.	Doris.	Halicarnassus. 1 Mach. 15. Miletus. Act. 10.
Bithynia. Act. 16.	Prurfa or Bursa. Nicomedia. Apamea.	¶ Thus farre reacheth the compasse of Asia.	
¶ Asia Minor, or Anatolia, containeth divers Coun- tries, with their Cities, as followeth.		Lycia. Act. 27.	Colosse. Col. 1. Patara. Act. 21. Pinara. Xanthus. Andriacæ. Myra. Act. 13.
Myfia Minor. Act. 16.	Cizicus. Parium. Lampascus. Dardanum. Callipolis. Abydus.	Galatia vel Gallogrecia. Act. 16.	Ancyra. Gordium. Tharma. Pessenus. Anisus. Sinope. Corambis.
Phrygia Minor. Act. 2.	Alexandria, or Troas. Act. 16.	Paphlagonia.	Perga. Act. 13. Attalia. Act. 14. Aspendus. Phaelis. Macch. 15.
Troas. Act. 20.	Ilium. Act. 20.	Pamphilia. Act. 2.	Trapezus. Terniscyra. Comana Pontica. Amasia vel Eupatoria. Masa vel Casarea. Nazianum.
Myfia Maior. Act. 16.	Affius. Act. 20.	Pisidia. Act.	¶ Here Gregorius Nazian- zenus was Bishop. Comana Cappadocia. Miletene. Nicomolis. Leandis. Claudiopolis.
Phrygia Maior. Act. 2.	Scepis. Act. 27. Adramitium. Act. 27. Hierapolis. Col. 4. Pitane.	Cappadocia.	
Lydia. Isai. 66.	Apollonia. Myrina. Phocæa. Smyrna.	Armenia Minor.	
Aeolis.	Erythræ. Laodicia. Carura.		
Ionia.	Thyatira. Philadelphia. Pergamus.		
Carla. 1 Mach. 15.	Cuma. Ephesus. Sardis.		

Apamea is a ci-  
ty in Bithynia,  
also another in  
Mesopotamia.  
Apamea Cybotus  
also a city in  
great Phrygia,  
and another al-  
so in Parthia.

Phrygia Minor  
in Ptolemy is  
called Troas.

At Carura, a cer-  
tain band with  
a company of  
barlots being  
there lodged,  
suddenly hap-  
ned an earth-  
quake in the ci-  
ty, wherein the  
said band with  
all his strum-  
pets were swal-  
lowed up. Pius  
2. Papa. lib. de  
Descriptione,  
c. 6.

Here Basilus  
Magnus was  
Bishop.

Clari



SKING  
HEN. 7.

Countreyes.

Cities.

Countreyes.

Cities.

The Countrey where Saint Paul was borne.

Cilicia.

Laconia.

Iuliopolis.  
Tharlus. Act. 28.  
\* Coricus.  
Solimuntis, vel Trajonopolis.  
Iffus, vel Iajassa.  
Augusta. Act. 27.  
Iconium. Act. 14.  
Lystra. Act. 16. IO  
Derbe. Act. 14.  
Antiochia Pisidia. Act. 11.

Babylonia is also a certain region appointed for Philosophers and Astronomers, called Chaldaea. Ier. 50

Sarmatia.

Colchis.

Iberia.

Albania.

Orchoe, vel Vrchoa, vel Hurchaldæorum, where Abraham was borne. Gen. 11, 15

Patarve, Azara, Gerusa, S. Georgius, Sinda, Dioscuria vel Sebastia, which is now called Sujas.

Phasis, Lubium, Artanissa, Armachica, Getara, vel Gangara, Chabala,

Armenia major is divided from Armenia minor by the River Euphrates. This Armenia major and minor this day be both under the Turks.

¶ Syria comprehendeth in it divers particular Provinces, with their Cities, as followeth.

Syria. Act. 15

Ierofolyma. Act. 1  
Cæsarea Stratonis. Act. 8  
Bethleem. Matth. 2 20  
Emaus. Marke 1  
Ierico. Matth. 20  
Ioppe. Ios. 15  
Iapheth. Act. 9  
Tyberias. Iohn 6  
Accaron. Ioshua 13  
Azotus. Act. 8.  
Ascalon. Iudic. 2  
Gaza. Act. 8  
Ioshua 19 30

Armenia. Gen. 8

Palestina Iudea.

Chanaan.

Berfabee  
Antipatris. Act. 23  
Asaron. Act. 9  
Bethania. Mark. 11  
Lydda. Act. 9  
Nazareth. Matth. 4  
Capernaum. Matth. 4  
Cana. Iohn 2  
Tyrus. Luke 6  
Sydon vel Sichem. Luke 6  
Ptolomais. Act. 21 40  
Cæsarea Philippi. Matth. 16  
Damascus. Gal. 1  
Philadelphiam. Apoc. 1  
Buthis vel Pella.  
\* Antiochia apud Orontem, vel Theopholis. Act. 11  
Samofata.  
Antiochia. sub. Tauro.  
Alexandria apud Iffum.  
\* Nicopolis.  
Gephyra.  
Gindarus.  
\* Seleucia. Act. 13  
Imma.  
\* Laodicea. Col. 2  
Paradisus.  
Iabrua.  
Nazamma.  
Apamia.  
Besamma, vel Berfabee, 60  
Euleusa.  
Maffa.

¶ And thus far reacheth the compasse of Asia Minor, with the Countreyes and Provinces to the same pertaining, which being once brought to the faith of Christ, are now in a manner all subdued to the Turks.

¶ The Islands belonging to the Regions of Asia Minor aforesaid, gotten by the Turks.

Thinia, Tenedos, Chios, Pathmos, Possidium, Samos, Trogium, Cnidus, Coos, Coun, Carpathus, Rhodus, Cyprus. Act. 20 Apoc. 1 Act. 20 Act. 20 Act. 27 Act. 21 Act. 21 Act. 11

Bithynia, Troas, Lydia.

Aeolis, Ionia, Doris, Doris, Lycia.

Islands belonging to Asia Minor.

Berfabee is a City in Iury, also another in Idumea.

\* Antiochia, apud Orontem, thiese City in Syria, where the Disciples of Christ were first named Christians. Act. 11.

\* Nicopolis, is a City also in Macedonia, mentioned in the Epistle of Saint Paul to Titus, Chap. 3.

\* Seleucia, is a City in Syria, also another in Pamphylia, and another in Cilicia

Pisidia, another in Coelosyria, and in Mesopotamia another.

\* In this Laodicea was the Countrell kept which is called Concilium Laodicense. There is another Laodicea in Lydia neere to Colosse in Asia minor, Coloss. 4. Laodicea also is the chiefe City in Phrygia Pacatana, neere to Galatia. Act. 18. 1 Tim. 6.

\* In Edessa reigned King Abgarus, mentioned in Euseb. lib. 1. cap. 15. to whom Christ wrote, promising to send unto him after his death.

Babylon in Chanaan, where Nabuchodonosor reigned, and was after destroyed, and translated by Seleucus Nicator.

Another is in Egypt called Alacarus.

Arabia. Gal. 1, 4

Mesopotamia. Psal. 59

Babylonia. Dan. 3  
In the Countrey of

Patrea, Nabataea, Felix, Panchaia, Sabaea, Deferta, Carra, Charan, where Abraham dwelt. Act. 7  
Seleucia.  
\* Edessa, which is now called Orpha, and in the story of Tobias called Rages.  
Bible.  
Babylon, vel Baldach. Act. 7

¶ Aeneas Sylvius, otherwise Pope Pius the second, in describing Asia Minor, chap. 74. reciteth a certaine fact of a worthy Virgin; who at what time the Turks were besieging a certain Town in Lesbos, and had cast downe a great part of the wals, so that all the townsmen had given ober, putting on mans harnesse, stepped forth into the breach, where not onely she kept the Turks from entering in, but also slew of them a great sort. The Citizens seeing the rare courage, and good successe of the Maiden, tooke to them againe their hearts and harnesse, and so lustily laid about them, that an incredible number of the Turks were slaine. The rest being repulsed from the land reculed into their ships; who being then pursued by a Baby of Calisia were woefully discomfited likewise upon the Sea. And thus was the Ile of Lesbos at that time, by a poore Virgin, that is, by the strong hand of the Lord working in a weak creature, preferred from the Turks. Ex Aene. Syl. Et Seb. Munst. lib. 5.

Beside these Regions and Countreyes of Asia Minor, above described, Sebast. Munster in the fifth booke of his Cosmographie declareth moreoover, that the Turks and Sultanes have under their subjection, both Arabia, Persia, and also India exterior, wherein is Calcutte. The which Persia although it be under the Sophi, which is an enemy to the Turk, yet it is to be thought, that he is a Sultane, one of the Turkish and Mahometish Religion. This Persia and India were once seasoned with Christs Gospel.

This Cyprus King Richard the first did once subdue, fighting against the Saracens. Ex Aene. Syl. lib. De Orbis Descrip. cap. 74. A memorable fact of a Virgin, in defence of her Country.

Ex Sebast. Munst. Cosmo. lib. 5. in Praefat.







As I was writing hercof, a certaine sound of lamentable newes was brought into us, how the Turk, whom we had hoped before to have been repulsed by the Emperour Maximilian out of Christendome, hath now of late this present year 1566. got the Town of Gyula about Transylvania, after

they had sustained sixteen of his most forcible assaults, destroying in the same most cruelly many thousand of our Christian brethren, men, women, and children; but because we have no full certaintie, we will referre the story thereof to further information.

KING  
HEN. 7. 5

The Prophecies of the holy Scriptures considered, touching the coming up and finall ruine and destruction of this wicked Kingdome of the Turks, with the Revelations and foresnewings also of other Authors concerning the same.

As much as you have hitherto sufficiently heard to what quantitie and largenesse the dominion of the Turks hath encreased, and doe understand what cruell tyranny these wretched miscreants have and doe daily practise most hainously wheresoever they come against the servants and professors of Christ: it shall not be unprofitable, but rather necessary, and to our great comfort, to consider and examine in the Scriptures, with what prophecies the holy Spirit of the Lord hath promissed and forewarned us before of these heavy persecutions to come upon his people by this horrible Antichrist. For as the government and constitution of times and states of monarchies and policies fall not to us by blinde chance, but be administrated and allotted unto us from above, so it is not to be supposed, that such a great alteration and mutation of Kingdomes, such a terrible and generall persecution of Gods people almost throughout all Christendome, and such a terrour of the whole earth as is now moved and gendered by these Turks, cometh without the knowledge, sufferance, and determination of the Lord before, for such ends and purposes as his divine wisdom doth best know. For the better evidence and testimony whereof, he hath left in his Scriptures sufficient instruction and declaration, whereby we may plainly see to our great comfort how these grievous afflictions and troubles of the Church, though they be sharpe and heavy unto us, yet they come not by chance or by mans working onely, but even as the Lord himself hath appointed it, and doth permit the same.

And first to begin with the time of the old Testament, let us seriously advise and ponder, not only the Scriptures and Prophecies therein contained, but also let us consider the whole state, order, and regiment of that people: the Church I mean of the Israelites. For although the Scriptures and Prophecies of the old Testament were properly sent to that people, and have their relation properly to things done or that should be done in that commonwealth, of which Prophets John Baptist was the last and made an end, as our Saviour himself witnesseth, saying, The Law and Prophets be unto the time of John, &c. Yet notwithstanding the said people of that old Testament beareth a lively image and resemblance of the Universal Church which should follow, planted by the Son of God throughout the whole earth. So that as the Prophets of God speaking to them from the mouth and Word of God prophesied what should come to passe in that people: so likewise the whole course and history of those Israelites exemplifieth and beareth a propheticall image to us, declaring what is to be looked for in the Universal Church of God dispersed throughout the world, planted in Christ Jesus his Son, according as Philip Deslandhon, greatly gathering upon the same, testifieth in divers places in his Commentarie upon the Prophet Daniel.

As first the history of godly Abel slaine by wicked Cain, what doth it import or prophesie, but the condition of the people and servants of God, which commonly go to wrack in this world, and are oppressed by the contrary part which belongeth not to God? The like may be said also of Isaac, and Immael;

of Jacob and Esau. Of whom those two which were the children of promise, and belonged to the election of God, were persecuted in this world of the other which were rejected. Where moreover is to be noted concerning Immael, that of his stock after the flesh came the Saracens, whose sect the Turks doe now profess and maintaine. And as Immael had but 12. sonnes; so it were to be wished of God, that this Solymann, which is the twelfth of the Turkish generation, may be the last. But of this better occasion shall follow (the Lord willing) hereafter.

Furthermore, of the twelve Tribes of Israel the sacred History so reporteth, that after they had a long season continued together by the space of eight or nine hundred years, at length, for their idolatrie and transgression of their forefathers tenne Tribes of them were cut off, and dispersed among the Gentiles an hundred and thirty years before the captivity of Babylon; so that but two Tribes onely remained free, and they also at last, after an hundred and thirty years, were captived under the Babylonians for a certain time. No otherwise hath it hapned with the Church of Christ almost in the Universal world, of which Church the greatest part both in Asia, in Africa, and almost in Europe (where the holy Apostles so laboured and travelled) we see now to be sparkled among the Turks, and their Candlesticks removed (the Lord of his great grace reduce them againe; Amen.) So that of twelve parts of Christendome, which was once planted in Christ, scarce two parts remaine cleare, and they how long they shall so continue the Lord knoweth: And albeit through the mercy of the Lord they escape the danger of the Turks, yet have they bene so beaten with the Pope, that they had been better almost to have been in the Turks hands.

Again, after the said Israelites returned, being restored of Cyrus, let us consider well their storie, the continuance of time, the manner of their regiments, and what afflictions they sustained in the times of the Parthians: and we shall see a lively representation of these our dayes expressed in that propheticall people, according as S. Paul writing of them sheweth how all things hapned to them in figures; that is, the actions and doings of that one nation be as figures and types of greater matters, what shall happen in these latter times of the whole Church Universall in Christ collected.

So the transmigration and deliverance againe of those two Tribes declareth to us the affliction of Christs Church for time; and yet that God will not utterly reject his people for his Sonnes sake, as by manifold examples of the Church hitherto may well appeare.

Againe, the continuance of the Law first given by Moses, unto the destruction of the said people by Titus, amounteth to 1564. years: So we counting the age of the new Testament, and reckoning from the day of our redemption unto this present, be come now to the year 1534. lacking but onely thre and thirty years of the full number.

Likewise, in counting the years from their deliverance out of captivity to the end of their dissolution, we finde 564. years, during which year as the Church

The Saracens come of Immael. Resemblance between the twelve sons of Immael, and the twelve Ottoman Turks. 4. Reg. 17.

The old Church of the Israelites beareth a representation or image of the publique Church of Christ Jesus.

1 Cor. 10.

The Church of the Jewes a figure of Christs Church.

Ex Phil. Melancthon in Dan. cap. 9.

The times and years of the old Church, compared with the new.

Prophecies considered for the beginning and ending of the Turks Kingdom.

Two things to be considered in the time and order of the old Testament. The Scriptures, and the people.

Phil. Melancthon in Dan. Prophet

Gen. 4.



**KING**  
**HFN. 7.**  
The rule and  
dominion of  
the high priests  
in the Jewes  
common  
wealth, and of  
our prelates,  
compared.

Church of the Jewes was not governed under the  
authoritie of Kings, but the high Priests took all  
the power and authoritie to themselves; so we Chris-  
tians, for the space especially of these latter 564.  
yeeres, what have we seene and felt, but onely the  
jurisdiction and domination of the Pope and high  
Priests playing the Rex in all Countreies, and ru-  
ling the whole? Whereby, by the count of the yeeres,  
it is to be thought the day of the Lords coming not  
to be farre off.

Furthermore, in those latter yeeres of the Jewes  
Kingdome, what troubles and afflictions that people  
sustained 300. yeeres together, but chiefly, the last  
166. yeeres before the coming of Christ, by Antio-  
chus and his fellows, the history of the Hachabees  
can report. Wherein we have also notoriously to  
understand the miserable verations and persecutions  
of Christian Churches in these latter ends of the  
World by Antichrist. For by Antiochus Antichrist  
(no doubt) is figured and represented. This Antio-  
chus surnamed Magnus, and Antiochus Epiphanes  
his sonne, came of the stock of Seleucus Iricanoz;  
much like as the Mahumetes, the Turk, and So-  
lymannus, came of the stock of Dttomannus.

Antiochus be-  
areth a figure of  
Antichrist.

The family of  
Antiochus.

Wherein this is to be noted and pondered, that like  
as of the said Seleucus issued twelve Syrian Kings  
one after another of that generation, which reigned  
over the Israelites with much febricitie and tyrann-  
ie; so of this devilish generation of Dttomannus  
have come twelve Turkish tyrants, whereof this  
Solyman is now the twelfth. God grant he may be  
the last. And as the two last Antiochi, being sonnes  
of the two brethren, did fight together for the King-  
dome, and in fighting were both slaine, and shortly  
after the Kingdome fell to the Romans; so the Lord  
grant for Christs sake, that the bloody brood of this  
old Solyman, (which hath reigned now fir and forty  
yeeres) may so fight together, and perish in their own  
blood, that the bloody tyranny of theirs may come  
to a small end for ever, Amen.

And that the truth hereof may the better appeare  
to such as be disposed to meditate more upon the mat-  
ter, I thought good and profitable for the Reader, to  
set before his eyes, in table-wise, the Catalogue of  
both these Antichristian families, with the names  
and succession of the persons, first of the twelve  
Syrian Kings, then of the twelve Dttomannus in  
like number and order.

## A comparison between the Syrians and the Turks.

### ¶ The Syrians,

30

### ¶ The Turks.

Resemblance  
between the  
Syrian Kings,  
and the Turks.

- 1 Seleucus. 32
- 2 Antiochus Soter. 19
- 3 Antiochus Theos, who killed Bernice his mother  
in law, and his young brother. 15
- 4 Seleucus Callinicus, with Antiochus Hierax his bro-  
ther, which two brethren warred one against  
the other. 20
- 5 Antiochus Magnus. 36 40
- 6 Seleucus Philopator. 12
- 7 Antiochus Epiphanes, or rather Epimanes.
- 8 Antiochus Eupator.
- 9 Demetrius brother of Epiphanes, who killed Eupa-  
tor his cousin.
- 10 Demetrius Nicanor, whom Antiochus Sedetes his  
brother expelled from his Kingdome.
- 11 Antiochus Sedetes, These two last being brethren  
had two sonnes.
- 12 Antiochus Gryphus, and Antiochus Cizicenus. 50  
These two, striving together for the Kingdome,  
were both slaine, and so not long after, the King-  
dome of Syria came to the hands of Tygranes  
King of Armenia, and so being taken from  
him came to the Romans in the time of Pom-  
peius.

- 1 Ottomannus. 28
- 2 Orchanes, he slew his two brethren. 22
- 3 Amurathes, he put out the eyes of saucies his own  
sonne. 23
- 4 Bajazetes, he slew Solymanus his brother.
- 5 Calepinus, The Greek stories made no mention  
of this Calepinus, the Latine stories say that Ca-  
lepinus and Orchanes were both one, and that he  
was slaine by Mahumetes his brother. 6
- 6 Orchanes, whom Moses his Uncle did slay.
- 7 Mahumetes 1. He slew Multaphas his brother. 14
- 8 Amurathes 2. He slew Multaphas his brother. 34
- 9 Mahumetes 2. He slew his two brethren Turcinus  
an infant, and Calepinus. 37
- 10 Bajazetes 2. He warred against his brother De-  
mes, which Demes was afterward poisoned by  
Pope Alexander 6. 33
- 11 Zelymus, He poisoned Bajazetes his father, and  
his two brethren Acomates and Corcutus, with  
all their children, his own cousins. 7
- 12 Solymanus, He slew Multaphas his own sonne,  
and was also the death of Gianger his second  
sonne. 46

These two pestilent families and generations,  
rising out (doubtlesse) from the bottomlesse pit,  
to plague the people of God, as in number of suc-  
cession they doe not much differ; so in manner of  
their doings and wicked abominations they be as  
near agreeing, being both enemies alike to the  
people and Church of Christ, both murderers and  
parricides of their own brethren and kindred, both  
blasphemers of God, and troublers of the whole  
world. Wherein we have all to learne and note, by  
the way, the terrible anger of almighty God against  
sinne, and wickednesse of men.

Furthermore, who so is disposed to consider and  
cast the course of times, and to marke how things  
be disposed by the marvellous operation of Gods  
providence, shall finde the times also of these two ad-  
versaries in much like sort to concurre and agree.  
For in considering with our selves both the Testa-  
ments and Churches of God, the first of the Jewes,  
the second of the Christians; looke what time had

the Syrian Kings to rage then in Jerusalem, the  
same proportion of time hath now the tyrannie of  
the Turks to murder the Christians; so that the  
one Antichrist may well represent and pfigure the  
other. For as by the Book of Hachabees may ap-  
peare, Antiochus Epiphanes was about the 191.  
year before the passion of our Saviour, and day of  
our redemption: so now casting the same number  
from this present year backward, we shall finde it  
to be about the same year and time, when Baza-  
zetes, the fourth Turk after Dttoman, began to  
remove his Imperiall seat from Bursa in Bithy-  
nia to Adrianople in Europe, which is a Citie of  
Thracia. In which year and time began all the mis-  
chief in Europe, as is to be seene before, and this  
was the year of our Lord 1375. Unto the which  
year if we adde 691, it maketh 1566. according to  
the prophetic of the Apocalypse, chapter 20. where  
it is prophesied of Gog and Magog, that they shall  
compass about the tents of the Saints, and the  
welbeloved

The time of  
Antichrist exa-  
mined by pro-  
pheties.

One Antichrist  
pictured ano-  
ther.

Apoc. cap. 20.



wellbelov'd Citie, by the which wellbelov'd Citie is meant (no doubt) Europa; and this was in the year aboveſaid, 1375. Although touching the precise points of years and times it is not for us greatly to be requiſite therein; but yet where diligence and ſtudioſus meditation may help to knowledge, I would not wiſh negligence to be a pretence to ignorance. And thus much for the times of Antiochus and his ſellowes.

Now what crueltie this Antiochus exerciſed againſt the people of God, it is manifeſt in the hiſtoꝝ of the Machabees; where we reade that this Antiochus in the eighth year of his raigne, in his ſecond coming to Jeruſalem, firſt gave forth in commandement that all the Jewes ſhould relinquish the Law of Moſes, and worſhip the Idoll of Jupiter Olympius, which he ſet up in the Temple of Jeruſalem. The Idols of Moſes and of the Prophets he burnt. He ſet garrisons of ſouldiers to ward the Idoll. In the Citie of Jeruſalem he cauſed the feaſts and rebels of Bacchus to be kept, full of all filth and wickedneſſe. Old Men, Women, and Virgins, ſuch as would not leave the Law of Moſes, with cruell torments he murdered. The mothers, that would not circumciſe their children, he ſlew. The children that were circumciſed he hanged up by the neckes. The Temple he ſpoiled and waſted. The Altar of God, and Candleſtick of gold, with the other ornaments and furniture of the Temple, partly he caſt out, partly he carried away. Contrary to the Law of God he cauſed them to offer, and to eate ſwines fleſh. Great murder and ſlaughter he made of the people, cauſing them either to leave their law, or to loſe their lives. Among whom, beſides many other, with cruell torments he put to death a godly mother with her ſeven ſonnes, ſending his cruell proclamations thꝛow the whole land, that whoſoever kept the obſervances of the Sabbath, and other rites of the Law, and refuſed to condeſcend to his abominations, ſhould be executed. By reaſon whereof the Citie of Jeruſalem was left boide and deſolate of all good men, but there was a great number that were contented to follow and obey his idolatrous proceedings, and to flatter with the King, and became enemies unto their brethren. Briefly, no kinde of calamitie, nor ſort of miſery could be ſhewed in any place, which was not there ſeene. Of the tyranny of this Antiochus it is hiſtoꝝied at large in the Booke of Machabees; And Daniel prophecyng befoꝛe of the ſame, declareth that the people of the Jewes deſerved no leſſe for their finnes and tranſgreſſions.

By conſent of all writers, this Antiochus beareth a figure of the great Antichriſt, which was to follow in the latter end of the world, and is already come, and worketh what he can againſt us. Although, as Saint John ſaith, there have been, and be many Antichriſts, as parts and members of the body of Antichriſt, which are forerunners; yet to ſpeak of the head and principall Antichriſt, and great enemy of Chriſts Church, he is to come in the latter end of the world, at what time ſhall be ſuch tribulation, as never was ſeene befoꝛe; whereby is meant (no doubt) the Turk, prefigured by this Antiochus. By this Antichriſt I do alſo mean all ſuch, which following the ſame doctrine of the Turks thinke to be ſaved by their workes and demerits, and not by their faith only in the Son of God, of what title and profeſſion elſe ſoever they be; eſpecially if they uſe the like force and violence for the ſame, as he doth, &c.

Of the tyranny of this Antiochus aforeſaid, and of the tribulations of the Church in the latter times both of the Jewes Church, and alſo of the Chriſtian Church to come, let us heare and conſider the wordes of Daniel in the eleventh chapter, and alſo in his ſeventh chapter, prophecyng of the ſame as followeth.

{ KING }  
{ HEN. 7. }  
Dan. cap. 11.

He ſhall return and ſet againſt the holy Covenant: ſo ſhall he do, he ſhall even return and have intelligence with them that forſake the holy Covenant. And armes ſhall ſtand on his part, and they ſhall pollute the Sanctuary of ſtrength, and ſhall take away the daily ſacrifice, and they ſhall ſet up the abominable deſolation. And ſuch as wickedly break the Covenant ſhall flatter with him deceitfully: but the people that doe know their God ſhall prevaile and proſper. And they that underſtand among the people ſhall inſtruct many: yet they ſhall fall by ſword and by flame, by captivitie, and by ſpoile many dayes.

Now when they ſhall fall they ſhall be helpen with a little help: but many ſhall cleave unto them fainedly. And ſome of them of underſtanding ſhall fall to be tried, and to be purged, and to make them white, till the time be out; for there is a time appointed. And the King ſhall doe what him liſt; he ſhall exalt himſelf, and magnifie himſelf againſt all that is God, and ſhall ſpeak marvellous things againſt the God of gods, and ſhall proſper, till the wrath be accompliſhed; for the determination is made. Neither ſhall he regard the God of his Fathers, nor the deſires of women, nor care for any God; for he ſhall magnifie himſelf above all. But in his place ſhall he honour the god Mauzzim, and the god whom his fathers knew not ſhall he honour with gold and with ſilver, and with precious ſtones, and pleaſant things.

Thus ſhall he doe in the holds of Mauzzim with a ſtrange god, whom he ſhall acknowledge: he ſhall increaſe his glory, and ſhall cauſe them to rule over many, and ſhall divide the land for gaine. And at the end of time ſhall the King of the South puſh at him, and the King of the North ſhall come againſt him like a whirlewinde, with Chariots, and with horſemen, and with many ſhips, and he ſhall enter into the Countreyes, and ſhall overflow and paſſe thorow. He ſhall enter alſo into a pleaſant Land, and many Countreyes ſhall be overthrowen: but theſe ſhall eſcape out of his hand, even Edom and Moab, and the chief of the children of Ammon. He ſhall ſtretch forth his hands alſo upon the Countreyes, and the Land of Egypt ſhall not eſcape. But he ſhall have power over the treaſures of gold and of ſilver, and over all the precious things of Egypt, and of the Lybians, and of the black Moores where he ſhall paſſe. But the tidings out of the Eaſt and the North ſhall trouble him; and therefore he ſhall goe forth with great wrath to deſtroy and roote out many. And he ſhall plant the Tabernacles of his Palace between the Seas in the glorious and holy Mountaine, yet he ſhall come to his end, and none ſhall helpe him.

To this place of Daniel above preſired, might alſo be added the Propheſie of the ſaid Daniel written in the ſeventh chapter, and much tending to the like effect; where he entreating of his viſion of foure beaſts (which ſignifie the foure Monarchies) and ſpeaking now of the fourth Monarchie, hath theſe wordes:

After this, I ſaw in the viſions by night, and behold the fourth beaſt was grim and horrible, and marvellous ſtrong. It had great iron teeth; it devoured, and brake in pieces, and ſtamped the reſidue under his feete: and it was unlike the other beaſts that were before it, for it had ten hornes. As I conſidered the hornes, behold, there came up among them another little horne, before whom there were three of the firſt hornes pluckt away. And behold, in this horne were eyes like the eyes of a man, and a mouth ſpeaking preſumptuous things, and ſeemed more ſtout then the other. Which horne alſo (when I looked on) made battell with the Saints, and prevailed againſt them; untill the old aged came, and judgement was given to the Saints of the higheſt, and till the appointed time was come, that the Saints ſhould have the Kingdome.

Thus have you heard the plaine wordes of Daniel.

Machab. lib. 2.  
cap. 1.  
The furious  
crueltie of An-  
tiochus againſt  
Gods people.

1 Machab. c. 1.  
Dan. 9.

Antiochus a fi-  
gure of the  
Turk.

En Lyra in  
Gloſſe ordin. c.  
1. Machab.

The name of  
Antichriſt  
what it containeth.

Dan. cap. 7.

70



KING  
HEN. 7.

Daniel. In the which as he both manifestly describe the coming of Antiochus the great aduersary, toward the latter end of the Iewes: so by the same Antiochus is figured also to us the great aduersarie of Christ, which is the Turk.

Vide Rudolph.  
Gualt. de Anti-  
christo.

Although some there be notwithstanding, which with great learning and iudgement doe apply this place of Daniel above recited, not to the Turk, but rather to the Pope, and that for six or seven speciall causes herein touched and noted.

The first note.

The first is this, that the wicked transgressours of the covenant shall ioyne with him deceitfully and hypocritically, which shall pollute the Tabernacle of strength, and take away the perpetuall sacrifice, and bring in the abomination of desolation.

The second note.

The second note is, that the Prophet declareth, how the learned among the people shall teach many, and that they shall fall upon the sword, into fire and captivity, and shall be banished, whereby they shall be tryed, chosen, and made bright and pure, &c. All which (say they) is not among the Turkes to be seen, but onely in the Popes Church; where the faithfull preachers and teachers of the people are slaine and burned, and goe to wrack, &c. Where likewise it followeth, that they shall be holpen against Antichrist, and that many false brethren should ioyne unto them dissemblingly, &c. To this they alledge that the Christians have not such help against the Turk, whereunto such false brethren should ioyne themselves, as is and hath been commonly seene among the Christians against the Pope, from time to time, almost in all Countries; as in Germany by the Protestants, and free Cities; In England in King Henries time by the Lord Cromwel, and afterward by King Edward; and now by Queen Elizabeth; in Scotland, by the goodly Nobilitie; In France, by the Queen of Navarre and her sonne; and also by the Prince of Conde and the worthy Admirall, and his two brethren, and many others; In flanders, by them whom the Regent called beggers, so as was in the time of the Bacchabaz, against Antiochus.

Helpes of the  
Christians a-  
gainst the  
Pope.

The third note.

Thirdly, that the King shall exalt himselfe above all that hath the name of God, and shall lift up his mouth to speak presumptuously against God.

The fourth note.

Fourthly, that he careth not for the desires of women: which may seme to note how the Popes doctrine shall forbid the honest and lawfull marriage in Churchmen.

The fifth note.

The fifth specialty which they apply to the Pope, is that which followeth in the Prophet, saying, neither shall he regard the God of his fathers, nor any God; but in stead of him shall set up his god Baalzim, and shall worship him with silver and gold, and precious stones, &c. which they doe apply to the Pope, setting up his god of bread, and worshipping him with glittering golden ornaments, and most solemne service.

The sixth note.

Sixthly, it followeth, and he shall increase them with much glory and riches, and shall divide unto them lands and possessions, &c. meaning that the Pope having dominion over treasures of gold and silver, and all precious things of the land, shall indue his Cardinals, Bishops, his flattering Doctors, with friers, Monks and Priests, and all such as shall take his part, with great priviledges, liberties, revenues, and possessions. And thus I say, some there be which apply this prophetic of the seventh and eleventh chapters of Daniel unto the Bishop of Rome. Whom although I take to be an extreme persecutor of Christs Church; yet I iudge rather those two chapters of Daniel concerning the little horn in the middle of the ten hornes, and the great destroyer of the pleasant Land and glorious holy mountaine, to mean first Antiochus, and by him secondly to mean the great Antichrist, the Turk; who hath now set already the tabernacles of his palace betwene the Seas, according to the Prophecies of Daniel, as is abovesaid.

The seventh  
and eleventh  
chapters of  
Daniel, meane  
the great An-  
tichrist, the  
Turk.

Over and besides these Prophecies above alledged, there may be added also the Prophecies of Ezechiel chap. 29. speaking of Egypt and Phara, which as it may be applied to the oppression of the Iewes under the heathen multitude, which stopped the building of the Temple, and under the Spaniards, &c. yet in the same also are expressed the calamities and afflictions of Christs Church in their latter times, under the Saracens and the Turkes, &c.

Proceeding further in this matter, let us come now to the Prophecies of the new Testament, and mark the words of St. Paul, writing to the Thessalonians, which then were Christians, and now either are Turkish, or under the Turk, in which words be these, *Hee is not violently, nor by force, but secretly troubled, neither by spirit, nor by power, as sent from us, as though he were of our hand. Let no man deceave you by saying, that the Lord will not come before these things come to pass, and the departing first, and that wicked man be revealed, the sonne of perdition, which is contrary to all that is controulled above all power, and that which is called God; so that he shall sit in the Temple of God, himselfe to be god, &c.* Although this detection and departing may have a double interpretation, as well of the Popes sect which is gone and departed from the free justification by faith onely in Christ through the promise of grace) as of the Turkes. yet leaving a while to speak of the Pope, because it appeareth more notoriously in the Turk, we will chiefly apply it to him; in whom so aptly it doth agree, that unlesse this great detection from faith in many Churches had hapned by the Turk, it had been hard to understand the Apostles minde, which now by the history of these Turkes is easie and evident to be known, considering what a ruine hath hapned to the Church of Christ by these miserable Turkes, what Empires, Nations, Kingdomes, Countries, Townes and Cities be removed from the Name and profession of Christ, how many thousands and infinite multitudes of Christian men and children, in Asia, in Afrique, and in Europe, are carried away from Christs Church to Mahumets religion, some to serve for the Turkes guard among the Janasarites, some for soldiers, some for miners, some for gunners, to fight and warre against the Christians. so that the most part of all the Churches, planted once by the Apostles, are now degenerated into Turkes, only a small handfull of Christians reserved yet in these West parts of Europe, of the which small residue what shall also become shortly, except Christ himselfe doe help, Christ onely himselfe doth know. How great this detection hath been, spoken of by Saint Paul, then magell see (gentle Reader) in the table above described.

Notwithstanding, this text of the holy Apostle (as I abovesaid) may be verified, so with no lesse reason upon the Bishop of Rome, then upon the Turk, both for that he is a man of sin, that is, his heart and Citie is a great maintainer of wickednesse, and also for that he is an aduersary, that is, contrary in all his doings and proceedings to Christ.

Thirdly, for that he sitteth in the Temple of God, and so did not Mahumet.

Fourthly, because he is an exalter of himselfe, and sitteth more like a god then a man in Rome, where of see more in the Book set forth in English, called The Contestations of the Popes.

Fifthly, for that he seduceth, and hath seduced by his Apostasie the most part of all Christendom from the doctrine and free promises of God, into a wrong and strange way of salvation, which is not to be justified freely before God onely by our faith in Christ his well beloved Son, (unto the which faith the promise of God freely and graciously hath answered all our salvation only, and to no other thing) but hath taught us to work our salvation by an infinite number of other things. Inasmuch that he bindeth the

Doore 3 necessity



necessitie of our saluation also to this, that we must beleue (if we will be saved) and receiue him to be the Vicar of Christ in earth, &c.

But to returne againe unto the Turks, among all the prophecies both of the old Testament and of the new, there is none that painteth out the Antichristian Kingdome of the Turks, better then doth the Revelation of Saint John, whose words let us weigh and consider. Who in the Apocal. 9. where he speaketh of opening the seventh and last scale, (which signifieth the last age of the world) and there writing of the seven trumpets of the seven Angels, at the sounding of the sixth Angell saith, Loose the foure Angels which are bound in the great River Euphrates. And the foure Angels were loosed, which were readie both day, and houre, and moneth, and yeer, to slay the third part of men. And the number of horsemen were twenty thousand times tenne thousand: and I heard the number of them. And thus I saw in a vision horses, and them that sate on them, having fiery habergions, and of Iacinth stone, and of brimstone, and the heads of the horses were as the heads of Lions, and out of their mouthes went forth fire, and smoke, and brimstone, of these three plagues was the third part of men killed, that is, of the fire, smoke, and brimstone, which proceeded out of their mouthes, &c.

By the seventh scale is meant the seventh and last age of the world, which last age of the world is from Christ to the judgement and resurrection of the dead.

By the seven Angels with their seven Trumpets is signified the seven plagues that come in this seventh and last age of the world.

By the sixth Trumpet of the sixth Angell is meant the sixth plague coming last and next before the plague of the great judgement day, which sixth plague is here described to come by the East Kings, that is, by the Turks, as followeth to be seene.

By loosing the Angels which had rule of the great River Euphrates is signified the letting out of the East Kings, that is, the Turks out of Scythia, Tartaria, Persia, and Arabia, by whom the third part of Christendome shall be destroyed, as we see it this day hath come to passe.

It followeth in the prophetic, Their power shall be in their mouthes, and in their tayles. For their tayles shall be like Serpents, having heads, and with them they hurt, &c. Meaning that these Turkes with the words of their mouthes shall threaten great destruction of fire and sword, to them that will not yeeld unto them, and in the end, when the Christians shall yeeld unto them trusting to their promises, they like Serpents shall deceive them in the end, and kill them, as appeareth by the story of the Turks aboue past.

The like prophetic also, after the like words and sense, is to be seene and read in the sixteenth Chapter of the Apocalypse, where Saint John entreating of seven cups filled with the wrath of the living God, given to the hands of seven Angels, by one of the foure beasts (that is, in the time of one of the foure Monarchies, which was the Monarchy of Rome) speaketh likewise of the sixth Angell, which powred his viall of Gods wrath upon the great River Euphrates, and the waters thereof dried up, that the way of the Kings of the East should be prepared, &c.

By the sixth Angell with the sixth viall is meant, as before the last plague save one that shall come upon the Christians. By the Kings of the East are meant the Saracens, and twelve Ottoman Turks. By drying up the River of Euphrates, is signified the way of these Turks to be prepared by the Lords appointment, to come out of the East to the West parts of the world, to molest and afflict the Christians. It followeth more in the text. And I saw three unclean spirits like frogs, come out of the mouth of

the dragon, and out of the mouth of the beast, and out of the mouth of the false prophet, for they are the spirits of devils, doing wonders, to goe unto the Kings of the whole earth, to assemble and gather them together to the battell against the day of the great God omnipotent, &c. And it followeth shortly after, And he assembled them together into a place which is called in Hebrew Armageddon, that is, a trap or train of destruction. And immediately it followeth in the same place, And the seventh Angell powred out his viall in the ayre, and a mightie voyce came from Heaven, out of the Throne, saying, factum est, It is done, or finished, &c. Whereby it is to be understood, that toward the last consummation of the world great force shall be seene, and a mighty army of the enemies shall be collected and gathered against the people and Saints of the highest, and then cometh the consummation, with factum est, &c.

Wherefore it is not for nought that the holy Spirit of God in the same place, a little before the sixth Angell doth powre out his viall, doth exhort all the faithful, saying, Behold, I come like a thief in the night, Blessed is he that watcheth and keepeth his garments, lest he walke naked, and men see his shittiness, &c.

Nicolaus de Lyra, and Paulus Bishop of Burdens, and Matthias Dorinke writing upon the thirteenth chapter of the Apocalypse, and expounding the mystery of the second beast rising out of the earth, having the hornes of a Lambe, &c. doe apply the same to Mahomet and the Turkes, with a solemne declaration made upon the same. Which interpretation of theirs, although in some points it may seeme to have some appearance of probability, neither can it be denied but that Mahomet and the Turke be pestilent and wicked enemies of Christ our Lord, and most bitter persecutors of his Church, yet as touching the proper and naturall meaning of the Apostle in that place, speaking of the false lambe, &c. if we consider well all the circumstances of that beast, and marke the consequence of the text, both of that which goeth before and followeth after, we must needs grant, that Nicolaus de Lyra with his fellows, and with all such like of the Popes schoule that follow that schoule, be deceived, and that the description and interpretation of that false horned lambe must necessarily be applied onely to the Bishop of Rome, and none other, which is to be proved by six principall causes or arguments.

The first is, for that this beast is described to beate the hornes of a lambe. By the which Lambe, no doubt, is meant Christ. By the hornes of the Lamb is signified the outward shew or resemblance of Christ our Saviour; which shew or resemblance can have no relation to Mahomet, for that he taketh himself to be above Christ, and Christ as an excellent Prophet of God sitting at his feet. Wherefore seeing Mahomet cometh neither as equall to Christ, nor as Vicar under Christ, this prophetic cannot agree to him, but only to him which openly in platne words professeth, that all Christs Lambs and sheep not singularly, but universally throughout the whole world, are committed to him as Vicar of Christ, and successor of Peter, and that all men must confesse the same of necessity, or else they are none of Christs sheep, &c. wherein it is easie to see where the pretended hornes of the lambe doe grow.

The second argument, And he spake like the Dragon, &c. A lambes hornes and the mouth of a Dragon doe not agree together. And as they doe not agree together in nature, so neither can they be found in any one person, either Turk or other (if we will judge truly) so lively, as in the Bishop of Rome. When thou hearest him call himself the Apostolicall Bishop, the Vicar of Christ, the successor of Peter, the servant of Gods servants, &c. thou seest in him the two hornes of a lambe, and wouldest think him

SKING  
HEN. 7.  
The Kings of  
the East.  
Drying up of  
Euphrates.  
Ibidem.

Ibidem.  
An explication  
of the holy  
Ghost to the  
faithfull.

Apoc. 13.

The Prophecie  
of the Apoc.  
13. discussed.

The beast ha-  
ving hornes  
like the lambe,  
must needs  
meane the  
Pope.

The first rea-  
son.

Ex Bonifac. 8.  
Extra de Ma-  
jorit. & obed.

The second  
reason.

Anno  
1553.

Apoc. 9.

The seven  
trumpets of  
the seven An-  
gels in the A-  
pocalypse ex-  
pounded.

The sixth  
trumpet.

Loosing of the  
Angels upon  
the River Eu-  
phrates.

Apoc. 9.

Apoc. 16.

The foure  
beasts in the  
Apocal. meant  
the foure Mo-  
narchies.



KING }  
HEN. 7. }

Vide supra.

The Pope  
hath the horns  
of a Lamb, but  
the mouth of a  
Dragon.

The third  
reason.

The two beasts  
in the 13. chap.  
of the Apoca-  
lyps expounded

A description  
of the City  
and Monarchy  
of Rome.

The description  
of the beast  
with the two  
horns of the  
Lamb. Apoc. 13.

to be a lamb in deed, and such a one as would wash  
your feet for humility: but hear him speak, and  
you shall find him a dragon. See and read the  
Epistle of Pope Har in the fifth above mentioned  
charging, commanding, and threatening Emperors,  
Kings, Dukes, Princes, Marquesses, Counts, Barons,  
Knights, Rectors, Consuls, Marquises, with their  
Shires, Counties, and Universities of their king-  
doms, Provinces, Cities, Towns, Castles, Villages,  
and other places. See the answer of Pope Urban  
the second, and his message to King William Rus-  
sus. Behold the works and doings of Pope Inno-  
cent against King John.

Note also the answer of another Pope to the  
King of England, which for the price of the Kings  
head would not grant unto him the investing of his  
Bishops. Mark well the words and doings of  
Pope Hildebrand against the Emperor Henry the  
fourth; also of Pope Alexander the second, treading  
upon the neck of Fredericus Barbarossa, not like  
a lamb treading upon a dragon, but like a dragon  
treading upon a lamb; so that his own verse  
might be turned upon himself, *Tantum ap-  
pississus super oroniam ambians, & tanquam Leo &  
draco conculeans agnus*. Consider moreover the  
behaviour, manner, condition, and property al-  
most of all the Popes which have been these  
600. years, and what Dragon or Serpent could  
be more viperous, than their own doings and  
words can speak and give testimony against  
themselves.

It followeth moreover in the same prophetic of  
the Apocalypse for the third argument, And he doth  
all the power of the first beast presently before his face,  
and causeth the earth, and all the inhabitants therein,  
to honour the first beast, the stripe of whose deadly  
wound was cured, &c.

In this prophetic two things are to be noted;  
first, what the first beast is, whose power the second  
beast doth exercise. Secondly, what this second  
beast is, which doth exercise his power in his sight.  
The first of these beasts in the Apocalypse described,  
having seven heads and ten horns, must needs sig-  
nify the city of Rome, which may easily be proved  
by two demonstrations. First, by the exposition of  
the 17. chapter of the same Apocalypse, where is de-  
clared and described the said beast to stand of seven  
hills, and to contain ten Kings, having the whole  
power of the dragon given: and also the same city  
to be named the Whore of Babylon, drunken with  
the blood of saints. All which properties joined to-  
gether, can agree in no wise but only to the heathen  
Empire of Rome, which city at that time of writ-  
ting these propheties, had the government of the  
whole world. The second demonstration or evidence  
may be reduced out of the number of the months  
assigned to this beast, Apoc. 13. For so it is written,  
that this beast had power to make, that is, to work  
his make against Christs people 42. months,  
which months counted by Sabbaths of years,  
(that is, every month for seven years) maketh up  
the just number of those years, in which the Pri-  
native Church was under the terrible persecuti-  
ons of the heathen Emperors of Rome, as is afore  
specified.

Which thing thus standing, proved and confessed,  
that the first beast must needs signify the Empire  
and city of Rome, then must it necessarily follow  
that the second beast with the lambs horns, must  
signify the Bishop and Pope of the same city of  
Rome. The reason whereof is evident and appar-  
rant by that which followeth in the prophetic, where  
it is declared, that the second beast, having two  
horns of a lamb, received and exercised all the  
power of the first beast, before or in the sight of the  
said beast, which cannot be verified either in the  
Turks or in any other, but only in the Pope of  
Rome, who (as you see) receiveth, usurpeth, and

devorbeth to himself all the power of that city and  
Monarchy of Rome in to much that he hath  
that when Constantine or Eusebius had granted  
him the rule and kingdom of that city, he gave it  
but his own, and that which of right and on y be-  
longed to him before.

And this authority or power over all the Empire  
of Rome he worketh not in Asia, or in Const. ma-  
nople as the Turk doth, but in the sight of the beast  
which gave him the power, that is, in the city of  
Rome itself, which is the first beast here in this pro-  
phetic of the Apocalypse described.

Fourthly, it followeth more, And he causeth the earth  
and all the inhabitants thereof to worship the first  
beast, which had a deadly wound, and was cured, &c.  
The interpretation of this part, as also of all the other parts of the same chapter  
standeth upon the definition of the first beast. First  
being granted, as cannot be denied, that the first  
beast signifyeth the city and Empire of Rome it must  
consequently follow, that the Bishop (whom we call  
the Pope) of the said city of Rome, must be under-  
stood by the second beast, so much as neither  
Turk nor any other, but only the Bishop of Rome,  
hath holden up the estimation and dignity of that  
city, which began to be in ruine and decay by the  
Goths, Vandals, Ostrogoths, Herulians, and Lombards,  
about the year of our Lord, 456. but at reward  
by the Bishop of Rome the pristine state and ho-  
nour of that City revived again, and flourished  
in as great veneration as ever it did before. And  
that is it which the holy Ghost seemeth here to  
mean of the first beast, saying, That he had a  
wound of the beast, and was cured. For so it fol-  
loweth.

Fifthly, And he caused all the inhabitants of the  
earth to make the image of the beast, which had  
the stripe of the sword and lived. And it was given  
to him to give life to the image of the beast, and to  
make the image thereof to speak, and to cause all  
them that worshipped not the image of the beast to  
be killed: forcing all persons both little and great,  
rich and poor, bond and free, to take the mark of  
the beast in their right hand, and in their foreheads,  
and that none might buy or sell, but they which had  
the mark, or the name of the beast, or the number of  
his name, &c.

By giving life to the image of the beast, and ma-  
king it to speak, is to be presupposed, that the beast  
was at a near point of death, and lay speechless  
before, inasmuch, that the city of Rome began to  
lose and change his name, and was called a white  
Adactria, of Dacer king of the Verulians, which  
by dint of sword surprised the Romans: and not-  
withstanding, by the means of this Roman  
Prelate, the said city of Rome, which was then  
ready to give up the ghost, recovered his majesty  
and strength again, that it is hard to say, whether  
Rome did ever rise and rage in his former ve-  
fore, in the time of Nero, Domitian, Dioclesian,  
and other Emperors, more tragically, than it hath  
done under the Pope; or whether that Rome had  
all Kings, Queens, Princes, Dukes, Lords,  
and all subjects more under obedience and subjeti-  
on, when the Emperors reigned, or now in the  
reign of the Pope. And therefore it is said not  
without cause of the holy Ghost, That it is given to  
him, to give life and speech to the image of the beast,  
causing all them to be slain which will not worship  
the image of the beast, &c. As for example here-  
of, who seeth not what numbers and multitudes of  
Christian men, women and children in all countries  
have been put to fire and sword? Scories of all  
times will declare, what havoc hath been made of  
Christian blood about the prebentance and ma-  
jesty of the See of Rome; what Churches and  
Countries, both Greeks and Latine, have been ex-  
communicated; what Kings have been deposed,  
and

Rome almost  
dead.

Rome called  
Adactria.

To give life to  
the image of  
the beast.  
The Image of  
Rome speaketh  
again as cruci-  
fy as ever it  
did.



Et faciet eos oc-  
cidi qui non ado-  
raverint imagi-  
nem bestie.  
Apoc. 13.

The first rea-  
son.

The number of  
the name of the  
beast discussed  
666.  
The sum-  
a ber of  
these let-  
ters in  
a Greek, ma-  
neth the  
of full number  
of 666.

Nichol de Lyr,  
and other po-  
pish writers,  
deceived in the  
13 chapter  
the Apocalypse.

Apoc. 20.

and Emperors stripped from their Imperiall seat, and all because they would not stoop and bend to the Image of the beast, that is, to the majesty and title of Rome, advanced up to highly now by the Bishop thereof, as it was never higher before in the reign of Nero or Diocletian. Wherefore taking the first beast to signify the Empire of Rome, which cannot be denied, it is plain, that the second beast must necessarily be applied to the Pope, and not to the Turk, for as much as the Turk seeketh nothing lesse than the advancement of that Empire, but rather striveth against it, to pluck it down.

The sixth and last argument is grounded upon the number of the name of the beast, expressed by the holy Ghost in the same Prophecie, by the Letters  $\chi\epsilon\varsigma$ . In which letters, although there lieth great darkness and difficulty to be understood, yet certain ancient fathers which were disciples and hearers of them which heard S. John himself, as Irenaeus and other, do expound the said letters conjecturally to contain the name of the beast, and to be the name of a man, under this word  $\chi\epsilon\varsigma$ : Whereas else no other name lightly of any person, either in Greek or Latine, will agree to the same, save onely the foresaid named  $\chi\epsilon\varsigma$ . Although some later writers, giving their conjectures upon the same, do finde the name of Laceranus in Hebrew letters to answer to the same number. Some feine other names, as  $\alpha\delta\epsilon\upsilon\theta$  or  $\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha\nu$  made words, which signify nothing, as Dielux, or Luduic, by Roman letters, &c. But of all names properly signifying any man, none cometh so neer to the number of this mystery, (if it go by order of letters) as doth the word  $\lambda\alpha\tau\epsilon\iota\theta$  aforesaid. And thus much by the way, and occasion of Nicolaus de Lyra, Paulus Burgin, Matthias Dorinkus, the author of Fortalium fidei, and other Commentaries moe of the same faction: who writing upon this thirteenth chapter of the Apocalypse, and not considering the circumstances thereof, both are deceived themselves, and deceive many other, applying that to the Turk, which cannot otherwise be verified, but onely upon the Pope, as may appear sufficiently by the premises. For that I write this of any mood or malice either to the city of Rome, or to the person of the Bishop, as being Gods creature; but being occasioned here to entreat of the prophecies against the Turks, I would wish the Readers not to be deceived, but rightly to understand the simple Scriptures according as they lye, to the intent that the true meaning thereof being holled out, it may be the better known what prophecies directly make against these Turks, what otherwise.

In the which prophecies against the Turks now to proceed, let us come to the 20. chapter of the Apocalypse, wherein the holy Scripture seemeth plainly and directly to notify the said Turks. The words of the Prophecie be these.

And I saw an Angell descending from Heaven, having the key of the bottomlesse pit, and a great chain in his hand: and he took the Dragon, the old Serpent, which is the Devill and Satanas, and bound him up for a thousand yeers, and cast him in the pit, and sealed him up, that he should not seduce the people any more, till the thousand yeers were expired: and after that he must be let loose for a little while, &c.

And it followeth after, And when the thousand yeers shall be complete, Satanas shall be let out of his dungeon, and shall go abroad to seduce the people, which are on the four corners of the land of Gog and Magog, to assemble them to battell, whose number is like to the sands of the sea. And they went up upon the latitude or breadth of the earth, and compassed about the tents of the Saints, and the welbelovied cities, &c.

To the perfect understanding of this prophecie,

three things are necessary to be known. First, what is meant by binding up, and loosing out of Satan as the old dragon. Secondly, at what time and year first he was chained up and sealed for a thousand yeers. Thirdly, at what year and time these thousand yeers did end, when as he should be loosed out again for a little season. Which three points being well examined and marked, the Prophecie may easily be understood directly to be meant of the Turk. Albeit Anagogically some part thereof may also be referred not improperly unto the Pope, as is above notified.

First, by binding and loosing of Satanas seemeth to be meant the ceasing and staying of the cruell and horrible persecution of the heathen Emperours of Rome against the true Christians, as is to be seen in the ten first persecutions in the primitive Church above described in the former part of these Acts and Donuments: in the which most bloody persecutions, Satanas the devill then raged without all measure, till the time it pleased almighty God to stop this old Serpent, and to tie him shorter. And thus have you to understand what is meant by the binding up of Satanas for a thousand yeers: where by is signified, that the persecution against the Christians stirred up by the beast (that is, in the Empire of Rome, through the instigation of Satanas) shall not alwayes continue, but shall break up after a certain time, and shall cease for a thousand yeers, &c.

Now at what time and year this persecution, that is, the fury and rage of Satanas should cease, is also declared in the Apocalypse before; where in the 11. and 13. chapters we read, that the beast afove mentioned shall have power to work his malice and mischief the space of 42. months, and no more, and then that Satanas should be locked up for a thousand yeers. The computation of which months, being counted by Sabbaths of yeers (after the example of the 69. weeks of Daniel, chap. 11.) it doth bring us to the just year and time, when that terrible persecution in the primitive Church should end, and so it did. For, give to every month a Sabbath of yeers, that is, reckon every month for seven yeers, and that maketh 294. yeers, which was the full time between the eighteenth year of Tiberius, (under whom Christ suffered) and the death of Harentius the last persecutor of the primitive Church in Europe, subdued by Constantinus, as may appear by the calculating the yeers, months, and dayes between the said year of the reign of Tiberius, and the latter end of Harentius; and so have you the supputation of the year and time, when Satanas was first bound up, after he had raged in the primitive Church two and forty months. Which months, as is said, being counted by Sabbaths of yeers, after the usual manner of the Scripture, amount to 294. yeers; and so much was the full time between the passion of our Lord, which was in the eighteenth year of Tiberius, unto the last year of Harentius.

And here by the way cometh a note to be observed, That forasmuch as by the number of these 42. months, specified in the Apocalypse, the Empire of Rome must necessarily be confessed to be the first beast; therefore it must by like necessity follow, the Bishop of Rome to be the second beast, with the two horns of the Lamb, for that he onely hath and doth cause the said Empire of Rome to revive and to be magnified, and so doth not the Turk, but rather labourerth to the contrary. Wherefore let every Christian man be wise and beware betime how he taketh the mark of the beast, lest peradventure it follow upon him, that he drink of that terrible cup of wrath mentioned, Apoc. chap. 14.

Thirdly, it remaineth to be discussed touching the third point in this foresaid prophecie, that as we have found out (through the help of Christ) the year

KING  
HEN. 7.  
The binding  
and loosing out  
of Satan exam-  
ined.  
Three things  
to be noted in  
this prophecie.

What is meant  
by binding up  
of Satanas.

The time of  
binding up of  
Satan.

Apoc. 11. 13.  
42 months in  
the Apocal.  
declared.

Supputation  
of yeeres be-  
tweene the be-  
ginning and  
ceasing of the  
persecutions in  
the primitive  
Church.

Vide supra.

The pope pro-  
ved to be the  
second beast  
mentioned in  
the Apoc. 13.

Et hic bibet de  
calice Dei  
Apoc. 14.



SKING ?  
HEN. 7.  
The third part  
of the prophecy  
for the looking  
out of Satan.

The beginning  
of the Turks  
Prophesie.

peer and time of Satans binding, so we search out likewise the time and season of his looking out, which by the testimony of Scripture was approved to be a thousand years after his binding up, and rightly according to the time appointed it came to passe. For if we number well by the Scripture the year of his binding up, which was from the passion of our Lord 294. years, and adde thereto a thousand years, it mounteth to 1294. which was the very year when Ottomannus the first Turk began his reign: which was the first spring and welhead of all these wooll calamities that the Church of Christ hath felt both in Asia, Africa, and Europe, almost these three hundred years past. For so we finde in Chronicles, that the kingdom of the Turks being first divided into four families, An. 1280. at length the family of Ottomannus prevailed, and thereupon came these whom we now call Turks; which was about the same time, when Pope Boniface the eight was Bishop of Rome.

The time of  
Transubstanti-  
ation.  
The time of  
the Turks.

Where by the way this is again to be noted, that after the decree of Transubstantiation was enacted in the Councell of Laterane by Pope Innocent the third, the year of our Lord 1251. not long after, about the year of our Lord, 1260 was stirred up the power and arms of the Mogizians, and of Orthogules father of Ottomannus, who about the year of our Lord 1294. began first to vex the Christians about Pontus and Bithynia, and so beginning his kingdom, An. 1300. reigned eight and twenty years, as is above mentioned.

Ex: Leonico Chal-  
condyla lib. 1.

The prophecy  
of Ezech. c. 38.

Whereas was made before of Ezechiel prophecy, ing against Gog, whose words divers Expositors do apply against the Turk, and are these; Thou shalt come from thy place out of the North parts, thou and much people with thee, all riding upon horses, a great and a mighty army, and thou shalt come up against my people of Israel as a cloud, to cover the land. Thou shalt be in the latter dayes, and I will bring thee upon my land, that the heathen may know me, when I shall be sanctified in thee, O Gog, before their eyes. Thus saith the Lord God, Art not thou he, of whom I have spoken in the old time by the hand of my servants the Prophets of Israel, that prophesied in those dayes and years, that I would bring thee upon them? At the same time also when Gog shall come against the land of Israel, saith the Lord God, my wrath shall arise in mine anger; For in mine indignation, and in the fire of my wrath have I spoken it. Surely at that time there shall be a great shaking in the land of Israel, so that the fishes of the sea, the fowls of the heaven, the beasts of the field, and all that move and creep upon the earth, and all the men that are upon the earth shall tremble at my presence; the mountains shall be overthrowen; the stars shall fall, and every man shall fall to the ground, &c.

### The Prophecies of Methodius, Hildegardis and other concerning the reign and ruine of the Turks.

Methodius  
prophecies.

Unto these testimonies above excerpted out of the holy Scriptures, let us adde also the propheticall revelations of Methodius, Hildegardis, Sibylla, and others. This Methodius is thought of some to be the same Methodius of whom Hierome, and Suidas make mention; which was Bishop first of Olympus in Licia, then of Tyzus, and suffered martyrdom in the last persecution of the primitive Church under Dioclesian. Unto whom also Euthe-  
mus attributeth the book entituled, De quatuor novissimis temporibus. But that cannot be, forasmuch as the said Methodius doth cite and alludge the Master of Sentences, namely, in his second book, and sixth distinction, which Master of Sentences followed more than a thousand year after Christ; besides certain other fabulous matters

The book of  
Methodius  
mistaken.

contained in the same book. Albeit, because he speaketh there of many things concerning the State of the Church under Antichrist, and the restoration of Religion, as he telleth right to come to passe, so more is like to follow, I thinke by next to add the Reader thereof, leaving the order of the matter to his arbitrement, to esteem and more or less as he seeth cause. Among divers other places of Methodius, prophesying of the latter time, these words do follow.

That the whole world shall be multiplied in those generations to a number of a miserable multitude, in the desert and in the wilderness of the wilderness of Arabia, and in the inhabitable land, and fought with the beasts of the field, which were in the land of promise, and was filled with them. And after that, by the power of their power which were the heathen, and the kingdoms of the Gentiles, their heart was exalted, they themselves so to have prevailed, and to have conquered all things, &c. And afterward it followeth of the same matter in this sort.

It shall come to passe that the Lord God shall issue out and obtain the whole World, with the regions thereof, in the entering of years, from the land of Aegypt unto Ethiopia; and from the Euphrates unto India; and from the river Tygris to the entering of Nabat, the Kingdom of Mesopotamia, the son of Noe; and from the North unto Persia, and Illyricum, Aegypt, and Thessalonica, and Asia, and so forth to the sea Ponticum, which divideth the said kingdoms from Germany and France, and their yoke shall be double upon the necks of all nations, and Gentiles; neither shall there be nation or kingdom under heaven, which shall be able to stand against them in battell, untill the number of eight weeks of years, &c.

Briefly, as in a grosse summe, this shall suffice, to admonish the Reader touching the meaning and method of Methodius prophecies, which Methodius, first describing the long and tedious afflictions of Christs Church, maketh mention of the land of Assyria, which coming out of the parts and deserts of Arabia, shall destroy (saith he) and vanquish the whole earth. So that the Christians shall be given of GOD to the hands of the filthy Barbarian, to be slain, polluted, and captived; Persia, Armenia, Cappadocia, Cilicia, Syria, Aegypt, the East parts, Asia, Spain, all Grecia, France, Germania, Aethiopia, Sicilia. The Romans also shall be slain and put to flight; also the lands of the Seas shall be brought to desolation and to captivity, and put to sword.

The which tribulation of the Christians shall be without mercie or measure; the ranome of gold and silver and other exactions intolerable, but especially the dwellers of Aegypt and Syria shall be moit in the affliction of those times: And Hierusalem shall be filled with multitudes of people brought thither in captivity, from the four winds which are under Heaven. So that beasts also, and fowls, and fish in the waters, and the waters of the sea, shall be to them obedient. Cities and Towns, which were before full of people, shall be laid waste. Women with childe shall be ripe; their children sucked, infants taken from their mothers, and cast in the streets, and none shall bury them. The rulers and sage of the people shall be slain, and thrown out to the beasts. Churches shall be spoiled; the Priests destroyed; Virgins deflowered, and men compelled to sell their children, and the the coming of them shall be chastisement without mercie, and with them shall go their four plagues, Captivity, Destruction, Perdition, and Desolation, with much more, which for brevity I overpasse. And this affliction, saith he, shall last eight weeks, or Sabbaths of years, which I take to signifie eight hundred years, &c.

Secondly, after these terrible plagues thus described by Methodius upon the Christians, which he saith shall fall upon them for their wicked abominations,

The people  
shall be  
multiplied  
in those  
generations  
to a number  
of a miserable  
multitude.

That the whole  
world shall be  
multiplied in  
those generations  
to a number of  
a miserable  
multitude.

Christians  
plagues by the  
Sabbaths.



The second state or alteration of the Christians relieved of their plagues and tribulations.

Christians abusing Gods benefits.

The third alteration by the coming of the Turks.

The reign of christian kings in Ierusalem lasted 88 years. An. 1187.

By this resigning up the crown to the crucifix in Golgotha is signified the ceasing of the Christians till the coming of Christ. By this tribe of Dan, and the city Chorofaim Bethaida and Capernaum to signify Gods great male diction upon Antichrist.

The destruction of Antichrist.

tions recited in the first and second chapter of saint Paul to the Romans; the said Methodius afterward, in this great distresse of the Christians, being out of all hope and comfort of relief, declareth and speaketh of a certain king of the Greeks or Romans, which shall restore peace again to the Christians. In which peace they shall reedifie their cities and mansions again; the Priests shall be delivered from their grievances, and men at that time shall rest from their tribulations, and then shall the King of the Romans dwell in the city of Ierusalem a week or sabbath, and a half of times, &c.

Thirdly, during the time of this peace the said Methodius saith, that men shall fall into licentious security, and carelesse life; and then according to the words of the Apostle, saying, When they shall say, Peace, peace, sudden destruction shall fall upon them: then (saith he) shall be opened the gates of the North, and the beastly people shall break in, which king Alexander the great did close up within two mountains, making his prayer unto the Lord GOD, that he would binde up that bestiall and execrable people, left with their filthy and detestable pollutions they should come out and pollute the holy Land. Whose intercession being heard, the Lord commanded them to be inclosed within two mountains in the North parts, to the deepnesse of twelve cubits (which signifieth peradventure 1200. years) so that neither by witchcraft, nor by any means they could get out, or any might come unto them, untill the time of the Lord appointed, which are (saith he) the later times; and then according to the prophetic of Ezechiel, in the later time of the consummation of the world, Gog and Magog out from the North shall come forth into the land of Israel, and shall work all this mischief against Christians above recited. And then (saith Methodius, proceeding in his prophecies) shall the king of the Romans, after he hath reigned in Ierusalem a Sabbath of times, and a half, that is, saith Methodius, ten years and a half, take the crown from his head, and yeeld it up to the crosse in Golgotha where Christ was crucified, and shall die. And the crosse with the crown shall be taken into heaven, which shall not appear again before the coming of the Lord.

Fourthly, it followeth then moreover in the prophecies of Methodius, which declareth, that when the week or Sabbath, and half week of times shall end, and when the King of Romans shall give up his crown in Ierusalem, and die, Then immediately shall Antichrist the son of perdition begin to appear, and be born in Iewry, of the Tribe of Dan, whereof also came Iudas Iscariot, and he shall be born (saith Methodius) in Chorofaim and shall be bred in Bethaida, and shall raige in Capernaum; to the which three Cities, Christ the Lord gave his 3. V<sup>z</sup>. And when great tribulation shall increase and multiply in the dayes of this Antichrist, and all lordship and dominion shall be destroyed, the Lord shall send his two faithfull and dear servants, Enoch and Hely, to reprove and detect the false seducing and lying forgeries of this Antichrist, openly before all men; so that the people seeing themselves falsly beguiled and seduced by this son of perdition, coming out of the Temple dissemblingly to the destruction of many, shall leave and flye from him, and joyn themselves to the said two holy Prophets. Which son of perdition and Antichrist seeing his proceedings so to be reprov'd, and brought into contempt, in his fury and anger shall kill the two Prophets of GOD. And then shall appear (saith Methodius) the sign of the coming of the son of man, and he shall come in the clouds of heavenly glory, and shall destroy the enemy with the spirit of his mouth, &c.

## INTERPRETATION.

These prophecies and testimonies of Methodius, what credit is to be given, I leave it to

the Reader. But if the meaning of his prophecies go by such order of times, as is set and disposed in his book; he seemeth to describe unto us four principall states and alterations of times to come.

The first state and alteration is by Mahomet and the Saracens, which be the offspring and sons of Ismael, coming out of Arabia in the time of Heraclius Emperoz of Constantinople, Anno 630. which rebelling against Heraclius increased and prevailed still more and more against the Christians both in Asia, and Africa, and also in many places in Europe, especially in Spain and Italy.

The second state and alteration he prophesieth to come by the Turk, which first coming out of the far parts of Scythia, that is, out of the North, first overcame the Saracens, subdued the Persians, and afterward joyning together with the Saracens, conquered the kingdom of Ierusalem about the year of our Lord 1187. then subdued Syria and most part of Asia, &c. And these be they which Methodius seemeth to mean of, speaking of the vile and miserable people closed up of the Lord God, at the intercession of Alexander the great captain in the North, between two mountains the deepnesse of twelve cubits, lest that filthy corrupt nation should pollute the earth with their wickednesse. Whereby are meant these Turkes, which coming out from the uttermost parts of the North, that is, out of Scythia and the mountains of Caucasus or else Imaus, were witholden and kept back of Almighty God for Christs cause, that they might not harm his Church a long space, during the time of twelve hundred years; yea, and then, the sins of the Christians to deserting, they were permitted of Almighty God to break out, and to invade the Church; who now joyning together with the Saracens have wrought and daily do work, all these grievances against our Christian brethren; as we see this day is come to passe, and more is like to follow, except the hand of the Lord, which let them out, do pluck them in again.

Moreover, in the mean space, between the reign of the Saracens and the Turks, where Methodius speaketh of the King of Romans, which should restore quietnesse to the Church, and should raige in Ierusalem a Sabbath of times and half a Sabbath; thereby seemeth to be understood the voyage of Christian Princes out of the West parts of Europe, under Godfridus Duke of Lotharing and his two brethren and many other Christian princes, with three hundred thousand footmen, and one hundred thousand horsemen; who fighting against the Saracens, recovered again from them the city of Ierusalem, in the year of our Lord, 1099. which city before had been in their possession the term of 490. years. After which victory got, first Godfridus, then Baldwinus his brother, and other after them, to the number of 9. Christian kings reigned in Ierusalem the space of 88. years, and after that through the discord of the Christians not agreeing amongst themselves, both Ierusalem and Syria, with other parts of Asia besides, were subdued and won of the Turks, which to this day they keep still. And this was in the year of our Lord, 1187.

About which year and time (as followeth in Methodius) when the city of Ierusalem shall be won of the Turks, then shall Antichrist begin to be born of the tribe of Dan, of whom came Iudas Iscariot, and shall be born in Chorofaim & bred in Bethaida, and raige in Capernaum; meaning that this Antichrist or son of perdition shall be full of Gods malediction, noted by Iudas Iscariot, and these 3. cities against whom were spoken thrice V<sup>z</sup> of the Lord.

And here is moreover to be noted, that Methodius saith not that Antichrist shall be born among the Saracens or Turks, but among the people of God, and of the Tribe of Israel. Whereby is to be collected, that Antichrist shall not come of the Saracens.

KING 2  
HEN. 7.  
The interpretation.

The coming of the Saracens.

The coming of the Turks.

Scythia iuxta Caucasiam.

Victory of the Christians got against the Saracens.  
Ex Paulo Jorio.  
The city of Ierusalem recovered by the Christians from the Saracens. Ierusalem won from the Christians by the Turks.  
An. 1187

The coming and marks of Antichrist described.



{ KING }  
{ HEN. 7. }

Saracens, no; Turks, but shall come up among the Christians, and (saith Methodius) shall seem to come out of the Temple, to deceive many, &c. Whereup the Pope may seem, rather than the Saracen or the Turk, to be described, forasmuch as the Pope, being elected, nourished and reigning in the midst of Gods people at Rome, sitteth in the Temple, and very place of Christ, and (no doubt) deceiveth many, &c.

The time of Antichrist.

And now to come to the time assigned of Methodius, here is to be added also, that which we read in Anomimus, War. 3. that about this said present time, a certain Bishop of Florence preached that Antichrist was then coming. But the Pope commanded him to keep silence, and to speak no more thereof. Now why the Pope so did, and why he could not abide the preaching of Antichrist, I refer it to them which list to muse more upon the matter. It is is certain, that about this time here assigned by Methodius, came Petrus Lombardus, Gratianus, and Pope Innocent the third, the first authors and patrons of Transubstantiation. At which time also began the first persecution by the Church of Rome against the Albigenses or Waldenses, about Tolous, Witunes, and Avinion. Of whom 17000. the same time were slain, by the Popes crossed souldiers. Among whom Frier Dominick was then the chiefest doer. About which time also was Frier Francis, of which two came the two orders of begging Friars; all which began much about one time together, An. 1215. which were near within twenty years after the kingdom of the Christians was taken of the Turks, according to the prophetic above said.

Petrus Lombardus.  
Gratianus.  
Innocentius 3.  
Transubstantiation.  
The first persecution by the Church of Rome.  
Dominick.  
Frier Francis.  
Ex Antonino part 3 lib. 19. c. 1  
The orders of Friars began.

The Pope exalting himself above Kings and Emperors.

Notes of Antichrist.

It followeth moreover in Methodius, That in his time all lordship and domination shall cease and give over, &c. The verie whereof we see now accomplished in the Pope. For where the Pope with his double sword and triple crown doth come, there all secular power must give place, both Emperors, Kings and Princes must stoop.

So King John yielded up his crown to Pandolphus the Popes Legate, and was in his hands

five dares, Anno 1217.

Childerick the French king had his crown taken from him and given to Pipin, An. 47.

Henricus 4. Emperor was forced to submit himself and his scepter to Pope Hildebrand, An. 1057.

Fredericus Barbarossa Emperor, in 1185. was slain to lay down his neck under the Pope Alexanders feet, An. 1197. Which Frederick also before was slain to hold the Mitre to Pope Adrian, &c.

10

What should I speak of the Ambassadors of Hieronice, named Franciscus Danduluz who being sent to Pope Clement the fifth, was made to lie under the Popes table like a dog, and gather up the crumbs, mentioned in Sabel Aeneid, lib. 2.

Henry the 3. being Emperor, had his diadem first set on with the feet of the Pope, and afterward taken off from his head with the Popes foot again.

20

And what shall I speak more hereof? when as Carolus Magnus submitted himself so low to kiss the feet of Pope Leo, An. 800.

It followeth then in the prophetic of Methodius, That in the tribulation of those dayes shall be sent from GOD two speciall Prophets, Enoch and Heli, to improve and disclose the fraudulent falshood of Antichrist, and that many seeing his delusion, shall forsake him, and follow them; Whereat Antichrist being grieved, shall kill them, &c.

Enoch and Heli.

30

We never reade yet in any story of any such two Prophets to be sent, either to the Saracens, or to the Turks; whereas against the Pope we reade John Hus, and Hierome of Prague, two learned Scholars and Prophees of God to have been sent, and to have reproved and described the Anatomy of Antichrist, and at last to have been burned for their labour. And what Propheer can speak more plainly, either Enoch or Heli, than did Hierome of Prague, propheering of the coming of Martin Luther, an hundred years after him? when the Pope and his fellows should answer to God and to him. The time we see came just. Now let the Pope see with his fellows, what answer they can make.

John Hus and Hierome of Prague.  
Enoch and Heli.  
The coming of Martin Luther.  
The coming of Martin Luther.  
The coming of Martin Luther.  
The coming of Martin Luther.  
The coming of Martin Luther.  
The coming of Martin Luther.

The true plate of Hus and Hierome, among the Bohemians.



The nearness of the Lords judgment.

It followeth further in Methodius, concluding his prophetic, And then (saith he) shall appear the coming of the son of man in the clouds of heaven, with celestial glory, &c.

Wherefore after the burning of these two notable prophets, with many other thousands burned also since their time by the Bishop of Rome, it is to be thought, that the coming of Christs judgment in the clouds, is not far off. Veni cito Domine, Amen.

And thus much touching Methodius, of whose prophecies, how much or how little is to be esteemed, I leave it indifferent unto the Reader. For me it shall suffice simply to have rectified his words, as I finde them in his book contained, noting this by the way, that of this book of Methodius, De novissimis temporibus, neither Hierome in his Catalogue, no; Suidas, no; yet Aventinus in the place where he treateth

eth purposely of such prophecies, maketh any mention. As touching Hildegardis and Bugit, and other whom the French call Wardi, for their songs and propheticall verses, sufficient hath been alleged before out of Aventinus: who in his third book of Chronicles, writing of the testimonies of Hildegard, Bugit, and Wardi, seemeth to ground upon them, that the Turks, whether we will or not, shall have their Imperiall seat at Colen; and I pray God that it come not to passe, that the Turk do give some attempt against England by the seas, before that he come to Colen by land.

Brevity causeth me to cut off many testimonies and revelations of these above said, or else I could here rehearse the propheticall words of Bugit, li. 4. cap. 57. concerning the city and Church of Rome, which as she saith, must be purged and scourged with

The prophetic of Hildegardis and Bugit of the Turk.

Ex Aventino lib. 3. Chronicon. A cabaret to England.

Ex Brigitte lib. 4. cap. 57.

Prophecies of Bugit against Rome.



with three things, to wit, with sharp sword, with fire, and with the plough, and that God will do with that city, as one that removeth plants out of one place unto another: and finally that the city of Rome shall sustain the sentence, as if a Judge should command the skin to be slain off, the blood to be drawn from the flesh to be cut in small peeces, and the bones thereof to be broken, so that all the marrow may be quised from the same, &c. But for brevity I let *Ecce* passe, and will declare something out of *Erythraea Sibylla*, in her book of Prophecies found in *S. Georges Church* in Venice; where she prophesying many things of the birth of Christ under Augustus, and of the birth of John Baptist, and of Baptisme, of the Apostles, of the conversion of the Gentiles, and of Constantinus, &c. hath these words, After that the peaceable bull shall conclude all the climes of the world under tribute, in those dayes a heavenly Lamb shall come: and the dayes shall come, when the power of the flowing stream shall be magnified in water, and the Lyon the Monarch shall be converted to the Lamb, which shall shine to all men, and subvert kingdoms.

*Moreover* saith *Sibylla*, In the later age God shall be humbled, and the Divine off-spring shall be abased, and Deity shall be joyned with Humanity, the Lamb shall lye in Hay, and God and man shall be bred up under a Maydens attendance, signes and wonders shall go before amongst the circumcised, &c. Also, an aged woman shall conceive a childe, having knowledge of things to come. The World shall marvel at Boates (the Star) which shall be a leader to his birth. He having thirty two feet, and six thumbs, shall chuse himself out of fishers and abjects, the number of Twelve, and one Devil, not with sword nor with battell, &c. afterward this followeth *moreover* in *Sibylla*, saying, \* The health of the Lamblyng shall be clothed with a few spoils of the Lyon. Black shall be turned into red. He shall subdue the city of Aeneas, and Kings, but in the book of the fishes; In dejection and poverty he shall conquer riches, and shall tread down pride with his own death. In the night he shall rise up, and be changed, he shall live and reign, and all these things shall be consummated, and regeneration (or new things) be made; at last he shall judge both good and evil, &c. And thus much briefly collected out of *Sibylla Erythraea*, concerning Christ our Lord.

Furthermore, touching the state and course of the Church, and of Antichrist, it followeth in the said *Sibylla*, saying, Then shall four winged beasts rise up in testimony, they shall sound out with trumpets the name of the Lamb, sowing righteousness, and the Law irreprehensible. Against which Law the beast shall gainstand, and the abomination and froth of the Dragon. But a marvellous star shall rise, having the image of the four beasts, and shall be in a marvellous multitude, he shall bring light to the Greeks, and shall illustrate the world. The Lake of the fisher shall bring the name of the Lamb with power into the city of Aeneas, unto the end of the world (or time.) Then in the city of Aeneas the star joyned shall loose such as were bound of the devil, and thereof he shall rejoyce and glory, and glorious shall be his end, &c.

After this, *Sibylla* writing (as it seemeth) of Antichrist, imposeth these words, And it shall come to passe, that an horrible beast shall come out of the East, whose roaring shall be heard to Africk, to the people of Carthage, which hath seven heads, and scepters innumerable, feet, 663. He shall gainstand the Lamb, to blaspheme his Testament, encreasing the waters of the Dragon. The Kings and Princes of the world he shall burn in intolerable sweat, and they shall not diminish his feet. And then two stars like to the first star shall arise against the beast, and shall not prevail, till the abomination shall be come, and the will of the Lord shall be consummate. And again speaking of the same matter, he inferreth these words of the fore-said two stars above mentioned, And toward the latter dayes two bright stars shall arise, raising up men lying dead in

their sins, being like to the first star, having the face of the four beasts, which shall resist the beast, and the waters of the dragon, testifying (or preaching) the name and law of the Lamb, the destruction of abomination and judgment, and shall diminish his waters, but they shall be weakened in the bread of affliction, and they shall rise again in stronger force, &c.

And it followeth *moreover*, After the abomination, then shall truth be revealed, and the Lamb shall be known, to whom regions and countries shall submit their necks, and all earthly men shall agree together in one, to come into one fold, and to be ruled under one discipline, and after this shall be but a small time, &c.

And shortly after, the said *Sibylla* speaking of the latter judgement to come, declared how all the abominations of sins shall come before the lamb; and that terrible fire shall fall from heaven, which shall consume all earthly things created unto the top of heaven, &c.

And thus much out of *Sibylla*, touching her prophecies of Christ and Antichrist, according as I found them alleaged of a certain Catholike Romish writer, in his book intitled *Onus Ecclesiae*, excerpted, as he saith, out of the Library of Saint George in the city of Venice.

Philip Melancthon in his Preface upon Bartholomæus Georgienitz Peregrinus, writing of the origine and manners of the Turks, alleaged a certain prophetic of Hiltenus, mentioned hereafter, which foretold that the Turks should bear rule in Italy and in Germany, Anno 1600.

Now it remaineth, in conclusion of these prophecies of the Turks, something to say of the Turks own prophecies, concerning the enduring and ending of their own kingdom, whose prophetical prognostication, being taken out of their own language, and their own books, I thought here to insert, as I finde it alleaged in the book of the foresaid Bartholomæus Georgienitz, as followeth.

#### A Turkish prophecie in the Persian tongue of the reign and ruine of the Turks,

P Atisâhomoz ghelur, Ciaferum memleketi alur, keuzul almai alur, Kapzeiler; iediy ladegh Gyaur kelecî esikmaste, on ikiyladegh onlaron begblig eder: eusi iapar, baghi diker bahesai baghlar, oglikezi olur, onichi yldenfora Hristianon Kelecî esichar, ol Turchi getefine tus chure.

#### The same in Latine.

Imperator noster veniet, ethnici Principis regnum capiet, rubrum quoque pomum capiet, in suam potestatem rediget: quod si septimum usque annum Christianorum gladius non insurrexit, usque ad duo. decimum annum eis dominabitur. Domos aedificabit, vineas plantabit, hortos sepibus munit, liberos procreabit, & post duodecimum annum, apparebit Christianorum gladius, qui Turcam quaquâ versum in fugamaget.

#### The same in English.

Our Emperour shall come; he shall get the kingdom of the Gentiles Prince; also he shall take the red apple, and shall bring it under his subjection; and if the sword of the Christians shall not rise unto the seventh year, he shall have dominion over them unto the twelfth year. He shall build houses, plant vineyards, shall hedge about his orchards, shall create children: and after the twelfth year shall appear the sword of the Christians, which shall put the Turk to flight every where.

They which make declaration of this Turkish prophecie, do expound this xij. year to signifie the xij. year after the winning of Constantinople: which

KING  
HEN. 7.  
These two  
stars seem to  
mean John  
Baptist and  
Christ, who be-  
ing put to  
death by the  
Pope, their do-  
ctrine rose a-  
gain more  
strongly than  
before.

Ex libro cui ti-  
tulus, onus Ec-  
clesiae.

By the prince  
of the Gen-  
tiles, the Turks  
do here mean  
the kingdoms  
and dominions  
of the Christi-  
ans, whom  
they call Gen-  
tiles, because  
they are not  
circumcised  
after their  
manner.

The Prophe-  
cies of Ery-  
thraea Sibylla  
named Ery-  
thraea.

Ex Erythraa Si-  
bylla in suo Na-  
tographo. im-  
perialis scripto.

Prophecies of  
Sibylla of  
Christ.

By his feet is  
supposed to be  
meant the  
years of his age

\* The Lamb  
lying, that is,  
the Church  
without travel  
shall be main-  
tained with  
some thing of  
possessions of  
the chief rulers

By these four  
beasts is meant  
the 4. Monar-  
chies of the  
world, that is,  
the multitude  
of all the king-  
doms of the Gen-  
tiles, as in the  
Apocal.  
By the city of  
Aeneas is  
meant Rome.

The prophe-  
cies of Sibylla  
of Antichrist.  
The 663. feet  
do mean the  
years of his  
reign.



**SKING ?** Constantinople, say they, is meant by the red apple :  
**HEN. 7.** and after that xii. year, say they, shall rise the sword  
 of the Christians, &c. and this prophetic being writ-  
 ten and translated out of the Persian tongue, with  
 this exposition upon the same, it is to be found in the  
 book of Bartholomew Geozgenitz, Albert, concern-  
 ing the exposition thereof, it seemeth not to be true,  
 which is there spoken of the xii. year, after the win-  
 ning of Constantinople, being now 100 years since  
 the winning thereof.

xx Barthol.  
 Geozgenitz.

Wherefore it may rather seem probable, that by  
 the vij. and xii. year of the Turks, this to be the  
 meaning, that if the vij. of the Ottoman Turks,  
 do scape the sword of the Christians, they shall con-

tinue, build and plant, &c. untill the xii. Turk, which  
 is this Solimannus, and then after that shall rise  
 the Christians sword, which shall put them to flight,  
 and vanquish them in all quarters. And this expo-  
 sition may seem to accord with the place of Isaiah,  
 wherein is written of Immanuel that he shall come,  
 and no more. So that this Solimannus being the  
 xii. Turk after Ottomannus, may be the grace of  
 Christ be the last, whom we heard credible to be  
 reported, at the Printing hereof, to be dead. But  
 howsoever this prophetic is to be taken it appeareth  
 by their own Oracles, that at length they shall be  
 overcome by the Christians.

A Table, describing the times and yeeres of the Saracens, Turks and Tartarians,  
 for the better explaining of the story above prefixed.

The Saracens  
 begin their  
 raigne.

**A** Nno 632. Began the kingdom  
 of the Saracens or Arabians,  
 after the death of Mahomet the first  
 King-leader of the mischief, which  
 Saracens, raigning in Babylon over  
 Persia and Asia, continued about  
 An. 667. Jerusalem was taken of the  
 Saracens. These Saracens, after they  
 had subdued Dymitza King of Persia,  
 set up to themselves a new kingdom,  
 calling their chief Prince, Calipha,  
 which signifieth a generall lord; and  
 under him Seriphes, that is an under  
 Prince; And again under him their  
 Soldan; which is a ruler or captain;  
 under the which Soldans all the Pro-  
 vinces were divided. And thus ruled  
 they the space abovesaid of

198  
 yeeres

198  
 yeeres

The Egyptian  
 Saracens or  
 Sultans.

An. 703. The Egyptians, being wea-  
 ry of their subjection under the Ro-  
 mans, called for help of the Saracen  
 Calipha; and so casting off the Ro-  
 mans, submitted themselves to the  
 law of the Saracens, and had also their  
 Calipha and their Babylon called Cai-  
 rus, where their Calipha continued  
 unto Saraco or Syracinus.

447  
 yeeres

The Saracens  
 Kingdome  
 ceaseth.

An. 810. Haugnetus or Muchme-  
 tus the chief Sultan of Persia, being  
 at variance with Imbraell the Sultan  
 of Babylon, sent for the aid of the  
 Turks out of Scythia: by whom,  
 when he had got the victory against  
 the Babylonians, the said Turks  
 shortly after conquered the Persians,  
 and subdued their country within the  
 space of

20  
 yeeres

An. 830. The Saracens being ex-  
 pulsed out of Asia by the Turks, wan-  
 dred about Affrick, Spain and Italy,  
 and were in divers places dispersed,  
 and so remain.

The Turkes  
 Kingdome be-  
 ginneth.

An. 830. The Turks, after they had  
 expelled the Saracens out of Asia, be-  
 gan to raign in Asia, in Persia, and in  
 Arabia, and there raigned without in-  
 terruption, till the coming of the Tar-  
 tarians, the space of

192  
 yeeres

An. 1009. The Turks toan the Ci-  
 ty of Hierusalem from the Saracens;  
 which City the Sultan of Egypt toan  
 again from the Turks shortly after,  
 and possessed the same till the coming  
 of Gotsfridus.

46  
 yeeres

An. 1051. Began the first King of  
 the Turks, called Zabuque, to raign in  
 Asia, and joynd league with Calipha  
 of Egypt, and there raigned till the  
 conquest of Gotsfridus and the Chri-  
 stians the space of

An. 1058. Solimannus nephew to  
 Aspalalem the Turkish king in Asia,  
 otherwise called Zu quana, subdued  
 Cappadocia, which had continued now  
 the space of

500  
 yeeres

An. 1099. Gotsfridus Bulion, Duke  
 of Lotharing a christian prince, taking  
 his voyage into Asia with 700000.  
 christian souldiers, first got the city of  
 Nicca against the Sultan of the  
 Turks; then Lycaonia, Cilicia, Spria,  
 afterward Mesopotamia, and Coma-  
 gena: then Antiochia, An. 1098. and  
 the next year recovered Jerusalem, be-  
 ing then in the hands of the Saracens,  
 which they a litle before had won  
 from the Turks, as is aforesaid. After  
 this Gotsfridus succeeded eight Chri-  
 stian Kings, which kept the kingdom  
 of Jerusalem and Asia, both from the  
 Turks and Saracens, the space of

88  
 yeeres

An. 1100. The Georgians, which be  
 a people of Armenia the greater, van-  
 quished the Turks out of the king-  
 dom of Persia, after they had cut their  
 King in peeces. Whereby the Turks  
 flying to Cappadocia, there remained  
 under Salomon, and joynd them-  
 selves to the Soldan of Egypt, and  
 toward then strong in Asia minor, cal-  
 led now Turquima.

An. 1170. When Almericus, the se-  
 venth King of Hierusalem after Gots-  
 fridus had overcome the Calipha, or  
 Sultan of Egypt, the Sultan being  
 overcome, called for the help of Sara-  
 con the Sultan of Spria. This Sara-  
 con, after he had expelled the Chri-  
 stians out of Egypt, turned his power  
 against the Sultan of Egypt, and van-  
 quished him, took to himself the king-  
 dom of Egypt: which kingdom, he  
 with his posterity, did hold till the  
 coming of the Tartarians, and the  
 Hamaluches about the space of

88  
 yeeres

An. 1187. Saladinus the nephew of  
 Saracon the Sultan of Egypt, per-  
 ceiving the dissention among the chri-  
 stian states of Palestina, got Antioch,  
 where he slew Raymondus the Prince  
 with his own hands: Then got Tibe-  
 rias: from thence he went to Acon,  
 where he took Guido King of Jerusa-  
 lem, and master of the Templares, pri-  
 soners: for whose ransom, the Turk  
 had Ascalon yielded up to him of the  
 Christians. That done, he subdued Je-  
 rusalem, which had been in the hands  
 of the Christians before, the space of

88  
 yeeres

Anno 1189. Frederick the Emperour  
 P p p p Philip



Philip French King, Richard King of England, made their voyage into Asia, where Fredericke washing in a River at Cilicia, died. In this voyage at the siege of Acon Saladin was the field of our men, of whom 2000. were slain in the chafe. Acon at length was got of the Christians. King Richard got Cyprus. The two Kings fell at strife. Philip retired home without any good doing. King Richard laid siege to Jerusalem, but in vaine, and so returning homeward was taken nere to Cilenna in Austria, after he had taken truce before with the Soldane, upon such condition as pleased him. And this good speed had the Popes, sending out against the Turkes.

An. 1215. There was another council holden at Rome by Pope Innocent the 3. where was enacted a new article of our Faith for transubstantiation of bread and wine, to be turned into the body and blood of our Saviour. In this council also great exhortation was made by the Pope, and great preparation was through all Christendome to set forward for recovery of the holy Land. An mighty army was collected of Dukes, Lords, Knights, Bishops and Prelates, that if Gods blessing had gone with them, they might have gone throughout all Asia and India.

An. 1219. The Christians after 18. months siege got a certaine town in Egypt, called Damietta or Clipolis, with much adoe, but not much to the purpose. For afterward as the Christian Army of the Popes sending went about to besiege the Citie Cairus or Babylon, the Sultane through his subtil traine so intrapped and inclosed them within the danger of Julius, that they were constrained to render again the Citie of Damietta with their prisoners, and all the furniture thereof as they found it, into the Soldans hand, and glad so with their lives to passe forward to Syria. An. 1221.

In the meane time the Egyptian Turke caused the Citie of Jerusalem to be raised, that it should serve to no use to the Christians. What great thing else was done in that voyage, it doth not greatly appeare in stories. Albeit Fredericus the 2. Emperour was not unfruitfully there occupied, and much more might have done, had it not been for the violence and persecution of the Bishop of Rome against him; whereby he was enforced to take truce with the Sultan for 10 yeeres, and so returned. After which things done, not many yeeres after, at length the last Citie of all belonging to the Christians, which was Ptolomais or Akers, was also taken from them by the Sultane, so that now the Christians had not one forte left in all Asia.

An. 1230. Thus the Christians being driven out of Asia by the Sultans and Turkes, yet the said Turkes and Sultans did not long enjoy their victorie. For chisones the Lord stirred up against them the Tartarians, who breaking into Asia by the ports of Caspius subdued divers parts of Asia, namely about Comana, Colchis, Ibe-

ria, Albania, &c. These Tartarians as they had got many captives in their warres; so for gaines they used to ship them over customably to Alexandria in Egypt to be sold, which servants and captives Melechala the great Sultan was glad to buy to serve him in his warres. Which captives and servants after they had continued a certaine

- 10 space in Egypt, and through their valiant service grew in labour and estimation with the said Melechala, and began more to increase in number and strength; at length they slew him, and took to themselves the name and Kingdom of the Sultane. And thus ceased the stocke of Saracen and Saladinus afore mentioned, which continued in Egypt, about the space as is said of
- 20 An. 1240. After the death of Melechala, the army of these foresaid rascals and captives set up to themselves a King of their owne company, whom they called Turquemenius. Who, to fill up the number of their company that it should not diminish, devised this order, to get or to buy Christian mens children, taken young from their parents, and the mothers lap, whom they used so to bring up, to make them to deny Christ, and to be circumcised, and instructed in Mahumets law, and afterward to be trained in the feats of war, and these were called Hamaluchi. Among whom this was their order, that none might be advanced to be a. but out of their own number, or else chosen by them, neither that any should be made knights or horsemen, but onely the children of Christians which should deny Christ before, called Hamaluchi.
- 30 Also it was among them provided, that to this dignitie neither Saracens nor Jewes should be admitted. Item, that the succession thereof should not descend to the Children and offspring of these Hamaluchi. Also that the succession of the Crowne should not descend to the Children of the foresaid Sultan, but should goe by voyce and election. The Tartarians with Turquemenius their King, about this time obtained Turquia, that is, Asia minor, from the Turkes, and within 2. yeeres after, prebailing against the Turkes, expelled them from their Kingdom, and so continued these Hamaluchi reigning over Egypt, and a great part of Asia, till the time of Tormubein their last
- 40 a. which was destroyed and hanged at the gates of Memphis, by Zelymus the Turk, father to this Solymannus, as in his historie is declared. These Hamaluchi continued the space of
- 50 An. 1245. These Tartarians ranging through the countries of the Georgians, and all Armenia, came as farre as Iconium, which was then the imperiall Citie of the Turkes.
- 60 An. 1289. The Soldan of Egypt and Babylon got from the Christians Tripolis, Tyrus, Sidon, and Beirutus in Syria.

An. 1291. Lastly, Ptolomais, which also is called Akers, was surprised by the said Soldan, rased and cast down to the ground, & all the Christians therein (which were not many left) were slain.

- 70 An. 1291. Lastly, Ptolomais, which also is called Akers, was surprised by the said Soldan, rased and cast down to the ground, & all the Christians therein (which were not many left) were slain.

And

{ KING }  
{ HEN. 7. }

100  
yeeres

Saladinus  
stock in Egypt  
ceased.

Hamaluchi in  
Egypt.

260  
yeeres

Vide supra.

100  
yeeres

Transubstantia-  
tion.

Vide supra.

Tartarians.

Porta Caspia.



{ KING }  
{ HEN. 7. }

And this was the last Citie which the Christians had in Asia. So that now the Christians have not one (note) as is said before) left in all Asia. Thus the Egyptian Soldans and the Tartarians raigne and ranged over the most part of Asia above the Turkes, till the raigne of Ottomanus the great Turk, about the space of

80  
yeeres

¶ And thus have we the whole discourse of the Turkish trooz, with their names, countries, townes, dominions, also with their times, continuance, interruptions and alterations, in order described, and in verses distinguished: Which otherwise in most Authors and Writers be so confused, that it is hard to know distinctly, what difference is betwene the Saracens, Turkes, Tartarians, the Sultans or Soldans, Hamaluches, or Janizarits: what is their Calipha, their Seriphes, their Sultan, or Bassa, in what times they began, and how long, and in what order of yeeres they raigne. All which in this present table manifestly to thine eye may appeare.

¶ Wherein this thou hast moreover (gentle Reader) to consider, which is worthy the noting, how the Bishop of Rome all this season, from the first beginning of the Turkes raigne, hath not ceased from time to time continually, calling upon Christian Princes and Subjects, to take the Crosse, and to war against the Turkes; whereupon so many great voyages have been made to the holy land, and so many battels fought against the Turke and Soldan for winning the holy crosse; and yet no luckie successe hath followed thereof hitherto, nor ever came it prosperously forward, whatsoever through the exciting of that Bishop hath bene attempted against that great enemy of the Lord; Inasmuch that the Christians have lost not onely all that they had in Asia, but also are scarce able to defend that little they have in Europe against his violence. What the cause is of this hard lucke of the Bishops doings, it is hard for man to define. Let men muse as their

minde leaveth, and as the Gospel saith, he that hath eyes to see, let him see. This is certaine, that as there hath lacked no care nor diligence, in the Bishop of Rome, to stirre men up to that business: soon the Princes behalfe there hath lacked no courage nor strength of men, no contribution of expences, no supportation of charges, no furniture or abillment of warre, onely the blessing of God seemeth to have lacked. The reason and cause whereof I would it were so easie to be reformed, as it may be quickly construed. For what man beholding the life of us Christians, will greatly marvell why the Lord goeth not with our army to fight against the Turkes? And if my verdit might here have place, for me to adde my censure, there appeareth to me another cause in this matter, yet greater then this aforesaid: which to make plaine and evident, in full discourse of worde, leasure now both not permit. Briefly to touch what I conceive, my opinion is this, that if the sincere doctrine of Christian faith, delivered and left unto us in the Word of God, had not bene so corrupted in the Church of Rome, or if the Bishop of Rome would yet reclaime his impure idolatrie and prophanations, and admit Christ the Lambe of God to stand alone, without our impure additions, to be our onely justification, according to the free promise of Gods grace; I nothing doubt, but the power of this faith, grounding onely upon Christ the Sonne of God, had both framed our lives into a better disposition; and also soone would, yet will bying downe the pride of that proude Holiness. But otherwise, if the Bishop of Rome will not gently give place to the milde voice of Gods Word, I think not contrary, but he shall be compelled at last to give place and room to the Turke whether he will or not. And yet not withstanding, when both the Turk and the Pope shall doe against it what they can, the truth and grace of Gods Testament shall fructifie and increase by such means as the Lord shall work, which beginneth already (praise to the Lord) to come graciously and luckily forward in most places.

God offered  
with testimony  
and living  
faith of the  
Christian.

## A Prayer against the Turkes.

A Prayer  
against the  
Turkes.

O Eternal Lord God, Father of our Lord Iesus Christ, Creator and disposer of all things, just, gracious, and wise onely, in the name and reverence of thy Sonne Iesus, we prostrate our selves, desiring thine omnipotent Majestie to looke downe up on these afflicted times of thy poore creatures and servants; relieve thy Church, increase our Faith, and confound our enemies: and as thou hast given thine onely begotten Sonne unto us, promising with him life to all that shall beleve upon his name; so incline the obedience of our Faith to thy promises in him, that our hearts may be farre off from all other finfull additions and prophane inventions, which are besides him, and not in him, grounded upon thy will and promise. And grant (we beseech thee) to thy Church, more and more to see how terrible a thing it is, to set up any other meanes or help of salvation, but onely in him whom thou only hast sent and sealed. Reforme thy Church with perfect doctrine and faithfull teachers, that we seeing our owne weaknesse, may put off our selves, and put on him without whom we can doe nothing. So shall we stand strong, when nothing standeth in us, but thy Sonne alone, in whom thou art onely pleased. Renew in this thy Church againe the decayed Faith of thy Sonne Iesus, which may plentifully bring forth in us, not leaves onely, but fruits of Christian life. And forgive our wretched idolatry and blinde fantasies past, wherewith we have provoked manifold wayes thy deserved indignation against us. For our hearts have bene full of Idols, our temples full of Images, our wayes full of hypocrisy: thy Sacraments prophaned, and thy religion turned to superstition because the Lanthorne of thy Word went not before us, therefore we have stumbled. Miserably we have walked hitherto, like sonnes not of Sara, but of Agar, and therefore these Turkish Agarens have risen up against us. Many hard and straight wayes we have passed, but the wayes of the Lord we have not found. Much cost we have bestowed on bread that swageth no hunger, but that bread which only feedeth and cometh freely we have not tasted. We have sailed farre and neer in Barkes of our own building, but have not kept within the Arke onely of thy promise, and therefore these floods have taken us. We have prayed much, but not in thine appointed Temple, and therefore have not bene heard. We have plowed and tilled, but without thy heifer, and therefore this untidie ground of our bringeth forth so many weeds. We do fish apace and thar all night, but because we fish not on the right side of the Boate, in our fishing we catch never a fin. Our buildings be full of good intentions and great devotions, but because the ground work is not surely laid upon the rocke of thy promise, the East winde riseth and shaketh them all to shivers. We walk and have walked long after the precepts and doctrines of men, having a shew of wisdom, but not a holding the head, where lyeth all our strength, and therefore these Philistian Turkes have hitherto so prevailed against us. Briefly, all the parts and bones of the body be shaken out of place. Wherefore we beseech thee (O Lord) put to thy holy hand, and set them in the right joynt againe. And finally, reduce this same thy mysticall body againe to his perfect and naturall head, which is thine onely Sonne Iesus Christ, and none other. For him only haste thou annointed and appointed. Neither is there any other head that can minister strength and nutriment to this body, but he alone; Forasmuch as all other heads be finfull, and are not able to stand in thy sight, but make this body rather worfe then better. Only this thy wellbeloved and

P p p p

perfect

Psal 119.  
Galath. 4.  
Wild. 5.  
Isai. 55.  
Gen. 6.

Judic. 14.  
Joan. 12.  
Coloss. 2.



perfect Sonne is he, in whom onely dwelleth all our strength and fulnesse; him onely we confesse and knowledge. For whom and with whom, we beseech thee (O Lord God of hosts) grant to thy Church strength and victory against the malicious furie of these Turkes, Sarazens, Tartarians, against Gog and Magog, and all the malignant rabble of Antichrist, enemies to thy Sonne Iesus our Lord and Saviour. Prevent their devices, overthrow their power, and dissolve their Kingdome, that the Kingdome of thy Sonne so long oppressed, may recover and flourish over all; and that they which wretchedly be false from thee, may happily be reduced againe into the fold of thy salvation, through Iesus Christ our onely Mediatour and most mercifull Advocate. Amen.

{ KING }  
{ HEN. 7. }

Anno 1500. In this long digression, wherein sufficiently hath bene described the grievous and tedious persecution of the Saracens and Turkes against the Christians, thou hast to understand (good Reader) and behold the image of a terrible antichrist evidently appearing both by his owne doings, and also by the Scriptures, prophesied and declared to us before. Now in comparing the Turke with the Pope, if a question be asked, whether of them is the truer or greater Antichrist, it were easie to see and judge, that the Turke is the more open and manifest enemy against Christ and his Church. But if it be asked whether of them two hath been the more bloody and pernicious adversary to Christ and his members; or whether of them hath consumed and spilt more Christian blood, he with sword, or this with fire and sword together, neither is it a light matter to discern, neither is it my part here to discusse, which doe only write the historie, and the acts of them both. Wherefore after the story of the Turkes thus finished, now to recente againe there where we left, in describing the domesticall troubles and persecutions here at home under the Bishop of Rome; after the burning of Babam in Northfolke above declared. I signified also of another certaine aged man, mentioned in an old written Chronicle borrowed of one in the Tower, intituled Polychron, (although I finde not his name in the said Chronicle exprest) which suffered the paines of burning in Smithfield, about the same time, which was the yeare of our Lord, 1500. Ex Polychron.

Babam and  
an old man  
antys.  
ide supra.

x Gripe Po.  
Chronico.

This aged father I suppose, is he of whom I finde mention made in certaine old papers and records of William Cary Citizen (albeit the day of the moneth doth a little differ) wherein is thus testified, that on the 20. day of July, Anno 1500. upon the day of Saint Margaret, there was an old man burned in Smithfield for an heretike, and the same person upon the 10. day before he was burnt, would have stolne out of the Wolards Tower, and so falling out of the Tower, did foully hurt himselfe; whereupon he was carried in a cart to his death, as he went to his burning.

Divers Kent  
th men bea  
ing faggots.

In the foresaid papers of ancient record, is further more declared, how in the yeare above prefixed, which was An. 1499. In the time of one Persebell, many were taken for heretikes in Kent, and at Pauls Crosse they beare faggots and were abjured, and shortly after the same yeare there went thirtene Wolards afore the Procession in Pauls, and there were of them eight women and a young lad, and the lads mother was one of the eight, and all the thirten bare faggots on their necks afore the procession.

### William Tyllsworth Martyr.

Forasmuch as the world is come now to such a morositie and peevish insensibilitie in these contentions and cavelling dayes of ours, that nothing can be so circumspectly written and storied, but shall lie in danger of one hypocphant or another, which never will credit there where they list not to like: neither will they ever like that which seemeth prejudiciall to their faction, or net to serve the humor whereunto their fantasies be infected: therefore to stop the mouthes of such carping cavillers with as much possibilitie as I may, be it knowne to all and singular such persons, who by evidence of truth and witness will be satisfied, that in the Towne of Amertham be yet alive both men and women, which

William Tyll  
worth martyr.

can and doe beare witness of this that I shall declare. Also there is of the said company, one named William Page, an aged father and yet alive, witness to the same. Also another named Agnes Weltherley widow, being about the age of an hundred yeeres, yet living and witness hereof; that in the dayes of King Henry the seventh, Anno 1506. in the diocese of Lincoln in Buckinghamshire (William Smith being bishop of the same Diocese) one William Tyllsworth was burned in Amertham, in a Close called Stanley, about fiftie yeeres agoe. At which time one Joane Clerke, being a married woman, which was the onely daughter of the said William Tyllsworth and a faithfull woman, was compelled with her owne hands to set fire to her deare father: and at the same time her husband John Clerke did penance at her fathers burning, and bare a faggot, as did also

The daughter  
compelled to  
set fire to her  
father.

Robert Bartlet.  
Richard Bartlet.  
John Bartlet.  
Thomas Harding, and his wife.  
Henry Harding.  
Richard Harding.  
Robert Harding.  
John Milent, and his wife.  
William White.  
John Mumble, and his wife.  
Richard Bennet.  
Roger Bennet.  
John Fip.  
William Grinder.  
Thomas Homes.  
Yomand Dorman.  
William Scrivener.  
John Scrivener.  
Thomas Chase.  
John Cracher.

All these beare faggots, and afterward were compelled to weare certaine badges, and went abroad to certaine Townes to doe penance, as to Buckingham, Aylesbury, and other Townes more. And also divers of these men were afterward burned in the chaeke, as William Page, which at this present is alive, and likewise did beare a faggot with the afore said. Furthermore, the foresaid Agnes Weltherley testifieth, that at the burning of this William Tyllsworth, were 60. and above that were put to beare faggots for their penance, of whom divers were joynted to beare and were faggots at Lincoln the space of seven yeeres, some at one time, some at another, &c. In which number was also one Robert Bartlet a rich man, who for his professions sake was put out of his farme and goods, and was condemned to be kept in the monastery of Ashpyge, where he ware on his right knee a square peece of cloath, the space of seven yeeres together.

Amertham  
men bearing  
faggots.

It followeth moreover in the testimony of the forenamed, that about the same time of the burning of William Tyllsworth (as the Amertham men doe say) or the next day after, as recordeth the foresaid Agnes) was one father Roberts burned at Buckingham. He was a miller, and dwelled at Spillenden: and at his burning there were about twentie persons that were compelled to beare faggots, and to doe such penance as the wicked Pharisees did compell them. After that, by the space of two or thre yeeres, was burned at Amertham, Thomas Bernard a husband man, and James Popdon, a laborer; they

father Ro  
berts Martyr.



{ KING }  
{ HEN. 7. }

¶ The burning of Thomas Bernard,  
and James Mordon.

Tho. Bernard  
James Mord  
don martyrs.



they two were burned both at one fire, and there was William Littlepage (who is yet alive) compelled to be burned in the right cheek, and father Rogers, and father Keber, alias Reive, which after was burned. This father Rogers was in the Bishops prison 14. waikes together, night and day, where he was so cruelly handled with cold, hunger and irons; that after his coming out of the said prison, he was so lame in his backe, that he could never goe upright as long as he lived, as can testifie divers honest men that be now living. Also there were thirty more burned in the right cheek, and bare faggots the same time. The cause was that they would talke against superstition and idolatry, and were desirous to heare and read the holy Scriptures. The manner of their burning in the cheek was this: their necks was tyed fast to a post or stay with towels, and their hands holden that they might not stirre, and to the iron being hot, was put to their cheekes, and thus bare they the prints and markes of the Lord Jesus about them.

¶ The cruell handling of Thomas Chafe  
of Amerham, wickedly strangled and martyred  
in the Bishops prison at Woodburne, under  
William Smith Bishop of Lincolne.

{ Anno }  
{ 1506. }  
Thomas Chafe  
martyr.

Among these aforesaid, which were so cruelly persecuted for the Gospel and Word of Christ, one Thomas Chafe of Amerham, was one of them that was thus cruelly handled: Which Thomas Chafe by the report of such as did know him, was a man of a godly, sober and honest behaviour (whose vertuous doings doe yet remaine in memory) and could not abide idolatry and superstition, but many times would speake against it. Wherefore the ungodly and wicked did the more hate and despise him, and tooke him, and brought him before the blinde bishop, being at that time at Woodburne in the County of Buckingham, and as it is written Acts 12. that wicked Herod did vere certaine of the congregation, and killed James the brother of John with the sword, and because he saw that it pleased the Jewes, &c. He proceeded farther, and had

this same Thomas Chafe before him, asking him many questions touching the Romish religion. With many taunts, checkes, and rebukes, but what answer this godly man Thomas Chafe made them, it is unknown. Howbeit it is to be supposed, that his answer was most zealous and goodly in professing Christs true religion and Gospel, and to be estimation of idolatry, and superstition, and hypocritic,

Thomas Chafe  
condemned to  
be burned  
in the Bishops  
prison at Wood-  
burne called  
the Cheeke.

for that the said Thomas Chafe was commanded to be put in the bishops prison called little ease, in the Bishops house at Woodburne, which prison had not bene ministered into him, had not his answers bene found and upright. There Thomas Chafe lay bound most painfully with chaines, gybes, manacles and irons, oftentimes sore pined with hunger, where the Bishops almes was daily brought into him by his Chaplaines: Which almes was nothing else but checkes, taunts, rebukes and threatnings, scourings and mockings. All which cruelty the godly Martyr took most quietly and patiently, remembering and having respect to Christs promises. Matt. 5. Blessed are they which suffer persecution for my sake, for theirs is the Kingdome of Heaven: and as followeth, Blessed are ye when men rebule you and persecute you, &c. When the Bishop with his hand of shavelings, perceived that by their daily practises of cruelty they could not prevaile against him, but rather that he was the more fervent and earnest in professing Christs true religion, and that he did tolerate and beare most patiently all their wickednesse and cruelty ministered unto him, they imagined how and which way they might put him to death, lest there should be a tumult or an uproare among the people. And as Richard Hun shortly after was hanged or strangled in Dollards Tower, about the yeere of our Lord, 1514. even so these blond-suckers most cruelly strangled and pressed to death this said Thomas Chafe in prison, which most heartily called upon God to receive his spirit; as witnesseth a certaine woman that kept him in prison.

A witness  
of a  
Bishop.  
The perfect  
patience and  
constancy  
of Thom. Chafe.

Thomas Chafe  
or, elly murther-  
ed in the Bi-  
shops prison.

After that these stinging vipers, being of the wicked brood of Antichrist, had thus most cruelly and impiously murthered this faithfull Christian, they were at their wits end, and could not tell what shift to make, to cloke their shamefull murder with all: at last to blinde the ignorant silly people, these bloody butchers most standously caused it by their ministers to be buted abroad, that the foresaid Thomas Chafe had hanged himself in prison: which was a most shamefull and abominable lye, for the prison was such, that a man could not stand upright, nor lye at ease, but stooping as they doe report that did know it. And besides that, this man had so many manacles and irons upon him, that he could not well move either hand or foot, as the woman did declare that saw him dead, insonmuch that they confessed that his blood-bulke was broken by reason they had so vilely beaten him and bruised him. And yet these holy Catholikes had not made an end of their wicked act in this both killing and slandering of this godly Martyr: but to put out the remembrance of him, they caused him to be buried in the wood called Woodland wood, in the high way betwixt Woodburne and little Harlow, to the intent he should not be taken up againe to be sene: And thus commonly are innocent men laide up by these clerikly clergy men. But he that is effectually true of himselfe hath promised that at one time or at another, to cleare his true servants, not with lyes and fables, but by his owne true Word. Psalmet, faith he, is so close, but once shall be opened: neither is any thing so hie, that shall not at the last be knowne clearely. Such a sweet Lord is God alwayes to those that are his true servants. Blessed be his holy name therefore for ever and ever, Amen.

God bringeth  
to light the se-  
cret murthers  
of the papists,  
Math. 10.  
Luke 12.

Thomas Harding being one of this company, thus molested and troubled as is aforesaid, in the

ppp 3

towne

Thomas Chafe  
brought before  
the Bishop.

70

60

50

40

30

20

10



town of Abertham, for the truth of the Gospel, after his abjuration and penance done, was again sought for, and brought to the fire, in the dayes of King Henry the eight, and under D. Longland then Bishop of Lincoln, succeeding after Cardinall Wolsey. Of whose death and martyrdom we shall likewise record (Christ willing and granting) in order when we shall come to the time and year of his suffering.

After the martyrdom of these two, I reade also of one Thomas Poire, who likewise for the same cause, that is, for the profession of Christs Gospel, was condemned by the Bishop, and burnt at Norwich, the last day of March, Anno 1507.

In the next year following, which was An. 1508. in the Consistory of London, was condemned Elizabeth Sampson, of the Parish of Aldermantury, upon certain Articles, and specially for speaking against Pilgrimage and adoration of Images, as the Image of our Lady at Wilton, at Stanings, at Crome, at Wallingham, and the Image of Saint Saviour of Hammondsley, and against the Sacrament of the Altar, and for that she had spoken thes of like words; that our Lady of Wilton was but a burnt arse elf, and a burnt arse flock; and if she might have helpen men and women which go to her on pilgrimage, she would not have suffered her rail to have been burnt: and what should folk worship our Lady of Wilton, or our Lady of Crome; for the one is but a burnt arse flock, and the other is but a puppet: and better it were for the people to give their alms at home to poor people, than to go on pilgrimage. Also she called the Image of S. Saviour, Saint Saviour with his lips, and that she said he could make as good bread, as that which the Priest occupied, and that it was not the body of Christ, but bread, for that Christ could not be both in Heaven and in earth at one time. For thes and certain other Articles, she was compelled to abjure before master William Boysey, Chancellor, the day and year above written. Ex Regist. Lond.

### Laurence Ghest.

Amenable it is to remember, and a thing almost infinite to comprehend the names, times, and persons of all them which have been slain by the rigour of the Popes Clergy, for the true maintaining of Chrs cause, and of his Sacraments. Whose memory being registered in the book of Life, albeit it need not the commemoration of our stories, yet for the more confirmation of the Church, I thought it not impossible, the suffering and martyrdom of them to be notified, which innocently have given their blood to be shed in Christs quarrell.

In the catalogue of whom, next in order, cometh the memoriall of Laurence Ghest, who was burned in Salisbury for the matter of the Sacrament, in the dayes of King Henry the seventh, he was of a comely and tall personage, and otherwise (as appeareth) not unfriended; for the which the Bishop and the clefe were the more loath to burn him, but kept him in prison the space of two years. This Laurence had a wife and seven children. Wherefore they thinking to erpugne and perswade his minde, by stirring of his fatherly affection toward his children, when the time came which they appointed for his burning, as he was at the stake, they brought before him his wife and his seven children. At the sight whereof, although nature is commonly wont to work in other, yet in him religion overcoming nature, made his constancie to remain unmoveable, in such sort, as when his wife began to exhort and desire him to favour himself, he again desired her to be content, and not to be a block in his way, for he was in a good course, running toward the mark of his salvation: and so fire being put to him, he finished his life, renouncing not onely wife and children, but

also himself to follow Christ. As he was in burning one of the bishops men threw a firebrand at his face. Whereat the brother of Laurence standing by, ran at him with his dagger, and would have slain him, had he not been otherwise staid.

Testified and witnessed by the credible report of one William Russell, an aged man dwelling of late in Coleman-street, who was there present the same time at the burning of Laurence, and was also himself burned in the cheek, and one of the persecuted flock in those dayes, whose daughter is yet living: the same is confirmed also with the testimony of one Richard Welch, servant sometime to G. Latimer, who sojourning in the house of the said William Russell, heard him many times declare the same.

### A faithfull Woman burned.

But amongst all the examples of God, wherof so many have suffered from time to time for Christ and his truth, I cannot tell if ever were any martyrdom more notable and admirable, wherein the plain demonstration of Gods mighty power and judgement hath at any time been more evident against the persecutors of his flock, than at the burning of a certain godly woman put to death in Cheaping Sadbery, about the same time, under the reign of King Henry the seventh.

The constancie of which blessed woman, as it is glorious for all true godly Christians to behold; so again the example of the bishops Chancellor, which cruelly condemned the innocent, may offer a terrible spectacle to the eyes of all papistical persecutors to consider, and to take example, which the living God grant they may, Amen. The name of the town where she was martyred, was, as is said, Cheaping Sadbery. The name of the woman is not as yet come to my knowledge. The name of the Chancellor, who condemned her, was called Doctor Whittington. The time of her burning was in the reign and time of King Henry the seventh, orderly therefore in this place and time to be inserted. Wherein is to be noted moreover the opportunity of this present History brought to my hands, and that in such convenient season, as I was drawing toward the end of the foresaid Kings reign: so that it may appear to them which behold the opportunity of things, not to be without Gods holy will and providence, that this foresaid example should not be hid and unremembered, but should come to light and knowledge, and that in such order of placing, according as the due course of our story hitherto kept, requireth.

After this godly woman, and manly martyr of Christ was condemned by the wretched Chancellor above named, Doctor Whittington, for the faithfull profession of the truth, which the Papists then called heresie, and the time now come when she should be brought to the place and pains of her martyrdom, a great concourse of all the multitude, both in the town and country about (as the manner is in such times) was gathered to behold her end. Among whom was also the foresaid Doctor Whittington the Chancellor, there present to see the Execution done. Thus this faithfull woman, and true servant of God, constantly persisting in the testimony of the truth, committing her cause to the Lord, gave over her life to the fire, refusing no pains nor torments to keep her conscience clear and unreproucheable in the day of the Lord. The sacrifice being ended, the people began to return homeward, coming from the burning of this blessed martyr. It hapned in the mean time, that as the Catholike executioners were busie in slaying this silly lamb at the towns side, a certain butcher was as busie within the town slaying of a bull which he had fast bound in ropes, ready to knock him on the head. But the butcher (belike

KING  
HEN. 7.  
Witness to  
the story.

A notable story  
of a faithfull  
woman burned  
in Cheaping-  
Sadbery.

D. Whittington  
Chancellor  
a persecutor.

A faithfull  
Christian wo-  
man and mar-  
tyr, burned at  
Cheaping-  
Sadbery.

not

Thomas Poire  
martyr.  
Anno  
1507.

Elizabeth  
Sampson.  
Anno  
1508

Laurence Ghest  
martyr.

Laurence Ghest  
two years in  
prison at Sa-  
lisbury.

Laurence  
would not be  
turned for wife  
nor children.

Laurence died  
a martyr.



SKING  
HEN. 7.  
A comparison  
between But-  
chers, and the  
Popes murder-  
ing ministers.

not to skilfull in his Art of killing beasts, as the pa-  
pists be in murdering Chastians) as he was lifting  
his Axe to strike the Bull, failed in his stroke, and  
smite a little too low, or else how he smit, I know  
not: this was certaine that the Bull, although some  
what grieved at the stroke, but yet not stricken  
downe, put his strength to the ropes, and brake loose  
from the Butcher into the street, the very same  
time as the people were coming in great preele  
from the burning. Who seeing the Bull coming  
towards them, and supposing him to be wilde (as it  
was no other like) gave way for the beast, every  
man lifting for himselfe as well as he might.  
Thus the people giving backe, and making a lane  
for the Bull, he passed through the throng of them,  
touching neither man nor childe, till he came where  
the Chancelor was. Against whom the Bull as pic-  
ked with a sudden vehemency, ran full but with his  
hoyes, and taking him upon the panch, gored  
him thorow and thorow, and so killed him immedi-  
atly, carrying his guts, and trailing them with his  
hoyes all the street over, to the great admiration  
and wonder of all them that saw it.

A rare and spe-  
ciall example  
of the just pu-  
nishment of  
God upon a  
persecutor.  
Doctor Whit-  
tington borne  
of a Bull.

Although the carnall sense of man be blinde in  
considering the workes of the Lord, imputing many  
times to blinde chance the things which properly  
pertaine to Gods only praise and providence; yet  
in this so strange and so evident example, what man  
can be so dullo; ignorant, which seeth not herein a  
plaine miracle of Gods mighty power and judge-  
ment both in the punishing of this wretched Chan-  
celor, and also in admonishing all other like persecu-  
tors, by his example, to feare the Lord, and to abstain  
from the like cruelty.

Relevance to the  
Story.

Now for the credit of this story lest I be said up-  
on mine owne head to commit to story things rash-  
ly, which I cannot justifie, therefore to stop such  
cavilling mouths, I will discharge my selfe with  
authoritie I trust sufficient, that is, with the witness  
of him which both was a papist, and also present at  
the same time at the burning of the woman, whose  
name was Rowland Webbe: which Rowland,  
dwelling then in Cheapingsabbery, had a sonne na-  
med Richard Webbe, servant sometime to master  
Latimer, who also induring with him in time of his  
trouble like peres together, was himselfe impriso-  
ned and persecuted for the same cause. Unto the  
which Richard Webbe, being now aged, then young,  
the foresaid Rowland his father, to the intent to ex-  
hort him from the sect of heresie (as he then called it)  
recited to him many times the burning of this wo-  
man, and withall added the story of the Bull afore-  
said, which he himselfe did see and testifie. This Ri-  
chard Webbe is yet living, a witness of his owne  
fathers words and testimony, which I trust may  
satisfie all indifferent Readers, except only such as  
thinke no truth to be belived, but that only which  
is in their Papistes.

Verses touching the same Thomas  
Hutcherus.

Mira legis, quicunque legis, portenta nefandi  
Exitus, ut poenas addita poena luat,  
Vera legis, Domini quicunque potentia nota est,  
Ut delinquentes ira severa premar.  
Sæpe fit ut fusus cumuletur sanguine sanguis,  
Sæpe fit ut panis obruat ira novis.  
Omnia sunt Domini dextra subiecta potenti,  
Qui ciet arbitrio brutas hominesque suo.  
Carnificis taurus luctando corniger ictus  
Evitans, fracto fune repente fugit,  
Fortè viam quâ turba frequens confluxerat ante,  
Foemineâ ut cernat membra perire rogo,  
Taurus iit, fertur quâ confertissima turba;  
Læsus at ex tanta solus & unus erat.  
Solus & unus erat, rapidos qui misit ignes,  
Et miserè parvum sparsit ovile Dei.

Et quasi confuso sanguine, fracto fune  
Comibus hinc totâque corpore luctu  
Ile pœor, machinatus erat, ut ovile Dei  
Læsus pœor, fracto fune repente fugit,  
Fortè viam quâ turba frequens confluxerat ante,  
Foemineâ ut cernat membra perire rogo,  
Taurus iit, fertur quâ confertissima turba;  
Læsus at ex tanta solus & unus erat.  
Solus & unus erat, rapidos qui misit ignes,  
Et miserè parvum sparsit ovile Dei.

10 And thus much concerning the state of the Church.  
Wherein is to be understood, what stormes and per-  
secutions have bene raised up in all quarters a-  
gainst the flocke and congregation of Christ, not  
only by the Turkes, but also at home within our  
selves, by the Bishop of Rome and his retinue.  
Where also it is to be noted in the daies and reigne  
of this King Henry the seventh, how mightie the  
working of Gods Gospell hath multiplied and in-  
creased, and what great numbers of men and wo-  
men have suffered for the same with us in England,  
as by these stories above past may be apparant.

20 Now these things declared, which to the Church  
matters be appertaining, consequently it remaineth  
something to intreat of the state likewise of the  
Common-wealth, which commonly doth follow the  
state of the Church. Where the Church is quietly  
and modestly governed, and the flocke of Christ de-  
fended by Godly Princes in peace and safety, from  
debouing and violence of bloody Wolves, the suc-  
cesse of civil estate, for the most part, there doth flour-  
ish, and the Princes long continue through Gods  
30 preservation, in prosperous rest and tranquillity. Con-  
trariwise where either the Church of Christ through  
the negligence of Princes, or through their setting  
on, the pious members of Christ be persecuted and  
deboured; shortly after ensueth some just recom-  
pence of the Lord upon those Princes, that either  
their lives do not long continue, or else they finde not  
that quiet in the Common-wealth, which they looke  
for. Examples herof, as in all other ages be abun-  
dant, so in this present time be not lacking, whether  
we consider the state and condition of other coun-  
tries far off, or else of our owne countrey neere at  
home.

The state of  
the common-  
wealth followeth  
the state of the  
Church.

The duty of  
Princes to be-  
hold their sub-  
jects from the  
bangles of  
the Church of  
Rome

And here not to wander in our story farther than  
to France only, let us a lit le behold the example  
of King Charles the eighth, who living in this Kings  
time, died also not long before him. This Charles is  
commended of Philippus Comines, to be a mode-  
rate, valiant and victorious Prince, adorned with  
many speciall vertues to a Prince appertaining.  
50 And yet the same King, because he was slacke and  
remisse in defence of Christs Church, neither did he  
his authority, nor took his occasion offered to him  
of God, to amend & reform the estate of the Bishop  
and Clergy of Rome when he might, he was there-  
fore himselfe punished and cut off of the Lord, as by  
his story ensuing may right well appeare. For so  
it is of him recorded, that being marvellously ex-  
cited and provoked, of his owne minde contrary  
to the counsell of most of his Nobles) he took his  
journey into Italy, neither being furnished with mo-  
ney, nor the season of the yere being convenient  
thereunto. And that this may appeare the better to  
proove of the Lords doing, to the intent he would  
have the Church and Clergie of Rome reformed  
by the Princes sword, which soerved all Christen-  
dome at that time, we shall heare what is testified  
in the Commentaries of the said Philip Co-  
mines, Lib. 3. de bello Neapolit. waiting in this  
70 wife.

Ex commentariis  
Phil. Comines.  
De bello Neapolit.  
lib. 3.

There was (saith he) in the City of Florence the  
same time a Dominicke Friar, named Hieronymus  
Sovanarola (of whom mention was made before) a  
man of a right godly and approved life: who in  
the said City of Florence preached and prophecied  
long before, that the French King should come  
with an Army into Ita'y, being stirred up of God



The prophetic to suppress the tyrants of Italy, and none should withstand him. He should also come to the City of Pisa, and the state of Florence should be altered; all which happened true. He affirmed moreover to be signified to him of the Lord, that the Ecclesiastical state of the Church must be redressed *Per vim armum*. i. by the sword or force of armes. Many things also be prophesied of the Venetians, and of the French King, saying, that the King with some danger and difficulty should passe that journey, yet notwithstanding should overcome it and escape, albeit his strength were never so slender; for God would safely conduct him in that journey, and safely bring him home againe. But because he had not done his office, in amending the state of the Church, and in defending his people from injury, and from devouring, therefore it should come to passe (saith he) and that shortly, that some incommody or detriment should happen to the King: or if he should escape that danger of his sicknesse and recover health, then if he did resist the cruelty of the wicked, and procure the safety of the poore and miserable, God would shew mercy unto him, &c. And this the said Hieronymus declared before to Comineus, one of the Kings Counsellors, which was the writer of the story, and required him to signifie the same unto the King; which he did, and he moreover, himselfe coming to the presence of the King declared no lesse.

All which things as he had foretold, came directly to effect. For the King being but easily accompanied with a small power entred into Italy; where first he came to Asta, then to Genoa, and to Pisa, from thence proceeded to Florence, which also he obtained, displacing there Petrus Medices the Duke, who had used great tyranny upon the subjects. From thence he removed toward Rome, where a great part of the City wall, at the coming of the French King, fell downe.

Afterward, when the King was entred into the City, and the Pope (who then took part with Alphonsus King of Naples against the French King) had immured himselfe within the mount of Adrian, the wall of the Castle fell downe of it selfe: whereby when the King was both occasioned, and exhorted also by his Captaines to invade the Pope, and to depose him, and to reforme the Church of Rome (which he might then easily have done, as it had pleased him) yet all these occasions offered so opportunely of God, moved not the King to doe his duty, and to helpe the poore Church of Christ: wherefore shortly after, returning home into France from Naples, either the same yere, or the next yere following, he was stricken with a sudden sicknesse at Amboise, as he was looking on them that played at Tennis, and that in the stinkingest place in all the Castle, where he fell down and dyed within 12 houres, according to the forewarning of Hieronymus, who wrote unto him a little before, both of his sonnes death, and of his owne, which was about the yere of our Lord, 1498. Ex Philip. Comineo, lib. 5.

Like examples we have many here also in this our Realme of England. So long as King John kept out of the Realme the Popes authority and power, he continued safe and quiet with his Nobles: but so soone as he brought the Realme under tribute and subjection to that forraigne Bishop, God stirred up his Nobles against him, whereby he had much disquiet and trouble, and some thereupon decayed.

Of all the Kings of England, from William Conqueror to this King Henry the seventh, were none which either longer continued, or more prosperously flourished, than King Henry the second, King Henry the third, King Edward the first, King Edward the third, of whom the first, how stout he was in withstanding Thomas Becket and Pope Alexander the third, is sufficiently before comprehended.

The second, which was son of King John, albeit though the wretchednesse of that time his power

was not sufficient to repulse the Popes usurped jurisdiction out of the Realme, yet his will was good: at last he so defended and provided for his subjects, that they took no great wrong at the Popes hands; who reigned one yere longer than Augustus Caesar, which hath not commonly bene seene in any Prince.

The third, which was King Edward the first, so vigilantly behaved himselfe for the publike commodity and safety of his people, that he defended them from all forraigne power and hostility both of the Scots (then our enemies, now our friends) and also from the Bishop of Rome, taking part with them against us, as may appeare aboue. Furthermore of the same King, and of his worthy Nobles and house of Parliament, how valiantly they stood in denvall of the Popes subsidies, and also how the said King excluded out of his protection the Bishops, and especially the Archbishop Becham, for standing with the Pope, read before.

Now as touching King Edward the third, how little he regarded, how Princely he with his Nobles likewise resisted the Popes reprobations and prohibitions, how he bidden the Archbishop John Stratford, and rejected the same authority of the Bishop of Rome, both in defence of his subjects, and also in defence of claiming his right title in the Realme of France, read before.

Not that I doe here affirme or define, as in a generall rule, that worldly successe and prosperitie of life alwayes follow the godly, which we like rather to be given more often to the wicked sort: but speaking of the duty of Princes. I note and obserbe by examples of histories, that such Princes as have most defended the Church of Christ committed to their governance, from injury and violence of the Bishop of Rome, have not lacked at Gods hand great blessing and felicity: whereas contrariwise, they which either themselves have ben persecutors of Christs members, or have not shielded them by their protection from forraigne tyranny and injuries, have lacked at Gods hand that protection, which the other had; as may appeare by King Edward the second, Richard the third, King Henry the fourth, King Henry the fifth, King Henry the sixth, &c. who because either negligently they have suffered, or cruelly caused such persecuting laides to be made and so much Christian blood injuriously to be devoured; therefore have they bene the lesse prospered of the Lord, so that either they were deposed, or if they flourished for a while, yet they did not long continue, almost not halfe the time of the other Kings before named.

And therefore, as the state of the common wealth both commonly follow the state of the Church, as ye heard before; so it had ben to be wished, that this King Henry 7. being otherwise a prudent and temperate Prince, had not permitted the untemperate rage of the Popes clergy so much to have their wills over the poore flocke of Christ, as then they had; according as by these persecutions aboue mentioned may appeare. The which King Henry the seventh, albeit he had a sufficient continuance, who had now reigned 24. yeres, yet notwithstanding here cometh the same thing to be noted, whereof I spake before; that when the Church of Christ beginneth to be injured with violence, and to goe to wracke through misorder and negligence, the state of the common wealth cannot there long endure without some alteration, and stroke of Gods correction. But howsoever this marke is to be taken, thus leeth the storie: that after the burning and bering of these poore servants of Christ aboue recited, when the persecution began now in the Church to be hot, God calleth away the King, the same yere aboue mentioned, which was 1509. after he had reigned the terme of yeres, 24. Also if he had adjoyned a little more praisfull respect, in protecting Christs poore members from the fire of the Popes tyranny,

KING  
HEN. 7.  
Augustus reigned 55. yeres.

Vide supra.

Vide supra.

Vide supra.

What difference between moderate princes, and them that were persecutors.

Vide Phil. Comineo de bello Neapol. lib. 5.

De bello Neapol. lib. 5.

Examples of Kings of England, which were blessed of God with long prosperity being enemies to the bishops of Rome.

The death of King Henry.



{ KING }  
{ HEN. 7. }

to his other great vertues of singular wisdom, excellent temperance, and moderate frugality; so much had he been comparable with the best of those Princes above comprehended, as he had been inferior but to a few: but this defect which lacked in him, was supplied most luckily (blessed be the Lord) by his posterity succeeding after him. Of whom in the next volume following (Christ thereunto assisting us) we have to specifye moze at large.

Country men persecuted.

Among many other things incident in the raigne of this King Henry the seventh, I have oberpassed the history of certaine godly persons persecuted in the Diocesse of Coventry and Litchfield, as we finde them in the Registers of the Diocesse recorded, here following.

The yere of our Lord, 1485. March the ninth, amongst divers and sundry other good men in Coventry, these nine hereunder named, were examined before John Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield in Saint Michaels Church, upon these Articles following in order.

1. Blomston.

First, John Blomston was openly and publicly infamed, accused, repozied and appeached, that he was a very heretike, because he had preached, taught, holden and affirmed, that the power attributed to Saint Peter in the Church of God, by our Saviour Iesus Christ immediately, did not sit or passe from him, to remaine with his successors.

The power of Peter attributed not to his successors.

Item, that there was as much vertue in an herbe, as in the Image of the virgin Mary.

Purgatory denied.

Item, that Prayer and Almes abaile not the dead, for incontinent after death, he goeth either to Heaben or Hell, whereupon he concludeth there is no purgatory.

Images not to be worshipped.

Item, that it was foolishnesse to goe on Pilgrimage to the Image of our Lady of Dancaster, Wallingham, or of the Tower of the City of Coventry: for a man might as well worship the blessed Virgin by the fire side in the kitchen, as in the aforesaid places, and as well might a man worship the blessed Virgin, when he saith his mother or sister, as in visiting the images; because they be no more but dead stockes and stones.

Item, that he said in English with a frowning countenance, as it appeared: a vengeance on all such horzon priests, for they have great eny that a poore man should get his living among them.

Richard Wigham. Heretics condemned.

Richard Wigham of the same City was accused, etc. to be a very heretike, because he did hold that a Christian man being at the point of death, should renounce all his own works good and ill, and submit him to the mercy of God.

Item, that it was fondnesse to worship the images of our Lady of Tower in the foresaid City, or of other Saints; for they are but stockes and stones.

Images rather to be burned than to be worshipped.

Item, that if the image of our Lady of Tower were put into the fire, it would make a good fire.

Item, that it were better to deale money unto poore folkes, than to offer to the Image of Christ and other Saints; which are but dead stockes and stones.

Robert Crowther.

Robert Crowther of the same City was accused, that he was an heretike, because he did hold, that whoso receiveth the Sacrament of the Altar in deadly sin, or out of charity, receiveth nothing but bread and wine.

Item, that neither Bishop, nor Priests or Curates of Churches, have power in the market of penance to binde and lose.

Against Pilgrimage.

Item, that pilgrimage to the image of our Lady of Tower is foolishnesse; for it is but a stocke or a stone.

John Smith.

John Smith was accused to be a very heretike, because he did hold that every man is bound to

know the Lords Prayer, and the Creed in English, etc. if he might for these false priests.

Item, that who so beleeved as the Church men did beleeve, beleeve all: and that a man had need to frequent the Schooles a good while, ere that he can attaine to the knowledge of the true and right faith.

Item, that no priest hath power to absolve a man in the market of penance from his sins.

Roger Browne of the same City, was also accused to be an heretike, because he did hold that no man ought to worship the image of our Lady of Wallingham, nor the blood of Christ at Walles, but rather God Almighty, who would give him whatsoever he would aske.

Item, that he held not up his hands, nor looked up, at the elevation of the Eucharist.

Item, that he promised one to shew him certaine Bookes of heresie, if he would sweare that he would not utter them, and if he would credit them.

Item, that he did eat flesh in Lent, and was taken with the manner.

Item, if any man were not shaven in his whole life long, and in the point of death wou'd be confessed, and could not, if he had no moze but contrition only, he should passe to joy without Purgatory: And if he were confessed of any sinne, and were enspined only to say for Penance one Water-noffer, if he thought he should have any punishment in Purgatory for that sinne, he would never be confessed for any sin.

Item, because he said all is lost that is given to Priests.

Item, that there was no Purgatory, that would pardon all sinnes, without confession and satisfaction.

Thomas Butler of the same City was likewise openly accused to be a very heretike, because he did hold that there were but two wayes, that is to say, to heaben and to hell.

Item, that no faithfull man should abide any paine after the death of Christ, for any sin, because Christ dyed for our sins.

Item, that there was no Purgatory: for every man immediately after death passeth either to Heaben or Hell.

Item, that whosoever departeth in the faith of Christ and the Church, howsoever he hath lived, shall be saved.

Item, that prayers and pilgrimages are nothing worth, and abaile not to purchase heaben.

John Falkes was accused to be a very heretike, because he did affirme that it was a foolish thing to offer to the image of our Lady, saying, her head shall be hoar or I offer to her, what is it but a block? If it could speake to me, I would give it an halfe peny worth of ale.

Item, that when the Priest carrieth to the sick the body of Christ, why carrieth he not also the blood of Christ?

Item, that he did eat Cow milke upon the first Sunday of Lent.

Item, that as concerning the Sacrament of penance and absolution, no priest hath power to asloyle any man from his sins, when as he cannot make one haire of his head.

Item, that the image of our Lady was but a stone or a blocke.

Richard Wlmin was accused that he was a very heretike, because he did say and maintain that it was better to part with money to the poore, than to give tithes to Priests, or to offer to the images of our Lady; and that it were better

Rich. Wlmin



to offer to Images made by God, than to the Images of God painted.

Item, that he had the Lords Prayer and the salutation of the Angell and the Creed in English, and another Book did he see and had, which contained the Epistles and Gospels in English, and according to them would he live, and thereby believed to be saved.

Item, that no Priest speaketh better in the Pulpit then that booke.

Item, that the sacrament of the altar is but bread and that the Priests make it to blinde the people.

Item, that a Priest whiles he is at masse, is a Priest: and after one masse done, till the beginning of another Masse, he is no more then a lay man, and hath no more power then a mere lay man.

After they were enforced to recant, they were assailed and put to penance.

In the year of our Lord 1488. the third of Aprill, Margery Coyt, wife of James Coyt of Asburn, was brought before the foresaid John Bishop of Coventrie and Leichfield, who was there accused that he said, that that which the priests lift over their heads at Masse, was not the true and very body of Christ: for if it were so, the Priests could not break it so lightly into foure parts, and swallow it as they doe: for the Lords body hath flesh and bones, so hath not that which the Priests receive.

Item, that priests buying rakes for a halfe peny, and shewing them to the people and saying, that of every of them they make the body of Christ, do nothing but deceive the people and enrich themselves.

Item, seeing God in the beginning did create and make man, how can it be that man should be able to make God?

This woman also was constrained to recant, and so was the assailed and did penance.

Thus much I thought god here to insert, touching these foresaid men of Coventry, especially for this purpose, because our cavilling adberfaries be wont to object against us the newnesse of Christs old and ancient religion. To the intent therefore they may see this doctrine, not to be so new as they report, I with they would consider both the time and articles here objected against these foresaid persons, as is above premised.

Here endeth the sixth Book, and the first Tome.

I should also in the same raigne of King Henry the 7. have induced that story of Iohannes Picus Earle of Mirandula, the mention of whose name partly is touched before. This Picus Earle of Mirandula, being but a young man, was so excellently witte, and so singularly learned in all sciences and in all tongues, both Latine, Graeke and Hebrew, Chaldee, and Araby, that coming to Rome broted and spurred, he set up 90 conclusions, to dispute in the same with any in all Christendome, whosoever would come against him. Of which conclusions divers were touching the matter of the sacrament, &c. And when none was found in all Rome, nor in Europe, that openly would dispute with him, publicly and in corners certaine of the Popes Clergy, Prelates, Lawyers and friers, by the Pope appointed, consulted together to enquire upon his conclusions, whereupon they did articulate against him for suspicion of heresie. And thus the unlearned clergy of Rome publicly circumbented and entangled this learned Earle in their snares of heresie, against whom they durst never openly dispute. He died being of the age of 32 yeeres, of such wit and towardnesse, as is hard to say, whether ever I sayd up a better. In his sicknesse Charles the eight, then French King, moved with the fame of his learning, came to visite him. The furniture of his bookes cost him 7000 florens. A little before his death his minde was to give all away, and to take a coule, to go about and preach, but the Lord would not permit him. His story requireth a long tractation, which if place doe serve, we will not peradventure forget. With two Popes, that is, with Pope Innocent, and Alexander the sixth he had much veration.

The names of the Archbishops of Canterbury in this sixth booke contained.

62	John Stratford.	8
63	John Kempe.	3
64	Thomas Bouchier.	33
65	Iohn Morton.	14
66	Thomas Langton.	
67	Henry Dene.	2
	Guliel. Warham.	28

This Thomas Langton was elected Archbishop, but died before he was confirmed.

## A brieve note of Ecclesiasticall Lawes

ordained by ancient Kings in this Realme

As much as it is, and hath bene a perswasion long gendred in the heads of many, that the Bishops of Rome be the universall heads of the whole Christian Church of Christ in earth, and have alwayes so continued from the beginning of the primitive time: and that no Prince, King nor Emperour in his owne Realme hath any interest to intermeddle with matters and lawes Ecclesiasticall. but only the said Bishops of Rome: to refell and remove that opinion out of the heads of all Englishmen, as a thing most false, and contrary both to histories of time, and examples of ancient Kings and Governours of this Realme, I thought to fill up a little end of paper here left, with some such brieve rehearfall of Lawes devised and appointed by Kings and Rulers of this Land, for the ordering of the Church, and causes Ecclesiasticall, to the intent that all the world may see that the governement of Christs Church here in earth under Christ hath not depended only of the Pope from ancient time, but hath bene rather directed by such Kings and Princes as God here had placed under him to governe the people of this Realme of England, as followeth here in this present Table to be noted,

## 50 A brieve recapitulation of ancient Ecclesiasticall Lawes, by sundry Kings of this Realme ordained, for government of the Church, before the Conquest.

### Ecclesiasticall Lawes of King Inas, or Ina.

- 1 First, King Inas who reigned in this Land the 7. yeere of our Lord, DCCC. commanded the Ministers should frame their conversation of life according to the forme in Lawes prescribed.
- 2 That infants should be baptized within 30 dayes.
- 3 Item, that no man Lay or Spiritual, free or bond, should labour on the Sunday.
- 4 Item, he established immunity of Churches, and Sanctuary. Also he took order for the true payment of the Church duties, and of the first fruits of all that was sowne to be paid at the day of S. Martin.

### Ecclesiasticall Lawes of King Alured, or Alfred.

- 1 King Alured, after he had obtained divers judiciall punishments for violating the holy precepts of God commanded by Moses, he also confirmed and enlarged the priviledge of Sanctuary; he laid double paine upon such as committed offences in the solemnities of certaine feasts; Also against them that committed sacriledge.



- { KING } 2 He made a Law against Priests committing  
{ HEN. 7.5 } murder.  
3 Also he made a Law against whozedom, adulter-  
ry and fornication.  
4 He appointed dayes of fasting and ceasing from  
labour.  
5 Item, he set order for making and keeping bowes.

Ecclesiasticall Lawes of King Edward the  
elder and Gythrum the Dane King.

- King Edwards  
Lawes. 1 First, they agreed upon the Sanctuary: they for-  
bad Gentilisme and Paganisme: they laid pu-  
nishment upon the clergy committing theft, perjury,  
or murder, fornication, or any capitall crime.  
2 They punished Priests, that pretermitted their  
office in pronouncing feſtival, or fasting dayes.  
3 They made a Law against all labour, buying and  
selling upon the Sabbath; also for keeping of feasts.  
Item, for no execution to be done on the Sunday.  
Also against witches and forcerers, &c.

Ecclesiasticall Lawes of King Ethelstane.

- King Ethel-  
stanes Lawes. 1 King Ethelstan, who reigned the yere of our  
Lord 924. commanded that every village of  
his owne should give a monethly corrodie to a poore  
person.  
2 That 50. Psalmes should be sung daily in the  
Church, for the King, &c.  
3 He also ordained punishment for witches and  
forcerers, &c.

Ecclesiasticall lawes of King Edmund.

- King Ed-  
munds Lawes. 1 After King Ethelstane followed King Ed-  
mund about the yere of our Lord, 940. who  
established and provided lawes against the unchaste  
living of Churchmen.  
2 Item, he made lawes concerning tithes, with  
first fruits of every mans Crop, and almes money  
duely to be paid.  
3 Item, he enacted that Bishops of their own pro-  
per charges should repaire Churches, and should also  
admonish the King for the furnishing of the same.  
4 For perjury also, and for fighting within the  
Church, he set lawes and paines.

Ecclesiasticall lawes of King Edgar.

- King Edgars  
Lawes. 1 King Edgar who began his reign about the  
yere of our Lord, 959. amongst other con-  
stitutions Ecclesiasticall, ordained, that the Sunday  
should be kept holy from Saturday at none till  
Sunday in the morning.  
2 Item, he ordained and decreed concerning liber-  
ties and freedoms of the Church, for tithes also, and  
first fruits of corne, and paying of Peterpence.  
3 Item, for holy dayes and fasting dayes.  
4 Item, that assemblies or Synodes should be kept  
twice every yere, whereat as well the Bishop of the  
diocese should be present, as the civill magistrate.

When Kings  
of England  
came first un-  
der the Popes  
subjection.

And thus stood the government of this Realme of England all the time before the conquest, till Pope Hildebrand, through the setting on of the Saxons, began first to bring the Emperour (which was Henry 4.) under foote. Then followed the subduing of other Emperours, Kings, and Subjects after that; as namely here in England, when Lanfrancus, Anselmus, and Becket, went to complaine of their Kings, and Governors, then brought they the Popes judiciall authoritie first from Rome over this land, both over Kings and Subjects; which ever since hath continued, till these latter yeers. Albeit the said Kings of this Realme of England being prudent Princes, and seeing right well the ambitious presumption of those Romish Bishops, did what they could to shake off the yoke of their supremacy, as appeareth by the lawes and acts of their Parliaments, both in King Edward the thirds time, King Richard the second, and King Henry the fourth, above in their Parliament notes specified; yet for feare of other forsaigne Princes, and the blinde opinion of their Subjects, such was then the calamitie of that time, that neither they could nor durst compass that which faine they would; till at last the time of their iniquitie being compleat, through the Lords wonderfull working, their pride had a fall, as in the Volume ensuing (the Lord so granting) shall by proceſſe of Historie to be declared.

King Ethelrede, Anno 979.

King Ethelrede also, which succeeded after Edgar and Edward, appointed divers lawes for publike regement, whereof we finde but few touching matters Ecclesiasticall, for tithes, hushbands, and nothing else, and therefore we passe further to the lawes of Canutus.

10 Ecclesiasticall lawes of King Canutus.

Canutus the Dane King began to reigne in this land in the yere of our Lord, 1016. The said Canutus (as Ethelrede had done before) divided his lawes into ecclesiasticall and temporall.

- 1 That Ecclesiasticall persons being accused of fighting, murder, or any other offence, should purge themselves thereof.  
2 That Priests should be degraded for perjury, and put in furesies of god behiour.  
3 He prayeth priests, that they will live chaste, and commandeth other Religious.  
4 He limited the degrees of marriage.  
5 Item, he commanded celebration of the Sabbath from Saturday at none till Sunday morning, as Edgar had done before, forbidding markets, huntings, labors, and Court keepings during the said space.  
6 He ordained each Christian man to come to the houseell thrice yearly at the least that they search and inquire after Gods law, and his Commandements.  
7 That every Christian man understand the points of his faith, and that at the least he learn perfectly the Lords Prayer and the Creede: and that whoſo ever cannot, the same shall be excluded from the Eucharist, and shall not be received to undertake for others in Baptisme.  
8 That Bishops and Priests should doe their duties; that they cry out and warne their flocks, when the Wolfe cometh.  
9 That at the court of every shire the Bishop of the Diocese shall be present with the Sheriff, and that the one shall teach them Gods law, and the other mans law, as ye heard in K. Edgars lawes before.

Many other lawes both Ecclesiasticall and temporall besides these were enacted by these and other Kings here in England before the Conquest, but these be sufficient to give the understanding Reader to consider, how the authoritie of the Bishops of Rome, all this while, extended not so farre to prescribe lawes for government of the Church, but that Kings and Princes of the Realme, as they be now, so were then full governors here under Christ, as well in causes Ecclesiasticall as temporall, both in directing orders, instituting lawes, in calling of Synodes, and also in conferring Bishopricks and benefices, without any leave of the Romish Bishops. Thus Doo, Dunstane, Oswold, Ethelwold, Adelmus, and Lanfrancus, although they set their palles afterward from Rome, yet were they made Bishops and Archbishops by Kings onely, not by Popes.



The proude Primacie of Popes, painted out in Tables, in { KING }  
HEN. 7 }  
order of their rising up by little and little, from faithfull Bishops  
and Martyrs, to become Lords and Governours over Kings and  
Kingdomes, exalting themselves in the Temple of God, above  
all that is called god, &c. 2 THESSAL. 2.



The martyrdom of good Bishops under wicked Emperours in the Primitive Church.

**I**n the Table of the Primitive Church above described, hath been (gentle Reader) set forth and exhibited before thine eyes the grievous afflictions and sorrowfull torments, which through Gods secret sufferance fell upon the true Saints and Members of Christs Church in that time, especially upon the good Bishops, Ministers and Teachers of the flock of whom some were scourged, some beheaded, some crucified, some burned, some had their eyes put out, some one way, some another, miserably consumed: which daies of woefull calamitie continued (as is foreshewed) nere the space of CCC. yeers. During which time the deare Spouse and Elect Church of God, being sharpe assaulted on every side, had small rest, no joy, no outward safety in this present world, but in much bitterness of heart, in continuall teares and mourning under the Crosse passed over their daies, being spoiled, imprisoned, contemned, rebeld, famished, tormented and martyred every where, who neither durst well tarry at home for feare and dce, and much lesse durst come abroad for the enemies, but onely by night, when they assembled as they might, sometime to sing Psalmes and Hymnes together. In all which their dreadfull dangers, and sorrowfull afflictions, notwithstanding the goodnesse of the Lord left them not desolate; but the more their outward tribulations did increase, the more their inward consolations did abound; and the farther off they seemed from the

joies of this life, the more present was the Lord with them with grace and fortitude to confirme and reioyce their soules. And though their possessions and riches in this world were lost and spoiled, yet were they enriched with heavenly gifts and treasures from above an hundred fold. Then was true Religion truly felt in heart. Then was Christianitie not in outward appearance shewed, but in inward affection received, and the true image of the Church <sup>10</sup> not in outward shew pretended, but in her perfect state effectuall. Then was the name and feare of God true in heart, not in lips alone dwelling. Faith then was fervent, zeale ardent, prayer not swimming in the lips, but groined out to God from the bottome of the spirit. Then was no pride in the Church, no leisure to seeke riches, no time to keep them. Contention for trifles was then so far from Christians, that well were they when they could meete to pray together against the divell, author of all dissention. <sup>20</sup> Briefly, the whole Church of Christ Jesus, with all the members thereof, the farther it was from the type and shape of this world, the nearer it was to the blessed respect of Gods favour and supportation.

The true riches of the Church described.

The first rising of the bishops of Rome.

**A**fter this long time of trouble it pleased the Lord at length mercifully to looke upon the Saints and servants of his Son, to release their captivity, to release their misery, and to binde up the old Dragon

The first rising of the Bishops of Rome.



{ KING } Dragon the Devil, which so long bered them. wher-  
{ HEN. 7. } by the Church began to aspire to some more liberty:  
and the Bishops which before were as abjects, inter-  
ly contemned of Emperours, through the providence  
of God (which disposeth all things in his time after  
his own will) began now of Emperours to be esteem-  
ed and had in price. Furthermore, as Emperours  
grew more in devotion, so the Bishops more and  
more were exalted, not onely in favour, but also pre-  
ferred unto honour, inasmuch that in short space they  
became not quarter masters, but rather half Empe-  
rours with Emperours.

After this in proesse of time, as riches and world-  
ly wealth crept into the Church, and that the Devil  
had poured his venom into the Church (as the  
voice was heard the same time over a cull in mo-  
ple) so true humilitie began to decay and peace to let  
in his fow, till at last they played as the Kite with  
the Lamb, which first beginning with a ver-  
ly green locke, embraced him to long, till at length it  
overgroweth him, and so sucketh all his moisture  
from him, setting his foot in his bay, till at last  
it both killeth the flock, and killeth the lamb, and  
so cometh to be a nest for Snakes and all unclean



The spirituall  
riches of the  
Church turned  
to worldly  
riches.  
Ex lib. Seria.  
Discipuli.  
Look Tyndall  
in his booke of  
the practise of  
Bishops.

birds. Not untruly therefore it was said of Augu-  
stine, Religio peperit divitias, & filia devoravit matrem,  
that is, Religion begat riches, and the daughter hath  
devoured the mother. The verity whereof notori-  
ously may appear above all other in the Church of  
Rome, and the Bishops of the same. For after that  
the Church of Rome, through favour of Emperours  
was endued with lands, donations, possessions and pa-  
trimonies, so that the Bishops thereof feeling the  
smack of wealth, ease and prosperity, began to swell  
in pompe and pride; the more they flourished in this  
world, the more Gods holy spirit forsook them, till at  
last the said Bishops, who at the first were poor,  
creeping low upon the ground, and were persecuted  
a long time, every man treading upon them in this  
world, now of persecuted people, began to be perse-  
cutors of others, and to tread upon the necks even of  
Emperours, and to bring the heads of Kings and prin-  
ces under their girdle. And not onely that, but fur-  
thermore through pride and riches, they were so far  
gone from all religion, that in the very end they be-  
came the great adversary of God (whom we call  
Antichrist) prophesied of so long before by the spirit  
of God to come, sitting in the Temple of God, &c. Di-  
whom thus we read in the Epistle of Paul, 2 Thess. 2.  
where he saith, We beseech you brethren, by the com-  
ing of our Lord Iesus Christ, and by our fellowship to-  
gether in him, that ye be not suddenly moved in your  
minde, nor troubled, neither by spirit, nor by word

nor letter, as it were from us, as though the day of  
Christ were at hand. Let no man in any wise deceive  
you, for that day shall not come except there come  
a departing first, and that man of sin be revealed,  
even the son of perdition, that adversary which ex-  
alteth himself above all that is called God, or that  
is worshipped, so that he shall sit in the Temple  
of God, as God, and set forth himself as he were  
God, &c.

By which words of Saint Paul, we have divers  
things to understand: First, that the day of the  
Lords coming was not then neer at hand. Se-  
condly, the Apostle giving us a token before, to  
know when that day shall approach, biddeth us look  
for an adversary first to be revealed. Thirdly, to  
shew what adversary this shall be, he expresseth him  
not to be as a common adversary, such as were then  
in his time. For although Herod, Annas, and Capi-  
phas, the high Priests and Pharises, Tertullus,  
Alexander the Coppersmith, Clymas and Simon  
Magus, and Nero the Emperour, in Pauls time  
were great adversaries: yet here he meaneth  
another besides these, greater than all the rest, not  
such a one as should be like to Priest, King or  
Emperour, but such as far exceeding the state of all  
Kings, Priests and Emperours, should be the Prince  
of Priests, should make Kings to stoop, and should  
tread upon the neck of Emperours, and make them  
to kisse his feet. Whereover, where the Apostle saith,  
that

A declaration  
of the Pauls  
words.

The great ad-  
versary called  
Antichrist, de-  
scribed by St.  
Paul, 2 Thess. 2.

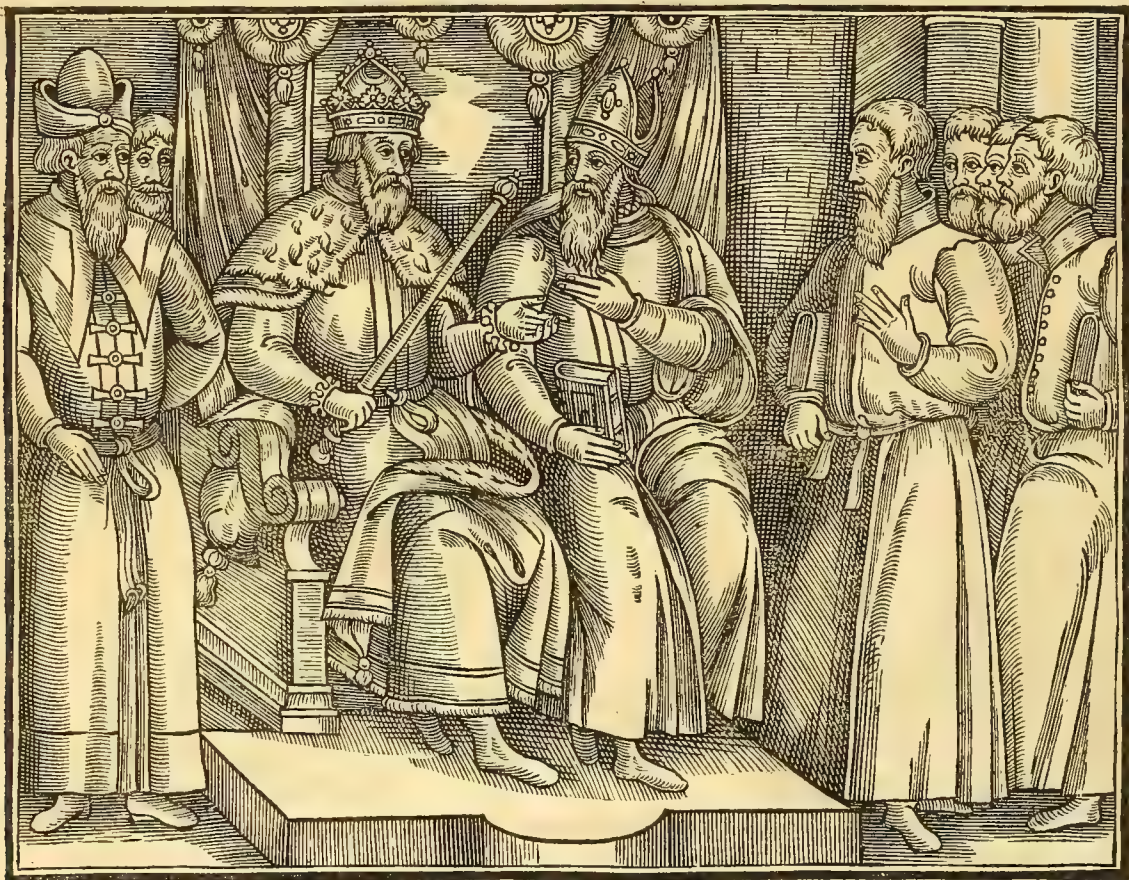


that he shall sit in the Temple of God, thereby is meant, not the personall sitting of the Pope in the city onely of Rome, but the authority and jurisdiction of his See exalted in the whole universal Church, equall with God himself. For let men give to the Pope that which he in his laws, decrees, and in his pontificall requireth, and what difference is there between God and the Pope? If God set laws and ordinances, so doth he. If God have his creatures, so hath he. If God require obedience, so doth he. If the breach of Gods Commandments are punished, much more be his. God hath his Religion, the

Pope also hath his, yea for Gods one Religion, he hath an hundred. God hath set up an Advocate, he hath an hundred. God hath instituted but a few holy days; for Gods one, he hath instituted xl. And if the holy day that God hath appointed be simplex, the feast that the Pope appointeth, is duplex & triplex. Christ is the head of the Church; so is the Pope. Christ giveth influence to his body; so doth the Pope. Christ forgiveth sin; the Pope doth no lesse. Christ expelleth evil spirits by his power; so pretendeth the Pope by his holy water. Furthermore, where Christ went bare-foot upon the bare ground, he with

{ KING }  
{ HEN. 7. }

The Pope  
matching him-  
self even with  
God.



his golden shoes is carried on mens shoulders. And where Christ was called Sanctus Sanctorum; he is called Sanctorum Sanctissimus. Christ never practised but onely the spirituall sword; he claimeth both spirituall and temporall. Christ bought the Church; he both buyeth and selleth the Church. And if it be necessary to beleve Christ to be the Saviour of the world; so it is necessary to beleve the Pope to be the head of the Church. Christ paid tribute unto Caesar; he maketh Caesar pay tribute unto him. Finally, the crown of Christ was of sharp thorn; the Pope hath three crowns of gold upon his head, so far exceeding Christ the Son of God in glory of this world, as Christ exceedeth him in the glory of heaven. The image and patern of whose intolerable pride and exaltation, according as Saint Paul doth describe him in his Epistle aforesaid, we have here set forth, not onely in these Tables to be seen, and by his own facts to be noted, but also in his own words and Registers, Clementines, Extrabagants, and Pontificals expressed, as in order (the Lord willing) shall follow.

The exaltation of Popes above Kings  
and Emperors, out of histories.

First, after that Italy and the city of Rome were

the seat of the Empire was removed to Constantino-  
ple, then began Joannes Patriarch of Constantino-  
ple to put forth himself, and would needs be called  
Universal Bishop of the world; but the Bishop  
of Rome in no case would suffer that, and stopped  
it. After this came the Emperors deputy, and ex-  
arch of Ravenna to rule Italy; but the Bishop of  
Rome through aid of the King of Lombards, soon  
quailed him.

The Emperors  
lieutenant of  
Ravenna sub-  
dued by the  
Lombards and  
Roman bishops

Not long after, about the year of our Lord, 500.  
came Phocas the murderer, who slew the Empe-  
ror of Constantinople his master Mauritius and  
his children. By which Phocas the Bishops of old  
Rome aspired first to their prebeminence, to be  
counted the head Bishops over the whole Church,  
and so together with the Lombards began to rule the  
city of Rome. Afterwards when the Lombards  
would not yeld unto him, in accomplishing his am-  
bitious desire, but would needs require of the Bishop  
the said city of Rome; he stirred up Pipinus, but first  
deposed Childericus the king of France, & so thrust  
him into an Abbey, set up in his place Pipinus  
and his son Carolus Magnus to put down the said  
King of Lombards called Aistulphus. And so he  
translated the Empire from Constantinople into  
France, dividing the spoil between him and them;  
so that the Kings of France had all the possessions  
and

Boniface the  
third obtained  
of Phocas to  
be called Uni-  
versall Bishop.  
Pope Zachary  
putteth down  
Childericus  
the French  
king and set-  
ted Pipinus  
in his place.  
Pipinus and  
Carolus Ma-  
gnus set up by  
Pope Zachary.

John Patri-  
arch of Con-  
stantinople sub-  
dued by the Bi-  
shop of Rome.



SKING  
HEN. 7.

How the Bishops of Rome came first to be the head of the Church.

Donation of Constantine, a thing false and forged.

Pope Gregory 7. practiseth with the Germans to reduce the Empire to Germany, An. 1002.

Otho first German Emperor.

Emperors brought to kill the Popes first. Henricus 4. accused, waited at the Popes gate 3. dayes.

Modulphus, and at last his own son set up to fight against him. Reade before. Pope Alexander 3. ready upon the neck of Frederick the Emperor. Pope Celestine crowneth Henricus 5. Emperor with his sword, and with his foot spurneth the crown from his head again.

Donatus 3. Gregory 9. Innocent 4. against Frederick 2. Emperor.

and lands which before belonged to the Empire, and he to receive of them the quiet possession of the city of Rome, with such donations and lordships, which now they challenge unto them under the name of St. Peters patrimony, which they falsly ascribe to that donation of Constantine the great.

It followeth then in proceſſe of time, after the dayes of Pipinus, Carolus and Ludovicus (who had indued these Bishops of Rome, called now Popes, with large possessions) when the Kings of France were not so appliable to their beck, to aid and maintain them against the Princes of Italy, who began then to pinch the said Bishops for their wrongfull usurped goods, they practised with the Germans to reduce the Empire to Otho first of that name, duke of Spain, referring the election thereof to 7. princes Electors of Germany, which was about An. 1002. notwithstanding, reserving still in his hands the negative voice, thinking thereby to enjoy that they had, in quietnes and security, and so did for a good space.

At length, when some of these German Emperors also after Otho began a little to spurn against the said Bishops and Popes of Rome, some of them they accused, some they subdued and brought to the killing of their feet, some they deposed, and placed other in their possessions.

So was Henric. 4. by these Bishops accused, the Emperor himself forced with his wife and child to wait attendance upon the Popes pleasure 3. dayes and 3. nights in winter, at the gates of Canollus. Reade before. Besides al this, the said P. raised up Modulphus to be Emperor against him; who being slain in war, then the said Pope Gregory 7. not resting thus, stirred up his own son Henricus 5. to fight against his own natural father, and to depose him, which Henricus 5. was also himself afterward accused and excommunicated, and the Saxons at last set up by the Bishops to fight against him.

After this, the Emperors began to be somewhat calmed, and more quiet, suffering the Bishops to reign as they listed, till Frederick the 1. called Barbarossa, came and began to stir coals against them. Howbeit they hampered both him, and his son Henry in such sort, that they brought first the neck of Frederick, in the Church of Venice, under their feet to tread upon; and after the said Bishops, crowning Henricus his son in the Church of St. Peter, set his crown on his head with their feet, and with their feet spurned it off again, to make him know that the Popes of Rome had power both to crown Emperors, and depose them again. Whereof reade before.

Then followed Philipppus brother to Henry aforesaid, whom also the Popes accused, about the year of our Lord, 1198. and set up Otho duke of Saxony. But when the said Otho began to be so lazie, to dispossess the Bishops of their cities and lands which they had encroched into their hands, they could not bear that, but incontinent they put him besides the cushion. The like also fell upon Otho the 4. that followed after Philip, who was suffered no longer than 4. years to reign, about the year of our Lord, 1209.

At this time Frederick 2. the son of Frederick Barbarossa above mentioned, was but young, whom the Bishops of Rome supposing to finde more modest and tamed to their hand, advanced to be Emperor after his father. But that fell out much contrary to their expectation. For he perceiving the inmoderate pomp and pride of the Roman Bishops, which he could in no case abide, so nettled them and cut their combs, and wared so stout against them, intending to extirp their tyranny, and to reduce their pompous riches to the state and condition of the Primitive Church again, putting some of them to flight, and imprisoning some of their Cardinals, that of 3. Popes, one after another, he was accused, circumvented by treason, at last deposed, and after that poisoned, and at last forsaken and dyed.

After this Frederick followed his son Conradus,

whom the aforesaid bishops for his disobedience soon dispatched, erecting against him in mostall war the Countess of Thuring, whereby he was at length driven into his kingdom of Naples, and there beheaded.

This Conradus had a son called Conradinus, duke and prince of Suebia. When this Conradinus, after the decease of his father came to enjoy his kingdom of Naples, the said Bishops stirred up against him Charles the French kings brother, in such sort, that though cravie condescendance, both Conradinus which defended of the blood of so many Emperors, and also Frederick duke of Austria, were both taken, and after much wretched handling in their miserable endurance, unseeming to their state, at length were both brought under the Arc by the Popes procurement, & so both beheaded. And thus ended the Imperial stock of Frederick the 1. surnamed Barbarossa.

The like as hapned to Frederick the Emperor, had almost also fallen upon Philip the French king, by Pope Boniface the 8. who, because he could not have his commodities and revenues out of France after his will, sent out his Bulls and letters patents to displace King Philip aforesaid, and to possesse Albertus king of Romans in his room.

And thus hitherto in forein toyes.

Now touching our country Princes here in England, to speak somewhat likewise of them: did not Pope Alexander the 3. presumptuously taking upon him where he had nothing to do, to intermeddle with the kings subjects, for the death of Becket the rebell, albeit the king sufficiently cleared himself thereof, yet notwithstanding, did he not wrongfully bring the said King Henry 2. to such penance as it pleased him to inflict, and also violently constrained him to swear obedience to the See of Rome: The like also was shewed before in this story to happen to King John his son. For when the said King like a valiant Prince had held out the tyranny of those Bishops seven years together, were not all the Churches in England barred up, and his inheritance with all his dominions given away by Pope Innocent the third, to Ludobicus the French king, and he afterward compelled to submit both himself, and to make his whole realme feodary to the Bishops of Rome, and moreover the king himself driven also to surrender his crown to Pandulphus the Popes Legate, and so continued as a private person five dayes, standing at the Popes court, whether to receive it again at his hands or no: And when the Nobles of the realm rose afterward against the king for the same, was not he then faine to seek and sue to the said Pope for succour, as by his own Letter, taken out of the publike Rolles, may appear:

### King Johns supplication to Pope

Innocent the third.

Reverendis. Domino suo & Patri sanctis. Innocentio Dei gratia. Ioan. ea tem gratia R. Anglix. &c. Cum Comites & Barones Anglix nobis devoti essent, antequam nos & nostram terram Dominio vestro subiacere curassemus, ex tunc in nos specialiter hoc, sicut publice dicunt, violenter insurgunt. Nos vero preter Deum vos specialem dominum & patronum habentes, defensionem nostram & totius Regni, quod vestrum esse credimus, vestre paternitati committimus, & nos quantum in nobis est, curam & sollicitudinem istam vestra resignamus dominationi, devotius supplicantes quatenus in negotiis nostris, quae vestra sunt, consilium & auxilium efficacem apponatis, prout melius videritis expedire, latores presentium, &c. Teste meipso apud Dour. 18. Septem. 6.

Ex Roulo p. cent. De an Regni Reg. Ioannis 8.

King Johns supplication to Pope Innocent. 3.

And yet all this notwithstanding that the said King John did so yield to the Pope, he was both pursued by his Nobles, and also in the end was poisoned by a subject of the Popes own religion, a Monk of Swinfield; as I have sufficiently to prove, not only by William Cartton above in my story alleaged,

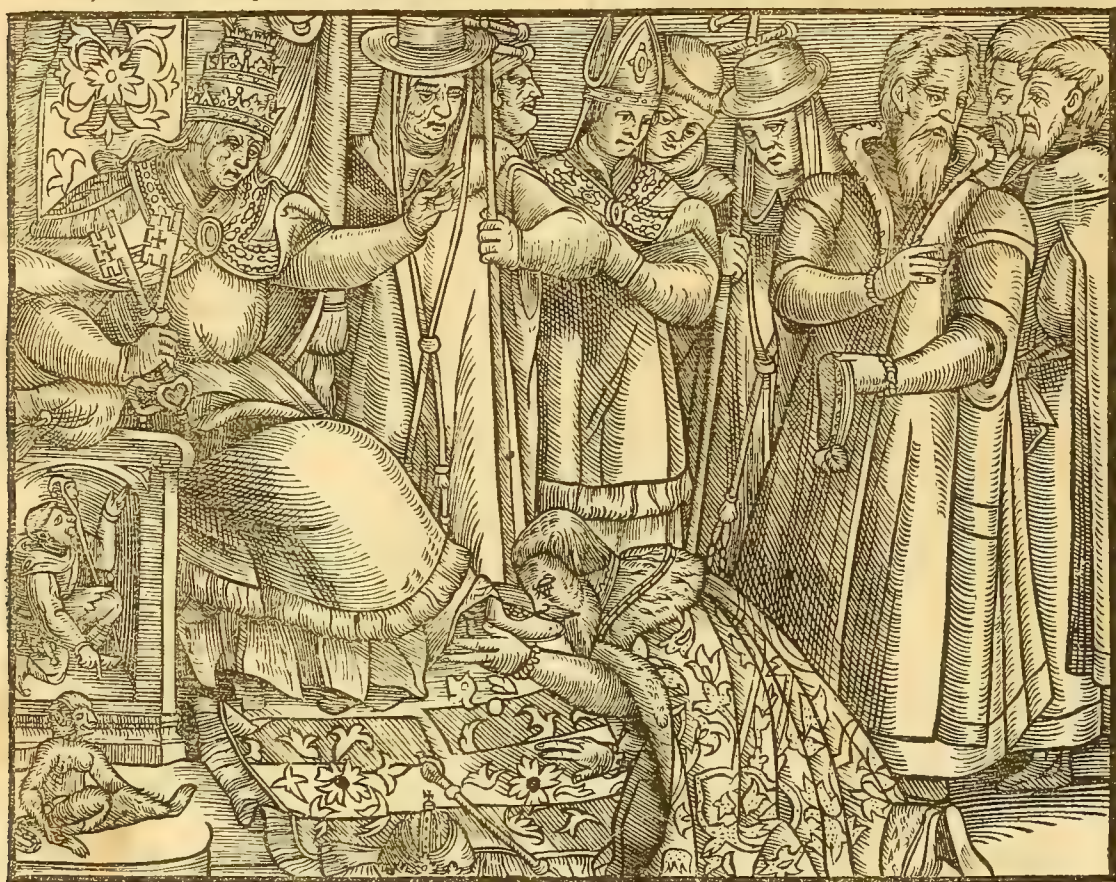
William Cartton.



part. 3. 2. but also have testimony of the most part of Chronicles for the same (a few onely excepted) as of Thomas Gray in his French Chronicle; also of another French Chronicle in meter; of Ranulphus Cestrensis; Thomas Rudburn also doth witness the same; so doth Richard Rede in novo Chronico ad tempora Henr. 6. The like also doth the Chronicle called Euloxium Donachi Cant. The words of Walter Gilborn an ancient Historiographer, be plain. No lesse is to be found in Ioan. Major. de gestis Scotorum, Libr. 4. cap. 3. fol. 56. where he not only maketh mention of the Monk and of the popson but also

of the Abbat, of his absolution, and of the 3. Monks every day singing for the said Monks soul. To the I could also annex divers other writers both English and Latine, without name, which witness that King John was poisoned; one beginning thus, Here beginneth a book in the English tongue, called Brute, &c. another beginneth, Because this book is made to tell what time any thing notable, &c. The third in English beginneth, The reign of Britain that now is called England, &c. Of Latine books which have no name, one beginneth thus, Britannia, quæ & Anglia dicitur, à Bruto nomen est sortita, &c. another hath

KING  
HEN. 7.  
Writers in  
English and  
Latine without  
name.



this beginning, Adam pater generis humani, &c. Besides this King Henry the second, and King John his son, what Kings have here reigned in England since their time, untill the reign of King Henry the eighth; who although they were prudent princes, and did what they could in providing against the proud domination of these bishops, yet were forced at length to yield against their wills, for fear, to subject themselves, together with their subjects under their usurped authority, in so much as some of them (as Matth. Paris. writeth by King Henry the third) were faine to stop and kisse their Legats knee.

The Image of Antichrist, exalting himself in the Temple of God, above all that is named God, out of his own Decrees, Decretals, Extravagants, Pontificals, &c. word for word, as it is out of the said Books here alleged and quoted.

I. For as much as it standeth upon necessity of salvation, for every humane creature to be subject unto me the Pope of Rome, it shall be there fore requisite and necessary for all men that will be saved, to learn and know the dignity of my Sex and excellencie of my domination, as here is set forth according to the truth and very words of mine own laws, in stile as followeth. 2. First my institution began in the old Testament, and was con-

summate and finished in the new, in that my Priesthood was prefigured by Aaron; And other Bishops under me were prefigured by the sons of Aaron, that were under him. 3. Neither is it to be thought that my Church of Rome hath been preferred by any generall Councell, but obtained the primacie onely by the voice of the Gospel, and the mouth of the Saviour. 4. And hath in it neither spot nor wrinkle, nor any such like thing. 5. Wherefore as other seats be all inferior to me, and as they cannot absolve me; so have they no power to binde me or to stand against me, no more than the are hath power to stand or presume above him that belongeth with it, or the Saw to presume above him that ruleth it. 6. This is the holy and apostolick mother Church of all other Churches of Christ. 7. From whose rules it is not meet that any person or persons should decline; but like as the Son of God came to do the will of his father, so must you do the will of your mother the Church, the head whereof is the Church of Rome. 8. And if any other person or persons shall erre from the said Church, either let them be annulled, or else their names taken, to be known who they be that swerve from the customes of Rome. 9. Thus then so far as the holy Church of Rome whereof I am Governour, is set up to the whole world for a glasse or example, reason would what thing

Pope Pelagius, Dist. 21. cap. Quamvis.

Pelagius, ibi. Pope Nicolaus Dist. 21. cap. Inferior.

Pope Lucius 24. q. 1. cap. 2. Rescripta 7. Pope Calixtus Dist. 12. cap. Non de- cot.

P. Innocentius. 11. cap. Quis.

Pope Stephan. Dist. 19. cap. Renuero.

King Henry the third kissing the knee of the popes Legate.

D. Paulo, Theol. 2.

Pope Bonifacius 8 Extravag. Maior. & ed. c. Vnam.

Dist. 12. c. Secretis.



**KING** thing soeber the said Church determineth, or ordaineth, that to be receivd of all men for a generall and a perpetuall rule for ever. 10. Whereupon we see it now verified in this Church, that was fore-prophecied by Jeremy, saying, Behold, I have set thee up over nations and kingdoms, to pluck up and to break down, to build and to plant, &c. 11. Whoso understandeth not the prerogative of this my priesthood, let him look up to the firmament, where he may see two great lights, the Sun and the Moon, one ruling over the day, the other over the night; So in the firmament of the Univerfall

Church, 12. God hath set two great dignities, the authory of the Pope, and of the Emperour. 13. The which two, this our dignitie is so much more excellent, as we have the greater charge to give account to God for kings of the earth and the laws of men. 14. Wherefore be it known to you Emperours, which know it also right well, that you depend upon the judgement of us, we must not be bought and reduced to your will. 15. For as I said, look what difference there is betwixt the Sun and the Moon, so great is the power of the Pope ruling over the day, that is, over the spiritual, above Empe-



roues and Kings, ruling over the night, that is, over the lay. 15. Now seeing then the Earth is seven times bigger than the Moon, and the Sun eight times greater than the Earth; it followeth that the Popes dignitie fifty six times doth surmount the estate of the Emperours. 16. Upon consideration whereof, I say therefore and pronounce, that Constantine the Emperour did naught in setting the Patriarch of Constantinople at his feet on his left hand. 17. And although the said Emperour wrote to me, alleaging the words of Saint Peter, commanding us to submit our selves to every humane creature, as to Kings, Dukes, and other for the cause of God, &c. 1 Pet. 2. yet in answering again in my Decretall, I expounded the munde and the words of Saint Peter to pertain to his subjects, and not his successors, willing the said Emperour to consider the person of the speaker, and to whom it was spoken. For if the minde of Peter had been there to debate the order of Priesthood, and to make us underlings to every humane creature, then every Jack might have dominion over Prelates; which maketh against the example of Christ, setting up the order of Priesthood to bear dominion over kings according to the saying of Jeremy, Behold I have set thee up over kings and nations, &c. 18. And as I feared not then to write this boldly unto Constantine, so now I say to all other Emperours, that they receiving of me their Approbation, Election, Consecration, and Crown Imperiall, must not dis-

dain to submit their heads under me, and swear unto me their allegiance. 19. For so you read in the Decree of Pope John, how that Princes heretofore have been wont to bow and submit their heads unto Bishops, and not to proceed in judgment against the heads of Bishops. 20. If this reverence and submission was wont to be given to Bishops, how much more ought they to submit their heads to me being superiour, not onely to Kings, but Emperours; and that for two causes: first, for my title of succession, that I Pope of Rome have to the Empire, the room standing vacant; also for the fullness of power that Christ the King of kings, and Lord of lords, hath given to me, though unworthy, in the person of Peter. 21. By reason whereof, having my power is not of man, but of God, who by his celestall providences hath set me over his whole Univerfall Church, master and governour, it belongeth therefore to my office, to look upon every mortall sin of every Christian man: 22. Whereby all criminall offences, as well of Kings as all other be subject to my censure, 23. in such sort, that in all manner of pleading, if any manner of person at any time, either before the sentence given, or after shall appeal to me, it shall be lawfull for him so to do. 24. Neither must Kings and Princes think it much to submit themselves to my judgement; for so did Valentinianus the worthy Emperour, so did Theodosius, and also Carolus. 25. Thus you see all must be judged by me, and I of no man. Pea and

15. Glossa. Ibidem.

16. Ibidem.

17. Innocentius. Ibidem.

18. Pope Clement 5. Clement de jurjurando. e Roman.

19. Pope Johannes 21. 6. c. 1. Nuncquid

20. Pope Clement 1. Clement de Senect. & de c. jud. palatium.

21. Pope Innocent 3. De judic. cap. Novit.

22. Ibidem.

23. Pope Marcel. 1. c. 1. q. 6. c. ad Romanam.

24. Innocent. Novit.

25. Bonifacius 8. c. 1. q. 6. c. Si Papa.



though I Pope of Rome, by my negligence or evil demeanour, be found unprofitable, or hurtfull, either to my selfe or others: yea if I should draw with me innumerable soules by heapes to hell, yet may no mortall man be so hardy, so bold, or so presumptuous to reprove me, 26. or to say to me, Domine cur ita facis, that is, Sir, why doe you so? 27. For although you reade that Balaam was rebuked of his Ass, by the which Ass our subjects, by Balaam we prelates are signified; yet that ought to be no example to our subjects to rebuke us. 28. And though we reade in the Scripture, that Peter,

who received power of the Kingdome, and being chief of the Apostles might by vertue of his office controll all other, was content to come and give answer before his inferiours, objecting to him his going to the Gentiles; yet other inferiours must not learne by this example to be checkmate with their prelates, because that Peter so toke it at their hands, shewing thereby rather a dispensation of humilitie, then the power of his office; by the which power he might have said to them againe in this wise, It becometh not thee, nor belongeth to their office to accuse their shepherd, 29. For

{ KING }  
{ HEN. 7. }

26. Glossa Extr.  
de sede vacante.  
Ad Apostolatus.  
27. Pope Leo,  
caus. 2. q. 7. c.  
Nos.

28. Greg. 2. q. 7.  
c. Petrus.

29. Pope Nic-  
laus, Dist. c. 21.  
In cantum.



who was Dioscorus Patriarch of Alexandria condemned and excommunicated at Chalcedon: not for any cause of his faith, but onely for that he durst stand against Pope Leo, and durst excommunicate the Bishop of Rome: for who is he that hath authoritie to accuse the seate of Saint Peter? 30. Albeit I am not ignorant what Saint Jerome writeth, that Paul would not have reprehended Peter, unlesse he had thought himselfe equall unto him. 31. Yet Jerome must thus be expounded by my interpretation, that this equalitie betwixt Peter and Paul consisteth not in like office of dignitie, but in purenesse of conversation. 32. For who gave Paul his licence to preach but Peter, and that by the authoritie of God, saying, Separate to me Paul and Barnabas, &c. 33. Wherefore be it known to all men, that my Church of Rome is Prince and head of all nations, 34. the mother of the faith, 35. the foundation cardinal, whereupon all Churches do depend as the doore both depend by the hinges. 36. the first of all other seats, without all spot or blemish, 37. Lady, mistresse and instructor of all Churches, 38. a glasse and a spectacle unto all men, to be followed in all whatsoever he obserbeth, 39. Which was never found yet to slide or decline from the path of Apostolike tradition, or to be intangled with any newnesse of heresie, 40. Against which Church of Rome whosoever speaketh any evil, is forthwith an heretike, 41. yea, a very Pagan, a witch, and an Idolater or Infidell, 42. having fulnesse of power

only in her own hands in ruling, 43. deciding, absolving, condemning, casting out, or receiving in, 44. Albeit I deny not but other Churches be partakers with her in labouring and carrying. 45. To the which Church of Rome it is lawfull to appeale for remedy, from all other Churches. Although it was otherwise concluded in the generall councill of Millevitane, that no man should appeale over the Sea under paine of excommunication, yet my glosse cometh in here with an exception. Nisi forte Romanam sedem appellaverint, i. Except the appeale be to the sea of Rome, &c. 46. By the authoritie of which Church of Rome all Synods and decrees of counsels stand confirmed. 47. And hath alwayes full authoritie in her hands to make new lawes and decrements; And to alter statutes, priviledges, rights or documents of Churches; to separate things joyned, and to joine things separated upon right consideration, either in whole or in part, either personally or generally. 48. Of the which Church of Rome I am head as a King is over his Judges, 49. the Vicar of S. Peter, 50. yea, not the Vicar of Peter properly, but the vicar of Christ properly, and successor of Peter, 51. Vicar of Jesus Christ, 52. Head of the universall Church, director of the whole universall flock, 53. Chief magistrate of the whole world, 54. Cephas, i. caput, the head and chief of the Apostolike Church, 55. Universall Pope & diocesan in all places exempt, as well as every Bishop in places not exempt, 56. most mighty Priest, 57. Lex

Glossa  
Gratiani.  
Nisi.

46. Pope Gelast.  
25. q. 1. c. Confidimus.  
47. P. Virbanus,  
25. q. 1. c. Sum.  
P. Pelagius, 25.  
q. 2. c. posteaquā.  
48. Bulla Donat-  
ionis, dist. 96. c.  
Constant.  
49. P. Paschalis,  
dist. 63. c. Ego.  
50. P. Clement,  
5. Clement, c.  
Romanus Glossa.  
51. P. Bonif. 8.  
Sext. Decret. c.  
ubi.  
52. Ibidem.  
53. Pope Bonif.  
prohem.  
Sext. Decret. l.  
Sacrosancta.  
54. Anacletus, d.  
2. c. Sacrosancta.  
55. P. Bonif. 4.  
Sext. Decret. de  
punit. & remiss.  
5. Glossa.  
Item Alexand. 4.  
Sext. decret. c.  
4. in Glossa.  
56. P. Hilarius,  
25. q. 1. Nullus.  
57. Sext. Decret.  
cap. Ab arbitrio.  
Glossa.  
apimata

30. Ier. caus. 2. q.  
7. c. Paulus.  
31. Glossa Gra-  
tiani, ibidem.  
32. Glossa in dist.  
21. cap. Q. 1. s.  
33. Caus. 2. q. 7.  
cap. Beat.  
34. P. Nicolaus,  
dist. 22. Omnes.  
35. P. Anaclet,  
Dist. 22. c. Sa-  
crofanta.  
36. P. Pelagius,  
Dist. 21. c. Am-  
vis.  
37. P. Nicolaus,  
dist. 21. c. Deni-  
que.  
38. P. Steph. Di-  
29. Enimvero.  
39. Pope Lucius,  
24. q. 1. A rect.  
40. P. Nicolaus,  
Dist. 22. Omnes.  
41. P. Gregor.  
dist. 81. c. Si quis.  
42. P. Leo, caus.  
2. q. 6. c. Multum.  
43. Dist. 20. De-  
cretales.  
44. Pope Julius,  
caus. 2. q. 6. q. 1.  
45. Caus. 2. q. 6.  
Anglia. Item. c.  
Ad Romanam.  
Caus. 2. q. 6. c.  
Placuit.





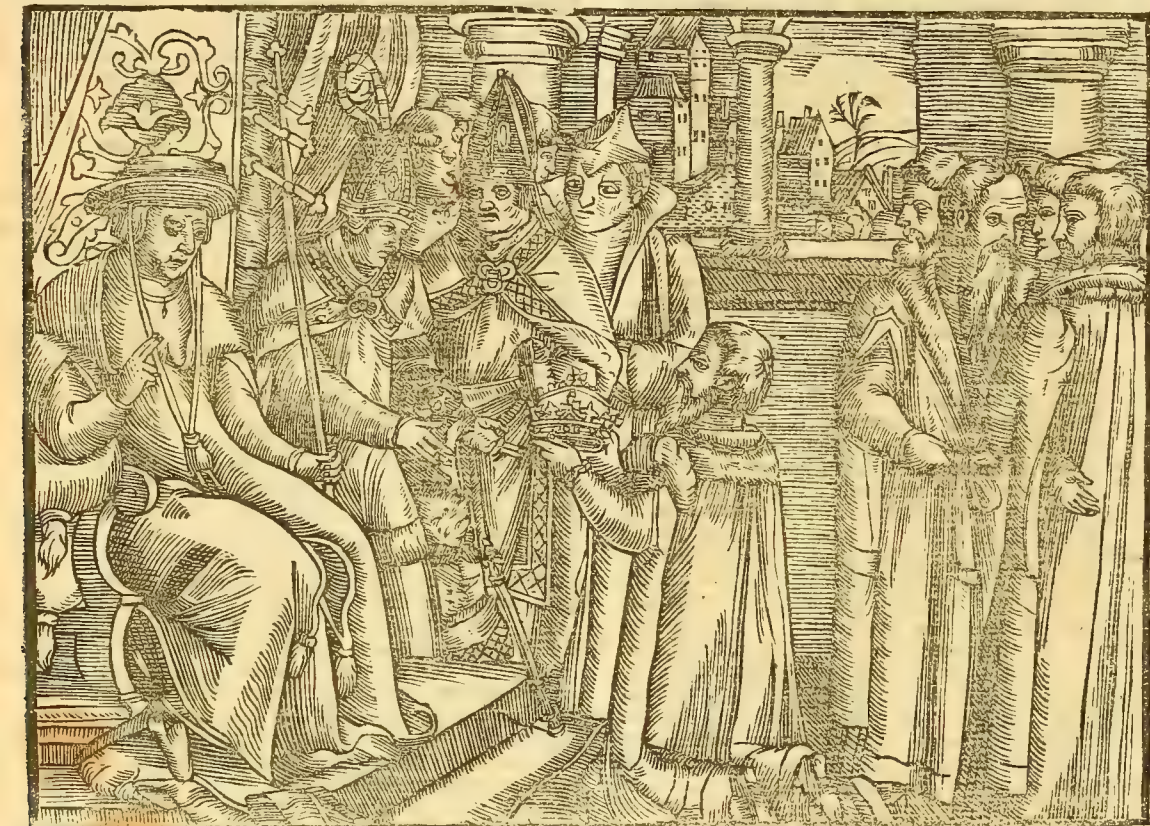


doubtfull, ought to be referred and stand to my determination, 104. By me the works of all writers, whatsoever they be, either be reprobod or allowed: 105. Then how much more ought my writings and decrees to be preferred before all other: 106. Inso much that my letters and epistles decrees be equalent with generall counells: 107. And whereas God hath ordained all causes of men to be judged by men, he hath only referred me, that is, the Pope of Rome, without all question of men, unto his owne judgement: 108. And therefore where all other creatures be under their Judge, only I, which in earth

am the judge of all, can be judged of none, either of Emperors, nor the whole Clergy, nor of Kings, nor of the people. 109. For who hath power to judge upon his Judge. 110. This Judge am I, and that alone, without any other resistance of any counsell joyned to me. For I have power upon counells; counells have no power upon me. But if the counsell determine amisse, it is in my authority alone to infringe it, or to condemne whom I lust without any counsell, 111. And all for the preheminance of my predecessors blessed S. Peter, which by the voyce of the Lord he received, and ever shall retaine. 112. Furthermore,

**KING**  
HEN. 7.  
109. Ibidem.  
110. Pope Gelasius, 9. q. 3. cap. Cuncta.

111. Ibidem.  
112. Anastasius. Patriarch, D. q. 3. cap. Antiquis.



and whereas all other sentences and judgements both of counells, pates or persons, may and ought to be examined, 113. For that they may be corrupted foure waies, by feare, by gifts, by hatred, by favour, only my sentence and judgement must stand, 114. As given out of heaben by the mouth of Peter himself, which no man must, 115. break, nor retract, 116. No man must dispute or doubt of, 117. Yea, if my judgement, statute, or yoke seeme scarcely tollerable, yet for remembrance of S. Peter it must be humbly obeyed, 118. Yea and moreover obedience is to be given, not only to such decrees set forth by me in time of my Popedom, but also to such as I do foresee and commit to writing before I be Pope, 119. And although it be thought by some writers, to be given to all men to erre, and to be deceived, 120. Yet neither am I a pure man, 121. And againe, the sentence of my Apostolike seate is alwaies conceived with such moderation, is concoct and digested with such patience and ripeness, and delibered out with such gravitie of deliberation, that nothing is thought in it necessary to be altered or detracted, 122. Wherefore it is manifest, and testified by the voyce of holy Bishops, that the dignity of this my seate is to be revered through the whole world, in that all the faithful submit themselves to it as to the head of the whole body, 123. Whereof it is spoken to me by the Prophet, speaking of the Ark; If this be humbled, whither shall you runne for succour, and where shall your glory become? Seeing then this is so, that so

50 help Bishops and Scriptures do witness with me, what shall we say then to such as will take upon them to judge of my doings, to reprehend my proceedings, or to require homage and tribute of me to whom all other are subject? 124. Against the first sort the Scripture speaketh, Deut. Thou oughtest not to put the sithe into another mans come. Which thing to attempt against me, what is it but plaine sacrilege? 125. According to my canonists, which thus define sacrilege to consist in three things, either when a man judgeth of his Princes judgement, or when the holy day is prophaned; or when reverence is not given to lawes and canons, 126. Against the second sort maketh the place of the Book of Kings, where we read the Ark of God was brought from Gaba to Jerusalem, and in the way the Ark inclining by reason of the unruly Dren, Dias the Levite put to his hand to help, and therefore was stricken of the Lord. By this Ark is signified the prelates; by the inclination thereof, the fall of prelates, 127. which also be signified by the Angels that Jacob did see going up and coming down the Ladder: 128. Also by the Prophet where he saith, He bowed down the Heavens and came down, &c. By Dias, and by the unruly Dren are meant our subjects, 129. When like as Dias was stricken for putting his hand to the Ark inclining, no more must subjects rebuke their prelates going awry, 130. Albeit, here may be answered againe, that all be not prelates which so be called; for it is not the name that maketh a bishop, but his life, 131. Against the

124. Pope Greg. 6. p. 3. Scriptura est.

125. Caus. 17. q. 4. Sacrileg. Glossa.

126. 2. q. 7. cap. Plurimque Glossa Graeciani. Item.

127. Ibidem.

128. Ibidem.

129. Ibidem.

130. Ibidem.

131. Pope Urbanus 23. q. 4. Tributum.

Ibidem.



SKING  
HEN. 7.

the third sort of such as would bring us under the tribute and exactions of secular men, maketh the new Testament, where Peter was bid to give the great in the fishes mouth, but not the head nor the body of the fish: So more is the head or body of the Church subdied to kings, but only that which is in the mouth, that is, the externe things of the Church. And yet not they neither, 12. For so we read in the Book of Gen. that Pharaoh in time of dearth subdied all the land of the Egyptians, but yet he ministered to the Priests, so that he took neither their possessions from them, nor their liberty. If then prelates of the Church

must be neither indged, nor reprehended, nor exalted, how in such more might I to be free from the same? which am the bishop of both prelates of prelates, 14. For it is no to be then that I escape without me and other prelates, but I am God and other Churches, be like, 15. Altho' such the Catholike and Apostolike Church make one, the chamber of Christ yet the Catholike and Apostolike Church of Rome had the preeminence over all other by the mouth of the Lord himselfe, as to Peter, I have given thee the keys, &c. Thus a distinction and difference must be had in the Church and

123. Ibidem.  
2. Jamus.

10



237. Pope Anastasius. Dist. 22. In novo.  
138. Pope Bonifacius & Greg. Dist. 89. Ad hoc.

139. Ibidem.

140. Dist. 89. c. Singula.

141. Ex citati-  
one Bul. decre.  
5. fer. 3.

143. De officio  
Archiepiscoporum, in  
Glossa.

143.

144. Ex 3. parte  
Summarum  
h. Antonian.  
145. Pope In-  
nocent. 3. De  
sacra unctio-  
ne. c. 1. ven. sec.

was betwixt Aaron and his children; 137. Betwixt the 72. Disciples and the 12. Apostles; betwixt the other Apostles and Peter: 138. Wherefore it is to be concluded, that there must be an order and difference of degrees in the Church betwixt powers, superiour and inferior; without which order the universality of the whole cannot consist, 139. For as amongst the Angelicall creatures above in Heaven there is set a difference and inequality of powers and orders, some be angels, some archangels, some cherubins, and seraphins, 140. So in the ecclesiasticall Hierarchy of the Church militant in the earth, priests must not be equal with Bishops, Bishops must not be like in order with Archbishops, with patriarches or primates, 141. Who containe under them three Archbishops, as a King containeth three Dukes under him. In the which number of patriarches cometh in the state also of 142. Cardinals as principes, so called, because as the dove turneth by his hinges, so the universall Church ought to be ruled by them, 143. The next and highest order above these is mine, which am Pope, differing in power and majesty, and honour reverentiall, from these and all other degrees of men, 144. For the better declaration whereof, my canonists make three kinds of power in earth; Immediata, which is mine immediately from God; Derivata, which belongeth to other inferiour prelates from me, 145.

Ministralis, belonging to Emperours and Princes to minister for me. For the which cause the announcing of Princes, as in consecration doth differ; for they are announced onely in the armes or shoulders, and I in the head, to signify the difference of power betwixt Princes and me, 146. This order therefore of Priests, Bishops, Archbishops, Patriarches and other, as a thing most convenient, my Church of Rome hath set and institute through all Churches, following therein, not onely the example of the Angelicall army in Heaven, but also of the Apostles, 147. For amongst them also there was not an unmeasured equality or institution of one degree, 148. but a diversitie or distinction of authority and power. Albeit they were all Apostles together, yet it was granted notwithstanding to Peter themselves also agreeing to the same) that he should have dominion and superiority over all the other Apostles, 149. And therefore he had his name given him, phas, that is, head or beginning of the Apostleship, 150. Whereupon the order of Priesthood first in the new Testament began in Peter, to whom it was said, Thou art Peter, and upon thee I will build my Church, 151. And I will give thee the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven. And thou being conversed confirme thy brethren, 152. I have promised for thee that thy faith shall not fail. Wherefore having such power is given to Peter, 153. and to me in Peter,

being

146. P. N. de  
Dist. 22. c. 1.

147. P. Clement  
Dist. 22. c. 1.  
148. P. Anselm  
Dist. 22. c. 1.

149. Ibidem.  
150. Dist. 22. c. 1.  
151. Ibidem.  
152. Dist. 22. c. 1.  
153. Ibidem.  
154. Leo  
Dist. 22. c. 1.



P. Nicolaus  
antum, dist.

P. Clemens  
Bulla Vicen-  
in scrinis  
vilegiarum.

S. Dist. 21. c.  
cretis.

7. Pope Ana-  
stasius, dist. 22.  
acrofanto.  
Scripture well  
open and  
a Clerk.

8. Pope Da-  
vid, dist. 25. q. c.  
onia.  
in Pope Greg.  
dist. 19. Null.  
9. P. Nicolaus  
dist. 22. c.  
nner.  
10. Ibidem.  
11. Ibidem.

12. Dist. 20.  
cretales.

13. Ibidem.

14. Ibidem.

15. Dist. 19. Si  
monarum.

16. Gabriel  
lib. 4. Dist.

17. Petrus de  
ludae.

18. Dist. 95. c.  
operator.

19. Gabriel. l.  
Dist. 19.

20. P. Nicolaus  
dist. cap. Si  
monarum in  
loffa.

21. Item 24. q.  
Hac est.

22. Dist. 40. c.  
Papa.

23. 2 q. 7. Nos  
in Glossa.

being his successor, 154. Who is he then in all the world that ought not to be subject to my decrees which have such power in heaven, in hell, in earth, with the quick and also the dead? 155. commanding and granting in my bull of lead sent to Vienna, unto all such as died in their peregrination to Rome, that the paine of hell should not touch them: And also that all such as took the holy crosse upon them should every one at his request not only be delivered himself, but also deliver three or foure soules whomsoever he would, out of purgatory: 156. Again, having such promise and assurance that my faith shall not faile, who then will not beleeve my doctrine? For did not Christ himself first pray for Peter that his faith should not faile? 157. Also have I not a sure promise of Pauls own mouth, writing to my Church by these words: God is my witnesse whom I serve in my spirit, in the Gospel of his Son, that without ceasing I make mention of you alwayes in my prayers? Rom. 1. 158. Wherefore as I condemne all such worthily which will not obey my decrees, to be dispossessed of all their honour without restitution, 159. So all they that beleeve not my doctrine, or stand against the privilege of the Church, especially the Church of Rome, I pronounce them hereticks: 160. And as the other before is to be called unjust, so this man is to be called an heretike: 161. For why, he goeth against the faith which goeth against her who is the mother of faith: 162. But here may rise pertrale a doubt or scruple, that if my faith and knowledge stand so sure by the promise of Christ, and by the continuall prayer of S. Paul: whether is it true, or is it to be granted that any other should excell me in knowledge, or interpretation of holy Scripture: 163. For looke whose knowledge is grounded on most reason, his words should seeme to be of more authority, 164. Whereunto I answer and grant, that many there be and have been more abundantly indued with fuller grace of the holy Ghost and greater excellency of knowledge: and therefore that the tractations of Augustine, Jerome and others ought to be preferred before the constitutions of divers Popes; yet I say in determination of causes, because they have not the vertue and height of that authority which is given to me, therefore in expounding of Scriptures they are to be preferred, but in deciding of matters they stand inferior to my authority. By vertue of which authority, 165. both they themselves be allowed for Doctors, and their wordes approved, and also all other matters be ruled, though the power of the Keyes which is given to me immediately of Christ. Although I deny not but the same Keyes be also committed to other prelats, as they were to other Apostles besides Peter, 166. yet it is one thing to have the Keyes, another thing to have the use of the Keyes, 167. Wherefore here is to be noted a distinction of Keyes, after the minde of my scholl doctors; one Key which is called Clavis ordinis, having authority to binde and loose, but not over the persons whom they binde and loose, and this authority they take not immediately of Christ, but mediately by me the Vicar of Christ. The other Key is called Clavis jurisdictionis, which I the Vicar of Christ take immediately of him, having not only authority to binde and loose, but also dominion over them on whom this Key is exercised. By the jurisdiction of which Key the fulnesse of my power is so great, that whereas all other are subjects, 168. yea and Emperors themselves ought to subdue their erections to me: Only I am subject to no creature, 169. no not to myselfe, except I list, in foro poenitentiae, to my ghostly father submitting my selfe as a sinner, but not as Pope. So that my papall majesty ever remaineth unpunished; Superior to all men, 170. Whom all persons ought to obey, 171. and follow, 172. Whom no man must judge nor accuse of any crime, either of murder, adultery, simony, or such like, 173. No man depose,

but I my self, 174. No man can excommunicate me, yea though I communicate with the excommunicate, for no Canon binde me. Whom no man must lie to, 175. For he that lieth to me is a Church robber, 176. And who obeyeth not me is an heretick, and an excommunicate person, 177. For like as all the Jews were commanded to obey the high Priest of the Leviticall order, of what state or condition soever they were; so are all Christian men more and lesse bound to obey me Christs lieutenant in earth. Concerning the obedience or disobedience of whom ye have in Dent. 17. 178. Where the common Glossa saith, that he who denieth to the high Priest Obedientiam, lepth under the sentence of condemnation, as much as he that denieth to God his Omnipotentiam. Thus then it appeareth, that the greatnesse of my Priesthood, 179. begun in Melchisedech, was solemnized in Aaron, continued in the children of Aaron, perfectionated in Christ, represented in Peter, exalted in the Universal jurisdiction, and manifested in Silvester, &c. So that through this Preheminence of my Priesthood, having all things subject to me, 180. it may seem well verified in me that was spoken of Christ, Mat. 8. Omnia subjecisti sub pedibus ejus, oves & boves, & universa pecora campi. Volucres coeli & pisces maris, &c. i. Whom hast subdued all things under his feet, sheep and oxen, and all cattell of the field, the birds of heaven, and fish of the sea, &c. 181. Where it is to be noted, that by oxen, Jews and Hereticks; by cattell of the field, Pagans be signified. For although as yet they be out of the use of my Keys of binding and loosing, yet they be not out of the jurisdiction of my Keys, but if they return I may absolve them, 182. By sheep and all cattell, are meant all Christians men both great and lesse, whether they be Emperors, Princes, Prelates or other. By birds of the air you may understand the angels and possesors of heaven, who be all subject to me, in that I am greater than the Angels; and that in four things, as is afore declared; and have power to binde and loose in heaven, 183. and to give heaven to them that fight in my wars, 184. Lastly, by the fishes of the sea, are signified the soules departed in pain or in Purgatory, as Gregory by his prayer delivered the soul of Arasanus out of hell, and I have power to deliver out of Purgatory whom I please, 185. Lastly, by the fishes of the sea are signified such as be in Purgatory; insonmuch that they stand in need and necessity of other mens help, and yet be in their journey Viatores, & de foro Papae, i. passengers and belonging to the court of the Pope; therefore they may be released out of the storehouse of the Church, by the participation of Indulgence. And forasmuch as some do object that my pardons cannot extend to them that be departed, for that it was said to Peter, Whatsoever thou shalt loose upon earth; and therefore seeing they are not upon earth, they cannot be loosed of me: Here I answer again by my Doctors, that this word Super terram, &c. i. upon the earth, may be referred two manner of wayes: first to him that is the looser, so that he which shall loose shall be upon the earth; and so I grant that the Pope being dead, can loose no man. Also it may be referred to him that is loosed, so that whosoever is loosed must be upon the earth, or about the earth; And so the soules in Purgatory may be loosed, which albeit they are not upon the earth, yet they are about the earth, at least they be not in heaven. And because oftentimes one question may rise upon another, and the heads of men now adapes are curious, a man hearing now that I can deliver out of Purgatory, will ask here a question, Whether I be able also to empty all Purgatory at once, or not. To whom my Canonist August. de Ancho. doth answer by a triple distinction: Quantum ad absolutam meam jurisdictionem, quantum ad ordinatam executionem, quantum ad divinam acceptationem. First, touching my

SKING  
HEN. 7.  
174. Extravag. de  
elect. Innotuit.  
175. De poeniten-  
tia, dist. 1. c. Ser-  
pens in Glossa.  
176. Dist. 19. cap.  
Nulli.  
177. August. de  
Ancho.

178. Glossa Or-  
dinar.

179. Antoninus.

180. Antoninus,  
Summa majoris  
3. part. Dist. 22.

181. Ibidem.

182. Ibidem.

183. 23 q. 5. cap.  
Omnium.

184. Idem Anto-  
ninus, ibid.

185. Ibidem.

Antoninus.  
August. de Ancho  
Th. Part. 4.

August. de Ancho.  
An papa possit  
totum purgato-  
rium exsolare.  
Ibidem.



SKING  
HEN. 7.  
Absolute juris-  
dictio.  
Doctors agree  
in purgatory.  
August de An-  
cho. Antonius

Ordinata exe-  
cutio.  
Divina accepta-  
tio.

my absolute jurisdiction, he saith, I am able to rid out all purgatory together, for as many as be under my jurisdiction, as all be, except only infants unbaptised, In Limbo, and men departed only, Cum baptismo flaminis, that is, with the baptisme of the spirit, and such as have no friends to do for them that wherefore pardons be given; these only excepted. For all other besides, the Pope (he saith) hath power to release all purgatory at once, as touching his absolute jurisdiction. Albeit Thomas Aquinas part. 4. dengeth the same, forasmuch as Christ himself (he saith) when he came down, did not utterly at once

release all purgatory. As touching my excommunication they hold, that I may if I will but I cannot not to do it. Chirolo, as concerning the divine interpretation, that is, how God will accept it if I do it, that (they say) is unknown unto them, and to every creature, real and to the Pope himself.

And to the intent I would all men to see and understand that I lack not witnesses more before them, if I list to bring them out, you shall heare the whole quire of my divine clerical brought out, with a loud voice testifying in my behalf in their backs, testations, distinctions, titles, Glosses, and Summaries,



as by their own words here followeth. The Pope (say they) being the Vicar of Jesus Christ throughout the whole world, in the stead of the living God, hath that dominion and Lordship which Christ here in earth would not have, although he had it in habitu, but gave it to Peter in actu, that is, the universall jurisdiction both of spirituall things, and also of temporall, which double jurisdiction was signified by the two swords in the Gospell, and also by the offering of the wise men, who offered not only incense, but also gold, to signify not only the spirituall dominion, but also the temporall to belong to Christ and to his Vicar. For as we read, The earth is the Lords and the fulcrum thereof; as Christ saith, All power is given to him both in heaven and earth: So it is to be affirmed inclusive, that the vicar of Christ hath power on things celestiall, terrestriall, and infernall. Which he took immediately of Christ; all other take it immediately by Peter and the Pope. Wherefore such as say that the Pope hath dominion only on spirituall things in the world, and not of temporall, may be likened to the Counsellors of the Kings of Syria, 3 Reg. 20. which said, That the gods of the mountaynes be their gods, and therefore they have overcome us; but let us fight against them in the low meddowes, and in ballies where they have no power, and so we shall prevaile over them. So evill counsellors now adates, though their pestiferous flattery, deceive Kings and Princes of the earth; saying, Popes and Prelats be gods of mountaynes, that is,

of spirituall things only, but they be not gods of ballies, that is, they have no dominion over temporall things, and therefore let us fight with them in the ballies, that is, in the power of the temporall possessions, and so we shall prevaile over them. But what saith the sentence of God to them, let us heare. Because (saith he) the Syrians say that the god of mountaynes is their god, and not the god of ballies, therefore I will give all this multitude into your hand, and ye shall know that I am the Lord. What can be more effectually spoken to set forth the maiesty of my jurisdiction, which I received immediately of the Lord; of the Lord, I say, and of no man? For whereas Constantine the Emperour gave to Silvester, enduing him with this possession and patrimony; that is so to be expounded and taken not so much for a donation, as to be counted for a restitution made of that which tyrannously was taken from him before. And againe, whereas I have given at sundry times to Ludobicus and other Emperours, of my temporall lands and possessions, yet that was done not so much for any recognising of homage to them, as for keeping peace with them. For I owe to Emperours no due obedience that they can claime; but they owe to me as to their superior. And therefore for a diversity betwixt their degree and mine, in their consecration they take the unction on their arme, I on the head. And as I am superior to them, so am I superior to all lawes and free from all constitutions. Which am able of my self, and by my interpretation



to preferre equity not being written before the law written: having all lawes within the chest of my breast, as is aforesaid. And whatsoever this my se shall enact, approve or disprove, all men ought to approve or reprove the same, without either judging, disputing, doubting or retracting. Such is the priviledge given of Christ, in the behalf of Peter, to the Church of Rome, 186. that what countrey soever, Kingdome or province, chusing to themselves bishops and ministers, although they agree with all other Christs faithfull people in the name of Jesus, that is in faith and charitie, believing in the same God, and in Christ

His true Son, and in the holy Ghost, having also the same Creed; the same Evangelists and Scriptures of the Apostles: yet notwithstanding unless their bishops and ministers take their origine and ordination from this Apostolike seate, they are to be counted not of the Church. So that succession of faith only is not sufficient to make a Church, except the ministers take their ordination by them which have their succession from the Apostles. So their faith, supremacy, the chaire of Peter, Heies of Heaven, power to bind and loose, all these be inseparable to the Church of Rome: so that it is to be presumed, that

{ KING }  
{ HEN. 7. }



God alwayes providing, and Saint Peter helping the bishopricke and diocese of Rome, it shall never fall from the faith. And likewise it is to be presumed and presupposed that the Bishop of that Church is alwayes good and holy. Yea, and though he be not alwayes good, or be destitute of his own merits, yet the merits of Saint Peter, predecessor of that place, be sufficient for him, who hath bequeathed and left a perpetuall dowrie of merits, with inheritance of innocency, to his posterity, 187. yea, though he fall into homicide or adultery, he may sinne, but yet he cannot be accused, but rather excused by the murders of Sampson, the thefts of the Hebrewes, the adultery of Jacob, 188. And likewise, if any of his clergie should be found embracing a woman, it must be expounded and presupposed that he doth it to blesse her. Furthermore, the Pope (say they) hath all the dignities, and all power of all patriarchs. In his primacy, he is Abel. In government, the Ark of Noah: In patriakdome, Abraham; In order, Melchisedech; In dignitie, Aaron; In authoritie, Moses: In state iudiciall, Samuel; In zeale, Helias; In mocknesse, David; In power, Peter; In union, Christ. (Say, thou art Antichrist) By power (they say) is greater then all the Saints. For whom I confirme, no man may infirme: I may favour and spare whom I please, 189. to take from one and to give to another. And if I be enemy to any

man, all men ought to eschew that person forthwith, and not tarry and look while I bid them so to do. All the earth is my diocese, and I the Ordinary of all men, having the authority of the King of all Kings upon Subjects. I am all in all, and above all, 190. Is that God himself and I the vicar of God have both one Consistory, 191. and I am able to doe almost all that God can doe, Clave non errante, 192. Item, it is said of me, that I have an heavenly arbitrement, and therefore am able to change the nature of things, Substantialia unus applicando alteri, and of nothing to make things to be; and of a sentence that is nothing to make it stand in effect: In all things that I list, my will to stand for reason. For I am able by the law to dispense above the law, and of wrong to make justice, in correcting lawes and changing them. You have heard hitherto sufficiently out of my doctors. Now you shall heare greater things out of mine own decrees, 193. Heade there Dist. 96. Satis, 194. Also 12. Caus. 11. q. 1. cap. Sacerdotibus, 195. Also 12. q. 1. cap. Futuram. Do you not finde there expessed, how Constantinus the Emperour, sitting in the generall councill of Nice, called us prelates of the Church, all gods: 196. Again, read my canon Decretal. De transi. Episc. cap. Quanto. Doe you not see there manifestly expessed, how not man, but God alone separateth that which the Bishop of Rome doth dissolve and separate? Wherefore if those things

190. Notiens in c. Quanto de transi. preb.  
191. Ex summo canonis fratris Baptiste.  
192. Ex Canon. one Henr. Bulding. de fine Seculi. Oras Prima.

Item, ex simonice Isachi Andree. adversus Hostium. lib. 5. Item, ex cunctis one Ier. Marii in editio. 2. Divi. 193. P. Nicalaus Dist. 96. c. Satis. 194. 11. q. 11. Sacerdotibus. 195. 12. q. 1. futuram. 196. Decretal. De Transi. episc. cap. Quanto.

Hugo, in sa dist. 40. c. Not.

Gloss. in 12. q. 3. Abbs.

Gloss. in c. q. 3. Si iniuria.



Thus ye may see it verified, that S. Paul prophesied of the adversary sitting in the temple as God, and boasting himself above all that is named God, &c. 2 Thel. 2. 197. P. Nicolaus Causa 15. q. 6. c. 1. Auctoritatem.

things that I do be said to be done not of man, but of God: What can you make me but God? Again, if prelates of the Church be called and counted of Constantinus for gods, I then being above all prelates seem by this reason to be above all gods. Wherefore no marvell, if it be in my power to change time and times, to alter and abrogate lawes, to dispense with all things, yea with the precepts of Christ. For where Christ biddeth Peter put up his sword, monished his disciples not to use any outward force in rebenging themselves, 197. Do not I D. Nicolaus, writing to the Bishops of France, exhort them to

draw out their materall swords in pursuing their enemies, and recovering their possessions, setting against the precept of Christ, the precept of Constantinus. Dissolve collationes in sacris. Item where Christ was present himself at the marriage in Cana Galilea, 198. do not I Pope Martinus in my bull of dispensation inhibit the spirituall clergy to be present at marriage feasts and also to marry themselves? Item, where matrimony by Christ cannot be broken but only for whoredome, do not I Pope Innocentius, writing a bull to the Bishop of Paris, permit the same to be broken for impotency or infirmity of body. Item,



201. Pope Alexander. 3. De de-  
clinatione, c. Ex parte  
202. P. Nicolaus  
15. q. 6. Auctori-  
tatem  
203. De elec- &  
electi. potestate.  
Significasti in  
Glossa.  
204. Baptista de  
Salia, in Summa  
casuum ex Pa-  
normitano.  
205. Pope Inno-  
centius 2. Caus. 23.  
4. De elec. Ve-  
nerabilem.  
206. Ext. De In-  
rejurando cap.  
Venientes.  
Item Dist. de  
Electi. Signifi-  
canti in Glossa.  
207. P. Martinus  
5. Extra. c. Regi-  
mini Universali  
Ecclesia.  
208. Pope Viba-  
nus 2. Caus. 23.  
9. 3. c. Excom-  
municatorum.  
209. P. Nicolaus  
caus. 15. q. 6.  
Auctoritatem.  
210. Ibidem.  
211. Dist. 82. 1.  
Presbyter.

against the expresse cation of the Gospell, doth not Innocentius the fourth permit vim vi repellere? 201. Likewise against the old Testament I doe dispense in not giving tithes, 202. Item, against the new Testament in swearing and that in these five causes, 203. Pax, fama, fides, reverentia, cautio damni, Defectus veri, possunt sibi magna caveri. Wherein two kinds of othes are to be noted. 204. Item, in vows, and that extoto voto, where as other prelates cannot dispense ex toto a voto, I can deliver ex toto a voto, like God himself, 205. Item, in perjury if I absolbe, my absolution standeth, 206. Where also note, that in all swearing always the authority of the superior is excepted, 207. For where, where Christ biddeth to lend without hope of gaine, do not I Pope Martinus give dispensation for the same? and notwithstanding the counsell of Thuron enacted the contrary, yet with two Bulls I disannul- led that decreement, 208. What should I speak of murder, making it no murder nor homicide to slay them that be excommunicate, 209. Likewise against the law of nature, 210. Item, against the Apostle, 211. Also against the Canons of the Apostles I can and doe dispense. For where they in their Canon command a Priest for fornication to be deposed, I through the authority of Silvester do alter the rigour of that constitution, 212. considering the minds and

bodies also of men now to be weaker then they were then, 213. Briefly, against the universall state of the Church I have dispensation, scilicet quando status ecclesie non decoloratur. And for marriage in the second degree of consanguinitie and affinity, in col- lateralibus equalilinea, that is, between the brethrens children, although not in equalilinea, so that the uncle may not marry his nece, unless for an urgent and weighty cause. As for all such contracts betwixt party and party, where that matrimony is not yet consum- mat by carnall copulation, it is but a small matter for me to dispense withall. In summa, if ye list briefly to heare the whole number of all such cases as pro- perly do appertain to my papall dispensation, which come to the number of one and fifty points, that no man may meddle withall but only I myself alone, I will rectifie them first in Latine, then in English, as they be set forth in my canonicallyl doctors. 70 Casus Papales 51. apud Fratrem Astesa- num five de Ast. Doctorem Blemmum in summa confessionis. Item apud Hostiensem, De offic. legat. reperti & his veribus comprehenti.

Sit Catholicus, Papam non iudicat ullus. Erigit & subdit Cathedras; Dividit, Vnit, i. votum terra sanctorum. i. degradatos. i. episcopos & alios.

212. P. Pelagius  
213. P. Pelagius  
214. P. Pelagius  
215. P. Pelagius  
216. P. Pelagius  
217. P. Pelagius  
218. P. Pelagius  
219. P. Pelagius  
220. P. Pelagius  
221. P. Pelagius  
222. P. Pelagius  
223. P. Pelagius  
224. P. Pelagius  
225. P. Pelagius  
226. P. Pelagius  
227. P. Pelagius  
228. P. Pelagius  
229. P. Pelagius  
230. P. Pelagius  
231. P. Pelagius  
232. P. Pelagius  
233. P. Pelagius  
234. P. Pelagius  
235. P. Pelagius  
236. P. Pelagius  
237. P. Pelagius  
238. P. Pelagius  
239. P. Pelagius  
240. P. Pelagius  
241. P. Pelagius  
242. P. Pelagius  
243. P. Pelagius  
244. P. Pelagius  
245. P. Pelagius  
246. P. Pelagius  
247. P. Pelagius  
248. P. Pelagius  
249. P. Pelagius  
250. P. Pelagius  
251. P. Pelagius  
252. P. Pelagius  
253. P. Pelagius  
254. P. Pelagius  
255. P. Pelagius  
256. P. Pelagius  
257. P. Pelagius  
258. P. Pelagius  
259. P. Pelagius  
260. P. Pelagius  
261. P. Pelagius  
262. P. Pelagius  
263. P. Pelagius  
264. P. Pelagius  
265. P. Pelagius  
266. P. Pelagius  
267. P. Pelagius  
268. P. Pelagius  
269. P. Pelagius  
270. P. Pelagius  
271. P. Pelagius  
272. P. Pelagius  
273. P. Pelagius  
274. P. Pelagius  
275. P. Pelagius  
276. P. Pelagius  
277. P. Pelagius  
278. P. Pelagius  
279. P. Pelagius  
280. P. Pelagius  
281. P. Pelagius  
282. P. Pelagius  
283. P. Pelagius  
284. P. Pelagius  
285. P. Pelagius  
286. P. Pelagius  
287. P. Pelagius  
288. P. Pelagius  
289. P. Pelagius  
290. P. Pelagius  
291. P. Pelagius  
292. P. Pelagius  
293. P. Pelagius  
294. P. Pelagius  
295. P. Pelagius  
296. P. Pelagius  
297. P. Pelagius  
298. P. Pelagius  
299. P. Pelagius  
300. P. Pelagius



Mutat vota crucis. Restituit. Eximit. Ad se  
 Maiores causa referuntur. Legitimatque,  
 i. insufficientes. i. intrantes religionem.  
 Promovet, Appellare vetat, Prohibet profiteri.  
 i. defectum regi vacante regno  
 Deponit, transfert, suppletque, Renunciat illi,  
 symonia, iuramentum Excommunicatio à Papa facta,  
 Præsol, & exemptus. Simon, Iurans, Anathema,  
 tam Papa quam legati.  
 Vel proprium, vel legati, vel lex utriusque.  
 i. solvitur Papa.  
 Tum neque participans: Et si quem sponte salutet,  
 Quem canon damnat, sibi soli quando reservat,  
 qui irregularitatem incurrit.

Solvitur à Papa nec non quem regula damnat.  
 scilicet addas.  
 Addas suspensum, Causam, cum fertur ad ipsum.  
 i. addas. i. pluralitatem beneficiorum.  
 Rescriptum, fidei dubium: Confert bona plura.  
 Irritat infectum, Legem condit generalem.  
 i. imperatorem  
 Approbat imperium, firmat, deponit, & ungit.  
 canonizans  
 Concilium generale facit. Sacrat quoque sanctos.  
 de aliquo facit nihil denibilo aliquid.  
 Ens non esse facit: non ens, fore. Pallia semper  
 Portat, Concedit, Legi non subjacet ulli.  
 i. immediate.

{ KING }  
 { HEN. 7. }



Appellatur ad hunc medio sine, Iudiciumque  
 De monacho non monachum facit.  
 Est pro lege suum. Monachum revocat renuentem.  
 i. incestum, &c.  
 Majus adulterio solvit generaliter, Arctat  
 i. impedimentum matrimoniale.  
 Et laxat quicquid sponsis nocet. Ordinatur extra  
 i. extra tempora.  
 Tempora dando sacrum, promotum promovet idem.  
 Ordinatur atque die qua consecratur & ipse.  
 i. sacerdotium confert nondum vacans  
 Viventisque locum concedit, Iureque privat.  
 insignia Episcopalia concedit. i. decimis. i. pre-bytero concedit  
 i. infantes ungere.  
 Insignit. Laico sacro donat; Christina ministro.  
 Summa sede sedet, pleniusque vicarius exat.  
 Si sit Catholicus Papam non judicat ullus.

Cases Papale, to the number of one and fiftie,  
 wherein the Pope hath power only to dispense,  
 and none else besides, except by special  
 licence from him.

4. q. 1. Quoties.  
 Ex. de transi.  
 Inter.  
 First determination of doubts and questions be-  
 longing to faith.  
 Translation of a Bishop elect, or confirmed: Like-  
 wise of Abbats exempted.  
 Deposition of Bishops.  
 The taking of resignation of Bishops.  
 Exemptions of Bishops, not to be under Archbisp.  
 Restitution of such as be deposed from their order.  
 The judicial definition, or interpretation of his  
 own privileges.

50 Changing of Bishopricks, or dimission of convents, &c.  
 New correction of Bishops seats, or institution of  
 new religions.  
 Subjection or division of one Bishoprick under an-  
 other.  
 Dispensation for bowing to go to the holy land.  
 Dispensation for the vow of chastity, or of Religion,  
 or of holy orders.  
 Dispensation against a lawfull oath, or vow made.  
 Dispensation against divers irregularities, as in  
 crimes greater then adulterie, and in such as be  
 suspended for simonie.  
 Dispensation in receiving into orders him that had  
 two wives.  
 Dispensing with such as being within orders do  
 that which is above their order, as if a deacon  
 should say masse, being not yet Priest.  
 To receive into order such as be blemished or mai-  
 med in bodie.  
 Dispensation with murder, or with such as willingly  
 cut off any member of mans body.  
 70 Dispensation to give orders to such as have been un-  
 der the sentence of the greater curse or excommu-  
 nication.  
 Dispensation with such as being suspended with the  
 greater curse do minister in any holy order.  
 Dispensation with such as be unlawfully bozne to  
 receive orders or benefices.  
 Dispensation for pluralities of benefices.  
 Dispensation to make a man Bishop before he be  
 thirtie years old.  
 Ex. de rest.  
 ca. cum venis.  
 q. 1. temporis.  
 16. q. 1. Felix.  
 16. q. 1. Et Christ  
 Ex. de vota, &c.  
 multa.  
 Ex. de statu  
 monachi c. cum  
 ad.  
 Ex. de juramen-  
 to c. Venientes.  
 Ex. de judicio  
 c. A clericis.  
 Ex. de Biga-  
 mia. cap. nuper.  
 Ex. de clericis  
 non ord. miui-  
 strant.  
 Ex. de corpore  
 viciatis & di. 55.  
 Dist. 50. Miror.  
 Ex. de senten-  
 tia & excomm. c.  
 cum illorum.  
 ibidem.  
 Ex. de filiis  
 presby. & Is. qui.  
 Ex. de preben-  
 cap. de multa.  
 Dispen.



**KING** Dispensation to give orders under age.  
**HEN. 7.** The Pope onely hath power to make and call a generall Council.  
 Extr. de elect. cap. Cum nobis  
 Extr. de arate & qual. generalem.  
 Dist. 5. per tot.  
 9 q. 3. per principalem  
 De elect. cap. Venerabilem.  
 Extr. de officio legati c. querebatur  
 9 q. 3. Aliorum.  
 Extr. de tem. li ordine cap. Cum in distrib.  
 Extr. de usu pallii, cap. ad honorem.  
 Extr. de elect. c. Dudum.  
 Extr. de elect. cap. Venerabilem.  
 Tractatus. de censuris.  
 Extr. de elect. cap. Innotuit.  
 Extr. de religione & veneratione Sancti cap. 1.  
 Extr. de prebend. cap. de u. ult.  
 Extr. Qui si sint. cap. Tanta.  
 9 q. 3. c. Vltimo.  
 Extr. de sentent. & re iudic. cap. in causis.  
 Extr. de elect. cap. Quod sicut  
 Extr. de testif. sp. Literas.  
 Extr. de prescript. cap. uk. & de iudicio cap. Novit.  
 Thomas.  
 Extr. Qui si sint legit. a. per venerabilem. Petrus de Palude, lib. 4.  
 Secundum Thomam in 4. 7. q. 3. Per principalem.  
 Dist. 40. Si papa  
 Ibidem.  
 Dist. 32. cap. prae. ter hanc. Verum.

The Pope onely hath power to deprive an Ecclesiasticall person, and give away his Benefice being not vacant.  
 The Pope alone is able to absolve him that is excommunicate by name.  
 The Pope onely is able to absolve him whom his Legate doth excommunicate.  
 The Pope both judgeth in the causes of them that appeal unto him, and where he judgeth, none may appeal from him.  
 Onely he hath authority to make Deacon, and Priest, whom he made Subdeacon, either upon Sundayes, or upon other feastes.  
 Onely the Pope, and none else, at all times, and in all places, weareth the Palle.  
 The Pope onely dispenseth with a man, either being not within orders, or being unworthy to be made Bishop.  
 He onely either confirmeth or deposeth the Emperor when he is chosen.  
 A man being excommunicate, and his absolution referred to the Pope, none may absolve that man but the Pope alone.  
 The same hath authority in any Election, before it be made, to pronounce it none, when it is made.  
 He doth canonize Saints, and none else but he.  
 Dispensation to have many dignities and Personages in one Church, and without charge and cure of soul, belongeth onely to the Pope.  
 To make that effectuell which is of no effect, and contrariwise, belongeth onely to the Pope.  
 To pluck a Monk out of his Cloister both against his own will and the Abbats, pertaineth onely to the Pope.  
 His sentence maketh a law.  
 The same day in which the Pope is consecrate, he may give orders.  
 He dispenseth in degrees in consanguinity and affinity.  
 He is able to abolish Lawes, quoad utrumque forum, that is, both Civill and Canon, where danger is of the soul.  
 It is in his dispensation to give generall Indulgences to certain places or persons.  
 Item, to legitimize what persons soever he please, as touching spiritualties; in all places, as touching temporalities, as honors, inheritance, &c.  
 To erect new religions, to approve or reprove rules, or ordinances, and Ceremonies in the Church.  
 He is able to dispense with all the precepts and statutes of the Church.  
 Item, to dispense and to discharge any Subject from the bond of Allegiance, or Oath made to any manner person.  
 No man may accuse him of any crime, except of Heresie, and that neither, except he be incorrigible.  
 The same is also free from all Lawes, so that he cannot incur into any sentence of excommunication, suspension, irregularity, or into the penalty of any crime, but in the note of crime he may well.  
 Finally, he by his dispensation may grant, yea, to a simple Priest, to minister the Sacrament of Confirmation to infants; also to give lower orders, and to hallow Churches and Virgins, &c.  
 These be the cases wherein I onely have power to dispense, and no man else, neither Bishop, nor Metropolitan, nor Legat, without a licence from me.

power in earth, in heaven, and in purgatory how great it is, and what is the substance thereof, in binding, loosing, commanding, permitting, electing, confirming, deposing, dispensing, doing and undoing, &c.  
 I will entreate now a little of my riches likewise, and great possessions, that every man may see by my wealth and abundance of all things, rents, tithes, tributes, my silks, my purple Garters, Crowns, gold, silver, pearls and gems, lands and lordships, how God here prospereth and magnifieth his Church on the earth. For to me pertaineth first the Imperiall city of Rome, the palace of Lateran, the kingdom of Sicily is proper to me, Apulia and Capua benigne. Also the kingdom of England and Ireland, be they not, or ought they not to be tributaries to me? 214. To these I adjoin also, besides other Provinces and Countries, both in the Orient and Orient, from the North to the South, these Dominions by name, 215. as Surianum, Montebordon, & Lunx insulam, Corfic regnum, Parvam Mantuam, Montemfellece, Insulam Venetiarum, Ducatum Feriarum, Canellum, Caniodam, Ducatum Histrix, Dalmatiam, Exarchatum Ravennae, Faventiam, Cesenam, Castrum, Tiberiatus Roccam Mediolanum, Castrum Ceperianum, Castrum Cusianum, Terram Cornulariam, Ducatum Armini, Contam, Montem Ferretum, Montem Capiniae seu Olympicum, Castrum exforii. Robin, Eugubini, Vrbini, forum Sempronii, Galli, & Senogalli, Anconam, Cosam, Ducatum Perusii, Vrbinetam, & Tudertum, Castrum, Sinianum, Ducatum Spoletanum, Theanum, Calabriam, Ducatum Neapolim, Ducatum Beneventi, Sclernum, Sorenti insulam, Cardinam insulam, Anciae insulam, Territorium Cusitan, Territorium pranestinum, Terram Silandis, Terram Clusium, Terram fundan, Terram Vegetan, Terram Claudianan, Terram Camisanam, Terram Fabinensem, Terram Siram, Terram portuensem, cum insula Arclis, Terram Ostiensem cum maritimis, Civitatem Aquinensem, Civitatem Lamentum, & Sufioriam, Civitatem Falisenam, Fidenam, Feretrum, Cliternam, Neapolim, Galiopolim, with divers other moe, 216. which Constantinus the Emperour gave unto me, not that they were not mine before he did give them. 217. For in that I took them of him, I took them not as a gift (as is afore mentioned) but as a restitution. And that I rendered them again to God, I did it not for any duty to him, but onely for peace sake. What should I speak here of my daily revenues, of my first fruits, annates, palls, indulgences, bulls, confessionals, indulges and rescripts, testaments, dispensations, privileges, elections, prebends, religious houses, and such like, which come to no small masse of money? Inasmuch, that for one pall to the Archbishop of Hertz, which was wont to be given for ten thousand 218. florins, now it is grown to xxvij. thousand florins, which I received of Iacobus the Archbishop, not long before Basil Council: Besides the fruits of other Bishops in Germany, coming to the number of fifty, where by what vantage cometh unto my coffers, it may partly be confuted. But what should I speak of Germany, 219. when the whole world is my Diocese, as my Canonists do say, and all men are bound to believe, 220. except they will imagine (as the Patriarch do) two beginnings, which is false and heretical. For Moses saith, In the beginning God made heaven and earth, and not in the beginnings. 221. Wherefore as I begun, so I conclude, commanding, declaring, and pronouncing, to stand upon necessity of salvation, for every humane creature to be subject to me.

The riches and possessions of the Pope.

214. Dist. 90. Constantinus.

215. Ex Communi in Theodorus Siculus. Item, in Constantino, lib. 2. 216.

216. Dist. 96. Constantinus.

217. Antonius in Summa majoris 3. part.

218. Ex lib. Gra. communis nationis Germaniae. Above fifty Bishops in Germany. 219. Sent. decret. De penis cap. Felices in Glossa. Item de privileg. gusae Autontatem in Glossa. 220. pope Bonifacius 8. Extr. de Major. & obed. ca. Vnam sanctam. 221. Ibidem.



